“Painting by Numbers:

Case Studies in the Economic History of Nineteenth-Century Landscape and Rural Genre Painting”



Diana Seave Greenwald

University of Oxford

A thesis submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Abstract

Industrialization altered the socioeconomic landscapes of France and the United States in the nineteenth century; meanwhile, the content and style of art produced in both countries also changed. In particular, landscape and rural genre painting became more prominent. Scholars have argued that the socioeconomic changes caused the artistic ones. This thesis, "Painting by Numbers: Case Studies in the Economic History of Nineteenth-Century Landscape and Rural Genre Painting", uses methods from the social sciences to conduct case studies that examine these causal links. In addressing this topic, this project engages with the work of T.J. Clark, Alan Wallach and other founding social historians of art.

With the creation of two databases containing information about 410,000 artworks exhibited in nineteenth-century France and the U.S., this thesis applies statistical methods to a much larger sample of artistic data. Exploiting this data source provides a socioeconomic history of the average experience of participants in the art world rather than detailed examinations of the experiences of a handful of still-famous artists, which have been more typical of the field.

The first two chapters of the thesis provide an introduction, literature review, and description of the French dataset. Chapters 3 and 4 address research questions in the history and historiography of images of nature in nineteenth-century French art. Chapter 3 employs econometrics to examine systematic relationships exist between the quantities of images of nature exhibited in nineteenth-century France and the pace of industrialization. Statistically, the element of modernization that most affected the output of images of nature in the artistic data examined was the founding of artists' colonies near new rail lines connecting Paris to the countryside. Chapter 4 analyzes the artist Jean François Millet's letters, excerpts of which scholars used to form assumptions about how artists' anti-urban attitudes inspired their depictions of nature. The chapter demonstrates that Millet was an active user of industrial modes of transport who often traveled to Paris.

Chapter 5 introduces the American dataset, and the remaining chapters present three case studies about art in the U.S. during the nineteenth century. Chapter 6 examines the much-cited inventory *The Art Treasures in America*, showing it overstates the amount of European art in American collections during the nineteenth century. Chapter 7 analyzes how art collectors' socioeconomic backgrounds influenced their acquisitions; it demonstrates that socioeconomic markers are generally poor predictors of collecting patterns. Chapter 8 investigates the relationship between the growth of the railroad in the U.S. and landscape painting. Mapping the frequency of depiction of natural sites alongside the growth of railroads shows that visual culture is often a byproduct of rail lines built for other purposes rather than a catalyst for building new lines.

My thesis refines current understanding of how socioeconomic change affected art in the nineteenth century in two ways. First: it shows sample bias can compromise existing socioeconomic histories of art, and the use of data can help combat this bias. Second: it provides examples of how industrialization most affected artistic output by removing structural constraints on the geographic movement of artists, collectors and artworks themselves. More broadly, this project demonstrates that scholars can use digital tools in conjunction with economic methods to document and analyze phenomena in the art history that would be neglected in purely qualitative analyses.

Contents

1 Introduction **1**

Literature Review 3

Outline of the Thesis 13

2 Contextualizing the Data of Nineteenth-Century French Art **16**

Introduction: The Importance of Novel Data Sources 16

Introducing The Whiteley Index to the Salon Livrets 17

A Brief History of the Salon 19

Other Art Venues: Provincial Exhibitions, Group Shows and Picture Dealers . . . 26

Conclusion: The Strengths and Weaknesses of the Whiteley Index 29

3 An Econometric Study of Rural Imagery in France **30**

The Economic History of Rural France: An Overview 30

French Landscape and Rural Genre Painting and Social Histories of Art: An Overview 32

Graphing Rural Genre and Landscape Painting at the Salon 35

Introducing Econometric Analysis to the Social History of Art 41

Time Series and Panel Regressions 45

Which Variables Influenced the Supply of, and Demand for, Rural Images 49

4 Historiography, Letter Selection, and Sample Bias in the Study of Nineteenth-Century French Art **60**

Introduction 60

The Historiography of the Anti-Urban Rural Genre Painter 61

Millet's Letters Revisited and Reconsidered 65

A Quantitative Analysis of Millet's Letters 70

Conclusion: A Qualitative Analysis of Millet's Letters in the Moreau-Nélaton Donation 83

5 The Data of Nineteenth-Century American Art **88**
Introduction: A Variety of Exhibition Indices 88
The Varied Collections of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts 91
The "Repository of Arts"at the Boston Athenaeum 94
New York: Rival Institutions Supporting Contemporary American Art 97
Art on the Frontier: Exhibitions in Northern California, 1856–1915 104
Smithsonian Pre-1877 Art Exhibition Catalogue Index: Capturing Smaller Shows and Geographic Diversity 107
Conclusion 109

6 Earl Shinn and Sample Bias in the History of American Art and Collecting **111**
Introduction: Challenging "The Magnet" 111
Graphing the Art Historical Landscape: A General Overview 114
"Obvious criteria of merit and value": Sample Bias in *Art Treasures of America* . 121
Conclusion: Challenging the Institutionalization of Shinn 125

7 Exploring Systematic Relationships between Socioeconomic Factors and Art Collecting in Nineteenth-Century America **127**
Introduction 127
Introducing the HAAExD Collector Sample 128
The HAAExD Collector Sample: The Explanatory Power of Different Variables . 137
Collecting Era 137
Type of Collector – Occupation 139
Type of Collector – Source of Wealth and Gender 141
Geography – Place of Birth and Place of Exhibition 141
The HAAExD Collector Sample: Case Studies 143
William Barnes Bement: A Striving, Self-Made Philadelphia Industrialist . 144
Edwin and Margaret Crocker: Limited California Culture 155
Catharine Lorillard Wolfe: Geographically Varied Taste 164
Jasper Francis Cropsey: Artist Helping Artists 173
Conclusion: Distinguishing Systematic from Idiosyncratic Relationships 178

8 Railroads and Landscapes in the United States, 1825–1885 **180**
Introduction 180
Mapping Rails and Canvases: Data, Methods, and Format 185
Rails and Landscapes in the Antebellum Period 188
Rails and Landscapes in Wartime and Post-Bellum Periods 193

Case Study: Moran's The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone and the End of the Homesteading Ideal . . . 195
Beyond Tourism and the National Park . . . 198
The Homestead Act Moves West . . . 201
The Northern Pacific Railroad and the Homesteading Ideal . . . 205
Colter's Hell in the Heavenly Valley . . . 215
Both Sublime and Beautiful: Bierstadt's Wild Pastorals . . . 218
The Hayden Survey: Choosing an Artist, Choosing an Image . . . 223
The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone: A Dynamic Landscape . . . 234
An Artistic, Legislative, and Economic Frontier in Flux . . . 239
Moran and the Yellowstone National Park Protection Act . . . 242
Conclusion: The Visual Incorporation of America . . . 244

9 Conclusion **246**
Sample Bias in the Socioeconomic History of Art . . . 247
Supply, Demand, and Finding the "Mechanism" . . . 249

A An Introductory Note on Econometric Analysis **254**

B French Transcription of Millet Letters **256**

Bibliography **259**

List of Figures

2.1 Page 207 from John Whiteley, *Subject Index to Paintings Exhibited at the Paris Salon, 1673–1881*, 1993, vol. 2. 18

3.1 Percentage of All Salon Paintings Displayed that are Rural Genre Painting 1831–1881 ($N = 114,445$) 36
3.2 Percentage of Paintings Displayed that were Landscape Painting 1831–1881 ($N = 114,445$) 36
3.3 Percentage of Landscape Paintings Displayed at the Salon that Specify a Geographic Location ($N = 28,133$) 37
3.4 Geographical Settings of Rural Genre Painting, 1831–1881 5-year rolling averages ($N = 2,286$) 38
3.5 Sub-categories of Rural Genre Painting, 5-year rolling averages, 1831–1881 ($N = 2,286$) 39
3.6 Théodore Frédéric Salmon, *Shepherd and his flock (Berger et son troupeau)*, oil on canvas, 73 × 92 cm, sold at Osenat, Fontainebleau, France, July 29, 2012. Source: http://artsalesindex.artinfo.com/asi/lots/4687881 (possibly Whiteley Index number 1852–1137). 40
3.7 William-Adolphe Bouguereau, The Pastoral Recreation, 1868, oil on canvas, 55.9 ×76.2cm, sold at Sotheby's New York, October 19, 1984. Source: http://artsalesindex.artinfo.com/asi/lots/1232435 (probably Whiteley Index number 1868–32) 41
3.8 Kinds of Work Shown in Rural Genre Painting Depicting Work, 1831–1881 5-year rolling averages ($N = 942$) 42
3.9 Categories of Genre Paintings Displayed at the Salon, 1831–1881 42
3.10 Point Estimates of Effects of Strikes or Labor Activity from a Department on the Percentage of Landscapes Depicting that Department, 1840–1880 . 51
3.11 Jean-François Millet, The Gleaners, 1857, oil on canvas, 83.5 × 110 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. Source: RMN (Musée d'Orsay)/Jean Schormans. . . 57

3.12 Jules-Adolphe-Aimé-Louis Breton, *Calling in the Gleaners*, 1859, oil on canvas, 90×1176 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris. Souce: RMN-Musée d'Orsay/Hervé Lewandowski. 58

4.1 Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that mention Paris, 1848–1874 (N = 604) 73
4.2 Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that mention Barbizon, 1848–1874 (N = 604) 74
4.3 Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that Mention Normandy, 1848–1874 (N = 604) 74
4.4 Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that Mention Alfred Sensier, 1848–1874 (N = 604) 75
4.5 Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that Mention Money, 1848–1874 (N = 604) 75
4.6 Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that Mention Other Agents and Dealers, 1848–1874 (N = 604) 76
4.7 Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that Mention Patrons, 1848–1874 (N = 604) 76
4.8 Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that mention 'Travail,' 1848–1874 (N = 604) 77
4.9 Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that Mention his own Artwork, 1848–1874 (N = 604) 77
4.10 Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that mention Théodore Rousseau, 1848–1874 (N = 604) 78
4.11 Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that mention Other Barbizon Artists, 1848–1874 (N = 604) 78
4.12 Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that mention Other Non-Barbizon Artists, 1848–1874 (N = 604) 79
4.13 Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that mention Exhibitions, 1848–1874 (N = 604) 79
4.14 Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that Mention the Salon or the Académie de Beaux-arts, 1848–1874 (N = 604) 80
4.15 Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that mention Art Critics, 1848–1874 (N = 604) 80
4.16 Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that mention Physical Illness, 1848–1874 (N = 604) 81
4.17 Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that mention his Family, 1848–1874 (N = 604) 82

4.18 Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that Mention 'Nouvelles,' 1848–1874 ($N = 604$) 82

5.1 Page 33 from Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1825–1860*, vol. 1 (1943). 89
5.2 Transcription of Page 33 from Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1825–1860*, vol. 1 (1943) 90

6.1 Udo Keppler, "The Magnet,"*Puck*, volume 69, no. 1790 (June 21, 1911), preserved at Library of Congress, Washington D.C., accessed April 7, 2015, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2011649038/. 112
6.2 Percentage of All Paintings Exhibited for which the Artist's Nationality and Birth and Death Dates are Known 115
6.3 Types of Paintings Displayed in the United States for which Artists' Biographies are Known, 1825–1885 ($N = 112,571$) 116
6.4 Percentage of Paintings Exhibited Listed as "For Sale,"1825–1885 117
6.5 Composition of Paintings Listed as "For Sale,"1825–1885 117
6.6 Percentage of Paintings Exhibited Listed as Owned by a Professional Art Dealer, 1825–1885 118
6.7 Percentage of Works of Art Owned by Institutions & Clubs 1825–1885 ($N = 203,958$) 118
6.8 Types of Paintings Listed as Belonging to Institutions and Clubs 1825–1885 ($N = 21,550$) 119
6.9 Composition of Private Collections Greater than the Median-Size Collection 1825–1885 ($N = 44,686$) 120
6.10 Composition of Private Collections Greater than the Median-Size Collection, Excluding Works Owned by Artists, 1825–1885 ($N = 22,402$) 120
6.11 Nationalities of All Artists Included in The Art Treasures of American ($N = 3,286$ Works of Art) 124
6.12 Nationalities of All Artists Included in the HAAExD and Collected by Top Collectors, Excluding Works Owned by Artists ($N = 22,402$ Works of Art) 125

7.1 United States Census Bureau, "Census Regions and Divisions of the United States"http://www2.census.gov/geo/pdfs/maps-data/maps/reference/us_regdiv.pdf. 130
7.2 Cover, *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc. of William B. Bement* (Philadelphia, 1884). 144

7.3 Frontispiece, *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc. of William B. Bement* (Philadelphia, 1884). 145
7.4 Philadelphia Residence (A.), *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc. of William B. Bement* (Philadelphia, 1884). 146
7.5 "The Parlor,"*Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc. of William B. Bement* (Philadelphia, 1884). 147
7.6 Library, *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc. of William B. Bement* (Philadelphia, 1884). 148
7.7 Louis Claude Mouchot, *Sortie of the Grand Council*, 1872, reproduced in *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc. of William B. Bement* (Philadelphia, 1884). 149
7.8 Théodore C'eriez, *Taking Politics*, n.d., reproduced in *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc. of William B. Bement* (Philadelphia, 1884). 150
7.9 The Industrial Works, *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc. of William B. Bement* (Philadelphia, 1884). 151
7.10 William Trost Richards, *Marine*, 1883, reproduced in *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc. of William B. Bement* (Philadelphia, 1884). 152
7.11 William Trost Richards, *New Jersey Beach*, 1901, oil on canvas, 28×48 1/4 in., Metropolitan Museum of Art. 153
7.12 Detail of Page 36, *Valuable Modern Paintings, The William B. Bement Collection* (New York: American Art Association, 1899). https://archive.org/details/valua00amer 154
7.13 Composition of William Bement's Holdings Sold at Auction in 1899, by Nationality and Era of Artist 155
7.14 Charles Nahl, *Sunday Morning in the Mines*, oil on canvas, 72 × 108 in., 1872, Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento, CA. 159
7.15 Charles Nahl, *The Fandango*, oil on canvas, 72×108 in, 1873, Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento, CA. 160

7.16 Composition of the Crockers' Holdings in 1876 by Nationality and Era of Artist . . . 161
7.17 Composition of Wolfe's Holdings Donated to the Metropolitan Museum by Nationality and Era of Artist . . . 166
7.18 Alexandre Cabanel, *The Death of Moses*, oil on canvas, 110×154 in, 1851, Dahesh Museum, New York . . . 167
7.19 Alexandre Cabanel, *The Birth of Venus*, oil on canvas, 51 × 88 in, 1863, Musée d'Orsay, Paris . . . 168
7.20 Lucy Scott Bower (American, 1864–1934) after Alexandre Cabanel, *The Shulamite*, oil on canvas, 57×37.5 in, n.d., Private Collection (Source: http://artsalesindex.artinfo.com/auctions/Alexandre-Cabanel-5528511/The-Sulamite-) . . . 169
7.21 Alexandre Cabanel, *Portrait of Catharine Lorillard Wolfe*, oil on canvas, SIZE, 1876, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY . . . 170
7.22 Winslow Homer, *The Life Line*, 1884, oil on canvas, 28.6 × 44.75 in., Philadelphia Museum of Art . . . 171
7.23 Edward L. Mooney, *Portrait of Jasper F. Cropsey*, oil on canvas, 31 × 26 in., 1847, Collection of the Newington-Cropsey Foundation, Hastings-on-Hudson, NY . . . 174
7.24 Jasper Francis Cropsey, *Indian Summer, Hudson River*, 1861, on canvas, 24.5 × 41.5 in., Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska . . . 175
7.25 Composition of Cropsey's Holdings Sold at Auction in 1906, by Nationality and Era of Artist . . . 177

8.1 Thomas Moran, *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone*, 1872, oil on canvas, 84 × 144 1/4 in. (213.0 × 266.3 cm.), Smithsonian American Art Museum, Lent by the Department of the Interior Museum. . . . 185
8.2 The Development of Railroads and the Frequency of Depiction of Selected Landscapes, 1825–35 . . . 189
8.3 The Development of Railroads and the Frequency of Depiction of Selected Landscapes, 1835-45 . . . 190
8.4 The Development of Railroads and the Frequency of Depiction of Selected Landscapes, 1845–55 . . . 191
8.5 The Development of Railroads and the Frequency of Depiction of Selected Landscapes, 1855–65 . . . 194
8.6 The Development of Railroads and the Frequency of Depiction of Selected Landscapes, 1865–75 . . . 196

8.7 The Development of Railroads and the Frequency of Depiction of Selected Landscapes, 1875–85 197
8.8 Hutchins, Thomas, W. Barker, and Mathew Carey. *Plat [sic] of the seven ranges of townships being part of the territory of the United States, N. W. of the River Ohio*. [Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1796], map, Library of Congress, accessed March 3, 2016, https://www.loc.gov/item/99441743. 200
8.9 Currier & Ives. *American Homestead Spring*. New York: Published by Currier & Ives, 125 Nassau St., c, 1869. Image. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/90708550. 202
8.10 Butcher, Solomon D, photographer. *Rural life in Neb*. [1886] Image. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2005693382. 204
8.11 Haasis & Lubrecht. *The American Union railroad map of the United States, British possessions, West Indies, Mexico and Central America*. New York, 1872. Map. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/98688338. 206
8.12 Detail, Haasis & Lubrecht. *The American Union Railroad Map of the United States, British possessions, West Indies, Mexico and Central America*. New York, 1872. Map. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/98688338. 208
8.13 G. W. & C. B. Colton & Co. *Map of the Country from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean. From the Latest Explorations and Surveys to Accompany the Report of the New York Chamber of Commerce, April 1868*. [N.P, 1868] Map. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/98688438 209
8.14 Knight, E. H, and Northern Pacific Railroad Company. *Map of the Country Tributary to the Northern Pacific Railroad, Compiled from English, Canadian, and American Official Sources and Original Surveys by Edward H. Knight, Jan. 1st 1871*. [Northern Pacific, 1871] Map. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/98688747. 211
8.15 [*Yellowstone National Park boundaries*]. [S.l., 1895] Map. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/97683574. 214
8.16 Thomas Moran, *Title Page for "The Wonders of the Yellowstone" by Nathaniel P. Langford, Scribner's Monthly* 2, no. 1 (May 1871). 215
8.17 Thomas Moran, "The Grotto Geyser"for "The Wonders of the Yellowstone"by Nathaniel P. Langford, *Scribner's Monthly* 2, no. 1 (May 1871). . 216
8.18 Claude Lorrain, *Coast View with the Abduction of Europa*, c. 1645, Getty Museum, Los Angeles. 217

8.19 Albert Bierstadt, *The Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak*, oil on canvas, 73 1/2× 120 3/4 in., 1863, Metropolitan Museum of Art 220
8.20 Looking Down Yosemite Valley, California. Albert Bierstadt, 1865. Oil on canvas. 64 1/2 × 96 1/2 inches. Gift of the Birmingham Public Library, 1991.879. 221
8.21 Sanford Robinson Gifford, *A Home in the Wilderness*, oil on canvas, 1866, 76.80 × 135.70 cm (30 3/16 × 53 3/8 inches), Cleveland Museum of Art. . 222
8.22 Napoleon Sarony, Thomas Moran, ca. 1895, Adoc-photos/Art Resource, NY 225
8.23 Thomas Moran, *The Wilds of Lake Superior*, Oil On Canvas, 30 1/8×45 1/8 in, New Britain Museum of American Art 227
8.24 Thomas Moran, *Children of the Mountain*, 1867, oil on canvas, The Anschutz Collection. 228
8.25 Thomas Moran, *"Crater of the Giant Geyser,"* from "The Wonders of the Yellowstone"by Nathaniel P. Langford, *Scribner's Monthly*, 2, no. 1, May 1871 229
8.26 William Henry Jackson, 'Grand Canon of the Yellowstone,' 1872, Royal Photographic Society, London, Great Britain, Photo credit: SSPL/National Media Museum / Art Resource, NY 230
8.27 Thomas Moran, *Mammoth Hot Springs, Yellowstone*, 1872, Watercolor and pencil on paper, 14 1/4 × 10 3/8 in. Gift of Mrs. Armistead Peter III, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, DC. 232
8.28 Jackson, William Henry, *Mammoth Hot Springs, Yellowstone Park.* 1871. Albumen print, 43.0 × 53.5 cm, Musee d'Orsay, Paris, France, ©RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY 233
8.29 Thomas Moran, *The Grand Cañon and Lower Falls of the Yellowston*, from F. V. Hayden, *Scribner's Monthly, an Illustrated Magazine for the People* 3, no. 4 (February 1872), Source: http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=scmo;cc=scmo;rgn=full%20text;idno=scmo0003-4;didno=scmo0003-4;view=image;seq=394 235
8.30 Detail, Thomas Moran, *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone*, 1872, oil on canvas, 84 × 144 1/4 in. (213.0 × 266.3 cm.), Smithsonian American Art Museum, Lent by the Department of the Interior Museum. 237
8.31 Detail, Thomas Moran, *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone*, 1872, oil on canvas, 84 × 144 1/4 in. (213.0 × 266.3 cm.), Smithsonian American Art Museum, Lent by the Department of the Interior Museum. 239

List of Tables

3.1 Summary of Independent Variables and their Sources 43
3.2 Time-Series Regression: Share of Landscape Paintings at the Salon 1831–81 46
3.3 Time-Series Regression: Share of Rural Genre Paintings at the Salon 1831–81 47
3.4 Summary of Regressions Results 50
3.5 Influences on the Percentage of Landscape Paintings Shown at the Salon depicting a Department, 1840–1880 53
3.6 Influences on the Percentage of Rural Genre Paintings Shown at the Salon depicting a Department, 1840-1880 55

4.1 Keywords for Categorizing Millet's Letters 71
4.2 Number of Letters written by Millet per year 72

7.1 Overview of Top Collectors' Holdings 128
7.2 Distribution of Eras in which Collectors Acquired Art 129
7.3 Demographics of Collectors 129
7.4 Collectors' Birth Places 131
7.5 Place of Exhibition of Collectors' Holdings 132
7.6 Effects of Collectors' Socio-Economic Characteristics on Share of Holdings that have an Unidentified Maker 133
7.7 Effects of Collectors' Socioeconomic Characteristics on Share of Holdings that are by a Contemporary American Artist 135
7.8 Effects of Collectors' Socioeconomic Characteristics on Share of Holdings that are by a Contemporary European Artist 137
7.9 Effects of Collectors' Socioeconomic Characteristics on Share of Holdings that are by an Old Master 139
7.10 Nationalities of Makers of Works of Art in William Bement's Collection . . 155
7.11 Nationalities of Makers of Works of Art in the Crocker Collection 162
7.12 Nationalities of Makers of Works of Art in Catharine Lorillard Wolfe's Collection 166

7.13 Nationalities of Makers of Works of Art in Jasper Francis Cropsey's Collection 177

8.1 Selected Twenty-five Natural Sites around the United States 187

Chapter 1

Introduction

In the opening pages of *The Social History of Art* (1951), Arnold Hauser discusses prehistoric cave paintings, asking, What was the reason and purpose behind this art? Hauser's answer to this question begins with a description of the economic setting in which the cave paintings were created. "We know that it was the art of primitive hunters... who had to gather or capture their food rather than produce it themselves."[1] Throughout his multi-volume, century-spanning study, Hauser continues to ask similar questions and to begin his answers with descriptions of contemporaneous social and economic conditions. Some art historians before Hauser had experimented with social and economic studies of art, but his work, which introduced the term "the social history of art," is one of the first extended commitments to this approach.[2]

Although Hauser published in the 1950s, no further sustained efforts to write social histories of art emerged until the 1970s. In the wake of the on-campus political activities of 1968 and inspired by increasingly prominent Marxist historians, several art historians wrote books and essays that now form the core of social art historical scholarship. Though they differ to some degree in their methods and areas of focus, these now-canonical studies have several things in common. First, they are all dedicated to the assumption that most works of art are formed in the crucible of interaction between different social groups, mostly defined along class or gender lines. Second, they criticized established art historical accounts for a failure to challenge received wisdom, traditional methods and narrow definitions of the artistic canon. Finally, these social art historians also embraced empiricism as a way to combat what were perceived to be entrenched scholarly perspectives.[3]

In many ways, this thesis continues in the spirit of these founding histories of art. It relies on empiricismŮnotably quantitative methodsŮto challenge today's entrenched conceptions of what canon is worth studying and calls into question the validity of certain

[1] Arnold Hauser, *The Social History of Art*, 2nd ed. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1962).

[2] One earlier social-historical approach to art is Frederick Antal, *Florentine Painting and its Social Background: The Bourgeois Republic before Cosimo de'Medici's Advent to Power* (London: Paul, 1948).

[3] Jonathan Harris, *The New Art History: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2001).

methodological approaches used to study that canon. It also fully embraces Hauser's pioneering assumption that art is necessarily related to the social and economic context in which it was created. Finally, it shares a geographic and chronological focus with many existing social histories of art—the long nineteenth century in Europe and North America, specifically in France and the United States. While sharing these goals, this project moves beyond the methods and conclusions of the se foundational studies by employing statistical and quantitative methods that were technologically inaccessible to scholars in the 1970s. In a series of case studies, statistical evidence will be presented alongside visual formal analyses and other qualitative evidence to create a more robust socioeconomic history of art.

Economists and economic historians rarely engage with art historical questions. When they do, their interdisciplinary efforts often focus on the art market, as in the work of leading cultural economists Victor Ginsburgh, William Goetzmann, and Kim Oosterlinck. Even when economists engage with research questions that go beyond the market, price data are central to their analyses. Kathryn Graddy's work on the consistency of certain preferences in art and David Galenson's charting of the creativity of artists over their lifecycle are excellent examples.[4] In its focus on art markets and price data linked to markets, this research has side-stepped many of the broad questions that art historians often consider most pressing when they engage with economic history: how social and economic change manifests itself in art.

These two parallel lines of inquiry have led to an interdisciplinary impasse. Art historians bristle at economists' and economic historians' focus on art prices and their acceptance of monetary value as a proxy for quality. Economic historians, meanwhile, are frustrated by art historians' tendency to deny the importance of market forces and their apparent habit of cherry-picking elements of social and economic history to enrich their analyses of individual works of art. In short, it is difficult to foster collaboration and understanding between these two disciplines. Recent disciplinary shifts, however, signal an opportunity for rapprochement, particularly through engaging with the emerging field of the digital humanities.

[4]Victor Ginsburgh and David Thornsby, eds., *The Handbook of the Economics of Art and Culture*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 2006–2013); William N. Goetzmann, Luc Renneboog, and Christophe Spaenjers, "Art and Money," *The American Economic Review* 101, no. 3 (2011): 222-26, http://www.jstor.org/stable/29783743; Kim Oosterlinck, "Art as a Wartime Investment: Conspicuous Consumption and Discretion," *Economic Journal* (2017), 127, no. 607 (2017): 2665-2701. doi:10.1111/ecoj.12391. Kathryn Graddy, "Taste Endures! The Rankings of Roger de Piles (Ę1709) and Three Centuries of Art Prices," *Journal of Economic History* 73, no. 3 (2013): 766-91; David W. Galenson, *Old Masters and Young Geniuses: The Two Life Cycles of Artistic Creativity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2007).

This methodological subfield exploits modern computing technology to study a wide range of topics in the humanities, including art.[5] In most digital humanities work, however, statistical analysis ends with the creation and description of a line graph, map, or network visualization. It provides digitally sophisticated descriptions of trends in art, but it does not provide new methods for interpreting why these trends occur and what their measureable relationships may or may not be to forces outside of the art world. This thesis seeks to tap into this new, if still incomplete, willingness to accept quantitative evidence in the study of art and culture. Its goal is to use econometric analysis to trace the underlying socioeconomic factors that contribute to an artistic trend. The decision to focus on identifying socioeconomic drivers of cultural trends is a direct response to questions art historians have long sought to answer. By using econometric methods familiar to economic historians to research questions central to the work of art historians, this doctoral thesis aims to bridge the two disciplines.

The thesis brings together case studies about the socioeconomic history of art of the United States and France for historiographical, historical and data-related reasons. As will be explored in this introduction, the foundational social histories of art were about nineteenth-century France. The arguments made in this body of scholarship have since been applied at length to socioeconomic studies of American art. Historically, the art worlds of nineteenth-century France and America were intertwined. American patrons were avid supporters and collectors of contemporary French art, including the Barbizon artists that are the focus of the founding social histories of art. Nineteenth-century American artists frequently studied in France and were active members of rural artists' colonies; they then returned to the United States to produce works that have since become of subjects of socioeconomic histories of American art.[6] Because the art world was transnational, pairing investigations of French and American art in the same thesis captures how art circulated through international economic and social networks. Finally, the discovery of a series of hard copy indices to art exhibitions in France and the United States provided the large amounts of data necessary for quantitative analysis. The availability of this data made focusing on these two geographic areas even more appealing.

Literature Review

Many scholarly works that can be categorized as social and economic histories of art are narrow studies of particular dealers' activities, auction prices, and artists' means of

[5]Eileen Gardiner and Ronald G. Musto, *The Digital Humanities: A Primer for Students and Scholars* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[6]Alan Wallach, "On the Social History of American Art", in *A Companion to American Art*, ed. John Davis, Jennifer Greenhill, and Jason LaFountain (New York, Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 74.

production.[7] Specific studies like these will not be presented in this literature review, but will rather be referenced and discussed in more specific contexts in later chapters. Instead, this literature review focuses on scholarly work that has provided more general and theoretical explanations of the relationship between socioeconomic change and art. These explanations can be roughly classified by their belief about which "mechanism"—to borrow a term from economics—of socioeconomic change most affected the arts. Scholars have especially focused on two mechanisms in particular: changes in patronage and audience composition over time and artists' and audiences' negative reactions to industrialization and urbanization. Providing an introduction to foundational texts that have theorized about the importance and function of each of these mechanisms, this literature review frames the research questions that the thesis aims to answer.

Art collecting was, in many European countries until the mid-nineteenth century, the domain of the state. Some European settings, such as the Netherlands, were exceptions to this rule. But most countries experience a paradigmatic shift in the nineteenth century from a state-funded art world to one funded by individual private collectors.[8] A number of theories have been formulated about this shift and the presence of certain cultural tastes and their place in class formation. Both contemporary primary and current secondary sources argue that the development of "bourgeois taste" had a demonstrable effect on artistic output.

The most influential and fully articulated of these theories did not, in fact, emerge to explain nineteenth-century phenomena, but rather the tastes of the French bourgeoisie in the late twentieth century. The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu first published *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* in French in 1979. The book presents a combination of theory and empirical analysis. The theoretical framework is derived from the author's earlier work on *habitus* and the empirical evidence comes from surveys of contemporary French people of different educational and socioeconomic backgrounds.

Bourdieu begins his argument with the assertion that "there is an economy of cultural goods [with] a specific logic."[9] This logic is determined by the education and upbringing—the *habitus*—of the participants in the cultural economy. He writes:

[7] For a survey of this work in the history of American art, see John Ott, "Patrons, Collectors, and Markets," in *A Companion to American Art*, ed. John Davis et al. (New York, Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 525–37. For France, see, e.g., Sylvie Patry ed., *Inventing Impressionism: Paul Durand-Ruel and the Modern Art Market* (London: National Gallery, 2015); Neil McWilliam and Christopher Parsons' "'Le Paysan de Paris': Alfred Sensier and the Myth of Rural France", *Oxford Art Journal* 6, no. 2 (1983); Anne Reverdy, *L'Ecole de Barbizon, l'evolution du prix des tableaux de 1850 à 1960* (Paris: Mouton, 1973).

[8] David W. Galenson and Robert Jensen, "Careers and Canvases: The Rise of the Market for Modern Art in the Nineteenth Century," NBER Working Paper 9123, September 2002, http://www.nber.org/papers/w9123; Hans Van Miegroet and Neil de Marchi, *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Early Modern Europe, 1450–1750* (Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2006).

[9] Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*, trans. Richard Nice (Oxford: Routledge, 1984), xxv.

> In a sense, one can say that the capacity to see (*voir*) is a function of the knowledge (*savoir*)... A work of art has meaning and interest only for someone who possesses the cultural competence, that is the code into which it is encoded... A beholder who lacks the specific code feels lost in a chaos of sounds and rhythms, colors and lines, without rhyme or reason.[10]

Because transacting in this cultural economy demands this encoding—this *habitus*—Bourdieu concludes that class may not only be expressed, but also defined and transmitted to future generations through the consumption of cultural goods. Finally, he argues that formation of class distinction on the basis of cultural tastes is particularly effective. While upwardly mobile people may be able to accumulate financial capital in one lifetime, cultural understanding is the product of "total, early, imperceptible learning, performed within the family from the earliest days of life and extended by a scholastic learning which presupposes and completes it....[B]ourgeois families hand [this] down to their offspring as if it were an heirloom."[11]

The popularity of *Distinction* has firmly established the assertion that cultural activities, tastes and institutions are potent sites of class formation. It has since become a theoretical cornerstone of many social histories of art. Social histories of art of the United States that focus on patronage and class-based taste are of particular relevance to this study, and many of them draw on *Distinction*. Sociologist Paul Dimaggio and art historian Alan Wallach wrote the two most prominent and frequently cited applications of Bourdieu's theory to the American context.

In 1982, Dimaggio published the article "Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston: The Creation of an Organizational Base for High Culture in America." While he engages with Bourdieu's theories, Dimaggio was unable to replicate his empirical method, which consisted of individual surveys and in-person interviews. In a historical setting, Dimaggio moves away from a focus on individual preferences and instead argues that cultural institutions—museums, symphonies, and the like—aggregated, consolidated, and enshrined American upper-class taste. Focusing on the behavior of the "Boston Brahmin," which Dimaggio describes as "the most well defined status group of any of the urban upper classes of this period," he charts how high culture was a category created in the United States during the nineteenth century in the context of creating distinctions among social groups.[12] The key points of this influential article are succinctly summarized in one of its introductory paragraphs:

[10] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, xxv.

[11] Bourdieu, *Distinction*, 59.

[12] Paul Dimaggio, "Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston: The Creation of an Organizational Base for High Culture in America," *Media, Culture and Society* 4, no. 1 (1982): 33.

> The sacrilization of art, the definition of high culture and its opposite, popular culture and the institutionalization of this classification, was the work of men and women whom I refer to as cultural capitalists... They were capitalists in the sense that their wealth came from management of industrial enterprises from which they extracted a profit, and cultural capitalists in that they invested some of these profits in the foundation and maintenance of distinctly cultural enterprises. They also... were collectors of what Bourdieu has termed "cultural capital," knowledge and familiarity with styles and genres that are socially valued and that confer prestige upon those who have mastered them. It was the visions of the founders of the institutions that have become, in effect, the treasuries of cultural capital upon which their descendants have... defined the nature of cultural capital in American society.

This article was the first of a series of works Dimaggio wrote about the founding of arts institutions. Through Dimaggio, Bourdieu's arguments about the interaction of class and culture have been frequently applied to histories of 'high culture' in the United States.[13]

While Dimaggio shies away from applying Bourdieu's concept of bourgeois taste—instead choosing terms like "upper-class"—Wallach applies terms often used to describe European class divisions to different groups of Americans. In two essays— "Thomas Cole and the Aristocracy" (1981) in *Art Magazine* and "Thomas Cole: Landscape and the Course of American Empire" in *Thomas Cole: Landscape into History* (1994)—Wallach discusses different kinds of patronage that functioned in mid-nineteenth-century America and affected the work of landscape painter Thomas Cole (1801–1848). Citing Bourdieu, he writes in "Thomas Cole: Landscape and the Course of American Empire":

> The two forms of patronage... can be generally categorized as aristocratic and bourgeois or middle class, terms that suggest not only different types of patronage but also different conceptions of the society in which patronage occurred. Aristocratic patronage implied a social order based on deference and *noblesse oblige*: patrons were expected to consider not only their own interests but also those of the artists they employed. By contrast, bourgeois or middle-class patronage presupposed a society in which relations between producers and buyers of works of art were mediated by the more or less impersonal workings of the market.[14]

[13] Sven Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1850–1896* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[14] Alan Wallach, "Thomas Cole: Landscape and the Course of American Empire," in *Thomas Cole: Landscape into History*, ed. William Truettner and Alan Wallach (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), 33.

Asserting that Cole's career "spanned the critical period in the history of New York in which an old aristocracy finally lost its grip on the city's cultural life to a 'new' bourgeois or middle-class elite," Wallach argues that aristocratic or bourgeois patrons alternatively facilitated and hampered Cole's artistic wishes. He believes that Cole's art was guided and molded by the preferences of the people who purchased his artwork.[15]

In Bourdieu's *Distinction*, the modern bourgeoisie is largely passive. It consumes culture, but this consumption does not have an effect on art. This is because the art is either historical or support for the arts comes from sources that are not susceptible to the taste of any individual bourgeois person. Bourdieu's bourgeois are like price-takers in a commodities market. In a historical setting, however, bourgeois taste is formative, rather than passive. From an *ex post facto* point of view, the behavior of the bourgeoisie appears to have affected the quantity, quality, and success of certain kinds of art. Dimaggio asserts this point by charting how the bourgeoisie formed arts institutions; Wallach discusses how bourgeois taste formed individual works of art that have since become canonical. This focus on the influence not just of individual patrons, but *types* of patrons on the trajectory of American art has become a recurring theme of social histories of the art of the United States.

Wallach has recently reiterated this point of view in the essay "Rethinking 'Luminism': Taste, Class and Aestheticizing Tendencies in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Landscape Painting" (2011). This re-assertion was partly inspired by the work of Sven Beckert, an "historian of capitalism" at Harvard who wrote *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie* (2003). Its theoretical foundation, however, is still Bourdieu. Wallach concludes his essay:

> And it is to Bourdieu that we must now turn to begin to account for the transformation of taste and the redefinition of high art that led to aestheticizing tendencies. For if we accept Bourdieu's argument that a striving for "distinction" lay at the core of bourgeois identity, then it stands to reason that the trends I have been describing [aestheticizing tendencies] roughly coincided with and were integral to the emergence of an increasingly powerful and unified bourgeoisie, a class working towards securing cultural hegemony via the creation of institutions[16]

Ultimately, this literature presents a question that has endured for decades: can one define class-delineated tastes for art, and what is the effect of these tastes on artistic production?

[15] Wallach, "Thomas Cole: Landscape and the Course of American Empire," 34.
[16] Wallach, "Thomas Cole: Landscape and the Course of American Empire," 137.

John Ott recently traced the evolution of this question and its application to different American artists and eras in the essay "Patrons, Collectors, and Markets" in the recent anthology *A Companion to American Art* (2015).[17] His detailed overview concludes: "On the whole, much necessary work on the consumption of American art remains to be done... most studies have been more descriptive acts of archival recovery than synthetic analyses of larger trends and developments." The synthetic analyses that exist have been mostly the application of theories formulated for other geographical settings and eras—Bourdieu's in particular—to an American setting. Using quantitative methods, sections of this thesis will aim to address the gap Ott identified in the study of art collecting as well as to chart developments in patronage and their effects on the quantity and quality of nineteenth-century art.

Wallach's arguments about Cole are not limited to the artist's relationship with his patrons. He also describes the painter's relationship with modernization. In "Thomas Cole: Landscape and the Course of American Empire," Wallach writes:

> [Cole] denounced in passionate and revealing language the destruction of natural beauty that accompanied the clearing of the wilderness and the building of roads, railways, and canals: 'the ravages of the axe are daily increasing—the most noble scenes are made destitute'... Paintings of the wilderness, frontier life and settled farmland could be interpreted optimistically as representing stages in the rise and progress of American civilization. Yet the same works also functioned as objects of nostalgia, embodiments of a desire to escape the anxieties and upheavals of the present.[18]

This argument about the relationship between depictions of rural subjects and nostalgia is common in social histories of art. The theory that images of nature were flashpoints for cosmopolitan artists' and audiences' anxieties about modernization was not originally formulated about American painting. Instead, it was proposed in studies of rural genre painting—depictions of everyday rural life—in nineteenth-century France.

In the 1970s, several scholars wrote about the work of Jean-François Millet (1814–75), Gustave Courbet (1819–77), Jules Breton (1827–1906) and other French painters who became famous for their paintings of the French countryside and its inhabitants. Studying these artists' oeuvres, the art historians T.J. Clark, Robert Herbert, Griselda Pollock, and Linda Nochlin wrote books and essays that have since become important not only to the study of French art, but to the social history of art generally. Their analyses and theories form the core of the social history of art and are frequently cited, even forty years after publication.

[17] Ott, "Patrons, Collectors, and Markets," 525–37.
[18] Wallach, "Thomas Cole: Landscape and the Course of American Empire", 137.

In 1973, Clark published two books about rural genre painting and Realism: *The Absolute Bourgeois, Artists and Politics in France, 1848–1851* and *Image of the People, Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution.* Both books focus on the social, political, and ideological impact of the revolutions of 1848 on art created during the new Republic. *The Absolute Bourgeois* focuses on political readings of the paintings studied while *Image of the People* is Clark's declared attempt to write a social history of art.[19] The social and political readings are, however, ultimately intertwined. Clark insists that *la question sociale*—the question of the people's social well-being—was central to the political discourse of the period.

The Absolute Bourgeois analyzes the work of Jean-François Millet, among other artists and poets, through the lens of one question that Clark says the bourgeoisie asked themselves repeatedly during and in the wake of 1848: "Were the Peofple savages or heroes? When they manned the barricades, were they serfs fighting their masters' battles?....Or were they Barbarians storming the city?"[20] In the context of these politically charged questions about the role of the People, Clark argues that depictions of common men and women took on strong political meanings.[21]

Image of the People addresses the views and opinions of the bourgeoisie. The most cited chapters of this book focus on the paintings Courbet produced between 1850 and 1851. During this time, he was working primarily in his hometown of Ornans in the Franche-Comté. The largest and now best known of these paintings is his massive *Burial at Ornans*. Displayed at the Salon of 1850, The *Burial at Ornans* provoked strong critical reactions "from admiration to outage, and even the attitudes of hostility (which did predominate) were most often marked by reservations, genuine puzzlement, distress, and an obvious effort to understand the incomprehensible."[22] Why did the Parisian press and public react this way? The reason, Clark argues, was that, in the context of a countryside funeral, Courbet had actually painted "a repertoire of classes and types," the petit bourgeoisie, in particular.[23] It was the juxtaposition between what was considered to be an urban phenomenon—class division—and a rural setting that, according to Clark, was most unsettling. He writes about reactions to the *Burial*:

> Anger was common to the Left and Right: nobody wanted the massive, ironic representation of a rural bourgeoisie. The Left—or rather, its artistic spokesmen

[19] T.J. Clark, *Image of the People, Gustave Courbet and the 1848 Revolution* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1973), 9.

[20] T.J. Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois, Artists and Politics in France 1848-1851* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 1973), 11.

[21] Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois*, 178.

[22] Clark, *Image of the People*, 133.

[23] Clark, *Image of the People*, 127–29.

> in Paris—wanted a glorification of the simple rural life, or perhaps a straightforward portrayal of its hardships... The Right and Centre wanted a preservation of the rural myth.[24]

Discussing this "rural myth" in the context of contemporary art criticism, Clark adds:

> The [proper] painter of rural life portrays precisely and only what is alien to the town, what "we should be looking for" in the fields. Millet's peasant is acceptable because he is distinctly other; his primitive grossness will not be altered by his stay in Paris, and we, it is implied, have little to fear from it. He will stay a countryman, even in the city... he will not become a proletarian.[25]

This conclusion—that acceptable images of the countryside portray rural life as wholly distinct from city life and immune from the class conflict, politics, and violence of an urban setting—has become a cornerstone of social histories of art about both rural genre and landscape painting. Though Clark only makes his argument for the very specific time period of the Second Republic, his analysis of anti-urban sentiment in painting has since been broadly applied to a series of different time periods and geographies.

Three years before Clark published his two books, another art historian explored the underlying social and economic reasons for the style and popularity of rural genre painting in the mid-nineteenth century. While it is shorter and less carefully researched than Clark's books, Robert Herbert's "City vs. Country: The Rural Image in French Painting from Millet to Gauguin," published in *Artforum* in 1970, has also been influential and frequently cited. The article begins:

> Images of the modern city, its factories, its machines and its workers, would not provide a sufficient basis for a study of the way art is related to the urban-industrial revolution. On the contrary, such images are relatively rare, and it is frequently latent or indirect imagery which provides the essential clues....[I]t is fair to say that themes of urban entertainment, suburban relaxation and rural nature dominate French art of the nineteenth century, to the near exclusion of the machine and worker, those basic constituents of the cataclysmic changes taking place. [26]

Like Clark, Herbert suggested that rural images were a reaction to these "cataclysmic changes" in French society. This conclusion is not so distinct from Clark's, although it is less specific and not bound only to written primary sources from just a four-year period. Instead, he supports his conclusion by citing broad socioeconomic and demographic trends—primarily internal migration and urbanization rates—that he believes affected Parisian art audiences:

[24] Clark, *Image of the People*, 142.
[25] Clark, *Image of the People*, 145.
[26] Robert Herbert, "City vs. Country: The Rural Image in French Painting from Millet to Gauguin," *Artforum* 8, no. 6 (1970): 44–55.

> Perhaps the best way to indicate the changes in Paris in the middle of the last century is to record the fact that in the department of the Seine, encompassing Paris and its suburbs, the population between 1790 and 1831 only rose a total of 10,000 or about 1.5 percent. This was over a period of 40 years. But between 1831 and 1851, only 20 years, the population doubled.[27]

The growth of the cities was, according to Herbert, achieved at the expense of rural depopulation, a phenomenon that he argues contemporary cosmopolitan Frenchmen were aware of and concerned about. He believes this depopulation and geographical transition were the driving forces behind the taste for rural imagery in paintings and in literature.[28]

Herbert and Clark's arguments, while different, are neither competing nor mutually exclusive. In fact, both come to the conclusion that rural genre painting was seen as the anti-city, in both social and political terms. This conclusion, that images of the countryside should be interpreted in the light of their often counterbalancing relationship—to urbanization and industrialization, has been repeated again and again.

A more recent influential affirmation of these inherent links between images of nature and modernization is Nicholas Green's *The Spectacle of Nature: Landscape and Bourgeois Culture in Nineteenth Century France* (1990). Green takes on questions central to the social histories of art of the 1970s and aims to answer them with the help of methods and theories formulated by Michel Foucault. Specifically, he draws on the theory that "social reality is constituted in and through historically specific languages and forms of knowledge, [and] that discourses…take on meaning only in so far as they are inscribed in material practices and institutions."[29] Drawing on sources like plans for urban development and guidebooks, Green traces how, from the 1820s forward, Parisians developed a "metropolitan gaze," a belief in how urban society should be organized and extended. He asserts that nature played a central role in this process:

> In early- to mid-nineteenth-century France, nature did play a significant role in the securing and maintenance of a certain kind of bourgeois hegemony. This is not to say that nature reflected or expressed the ideas and feelings of the rising bourgeoisie in any simple sense…Rather, metropolitanism—of which nature formed a subset—exerted a magnetic pull over a spectrum of economic class fractions and political affiliations. In drawing them into identification with the city and its pleasures (including nature), this formation cut across and reworked economic class lines, relocating class in cultural terms. [30]

[27] Herbert, "City vs. Country," 44.
[28] Herbert, "City vs. Country," 45.
[29] Nicholas Green, *The Spectacle of Nature: Landscape and Bourgeois Culture in Nineteenth Century France* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 3.
[30] Green, *The Spectacle of Nature*, 5–6.

In Clark and Herbert's scholarship, the countryside and its inhabitants are understood as inherently opposite to the city and its ills. Green adds a component to this argument. Nature—and, more broadly, open space—is progressively integrated into the worldview of urban dwellers as something other and opposite to the city. Taken together, these arguments conclude that nature can only be defined in opposition to the growing city, and this negative definition both reflects and influences the social organization of the city itself. This conclusion recurs in studies of rural genre and landscape painting in many geographic contexts, particularly the United States.

Two examples illustrate how the understanding of links between growing urban spaces and nature is presented in the study of American art. The influential exhibition catalogue *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820–1920* (1991) begins with "Ideology and Image: Justifying Westward Expansion," an introduction by William Truettner. He writes:

> No major artist was part of the moving frontier, and historical references in paintings of the nineteenth-century West create the illusion of authenticity. They more accurately represent the values of the metropolis and were painted by artists who were themselves urban dwellers. Most of those artists maintained studios in the East, primarily in the New York area... Artistic observation was occurring from a point far behind the frontier and in association with those who stood to gain the most from the westward movement—the leaders of the industrial East.[31]

In other words, images of the West have less to do with the West itself than with the urban population of the East and what it projected onto the front ier. Truettner's introduction presents information about the dissonance between Western images and social historical realities. For example, he highlights how despite paintings' depictions of triumphant floods of people heading to the Far West, most internal migration in the United States was between neighboring populous states.[32] However, his central assertion echoes Herbert and Clark: landscape and depictions of rural settings are, in fact, all about urbanity and industrialization.

Like Truettner's work, Angela Miller's much-cited *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825–75* (1996) explores the relationship between images of nature and frontiers and Americans' social and political concerns. Miller examines the relationship between art and rising "sectionalism and the instrumentalization of nature as the raw material of... Empire" in the United States.[33] She writes:

[31] William Truettner, "Ideology and Image: Justifying Westward Expansion," in *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820–1920*, ed. William Truettner (Washington, DC: Smithsonian, 1991), 39.

[32] Truettner, "Ideology and Image," 38.

[33] Angela Miller, *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825–1875* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996), 6.

> Landscape images served as an arena of symbolic action, a quasi-utopian endeavor that helped to order a space inherently open-ended and unstable. The mid-nineteenth-century enthusiasm for landscape art was motivated by a complex set of associations identifying images of nature with virtue, purity, and uncomplicated harmony, as well as with national unity, pride of place and a unique identity distinct from that of Europe.[34]

Similar to Clark and Herbert's assessment of rural imagery in nineteenth-century France, Miller argues that Americans used landscape as a salve for their social, economic and political concerns. The "uncomplicated harmony" of landscape paintings was the opposite of the socioeconomic turbulence that pervaded real life in nineteenth-century America.

In both European and American settings, scholarly consensus holds that landscape painting expresses estrangement from nature. In concluding his introduction to *Landscape and Western Art* (2000), Malcolm Andrews summarizes the central assertion to which current scholarship dedicated to landscape and rural genre paintings generally adheres: "Landscape art in the West over the last 500 years can be read as the elegiac record of humanity's sense of alienation from its original habitat in an irrecoverable, pre-capitalist world."[35] Whether this alienation is primarily economic, social or political (or a combination of all three), scholars ask a permutation of one question: how did modernization and its perceived ills affect both the production and consumption of art depicting the countryside?

Under the umbrella of these very general art historical questions about links between art and socioeconomic change, the five component case studies in this thesis take a much narrower focus. They focus on bringing more data to bear on research about the socioeconomic history of art. When the evidence consulted is quantitative and includes large amounts of data about works that art historians have been unable to consider before, how do answers to these broad research questions change, if at all? This narrower question is, ultimately, what this thesis aims to answer.

Outline of the Thesis

Across its case studies, this project analyzes hundreds of thousands of works of art, both famous and obscure. Two chapters (Chapters 2 and 5) are dedicated to introducing the two original datasets—the Whiteley Index of Salon Painting and the Historical American Art Exhibition Database (HAAExD)—that capture this information.

Two other case studies address the social history of art in nineteenth-century France. The first (Chapter 3) regresses data about the quantity of rural genre and landscape painting

[34] Miller, *The Empire of the Eye*, 12.
[35] Malcolm Andrews, *Landscape and Western Art* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 22.

displayed in the nineteenth century on contemporaneous data about the changing urbanization, transport links, and other independent variables capturing socioeconomic change. This analysis demonstrates that factors like the foundation of rural artists' colonies and the growth of easy transport connections from Paris had a greater direct effect on the output of rural genre and landscape painting than did the urbanization rate or civil unrest. The second case study (Chapter 4) is a careful analysis of the archival sources underpinning work by Clark, Herbert and their contemporaries. It traces the origins of ideas about the anti-urban interpretation of rural genre painting to letters written by the artist Jean-François Millet. Using a blend of archival evidence and quantification, it demonstrates that the letters that serve as essential primary sources for foundational arguments are, in fact, not representative of Millet's correspondence and his navigation of both rural and urban life.

Chapter 5, which introduces the Historical American Art Exhibition Index, marks a transition from case studies focused primarily on the French art world and its relationship to socioeconomic change to case studies about the United States. Chapter 6 explores issues of sample bias in available data about the nineteenth-century American art world and how this available data has skewed scholars' understanding of the relationship between patrons' social backgrounds and their artistic preferences. In particular, it compares information available in the so-called "encyclopedic" survey of American art collections prepared by a nineteenth-century critic to the larger sample of information presented in the HAAExD.

Chapter 7 then tests the expanded sample of collectors and works of art made available by the HAAExD for the existence of systematic relationships between art collectors' social backgrounds and the content of their collections. It determines that there are weak systematic relationships between social background and collecting habits, with the exception of the distinctive collecting patterns of American artists themselves (artists having been avid collectors of their colleagues' work).

The final case study (Chapter 8) explores a theme similar to the one in Chapter 3: the relationship between the growth of the railroad and landscape painting. But it examines this theme in the American context. It presents maps of the frequency of depiction of natural sites and the growth of railroads around the US. Recently, links between landscape, railroads and economics in the United States have been presented in narratives about how visual culture has encouraged the development of natural tourist destinations. Mapping shows that visual culture is more often a byproduct of rail lines built for other purposes than a catalyst for building new lines. The second part of the chapter complements the mapping of the relationship between rails and images by presenting a case study about the Northern Pacific Railroad's patronage of artist Thomas Moran (1837–1926).

Though this project's primary innovation is the application of quantitative methods drawn from the social sciences, it does not rely solely on them. In each case study, the

numbers will be juxtaposed with qualitative historical context and visual analysis to create as comprehensive a narrative as possible of the historical and art historical moment in question. The conclusion to the thesis reflects on these methodological innovations and how they can complement existing approaches to the history of art.

Chapter 2

Contextualizing the Data of Nineteenth-Century French Art

Introduction: The Importance of Novel Data Sources

One of this project's most valuable contributions to the existing scholarly literature is its presentation of two original databases about art in nineteenth-century France and the United States. These databases were generated by transcribing and digitizing a series of exhibition indices—comprehensive lists of artwork shown at a given venue or institution. While there was a single one index that covered every one of the 134,318 paintings shown at the Paris Salon, there was no single source for the American data. Instead, the American database—the HAAExD—was formed from eight separate indices that were then collated. In total, the HAAExD contains information about 274,000 works of art shown around the United States during the long nineteenth century.

In aggregate, these data represent a unique view of the nineteenth-century art world on both sides of the Atlantic. It is neither a museum's curated inventory nor a catalogue raisonné of a well-known artist's work. Instead it is a series of snapshots by year and across venues of gallery walls as people saw them over a century ago. These are snapshots not only of the famous works still being studied by art historians, but also of all the lost art, repeat showings, copies, and generally less-accomplished work that also formed part of the nineteenth-century artistic landscape.

These datasets are not, however, just a finding aid for locating works by certain artists or counting how many plaster copies of the Apollo Belvedere were shown in annual exhibitions. They provide the data that form the dependent variables in four of the five case studies that are the central components of this thesis. In empirical economics, one frames problems in terms of a series of independent variables and how they affect a single dependent variable. These data represent an opportunity to make the artistic output, not just art prices, the dependent variable. By digitizing exhibition records, new kinds of quantitative information are available. Exhibition data give information about the frequency with

which a certain type of art was shown, the contents of collectors' loans to a venue and what proportion of exhibitors were women. All of these frequencies and the other information available in these data are affected not only by changes in the art world in general, but also by particular rules and policies governing the venue where the art was exhibited. Compare, for example, data that comes from exhibition records at an 1850 show at the Boston Athenaeum (one of the venues in the HAAExD) and data from another in the same year at New York's National Academy of Design (another venue in the HAAExD). At that time, there was a rule in place at the National Academy that only original works of art that had never been previously exhibited at the Academy could be shown. There was no equivalent rule in Boston, where the exhibitions often included copies of Old Master paintings, parts of the Athenaeum's own permanent collection and new original works. Without knowing the exhibition rules, one might compare data from these two venues and overstate an argument about, for example, links between each city's social make-up and its antebellum taste in art. To avoid this sort of confusion, this chapter and, later, Chapter 5 provide introductions to the venues whose exhibition records form this thesis's two original datasets, the Whiteley Index and the HAAExD. Each of these chapters describes the structure of an exhibition, the history of the host institution and institutional changes that had clear effects on the contents of the exhibition, like the establishment or abolition of a jury. It also describes the particularities of each index and notes any inconsistencies in source material.

Introducing The Whiteley Index to the Salon Livrets

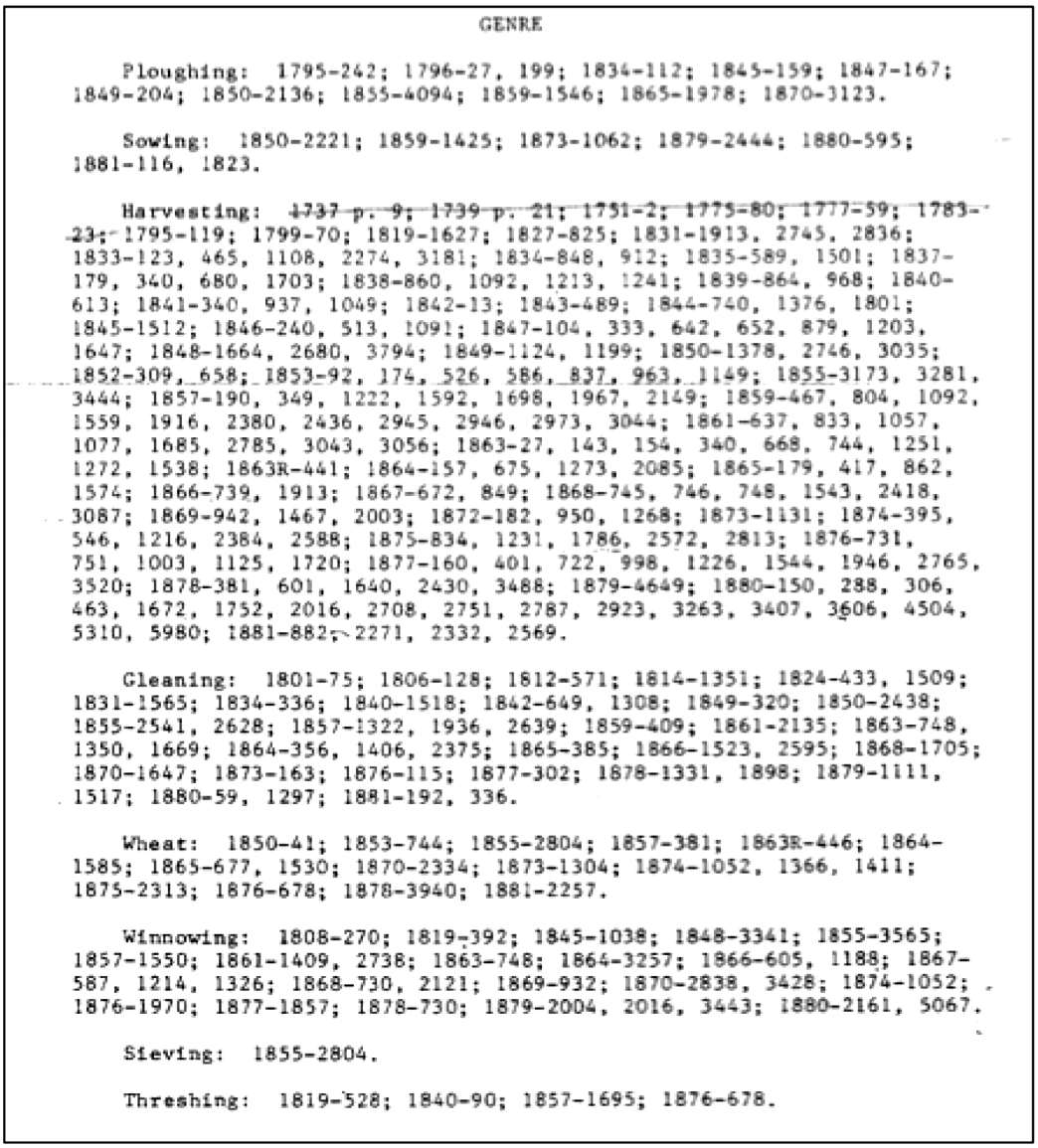
The Salon was a national state-run art exhibition whose structure is inextricably linked, not only to politics within the art world, but also to French national politics. It stood at the center of a constellation of state affairs, rival artistic styles, diverse critical reactions, and public reception. Its history—and therefore the context necessary for understanding the data about it—is more complex than that of other venues.

Usually administered by the *Académie des beaux-arts* (Academy of Fine Arts), the Salon took place approximately every one to three years from the seventeeth century until the end of the nineteenth century. Between 1831 and 1881, approximately 115,000 paintings and other graphic works were exhibited at the Salon.[36] For every exhibition, the organizers published an official catalogue, called a *livret*, which recorded the title and maker of each work displayed. Over the course of twenty years, Dr. Jon Whiteley of the Ashmolean Museum assembled an index to every Salon catalogue, the *Subject Index to Paintings Exhibited at the Paris Salon, 1673–1881*.[37] Based on its title, each painting is tagged with

[36] Specifically 114,455 as counted in H.W. Janson ed., *Catalogues of the Paris Salon, 1673–1880*, 60 vols. (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977–78).

[37] John Whiteley, *Subject Index to Paintings Exhibited at the Paris Salon, 1673–1881*, 1993, 4 volumes).

one or more keywords, or "subject headings," as Whiteley calls them. These keywords are specific, ranging from "Plowing" to "Thieves and Bandits" to "Jealousy" to the geographic locations where certain paintings are set. Digitizing this index formed the database to which I refer throughout this thesis as the Whiteley Index. Digitization was completed with the help of a freelance computer programmer who was able to use Optical Character Recognition to transfer the data from the hard copy index to digestible data in a spreadsheet.



GENRE

Ploughing: 1795-242; 1796-27, 199; 1834-112; 1845-159; 1847-167; 1849-204; 1850-2136; 1855-4094; 1859-1546; 1865-1978; 1870-3123.

Sowing: 1850-2221; 1859-1425; 1873-1062; 1879-2444; 1880-595; 1881-116, 1823.

Harvesting: 1737 p. 9; 1739 p. 21; 1751-2; 1775-80; 1777-59; 1783-23; 1795-119; 1799-70; 1819-1627; 1827-825; 1831-1913, 2745, 2836; 1833-123, 465, 1108, 2274, 3181; 1834-848, 912; 1835-589, 1501; 1837-179, 340, 680, 1703; 1838-860, 1092, 1213, 1241; 1839-864, 968; 1840-613; 1841-340, 937, 1049; 1842-13; 1843-489; 1844-740, 1376, 1801; 1845-1512; 1846-240, 513, 1091; 1847-104, 333, 642, 652, 879, 1203, 1647; 1848-1664, 2680, 3794; 1849-1124, 1199; 1850-1378, 2746, 3035; 1852-309, 658; 1853-92, 174, 526, 586, 837, 963, 1149; 1855-3173, 3281, 3444; 1857-190, 349, 1222, 1592, 1698, 1967, 2149; 1859-467, 804, 1092, 1559, 1916, 2380, 2436, 2945, 2946, 2973, 3044; 1861-637, 833, 1057, 1077, 1685, 2785, 3043, 3056; 1863-27, 143, 154, 340, 668, 744, 1251, 1272, 1538; 1863R-441; 1864-157, 675, 1273, 2085; 1865-179, 417, 862, 1574; 1866-739, 1913; 1867-672, 849; 1868-745, 746, 748, 1543, 2418, 3087; 1869-942, 1467, 2003; 1872-182, 950, 1268; 1873-1131; 1874-395, 546, 1216, 2384, 2588; 1875-834, 1231, 1786, 2572, 2813; 1876-731, 751, 1003, 1125, 1720; 1877-160, 401, 722, 998, 1226, 1544, 1946, 2765, 3520; 1878-381, 601, 1640, 2430, 3488; 1879-4649; 1880-150, 288, 306, 463, 1672, 1752, 2016, 2708, 2751, 2787, 2923, 3263, 3407, 3606, 4504, 5310, 5980; 1881-882, 2271, 2332, 2569.

Gleaning: 1801-75; 1806-128; 1812-571; 1814-1351; 1824-433, 1509; 1831-1565; 1834-336; 1840-1518; 1842-649, 1308; 1849-320; 1850-2438; 1855-2541, 2628; 1857-1322, 1936, 2639; 1859-409; 1861-2135; 1863-748, 1350, 1669; 1864-356, 1406, 2375; 1865-385; 1866-1523, 2595; 1868-1705; 1870-1647; 1873-163; 1876-115; 1877-302; 1878-1331, 1898; 1879-1111, 1517; 1880-59, 1297; 1881-192, 336.

Wheat: 1850-41; 1853-744; 1855-2804; 1857-381; 1863R-446; 1864-1585; 1865-677, 1530; 1870-2334; 1873-1304; 1874-1052, 1366, 1411; 1875-2313; 1876-678; 1878-3940; 1881-2257.

Winnowing: 1808-270; 1819-392; 1845-1038; 1848-3341; 1855-3565; 1857-1550; 1861-1409, 2738; 1863-748; 1864-3257; 1866-605, 1188; 1867-587, 1214, 1326; 1868-730, 2121; 1869-932; 1870-2838, 3428; 1874-1052; 1876-1970; 1877-1857; 1878-730; 1879-2004, 2016, 3443; 1880-2161, 5067.

Sieving: 1855-2804.

Threshing: 1819-528; 1840-90; 1857-1695; 1876-678.

Figure 2.1: Page 207 from John Whiteley, *Subject Index to Paintings Exhibited at the Paris Salon, 1673–1881*, 1993, vol. 2.

Whiteley's *Subject Index to Paintings Exhibited at the Paris Salon* is divided into four volumes. Each volume represents a broad subdivision of a type of artistic work—history painting (large format oil paintings of scenes from antiquity and the bible), landscape painting, genre painting (scenes of everyday life), and portraiture. Each painting has a unique

identifying number based on the year it was exhibited and its number in that year's exhibition catalogue. Within each volume, paintings—represented by their unique identifying number—are classified under subject headings functioning like keywords that indicate the content of each. Figure 2.1 shows a page from the *Subject Index*. The words are subject headings. The groups of numbers each represent a painting. For example, the number "1850–2221" that appears after the word "Sowing" refers to painting number 2221 in the Salon catalogue for the Salon of 1850. Painting "1850–2221" is *The Sower* by Jean-François Millet. The Whiteley Index primarily offers information about the subject headings alone. To match indexed paintings with full title and creator data, one must use the Whiteley Index as a finding aid and locate the corresponding entry in the *livrets*.

A Brief History of the Salon

Among the few scholars dedicated to charting the institutional history of the Salon, there is a consistent problem, one that Pierre Vaisse has summarized:

> The history of the Salon during the nineteenth century has long been confused with the history of the persecution of artistic innovators and their delayed triumph over the reactionary forces, namely the Academy and state fine arts administration. . . [the Academy is portrayed] as an instrument of domination. . . this Manichean vision. . . has long dominated the historiography of art.[38]

Navigating this bias, this section aims to provide a neutral description of the institutional context in which the data included in the Whiteley Index were generated.

The Salon began as an exhibition of works by members of the *Académie des beaux-arts*. The history of the Salon therefore begins with the history of the Academy. While it existed in earlier rudimentary forms, the Academy of Fine Arts received royal sanction from Louis XIV in 1655 and was definitively established in 1664. In its original form, historian Albert Boime tells us, "the Academy was divided into three levels: *élèves, agrégés* and *académiciens* corresponding to the categories of apprentice, journeyman and master."[39] The seventeenth-century Academic system remained largely intact throughout the eighteenth century. A jury of *académiciens* determined which works submitted by members of the Academy were displayed at the Salon and another committee (sometimes composed of the same members, sometimes a different group) awarded prizes to the submissions it

[38] Pierre Vaisse, "Reflections sur la fin du Salon official," in *"Ce Salon à quoi tout se ramène": Le Salon de peinture et de sculpture, 1791–1890,* ed. James Kearns and Pierre Vaisse (Bern: Peter Lang, 2010), 117.

[39] Albert Boime, *The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Phaidon Press, 1970), 3–4.

judged to be the most accomplished. The Salon functioned like this until the French Revolution.[40]

The Salon of 1791 abolished the jury system. The committee directing this revolutionary Salon decreed that any artist French or foreign, Academy-affiliate or independent had the right to exhibit without being subject to an admissions jury. The Revolution also abolished the Royal Academy and replaced it with the *Institut de France*, which took over the *académiciens*' pedagogical and administrative roles in state-run arts education.

The 1791 overhaul of the Salon began a conflict that sparked battles over the control of the exhibition for the remainder of its existence—disputes about its relative openness to different exhibitors. After the 1791 Salon, the jury system was reinstated and the primary point of contention became the composition and decisions of the jury, rather than its existence.[41] There was constant debate over whether or not the jury should be appointed or elected, who should appoint or elect its members and whether there was an appropriate balance of power between *académiciens*, state officials, and artists not affiliated with the Academy—called *indépendents*—serving as jurors. Stakeholders wrangled, as well, over the size of the Salons and how often they were held. Academics tended to favor smaller and less frequent exhibitions, while independents preferred large, annual events. Constant regime change between rival camps meant that the rules and regulations for the Salon were frequently changed to alternatively favor one or another of these camps or to attempt to strike a compromise between them, the terms of which both sides usually condemned.[42]

Further exacerbating this conflict, the reestablished Academy that emerged from the Revolutionary era was a smaller and more exclusive institution than it had been during the *ancien régime*. "The nineteenth-century Academy [had a] fixed number of members and life membership," reports Boime. It was also greyer: "It was not uncommon to accept an artist in his twenties or thirties into the [*ancien régime*] Academy, whereas in the nineteenth-century Academy, the average age of new members was fifty-three."[43] The reincarnated Academy fought to monopolize state-funded art education in France. Its role in the process of training the next generation changed with each regime and often changed within the lifespan of any given regime.[44] The nineteenth-century Salon was at the center of a complicated tug-of-war over the control and character of fine arts in France. The following sections will detail the terms of these battles during the rule of the regimes in power

[40] Pierre Vaisse, introduction to Kearns and Vaisse, *"Ce Salon à quoi tout se ramène"*.

[41] Vaisse, "Reflections sur la fin du Salon official," 121–22.

[42] Patricia Mainardi, *Art and Politics of the Second Empire: The Universal Expositions of 1855 and 1867* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1990), 11; Patricia Mainardi, *The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 15–20.

[43] Boime, *The Academy and French Painting*, 3–4.

[44] Boime, *The Academy and French Painting*, 7–8.

between 1830 and 1881: the July Monarchy, the Second Republic, the Second Empire and the Third Republic.

The 1830 revolution brought King Louis-Philippe—formerly the Duc d'Orléans—to power. His ascent to the throne coincided with the beginning of a new round of impassioned battles over the Salon and its jurors' standards. These conflicts came primarily from the increasing importance of new artistic movements developing outside of the Academy and beyond its instruction and control. Romanticism, emotive subjects painted in a looser, sketchier manner, and landscape painting emerged as popular styles posing a challenge to the smooth-surfaced and tightly composed Classically-inspired history painting that had dominated French painting since the *ancien régime*.[45] In addition to being stylistically distinct, this work was also smaller and featured different content than the monumental history paintings that were the specialty of Academicians producing state commissions.[46] The contest between these different styles became a flash point for the prolonged skirmish between independents and academics over control of the Salon. Ultimately, despite resistance from some members of the Academy, genre painting and landscapes were accepted to the Salon in increasing numbers throughout the regime's duration.[47]

Louis-Philippe and his government actively intervened in fine arts administration. Under the July Monarchy, the arts bureaucracy grew and became a powerful counterweight to the Academy, which, despite having a state charter, was not actively state-controlled. The growing bureaucracy not only supported painters and sculptors seeking patronage for individual works, but also hired artists to create monumental paintings in public buildings. The monarch and his ministers attempted to strike a compromise between the emerging Romantics and landscapists, on one side, and the *académiciens*, on the other. The terms of this compromise were never clearly articulated, but the king patronized—both for his personal collection and for state collections—artists whose work fell between the opposing styles. Charles Baudelaire labeled this compromise style the *juste milieu*.[48] As part of the *juste milieu* compromise, the most prominent Romantics, like Eugène Delacroix, received patronage.[49] Support for independent artists was a major policy shift. The regime also changed Salon policy. As a concession to the independent artists, the government established more frequent exhibitions—reliably annual exhibitions rather than the uneven bi-annual schedule that had existed immediately prior to the revolution— but allowed the Academy to manage them.

[45] Boime, *The Academy and French Painting*, 9.

[46] Mainardi, *The End of the Salon*, 13; Michael Paul Driskel, "An Introduction to the Art," in *The Art of the July Monarchy, France 1830–1848*, ed. Robert J. Bezucha et al. (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990), 49–79.

[47] Boime, *The Academy and French Painting*, 9–14.

[48] Driskel, "An Introduction to the Art," 49–50.

[49] Driskel, "An Introduction to the Art," 59–69.

The 1848 revolution toppled the July Monarchy and established the Second Republic. This regime change meant another radical policy shift for the administration of the Salon. The new state attempted to establish itself as a major patron of the arts, particularly with respect to monumental public works celebrating the glory of France and its revolutions.[50] The 1848 Salon had no jury and all submissions were accepted. The open Salon did not last, however, after professional artists complained about exhibiting alongside amateurs.[51] The next three Salons transitioned to a jury system in which a general assembly of professional artists elected the jury and a poll among the same general assembly determined the prizewinners.

While the Second Republic made a significant verbal commitment to supporting the arts, the government suffered from budget shortages and administrative confusion. Its most significant contribution to the institutional history of the Salon was its experiment in artists' use of democratic processes to direct the exhibition.[52] Echoing the experience of 1791, this democratic experiment in Salon management was as short-lived as the Republic, but its influence would linger in ongoing arguments about exhibition control.

Emperor Napoleon III and the administration of the Second Empire (1852–70) subjected the Salon to a new set of policies that evolved over the course of the emperor's reign. Scholars have conflicting views about how much the Imperial arts administration was able to control the fine arts and how responsive its art policy was to the will of artists and the tastes of the general public. The two primary contributors to this debate are art historians Patricia Mainardi and Albert Boime. Mainardi believes the Imperial administration was largely incompetent and settled on a policy of artistic eclecticism in an attempt to avoid antagonizing any art world factions or the general public.[53] Boime characterizes the Imperial administrators as cunning and able to use the fine arts and press censorship to create images of France that functioned as propaganda aimed at the general public. He believes paintings accepted to the Salon and given prizes were sanitized images depicting an unrealistically rosy vision of the reality of life in France.[54] The most complete compilation of facts about Salon and fine arts policy during the Second Empire are, unfortunately, delivered through the filters of these strong and opposing opinions about the ability and motives of the Imperial administration. Nonetheless, one can attempt to distill some basic structural facts.

After the *coup d'état* that established the Second Empire, Napoléon III and his administration limited the role of the democratic processes applied to the Salon during the Second

[50] Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois*, 31–32.
[51] Vaisse, "Reflections sur la fin du Salon officiel," 121–22.
[52] Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois*, 31–71.
[53] Mainardi, *Art and Politics*, 66–96; 123–34.
[54] Albert Boime, "The Official Realism," in *The European Realist Tradition*, ed. Gabriel P. Weisberg (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1982), 31–32.

Republic. While the 1850 jury had been entirely elected by artists, only half of the one for 1852 was elected while the other half was appointed. For the *Exposition universelle* of 1855, the entire jury was appointed and overseen by the Comte de Nieuwekerke, the chief arts administrator during the Second Empire. Nieuwekerke chaired the jury for the remainder of imperial rule. Beginning in 1852, Nieuwerkerke limited the number of works an artist could display at the exhibition and abolished the traditional exception that artists who had won a prize in the previous years could submit any work they wanted without facing jury review. Every work of art had to be approved in order to be shown.[55] Considering this general tightening of oversight alongside the Empire's clear policy of press censorship, Boime sees this approach towards the fine arts as part of a concerted effort—and a reasonably successful one—to impose particular styles and subjects on French artists exhibiting at the Salon.[56] Mainardi sees this early Imperial Salon policy and press control as behavior indicative of a nervous and inexperienced government afraid of its own inability to manage potentially provocative artists.

During the first decade of the Second Empire, artists—primarily those outside of the Academy—chaffed against state involvement in the arts. They were upset with high rejection rates by the jury of *académiciens* and political appointees. Beginning in 1863, however, the previously cozy relationship between the Imperial government and the Academy deteriorated when the government took over the Academy's traditional responsibility of appointing professors at the *École des beaux-arts*. In general, 1863 was a turning point for the liberalization of Imperial arts policy. It was also the year of the *Salon de refusés*, a clear demonstration against what many independent artists considered the unfair exigencies of the Salon jury. The jury for the 1864 exhibition was, apart from a handful of administration members, elected by previous Salon medal-winners and was more lenient than the juries of the previous decade: the refusal rate for submissions dropped from 70 percent to 30 percent. Ultimately, curators, collectors and other "art professionals" replaced several of the political appointees on the juries.[57] Despite artists' complaints about jury composition and the frequency with which the jury rejected submissions, the Second Empire exhibitions were, on average, larger than any Salon prior to the Second Republic.[58]

Both Mainardi and Boime agree that the Second Empire exhibitions saw a shift towards the celebration of genre and landscape painting instead of history painting. There were more genre and landscape paintings admitted, and genre and landscape painters began to win prizes consistently. History painting's dominance faded.[59] Boime sees the awarding

[55] Mainardi, *Art and Politics*, 40.
[56] Boime, "Official Realism," 31–44.
[57] Boime, "Official Realism," 125–133.
[58] Mainardi, *The End of the Salon*, 18–19.
[59] Mainardi, *Art and Politics*, 151–74.

of these prizes to artists like Jules Breton and Rosa Bonheur as proof of the administration's endorsement and encouragement of a sanitized vision of France as the "official" art of the Empire.[60] Mainardi counters Boime's point by examining Imperial spending patterns rather than prizes awarded. She writes, "38 percent of the fine arts budget for acquisitions was spent for religious works... History painting made up the second category (18 percent), of which a third was devoted to depictions of contemporary events such as Imperial victories. The third important category consisted of portraits of the Emperor or Empress (15.6 percent)... leaving less than 30 percent for all other categories, including genre, landscape and still life."[61] Of course, the Salon was a different arena than the provincial churches and town halls where most of these purchases were sent as "examples of Imperial largesse."[62] Mainardi therefore cites a diverse mix of medals, commissions, and fine arts initiatives as evidence that the Second Empire was pursuing an iteration of the compromise pursued by the July Monarchy.[63]

1870 and 1871 were turbulent years in French history. After a crushing defeat at the hands of the Prussians, the Empire collapsed. The Third Republic was founded as a provisional government that ended the fighting of the Franco-Prussia War. The war had culminated in the Prussian occupation of Paris in January of 1871. Just a few months after the French surrender and the signing of a peace treaty, the Paris Commune was established, bringing further chaos and violence to the capital. After ordering the army to suppress the *communards*, Adolphe Thiers was named the provisional leader of the Third Republic. Although the new Republic functioned without a constitution for five years, it nonetheless had a relatively cohesive fine arts policy.

The new Republican government expressed the goal of pursuing *l'ordre moral*, a moral order that would move away from both the extravagant behaviors of the Imperial government and the chaos of the siege of Paris and the Commune.[64] The chief arts administrator during the first years of the Third Republic was Charles Blanc, who had previously been a director of the national museums during the Second Republic. Though a revolutionary in 1848, Blanc had become a conservative Republican by 1871. His rhetoric emphasized the necessary didactic role of art to educate the public. Accordingly, he advocated a return to more closely regulated Salons with increased Academic control over the exhibition.[65] Blanc also introduced an idea that would be discussed throughout the first decade of the Third Republic and was briefly implemented: two separate Salons. One annual

[60] Mainardi, *Art and Politics*, 91–110; Boime, "Official Realism," 43–44.
[61] Mainardi, *Art and Politics*, 38.
[62] Mainardi, *Art and Politics*, 38.
[63] Mainardi, *Art and Politics*, 68–70.
[64] Mainardi, *The End of the Salon*, 37–38.
[65] Mainardi, *The End of the Salon*, 39–41.

Salon would be run by artists themselves and could be as open as they liked; a second state-sponsored Triennial would be smaller and subject to the traditional jury system.[66] Beginning in 1872, one-quarter of members of the jury were named by the administration, while members of the Academy and past prizewinners elected the remaining three-fourths.[67] Blanc was replaced in 1873, but his vision of the future of the Salon dominated until 1879, when a reform-oriented Republican government came to power.[68] Despite these early Republican conservative policies and rhetoric about the need to regulate the arts, the Salons of the early 1870s were large and rejection rates were low. Certain groups—the Impressionists not the least among them—were, however, consistently rejected. Responding to this marginalization, the first Impressionist Exhibition was mounted in 1874.[69]

In 1879, education reformer Jules Ferry became the Minister of Public Instruction, which also gave him control over fine arts policy. From this point forward, the state commissioned many artists to decorate public buildings and create public monuments, but simultaneously scaled back its role in organizing and sponsoring the Salon. Edmond Turquet, Ferry's undersecretary for fine arts, expanded the electorate for jury selection for the 1880 Salon, but packaged the jury reforms with policies allowing *académicien's* work to be more easily accepted and hung in the best galleries. The public, art critics, and artists of every persuasion criticized these reforms and their impact on the Salon. The outcry was so loud and universal that organizers cancelled the usual awards ceremony.[70] Turquet's successor quickly announced the Salon would now be fully democratic. Finally, in January 1881, the government also announced that it was fully surrendering control of the Salon to a society of artists. This was the end of a tradition that had lasted more than 200 turbulent years.[71]

The artists responded promptly to the state's withdrawal from the annual exhibition. The Salon of 1881—the last one in the Whiteley Index—was run by the *Société des artistes français.* While the Salon run by the *Société* was the only Salon of 1881, soon a variety of major annual exhibitions were mounted. The state-sponsored Triennial—meant to be an elite event for the best French artists—took place in 1883. It was widely criticized, considered to be disappointing and cancelled indefinitely. By 1890, the importance of the major public exhibitions was supplanted by the influence of smaller-format exclusive exhibitions in private clubs or commercial galleries.

The Salon was not a static institution. What emerges from its contested history is a strong impression of the complexity of the Salon administration and the prominent and political role it played in the life of the French art world. Studying only the paintings shown at the Salon is clearly a biased sample—but it is difficult to tell how exactly it was biased at any given time.

[66] Mainardi, *The End of the Salon*, 45.
[67] Mainardi, *The End of the Salon*, 74.
[68] Mainardi, *The End of the Salon*, 48–55.
[69] Mainardi, *The End of the Salon*, 47–49.
[70] Mainardi, *The End of the Salon*, 74–83.
[71] Mainardi, *The End of the Salon*, 80–81.

Other Art Venues: Provincial Exhibitions, Group Shows and Picture Dealers

The Salon was the most important fine arts event in France during most of the nineteenth century; however, over the course of the century, several other venues emerged for exhibiting contemporary art. These included Salon-like exhibitions in cities outside of Paris, exhibits at the growing number of private commercial galleries and group shows—including the Impressionist exhibitions—that developed in response to the perceived restrictiveness of the Salon. While the Whiteley Index *does* include information about the *Salon des Refusés*, it does not include data about any of these other venues. A basic introduction to these other venues and the artwork they featured helps provide an understanding of the elements of the nineteenth-century French art world that the Whiteley Index is unable to capture.

Paris was not the only French city to host major art exhibitions. Throughout France during the nineteenth century, municipalities and local groups—usually called *Société des Amis des Arts*—mounted regular art exhibitions. These shows exhibited the work of both local artists and artists from around the country. Famous painters like Courbet and Delacroix, for example, exhibited regularly outside of the capital.[72] The most important difference between the Salon and provincial exhibitions was that the latter often had an explicitly commercial mission. However, exhibitions organized by a *Société des Amis* funded themselves in a different way. Members of the society purchased a share of the organization for a small amount and received an engraving in return. The money raised from selling shares was used to purchase artwork to display at an annual exhibition.[73] At the end of the exhibition, the purchased works were distributed by lottery to shareholders. Exhibitions were therefore curated to a limited extent by the organizations that had a commercial stake in them, but the selection process was not nearly as rigorous as jury selection for inclusion in the Salon. Recent scholarly work indicates that these provincial exhibitions were both more frequent and larger than previously believed. There are now records of 230 provincial exhibitions just between 1816 and 1853, and it appears an average exhibition included approximately 330 works.[74] This estimate suggests that around 75,000 works were exhibited *en province*. Provincial exhibitions were clearly an active and important part of the nineteenth-century French art world but, unfortunately, they are not captured by the Whiteley Index.

Provincial exhibitions were one kind of alternative venue for artists who were either refused by the Salon or simply sought exhibition opportunities beyond it. In the mid-1870s, the artist-organized group show emerged as another kind of venue that was hosted

[72] Alister Mill, "Artists and the Salon during the July Monarchy," in *Paris Fine Art Salon/Le Salon, 1791–1881*, ed. James Kearns and Alister Mill (Bern: Peter Lang, 2015), 162–64; Clark, *Image of the People,* 121–29.

[73] Mill, "Artists and the Salon during the July Monarchy," 164–65.

[74] Mill, "Artists and the Salon during the July Monarchy," 166.

beyond the purview or sanction of the Academy. In 1874, the group of painters now known as the Impressionists mounted the first exhibition of this kind. The First Impressionist Exhibition—officially the first exhibition of the *Sociétié Anonyme des Artistes (Peintres, Sculptures, Graveurs etc.)*—was held in the Paris studio of the photographer Nadar. The exhibition included 135 works by thirty artists, including Claude Monet, Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Edgar Degas, and several other notable members of the Impressionist movement, but artists who were regular exhibitors at the Salon also participated. From 1874 until 1886, this group of artists held eight exhibitions, each of which featured between one hundred and four hundred works.[75]

The Whiteley Index includes neither the Impressionist exhibitions nor any other independent group shows, which became more common after the state-sponsored Salon was ended in 1881. For a future project, it would be ideal to merge the Whiteley Index with an index to the contents of exhibitions outside of Paris and independent group shows that took place in the final decades of the nineteenth century. But for the purposes of the present thesis, it is still important to consider three facts about the relationship between the Salon and these independent exhibitions. First, for many artists, participation in independent group shows and the Salon were not, in fact, mutually exclusive. Participants like Eugène Boudin, Fréderic Bazille, and Edgar Degas exhibited both at the Salon and alongside the Impressionists.[76] Second, the state-sponsored Salon and these independent exhibitions only occurred in parallel from 1874 to 1881, the final seven years of the Whiteley Index. And third, the Impressionist exhibitions represent a clear numerical minority of art on display in Paris. Though now canonical, the Impressionists are a proportionally small component of general trends in French art during the nineteenth century.

Another art-world phenomenon closely linked to group shows were dealer-organized exhibitions. Paul Durand-Ruel, for example, played an essential organizational role in marketing the Impressionists and even organizing some of their exhibitions.[77] Prior to the nineteenth century, "modern picture dealing"—selling works by living painters—was not common; most living painters survived on patronage from royalty, the aristocracy, the Catholic Church, and the state. The earliest art market focused on the sale of old master paintings. The market for contemporary work began to gain momentum and attract

[75] Bernard Denvir, *The Chronicle of Impressionism: A Timeline History of Impressionist Art* (New York: Bulfich Press, 1993), 86–87, 96–97, 104, 115, 119. 125, 131, 151.

[76] Anne Dayez, Michel Hoog, and Charles S. Moffett, *Impressionism: A Centenary Exhibition* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974), 37–38; Ruth Schenkel, "Edgar Degas (1834–1917): Painting and Drawing," *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed July 19, 2016, http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/dgsp/hd_dgsp.htm (October 2004).

[77] Sylvie Patry, "Durand-Ruel and the Impressionists' Solo Exhibitions of 1883," in *Inventing Impressionism: Paul Durand-Ruel and the Modern Art Market*, ed. Sylvie Patry (London: National Gallery, 2015), 100–18.

a number of dealers during the July Monarchy. These dealers often began their careers as stationers, print shop owners or merchants selling art supplies; they would often allow artists to trade paintings for materials, and would slowly establish a stock of contemporary canvases. This small stock would eventually evolve into an art gallery on separate premises.[78]

By the middle of the century, several dealers had become shrewd professionals. The most notable early dealers were Goupil & Cie and the Durand-Ruel family. While each dealer had his own specific methods, several common business strategies emerged. These included developing exclusive contracts or priority relationships to represent particular artists, marketing reproductions of work by artists the dealer represents, and organizing private exhibitions featuring work by an artist that was either for sale or work that was already in private collections. These exhibitions created interest in the artist's work, gave collectors the opportunity to browse and purchase stock and, in the case of displaying already-owned art, demonstrated artists' oeuvres' value by showing that others had already invested in them.[79] Without a detailed study of the activities of each dealer, it is difficult to cite the exact frequency and size of the exhibitions they organized. It is clear, however, that by the beginning of the twentieth century dealers provided the primary venues for contemporary art exhibition.

The Salon was not an anti-commercial institution, however. Though not officially a saleroom, Salon success, in Linda Whiteley's view, "always played a part in the world of dealing, [but] there was also... scope for dealers to specialize in building up stocks of work by artists who, without enjoying outstanding Salon success, were clearly gaining recognition."[80] What Harrison and Cynthia White have described as the "dealer-critic system" took over from the academic system as the primary motor and outlet for artistic output, particularly after the last state-sponsored Salon in 1881 They cite, however, the large audiences and press coverage of the exhibition during the nineteenth century as an essential element of the transition to the dominance of commercial contemporary art dealing. .[81] Artists and particular works that appear in the Whiteley Index could have also been included in events organized by dealers. The Salon and the commercial art world were not mutually exclusive, and indeed were increasingly mutually reinforcing. Works that appear in the Whiteley Index could thus have also been shown in dealer-organized exhibitions.

[78] Linda Whiteley, "Painters and Dealers in Nineteenth-Century France, 1820–1878, with Special Reference to the Firm of Durand-Ruel" (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1996), 71–75.

[79] Whiteley, "Painters and Dealers in Nineteenth-Century France," 131–40; Hélène Lafont-Couturier, "M. Gérôme travaille pour la maison Goupil," in *Gérôme & Goupil: Art and Enterprise*, ed. Hélène Lafont-Couturier (Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2000), 13–30.

[80] Whiteley, "Painters and Dealers in Nineteenth-Century France," 77.

[81] Harrison and Cynthia A. White, *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 76–110; 112.

Conclusion: The Strengths and Weaknesses of the Whiteley Index

The Whiteley Index is not comprehensive. The Salon was a complicated institution with a controversial jury that excluded large amounts of art. What was exhibited at the Salon certainly did not represent all artwork displayed in France during the nineteenth century. Ideally, the Whiteley Index would include information about exhibitions beyond the Academy. Its scope, however, is unprecedented. To have easily digestible digital information available about more than one hundred thousand works of art is exceptional. Much of the art listed in the Whitely Index has faded into obscurity or disappeared and is therefore largely omitted from art history. While this dataset cannot resurrect lost paintings, it can nonetheless restore them, in some measure, to the history of nineteenth century French art.

There is, however, an issue of data quality that must be addressed. The Whiteley Index depends on paintings' titles. Titles are an imperfect way to identify a painting and its meaning; a basic and sometimes enigmatic verbal description cannot rival the experience of seeing a painting with one's own eyes.[82] This imprecision in the data can, therefore, only be corrected for by pairing analyses of the Whiteley Index with the close analyses, intellectual histories and biographic studies that already form the constituent pieces of art history. Pairing statistical analysis of the Whiteley Index data with formal and archival evidence, the case studies in Chapters 3 and 4 compensate for these weaknesses in the data.

[82] Greg Petersen, "Titles, Labels and Names: A House of Mirrors," *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 40, no. 2 (2006): 29–44; Jerrold Levinson, "Titles," *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 4, no. 1 (1985): 29–39.

Chapter 3

An Econometric Study of Rural Imagery in France

This chapter begins by presenting an introduction to the standard narratives and studies of the economic, social, and art history of nineteenth-century France. The first section, "The Economic History of Rural France: An Overview," sketches the rough trajectory of economic change in nineteenth-century France. The second section, "French Landscape and Rural Genre Painting and Social Histories of Art: An Overview," presents standard accounts of the production and reception of landscape and rural genre painting during the same period. The section concludes by describing some of the research questions in existing social histories of nineteenth-century French art that can benefit from quantitative analysis. The next two sections, "Graphing the Salon" and "Introducing Econometric Analysis to the Social History of Art," provide visualizations of the Salon data and discuss the methods of more sophisticated statistical analyses. The final section, "Which Variables Affected the Supply of, and Demand for, Rural Images?" presents the results of statistical analyses of this artistic data and broader socioeconomic data; some of the most striking results of these analyses are the strong effect of artists' colonies and the divergent effects that civil unrest had on artists and juries.

The Economic History of Rural France: An Overview

Over the course of the nineteenth century, France transformed from a collection of isolated localities into an integrated nation with a shared economy and shared social customs.[83] A growing national transportation network drove this change.[84] The national transportation

[83]Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914* (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1976).

[84]Fernand Braudel et al., *Histoire Économique et sociale de la France* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1970); Colin Heywood, *The Development of the French Economy, 1750–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Hugh Clout, *Agriculture in France on the Eve of the Railway Age* (London: Croom Helm, 1980).

network neither reached nor affected most *communes* until the July Monarchy (1830–48), when an 1836 law made maintenance of local roads compulsory. However, there was a lag in the improvement and increased use of these routes. Only beginning in the 1850s was the isolation of most rural communes substantially reduced. By 1870, a network of around 370,000 kilometers of maintained local road had been built—about 28 times more than in 1840.[85]

Waterways and railways also grew. The railroad was particularly important to French integration. Railroads appeared in France in the late 1820s, but became more common only after 1842 legislation allocated money and allowed for the creation of private partnerships for creating and managing a rail network radiating from Paris. Under the Second Empire, rail construction accelerated, and in 1870, an integrated network of 17,466 kilometers of railway crisscrossed the country. By 1913, it was 40,770 kilometers.[86] Although few villages had railway stations in the nineteenth century, the success of the railroad fostered larger and more integrated regional, national, and international markets for goods and services. People could circulate or emigrate with greater ease, and activity on the rails translated into a need for more and better maintained local roads leading to the trains. These local roads ultimately linked towns to a world well beyond the boundaries of the commune.[87]

Most inhabitants of this changing world were peasants—people living and working in small rural communities economically dependent on agricultural production.[88] The peasantry was an important social and economic entity in nineteenth-century France. In 1846, 76 percent of the population was rural; even in 1872, this share remained strong at 69 percent.[89] Prior to the late nineteenth century, the life of this majority was difficult, precarious, and inescapable. The growing transport network brought opportunity, however, by allowing peasants to move from community to community, and often from the countryside to the city.[90]

[85] Roger Price, *The Economic Modernization of France, 1730–1880* (London: Croom Helm, 1975), 8–11.

[86] Stephen Broadberry et al., "Sectoral Developments, 1870–1914," in *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Europe*, ed. Stephen Broadberry and Kevin H. O'Rourke (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 80.

[87] Price, *The Economic Modernization of France*, 12.

[88] Scholars dispute the definition of "peasant"; see Teodor Shanin, "Peasantry: Delineation of a Sociological Concept," *Peasant Studies Newsletter*, 2 (January 1973), 1–8; Michael Kearney, *Reconceptualizing the Peasantry* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996).

[89] Price, *The Economic Modernization of France*, 214.

[90] Laurence Wylie, *Village in the Vaucluse* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974); Harriet G. Rosenberg, *A Negotiated World: Three Centuries of Change in a French Alpine Community* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1988); Roger Thabault, *Education and Change in a Village Community*, trans. Peter Tregear (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1971); André Burguière, *Bretons de Plozevet* (Paris: Flammarion, 1975); Price, *The Economic Modernization of France*, 12.

French Landscape and Rural Genre Painting and Social Histories of Art: An Overview

Most French landscape painters at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century were not interested in the contemporary countryside and its inhabitants. Under the influence of the school of David, several artists created neoclassical landscapes. Pierre-Henri de Valenciennes (1750–1819) was central to the movement to paint *paysages historiques* of classical settings.[91] Valenciennes and his followers were successful in their own time. Beginning in the 1830s, however, a generation of landscape painters emerged that rejected the preoccupation with imagined landscapes of the past. Instead, they turned to present and observable ones.[92] Among these paintings of contemporary France, there is no clear threshold for when the pastoral figures a painter may place in a landscape painting's foreground become large enough or central enough to a composition to make the work a rural genre painting. Similarly, it is unclear when the natural setting a painted peasant inhabits transforms from background to subject. This brief historical introduction presents their intertwined histories as one shared history.

Two painters provide a direct link between the classical Academic landscape tradition of Valenciennes and the developing interest in contemporary landscapes: Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot (1796–1875) and Théodore Rousseau (1812–67). Both were born in Paris and both trained in Academic studios. Corot studied with Achille Michallon (1796–1822) and Jean-Victor Bertin (1767–1842)[93]—both of whom had been Valenciennes' pupils—and Rousseau with J.C. Remond (1795–1875). Corot began to exhibit historical landscape paintings and Italian scenes at the Salon of 1827, while Rousseau first exhibited a landscape in 1831.[94]

The Salon of 1831 was an important exhibition in the history of landscape and rural genre painting because it was the first time a rural genre painting of contemporary peasants received widespread critical attention. Enthusiastic positive reviews greeted Louis Léopold Robert's (1794–1835) *Arrival of the Harvesters in the Swamp of Pontins* (1830) and young

[91] Valenciennes wrote several treatises about historical landscape painting. The most important was *Elements de Perspective pratique à l'usage des Artistes, suivis de Reflexions et Conseils à un Elève sur la Peinture, et particulèrement sur le genre du Paysage* (1800); Peter Galassi, "The Nineteenth Century: Valenciennes to Corot," in *Claude to Corot: The Development of Landscape Painting in France*, ed. Alan Wintermute (New York: Colnaghi, 1990), 163.

[92] Galassi, "The Nineteenth Century," 236–37; Steven Adams, *The Barbizon School and The Origins of Impressionism* (London: Phaidon, 1994), 19–35. This transition can also be partially attributed to a developing interest in Dutch art. See Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, *French Realism and the Dutch Masters: The Influence of Dutch Seventeenth-Century Painting on the Development of French Painting between 1830 and 1870* (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker and Gumbert, 1975), 9–78; Adams, *The Barbizon School*, 39–48.

[93] André Parinaud, *Barbizon: The Origins of Impressionism* (Vaduz: Bonfini, 1994), 175–85.

[94] Jean Bouret, *L'Ecole de Barbizon et le paysage français aux XIXe siècle* (Neuchâtel: Editions Ides et Calendes, 1972), 91–101.

artists copied it for years to come.[95] After Robert's success, several painters exhibiting at the Salon began to form reputations as painters of contemporary rural life. In the 1830s, the most notable of these painters were Philippe-Auguste Jeanron (1809–1877) and Adolphe Leleux (1812–1891).[96]

Parallel to the success of rural genre painters at the Salon, several independent painters began to form an artistic community around the Forest of Fontainebleau. First in the commune of Chailly and then in the village of Barbizon, the painters stayed in inexpensive local inns and spent days sketching the forest *en plein air*. Corot first traveled to Fontainebleau in 1822, Rousseau in 1833, and several other future Barbizon school painters—examples include Narcisse-Virgile Diaz de la Peña (1807–76) and Charles-François Daubigny (1817–78)—were active in the area by the early 1840s. Founding Realist Courbet had also visited by 1841.[97]

While the artistic community at Barbizon grew throughout the July Monarchy, its direct interaction with the Salon was limited. Corot exhibited frequently at the Salon throughout the 1830s and 1840s, but other Barbizon-affiliated artists were less successful. Rousseau's work was accepted for exhibition in 1831 and 1835, but was rejected several times from 1836 to 1841; he then stopped submitting works to the jury until the Second Republic.[98] Many other Barbizon painters, such as Diaz, Daubigny, Jules Dupré (1811–89), and Paul Huet (1803–69)—had to earn their livings as porcelain painters or engravers.[99]

The Salons of the Second Republic were pivotal for rural genre and landscape painters, particularly those working beyond the *École de beaux-arts*.[100] During this period, Millet—soon to become an affiliate of the Barbizon school—showed *The Sower* (1850), while Courbet displayed *After Dinner at Ornans* (1848), *The Peasants of Flagey Returning from the Fair* (1849–50), and *A Burial at Ornans* (1849–50). Future *académicien* Rosa Bonheur (1822–1899) displayed *Plowing in the Nivernais* (1849). These works are now among the most famous nineteenth-century rural genre paintings. Among the landscape painters,

[95] Caroline Brettell and Richard R. Brettell, *Painters and Peasants in the Nineteenth Century* (Geneva: Rizzoli, 1983), 13–17; for example, Anon., "Salon de 1831, réouverture, Léopold Robert," *L'Artiste* 1, no. 19 (1831): 233. At least a dozen copies of Robert's painting are listed in the Whiteley Index.

[96] Although they exhibited at the Salon, neither Jeanron nor Leleux were educated at the École des Beaux-arts.

[97] Kimberley Jones, "Landscapes, Legends, Souvenirs, Fantasies: The Forest of Fontainebleau in the Nineteenth Century," in *The Forest of Fontainebleau: Painters and Photographers from Corot to Monet*, ed. Kimberley Jones, Helga Aurisch, and Simon Kelly (London: Yale University Press, 2008), 10–12.

[98] Simon Kelley, "Théodore Rousseau, His Patrons and Public" (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1996), 125-168.

[99] Adams, *The Barbizon School*, 57–59; Bouret, *L'Ecole de Barbizon*, 91–140.

[100] Brettell and Brettell, *Painters and Peasants in the Nineteenth Century*, 33–36; Raymond Grew, "Picturing the People: Images of the Lower Orders in Nineteenth-Century French Art," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17, no. 1 (1986): 203–231; Clark, *Image of the People*.

Rousseau received a state commission in 1848 and exhibited work in the 1849 and 1850–51 Salons. Both Diaz and Rousseau received the *Legion d'Honneur* during this period.[101] Although the most awards went to the landscape painters, the greatest relative volume of contemporary critical reactions was dedicated to rural genre paintings. Ranging from hyperbolic praise to ambivalent nervousness to scathing criticisms, Bonheur, Millet, Courbet, and other rural genre painters were the subject of more reviews than any of their predecessors. The large volume of mixed critical reaction during the Second Republic stands out from the less frequent but generally approving critical reactions that rural genre painting received as the century progressed.[102]

In 1852, President Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte became Emperor Napoleon III. His Imperial administration subjected the Salon to various new policies over the course of his reign. Scholars debate how much the Imperial arts administration was able to control the fine arts and how responsive its policy was to the will of artists and public tastes.[103] What is clear, however, is that the Second Empire exhibitions saw a shift towards the celebration of genre and landscape painting, rather than history painting. There were more genre and landscape paintings admitted, and rural genre and landscape painters who worked both within and outside of the Academy began to win prizes consistently.[104]

This generally favorable environment lasted into the Third Republic, and younger rural genre and landscape painters—such as *École de Beaux-arts* graduate Jules Bastien-Lepage (1848–84)—became famous.[105] By the beginning of the Third Republic, however, most of the founding Barbizon painters were elderly or had already passed away. Rousseau and Troyon both died in the 1860s, Corot and Millet in 1875, Diaz in 1876, and finally Daubigny in 1878. The deaths of this founding generation were commemorated with hagiographic articles honoring their lives and work.[106] These artists, who began in relative obscurity during the July Monarchy, died as celebrities. This generally upwards trajectory is the standard account of the reputation of rural genre and landscape painting between 1831 and 1881.

[101] Bouret, *L'Ecole de Barbizon et le paysage français aux XIXe siècle*, 150–60.

[102] Dore Ashton, *Rosa Bonheur: A Life and Legend* (New York: Viking Studio, 1981), 69; Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois*, 94–95; Clark, *Image of the People*, 121–54.

[103] See Chapter 2 of this thesis.

[104] Mainardi, *Art and Politics,* 151–74. Information about the prizewinners is available in the Salon catalogues from 1849 until the end of the Salon in 1881; prize information before 1849 is harder to find. While Salon reviews in *L'Artiste* mentioned the winners, full lists were only intermittently published. Corot, Daubigny, Diaz, Millet, Rousseau, and the Barbizon affiliate Constant Troyon (1810–65) all won medals and became celebrity artists. Bonheur and Jules Breton (1827–1906)—famous for his depictions of the peasants of his native Pas-de-Calais—won medals throughout the Second Empire.

[105] Brettell and Brettell, *Painters and Peasants in the Nineteenth Century*, 75–106; Mainardi, *Art and Politics,* 67–68.

[106] Anonymous, "Millet," *L'Artiste* 1 (January 1874): 113–15.

The end of rural isolation and the simultaneous growth in the popularity of rural images are the focus of cultural histories that aim to explain how educated urban Frenchmen developed a taste for images of the French countryside and the peasantry.[107] In art history, the most important of these theorists of cosmopolitan conceptions of rural life are Clark and Herbert, both pioneering social historians of art. Their arguments were discussed in Chapter 1, and will be revisited again in Chapter 4. But it is worth reiterating that both Clark and Herbert assert that the popularity of countryside images is symptomatic of a negative reaction against modernization among audiences, painters, and collectors. These people retreated from the social challenges of industrialization into images of a simpler pre-industrial era.[108] This interpretation continues to dominate art historical accounts of nineteenth-century French rural genre and landscape painting. In his *La peinture de genre en France, après 1850* (2012)—one of the most recent contributions to the subfield—Michaël Vottero repeats the belief that images of rural life are an expression of a nostalgic reaction against modernization. The first sentence of the chapter Vottero dedicates to peasants in genre painting reads: "La campagne et le paysan sont un véritable phénomène de société dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle. Face à la ville qui effraie de plus en plus, le paysan rassure."[109]

General statements like Vottero's are not necessarily an accurate recapitulation of what Clark, Herbert, and their contemporaries argued. More often than not, social histories of art provide narrow but detailed analyses of the oeuvre, opinions, behaviors, and reception of one or two artists. Yet these conclusions about a narrow group of artists in a particular time period have since been applied broadly to answer questions about the nineteenth century and beyond.[110] Rather than apply a narrow analysis to describe more general phenomena, this chapter uses quantification to expand the view and examine broader trends—both artistic and socioeconomic—affecting the artwork. These two methods—the traditional qualitative and the novel quantitative—are complements, not substitutes, for one another.

Graphing Rural Genre and Landscape Painting at the Salon

Figures 3.1 and 3.2 are graphs depicting the percentage of paintings displayed at the Salon that were rural genre paintings or landscape paintings, respectively. Rural genre

[107] James Lehning, *Peasant and French: Cultural Contact in Rural France during the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 1–34.

[108] Lehning, *Peasant and French*, 49–50; Clark, *Image of the People*, 142.

[109] Michaël Vottero, *La peinture de genre en France, après 1850* (Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012), 229. Translation: "The countryside and the peasant were a real social phenomenon in the second half of the nineteenth century. Compared to the increasingly frightening city, the peasant was reassuring." This and all subsequent translations in this thesis are the author's, unless otherwise noted.

[110] Harris, *The New Art History*, 71; Michael Hatt and Charlotte Klonk, *Art History: A Critical Introduction to Its Methods* (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2006), 134–41; Wallach, "On the Social History of American Art," 75–78.



Figure 3.1: Percentage of All Salon Paintings Displayed that are Rural Genre Painting 1831–1881 ($N = 114,445$)

painting represented a small share of the paintings displayed at the Salon between 1831 and 1881. Even as each Salon included larger numbers of works over time, the percentage of works that were rural genre painting hovered around 2 percent. There is a notable spike in the amount of rural genre painting at the Salon in the early years of the Second Empire; it more than doubles from just under 2 percent in the exhibition of 1850–51 to over 4 percent in 1853. Over the next twenty years, this percentage declines unevenly back to the 2 percent level. Figure 3.2 shows the proportion of paintings displayed at the Salon that were landscapes. Landscape paintings were far more common at the Salon than rural genre paintings. They usually make up between 20 percent and 30 percent of all paintings displayed.



Figure 3.2: Percentage of Paintings Displayed that were Landscape Painting 1831–1881 ($N = 114,445$)

Figure 3.3 illustrates the number of landscapes exhibited that have a specified geographic location. Figure 3.4 explores the geographical setting of rural genre paintings.[111] Paintings with no clearly specified geographic location are the most common. Of the paintings without a specified geographic location, it is difficult to know whether the audience saw the peasants depicted as French. The subjects may have been wearing recognizable regional dress, or French viewers may have assumed that any otherwise indistinctive contemporary peasant depicted was a French man or woman. Unfortunately, without an explicit location listed, one cannot know the audience's perception of a painting's geographical setting.

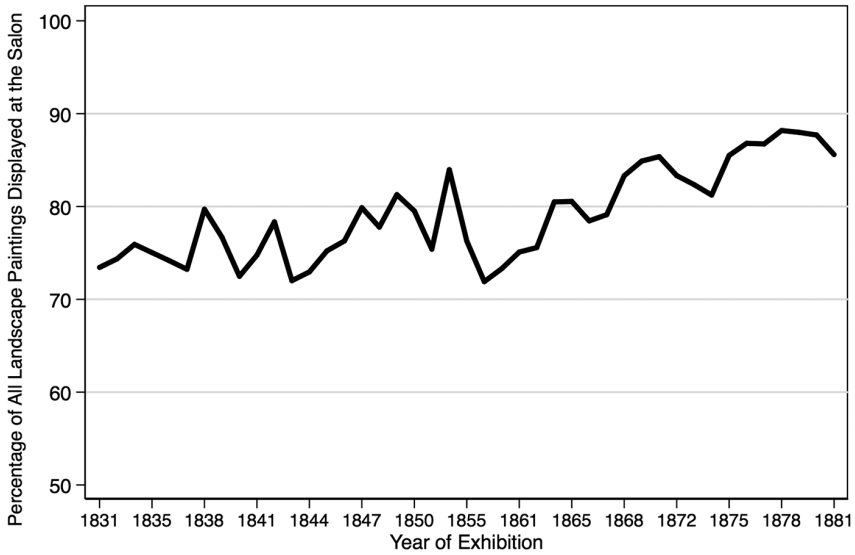


Figure 3.3: Percentage of Landscape Paintings Displayed at the Salon that Specify a Geographic Location ($N = 28,133$)

Figure 3.4 shows stable trends in the settings of paintings. Subjects set in France are more common than foreign subjects in this period. Approximately one third of paintings had a clear geographical setting; of those that did have a clear geographical setting, two thirds were French

What aspects of rural life were shown in rural genre painting? Did artists depict a happy, idyllic family life or peasants hard at work? Figure 3.5 provides a basic breakdown of certain kinds of activities: Work; Home and Family; Markets and Fairs; Shepherds and Pastorals; Coming and Going (images of people on roads and traveling, often to fairs);

[111] A painting is considered to be of a specified location when that location is mentioned in its title. For example, the painting *The Harvest of the Olives near Menton* (Whiteley Index number 1864–1401; no image found) is tagged as French and more specifically as set in Menton, Alpes-Maritime. Not all titles that include a geographic location refer to a place as specific as a town. Sometimes, only a country is mentioned, or the country is implied by an adjective in the title, such as rural genre painter Ernest Hébert's *Italian Shepherd* (Whiteley Index number 1849–1124; no image found).

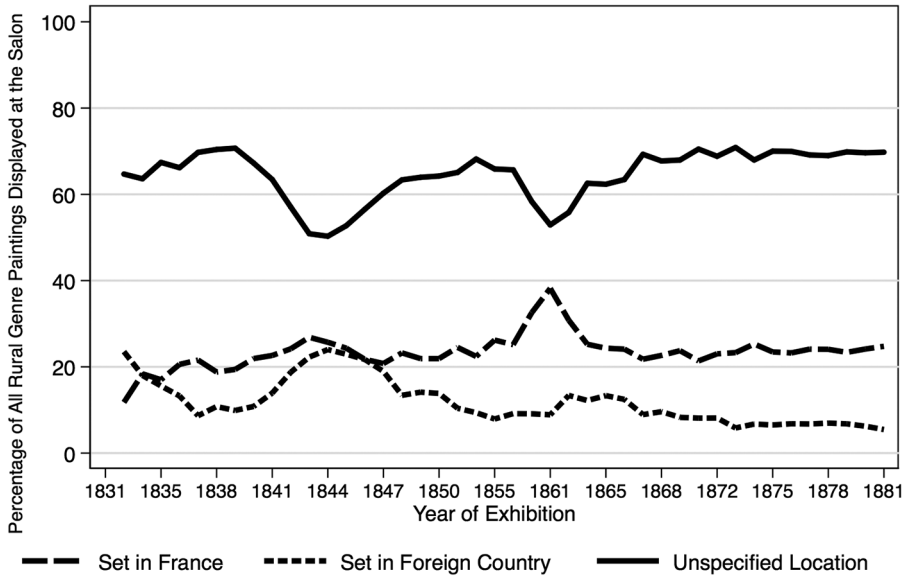


Figure 3.4: Geographical Settings of Rural Genre Painting, 1831–1881 5-year rolling averages ($N = 2,286$)

and Festivities and Relaxation.[112] One clear and stable trend emerges from Figure 3.5: the dominance of work as a theme in rural genre paintings. While most of the other categories oscillate between constituting 5 percent and 15 percent of rural genre paintings, work is always more than 20 percent; by the end of the sample, it is over 35 percent.

Pastorals and images of shepherds—the second most common sub-category—constitute a distinct category, for two reasons. First, the pastoral is a specific trope in French rural genre painting that dates to the time of Claude and Poussin. Portrayals of the Acadians and similar shepherds of antiquity who lived and lounged in an idyllic and pastoral countryside were popular subject matter during the *ancien régime* and an enduring image associated with rural life. Several paintings (roughly 4 percent of rural genre paintings displayed in a given year) were explicitly labeled "pastoral" or "idyllic". The second reason is that shepherds are a liminal case. While a *berger*, *bergère*, or *pâtre* (words for shepherd) is potentially doing contemporary agricultural work, he or she can also be behaving in the way

[112]The specificity of the Salon Index subject headings allows paintings to be grouped into these categories. Millet's *Sower*, William-Adolphe Bouguereau's *The Reaper* (1872), and Théodore Richard's *Woodcutters: Interior of the Forest* (1832) are all examples of paintings categorized as "Work" in Figure 6. Constant Troyon's *Leaving for the Market* (1859) is tagged both as "Coming & Going" and as "Markets & Fairs" while Léon-Augustin Lhermitte's *Apple Market, Landernau, Finistère* (c. 1878) is tagged only as "Markets & Fairs." Jean-François Demay's *La Fête du Village* (1834) is tagged as "Festivities and Relaxation." There is some double tagging—such as for Troyon's painting—but it is rare; fewer than 10 percent of the rural genre paintings have two or more of these tags. For example, a painting that shows a party celebrating the harvest would be tagged as both "harvest" and "party" and be counted both in the work and festivities categories because the subject is actually a party celebrating the fruits of earlier labor. The most common double tagging is "Coming & Going" and "Markets & Fairs," as many peasants shown traveling are depicted traveling to sell their produce or animals at the market.

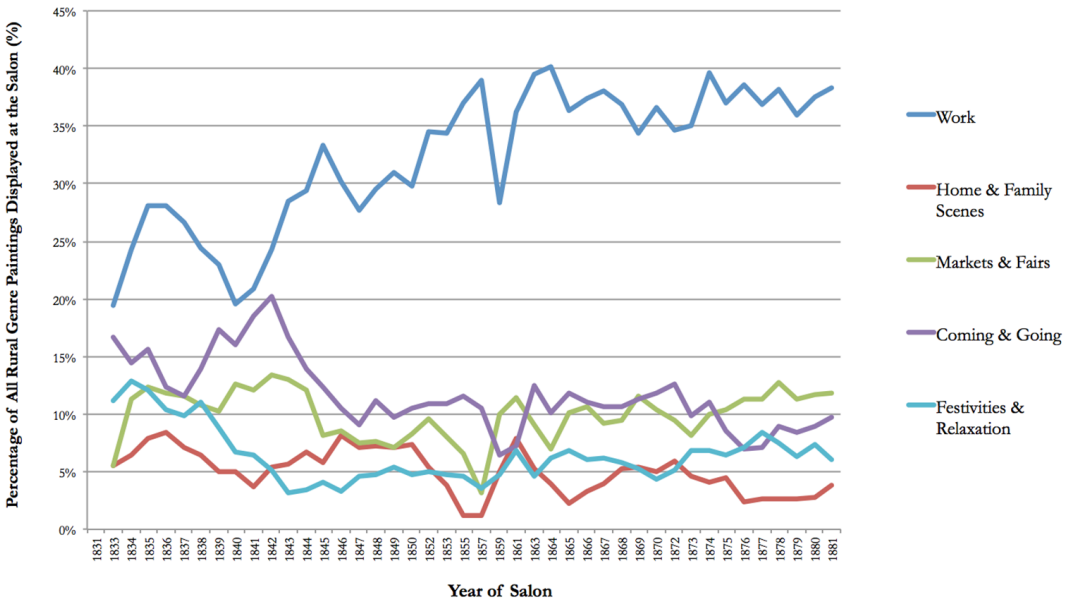


Figure 3.5: Sub-categories of Rural Genre Painting, 5-year rolling averages, 1831–1881 ($N = 2,286$)

his mythical predecessors did: lounging, dreaming of lovers, and generally enjoying life. Does the shepherd work or relax? It is often impossible to answer that question knowing only a title. Of the few extant examples in this category, such as Figures 3.6 and 3.7, about half depict shepherds at work and half depict them relaxing. Furthermore, the depiction of the modern shepherd at work may be meant to invoke the pastoral past when rural work was enjoyable and effortless. Even if one were able to subdivide this category successfully into specific images of a relaxed idyllic past and a shepherd's more difficult contemporary working life, this division would likely further contribute to an already clear trend: the increase over time in the number of paintings tagged as "work". Figure 3.8 subdivides the paintings tagged as work in Figure 3.5 into more specific tasks. Images of harvest work (such as gleaning and sowing) and of crops (anything tagged as depicting wheat, fruit, or other produce) are the two most common kinds of images. Rural life is depicted most often as labor in the arable fields.

One problem with using data culled from an index dependent on titles is that some paintings depicting rural life may not have a title that is explicitly rural. The existing literature about the peasant image suggests that two subjects in particular—religious piety and dedication to family—were associated with the peasant image.[113] Nonetheless, there are relatively few paintings that—such as Breton's *Benediction of the Wheat in the Artois* (1857)—are tagged in the index with both a religious and an explicitly rural tag.[114] Anecdotally, it appears that some famous rural genre paintings do not register as rural according

[113]Lehning, *Peasant and French*, 1–34; Susan Carol Rogers, "Good to Think: The 'Peasant' in Contemporary France," *Anthropological Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (Spring 1987): 56–63.

[114]It is tagged both as "wheat" and "benedictions, blessings, and holy water."



Figure 3.6: Théodore Frédéric Salmon, *Shepherd and his flock (Berger et son troupeau)*, oil on canvas, 73×92 cm, sold at Osenat, Fontainebleau, France, July 29, 2012. Source: http://artsalesindex.artinfo.com/asi/lots/4687881 (possibly Whiteley Index number 1852–1137).

to the index because their titles reference only religious rites or family scenes. Courbet's *Burial at Ornans*, for example, is tagged only as "funeral rites". Léon-Augustin Lhermitte (1844–1925) often painted peasant women with their children or peasant families and titled these works "Motherhood" or "Family". Charting possibly related genres alongside rural genre painting can approximate their relationship to images of rural life. Figure 3.9 explores these potential relationships. Two striking facts emerge from this graph. First, the frequency with which rural genre painting and religious genre painting were displayed at the Salon during this period was similar. The two trends appear linked to one another. Second—just as Herbert wrote—there are almost no images of industry. Factories, railroads, and other industrial phenomena are largely excluded from the Salon.[115]

[115]There were few images of industry; however, as noted in Chapter 2, the universal exhibitions of 1855 and 1867 (both of which are referenced in the index) had both fine arts and industrial components.



Figure 3.7: William-Adolphe Bouguereau, The Pastoral Recreation, 1868, oil on canvas, 55.9 × 76.2cm, sold at Sotheby's New York, October 19, 1984. Source: http://artsalesindex.artinfo.com/asi/lots/1232435 (probably Whiteley Index number 1868–32)

Introducing Econometric Analysis to the Social History of Art[116]

Combining the full sample of rural genre and landscape paintings summarized by Figures 3.1 and 3.2 with census and other data about nineteenth-century France facilitates the use of statistical tests to trace the interaction between social and economic change and change in the art world. Multivariate regression analysis aims to test whether one variable—or a series of variables—influenced another variable. It distinguishes between "explanatory variables" and "dependent variables" and then measures the effect of the explanatory variables on the dependent one. It is easiest to explain regression analysis—and the distinction between explanatory and dependent variables—with an example from outside of art history. Consider that both the number of days of sunshine and of rain can explain how much wheat a farmer can grow in a given year. In a regression testing the effects of weather on crop yields, days of sunshine and inches of rainfall would be explanatory variables, while the amount of wheat the farmer grows is the dependent variable. In this thesis, the explanatory variables are several social and economic phenomena, such as the price of rail travel and number of major cities. The dependent variable is the proportion

[116]For a longer and more nuanced discussion of statistical and econometric methods deployed, see the Statistical Appendix.

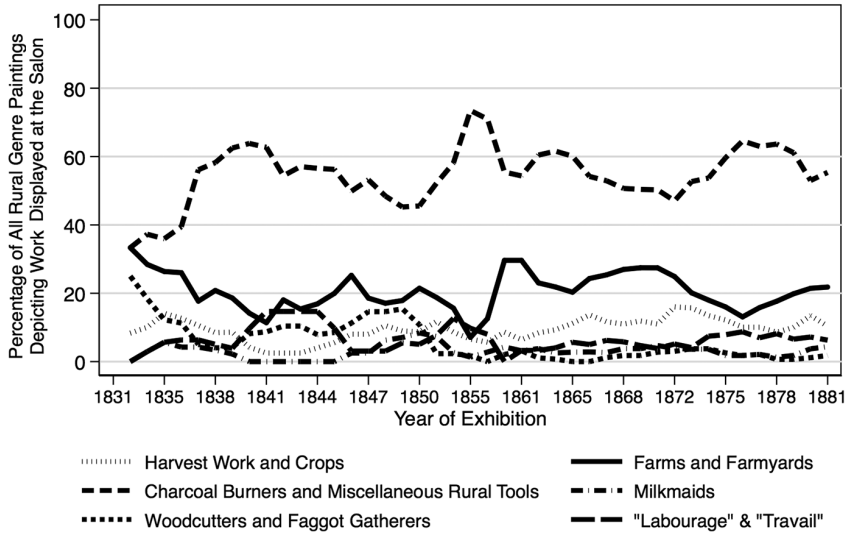


Figure 3.8: Kinds of Work Shown in Rural Genre Painting Depicting Work, 1831–1881 5-year rolling averages (N = 942)

of paintings displayed at the Salon that are rural genre or landscape paintings. A summary of the explanatory variables and their sources are provided in Table 3.1.

The clear link between cause and effect described in the sunshine, rain and wheat example above does not exist as clearly in these regressions. There are several factors that limit the explanatory value of these regressions. The first is that the dependent variable is a *share* of works shown at the Salon—this means it is bounded between 0 and 1. This limit in scale limits how much variation exists in the dependent variable. Furthermore, there is

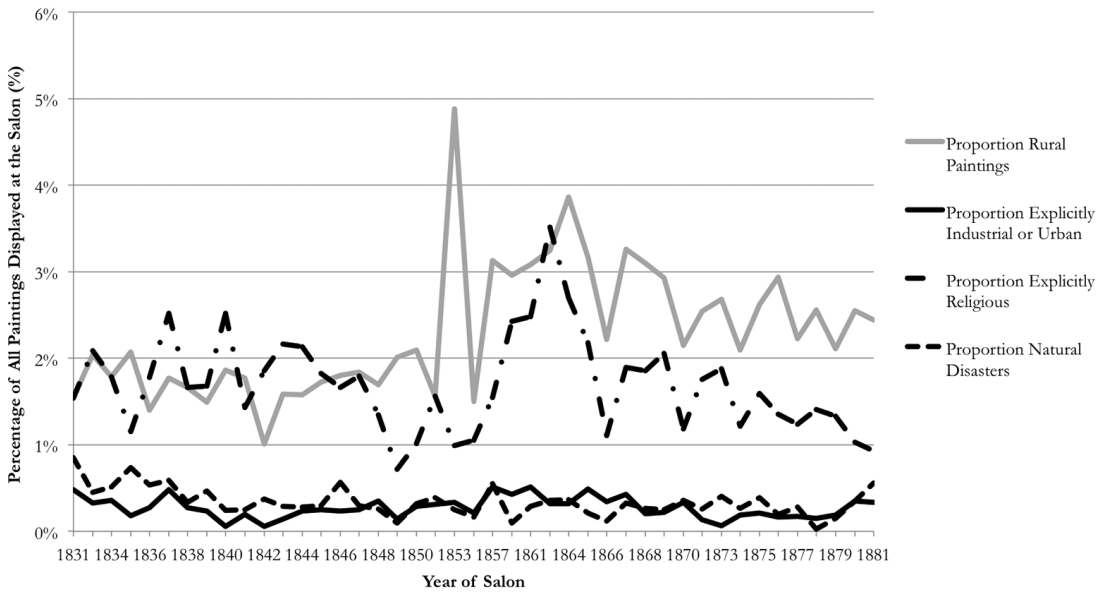


Figure 3.9: Categories of Genre Paintings Displayed at the Salon, 1831–1881

Table 3.1: Summary of Independent Variables and their Sources

Independent Variable	**Years Covered in Regressions**	**Source**
Socioeconomic Variables		
Number of Artist Colonies in the Department	1830–1880	Lübbren, Nina, *Rural artists' colonies in Europe, 1870-1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001)
Average Price of Travel from Paris to Department	1840–1880	Daudin, Guillaume et al., "The Cultural Diffusion of the Fertility Transition: Internal Migrations in 19th century France", 72nd Annual Meeting, Economic History Association, Vancouver, Canada, September 21Ů23, 2012. http://eh.net/eha/system/files/Daudinetal.pdf
Number of Major Cities (Pop. $> 10,000$) in Department and Neighboring Departments	1830–1880	Dupeux, Georges, *Atlas Historique de l'Urbanisation de la France (1811–1975)* (Paris, 1981).
Strikes and Labor Activitest in different *départements*	1830–1880	Tilly, Charles and David K. Jordan, "Strikes and Labor Activity in France, 1830–1960" (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), accessed August 15, 2012 at Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research (Ann Arbor, MI).
Number of Tourist Attractions in the Department	1830–1880	Bouju, Paul et al., *Atlas Historique de la France contemporaine, 1800Ů1965* (Paris: Librarie Armanc Colin, 1966).
Percentage of People who have Migrated Away from the Department	1830–1880	Jerome Bourdieu, Lionel Kesztenbaum and Gilles Postel-Vinay, *L'Enquête TRA, histoire d'un outil, outil pour histoire*, vol. 1 (Paris: Institute National d'Etudes Demographiques, 2013)
Artistic Variables		
Price of Barbizon paintings for select artists	1850–1880	Reverdy, Anne, *L'Ecole de Barbizon: L'évolution du prix des tableaux de 1850 à 1960* (Paris, 1973).
Percent of Salon Prize Winners that were Rural Genre Painters	1840–1880	*L'Artiste* and Salon Catalogues
Percent of Rural Genre Paintings displayed at the Salon by Influential Painters	1840–1880	*L'Artiste* and Salon Catalogues

more stability in the dependent variable than in the independent ones. While the overall number of paintings displayed at the Salon is increasing during this time, the share of rural genre and landscape painting is relatively stable. Rural genre painting has two distinct periods of stability in its share, before and after 1855, while landscape is generally stable. This limit in variation of share limits the ability to test how changes in the display of ru-

ral genre or landscape painting were influenced by social and economic change. Despite these constraints, a multivariate regression can provide insight into the influence of certain socioeconomic variables on art. One cannot claim as clear a casual relationship as exists in the wheat example, but suggestive influences can be quantitatively measured.

Regression analyses provide numerical coefficients quantifying the effects of a series of variables, but one cannot interpret these coefficients without a clear understanding of the specific ways in which social and economic changes could influence the art world. To better understand these influences, econometricians divide effects into "supply-side" effects—factors influencing producers of a good or service—and "demand-side" effects, factors influencing consumers of a good or service. Without this division of effects, it is very difficult to interpret the regression results.

Of course, the Salon data is not price data from contemporary auctions or dealers' records—it is not a market of buyers and sellers. Instead, the exhibition stood at the center of a constellation of commercial, political, intellectual, and aesthetic pressures. How can one identify supply and demand in this complex system? Suppliers were the artists who had submitted their works for exhibition. The constituents of demand are more difficult to identify. Who were the consumers of art displayed at the Salon? They were, of course, patrons and collectors, but they were also the critics, juries, and audiences who judged the supply. With respect to the relationship between the rural genre and landscape painting and social and economic change, can the forces inspiring the production of these paintings be identified in any useful way with this complicated interaction of supply and demand?

There are some variables easily characterized as either supply- or demand-side. For example, the increasing number of artists' colonies is clearly supply-side. These communities providing a creative infrastructure in the countryside had a direct effect on artists and an extremely limited effect—if any—on the Parisian crowds at the Salon. In the context of nineteenth-century France, however, most social and economic variables could affect cultural production from both sides of the interaction between supply and demand.

Consider the growth of the railways, which in this project is measured by the price of rail travel between each *département* and Paris.[117] The most basic assumption is that the railway is a supply-side variable, because it allows artists to access and paint the countryside. But an argument can also be made that the railway shapes demand. First, in an abstract way, the growth of the railway may influence the public's and jury members' feelings—either positively or negatively—about the modernization of France. Second, and more concretely, if the railway connects a rural region to Paris or another major city, it is not only artists who

[117] Travel price data kindly provided via email by Guillaume Daudintel. (See Daudintel et al. "The Cultural Diffusion of the Fertility Transition: Internal Migrations in Nineteenth-Century France". Working Paper. http://eh.net/eha/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Daudinetal.pdf.

can travel to that newly connected region, but art audiences as well. People may demand images of where they have travelled to or perhaps the places from which they emigrated.[118] Finally, returning briefly to the supply side, a number of painters—including Millet, Breton, and Courbet—were among the emigrants moving from newly-connected regions to the capital. Using just this thought experiment, it is difficult to determine which ways the railway may have an effect on cultural output and the strength of that effect. How can one escape this puzzle?

In statistics, one can use a time lag. A lag means that rather than analyze the share of rural genre painting in 1867 (to choose a year at random) alongside the urbanization, railway, and other data from 1867, one compares the 1867 paintings to the social data from 1866. Why create this mismatch? Artists frequently do not paint and display paintings in the same year; instead, it can take several months or years to complete a work. The lag better recreates the environment in which the artist was working. If the lagged social variables help to recreate the artists' creative context, what does analyzing the variables without lags accomplish? It recreates the context in which the admissions jury and audience—that *did* make their decisions within one year—accepted paintings or judged those on display. Using lags, one can disaggregate the effects of social variables on supply (artists) and demand (jurors, audiences, and collectors).

Time Series and Panel Regressions

The story told by scholars about the social and economic drivers of the production and popularity of rural genre and landscape painting is a national story. Though France modernized in a piecemeal fashion, in different ways and at different rates, the aggregate national trend was towards greater industrialization, urbanization, and modernization over the course of the nineteenth century. The increased production and popularity of rural imagery was, supposedly, a reaction to this generalized trend. These time-series regressions evaluate the relationship between national social and economic data and the display of rural genre painting at the Salon.

Tables 3.2–3.3 present the results of a series of bivariate regressions where the share of Salon paintings that are rural genre or landscape paintings is the dependent variable

[118] A major contribution to the consumption of landscape painting during this period was Baron Taylor's *Voyages pittoresques et romantiques dans l'ancienne France* (1820–78). Discussion of this publication—along with other works on paper and book publications—is beyond the scope of the Whiteley Index and this thesis. However, like landscape painting generally, it has been subject to several demand-side explanations. See, for example, Boime, "The Second Empire's Official Realism," 161; Bonne L. Grad and Timothy A. Riggs, *Visions of City and Country: Prints and Photographs of Nineteenth-Century France* (Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 1982), 15–91; Nicholas Green, *The Spectacle of Nature: Landscape and Bourgeois Culture in Nineteenth Century France* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990), 98–110.

Table 3.2: Time-Series Regression: Share of Landscape Paintings at the Salon 1831–81

Dependent Variable: Percentage of Paintings Displayed at the Salon that are Landscape Paintings, 1831-81

Variables	**(1)**	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**
Urbanization Levels (Share of French Population Living in Communes with Pop. $> 2,000$**)**	–11.736*	–	–	–	–
	(–1.93)	–	–	–	–
Percentage of People Migrating Away from their Home Department	–	–0.469	–	–	–
	–	(–1.50)	–	–	–
Cost of Rail Travel	–	–	–1.265*	–	–
	–	–	(–1.96)	–	–
Strikes and Labor Activity in Year	–	–	–	0.005	–
	–	–	–	(0.30)	–
Price Level of Barbizon Paintings (Lagged 1 Exhibition Year)	–	–	–	–	–0.028
	–	–	–	–	(–0.59)
Time Trend	0.166** (2.06)	–0.007* (–1.84	–0.027 (–1.68)	–0.003 (–1.05)	–0.007 (–1.24)
N	29	43	35	43	43
R2	0.23	0.08	0.13	0.03	0.27
F	3.89	1.77	2.32	0.66	20.85
*** significant at the** $\alpha = 0.10$ **level, ** significant at** $\alpha = 0.05$**,** ***** significant at** $\alpha = 0.01$**; all varaibles scaled by 1,000**					
Sources: See Figure3.3; Chevalier, *La Formation de la Population Parisienne au XIXe Siècle* (Paris, 1950), 285–86; Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, "Social, Demographic, and Educational Data for France, 1801–1897" (Ann Arbor, 2009); Reverdy, Anne L'Ecole de Barbizon: L'Évolution du prix des tableaux de 1850 à 1960 (Paris, 1973); Tilly, Charles and David K. Jordan, "Strikes and Labor Activity in France, 1830–1960", (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), accessed August 15, 2012 at Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research; Palau & Palau *Le Rail en France* series (1995, 1998, 2001, 2004).					

regressed on a series of social and economic variables. A time trend variable is included in each regression. There are two striking results across all four models: the coefficients on the urbanization and railroad variables. According to the existing literature, these coefficients should be positive. Cities and train connections are two prominent manifestations of the urban-industrial revolution that this type of painting is supposedly reacting against. Instead,

Table 3.3: Time-Series Regression: Share of Rural Genre Paintings at the Salon 1831–81

Dependent Variable: Percentage of Paintings Displayed at the Salon that are Rural Genre Paintings, 1831-81

Variables	**(1)**	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**
Urbanization Rates (Share of French Population Living in Communes with Pop. $> 2,000$**)**	–2.220	–	–	–	–
	(–0.31)	–	–	–	–
Percentage of People Migrating Away from their Home Department	–	–0.525	–	–	–
	–	(1.53)	–	–	–
Cost of Rail Travel	–	–	–1.360*	–	–
	–	–	(–1.79)	–	–
Strikes and Labor Activity in Year	–	–	–	0.014	–
	–	–	–	(0.70)	–
Price Level of Barbizon Paintings (Lagged 1 Exhibition Year)	–	–	–	–	–0.110
	–	–	–	–	(–0.98)
Time Trend	0.036 (0.38)	0.019*** (4.48)	−0.017 (−0, 92)	0.015*** (4.56)	−0.008 (−0.61)
N	29	43	35	43	16
R2	0.05	0.37	0.31	0.34	0.36
F	0.64	11.76	7.22	10.37	3.65
*** significant at the** $\alpha = 0.10$ **level, ** significant at** $\alpha = 0.05$**,** ***** significant at** $\alpha = 0.01$**; all varaibles scaled by 1,000**					
Sources: See Figure 3.3; Chevalier, La Formation de la Population Parisienne au XIXe Siècle (Paris, 1950), 285-6; Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, "Social, Demographic, and Educational Data for France, 1801–1897" (Ann Arbor, 2009); Reverdy, Anne *L'Ecole de Barbizon: L'Évolution du prix des tableaux de 1850 Ðř 1960* (Paris: Editions de l'EHESS, 1973); Tilly, Charles et al., "Strikes and Labor Activity in France, 1830–1960", (Cambridge, 1974) accessed 15 August 2012 at Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research; Palau & Palau *Le Rail en France* series (1995, 1998, 2001, 2004).					

more cities appear to be correlated with *fewer* rural genre and landscape paintings at the Salon. Railroad travel prices have a negative effect, meaning that as prices go down—and access to the provinces improves—more images of the countryside appear. These are the only two consistent effects across the regressions.

These time-series regression do, however, have a significant disadvantage—too few observations. There were thirty-four Salons held between 1840 and 1880; there are, therefore, only thirty-four data points that this regression tests. There are not enough observations to have convincing and robust results. Luckily, time series data are not the only data available—there are also panel data.

Having enough data to work with is essential for successful regression analysis. Using national-level data for each Salon year, there would only be 34 data points—commonly called "observations"—to test. This is not enough data to generate statistically significant results. One can correct for this paucity of observations, however. There were approximately 90 departments in France between 1840 and 1880, the time for which a full selection of relevant social and economic data is available. There are good social and economic data available at the department-level throughout much of the nineteenth century. Using departmental data, the number of observations multiplies from 34 up to a maximum of 3,060 (34 multiplied by 90). This data is then combined with information from titles about the location of each painting's subject—information that was also used to generate Figures 3.3 and 3.4. While this strategy increases the number of overall observations, it increases them more successfully for landscape painting than for rural genre painting. There are only 2,286 rural genre paintings with geographic tags, while there are four times that many landscapes identified with a specific department. The small number of geographically identified rural genre paintings means that statistical tests about rural genre painting are less robust than those about landscape painting.

Each department had a particular social, economic, and artistic profile linked to its transport connections, artists' presence in the form of artists' colonies, the structure of its economy, and its population's propensity to be involved in labor unrest or emigration. These attributes can be linked to questions about paintings' connections to national modernizing trends. If the Salon-going public or the jury's members are nervous about labor unrest in general, they may avoid images of departments that have had recent labor troubles. If the primary reason for more interest in (and images of) rural settings and life during the nineteenth century was greater contact with the countryside facilitated by better transport, then paintings of departments with more rail connections should be more common. In addition to including departmental-level social and economic data, regressions can control for national intra-art world variables, such as the proportion of prizewinning paintings in the previous Salon that were rural genre paintings or landscapes or the general price level for Barbizon paintings in a given year.

Which Variables Influenced the Supply of, and Demand for, Rural Images

Table 3.4 provides a summary—in words rather than numbers—of the results of the regression analyses. The full statistical results are presented in Tables 3.5 & 3.6. Some notable conclusions can be drawn: the advent of artists' colonies had a greater influence on artistic output than any other variable measured. A department with an artist's colony was depicted 40 percent more often than one without a colony. Although the results are slightly more complicated for rural genre painting than for landscape, the presence of an artists' colony generally had a positive effect on likelihood of depiction. The second most influential variables were the price of travel from Paris and the establishment of tourist attractions. Considered together, these results suggest that the ability to have easy access to the countryside—and to continue to work within a professional network while away from Paris—was the most important factor influencing the creation of images of nature in nineteenth-century France. Factors linked to accessibility explain the depiction of rural subject matter in nineteenth-century France better than audience's and artists' personal reactions to urbanization and political unrest, two variables that in regressions have almost no effect on artistic output.

The presence of artists' colonies had the most consistent and largest positive effect on the output of rural genre and landscape paintings over time.[119] Artists' colonies provided several amenities to artists. They often had a low cost of living and were home to locals amenable to having artists in their village. The artists also provided one another with instruction, support, and inspiration. Colonies were infrastructure that simultaneously allowed artists to come into greater contact with a rural environment and encouraged the production of more canvases.[120] If more artists could have easier access to painting *en plein aire* in the countryside, they would produce more images of nature and rural life. The effect of travel prices between a department and Paris reinforces this point: the more accessible the countryside became by rail, the more often it was depicted. The effect is recorded as negative, because as the price of travel increased, the number of paintings of that location decreased. Easy access to rural subjects was one of main forces affecting the supply of rural genre and landscape paintings in nineteenth-century France. Linked to increasing accessibility, the addition of tourist attractions in the middle of the time period studied also had a positive effect on the number of depictions. Variables capturing the growing accessibility of the countryside had a stronger effect when tested with time lags. This suggests that the artists' ability to have access to the countryside had a greater effect on the creation of images of nature than audiences' or juries' growing contact with rural life beyond Paris.

[119]Information about the location and activity of artists' colonies is from Nina Lübbren, *Rural Artists' Colonies in Europe, 1870–1910* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001); Robert Herbert, *Monet on the Normandy Coast* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994).

[120]Lübbren, *Rural Artists' Colonies in Europe*, 15–64.

Table 3.4: Summary of Regressions Results

Explanatory Variables	*Influence on Landscape Painting*	*Influence on Rural Genre Painting*
Number of Artist Colonies in the Department	Strong positive influence across all models	Strong positive influence across most models. When controlling for year, the influence becomes negative. See Statistical Appendix for further discussion.
Average Price of Travel from Paris to Department	Initially lower prices means more paintings; influence of changes in price over time is negligible or in fact limits the number of depictions; no difference between supply and demand influences	No detectable influence
Number of Major Cities (Pop. $> 10,000$**) in Department and Neighboring Departments**	Fewer paintings of traditionally more urban places less frequently; influence of changes in level of urbanization over time is negligible; no difference between supply and demand influences	No detectable influence
Number of Tourist Attractions in the Department	Long-standing tourist attractions have no influence; addition of new tourist attractions over the course of the century has a strong positive influence on number of depictions of the department; supply and demand influences similar	Long-standing tourist attractions have no influence; addition of new tourist attractions over the course of the century has a strong positive influence on number of depictions of the department; supply and demand influences similar
Percentage of People who have Migrated Away from the Department	Departments that have had out-migration for several decades more likely to be depicted; changes in rate of out-migration overtime appear to have no influence; affects supply and demand equally	No detectable influence
Strikes and Labor Activity in Department	No detectable influence	Weak influence. However, paintings of departments with strikes and labor activity in the same year as the Salon less likely to be depicted; affects demand (audiences, juries) more than supply (artists).
Political Revolt	No detectable influence	No detectable influence
Percent of Salon Prize Winners that were Rural Genre Painters	Not tested	No detectable influence
Percent of Rural Genre Paintings displayed at the Salon by Influential Painters	Not tested	No detectable influence
Price Level of Barbizon Paintings	No detectable influence	No detectable influence

The effect of strikes and labor activity on the quantity of landscape and rural genre painting is inconsistent across models and rarely significant.[121] However, there is an interesting point on the graph (Figure 3.10) of the regression coefficients over time. There is a clear positive spike in the significance of strikes and labor activity on landscape painting in 1872, the first Salon after the Franco-Prussian war and the Paris Commune.[122] The choice to produce likely bucolic landscapes of more unsettled departments may indicate an impulse to depict the disturbed parts of the country as falsely calm—or perhaps as they once were. Furthermore, the variable is significant only in models *without* lags. This may mean that the jury's decisions, which are being tested in the model without lags, were sensitive to civil unrest while artists were indifferent to these troubles.

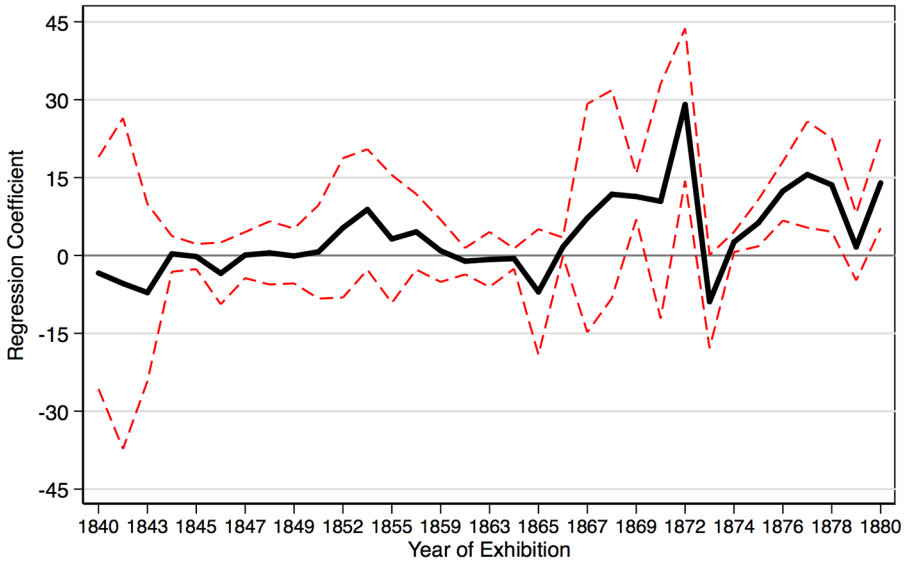


Figure 3.10: Point Estimates of Effects of Strikes or Labor Activity from a Department on the Percentage of Landscapes Depicting that Department, 1840–1880

Artistic production should not only respond to broad social and economic forces, but also to changes and incentives within the art world. The first artistic variable—the number of rural genre paintings by the influential artists[123]—is meant to control for the influence

[121] Diana Greenwald, *Painting the Provincial: A Statistical Analysis of Rural Imagery at the Paris Salons 1831–81* (M. Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 2013), 75–99; Charles Tilly and David K. Jordan, "Strikes and Labour Activity in France, 1830–1968" (Cambridge Cambridge University Press, 1974), distributed by The Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research.

[122] "Confidence intervals" denote a range of values for which there is a certain probability—in this case, a 95 percent chance—that the value of a parameter lies within it.

[123] These artists are Jean-François Millet, Gustave Courbet, Jules Bastien-Lepage, Rosa Bonheur, William-Adolphe Bouguereau, Gustave Brion, Jules Breton, Camille Corot, Philippe-Auguste Jeanron, Adolphe Leleux, Léon-Augustin Lhertmitte, and Constant Troyon. Artists were selected according to secondary sources, the frequency with which they are mentioned in primary sources, and how many rural genre paintings they exhibited at the Salon (see Greenwald, 14–16). These artists were selected both to capture those who were famous at the time and have since faded from memory and those whose fame has persisted.

of famous trendsetting artists that other artists may have copied. The behavior of just a handful of artists could fuel the changes in the production of rural genre paintings. This is the only artistic variable for which there are consistent data between 1840 and 1880. The prizewinners variable is the percentage of prizewinners in the Salon two exhibitions prior that were rural genre painters. Winning a prize attracted attention from the press, commissions, and usually the right to display at the next Salon without going through the jury process. Just as the behavior of a handful of influential artists could have induced painters to produce more rural genre paintings, the jury's decision to reward rural genre painters' efforts could also have stimulated artistic production.[124]

The final intra-art world variable—tested for both landscape and rural genre painting—is contemporary price data for work by Barbizon painters, a group that included influential landscapists and rural genre painters. There are five-year averages of auction prices for Barbizon work available from 1855 onward. Before this date, price levels simply held constant at 1855 levels. In regressions limited to only 1855–80, the effect of this remains small and statistically insignificant. Artists could have produced rural genre painting primarily for financial gain. As prices increased, production—and therefore rural genre and landscape painting's shares at the Salon—may have increased as well.[125]

Surprisingly, these variables had almost no statistically significant effects. While the regression coefficients are consistently positive, as expected, they are not strong enough to demonstrate clearly that artists were actively responding to one another's activities and the market. Why is there no clear effect? Likely because the data available about social and economic change is superior to the data available about the art world. As an extensive existing literature demonstrates, artists are not ignoring one another or their patrons—it is just that information about their professional and commercial influences is not readily available.

The regressions presented in Tables 3.5 and 3.6 include dummy variables, specifically "Department Dummies" and "Year Dummies". A "dummy variable" is a variable that is either a "1" for "Yes" or "0" for "No." In econometrics, dummy variables are frequently used to control for effects that have not been explicitly identified in the explanatory variables being tested. The "Department Dummies" are a "1" assigned to each department—this controls for intrinsic individual differences across departments. The "Year Dummies"

[124] Due to time constraints, I only collected this information for rural genre painters. Generating this variable for landscape painting would demand the transcription of the maker and title of tens of thousands works of art from the salon *livrets*.

[125] Deflated price information is available for work by selected Barbizon artists in Reverdy, *L'Ecole de Barbizon, l'evolution du prix des tableaux*. To further test whether trends in the art world were a response only to market forces, I also ran all regressions limited to dates (1855–80) for which full price data was available. For both landscape and rural genre painting, the effect was neither statistically significant nor of notable magnitude. Despite being scaled (like all variables in the regression), every coefficient was listed as 0.000 or -0.000.

assign a "1" for all observations from a given year. There are as many year dummies as there are years in the sample. All information from 1846, for example, is assigned a "1" for the 1846 year dummy, and observations from all other years are assigned a "0" for the 1846 year dummy. While the department dummies control for intrinsic differences across departments, the year dummies do the same thing for individual years. Dummy variables are essentially a safety net—they control for differences and important variables that one has not anticipated or cannot measure with a selected explanatory variable.

Table 3.5: Influences on the Percentage of Landscape Paintings Shown at the Salon depicting a Department, 1840–1880

Dependent Variable: Percentage of Paintings Displayed at the Salon that are Landscapes depicting the Department, 1840-80

Variables	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)
Number of Artist Colonies in the Department	40.635 ∗ ∗ (15.19)	−− −−	40.675 ∗ ∗ ∗ (15.13)	−− −−	20.722 ∗ ∗ ∗ (5.09)	−− −−	18.121 ∗ ∗ ∗ (6.07)	−− −−
Number of Artist Colonies in the Department (Lagged 2 years)	– –	42.276 ∗ ∗ ∗ (14.83)	– –	42.280 ∗ ∗ ∗ (14.77)	– –	18.175 ∗ ∗ ∗ (4.37)	– –	16.233 ∗ ∗ ∗ (4.64)
Average Price of Travel from Paris to Department	−0.359 ∗ ∗ (−8.14)	– –	−0.350 ∗ ∗ ∗ (−7.80)	– –	−0.108 (−1.26)	– –	0.716 ∗ ∗ (2.78)	– –
Average Price of Travel from Paris to Department (Lagged 2 years)	– –	−0.382 ∗ ∗ ∗ (−8.18)	– –	−0.381 ∗ ∗ ∗ (−8.08)	– –	−0.055 (−0.73)	– –	0.479 ∗ ∗ (2.66)
Number of Major Cities (Pop. > 10,000) in Department and Neighboring Departments	−1.366 ∗ ∗ (−4.67)	– –	−1.383 ∗ ∗ ∗ (−4.65)	– –	0.416 (0.87)	– –	−0.237 (−0.49)	– –
Number of Major Cities (Pop. > 10,000) in Department and Neighboring Departments (Lagged 2 years)	– –	−1.371 ∗ ∗ ∗ (−4.51)	– –	−1.402 ∗ ∗ ∗ (−4.54)	– –	0.581 (1.31)	– –	−0.113 (−0.25)
Number of Tourist Attractions in the Department	−0.523 (−1.08)	– –	−0.539 (−1.11)	– –	1.455 ∗ ∗ (3.42)	– –	1.347 ∗ ∗ (3.47)	– –

Number of Tourist Attractions in the Department (Lagged 2 years)	–	−0.475	–	−0.487	–	1.369 ∗ ∗	–	1.310 ∗ ∗∗
	–	(−0.96)	–	(−0.97)	–	(2.52)	–	(2.69)
Percentage of People who have Migrated Away from the Department	0.524 ∗ ∗∗	–	0.527 ∗ ∗∗	–	−0.088	–	−0.261	–
	(3.07)	–	(3.01)	–	(−0.55)	–	(−1.59)	–
Percentage of People who have Migrated Away from the Department (Lagged 2 years)	–	0.623 ∗ ∗∗	–	0.642 ∗ ∗∗	–	−0.055	–	−0.145
	–	(3.53)	–	(3.56)	–	(−0.44)	–	(−1.08)
Strikes and Labor Activity in Department	1.928 ∗ ∗	–	1.891 ∗ ∗	–	0.253	–	0.096	–
	(2.12)	–	(2.02)	–	(1.55)	–	(0.56)	–
Strikes and Labor Activity in Department (Lagged 2 years)	–	1.865∗	–	1.897∗	–	0.421	–	0.361
	–	(1.73)	–	(1.76)	–	(1.31)	–	(1.24)
Political Revolt	0.000	–	–	–	0.000	–	–	–
	(0.30)	–	–	–	(0.75)	–	–	–
Political Revolt (Lagged 2 years)	–	0.000	–	–	–	0.000	–	–
	–	(0.60)	–	–	–	(1.23)	–	–
Barbizon Price Index	0.003	–	–	–	0.003	–	–	–
	(1.10)	–	–	–	(1.44)	–	–	–
Barbizon Price Index (Lagged 2 years)	–	−0.002	–	–	–	–	–	–
	–	(−1.00)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Department Dummies (Yes/No?)	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Dummies (Yes/No?)	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
N	1855	1677	1855	1677	1855	1677	1855	1677
r2	0.60	0.62	0.60	0.62	0.16	0.15	0.23	0.19
F	47.26	45.67	15.92	15.48	17.47	11.88	11.94	12.48
*significant at α = 0.10, ** significant at α = 0.05, *** significant at α = 0.01; all variables scaled by 10,000								

Because the addition of dummy variables constitutes a significant change to the model, it is best to present regression results with types of dummy variables added one by one. This is why, reading Tables 3.5 and 3.6 from left to right, the first two columns (1 & 2)

have no dummy variables, the next two (3 & 4) have only year dummies, the following two have only department dummies (5 & 6), and the final columns (7 & 8) have both year and department dummies. Presented this way, one can see the effects of the selected explanatory variables when controlling for different unobservable conditions, such as the fundamental differences between Finistère and Pas-de-Calais, or the inevitable differences between 1845 and 1873.

Table 3.6: Influences on the Percentage of Rural Genre Paintings Shown at the Salon depicting a Department, 1840-1880

Dependent Variable: Percentage of Paintings Displayed at the Salon that are Landscapes depicting the Department, 1840-80

Variables	**(1)**	**(2)**	**(3)**	**(4)**	**(5)**	**(6)**	**(7)**	**(8)**
Number of Artist Colonies in the Department	0.804 ∗ ∗∗	–	0.802 ∗ ∗∗	–	−0.421∗	–	−0.507∗∗∗	–
	(4.72)	–	(4.78)	–	(−1.89)	–	(−2.73)	–
Number of Artist Colonies in the Department (Lagged 2 years)	–	0.862 ∗ ∗∗	–	0.863 ∗ ∗∗	–	−0.092	–	−0.126
	–	(5.11)	–	(5.21)	–	(−0.50)	–	(−0.74)
Average Price of Travel from Paris to Department	−0.002	–	−0.002	–	0.003	–	0.021 ∗ ∗	–
	(−0.70)	–	(−0.62)	–	(0.55)	–	(2.18)	–
Average Price of Travel from Paris to Department (Lagged 2 years)	–	−0.001	–	−0.001	–	0.009	–	0.019
	–	(−0.35)	–	(−0.35)	–	(0.99)	–	(1.59)
Number of Major Cities (Pop. > 10,000) in Department and Neighboring Departments	−0.002	–	0.001	–	0.040	–	0.044	–
	(−0.08)	–	(0.07)	–	(0.98)	–	(1.01)	–
Number of Major Cities (Pop. > 10,000) in Department and Neighboring Departments (Lagged 2 years)	–	0.007	–	0.009	–	0.066	–	0.073
	–	(0.36)	–	(0.45)	–	(1.40)	–	(1.45)
Number of Tourist Attractions in the Department	0.003	–	0.006	–	0.113 ∗ ∗∗	–	0.124 ∗ ∗∗	–
	(0.10)	–	(0.18)	–	(3.27)	–	(3.51)	–
Number of Tourist Attractions in the Department (Lagged 2 years)	–	0.019	–	0.020	–	0.122 ∗ ∗	–	0.128 ∗ ∗∗
	–	(0.58)	–	(0.62)	–	(2.60)	–	(2.68)

Percentage of People who have Migrated Away from the Department	0.002	–	−0.000	–	−0.033∗	–	−0.043 ∗ ∗	–
	(0.14)	–	(−0.00)	–	(−1.87)	–	(−2.24)	–
Percentage of People who have Migrated Away from the Department (Lagged 2 years)	–	0.019∗	–	0.019∗	–	0.001	–	−0.001
	–	(1.66)	–	(1.66)	–	(0.08)	–	(−0.04)
Strikes and Labor Activity in Department	−0.008	–	0.006	–	−0.048∗∗∗	–	−0.035 ∗ ∗	–
	(−0.27)	–	(0.19)	–	(−3.05)	–	(−2.35)	–
Strikes and Labor Activity in Department (Lagged 2 years)	–	0.033	–	0.039	–	0.015	–	0.020
	–	(0.95)	–	(1.22)	–	(1.01)	–	(1.60)
Political Revolt	−0.000	–	–	–	−0.000	–	–	–
	(−1.38)	–	–	–	(−1.65)	–	–	–
Political Revolt (Lagged 2 years)	–	–	–	–	–	0.000	–	–
	–	–	–	–	–	(0.45)	–	–
Barbizon Price Index	−0.000	–	–	–	0.000	–	–	–
	(−0.28)	–	–	–	(0.49)	–	–	–
Barbizon Price Index (Lagged 2 years)	–	−0.000	–	–	–	−0.000	–	–
	–	(−1.52)	–	–	–	(−0.31)	–	–
Percent of Salon Prize Winners that were Rural Genre Painters (lagged 2 exhibition years)	0.328	0.019	–	–	0.344	0.034	–	–
	(0.40)	(0.03)	–	–	(0.46)	(0.05)	–	–
Percent of Rural Genre Paintings displayed at the Salon by Influential Painters (lagged 2 exhibition years)	0.952	1.149	–	–	0.955	1.027	–	–
	(1.15)	(1.36)	–	–	(1.39)	(1.44)	–	–
Department Dummies (Yes/No?)	No	No	No	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Year Dummies (Yes/No?)	No	No	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes
N	1764	1765	1764	1765	1764	1765	1764	1765
r2	0.10	0.12	0.11	0.13	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.03
F	5.38	6.85	2.98	3.76	3.04	1.54	2.06	3.34
*significant at α = 0.10, ** significant at α = 0.05, *** significant at α = 0.01; all variables scaled by 10,000								

How dummy variables can teach us about the relationship between art and socioeconomic change is best illustrated by an example. Look at the results for "Percentage of People Who Have Migrated Away from the Department" in Table 3.5. Before the addition of any dummies, its effect is statistically significant, positive, and large. This effect remains consistent after the addition of year dummies. But it changes drastically when one adds department dummies—its effect becomes negative, no longer statistically significant, and half as large. What does this change mean? It means that departments with a longer-term legacy of outmigration were depicted more often. However, departments where the rate of outmigration accelerated were not necessarily more frequently the subjects of landscape paintings because of this acceleration. Rather, the legacy of depopulation—and not accelerating depopulation—has an effect on artistic output. The effect of urbanization also conforms to this pattern.



Figure 3.11: Jean-François Millet, The Gleaners, 1857, oil on canvas, 83.5 × 110 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris. Source: RMN (Musée d'Orsay)/Jean Schormans.

The addition of department dummies causes the direction of several effects to flip, most notably the effect of rural artists' colonies on rural genre painting and the effect of tourism on landscape painting. Like with urbanization rates, one must interpret these coefficients



Figure 3.12: Jules-Adolphe-Aimé-Louis Breton, *Calling in the Gleaners*, 1859, oil on canvas, 90 × 1176 cm, Musée d'Orsay, Paris. Souce: RMN-Musée d'Orsay/Hervé Lewandowski.

as the marginal effect of each additional tourist destination or artists' colony created during the sample tested, between 1840 and 1880. For tourism, the pattern of coefficients demonstrates that it is not a tradition of being a seaside resort or mountain spa town that encourages depiction in landscape or rural genre painting, but rather the addition of new tourist attractions over time. A quick survey of the types of tourist attractions developing in the second half of the nineteenth century demonstrates why this is true. As the century progressed, tourism towards "authentic" French rural destinations—Brittany, where traditional ways of life and dress remained intact until the twentieth century, is a good example—became increasingly popular.[126] A survey of nineteenth-century artists' colonies active during the nineteenth-century indicates why new artists' colonies added during the sample had a negative effect on rural genre painting, but a positive one on landscape painting. Colonies that produced large amounts of rural genre painting for the Salon—Barbizon, Pont-Aven and other villages in Finistère are all good examples—were all founded in the 1820s and '30s. They are stable throughout the sample.[127] Newer colonies, such as those founded on the Normandy Coast, were avant-garde and often focused on the creation of landscape painting. The artists who worked in these new colonies often either did not produce rural genre painting or did not exhibit at the Salon at all. This is why the sign becomes negative: the *new* colonies do not produce much, if any, rural genre painting displayed at the Salon.[128]

[126] Susan Carol Rogers, "Which Heritage? Nature, Culture, and Identity in French Rural Tourism," *French Historical Studies*, 25, no. 3 (2002): 475–503; Patrick Young, *Enacting Brittany: Tourism and Culture in Provincial France, 1871–1939* (London: Ashgate Publishing Group, 2012).

[127] Lübbren, *Rural Artists' Colonies in Europe*, 165–77.

[128] Robert Herbert, *Monet on the Normandy Coast*, 61–93.

Two clear conclusions can be drawn from this analysis. First, variables linked to accessing the countryside—such as artists' colonies and cost of travel—influence the share of rural genre and landscape painting on display at the Salon. Second, civil unrest and political revolt have no equivalent influence. This is not a refutation of the existing literature but a recalibration of it. These results speak to the value of incorporating quantitative and econometric analyses and an economic framework into the study of art.

Chapter 4

Historiography, Letter Selection, and Sample Bias in the Study of Nineteenth-Century French Art

Introduction

The previous chapter demonstrated that many phenomena associated with modernization, such as urbanization rates and civil unrest, do not have a consistent and measurable effect on the frequency with which landscape and rural genre painting were shown at the Paris Salon. According to the existing secondary literature, however, images of the countryside in the nineteenth century must be understood in terms of their relationship to modernization. Such images represent a negative reaction against urbanization, industrialization, and their accompanying social and economic upheaval. In a much-cited phrase in his groundbreaking book *Image of the People*,[129] T.J. Clark wrote that, in nineteenth-century France, "The [proper] painter of rural life portrays precisely and only what is alien to the town."[130] How and why did scholars reach the conclusion that images of nature and their creators are fundamentally anti-urban and anti-industrial?

The introduction to this thesis surveyed arguments by Clark and his fellow social historians of art, such as Robert Herbert and Linda Nochlin. That survey indicated that these arguments focus particularly on the work of the Realists, notably Jean-François Millet and Gustave Courbet. This chapter begins by presenting a more detailed historiography of the formation of the arguments made by social historians of art and then delves into the primary source material that scholars—such as Clark, Herbert, and Nochlin—engaged with in their foundational work. This close historiographical examination and return to original source material reveals two facts. First, the kernels of the central arguments of social historians of art can be traced to a handful of widely cited secondary sources. Second, while these secondary sources draw heavily on a selection of letters written by Jean-François Millet, this

[129] See, e.g., Alan Wallach, "On the Social History of American Art," 74.
[130] Clark, *Image of the People*, 145.

selection of letters is not representative of his correspondence in general. Using quantitative analyses of finding aids to Millet's correspondence, exploring the history of the artist's early biographers, and closely reading key letters demonstrates that these foundational social histories of art—not only French rural genre painting, but art as a whole—drew on a biased sample of primary written sources.

The Historiography of the Anti-Urban Rural Genre Painter

The dominant position of T.J. Clark's *The Absolute Bourgeois* (1973) and *Image of the People* (1973) in the broader historiography of art is clear. Clark's books—along with an article that serves as a manifesto for the social history of art—are classified in almost every compendium and literature review as a formative moment for the art historical discipline.[131] Clark's centrality is beyond dispute. Ironically, its groundbreaking position in the specific historiography of nineteenth-century French rural genre painting is, perhaps, debatable.

Robert L. Herbert is the most-cited scholar listed in the bibliographies of Clark's books.[132] Five of Herbert's works are cited. These include the exhibition catalogue *Barbizon Revisited* (1962), two articles published in *The Burlington Magazine* the same year, a 1966 article in *Museum Studies*, and "City vs. Country: The Rural Image in French Painting from Millet to Gauguin," which appeared in *Artforum* in 1970. Considered together, Herbert's works develop the same basic thesis that Clark asserts: rural imagery serves as an antidote to the perceived ills of the city. Herbert first proposed this thesis more than a decade before the publication of Clark's books. Herbert—and not Clark—is the source of what has proven to be one of the most lasting and influential explanations of the relationship between art and social and economic change. To trace the origins of these theories, one must trace Herbert's sources.

The foreword to the catalogue of the 1962 exhibition *Barbizon Revisited* begins, "This is the first important exhibition of the painters of Barbizon to be undertaken in contemporary times…Likewise, this catalogue is only the second serious attempt in the twentieth century to appraise the whole achievement of the school."[133] Most of *Barbizon Revisited* is dedicated to descriptions of several artists' lives and careers. The analytical component of the catalogue is confined to a nine-page section boldly titled "The Meaning of

[131] E.g., Eric Fernie, *Art History and its Methods* (London: Phaidon, 1995), 245–53; Robert L. Herbert, "Goodbye to All That," *The New York Review of Books*, November 4, 1999, accessed October 13, 2015, http://www.nybooks.com/articles/1999/11/04/goodbye-to-all-that/; Hatt and Klonk, *Art History*.

[132] Five works by Herbert are cited. See Clark, *Image of the People*, 198. Linda Nochlin is a close second with four works cited, see Clark, *Image of the People*, 200. The bibliographies of both of Clark's books are identical.

[133] Perry T. Rathbone, foreword to *Barbizon Revisited: Essay and Catalogue; San Francisco, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, September 27–November 4, 1962* by Robert L. Herbert (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1962).

Barbizon Art." The section first defines several stylistic influences that compose the "fulcrum" of Barbizon and then briefly describes the Impressionists' admiration for Rousseau, Daubigny, Corot, and Millet. The longest subsection, however, is called "Barbizon Art and the Urban-Industrial Revolution." In it, Herbert asserts that "art was a century-long protest against industrialization. The Gothic and Greek revivals, like Barbizon art, were a way of pulling the mantle of the past over the ugly present."[134] Herbert divides his evidence for this assertion into five categories: "opposition to the present," "release in nature," "release in the rural past," "the seizing upon the permanence," and "melancholy and despair". For the first four categories, he cites a handful of artists' letters and quotes recorded in their earliest biographies. The final category relates to visual evidence: "Most of the work of Corot and Daubigny is full of poignant melancholy, and that of Millet and Rousseau, a more passionate despair."[135] While Herbert's writing is emotive, the historical evidence presented in the catalogue is insufficient to support a clear link between Barbizon art and "the incredible expansion of cities, the new urban populations increasingly tied to the new industry."[136]

Herbert further probed this link in four scholarly articles. The first two of these—"Millet Revisited – I" and "Millet Revisited – II"—were published in *The Burlington Magazine* in 1962. "Millet Revisited – I" is the more substantial contribution of the pair. The second installment is just a description and brief visual analysis of several of Millet's oils and works on paper. From the outset, "Millet Revisited – I" clearly seeks to restore Millet to a place of pride in the history of art. The article begins, "Given the enormous impact of Millet upon the last half of the nineteenth century, he is clearly worth studying if only as an object-lesson in the history of taste."[137] After lamenting Millet's relegation to museum basements, Herbert describes how this neglect is the product of the artist's inaccurate late-nineteenth-century public image as a pious and unrefined peasant painter. Only by breaking this "Millet-myth" can his art be given its rightful place in the canon.[138] Herbert spends the next portion of the article describing all the ways Millet disliked peasants in general, abandoned his own peasant family, and was, in fact, among the most learned of the Barbizon painters.[139] Yet after describing in detail how much space Millet liked to put between himself and the realities of rural life, Herbert declares, "Hence his taste for the Bible and for the Greco-Roman bucolic poets, because he found in the peasant of Barbizon, out of reaction against the Industrial Revolution the past surviving into the present, this past which

[134]Robert Herbert, *Barbizon Revisited: Essay and catalogue: San Francisco, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, September 27–November 4, 1962* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1962), 64.
[135]Herbert, *Barbizon Revisited*, 65.
[136]Herbert, *Barbizon Revisited*, 64.
[137]Robert L. Herbert, "Millet Revisited – I," *The Burlington Magazine* 104, no. 712 (1962): 294.
[138]Herbert, "Millet Revisited – I," 295.
[139]Herbert, "Millet Revisited – I," 295–96.

he wished to hug to his breast as his safeguard and salvation."[140] For Herbert, Millet is simultaneously a self-hating peasant boy and a man who felt "nostalgia for a preindustrial era... [like that] of Ruskin and Delacroix."[141]

This personal arc—from dissatisfied peasant to erudite artist, to champion of a preindustrial past—is further elaborated in "Millet Reconsidered" (1966). The article asserts a need to break down the myth that "Millet's art... reflected his life."[142] Yet the impulse for Herbert's interpretation of Millet's art comes from what he saw as the artist's "almost morbid dislike of the city."[143] Herbert quotes two 1851 letters (also quoted in "Millet Revisited—I") in which Millet states how beautiful he finds the Forest of Fontainebleau and Barbizon: "The gayest thing I know is the calm, the silence which one enjoys so deliciously either in the forests or in the cultivated places."[144] These pro-nature attitudes, when considered alongside the artist's relocation from Paris to Barbizon in 1849, provide the biographic starting point for Herbert's interpretation of Millet as anti-city.

The application of the anti-city interpretation of art to the work of the Barbizon school in general begins in the second half of "Millet Reconsidered". Herbert cites two significant phenomena in nineteenth-century French history: the occurrence of the revolution[s] of 1848, which "sanctioned the identification of the common man in art with progressive social attitudes," and "the drastic effects of the urban-industrial revolution, particularly the dramatic shift of rural population towards Paris and the major cities."[145] According to Herbert, these two phenomena had distinct effects, not necessarily on Millet himself—unless one interprets his departure from the city as symptomatic of urban overcrowding—but rather on the audience receiving his and other Barbizon painters' works. The revolution allowed for Millet's figures "to be interpreted by both detractors and defenders as images of the new social radicalism."[146] During the revolution itself and in its wake, the social role of the common man—both peasant and city-dweller—was up for debate. This is a central element of Clark's 1973 analyses. Herbert, however, does not linger on this point. Instead, he focuses on "the uprooting of peasant life in the mass migrations to the city."[147] Citing scattered demographic trends about the population of the *département* of Seine (where Paris is located) and one conservative critic (Léon Legrange) writing about the Salon of 1864, Herbert concludes:

[140] Herbert, "Millet Revisited – I," 295.
[141] Herbert, "Millet Revisited – I," 295.
[142] Robert L. Herbert, "Millet Reconsidered," *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 1 (1966): 31.
[143] Herbert, "Millet Reconsidered," 37.
[144] Letter from Millet to Sensier, February 1, 1851, quoted in Herbert, "Millet Reconsidered," 38.
[145] Herbert, "Millet Reconsidered," 43.
[146] Herbert, "Millet Reconsidered," 50.
[147] Herbert, "Millet Reconsidered," 50.

> The growing popularity of landscape and animal painting... was due in part to this... view of the bucolic scene. As the city grew ever larger, as its slums, its spectacular building campaigns, and its social upheaval became more prominent in France of the Second Empire, there was quite literally a need to bring landscape into the city. It entered quite directly in the growing number of landscapes, animal pictures and paintings of rural genre. These forms of painting constitute an urban phenomenon (who can imagine a peasant wishing to have pictures of animals?), and are most readily acceptable when they provide rest and relaxation for the urban mind. Millet himself certainly found a measure of tranquility in the country around Barbizon, and he shared nostalgia for an untrammeled past.[148]

In other words, the growth of cities caused the popularity of landscape. The proof of this causal link, according to Herbert, comes from three pieces of evidence: the fact that growth was occurring at the same time landscapes were produced, comments from a handful of commentators in the popular press, and the artists'—mostly Millet's—own attitudes toward urban life.

The final article in the series—"City vs. Country: The Rural Image in French Painting from Millet to Gauguin" (1970)—consolidates this point of view. Herbert extends his interpretation of images of nature as anti-city to a wider range of artists and cultural phenomena. He cites more socioeconomic statistics and argues that Frenchmen in the 1840s and through the Second Empire were deeply troubled by migration from the countryside to the city. Herbert again argues that the social and economic phenomena caused the artistic ones and that this link is mediated by artists for whom "the peasant was among the most important subjects [expressing their] attitudes toward the urban-industrial revolution."[149] Though stating that this theory is generally applicable to nineteenth-century France, Herbert chooses to focus almost exclusively on Jean-François Millet because "he has been known as 'the peasant painter' since the 1850s and any interpretation of peasant art would have to be measured against his work."[150]

Many of the arguments about Millet in "City vs. Country" are the same as those Herbert made in earlier articles. But in this piece, he makes one significant addition to the evidence and one significant omission of past arguments. The addition is Millet's recollection of his initial arrival in Paris from Normandy in the 1830s: "Paris, black, muddy, smoky... made the most painful and discouraging impression on me... The immense crowd of horses and carriages crossing and pushing each other, the narrow streets, the air and smell of Paris

[148] Herbert, "Millet Reconsidered," 46.

[149] Robert L. Herbert, "City vs. Country: The Rural Image in French Painting from Millet to Gauguin," *Artforum* 8 (1970): 44.

[150] Herbert, "City vs. Country," 26.

seemed to choke my head and heart, and almost suffocated me."[151] The omission is also linked to Millet's relationship to the city and his peasant roots. In "Millet Revisited—I," Herbert argues that many of the sources about Millet and his peasant-like innocence cannot be trusted. In an attempt to establish the painter as canonical, Herbert emphasizes Millet's dissatisfaction with his early peasant life and his development into a sophisticated artist. The somewhat awkward evolution of the artist from dissatisfied peasant to erudite artist, and then to modern champion of a preindustrial past is eliminated from "City vs. Country," without any comment on the change from earlier articles. A simple narrative emerges from the omission of Millet's complicated relationship with his upbringing and the addition of the Paris description. Herbert writes, "Fleeing the city meant not so much a direct plunge into contemporary peasant life as a rediscovery of the past, his own past life as a boy in Normandy, that personal past which would become equivalent to the pre-industrial past for European sensibilities."[152] The narrative, then, is that Millet is a peasant yearning for his childhood, and these yearnings resonated with his audience of nostalgic urbanites.

By the conclusion of "City vs. Country," Herbert creates a clear thesis that has continued to exert influence over socioeconomic studies of art across chronological and geographic boundaries: "Landscape provided release from the burgeoning city and permitted the viewer to displace himself, in his imagination, to the pre-industrial past."[153] Herbert formulated the theory about Millet's art and then reapplied it without modification to all images of the countryside in nineteenth-century France. It is not clear, however, whether this theory even accurately describes the opinions and behavior of Millet.

Millet's Letters Revisited and Reconsidered

As Herbert indicates in his articles, many records of Jean-François Millet's life and opinions have been informed by his reputation as a peasant painter; they are not neutral lists of life-events and dates. Before charting discrepancies in the story of the artist's life, as presented in the scholarly literature, an accurate—if somewhat dry—list of life events is necessary. Millet was born in 1814 in Gruchy, Normandy. He was the eldest son and second child of a peasant family. The family was not, however, impoverished. His mother "came from so prosperous a peasant family that they were considered gentry in the area" and his father had the time to become "a gifted organist and calligrapher."[154] Millet was sent to school, and his family encouraged his preparation for one of the liberal professions; he learned Latin and read Dante, Shakespeare, Hugo, and Virgil, among other well-known

[151] Quoted in Herbert, "City vs. Country," 35.
[152] Herbert, "City vs. Country," 35.
[153] Herbert, "Millet Reconsidered," 45.
[154] Griselda Pollock, *Millet* (London: Oresko Books, 1977), 8.

authors. His parents also encouraged his interest in art and later supported his artistic studies in nearby Cherbourg.[155]

In 1837, Millet received a scholarship from the city of Cherbourg to study at the *École des beaux-arts*. He studied with Paul Delaroche.[156] Despite having a portrait accepted for display in the Salon of 1840, Millet did not flourish during his early years in Paris. In fact, in 1840, he briefly returned to Normandy to work as a portrait painter and take a more active role in family affairs after his father's death. Unhappy in Normandy, he returned to the capital.[157] Despite the secondary literature's emphasis on his peasant roots, Millet was not, in fact, in close contact with his Norman family. He did not visit regularly after 1845, and returned to Gruchy for the last time for his mother's funeral in 1853.[158] Though Millet's family was religious, the artist himself was not.[159] His first wife died in 1843, and in 1845, he began a relationship with domestic servant Catherine Lemaire. The two had several children together, but did not obtain a civil marriage until 1853 and were not married in church until the year of his death. Millet does not appear to have been particularly religious, despite his Catholic reputation.

Throughout the 1840s, Millet struggled in Paris. He painted primarily nudes without much success and barely made a living by selling the occasional canvas and paiting portraits.[160] His professional luck changed in 1848 when he showed a peasant genre painting—*The Winnower*—at the Salon for the first time. *The Sower* (1850) was an even bigger success. In this genre, Millet found an artistic niche that resonated with critics and collectors and even brought him a state commission from the Second Republic. Around this time, Millet became acquainted with the Barbizon artists, becoming particularly close to Théodore Rousseau. Millet moved to the village on the edge of the forest of Fontainebleau in 1849 and lived there for the rest of his life.[161] This move and the choice to focus on rural genre painting was a critical juncture in Millet's career. From this point forward, his artwork was dominated by depictions of peasants. Though his art was critically controversial throughout the 1850s, he was more financially successful than he had been before. By the 1860s, his reputation was secure, and he was critically venerated. When he died in 1875, he was celebrated in hagiographic obituaries.[162]

[155] Pollock, *Millet*, 8.

[156] Heather McPherson, "Millet, Jean-François," *Grove Art Online*, *Oxford Art Online*, Oxford University Press, accessed October 22, 2015, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T058295.

[157] Pollock, *Millet*, 9–11.

[158] Christopher Parsons, "Patrons and Collectors of Jean-François Millet between 1845 and 1875"(M.Litt. thesis, University of Oxford, 1980), 39.

[159] Herbert, "Millet Revisited – I," 295; Herbert, "Millet Reconsidered," 29-33.

[160] Herbert, "Millet Reconsidered," 29-33.

[161] Herbert, "Millet Reconsidered," 2–4.

[162] See Etienne Moreau-Nélaton, *Millet Raconté par lui même*, vol. 3 (Paris: H. Laurens, 1921), 107–41.

These are the basic details about Millet's life. They are indisputable. It is not just these details, however, that have inspired theories about rural imagery and modernization, but rather how Millet felt about these details—how he felt about Normandy, Paris, and Barbizon. Herbert argues that Millet disliked the city and, in Barbizon, found a connection with his peasant roots that, in turn, resonated with the mid-century French audience. But how does Herbert reach the conclusion the Millet disliked the city and that this dislike was the primary impulse for his choice to depict peasants? Herbert relies on several biographies written about the artist during the half-century after his death. These sources, however, are unreliable. The two principal biographies are Alfred Sensier's *La vie et l'oeuvre de J.F. Millet* (1881) and Etienne Moreau-Nélaton's *Millet raconté par lui-même* (1921). Of these biographers, only Sensier—who worked as the artist's agent—knew Millet personally.[163] It is in charting and interpreting the sources that attest to the artist's emotions that there is room for debate about why Millet painted what he did and whether one can generalize from his experience to rural genre painting in general.

Sensier was born in Paris. His father was a notary and bureaucrat. Sensier also became a *fonctionnaire* and worked in the arts administration and Ministry of the Interior. Working for the French state was not, however, his only career. He was also an early collector of—and advocate for—the art of the Barbizon school. To support the careers of the artists whose work he collected, Sensier organized sales and exhibitions, wrote articles about the annual Salon, and published a series of monographs. He reaped the rewards of his boosterism in 1873 when he sold almost his entire collection of Barbizon paintings for a significant financial gain.[164]

Sensier believed that Millet's success as an artist was enhanced by his status as a peasant painter. Sensier's 1881 biography of Millet begins, "In the fold of a little valley, open toward the sea, lies the hamlet of Gruchy.... Forty years ago a family of laborers lived there, who, from father to son, tilled their land." [165] A history of the family is then provided to emphasize the Millets' hardworking and moral nature. It was into this world that "Millet, the painter of peasants," was born.[166] Young Jean-François' "only ambition [was] to accomplish his duties as a son, to plow his furrow in peace and to turn up the earth whose odor delighted his young senses."[167] When Millet was a boy beginning to show talent for

[163] A third biography merits brief mention: Julia Cartwright Ady's *Jean François Millet: His Life and Letters* (1896). Cartwright Ady, however, draws heavily on Sensier's work, and Herbert mentions her work in his bibliographies but does not quote from it.

[164] Christopher Parsons and Neil McWilliam, "'Le Paysan de Paris': Alfred Sensier and the Myth of Rural France," *Oxford Art Journal* 6, no. 2 (1983): 38–39.

[165] Sensier wrote the majority of the monograph, but died before its completion. It was finished and published posthumously by journalist Paul Mantz (see Parsons and McWilliam, "Le Paysan de Paris").

[166] Alfred Sensier, *Jean-François Millet, Peasant and Painter*, trans. Helena de Kay (London, 1881), 3.

[167] Sensier, *Jean-François Millet*, 39.

drawing, the local priests would ask him to execute works of art, which he would then give to their churches for free.[168] Once an artist, Millet (according to Sensier) never lost touch with these roots: "Paris was a prison to him," and he "felt…as if [he] was nailed to a rock and condemned to endless labor." Millet apparently said, "I could have forgotten all if I had only been able once in a while to see my native place."[169] Though Millet chose to leave Paris for Barbizon instead of Normandy, Sensier insists that Millet's works were all about Gruchy. While *The Sower*, according to Sensier, "was conceived and executed at Barbizon, it was with the remembrance of Normandy.… It is a young fellow of Gréville [near Gruchy]…It his himself, Millet, who remembers his early life and finds himself once more upon his native soil."[170]

This constant insistence on Millet's nostalgia for and connection with his upbringing was part of a marketing strategy. Sensier was Millet's professional advisor, as well as a collector and dealer of his work. The biography edited, emphasized, and occasionally fabricated details of Millet's life to augment the image of the artist as "the rustic, the robust…resembling his austere *Sower*."[171] Sensier also exaggerated Millet's piety and devotion to his family.[172] The creation of this myth of Millet as the irreproachable pious peasant painter was set in motion during the artist's life and further consolidated after his death. Nostalgia was a marketing strategy that Sensier actively engaged in, and Millet was his mostly willing partner in this public relations ploy.[173]

Herbert was aware of Sensier's position in relation to the artist. In "Millet Revisited—I" (1962), Herbert writes that the bureaucrat was the "chief inventor of the Millet-myth" and then highlights inaccuracies in Sensier's account of Millet's piety and poverty.[174] Despite this critique, by the time "City vs. Country" was published, Herbert was willing to make information from Sensier's biography central to his argument. Examining the citation for Millet's statement that "Paris, black, muddy, smoky…made the most painful and discouraging impression on [him]…and almost suffocated [him]" shows that Herbert got this quote from the artist via Sensier. The quote is attributed to "an undated autobiography" by the artist; this autobiography is only ever cited by Sensier.[175] One of the most poignant—and re-cited[176]—pieces of evidence in Herbert's argument, then, comes from a source that he himself openly distrusted.[177]

[168] Sensier, *Jean-François Millet*, 41.
[169] Sensier, *Jean-François Millet*, 67.
[170] Sensier, *Jean-François Millet*, 89.
[171] Parsons, "Patrons and Collectors of Jean-François Millet between 1845 and 1875," 42.
[172] Sensier, *Jean-François Millet*, 38–39.
[173] Sensier, *Jean-François Millet*, 42–45.
[174] Herbert, "Millet Revisited – I," 295.
[175] See note 21 in Herbert, "City vs. Country."
[176] E.g. Pollock, *Millet*, 9; Albert Boime, *Art in the Age of Civil Struggle* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), 84.
[177] See Herbert, "Millet Revisited – I," 295.

The second and more credible early biography of Millet is Etienne Moreau-Nélaton's three-volume *Millet raconté par lui-même* (1921). Moreau-Nélaton (1859–1927) was an art critic, painter, collector, and prolific writer. Prior to Etienne's activities, the Moreau family had been significant collectors of contemporary French art for two generations. Moreau-Nélaton's father and grandfather collected Barbizon art and some Salon paintings. Moreau-Nélaton reoriented his collecting to the Impressionists.[178] The bequest of his collection to the French state in 1927 included major works, such as Manet's *Dejeuner sur l'herbe*.[179] Moreau-Nélaton studied history at the Ecole normale supérieure and then painting with several artists. He showed his first painting at a major exhibition in 1885 and continued to paint and exhibit throughout his life. His career as an art historian only began in 1901 when he published a book on the painters of the court of the sixteenth-century Valois monarchs. He soon turned his historical method to more recent painters, publishing books on Corot (1905) and Manet (1906). Beginning in 1916 with Delacroix, Moreau-Nélaton began publishing the "par lui-même" series of books about nineteenth-century French painters, including Jongkind, Manet, Corot, Bonvin, Daubingy, and of course, Millet. In parallel with his studies of nineteenth-century painting, Moreau-Nélaton developed a passion for recording and defending France's threatened "ancestral heritage" (*patrimoine*), particularly rural churches.[180]

Considering Moreau-Nélaton's biography and his scholarly concerns, it is unsurprising that the mythic quality of Millet as a peasant is germane to his book about the painter. Moreau-Nélaton's work begins with a quote from the artist: "I am a peasant and nothing but a peasant."[181] The first chapter continues with a lengthy reproduction of "a page from around 1865 that was destined for a journal but never printed."[182] It is a long, nostalgic, and poetic description of the country surrounding Millet's birthplace. Moreau-Nélaton was not, however, in possession of this page. Instead, he translated an English-language source—Henry Naegely's *J.F. Millet and Rustic Art* (1902). Naegley—a writer whose biography is

[178] Michela Passini and Vincent Pomarede, "MOREAU-NELATON, Etienne". *Dictionnaire Critique Des Historiens De L'Art* (Paris: Institute National D'histoire De L'art, 2009), http://www.inha.fr/fr/ressources/publications/publications-numeriques/dictionnaire-critique-des-historiens-de-l-art/moreau-nelaton-etienne.html.

[179] François Cachin and Pierre Rosenberg, *De Corot aux impressionnistes, homage à Etienne Moreau-Nélaton* (Paris: Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 1991).

[180] Original text: "ont le devoir patriotique de travailler de toutes leurs forces à cette régénération de leur patrimoine atavique." Etienne Moreau-Nélaton, *Chez nous après les Boches* (Paris, H. Laurens, 1919), 96, quoted in Michaela Passini and Vincent Pomerade, ń MOREAU-NELATON, Étienne ż in *Dictionnaire critique des historiens de l'art* (Paris : Institute national d'histoire de l'art), online notice published January 2009, URL: https://www.inha.fr/fr/ressources/publications/publications-numeriques/dictionnaire-critique-des-historiens-de-l-art/moreau-nelaton-etienne.html.

[181] Moreau-Nélaton, *Jean-François Millet*, 1:1.

[182] Moreau-Nélaton, *Jean-François Millet*, 1:2. Translation by the author.

unclear and whose only other writing is a book of poetry[183]—quotes the artist as describing the cliffs near his home as having an "imposing aspect [that] might make one fancy that Prometheus was bound to some such height."[184] Naegley gives his source is the artist's "unpublished manuscripts" in an unspecified location.[185]

While the foundations of Sensier's and Moreau-Nélaton's scholarship are shaky, some extant primary source material written by Millet can be accessed today. Moreau-Nélaton acquired a large number of letters that Millet wrote throughout his lifetime. He donated these—along with other letters by French artists and his art collection—to the Louvre in 1927.[186] The entire collection is known as the *Legs Moreau-Nélaton*, and the manuscript materials are preserved in the Louvre's *Cabinet des dessins*. In total, the *Cabinet des dessins* holds 604 letters written by Millet. The two concluding sections of this chapter present a quantitative and qualitative analysis of this material.

A Quantitative Analysis of Millet's Letters

Each item in the Moreau-Nélaton collection is indexed on the "Inventaire du department des Arts graphiques" of the *Cabinet de dessins*, complete with Moreau-Nélaton's short description of the subject of each letter.[187] The collection officially contains 644 items classified as an *autographe*—material written by the hand of the artist—of Jean-François Millet. However, of these, eight were in fact written by other people, including the artist Charles Jacque and the Comte de Nieuwerkerke, *Director des Beaux-arts* during the Second Empire. Another twenty-five items considered to be *autographes* are not letters, but scraps of jotted notes, annotated train schedules, and even the hand-written 1860 contract between Millet and Arthur Stevens, the brother of Belgian artist Alfred Stevens who briefly served as Millet's dealer. Seven letters written by Millet are not dated. The *Legs Moreau-Nélaton* thus includes 604 letters written by Millet that are dated. Briefly charting and graphing the content of these letters over time—as indexed by Moreau-Nélaton's notes—provides insight into the relative representativeness of the Millet letters first cited in the early biographies of the artist and then included in the studies written by Herbert and other social historians of art.

[183] Henry Gaelyn [Henry Naegely], *The Mummer and Other Poems* (London: E. Stock, 1895).

[184] Henry Naegely, *J.F. Millet and Rustic Art* (London: Elliot Stock, 1902), 14.

[185] Ibid., 12. There are dozens of examples of Moreau-Nélaton's reliance on Naegley; he writes, "La plupart des lettres en question sont inédites dans leur texte original. On n'en a publié, jusqu'à present, qu'une traduction en anglais" (p. 53). The footnote on this statement cites Naegley.

[186] Moreau-Nélaton actually gave his art and graphic collections to the museum in three donations: 1906, 1919, and 1927. Most of the written documents were given in the 1927 donation.

[187] "Inventaire du departement des Arts graphiques," Musée du Louvre, Départment des Arts graphiques, accessed August 8, 2016, http://arts-graphiques.louvre.fr.

Table 4.1: Keywords for Categorizing Millet's Letters

Category	**Keywords in French**
Geography	
Paris	"Paris"
Barbizon	"Barbizon"
Normandy and Home Village	"Normadie," "village natal," "Gréville," "Cherbourg"
Business Affairs	
Alfred Sensier	"Sensier" (but not "Mme. Sensier")
Money and Business Concerns	"argent," "les sous," "des sous," "francs," "dettes," "versement," "prix," "vente," "financière," "contrat"
Dealers and Agents, Other than Sensier	"Stevens," "Beugniet," "Brame," "Durand-Ruel," "Blanc"
Patrons	"Feydeay," "Hartmann," "Tesse," "Robaut," "Couturier," "M. Mame," "M. Thomas," "Forget," "Forges," "M. Granet," "Bruyas," "Bischoffsheim," "De Knyff"
Work	"travailler," "travaille," "travail"
Works of Art, Artists, Exhibitions	
Works of Art	"dessin," "tableau," "tableaux," "gravure," "eau forte," "panneaux décoratifs," "crayon," "pastel," "esquisses"
Théodore Rousseau	"Rousseau" (but not "Mme. Rousseau")
Other Barbizon Artists (besides Rousseau)	"Diaz," "Dupré," "Jacque," "Jacques"
Non-Barbizon Artists	"Dealcroix," "Courbet," "Gérôme," "Meissonier," "Puvis de Chavannes"
Exhibitions (in general)	"exposition," "expositions," "exposer"
The Salon and the *Académie des Beaux-arts*	"Salon," "médaille," "membre d'honneur"
Critcs	"Castagnary," "articles," "critique," "Figaro," "Silvestre"
Family and Wellbeing	
Illness	"migraine," "douleur," "malade," "maladie," "dents," "médicin," "inflammation"
Family	"ma femme," "fille," "garçon," "naissance," "enfant," "famille," "fils," "frère," "soeur," "mère"
"News"	"nouvelles"

Emulating the Whiteley Index, I used keywords to categorize Moreau-Nélaton's descriptions of the Millet letters. I use these descriptions, rather than transcriptions of the letters, for reasons of expediency. The descriptions were already digitized and available online from the *Inventaire du department des Arts graphiques*. Web-scraping information about the Millet letters from the *Inventaire* provided a dataset that reports the date, recipient, and brief description of the content of each letter. It often also includes the place where

the letter was written. The categorization of each letter was determined by the presence of certain keywords in the text of Moreau-Nélaton's description of each letter.

Table 4.2: Number of Letters written by Millet per year

Year	Number of Letters	Percent of Total
1848	2	0.33
1850	4	0.66
1851	12	1.99
1852	14	2.32
1853	7	1.16
1854	13	2.15
1855	9	1.49
1856	8	1.32
1857	25	4.14
1858	43	7.12
1859	33	5.46
1860	33	5.46
1861	26	4.3
1862	27	4.47
1863	57	9.44
1864	42	6.95
1865	39	6.46
1866	38	6.29
1867	47	7.78
1868	42	6.95
1869	21	3.48
1870	20	3.31
1871	13	2.15
1872	12	1.99
1873	7	1.16
1874	9	1.49
Total	**604**	**100**

Table 4.1 presents a list of the categories and the keywords that form that category, while Table 4.2 shows the number of letters that Millet wrote each year. Letters are double-tagged if they mention two topics. For example, there are several letters in 1861 that discuss the artist Charles Jacque's efforts to acquire land in Barbizon. These letters are tagged as being both about "Other Barbizon Artists" as well as "Barbizon." Figures 4.1–4.18 present the results of this categorization and graph the most frequent subjects of Millet's letters and how

often they were mentioned over the course of his lifetime. The subjects are grouped into larger categories—"Geography," "Business Affairs," "Works of Art, Artists, Exhibitions," and "Family and Wellbeing." These categories are each discussed below.

Among the most discussed topics in these letters are specific places—grouped together under "Geography"—along with goings-on in these places and Millet's travel to or from them. By far the most often mentioned place in Millet's letters is Paris (figure 4.1). On average, he mentions it in approximately 30% of his letters each year—and it only fades

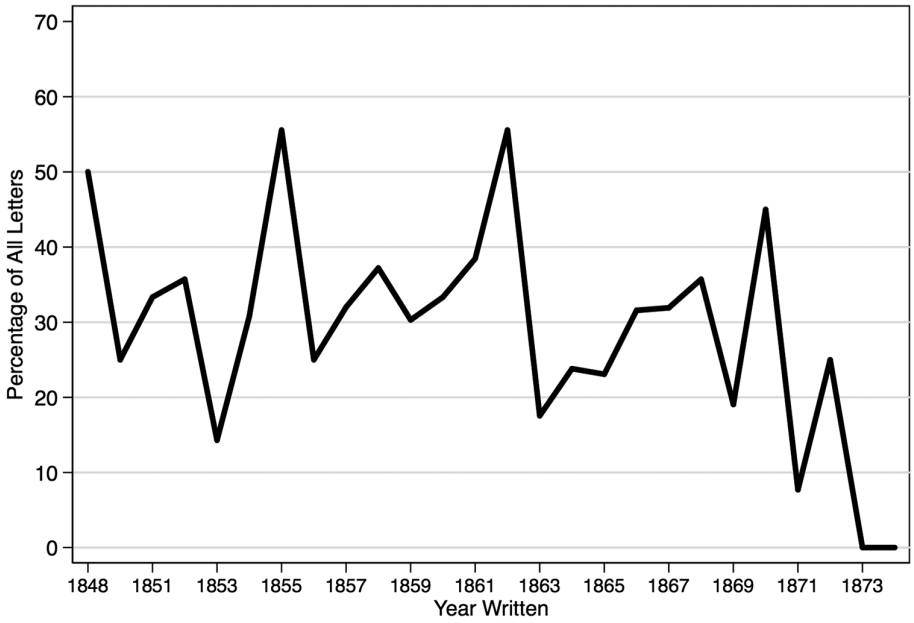


Figure 4.1: Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that mention Paris, 1848–1874 (N = 604)

from frequent mention in the final three years of his life. The letters most often mention Paris in terms of professional activity. Millet travels there regularly in service of selling or marketing paintings, organizing his participation in an exhibition, or meeting other artists and patrons. Thus, Paris and its importance to his professional success loom large in Millet's letters. Barbizon is the second-most-mentioned location in Millet's letters (figure 4.2), , although it appears far less frequently than does Paris. Barbizon is mentioned in one of the two letters from 1848 that are preserved in the Moreau-Nélaton donation. After that spike, the artist colony is mentioned in only about 10% of letters. These mentions are frequently about travel to and from the village, real estate, or village politics. The final identifiable location mentioned in Millet's letters is his native Normandy (figure 4.3). This category aggregates mentions of Normandy as a region with specific locales, such as Cherbourg and Millet's hometown, the hamlet of Gruchy within the village of Gréville. In terms of the frequency of mentions in his letters, Normandy is relatively unimportant to Millet. In almost half of the years for which letters are available, Millet does not mention his home region.

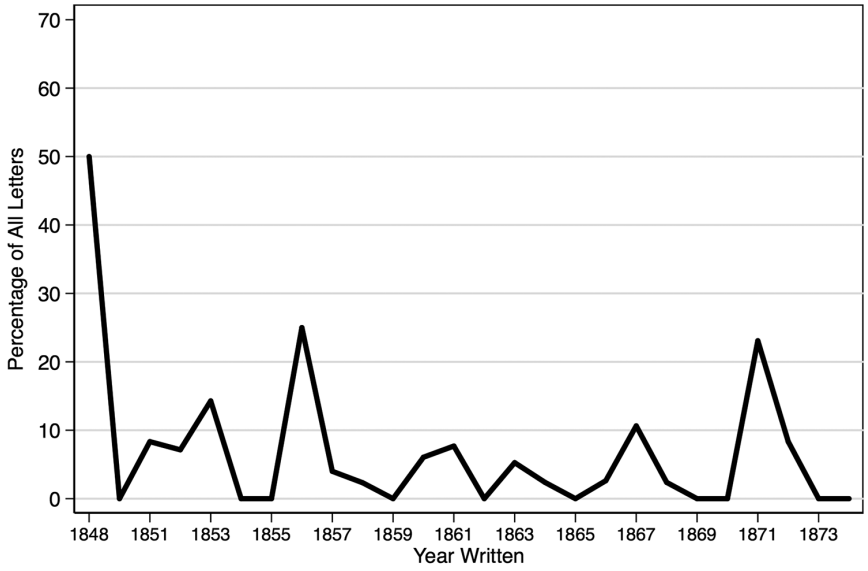


Figure 4.2: Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that mention Barbizon, 1848–1874 (N = 604)

Only in 1871, three years before the artist's death, is the region mentioned in a maximum of 15% of his letters.

The most discussed category of topics in Millet's letters is his professional activity and money (figures 4.4–4.8). Whether it is asking for emergency financial aid from Sensier, discussing commissions and sales, or simply describing how hard he works, working to earn a living and support his family weighs heavily on Millet's mind. As the artist's most frequent interlocutor, Sensier is both the recipient and subject of many of Millet's letters. Though

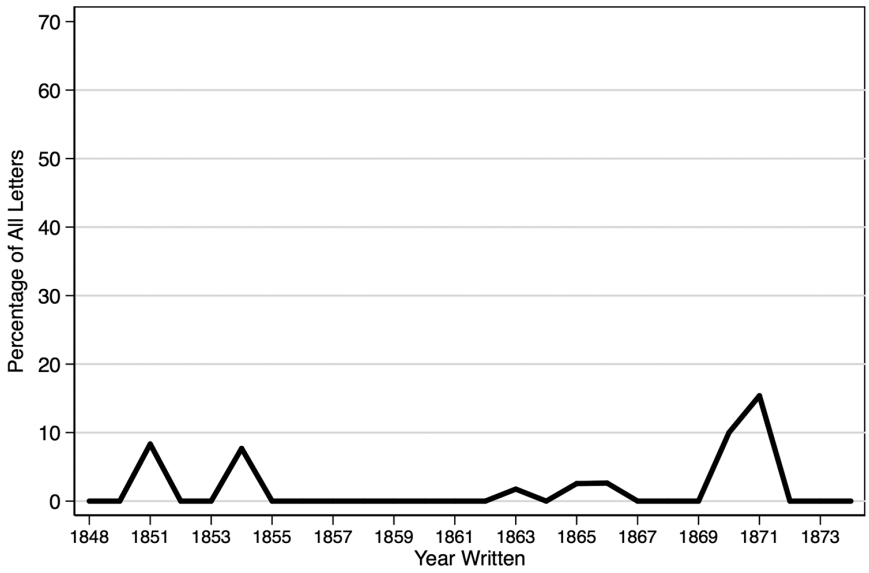


Figure 4.3: Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that Mention Normandy, 1848–1874 (N = 604)

the two men share news about their families and invitations to important events, such as the baptisms of Millet's children, the majority of the letters are about money, Millet's work, and the process of selling to prospective collectors and patrons.

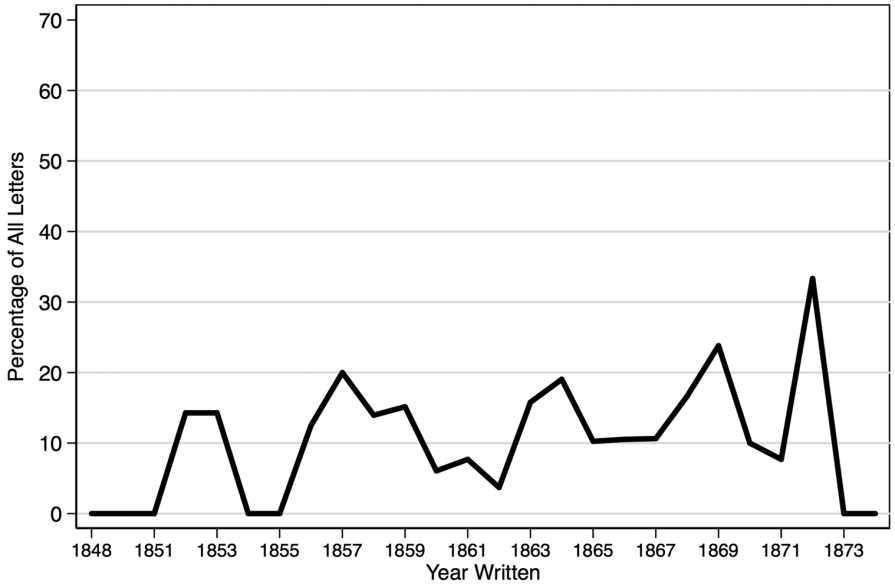


Figure 4.4: Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that Mention Alfred Sensier, 1848–1874 (N = 604)

Sensier is not, however, the only agent selling Millet's work. Throughout his lifetime, Millet considers, and frets over, working with a series of other dealers and agents who offer to help him sell art—including Paul Durand-Ruel, who would become the Impressionists'

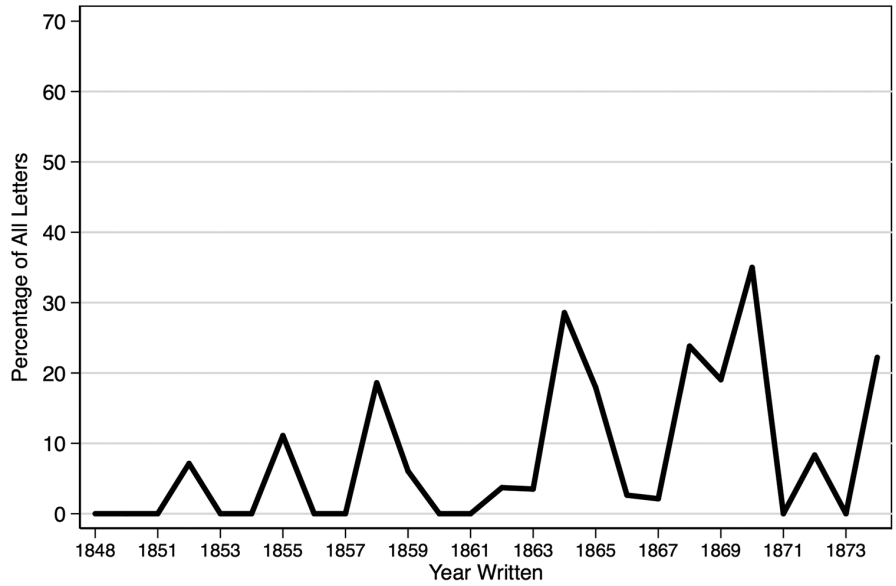


Figure 4.5: Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that Mention Money, 1848–1874 (N = 604)

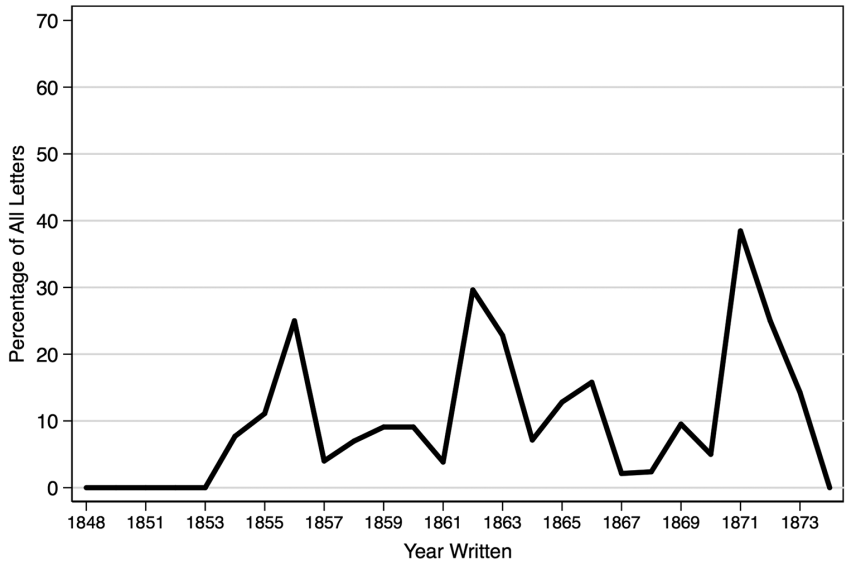


Figure 4.6: Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that Mention Other Agents and Dealers, 1848–1874 (N = 604)

dealer. Spikes in the mentions of these other men appear when Millet is either forming a new relationship with a dealer or when that relationship crumbles, as it often did. In addition to working with a series of dealers, Millet was also fully informed of who his patrons were and actively discussed not only their preferences, but also placing already complete or in progress works with them. In fact, in this collection of letters, he mentions more patrons specifically by name than he does fellow artists.

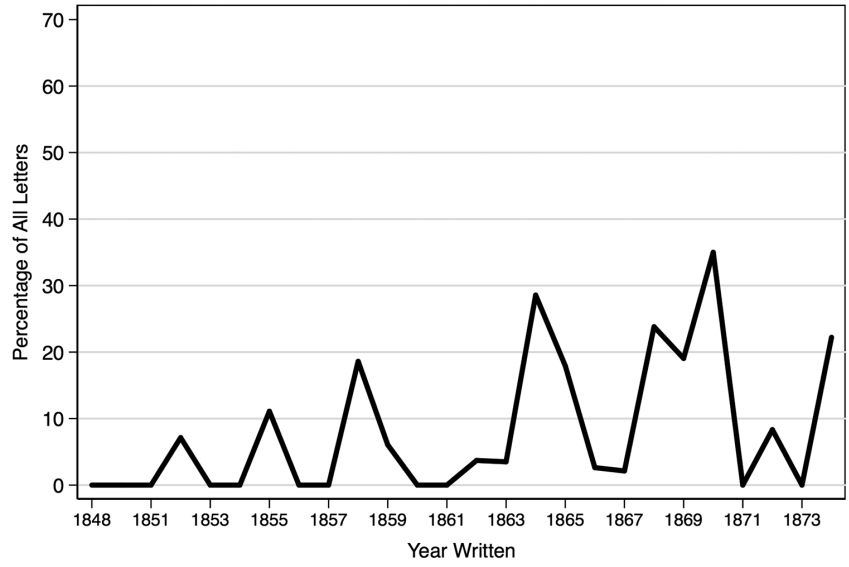


Figure 4.7: Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that Mention Patrons, 1848–1874 (N = 604)

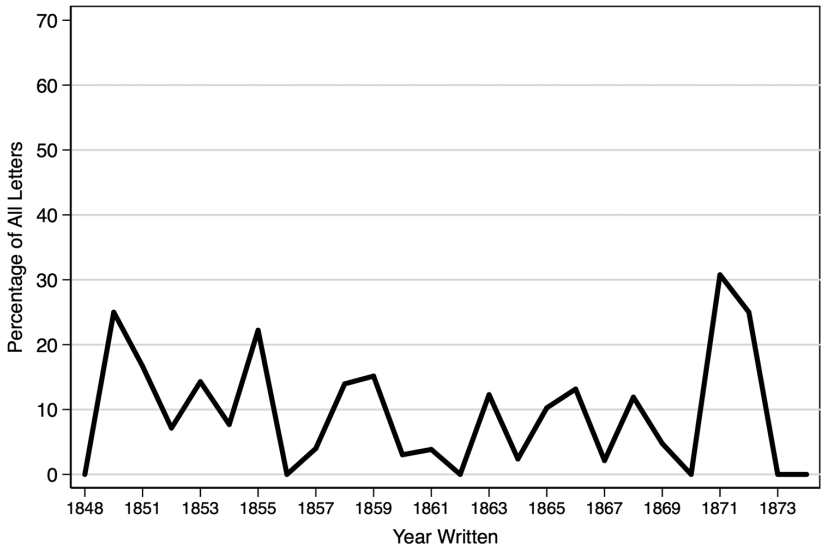


Figure 4.8: Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that mention 'Travail,' 1848–1874 (N = 604)

While commercial questions and financial concerns are frequent topics mentioned in Millet's letters, he also discusses his own artwork, its progress and exhibition, and the activities of his colleagues (figures 4.9–4.15). He often provides updates on works he is currently completing and an assessment of their quality. Works across media—from watercolors and drawings to large oil paintings—seem to receive equal consideration. On average, Millet discusses works of art (most often his own) in an average of 40% of his letters throughout the sample. Interestingly, the other concerns of the art world are mentioned far less frequently.

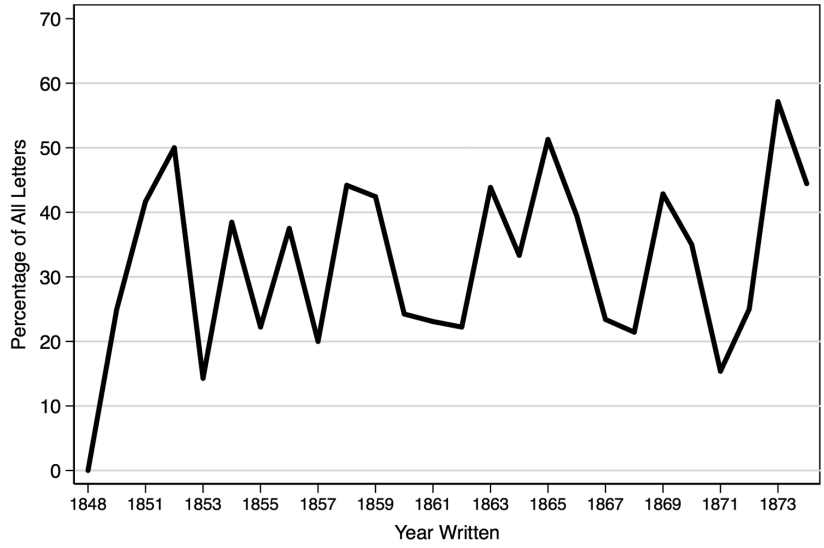


Figure 4.9: Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that Mention his own Artwork, 1848–1874 (N = 604)

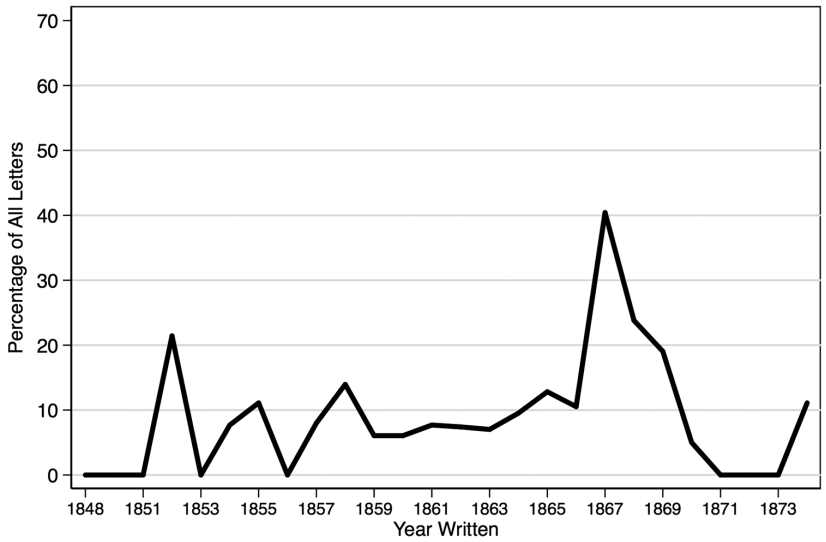


Figure 4.10: Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that mention Théodore Rousseau, 1848–1874 (N = 604)

The Academic artists, the Salon, and the activities of the *Académie des beaux-arts* are never mentioned in more than 10% of letters. In general, his Barbizon colleagues do not fare much better. They are also mentioned in only about 10% of letters, and the spike in mentions in 1861 is linked to a controversy over Charles Jacque's purchase of property in Barbizon. Finally, the art critics are also minor characters in this sample of Millet's correspondence. They are never mentioned by name before 1863 and then never again after 1868.

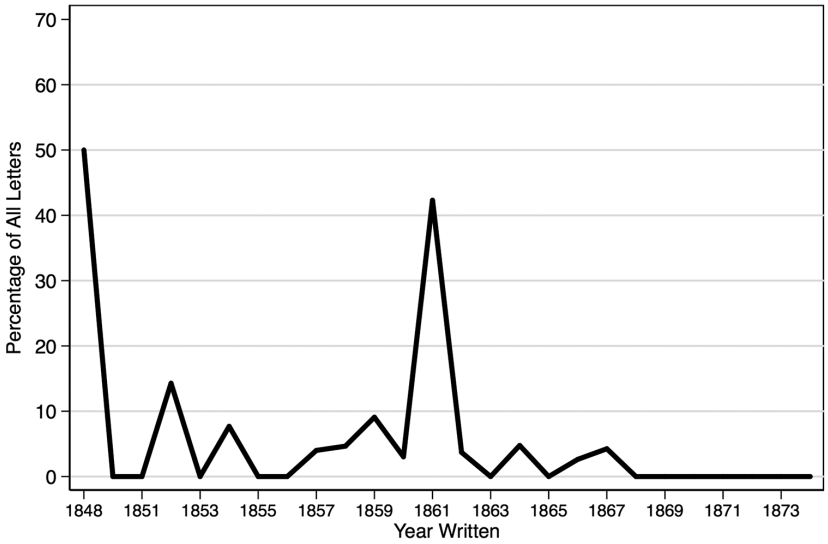


Figure 4.11: Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that mention Other Barbizon Artists, 1848–1874 (N = 604)

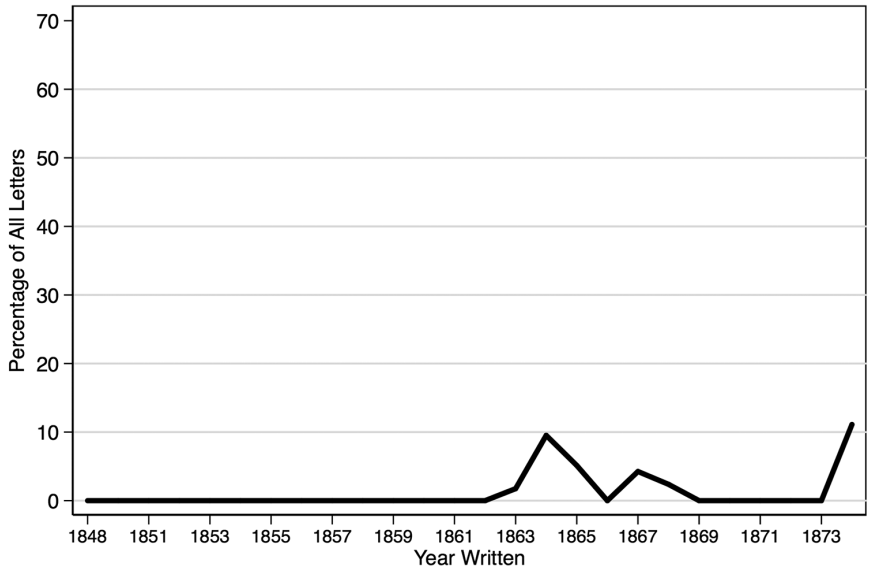


Figure 4.12: Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that mention Other Non-Barbizon Artists, 1848–1874 (N = 604)

The only artist who merits frequent mention in Millet's letters is Théodore Rousseau, his friend, mentor, and patron. On his own, Rousseau is mentioned more often—around 10% each year until a spike in discussion after his death in 1867—than the other academic and Barbizon artists combined. The elder artist was also among Millet's more common correspondents. The close artistic and financial relationship between these two artists was summarized in Christopher Parsons' study of Millet's patrons:

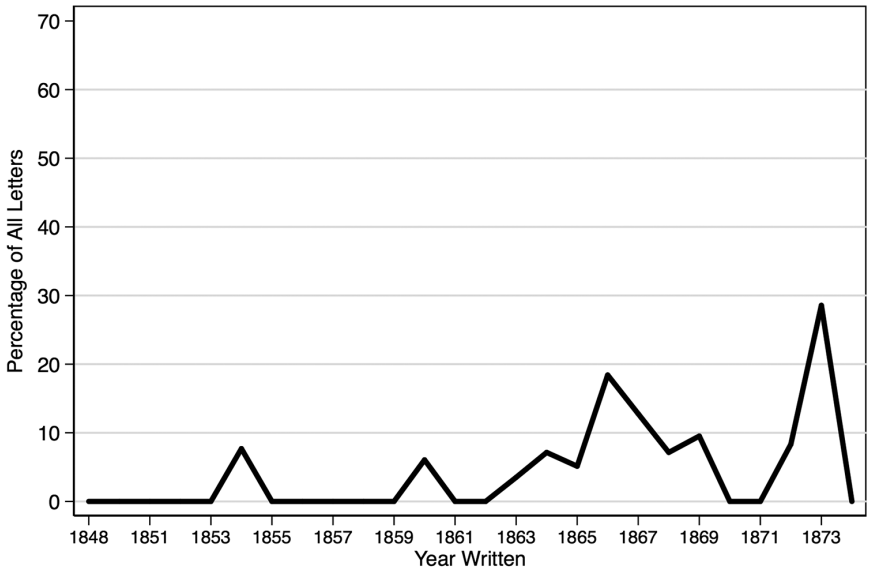


Figure 4.13: Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that mention Exhibitions, 1848–1874 (N = 604)

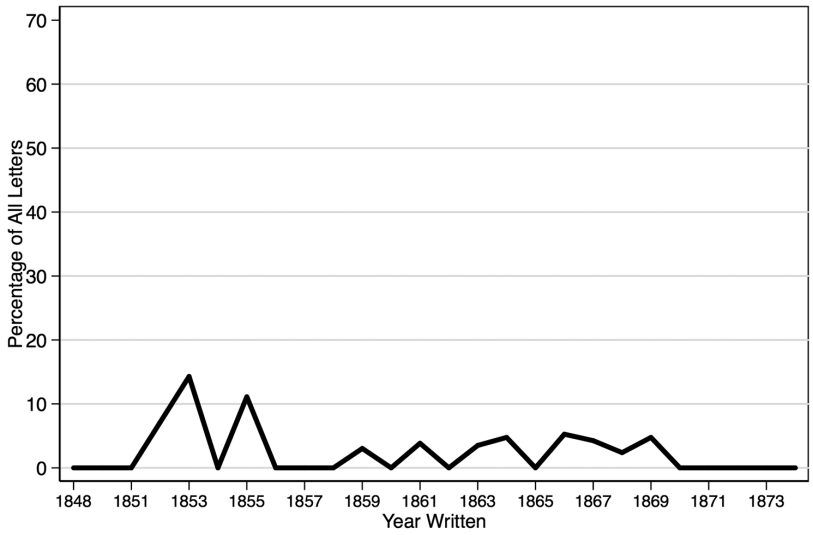


Figure 4.14: Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that Mention the Salon or the Académie de Beaux-arts, 1848–1874 (N = 604)

> Théodore Rousseau occupies a special place amongst these artist-patrons. His death in 1867 had a profound effect on Millet, a reflection of the interdependence between the two men that had developed on both a personal and professional level... His role as a patron was of particular importance before 1860—Rousseau diverted some of the proceeds from his own success to support Millet's work. He bought many paintings and drawings at auctions... to buoy up Millet's prices. He masqueraded as an American in 1854 and paid 4000fs.[188]

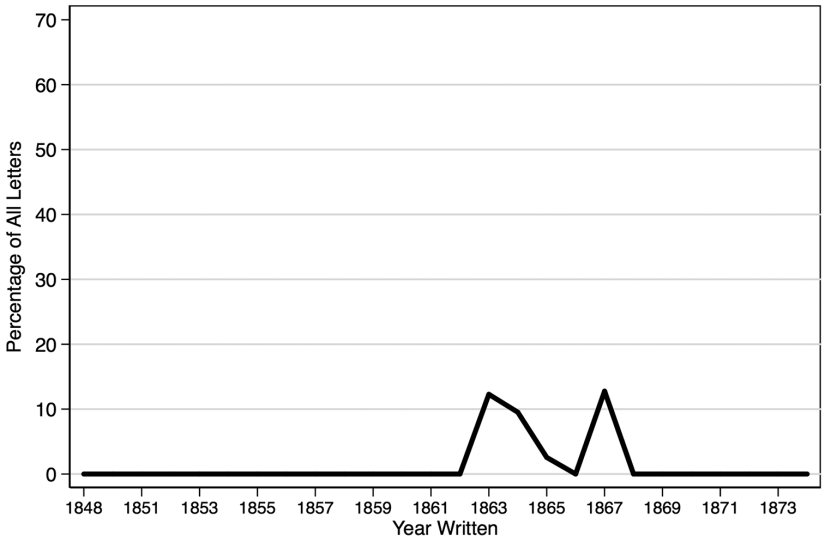


Figure 4.15: Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that mention Art Critics, 1848–1874 (N = 604)

[188] Parsons, "Patrons and Collectors of Jean-François Millet between 1845 and 1875," 134.

Finally, Millet's letters demonstrate a constant low-level concern for the needs and challenges of everyday life (figures 4.16–4.18). He often gives news of his wife and children, especially when the latter are ill. He discusses his own illnesses, particularly migraines that stopped him from working. In addition, there is a consistent demand for "nouvelles" from his interlocutors. This word for news was common shorthand for basic information about the wellbeing of his friends' families, but also for gossip from the art world or updates on the comings and goings of colleagues and mutual acquaintances. These quotidian topics are, in aggregate, mentioned throughout the artist's life in about 30%–40% of letters.

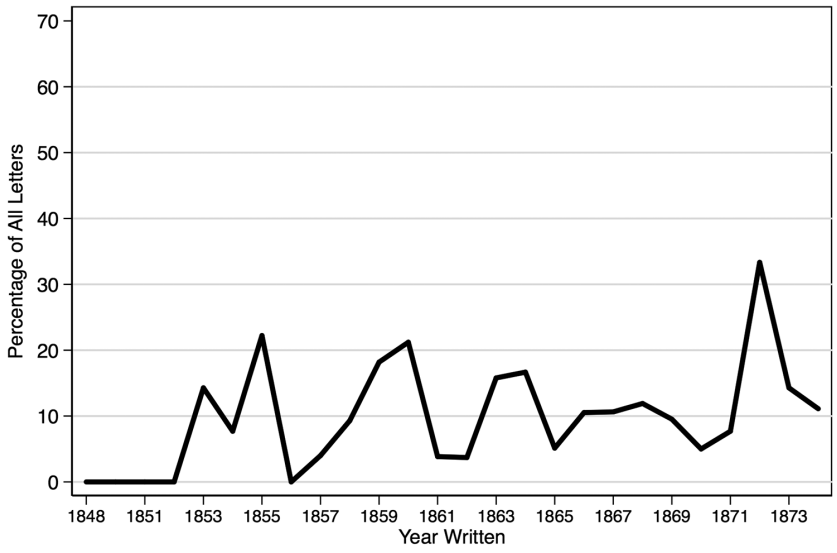


Figure 4.16: Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that mention Physical Illness, 1848–1874 (N = 604)

This quantitative overview of Millet's letters demonstrates several things about his concerns, opinions, and activities that run counter to the germane image of the artist as anti-urban peasant. First, his primary concerns were ordinary: having enough money, and his own wellbeing and that of his family. He was a professional concerned more with supporting his children than with stubbornly holding on to his peasant roots. This second point about money and success trumping any desire to be a simple "peasant-painter" is further emphasized by the frequency with which he mentions travel to and from Paris in order to transact and participate in the urban Parisian art world. This quantitative survey of over six hundred of Millet's letters paints a picture of a professional modern artist who expends most of his energy coping with the demands of working as a painter without the assured income of an *académicien* given state commissions and reliable patronage from wealthy foreigners.[189] He was a modern painter.

[189]For more information about the income and career of *académiciens*, see Chapter 2 of this thesis.

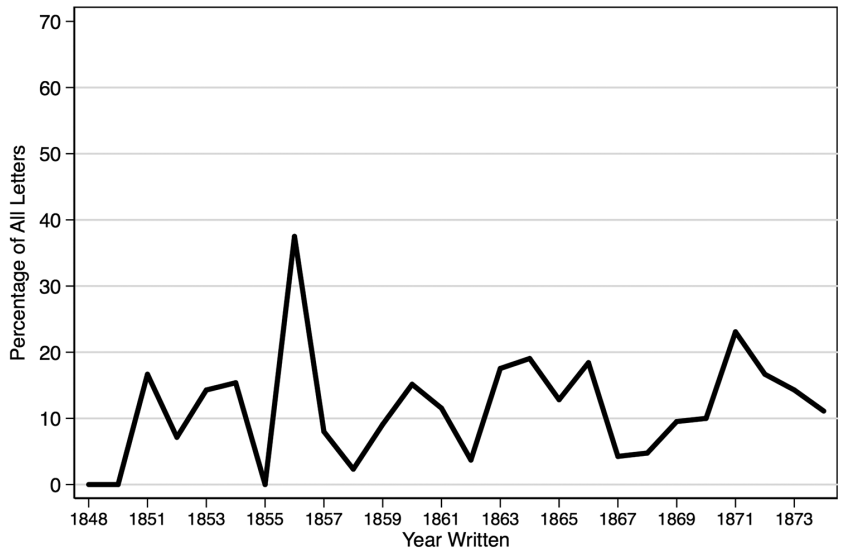


Figure 4.17: Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that mention his Family, 1848–1874 (N = 604)

Though this zoomed-out view of Millet's frequent topics of conversation challenges the image of the artist central to the founding social histories of art; it does not address the specific declarations of belief in the importance of rural life and negative opinions of the city that Herbert, Clark, and others have cited. Furthermore, this analysis relies on an index of brief descriptions compiled by an early-twentieth-century scholar. Moreau-Nélaton's brief descriptions appear to be neutral and effective summaries of the subjects of the artist's letters. To fully grasp Millet's opinions and concerns, however, it is necessary to

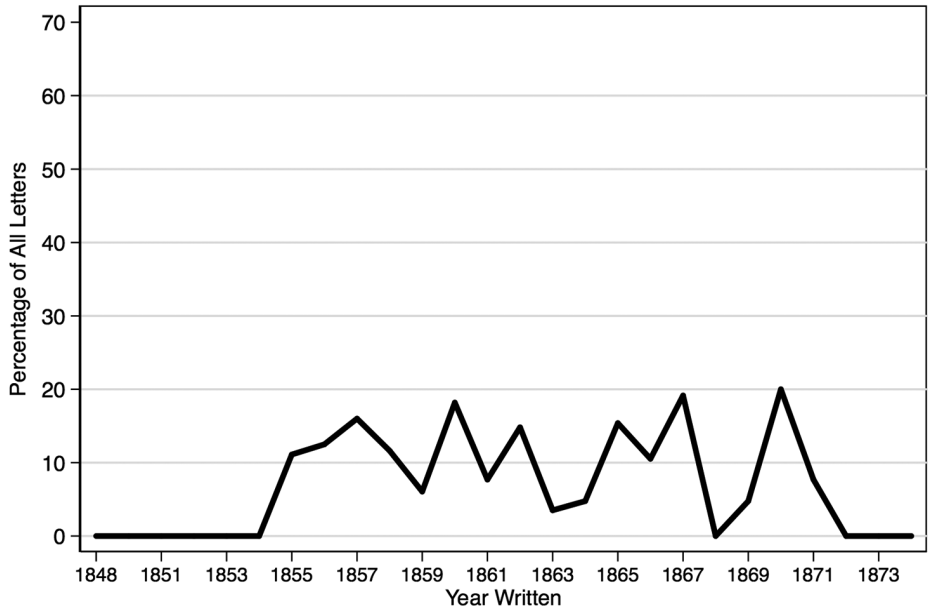


Figure 4.18: Percentage Letters by Jean-François Millet that Mention 'Nouvelles,' 1848–1874 (N = 604)

read the material behind the index and locate the context in which the artist made his much-cited comments about the dirtiness of the city, the beauty of Barbizon, and his affinity for peasants as subjects.

Conclusion: A Qualitative Analysis of Millet's Letters in the Moreau-Nélaton Donation

As detailed above, there are a handful of quotes from Millet's correspondence repeated throughout studies of the artist: "The gayest thing I know is the calm, the silence which one enjoys so deliciously either in the forests or in the cultivated places."[190] Written in February 1851, this sentence in one of Millet's letters to Sensier is—along with the journal entry describing Paris as muddy and black, which cannot currently be located—among the most-cited primary sources supporting Millet's anti-urban and anti-industrial views. Having found the letter from which this much-cite quote has been pulled in the Moreau-Nélaton donation, it is possible to read and analyze the document in its entirety rather than in the excerpts provided in the late nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century publications about the artist.

In the 1851 letter, Millet writes in a sometimes impenetrable scrawl that seems to particularly deteriorate when he writes to his most frequent interlocutors, like Sensier. Below is a transcription of the letter in its entirety; ellipses are used when it was impossible to discern with confidence what Millet had written. A transcription of the letter in French is available in the appendix:

> Saturday,
>
> My dear Sensier,
>
> Yesterday, on Friday, I received the oil colors that you sent me and the draft painting that was with them.
>
> Here are the titles of the three paintings for the sale in question:
>
> 1. Woman carding linen
>
> 2. Peasants going to work in the fields
>
> 3. Gatherers of wood in the forest
>
> I don't know that one can print a word about the Gatherers, if… you put. Peasants is… in… or in whatever you want. Know only that the painting is composed of a man binding a stick and two women, one cutting branches and the other holding a bundle of wood. Voilà.

[190] Letter from Millet to Sensier, February 1, 1851, quoted in Herbert, "Millet Reconsidered," 38.

As soon as the frames are done, tell me so I have the time to see them without the paintings in them and retouch them if needed.

There is only you to describe them by their titles, in my works in progress there are neither naked women nor mythological subjects: I want to position myself before anything else as a... that I do not understand why no one defends the fact that I would not want to be forced to do it; but in the end the beginnings go better with my temperament because I swear at the risk of speaking even more... that it is the human side, the frankly human that touches me most in art & if I could do whatever I want or at least try the result I would not do anything that is not the result of impressions received by the aspect of nature, whether in landscapes or in figures and it is never the joyous part that appears to me; I don't know if it is there, I never saw it. That which I... gay, is the calm and silence that one enjoys so deliciously either in the forest or in the cultivated places, whether ploughable or not, you will admit that it is always very dreamy & a sad reverie while delicious, you are seated below the trees, experiencing all the well-being, all the tranquility that one can enjoy, you see a poor figure break out from a small trail, loaded with a bundle of wood, the unexpected and always shocking nature of the figure recalls instantly the sad human condition, the fatigue that always gives an impression analogous to that which La Fontaine describe in the fable of the woodcutter. What pleasure has he had since he has been in the world? Is there a poorer man in the... ?

In the cultivated places, and sometimes in certain regions that are barely ploughable, you see figures digging, shoveling. You see them stand up from time to time... and, as one says, wipe their brow with the back of their hand, and eat by the sweat of their brow. Is it there the happy frolicsome work that certain people want us to believe in[?] It is however here that I find the real humanity, the great... I will stop myself here because I could eventually bother you with this. I have to excuse myself, I know all... without having learned... of my impressions sometimes, I let myself go without noticing, I won't start again.

Ah, as long as I am thinking about it, send me from time to time your wonderful letters with the cachet of the ministry, the one in red wax, in fact with all the possible embellishments. If you saw the respect with which the postman hands me these letters! Cap in hand, which does not usually happen, and then he tells me with the most... air: it's the ministry! It makes me appear in the best of manners. It gives me some credit because a letter with the cachet of the ministry is obviously from the minister, it really is something... that beautiful envelope.

> [Karl] Bodmer has still not returned to Barbizon. Neither has Jacques.
>
> Do you think I have a chance at getting an order from the ministry? Do you know if Jacques' commission has worked?
>
> Handshakes (sic),
>
> JF Millet
>
> Have Rousseau's paintings made a splash and been successful?[191]

From reading the letter in its entirety, one immediately learns several things. First, Millet's letter is not only about his opinions of Barbizon, its forests, and residents. His philosophical interlude about human nature and his appreciation for both wild nature and "cultivated places" (*les endroits labourés*) are sandwiched between two other, more banal topics. The first is about the receipt of supplies, the challenges of preparing paintings that are going to be framed, and a list of paintings to be sold. Millet's first topic is simply the business of being a professional artist. After describing that he finds the "real, big humanity" (*la vrai humanité, la grande*) in the people "who wipe the sweat from their brow with the back of their hand and eat by the sweat of their brow" ("*s'essuyant le front avec le revers de la main, tu mangeais ton pain a [sic] la sueur de ton front*"), he discusses the envelopes Sensier's letters arrive in.

Sensier worked as *Chef du Secrétariat* for the Ministry of the Interior during this time.[192] Apparently, he could send letters on official stationary with official seals. The concluding paragraph to Millet's letter begins, "Ah, now that I think of it, sometime send me your lovely letters with the seal of the ministry, the seal in red wax, actually with all the possible embellishments" ("*Ah tant que j'y pense, envoyez moi de temps en temps vos belles lettres avec le cachet du ministere, le cachet en cire rouge, enfin tous les enjolivements possibles*"). For the next few sentences, Millet goes on about being impressed by the official status and letterhead of his friend the minister. The letter concludes with news about the whereabouts of two artists (Charles Jacque and Karl Bodmer) and questions about the success of Théodore Rousseau's and Jacque's recent paintings.

The structure of this letter and the topics it addresses provide a useful and compact example to consider Millet's correspondence in general. The beginning of the letter is typical of the majority of the letters included in the Moreau-Nélaton donation. Millet most often discusses business related to the creation and sale of his work—including brief trips to Paris—and asks his interlocutors for financial help, materials, and professional advice

[191] Jean-François Millet to Alfred Sensier, 1851, Cote BSb12L9, Réserve des autographes, Cabinet des dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris. Translation Diana Greenwald and Hugues Le Bras.

[192] Parsons and McWilliam, "Le Paysan de Paris," 38.

about his artwork. The end of the letter is also symptomatic of another common thread in the artist's writing: gossip and stories about family and mutual acquaintances. Millet's fixation on his friend's position at the ministry and questions about goings-on in the art world echo his comments and concerns in other letters when he asks for "*nouvelles*." The only common topic missing from the opening and conclusion to the letter is the news about the men's families.

Nonetheless, amid these quotidian topics is a deliberate statement of Millet's opinion of the countryside and an explanation of why he chooses to paint peasants. He talks about his clear affinity for the forest and agricultural fields and about how he believes the people who inhabit these places are more human and real than any other potential artistic subject. This reality is linked to their fate of working hard for their entire lives ("*Quel plaisir a-t-il eu depuis qu'il est au monde?).*" In this one letter, Millet states one thing about his opinions of modern life and simultaneously implies a contrary opinion. He describes a clear preference for painting and living among pre-modern landscapes and people. Yet he actively works with his Paris-based agent to sell his work in the city and is deeply impressed by the fact that his friend and representative is a prestigious bureaucrat. Millet is a modern businessman with a respect for members of the professional class. By volume of topic included in his correspondence, he acts and transacts as a modern man more often than he states his preference for a world of peasants and virgin forests.

Which is a "truer" statement of Millet's opinions of modern life? Is it the philosophical interlude, or is it his active commercial engagement with the industrialized world and its inhabitants? Until now, scholars have largely privileged Millet's rare explicit statements about his opinions over his actions.[193] While I think it is important to consider the artist's stated philosophy when studying his art, this should not occur at the expense of considering his actions—especially if they run somewhat counter to that philosophy.

In general, the corpus of Millet's letters in the Moreau-Nélaton collection gives the impression of the easy coexistence between the artist's life in Barbizon and his need to regularly go to the city to attend to his career. Below, an 1859 letter to Théodore Rousseau provides a typical example of the content of Millet's letters:

> Barbizon Thursday,
>
> My dear Rousseau, I do not have any kind of frame that will work for Etienne's painting, this is delaying me enormously. So if you can quickly quickly send me the frame that he left at your place you would be doing me a big favor. Big and small migraines have besieged me this month so that I have had only a quarter of my time. I assure you that I am demolished, both physically and morally. You

[193]The clear exception to this is Parsons and McWilliam, "Le Paysan de Paris" (1983): 38–39.

> were right my dear Rousseau life is truly sad & and there are only few places where one can find refuge. One ends up understanding those who sighed after a place of refreshment, light & peace. One understands also how Dante made some of his characters describe the time that they spent on earth as "the time of my debt". Tell that to Mme Rousseau: what I wholeheartedly wish her is to be well and that there is a little bit of selfishness on my part in this wish, in the sense that I have a terrible need to be a little bit scolded & shaken when I go to Paris one of these days & she can do it better than anyone. It's just that I am experiencing a real need. My wife seems to act in a manner more... she wishes her simply to be as well as...
>
> Sensier seems furious with the Exhibition. Yes, I must try to go once I am in Paris. I want to go at the same time as Sensier, who was just here for Easter. I don't now if we'll go Monday evening or Tuesday morning, that will be how he wishes... my dear Rousseau. I did "Coco's" commission...
>
> Handshakes (sic),
>
> J.F. Millet[194]

Writing to his fellow artist, Millet discusses his work, health, general low morale, and plans to travel to Paris to attend an exhibition—likely the Salon—with Sensier. Millet's everyday network and concerns include both Barbizon and Paris, where Rousseau was when he received this letter. Barbizon and Paris are not two opposing forces in the artist's life, but rather have a symbiotic relationship. Millet could not earn his living and remain in his professional networks—including networks of dealers, artists, and exhibition venues—without easy access to Paris. His ability to be a successful artist in the countryside thus depended on regular travel to the city.

[194] Jean-François Millet to Théodore Rousseau, April 1859, Cote BSb12L156, Réserve des autographes, Cabinet des dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

Chapter 5

The Data of Nineteenth-Century American Art

Introduction: A Variety of Exhibition Indices

While the primary data available about nineteenth-century French art are from a single source, the data about the United States have been collated from several sources. These sources are also exhibition indices, some of which are hard copy and some of which were already digitized. The content of these indices is, however, different from the *Whiteley Index*. Whiteley categorized the paintings listed in the Salon *livrets* and then assembled a list of these categories and how many paintings were included in each of them. Most of the American indices are just a list by artist's name of all the works—across media—that he or she displayed in an exhibition venue over a decades-long period of time.[195]

In every American index, the title, artist, date of display and display venue is listed for each work. For many of the indices, there is also information available about whether or not a work was for sale when displayed, the price for which it was selling, and who owned or purchased it. While medium is not always specified, the majority of works listed are paintings. This appears to be the default medium, as it is usually explicitly noted when a work is a sculpture or drawing. In aggregate, these indices form the Historical American Art Exhibition Database (HAAExD), a comprehensive original database of more than 274,000 works of art exhibited around the United States during the long nineteenth century. Most of the works in the database were displayed between 1825 and 1885, although the extreme chronological limits are 1773 and 1915.

This is an entirely novel aggregation, providing more information about historic American art exhibitions in one digital source than any early resource. In addition to gathering digital data from an existing Smithsonian resource (described below; hundred of hours of transcription were necessary to include information from hard-copy indices in the database. An example of a page of one of these indices and how this page is translated into a digital database is presented in Figures 5.1 and 5.2.

BIERSTADT, Albert (*continued*)
1859 (*continued*)
704. St. Peters and the Castle of St. Angelo—Sunset. *J. Hopkins.*
757. The Arch of Octavius. *Boston Athenaeum.*
783. Capri, Bay of Naples. *For sale.*
1860 *Address:* 15 Tenth Street.
547. Base of the Rocky Mountains. *For sale.*

BILLINGS, Edward T. (1824-1893)
1858 *Address:* Worcester, Mass.
494. A Gentleman.

BINGHAM, George Caleb (1811-1879)
1840 *Address:* St. Louis.
88. Group, Two Young Girls.
96. Tam O'Shanter, from Burns. *For sale.*
249. Landscape.
257. Tam O'Shanter. *For sale.*
293. Pennsylvania Farmer.
303. Sleeping Child.
1842 *Address:* Not given.
166. Going to Market. *For sale.*
1848 *Address:* Not given.
226. The Stump Orator. *For sale.*

BINGHAM, Luther (active 1838-1839)
1838 *Address:* 52½ Howard Street.
151. Miniature of James W. Wallack, Esq., Lessee of the National Theatre. *J. W. Wallack.*

BININGER, W. B. (active 1840)
1840 *Address:* Granite Buildings, Corner of Chambers Street and Broadway.
81. Portrait of a Boy. *Sigr. Teraro.*
86. Small Half Length of a Gentleman. *W. B. Bininger.*

BIRCH, Thomas (1779-1851)
Honorary Member, Professional, 1833-1851.
1832 *Address:* Philadelphia.
81. Sea Piece. *Mr. Clover.*
1833 *Address:* Philadelphia.
127. Marine View.
191. Sea Piece. *For sale.*
199. Sea Piece. *For sale.*

[33]

Figure 5.1: Page 33 from Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1825–1860*, vol. 1 (1943).

Because the Whiteley Index provides information about a single, state-sponsored venue, it is possible to contextualize that data with a single history about that venue and its political status. Providing a unified history is not possible for the American data, which comes from five distinct sources about dozens of exhibition venues. This section therefore pro-

[195] While some of the indices do make an effort at categorizations like Whiteley's, I chose not to use them because they are not consistent across indices.

1	artist_full_name	birth_date	death_date	active_start_date	active_end_date	membership	residence	display_year	title
670	BIERSTADT, Albert	1830	1902			Honorary Membe	New Bedford, Mas	1859	St. Peters and the Castle of St. Angelo--Sunset
671	BIERSTADT, Albert	1830	1902			Honorary Membe	New Bedford, Mas	1859	The Arch of Octavius
672	BIERSTADT, Albert	1830	1902			Honorary Membe	New Bedford, Mas	1859	Capri, Bay of Naples
673	BIERSTADT, Albert	1830	1902			Honorary Membe	15 Tenth Street	1860	Base of the Rocky Mountains
674	BILLINGS, Edward T.	1824	1893				Worcester, Mass.	1858	A Gentleman
675	BINGHAM, George Caleb	1811	1879				St. Louis	1840	Group, T'wo Young Girls
676	BINGHAM, George Caleb	1811	1879				St. Louis	1840	Tam O'Shanter, from Burns
677	BINGHAM, George Caleb	1811	1879				St. Louis	1840	Landscape
678	BINGHAM, George Caleb	1811	1879				St. Louis	1840	Tam O'Shanter
679	BINGHAM, George Caleb	1811	1879				St. Louis	1840	Pennsylvania Farmer
680	BINGHAM, George Caleb	1811	1879				St. Louis	1840	Sleeping Child
681	BINGHAM, George Caleb	1811	1879				Not given	1842	Going to Market
682	BINGHAM, George Caleb	1811	1879				Not given	1848	The Stump Orator
683	BINGHAM, Luther			1838	1839		52 1/2 Howard Str	1838	Miniature of James W. Wallack, Esq., Lessee of the National Theatre
684	BININGER, W. B.			1840	1840		Granite Buildings,	1840	Portrait of a Boy
685	BININGER, W. B.			1840	1840		Granite Buildings,	1840	Small Half Length of a Gentleman
686	BIRCH, Thomas	1779	1851			Honorary Membe	Philadelphia	1832	Sea Piece
687	BIRCH, Thomas	1779	1851			Honorary Membe	Philadelphia	1833	Marine View
688	BIRCH, Thomas	1779	1851			Honorary Membe	Philadelphia	1833	Sea Piece
689	BIRCH, Thomas	1779	1851			Honorary Membe	Philadelphia	1833	Sea Piece

Figure 5.2: Transcription of Page 33 from Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1825–1860*, vol. 1 (1943)

vides only a brief introduction to each index and a short history of the venue or venues it describes. After presenting these individual histories, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the various weaknesses and strengths of the HAAExD and the aggregation of information across venues.

The Varied Collections of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts

Founded in Philadelphia in 1805, the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts (PAFA) is the oldest art museum and art school in America. The Academy was the personal project of Philadelphia artist Charles Wilson Peale (1741–1827). Though directed by Peale, many of the founders were not artists. Most of the seventy-one men who ratified the articles of association for the Academy were local business leaders and lawyers. These founders became the institution's board of directors.[196] The new institution's stated mission was:

> To promote the cultivation of the Fine Arts, in the United States of America, by introducing correct and elegant Copies, from works of the first Masters... by thus facilitating the access to such Standards, and also by occasionally conferring moderate but honorable premiums, and otherwise assisting the Studies and exciting the effort of the artists, gradually to unfold, enlighten and invigorate the talents of our Countrymen.[197]

In its early years, PAFA built a permanent collection of plaster casts of famous sculpture, and "Old Master" religious and history paintings that were mostly copies or fakes. Its first exhibition—mounted in 1807—was a blend of these casts, older paintings, and contemporary art by American and British painters.[198]

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the Academy was an important part of the Philadelphia and American art scene. It had an active exhibition schedule that included an annual exhibition, loan shows, and displays of its growing permanent collection.[199] Almost every exhibition mounted at PAFA is indexed in the multi-volume series *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts* (1988). The database assembled for this thesis includes the information from volumes 1 and 2, which cover 1807

[196] Stephen May, "An Enduring Legacy: The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1805–2005," in *Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1805–2005: 200 Years of Excellence*, ed. Jane Watkins (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 2005), 12–14.

[197] Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, "Articles of Association, Dec. 26 1805," in Cheryl Leibold, *In the Service of Art: A Guide to the Archives of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts* (Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 2009), 10–12, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, accessed July 19, 2016, https://www.pafa.org/sites/default/files/media-assets/GuidetoArchives_0.pdf

[198] May, "An Enduring Legacy," 14.

[199] May, "An Enduring Legacy," 14.

to 1870 and 1876 to 1913, respectively.[200] These comprehensive records and the frequency of shows at PAFA make the 35,877 works shown at the Pennsylvania Academy the most numerous in the HAAExD. One must, however, address a number of decisions made in assembling *The Annual Exhibition Record* and the institutional preferences of the Pennsylvania Academy that formed the data.

Beginning in 1811, the Academy hosted an annual group exhibition that was meant to showcase the work of living artists. The "annual" of the Pennsylvania Academy occurred most years until the late twentieth century.[201] When planning the 1811 exhibition, the committee in charge of the event stated that "paintings by American & living Artists shall always have a preference over those by European or Ancient Artists."[202] Yet it was only in 1855 that at least half of the artists exhibiting were American, most of whom were living in Philadelphia.[203]

During the first decades of the annual exhibition, the Pennsylvania Academy always hosted the exhibition, but did not always organize it. For example, the first annual was actually a joint project between PAFA and a group of artists called "The Society of Artists of the United States."[204] Between 1835 and 1845, the annual was organized at the Academy by the Artists' Fund Society—a local organization run by and for artists—rather than by the layman directors of PAFA. Nonetheless, Anna Wells Rutledge—the author of the first volume of *The Annual Exhibition Record*, writes in her foreword to it that these groups and institutions were "so bound up with [each other]" that the ten annual exhibitions run by the Artists' Fund Society's represent "a continuity of exhibits, and continuous chronology of exhibitors, [so] they are included in the *Record*."[205]

Other exhibitions of both historic and contemporary art complemented the annuals. The Pennsylvania Academy not only had a growing permanent collection throughout the nineteenth century, but also housed a number of items on long-term loan from private collections. Prior to 1864, the Academy's exhibition catalogues listed both the loaned and permanent collections on display with the list of works shown in the annual exhibition. It was, according to the scholars who indexed the catalogues, difficult to distinguish between

[200] Ed. Peter Falk, *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts* (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1988–89).

[201] Anna Wells Rutledge, foreword to *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1807–1870*, ed. Peter Hastings Falk (Madison, CT: Soundview Press, 1988).

[202] Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, "Resolutions of [the] Committee of Arrangements and Inspection [for the Annual Exhibition]," April 22, 1811, reproduced in *Selected Papers of Charles Wilson Peale and His Family*, vol. 2, ed. Lillian B. Miller (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992), 99–100.

[203] Peter Hastings Falk, "Introduction to the Revised Edition" in Falk, *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1807–1870*, 4.

[204] Falk, "Introduction to the Revised Edition," vii.

[205] Rutledge, "Foreword," 3.

concurrent art shows.[206] For the sake of continuity, Rutledge continued to record the listings of the permanent and loaned collections even after the catalogues clearly and consistently distinguished between the annual exhibition and other works on display. Where works were shown multiple times, such as those that entered PAFA's permanent collection, it is explicitly noted in the *Record* as a repeat showing. Rutledge describes the project of compiling the pre-1870 *Record* as a best attempt at accuracy and continuity that likely includes a number of inconsistencies, unnoted repeats, and deletions. She summarizes the collated exhibitions and holdings as: "one, 'Old Masters'; two, 'Great Exhibition Paintings'; three, fashionable contemporary genre and landscape, American and European; and, four, endless portraits."[207] The 1807 to 1870 index, she insists, is not a "*précis*" but a valuable sketch of "taste and thought in past centuries."[208]

Volume 2 of the *Record*—assembled by Peter H. Falk—covers the time period from 1876 to 1913. Unlike Volume 1, it indexes *only* the annual exhibitions. In addition to this change in contents of the second volume of the *Record*, there were significant institutional changes at PAFA starting in the 1870s. 1876 was an important year for Philadelphia and the Academy. The city hosted the Centennial Exhibition and the Academy moved into its new (and current) building. With the opening of the new building, there were also several policy changes made in the administration of exhibitions. One of the policies that had a clear effect on the exhibition data is the 1880 decision to limit works by European artists shown at the annual exhibition to those submitted by the artists themselves. This meant that private collectors could no longer loan their European works to be exhibited. This policy was part of a general trend in the Academy to de-emphasize private loans to the annual in favor of the display of contemporary works for sale by the artist.[209]

During the first five years of the 1880s, the Academy dedicated a significant portion of its resources to showing and selling the works of American artists living abroad, including John Singer Sargent and Daniel Ridgeway Knight.[210] This policy was reversed, however, in the second half of the decade to both cut costs accrued by bringing in art from abroad and to champion the work of local artists and students of the Academy's fine arts school. Further encouragement for American artists working in the US came from the founding and endowment of several prizes for which only Americans, residents of Philadelphia or students of the Academy were eligible.[211] Finally, a major institutional change occurred when the

[206] Falk, "Introduction to the Revised Edition," x.
[207] Rutledge, "Foreword," 4. Note: Classical casts in the permanent collection, which were shown repeatedly, were not included in the index (Rutledge, 4)
[208] Rutledge, "Foreword," 3-4.
[209] Falk, *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts*, 2:10.
[210] Ibid., 11
[211] Ibid. 12–14.

annual exhibition officially was made selective and juried in 1885.[212] The Committee on Exhibitions, a standing committee of the mostly non-artist board of directors, turned over direction of the exhibition to the Jury of Selection and the Hanging Committee, members of which were all artists. The full effects of these new policies—including a shift to more artist control over the Academy and the annual—played out in the years after the 1880s and are therefore beyond the scope of this thesis. However, the entire contents of Volume 2 (i.e., to 1913) are included in the HAAExD in anticipation of future research about this later period in the history of American Art.

The "Repository of Arts" at the Boston Athenaeum

Founded in 1807, the Boston Athenaeum is the second oldest independently indexed institution included in the HAAExD. While the Pennsylvania Academy for Fine Arts included statements about the teaching and encouragement of contemporary artists in its charter, the Athenaeum did not. It was founded as a library, public reading room, and museum, not as an academy. The reasons for the institution's founding and its goals are described at length in the *Memoir of the Boston Athenaeum with the Act of Incorporation and the Organization of the Institution* (1807). The library and public reading room are discussed first in the document. It is only on page five of the thirty-page *Memoir* that:

> It is proposed, as far as can be done…to join to the foundation a Museum or Cabinet, which shall contain…natural and artificial curiosities, antiques, coins, medals, vases, gems, and intaglios; also, in the same or different apartment, a Repository of Arts, in which shall be placed for inspection models of new and useful machines; likewise drawings, designs, paintings, engravings, statues, and other objects of the fine arts, and especially the productions of our native artists.[213]

The goal of this collection—and of the Athenaeum in general—was "the publick [sic] interest, as well as honour, that the higher classes of society, and possessors of superfluous wealth, should prefer elegant and innoxious [sic] luxuries to those of a different character; and should be patrons and judges of what is excellent in the fine and liberal arts."[214]

True to the *Memoir's* description of the contents of the "Museum or Cabinet" and the "Repository of Arts," the early collection was an un-curated assembly of sculpture casts,

[212]There was a jury of expatriate artists who made decisions in 1882, but officially the Committee on Exhibitions was still in charge during those years.

[213]John Lowell, John T. Kirkland and William Shaw, *Memoir of the Boston Athenaeum with the Act of Incorporation and the Organization of the Institution* (Boston: Munroe & Francis, 1807), 5.

[214]Lowell, Kirkland, and Shaw, *Memoir of the Boston Athenaeum*, 14.

copies of Old Masters, coins, medals, and books. These objects were donated or acquired ad-hoc.[215] Art was a secondary concern of the Athenaeum until 1822, when the organization commissioned its first work by a living artist: a portrait of the merchant and Athenaeum Trustee James Perkins by Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828).[216] Having collected fewer than five paintings between 1807 and 1819, the Athenaeum went on to collect more than thirty in the 1820s and close to 100 in the 1830s.[217] In addition to adding more fine arts to the collection in these years, the Trustees of the organization hosted the Athenaeum's first annual exhibition in 1827. While the season, location and format of the exhibition changed over time, the annual exhibition continued until 1874.

There was never a particular committee or jury explicitly in charge of deciding what art was shown at the Athenaeum's annual exhibitions. In *Acquired Tastes, 200 Years of Collecting for the Boston Athenaeum* (2007), curator David Dearinger, who is the leading expert on the Athaneaum and its history, writes about the exhibitions:

> One can assume... that their contents were dictated by the knowledge and taste of its Trustees and members, who sometimes operated on the advice of local artists... and on the willingness of local collectors to lend works to the shows. Furthermore, while there seems to have been a tacit agreement that the exhibitions could serve the needs of contemporary American artists, they were by no means limited to that task. Examples of European paintings—past and present, originals, and copies—as well as casts of antique sculpture were common, often dominant features of the shows. The Athenaeum also regularly listed works from its own collection in the exhibitions' catalogues, but exactly how the choice of those objects was made and what role they were thought to play in the installations is as unclear as the rest of the process.[218]

It was noted in the exhibition catalogues published for each event—and it therefore is noted in the HAAExD—when an object was copy or a repeat showing and whether or not it was from a private collection or the Athenaeum's own growing holdings.

The only significant deviations from this ad-hoc approach to exhibition organization are memorial shows for famous artists. Part of the annual exhibition in 1828, For example, was a memorial exhibition in honor of Gilbert Stuart, who had died earlier that year. In that year alone, 209 of his paintings were exhibited—more than the 92 unique Stuart

[215] David B. Dearinger, "Collecting Paintings and Sculpture for the Boston Athenaeum," in *Acquired Tastes, 200 Years of Collecting for the Boston Athenaeum*, ed. Stanley Ellis Cushing and David B. Dearinger (London: University of New England Press, 2007), 35–36.

[216] David B. Dearinger, *Acquired Tastes: 200 Years of Collecting for the Boston Athenaeum*, ed. Stanley Ellis Cushing and David B. Dearinger (2006), 214–16

[217] Dearinger, "Collecting Paintings and Sculpture for the Boston Athenaeum", 35–39.

[218] Dearinger, "Collecting Paintings and Sculpture for the Boston Athenaeum," 41.

works shown 138 times at the Athenaeum throughout the rest of its history. Other artists who received the honor of a memorial or commemorative exhibition were George Harvey in 1844, Washington Allston in 1850, and George Loring Brown in 1860. Why these particular artists were chosen remains unclear, but their selection is likely linked to internal institutional politics that have been lost to the historical record.[219]

The annual exhibitions were not free to attend. One could buy either single-entry tickets or season tickets. But we have neither a systematic listing of how many of each category of ticket was sold nor any documentation of the prices of those tickets over time.[220] The entry fees generated enough profit to support acquisitions for the Athenaeum's permanent collection. The Fine Arts Committee was charged with using this revenue to make acquisitions and manage the exhibitions. Its members were "like a 'Who's Who' in Boston History"[221] and often included private collectors who frequently leant works to the annual exhibitions. Led by the Fine Arts Committee, the Athenaeum acquired and displayed works by American and European artists both living and dead. Acquisitions slowed during the Civil War, however, and stopped afterwards. Instead, after a recommendation by the Fine Arts Committee in 1866, attention turned towards transferring the Athenaeum's collection to a new art museum to be founded in Boston, the Museum of Fine Arts. In 1870, the trustees of the Athenaeum voted to dedicate part of the institution's gallery space to host exhibitions on behalf of the museum. The Athenaeum hosted its last annual exhibition in 1874, officially passing the role of leading Boston fine arts institution to the MFA.

The *Boston Athenaeum Art Exhibition Index, 1827–1874* (1980) is a record of all the annual and special exhibitions mounted at the Boston Athenaeum. It was formed by transcribing 133 exhibition catalogues that the Athenaeum published during the forty-six years in which it mounted regular fine arts exhibitions.[222] The Athenaeum often published multiple catalogues for each show, sometimes adding more entries and longer descriptions to each successive edition. The preface to the *Index* does not explicitly say which edition was used in each year, but based on a comparison between the number of observations from the Athenaeum in the HAAExD and a list of the total number of works listed in each edition of each catalog, it appears compilers always used the final edition of each catalogue as the definitive edition.

The *Boston Athenaeum Art Exhibition Index* is one of the most detailed and consistent of the indices included in the HAAExD. It includes 11,148 works of art across the 46 years

[219] See HAAExD statistics about Stuart exhibition record. For a description of the memorial show, see Dearinger, "Collecting Paintings and Sculpture for the Boston Athenaeum," 41.

[220] Mabel Munson Swan, *The Boston Athenaeum as an Early Patron of Art* (Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1940), 20, 34.

[221] Dearinger, "Collecting Paintings and Sculpture for the Boston Athenaeum," 41.

[222] Rodney Armstrong, foreword to *Boston Athenaeum Art Exhibition Index, 1827–1874*, ed. Robert F. Perkins, Jr., and William J. Gavin III (Boston: Library of the Boston Athenaeum, 1980), xi.

it covers. For most works, it includes the artist's name, his or her nationality, birth and death dates, and place of residence at the time of exhibition. It often lists the owner of an artwork and whether or not the work had been shown in a previous exhibition. Whether or not an artwork was for sale or not is more difficult to determine. In an early—but certainly not contemporary—history of the Athenaeum, Mabel Munson Swan describes how "One of the advantages of these exhibitions... was the excellent opportunity afforded [artists] for the sale of their work." She then describes how works were "starred for sale."[223] Asterisks appear next to titles in the *Exhibition Index.* The limited explanatory notes in the *Exhibition Index*, however, never explicitly state that these asterisks indicate that a work is for sale. Nonetheless, it is clear that, like other venues included in this dataset, an artist could benefit commercially by exhibiting at the Boston Athenaeum, even if its gallery was not officially a sales room.

New York: Rival Institutions Supporting Contemporary American Art

Three indices describing New York exhibitions have been included in the HAAExD: the *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art Union, Exhibition Record, 1816–1852* (1953), the *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1826–1860* (1943) and the *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1861–1900* (1973). The art historian, curator and archivist Mary Bartlett Cowdrey compiled the first two indices.[224] The second was completed following Cowdrey's example, but was compiled by art historian Maria Naylor. These three sources cover three exhibition venues: the National Academy of Design, the American Academy, and the American Art Union. The histories of all three intuitions overlap with and inform one another. Their histories will therefore be presented as a joint history of art institutions in New York City.

The American Academy of Fine Arts was "a New York-based institution and art school promoting fine art that was active between 1802 and 1841."[225] Officially incorporated in 1808, it operated under several names in its first years, but became the American Academy of the Fine Arts in 1817.[226] Unlike the still-extant Boston Athenaeum and Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, "the American Academy has largely been overshadowed because it failed to survive the challenge of the younger, more active [New York] art institution,

[223] Swan, *The Boston Athenaeum as an Early Patron of Art*, 40.

[224] Special Collections, University of Delaware, "Cowdrey, Mary Bartlett, 1910–1974", accessed July 19, 2016, http://www.lib.udel.edu/ud/spec/findaids/html/mss0556.html.

[225] Grischka Petri, "American Academy of Fine Arts," in *Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, ed. Joan Marter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), Oxford Reference.

[226] Theodore Sizer, "The American Academy of the Fine Arts," in *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art-Union, Introduction, 1816–1852*, ed. Mary Bartlett Cowdrey (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1953).

[the National Academy of Design]."[227] The American Academy's first major accomplishment was the 1804 acquisition of plaster casts from antique statues in the Louvre. This acquisition and the founding of the institution was funded by making the Academy a stock company; shares worth $25 dollars were sold to 1,000 subscribers. The majority of stockholders were not artists.[228]

The acquisition of the Louvre casts was the highlight of the Academy's activities until 1816, when the institution hosted its first exhibition. The 1816 exhibition featured 217 works that were a mix of work by prominent American artists, European Old Master paintings, casts and copies.[229] It was a financial as well as critical success. Shortly after the exhibition, the prominent American artist Colonel John Trumbull was elected president of the Academy and several organizational changes were made. The reorganized American Academy was designed to emulate the Royal Academy in London. This meant its members were 20 professional artists named to the position of "Academician" and an equal number of younger and less-established artists appointed as "Associates." While Academicians and Associates were members of the American Academy, a board of 11 mostly non-artist directors managed the institution.[230]

In the wake of its successful exhibition, the Academy committed to a series of acquisitions. First, it signed a contract to purchase a large number of Trumbull's own paintings for $10,000, to be paid over several years. It then commissioned a portrait of Benjamin West—the expatriate American artist and president of the Royal Academy—from British painter Thomas Lawrence. These financial commitments, particularly the one to Trumbull, would become burdensome over the coming years. Interest in the exhibitions at the Academy, which often featured the same paintings year after year, waned, and the shows stopped being profitable.[231]

In addition to growing financial problems, local artists were increasingly unhappy with the way the Academy treated them. For example, in William Dunlap's *History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the United States* (1834), there is a story about the institution's capricious treatment of art students. Around 1820, Dunlap claims to have witnessed two students turned away from studying from the Academy's plaster cast collection. Having arrived during the narrow time slot that they could study from the casts (between 6am and 9am), they were then denied entry because the janitor responsible for opening the gallery did not want to arrive that early. When President Trumbull learned of this incident,

[227] Nancy Elizabeth Richards, "The American Academy of Fine Arts, 1802–1816: New York's First Art Academy" (Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1965).
[228] Petri, "American Academy of Fine Arts".
[229] See HAAExD.
[230] Petri, "American Academy of Fine Arts".
[231] Sizer, "The American Academy of the Fine Arts," 20–34.

he apparently replied, "When I commenced my study of painting, there were no casts to be found in the country. I was obliged to do as well as I could. These young men should remember that *the gentlemen* have gone to great expense in importing casts, and that they (the students) have no property in them."[232] Dunlap is not a neutral commentator; although he was involved in the administration of the American Academy, he would later defect to join a group of artists that founded the rival National Academy of Design. Even correcting for biased accounts, however, the organization's own minutes make it clear that the American Academy was declining from the 1820s forward.

Trumbull and his policies retained the support of the "affairs-statesmen, bankers, merchants, physicians, and philanthropists" who were directors of the American Academy, but the artistic community began to turn on him and his non-artist-directed organization.[233] The death-knell of the institution came when a group of artists led by Samuel F. B. Morse, Asher B. Durand, and Thomas Cole formed the New York Drawing Association. This would later become the National Academy of Design. While the two academies were occasionally negotiating opportunities for cooperation throughout the 1830s, no agreement was ever reached. The American Academy became more indebted and less active. As in the past, it routinely showed the same repertoire of paintings. Trumbull resigned in 1836 after a 19-year tenure, but the subsequent presidents—who included the artist Rembrandt Peale—were unable to reinvigorate the institution. It dissolved officially in 1841.[234] The title, creator, and collector of every work displayed at the American Academy's annual exhibitions is listed in Cowdrey's *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art Union, Exhibition Record 1816–1852* (1953).

The National Academy of Design was founded in protest. It was meant to be an organization for artists, run by artists—unlike the American Academy. In 1826, a group of artists officially elected the first 15 members of the governing body of the newly formed "National Academy of Arts and Design."[235] Within the next five years, the new organization received a charter from the State of New York. The new NAD was organized into three classes of membership: Academicians, Associates and Honorary Members. Historian Eliot Clark describes the organization's rules: "From the Associates alone, the vacancies in the body of Academicians were to be filled. Active members were to be residents of New York City and vicinity. Honorary Members were of two classes: nonresident professional artists, who on becoming resident were admitted as Academicians; and amateurs, patrons of the arts, and distinguished members of other professions."[236]

[232] Quoted in Eliot Clark, *History of the National Academy of Design, 1825 to 1953* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1954), 9.
[233] Sizer, "The American Academy of the Fine Arts," 20–34.
[234] Sizer, "The American Academy of the Fine Arts," 35–61.
[235] Clark, *History of the National Academy of Design,* 13–15.
[236] Clark, *History of the National Academy of Design,* 16.

A primary focus of the Academy was the encouragement of art students. Along with the founding of a school, the institution's annual exhibitions were seen as an extension of this mission. The preface to the first exhibition catalogue stated: "The Artists of the City of New-York have Associated... for the purpose of mutual improvement and the instruction of their pupils... The Exhibition is for the purpose of showing the state of the Arts, and raising the funds necessary to defray the expenses."[237] While the first exhibition was mounted in 1826, codified exhibition rules were only created in 1829. The most important of these rules for the data of the HAAExD are that "Works of Living Artists only, and such as have *never before* been exhibited *by the Academy* will be received," that "No *copies* of Pictures, *copies* of Engravings, nor *copies* of Statues... will be received" and that "*Original* Paintings, Drawings, and Designs; Statues, Busts, and Models; Architectural Designs, and Models of Buildings, and Engravings, will be received." These rules are significantly different from all of the other academies included in the HAAExD. The National Academy of Design exhibitions were clearly consecrated to contemporary American art and design.[238] Until the 1870s, there was no formalized jury that selected which works would be displayed at the annual exhibition.[239] Instead, as a commentator wrote in the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review* in 1847:

> The Annual Exhibitions of the Academy of Design are not prize exhibitions of pictures which come up to a certain fixed standard, high or low, nor exhibitions of the works of members of the Academy, but of all pictures sent by living artists... [it gives] both the artist and the public the opportunity of comparing the works of one painter with those of another.[240] The only attempt to limit submissions was the urging in President Asher Durand's 1846 Annual Report that the Academy "dictate the propriety of limiting the number of works presented by each contributor for exhibition—say to eight or thereabouts—not only that each may be fairly exposed, but also with reference to a due regard to variety and interest in the aggregate".[241]

Cowdrey's *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1826–1860* covers each annual exhibition. She transcribed all of the information about titles, owners and whether

[237] Thomas Cummings, *Historic Annals of the National Academy of Design, New-York Drawing Association, etc., with Occasional Dottings by the Way-Side, from 1825 to the Present Time* (Philadelphia: George W. Childs, 1865), 34.

[238] Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, introduction to *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1826–1860, Volume 1* ed. Cowdrey (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1943), x–xii.

[239] Cummings, *Historic Annals of the National Academy of Design*, 186, 200; Clark, *History of the National Academy of Design*, 98–99.

[240] Quoted in Clark, *History of the National Academy of Design*, 18.

[241] Reproduced in Cummings, *Historic Annals of the National Academy of Design*, 194.

or not a work was for sale from the original exhibition catalogues—despite the fact that they "suffered severely from lack of editing and proof reading."[242] She did, however, use research and interpretation to add artists' dates of birth, death, and NAD membership. "It was necessary," she wrote, "to establish the identities of many lesser known figures in order to avoid confusion caused by errors in the original catalogues."[243]

During its first decades, the NAD not only had to either compete, cooperate or coexist with the elder American Academy, but also with a younger organization: the Apollo Association, which would later become the American Art-Union. The Apollo Gallery, the forerunner to the Apollo Association, was founded in New York City in 1838. The gallery was meant to be a space for artists to show their work for sale, but the venture was a financial failure. Apollo Gallery founder and artist James Herring subsequently formed the Apollo Association, modeled on art unions already operating in Europe.[244] Herring penned the Association's initial constitution. It stated that members were required to pay a $5 annual fee. This money would then be used to purchase artwork from living American artists. A committee of 15 managers—none of whom could be artists—directed the purchases. At an annual end-of-year meeting, the purchased works would be distributed by lottery to members of the Association. The membership would also elect the next year's managers at that meeting. While artists could not be among the managers in charge of choosing the art, they could (and did) serve the institution in roles like secretary or treasurer of the Executive Committee, which was responsible for day-to-day operations. Finally, members were entitled to free entry to an annual exhibition of the works that would be distributed. Beginning in 1840, members also received at least one print of one of the works being distributed.[245]

The Association began the process of changing its name in 1842, although it only officially became the American Art-Union in 1844.[246] The Art-Union was incredibly successful until it was closed for running an illegal lottery in 1852. In 1839 there were 829 members, most of whom were from New York; by 1849, there were 18,000 members from every state in the union. During this decade, the operating budget from membership fees increased more than twenty times, from $4,000 to $90,000. This budget translated to increases in the purchase and distribution of works from 36 pieces by 24 artists in 1839 to 460 works by 160 artists in 1849.[247]

[242] Cowdrey, *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1825Ů1860, Volume 1* xiii–xiv.

[243] Cowdrey, *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1825Ů1860, Volume 1*, xiv–xv.

[244] Mary L. Natale, "The American Art-Union, 1839-51: A Reflection of National Identity" (master's thesis, Harvard University, 1993), 4–5.

[245] Anonymous, "Constitution of the 'The Apollo Association for the Promotion of Fine Arts in the United States,'" *Transactions of the Apollo Association for the Promotion of Fine Arts in the United States* (1839), 2–4.

[246] Natale, "The American Art-Union, 1839–51," 43–44.

[247] Natale, "The American Art-Union, 1839–51," 2.

The salient details of the Art-Union's history for this project are how it chose the artwork it purchased, displayed, reproduced, and distributed. All of these works—including those from the period when the Art-Union was still the Apollo Association—are recorded in Cowdrey's *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art Union, Exhibition Record 1816–1852*. In its first few years, the American Art-Union patronized a wide-range of paintings—landscape, history, and genre painting—in addition to some sculpture. Works were often purchased at the NAD's annual exhibition; consequently, Academicians and Associates were often well represented among the artists whose works were selected. The relationship between the two institutions oscillated between amicable and contentious. One particular point of contention was the American Art-Union's choice to mount its own free exhibitions. (They were mostly of artwork purchased for distribution, but later included other works by American artists purchased for the Art-Union's own holdings.) NAD founder and president Samuel F.B. Morse mentioned the rival association in his annual report. Discussing its decision to follow the Academy's focus on living American artists, he stated: "If, then an Association is subsequently formed, professing to promote the Arts and with an Exhibition system, might we not expect that justice to us would lead them to adjust their Exhibition system as to void interference with our previously established system?"[248] This tension was exacerbated when there was less overlap between the membership of the NAD and the Art-Union. For example, in 1846 American Art-Union executive committee included a record low of only two people also affiliated with the National Academy of Design.[249]

Both institutions shared a common goal of fostering American artistic talent. The NAD aimed to do this as a school and artists' association, and the Art-Union aimed to be the largest and most prominent patron of American art. The Art-Union, however, added another goal to that of patronage: to increase public access to the fine arts. Its 1844 annual report declared, "Works of art are rarely found but in the houses of the rich, or else shut up in galleries…it is the aim of the Art-Union to dispel such errors as these."[250] Access to the arts was meant to help cultivate and inspire the "educated masses."[251] Geographic diversity and growth of subscriptions were celebrated and, over time, subscribers were awarded with more and higher quality prints of works in the Art-Union's possession.[252]

The managers—a changing collection of businessmen, lawyers, and (despite the founding bylaws) occasionally artists—selected paintings for the Union. Their motivations for

[248] Quoted in Cummings, *Historic Annals of the National Academy of Design*, 166.
[249] Natale, "The American Art-Union, 1839–51," 69; 84; 91–92.
[250] Anonymous, "Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the American Art-Union for 1844," *Transactions of the American Art-Union* (1844), 6.
[251] Anonymous, "Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the American Art-Union for 1844," 18.
[252] Natale, "The American Art-Union, 1839–51," 253–55.

collecting certain works formed the American Art-Union's holdings and therefore also shaped the data from this source. The Art-Union was not an institution by artists and for artists, but by amateurs and for amateurs. The institution considered this non-artist control to be a strength and essential to its mission to elevate common taste. The 1845 *Transactions of the American Art-Union*, explored the institution's relationship to art academies, other galleries and artists generally:

> "We are a little more commercial and manufacturing in our principle of encouragement than they are... They rather treat works of art as objects to be exhibited. We consider them more as things to be made our own and cherished... They [galleries and exhibitions both in New York and around the country] can have no useful life except in that taste which it is our aim to cultivate and gratify; and neither will have accomplished their purpose until the general taste and skill shall have arisen to that mediocrity which is the first step in useful progress, and which forms a vantage ground where genius may plume itself with a nobler emulation, and stretch its wings for the highest heaven of invention... Could [artists] be members of the Committee [of Managers] (as by law wisely they cannot)... they would then see... [that] the very existence of this Institution depends upon its being so conducted to secure the public favor—for there we must live or have no life."[253]

The explicit goal of the American Art-Union was to collect art that appealed to the lowest "educated" common denominator. This was—as the *Transactions* make clear—a distinct and deliberate choice. But this experiment in collecting and distributing for the public came to an abrupt end in 1852 when the Art-Union was declared an illegal lottery and shut down. Its final action was to sell its remaining 479 holdings.[254]

In the years following the closing of the American Art-Union, the National Academy of Design solidified its role as the premier New York art institution supporting contemporary American art. According to American miniature painter Thomas Cummings' *Historic Annals of the National Academy of Design, New-York Drawing Association, etc.* (1865), the 1850s were a reasonably quiet period for the National Academy. The institution's primary concern seems to have been the ability to locate suitable premises and sell unnecessary holdings and, later, unused real estate.[255]

In 1865, the National Academy moved to new premises on 23rd street and began to question its rules and processes for managing the annual exhibition. A decisive constitutional amendment was passed in 1869. It created a jury—officially called the Hanging

[253] Anonyomus, "Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the American Art-Union for 1844," *Transactions of the American Art-Union* (1845), 7–8.
[254] Natale, "The American Art-Union," 230–52.
[255] Cummings, *Historic Annals of the National Academy of Design*, 219–79.

Committee—of three Academicians, elected by the membership, to select the works for the exhibition and arrange them.[256] No single person could serve on the jury two years in a row.[257] From 1869 forward, the works—and therefore the data—were curated by a group of Academicians. Almost immediately, artists began to chafe against the jury and other rules that were established to limit the submission of works that had not only been previously shown at the Academy, but anywhere in New York City.[258] The internal conflict reached a boiling point in 1877, when a splinter group of artists founded the Society of American Artists to challenge the dominance of the National Academy. The Hanging Committee was enlarged in 1882 to include five members, and it would go through various debated transformations over the next decade.[259] These later shifts are, however, beyond the 1830–80 scope of this project.

From the Civil War era forward, the exhibition records at the National Academy are reproduced in Maria Naylor's *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1861–1900* (1973). Naylor's introduction to the index reiterates Cowdrey's point in the earlier volumes. Like her predecessor, Naylor laments the "superabundant" misspellings that complicated her ability to create the index. This index—like the earlier one—provides information about the creator of a work, its title, its creator, the creator's birth and death dates, the display date, and sometimes also information about the owner and whether or not the work was for sale. Additionally, from 1876 to 1896, the catalogues include the prices if the artists wanted to list them. The HAAExD also therefore includes one of the few sources of art prices that does not come from auction records.[260]

Art on the Frontier: Exhibitions in Northern California, 1856–1915

There are two indices that provide information about art exhibitions in California: *Publications in California Art, no. 7: Exhibition Record of the San Francisco Art Association, Mechanics' Institute & California State Agricultural Society* (2000) and *Nineteenth-Century San Francisco Art Exhibition Catalogues: A Descriptive Checklist and Index* (1981). Ellen Halteman is the author of both.[261] The first publication provides information about 52,941 works and the second indexes 10,435. By Halteman's own description,

[256] Clark notes that the "words 'Hanging Committee' first occur in the minutes of 1865 as distinguished from the former Committee on Arrangements." Clark, *History of the National Academy of Design*, 94. In fact, the term seems to have been first used in 1844, but the concept was not formalized until the 1860s. Cummings, *Historic Annals of the National Academy of Design*, 186.

[257] Clark, *History of the National Academy of Design*, 95–96.

[258] Clark, *History of the National Academy of Design*, 96–97.

[259] Clark, *History of the National Academy of Design*, 100–102.

[260] Maria Naylor, introduction to *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1861–1900* (New York: Kennedy Galleries, Inc., 1973), iv.

[261] Halteman published *Nineteenth-Century San Francisco Art Exhibition Catalogues* under the name Ellen Halteman Schwartz.

the indices are as comprehensive as possible considering that "no single repository held a complete run of catalogues" for these exhibitions. Relevant catalogues were sourced from libraries around the United States.[262]

Exhibition Record of the San Francisco Art Association, Mechanics' Institute & California State Agricultural Society is an index of exhibitions in three major exhibition venues between 1856 and 1915.[263] Beginning in 1854, the California State Agricultural Society (CSAS) began to host state fairs. These fairs were "among California's earliest venues for competitive art exhibits... At the fairs, paintings and other art forms were displayed alongside... produce and manufactured goods."[264] Fairs were held in several cities around the state, but were permanently hosted in Sacramento from 1861. There are official publications listing participating artists and works exhibited at the State Fair from 1856 until 1902. Both local professional artists and amateurs were able to participate in the art exhibitions. Though likely juried and curated in some way, there is no clear record of how submissions were chosen to be displayed or not. Though it ultimately appears to have been a secondary venue for leading professional California artists, the events were a prime opportunity for "a wide range of talent to participate."[265]

The San Francisco Mechanics' Institute—which still exists today—was founded in 1854. Inspired by Birkbeck College in England, its founding mission was to provide adult education to the working class. It offered classes, lectures and libraries to its members. The aim was to educate young men to avoid gambling, prostitution, and other vices. Its charter also allowed it to establish a collection of fine and cabinet arts and "scientific apparatuses."[266] From 1857 to 1899, the Institute held thirty-one industrial exhibitions, which also featured fine art. Fine and mechanical arts were displayed side-by-side until 1874, when the Institute established an arts-only section of the exhibition managed by the San Francisco Academy of Arts (SFAA). The arts exhibition continued to be a part of and managed by the SFAA until the Institute's final exhibition in 1899.[267] Information about how art was chosen to be shown at the Institute's exhibitions is, unfortunately, scarce. The

[262] Ellen Halteman, *Publications in California Art no. 7: Exhibition Record of the San Francisco Art Association, Mechanics' Institute & California State Agricultural Society* (Los Angeles: Dustin Publications, 2000), vii. Please note the Halteman's publication generally has an idiosyncratic page numbers. They note the part of the publication (I-III), the name exhibition (e.g. CSAS for California State Agricultural Society) and then a page number witin that section

[263] For the SFAA, the dates are 1872–1915; they are 1857–1899 for the Mechanics' Institute and 1856–1902 for the State Agricultural Society.

[264] Halteman, *Publications in California Art no. 7*, vii.

[265] Halteman, *Publications in California Art no. 7*, III-CSAS-1.

[266] Hildie V. Kraus, "A Cultural History of the Mechanics' Institute of San Francisco, 1855Ů1920," *Library History*, 23, no. 2 (June 2007), 115–16; John H. Wood, *Seventy-five Years of History of the Mechanics' Institute of San Francisco* (San Francisco: Mechanics Institute, 1930), 7–8.

[267] Halteman, *Publications in California Art no. 7*, II–MI–1.

works exhibited were a mix of items in the Institute's own collection, works owned by locals, and submissions by artists themselves.[268] As with the exhibits mounted by the CSAS, the Mechanics' Institute Art Committee does not appear to have been a particularly strict jury. Apart from a general aim of showcasing the "rapid stride the fine arts have made in our infant city" there are no known concrete criteria for inclusion in the exhibition.[269] The history of the SFAA, however, provides some hints about how the "Art Department" of the exhibitions was managed after 1874.

A group of prominent local artists founded the San Francisco Art Association in March, 1871.[270] The organization hosted varied and regular exhibitions, beginning with the founding members displaying their latest works at an "artist's reception" in May 1871.[271] Official exhibitions with accompanying catalogues began in 1872. Halteman provides an extensive chronology of the exhibition schedule at the SFAA. The active schedule included annual exhibitions and auctions of work by local artists, loan shows of private collections of paintings and decorative arts from around the United States and Europe, exhibits and sales of work by foreign artists and—once the SFAA-affiliated School of Design was founded in 1874—exhibits and sales of art students' work.[272] The SFAA is one of the institutions included in the HAAExD that had the most varied and regular programming. There was, however, a persistent emphasis on art that is native to the Bay Area, both created by local artists and owned by local art collectors.

In addition to large and regular exhibitions mounted by the State Fair, the Mechanics' Institute, and SFAA, there were dozens of smaller exhibitions held around the Bay Area during the nineteenth century. Halteman records and indexes thirty-seven of them in *Nineteenth-Century San Francisco Art Exhibition Catalogues: A Descriptive Checklist and Index*. Art exhibitions took place in local parks, growing commercial galleries and in auction halls prior to sales. The trustees of local charities occasionally organized loan exhibitions as benefits for a particular cause. Exhibitions featured European art, art by East Coast artists and—most often—local California art.[273] This sample of smaller exhibitions rounds out Halteman's comprehensive survey of the nineteenth-century artistic landscape in the Bay Area.

[268] Halteman, *Publications in California Art no. 7*, II–MI–1.

[269] Ellen Halteman Schwartz, *Nineteenth-Century San Francisco Art Exhibition Catalogues: A Descriptive Checklist and Index* (Davis, CA: Library Associates, University of California Davis, 1981), 2.

[270] Raymond L. Wilson, "The First Art School in the West: The San Francisco Art Association's California School of Design," *American Art Journal* 14, no. 1 (1982): 42.

[271] Halteman, *Publications in California Art no. 7,* 1 – SFAA—1.

[272] Halteman, *Publications in California Art no. 7*, 1 – SFAA—15 - 1 – SFAA—27.

[273] Halteman, *Nineteenth-Century San Francisco Art Exhibition Catalogues*, 3–5.

Smithsonian Pre-1877 Art Exhibition Catalogue Index: Capturing Smaller Shows and Geographic Diversity

As Halteman's *Nineteenth-Century San Francisco Art Exhibition Catalogues* does for the Bay Area, the Smithsonian's *Pre-1877 Art Exhibition Catalogue Index* (AECI) captures exhibitions that occurred outside of the confines of academies and art schools. It includes "artists' receptions" in their studios, shows in commercial galleries, and charity exhibitions, such as the 1864 Metropolitan Sanitary Fair that laid the foundations for the establishment of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1870.[274] The AECI is therefore simultaneously the largest and the most piecemeal constituent source of the HAAExD. The AECI was a project started by the Smithsonian American Art Museum (then the National Museum of American Art) in 1976. The goal of the project was to create "an index of artists and other critical data extracted from all catalogues which could be gathered of art exhibitions held in the United States and Canada from earliest colonial times through the 1876 Centennial Year."[275] The catalogues were gathered from libraries, universities, museums, and commercial galleries around North America.[276]

The AECI was a reaction to the publication of other indices digitized for this project, like those for the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and the National Academy of Design. The Smithsonian's Index complemented the records from these large institutions. It therefore includes almost no repeats of data from the other indices that form part of the HAAExD. The only exception is information about the Apollo Association and the American Art-Union, for which there is some overlap with the Cowdrey's *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art Union, Exhibition Record 1816–1852.* In particular, the American Art-Union shows from 1850 and the sale in 1852 are listed in both Cowdrey and the AECI.

While the original team working on the AECI collected over 2,000 exhibition catalogues, they excluded more than half of these to comply with eligibility criteria that they had established. The team defined an eligible "exhibition" as follows:

> The display in public or private context, of works of art for the purpose of critical evaluation and public admiration. Published catalogues, broadsides, newspaper

[274] Cummings, *Historic Annals of the National Academy of Design*, 267–69; For extensive information about the studio buildings, see Annette Blaugrund, *The Tenth Street Studio Building: Artist-Entrepreneurs from the Hudson River School to the American Impressionists* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1997).

[275] Charles C. Eldredge, foreword to *The National Museum of American Art's Index to American Art Exhibition Catalogues, From the Beginning through 1876 Centennial Year*, vol. 1, ed. James L. Yarnall and William H. Gerdts (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1986).

[276] See the list in the "Acknowledgements" in Yarnall and Gerdts, *The National Museum of American Art's Index to American Art Exhibition Catalogues*.

> articles and gallery notices, as well as handwritten or typewritten manuscripts recording exhibitions, were considered equally eligible... Auctions in general were excluded. However, exhibitions lasting several days concluded by the sale of works at auction were included... Catalogues of museums and private collections, including the inventories of commercial galleries that represented items collected but not necessarily exhibited, were excluded. Catalogues of panoramas, dioramas or cycloramas representing descriptions of works of art rather than their exhibitions were excluded. However, documents recording exhibitions of single pictures were included.[277]

In the original 1986 hard-copy index, these eligibility criteria limited the number of catalogues included to 992, which listed 118,012 works. The addition of new eligible sources to the current online version means that the AECI now includes 1057 catalogues listing 136,494 works. In the HAAExD only 135,277 of these works could be retrieved from the AECI website.[278]

According to the introduction to the AECI, the "guiding principle during the compilation of this vast and diverse body of documentation was the respect for the integrity of the original exhibition documents. By its very nature, however, an art exhibition catalogue index is a recasting of information into a standardized format that homogenizes certain points of presentation."[279] The AECI has up to fifteen fields of information for each work of art. For the HAAExD, only four fields of information were collected. The first was "Exhibition Title," which includes the name of the venue and/or exhibition, the city and state where it was mounted and the date it opened. The second was the title of the artwork, from which it was also possible to record the medium. The third and fourth fields were the names of the artist and collector, respectively. While these names were all recorded "in an inverted format with normalized casing," works by a certain artist or in a certain person's collection may be listed under a number of distinct iterations of his or her name. For example, to capture every painting by the landscape painter Thomas Cole in the AECI, it would be necessary to search under "Cole, T.," "Cole, Thos.," and "Cole, Thomas". This variety reflects the variety of ways his name was recorded in the constituent exhibition catalogues.

Each observation in the AECI represents an artwork exhibited—this means that some works represent multiple observations in the dataset. For example, Jasper Frances Cropsey's

[277] James L. Yarnall, "Users' Guide," in Yarnall and Gerdts, *The National Museum of American Art's Index to American Art Exhibition Catalogues*, x.

[278] This web-scraping was done with the full permission of Robin Dettre, the coordinator of the Inventory of American Paintings & Sculpture at the Smithsonian American Art Museum. It is limited by the search results that the database will display.

[279] Yarnall, "Users' Guide," xi.

(1823–1900) *Eagle Cliff* (c. 1863) appears in the AECI on display in Buffalo, New York fifteen times between 1863 and 1874.[280] Unfortunately, however, one cannot always assume that repeat appearances of artwork with the same name and by the same artist represent, in fact, the same painting being shown multiple times. Cropsey also submitted a painting called *Eagle Cliff* to the American Art Union in 1852. This painting, which is apparently distinct from the Buffalo *Eagle Cliff,* passed from the Art Union to a Mr. Conolly. It is now in the collection of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.[281]

It is impossible to know the specific institutional history for each exhibition venue in this subset of the data. Some galleries in this group of records are well known and have a particular history—Catlin's Indian Gallery, for example, from which 1,390 works of art are included in the One particularly comprehensive example is Brian W. Dippie, *Catlin and His Contemporaries: The Politics of Patronage* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1990). Not having such detailed histories for all galleries, however, can be seen as a weakness in this particular subset of data. This lost history is symptomatic of the importance of these data for the overall project. Most of the other sources are records from large and stable institutions in major American cities. The records from the AECI are generally from geographically diverse smaller exhibition venues. It also includes exhibitions in commercial galleries, a small but growing component of the pre-1877 American art world. This subset of data therefore corrects for a bias towards the large, primarily academic institutions in established East Coast cities that constitutes the rest of the HAAExD.

Conclusion

The introduction to this thesis emphasized the dangers of sample bias, insisting that scholarship is compromised by the failure to understand how one's sources have been edited or modified by the forces of time and institutional preference. This chapter provides only a cursory introduction to how art displayed in each venue that is included in the HAAExD was selected, curated, and—in economic terms—biased. Ultimately, however, the HAAExD aims to correct for sample bias. To do so, rather than offer exceptionally detailed descriptions of the way works included in the database were selected by the institutions and people organizing exhibitions, it aims to provide exceptional quantity. By radically expanding the number of works of art that can be analyzed, the HAAExD

[280] This painting now appears to be in the collection of the North Carolina Museum of Art, according to its website, NCMA, accessed November 19, 2017, http://ncartmuseum.org/art/detail/eagle_cliff_franconia_notch_new_hampshire.

[281] Jasper Cropsey, *Eagle Cliff*, 1851, oil on canvas, 93.98 x 134.94 cm, Museum of Fine Arts Boston, accessed November 19, 2017, http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/eagle-cliff-new-hampshire-33062.

greatly improves the breadth of the sample of art available to be considered. This expansion comes at the expense of extensive qualitative information about each constituent part of the database. The case studies featured in the next three chapters will each deploy data from the HAAExD to answer specific research questions about the socioeconomic history of American art.

Chapter 6

Earl Shinn and Sample Bias in the History of American Art and Collecting

Introduction: Challenging "The Magnet"

In Udo Keppler's 1911 caricature "The Magnet" (Figure 6.1), a gargantuan J. P. Morgan uses a dollar-sign shaped-magnet to pull hundreds of ancient and Old Master works toward him.[282] Works of art fly across the Atlantic Ocean toward Morgan's money magnet, from the Old World to the New. This image of the mass importation of European art by rich Americans was not new. Thirty-five years earlier, in 1876, Henry James wrote in a letter to the *New York Tribune* that "one takes... an acute satisfaction in seeing America stretch out her long arm and rake in, across the green cloth of the wide Atlantic, the highest prizes of the game of civilization."[283] While James considered the rich art collector a triumph of American wealth, Thorstein Veblen vilified consumers of unnecessary luxury goods, portraying them as members of the parasitic leisure class. In a stinging critique of wealthy Gilded Age Americans, Veblen wrote in *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899) that the "conspicuous consumption of valuable goods is a means of reputability to the gentleman of leisure."[284] This thesis, which posits that conspicuous consumption is vital to demonstrating social standing and the authority of an elite class, still dominates scholarship about art collecting in the United States. Supplementing Veblen's arguments with the more nuanced and less vitriolic conclusions of Pierre Bourdieu in *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgment of Taste* (1979), contemporary scholars—as discussed in Chapter 1—continue to reaffirm the thesis that art collecting by Americans was driven by an impulse to acquire cultural capital to match their economic capital.[285] Men like J. P. Morgan—depicted with

[282] Udo Keppler, "The Magnet," *Puck* 69, no. 1790 (June 21, 1911), preserved at the Library of Congress, Washington D.C., accessed April 7, 2015, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2011649038/.

[283] Henry James, "Parisian Sketches, Letter from Henry James Jr.," January 22, 1876, reproduced in Henry James, *Parisian Sketches, Letters to the New York Tribune 1875–1876*, ed. Leon Edel and Ilse Dusoir Lind (New York: New York University Press, 1957), 34.

[284] Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions* (New York: Dover Publications, 1994), 47.

[285] See Chapter 1.

his money-shaped art magnet—have become the mascot for this neat theory. James' quote serves as the opening epigraph to Cynthia Salzman's *Old Masters, New World: America's Raid on Europe's Great Pictures* (2009), a recent history of Gilded Age art collecting.[286] And a formal analysis of the "The Magnet" occupies the opening pages of one of the most recent contributions to the study of nineteenth-century American art collecting, John Ott's *Manufacturing the Modern Patron in Victorian California* (2014). Ott goes on to conclude: "The twinned emergence of a nationwide art market and a nationwide entrepreneurial bourgeoisie marks the final component of. . . sea changes in art patronage and class identity."[287] This point is reaffirmed in Ott's more recent review essay about the history of art collecting in America, which surveys the work of numerous scholars who have probed the links between art consumption and the socioeconomic context of patrons.[288]



Figure 6.1: Udo Keppler, "The Magnet," *Puck*, volume 69, no. 1790 (June 21, 1911), preserved at Library of Congress, Washington D.C., accessed April 7, 2015, http://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2011649038/.

The assertion that wealthy Americans across the United States shared common artistic preferences and goals for their art collections is an essential component not only of the

[286]Cynthia Salzman, *Old Masters, New World: America's Raid on Europe's Great Pictures* (New York: Penguin Books, 2009).

[287]John Ott, *Manufacturing the Modern Patron in Victorian California: Cultural Philanthropy, Industrial Capital, and Social Authority* (Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2014), 73.

[288]Ott, "Patrons, Collectors, and Markets," 525–537.

history of collecting, but of a series of cultural histories of American philanthropy and class identity more generally.[289] According to this literature, the gathering of a very particular kind of cultural capital—and the preservation of that particular culture in a public institution—was central to the hierarchical organization of American society during the long nineteenth century. Historian Sven Beckert and art historian Julia Rosenbaum encapsulate this thesis in their introduction to *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century* (2010):

> An avenue for [class] consolidation emerged in the realm of culture, and... in the course of the nineteenth century, bourgeois New Yorkers, Chicagoans, Philadelphians and others overcame conflicts and divisions by forging common preferences... Creating a common class culture, thus, was not just an expression of the power of the American bourgeoisie, but one of its preconditions.[290]

The problem with this consensus view is that the most studied examples of the emergent "American bourgeoisie"— Morgan and his Robber Baron contemporaries—were not, in fact, typical art collectors. They were exceptional not only for their wealth, but also for their art collections' position as founding gifts to America's art institutions. By virtue of this preservation and institutionalization, the artwork they selected—and their method of acquiring it—has become the focus of art historical scholarship. It is the most accessible, well-publicized and well-preserved art; it is therefore the easiest to study. Just because this artwork and the handful of postbellum collectors who donated it are the easiest to study, however, does not mean they are representative of nineteenth-century American art collecting in general.

Using the HAAExD, this chapter demonstrates that the behavior and preferences of the most famous nineteenth-century collectors, such as Morgan, were exceptional among most nineteenth-century American collectors.[291] When one extends studies of American collectors beyond the super-wealthy, the "typical" collection of an art collector in the United

[289] See Chapter 1 of this thesis; Ott, *Manufacturing the Modern Patron*; Sven Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1850–1896* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Peter Dobkin Hall, *The Organization of American Culture, 1700–1900: Private Institutions, Elites and the Origins of American Nationality* (New York: New York University Press, 1984); Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Culture and the City: Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago from the 1880s to 1917* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1976); T. J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880–1920* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981); Frederic Cople Jaher, *The Urban Establishment: Upper Strata in Boston, New York, Charleston, Chicago and Los Angeles* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1982).

[290] Sven Beckert and Julia Rosenbaum, introduction to *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. Sven Beckert and Julia Rosenbaum (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2010), 2.

[291] See Chapter 2 for a comprehensive introduction to the database.

States has a very different profile. Art production and display were, in fact, nationally heterogeneous and regionally specific throughout the nineteenth century. The impression of homogeneity is in part inspired by the personal aesthetic preferences of nineteenth-century commentators themselves. A blend of quantitative and qualitative evidence calls into question accepted facts about the nineteenth-century art world that underpin much of the existing secondary literature. Challenging the existence of common preferences in the artistic tastes of wealthy nineteenth-century Americans does not automatically refute the scholarly consensus about cultural and class consolidation, but it does complicate them. Demonstrating that the sample of art collections that scholars typically study is biased is the first step in calling into question the strong link between class and taste in Gilded Age America. Chapter 7 will take the next steps by providing quantitative analyses of links between background, geography, and taste.

Graphing the Art Historical Landscape: A General Overview

Apart from studying museum bequests, perceptions of the typical nineteenth-century collection have come from two kinds of sources: catalogues of notable individual private collections and contemporary news articles about exceptional collections that have been displayed, donated, or dispersed among heirs. The HAAExD is a new source for information about collectors. Though the entire database includes information about 271,275 paintings displayed between 1806 and 1914, it only includes information about the owner of the artwork for 130,212 (48 percent) of these paintings. The institutions, artists and private collectors who owned these works, however, often exhibited multiple paintings, and sometimes the same piece was shown on several occasions. Therefore, while there is an owner listed for more than 130,212 works, it does not mean 130,212 *unique* collectors are listed; there are far fewer. The vagaries of nineteenth-century misspellings and formatting make it difficult to determine exactly how many unique owners are listed in the HAAExD. But it is approximately 18,000.[292] The graphs in this chapter present an overview of the data gleaned from the HAAExD and the information it provides about collectors and the composition of American art collections during the nineteenth century.

In order to chart the composition of Americans' art collections, one must not only identify the collectors themselves, but also the artists whose work they collected. As discussed

[292]Misspellings and different name formats for different exhibitions (e.g., John Kensett, John F. Kensett, and J.F. Kensett are all the same person) make it difficult to determine how many unique owners there are in the entire database. The number provided here is the total number of paintings with owners listed, divided by the median number of paintings owned by a listed collector, which is seven. Because more targeted research was completed on above-median collectors, I know that 1,438 individual collectors are listed as owning seven or more paintings.

in Chapter 5, the HAAExD does not provide images, but it always lists the titles of works and names of artists. While some component indices of the HAAExD provide the nationality of an artist and his or her birth and death, research in the Getty Union List of Artist Names provided additional information about an artist's nationality and age.[293] This basic biographical information is essential for exploring what kind of art was exhibited. Using information about birth and death dates and nationality, one can see the frequency with which contemporary European, contemporary American or Old Master paintings were displayed around the United States in the nineteenth century.[294]

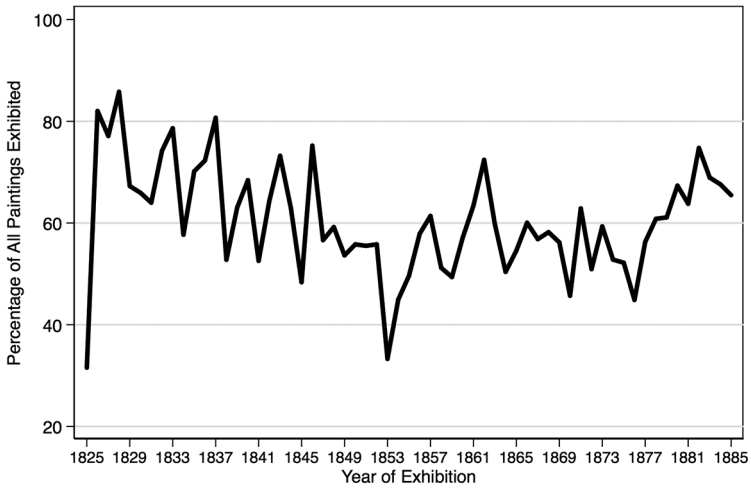


Figure 6.2: Percentage of All Paintings Exhibited for which the Artist's Nationality and Birth and Death Dates are Known

Figure 6.2 shows the percentage of works of art for which the artist's biographical information is available. It covers the period between 1825 and 1885, the principal years covered by the HAAExD and the rough chronological focus of this thesis. The proportion of works displayed for which biographical information is available is volatile over time. However, on average, 60.6 percent of artists have full biographical information (birth and death date and nationality) included. Figure 6.3 uses these biographical entries to plot roughly the different kinds of art that were displayed around the US between 1825 and 1885.

The first apparent trend is that art by American artists (including artists who immigrated to the United States before the time of display) is the most exhibited kind of art. Second, this dominance in volume of exhibition does not diminish over time. Instead, the number

[293] Getty Research Institute, Getty Union List Artist Names, accessed April 22, 2015, http://www.getty.edu/research/tools/vocabularies/ulan/.

[294] While many paintings were listed as being Old Master works, it should be emphasized again that these paintings were of varying quality. They were frequently not produced by the master to whom they were attributed and sometimes were simply forgeries.

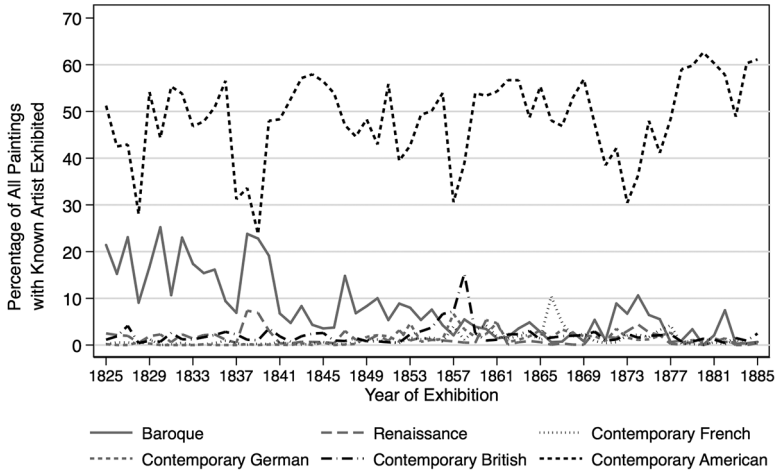


Figure 6.3: Types of Paintings Displayed in the United States for which Artists' Biographies are Known, 1825–1885 ($N = 112,571$)

of Old Master paintings is the only kind of art for which there is an immediately clear national trend over time. As a proportion of artwork exhibited, there are far fewer Old Master paintings on display in 1885 than in 1825. This figure contradicts the secondary literature's assumption that European painting was increasingly dominant over the course of the nineteenth century. The trends are certainly influenced by the stated mission of several of the listed venues, which was to be a platform for American artists. However, nineteenth-century art institutions were administratively unstable, and at least two-thirds of the exhibitions included in the database were in venues were *without* a clear remit to support American art.[295] Regardless of venues' rules and mission, American art was clearly more commonly displayed than was European art throughout the nineteenth century.

The secondary literature focuses on wealthy individuals who were neither artists nor art dealers themselves. Yet private individuals like this were not necessarily typical. Figures 6.4–6.10 present the diversity of owners and their holdings. Artists exhibiting their own work represent a significant portion of "owners" of artwork displayed. Artists exhibiting their own work almost always list the pieces they are showing as being for sale. Figure 6.4 shows the proportion of works exhibited that were listed as being for sale between 1825 and 1885.

On average, 47 percent of paintings exhibited in a given year were explicitly for sale. However, there is a distinctive "u-shape" to the frequency: almost 90 percent of exhibited pieces were on sale in 1826, 23.5 percent were on sale in the middle of the sample in 1855, and just over 80 percent of paintings were on sale again in 1885. Just as with the proportion of American art on display, this trend is at least partially influenced by the missions

[295] See Chapter 5 of this thesis.

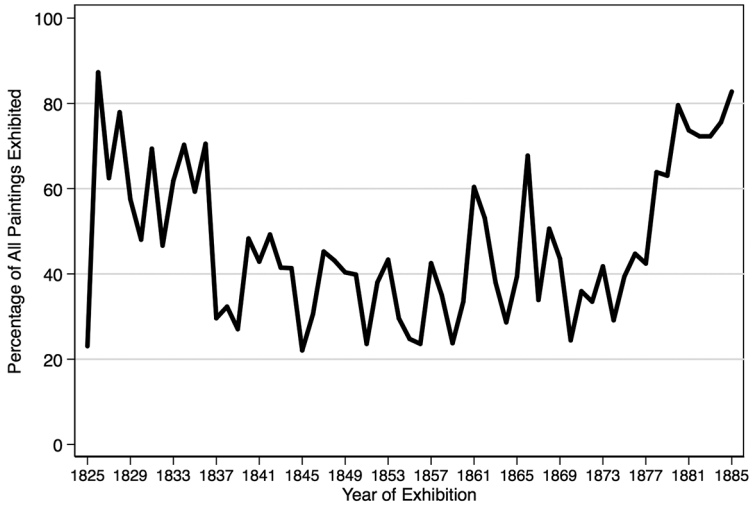


Figure 6.4: Percentage of Paintings Exhibited Listed as "For Sale," 1825–1885

of the institutions included in the HAAExD. Early in the sample, exhibition venues had ambiguous goals that often included commercial support for American art. In the middle of the century, those same institutions oriented themselves more toward educational goals. Finally, from the 1870s forward, explicitly non-commercial institutions like the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the Metropolitan Museum of Art began to take over the educational missions of older exhibition venues, which once again became more commercial.[296]

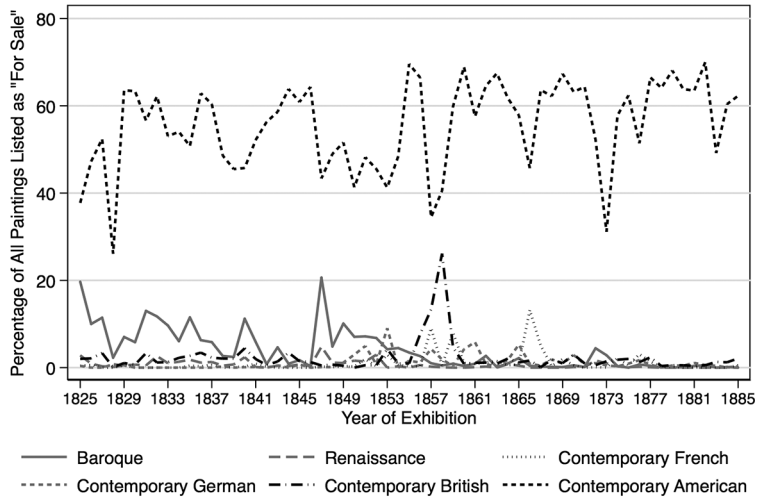


Figure 6.5: Composition of Paintings Listed as "For Sale," 1825–1885

Figure 6.5 demonstrates, unsurprisingly, that the majority of works for sale were by American artists, although the ratio of artwork that is contemporary American, contemporary European, or Old Master painting that is for sale closely tracks the same ratio for the

[296] See Chapter 2 of this thesis.

full sample. Patterns of commercial display reflect exhibition patterns in general. Figure 6.6 illustrates the fact that in the mid-nineteenth century, the number of paintings listed as belonging to a known art dealer or commercial gallery represented a volatile minority of the artwork, with no consistent patterns in those dealers' holdings.

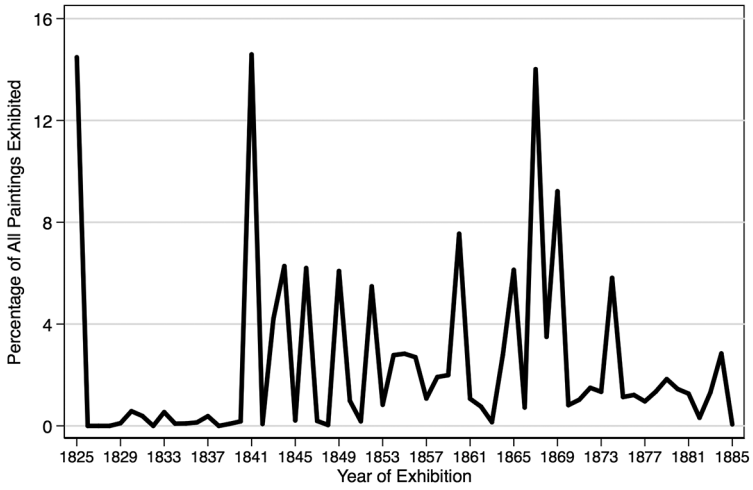


Figure 6.6: Percentage of Paintings Exhibited Listed as Owned by a Professional Art Dealer, 1825–1885

Another significant group of "owners" were in fact not individuals, but clubs and institutions, such as the Mercantile Library Association in San Francisco, Yale College, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art before it had a permanent physical home.[297] Figure 6.7 shows that, on average, Figure 6.7 shows that, on average, almost 10 percent of all paint-

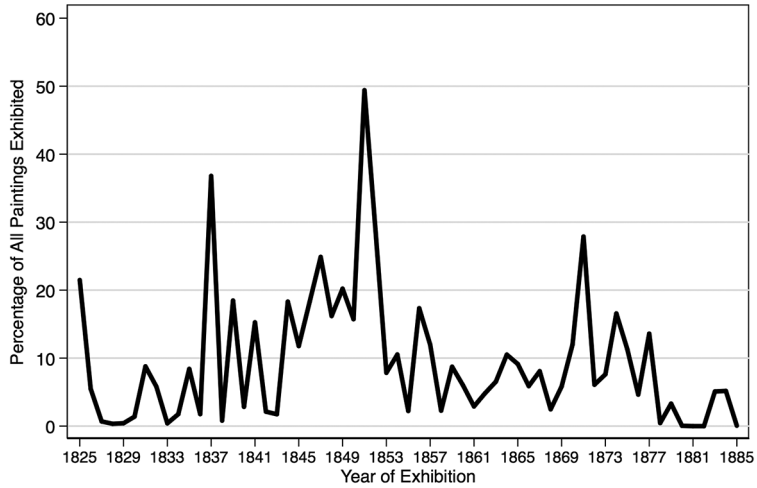


Figure 6.7: Percentage of Works of Art Owned by Institutions & Clubs 1825–1885 ($N = 203,958$)

[297] What is considered an "institution" is difficult to define in the nineteenth century. It includes art academies like those that hosted the exhibitions and are described at length in Chapter 2, but it also includes libraries, hospitals, and social clubs.

ings exhibited were owned by a club or institution. In one year (1851), this proportion reached almost 50 percent. Figure 6.8 shows that the majority of institutional holdings was still American artwork, but included many more Old Master paintings than were displayed on average across the full HAAExD.

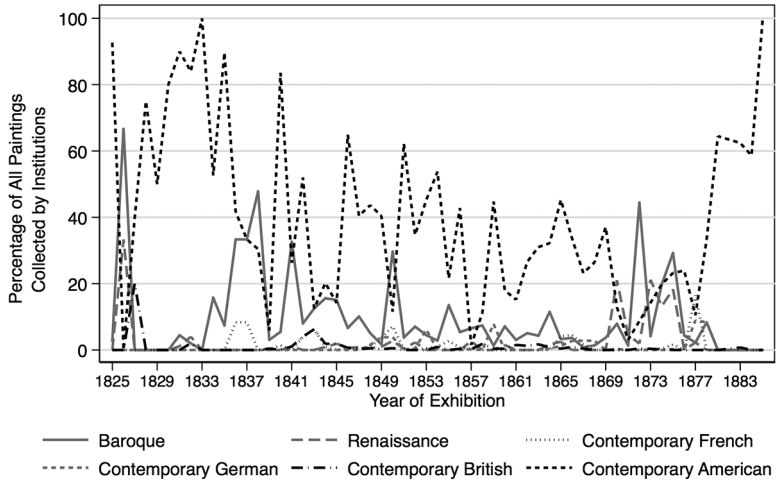


Figure 6.8: Types of Paintings Listed as Belonging to Institutions and Clubs 1825–1885 ($N = 21,550$)

The existing literature about social motivations for collecting certain kinds of art focuses on the preferences of individual private collectors. Figure 6.9 presents the composition over time of the holdings of collectors who—according to the number of paintings he or she lent to exhibitions—had a larger-than-median-size art collection. All of the 1,438 collectors whose holdings are included in this graph were above-average collectors in the HAAExD who lent *at least* seven unique works to exhibitions over time. In the first quarter of the sample (between approximately 1825 and 1840), baroque paintings were most frequently owned and lent to exhibitions by top collectors. By 1855, however, American art was the most frequently exhibited. Baroque, Renaissance, and contemporary European art were significant minorities, but they were—by proportion of works displayed—exhibited less frequently than was American art. A significant number of above-average collectors were, in fact, successful artists themselves, who owned and exhibited work that was not their own. While there have been some investigations into how artists purchased art and patronized one another, most of the secondary literature explores how bankers, merchants, and industrial tycoons chose to curate their personal collections.[298]

In order to isolate the preferences of private collectors whose fortunes and reputations were made outside of the art world, Figure 6.10 excludes works owned by artist-collectors.

[298] See Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Painted Sketch: American Impressions from Nature, 1830–1880* (Dallas, TX: Dallas Museum of Art, 1998); Harvey, "Tastes in Transition: Gifford's Patrons," in *Hudson River School Visions: The Landscapes of Sanford R. Gifford*, ed. Kevin J. Avery (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 75–90; Blaugrund, *The Tenth Street Studio Building*.

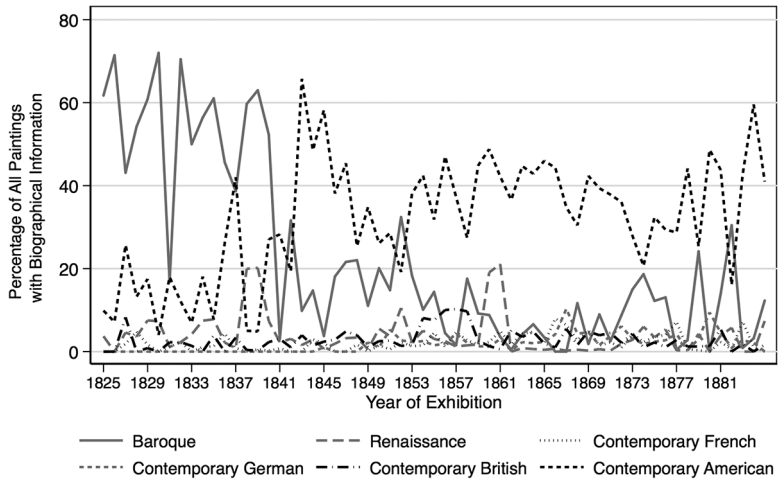


Figure 6.9: Composition of Private Collections Greater than the Median-Size Collection 1825–1885 ($N = 44,686$)

Excluding artist-collectors and their holdings, however, does not significantly alter the character of the collections over time. The proportion of American art is less dominant without art collectors' holdings included. However, the description of the full sample of top collections—showing that after 1855 American art is the most frequently exhibited, but that Old Master (divided in this figure into art by Baroque and Renaissance artists) and Contemporary European art are significant minorities—remains accurate when artists' collections are excluded.

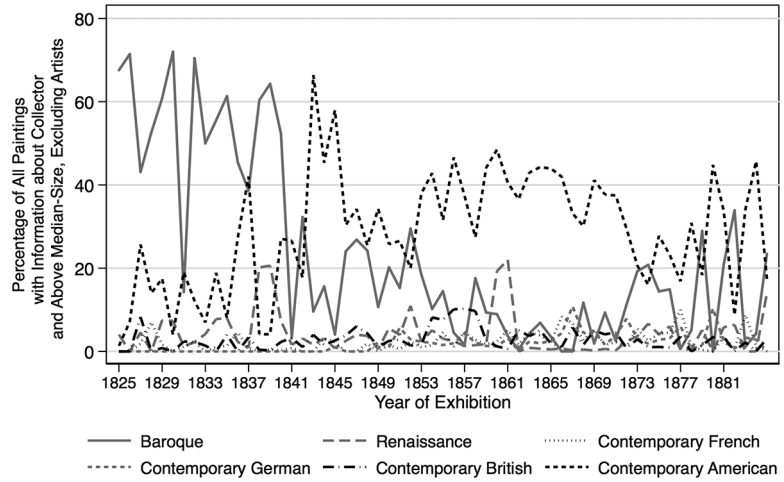


Figure 6.10: Composition of Private Collections Greater than the Median-Size Collection, Excluding Works Owned by Artists, 1825–1885 ($N = 22,402$)

"Obvious criteria of merit and value": Sample Bias in *Art Treasures of America*

Apart from analyses of collectors' holdings preserved in art institutions, the primary source that has been central to studies of American art collectors' taste is the nineteenth-century art critic Earl Shinn's serial publication *Art Treasures of America* (1879–82).[299] H. Barbara Weinberg—in her introduction to a 1977 reprint of the book—asserts that Shinn's work is "a monument to the astonishing uniformity of American taste in the era after the Civil War, particularly to the devotion to French Academic and Barbizon painting."[300] In the introduction to *The Art Treasures of America,* Earl Shin (under the pseudonym Edward Strahan) writes:

> Is it not strange that America, the hugest of countries, should be the first to make a careful encyclopedia of its art treasure? Other lands…have been contented with mere selections and anthologies. Neither Italy, the cradle for painting, nor France its hotbed, nor England its wealthiest collector has yet published a list of the art-works enshrined in its borders…This novel ambition to inventory in encyclopedic form the whole treasury of a country in works of art—the enumeration being kept, however, within the grade of certain obvious criteria of merit and value. The word "edited" on the title page refers of course to the selection of art treasures for treatment.[301]

This statement seems contradictory. At first, Shinn claims his work will be "a careful encyclopedia," implying that it will be comprehensive, unlike "mere selections and anthologies." However, as the paragraph continues, it becomes clear that while an encyclopedia may be comprehensive and objective, Shinn's concept of an "art treasure" is limited and subjective. Shinn's "obvious criteria of merit and value" strongly favored contemporary European painting.

Earl Shinn was born into a Quaker family in Philadelphia in 1838. His family encouraged him to go into the financially rewarding career of executing land conveyances. At the age of twenty-one, he rebelled against his family's wishes and enrolled at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. Choosing a career in the fine arts—either as artist or critic—was controversial for a Quaker. The religion considered art to be a frivolous luxury. Shinn, however, continued to study to become an artist and in 1864 left Philadelphia for New York.

[299] For analyses of collectors' holdings preserved in art institutions, see Anne Higonnet, *A Museum of One's Own: Private Collecting, Public Gift* (Pittsburgh, PA: Periscope Publishing, 2009); Louis Auchincloss, *J. P. Morgan: The Financier as Collector* (New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1990).

[300] H. Barbara Weinberg, introduction to Edward Strahan [Earl Shinn], *The Art Treasures of America, in Three Volumes*, ed. H. Barbara Weinberg (New York: Garland Publishing, 1977), 1:4.

[301] Edward Strahan [Earl Shinn], *The Art Treasures of America*, 1:v.

While in New York, he worked as a newspaper writer (specifically as a gossip columnist and reviewer of cultural events) for *Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*. Shinn's life took an unexpected turn when both of his parents died within two months of each other toward the end of 1865. Using his small inheritance, Shinn set sail for France in April 1866.[302] Shinn's own diary summarizes his time in Europe:

> A month in England, a summer in Brittany, 2 winters in the École des Beaux-arts in Paris. 3 months in Italy, where I saw Naples Sorrento, Capri, Rome, Florence, Pisa by way of Marseilles, Venice and Naples again, when I returned to Paris, for the Exposition, a month again in Brittany, and my second winter at the Beaux-arts. Returned to America April, 1868, engaged with the *Bulletin* as literary and art critic.[303]

This brief outline, however, does not convey Shinn's growing admiration for the contemporary art he saw exhibited at the Paris Salon.

After being accepted as a visiting student at the *École des Beaux-arts*, Shinn studied in the studio of Jean-Leon Gérôme (1824–1904), a leading Academic painter. In an article for his series "Art-Study in the Imperial School at Paris" for *The Nation,* Shinn described how students respected Gérôme. "I am scarcely less than serious. . . when I claim that those honest fellows devote to their professor some of the sacrifices taken from religion." While Shinn mocked his colleagues' obsequious admiration, he was himself a dedicated disciple.[304] He wrote in another installment of the series, "I have my opinion, in common with the world of the external public, of the didactic quality of [Gérôme's] representations. . . " Has figure-painting ever been so skillfully wielded upon literature painting since the day of Veronese, as in the "Death of Caesar?"[305]

In addition to his enrollment at the École des Beaux-arts, Shinn spent at least part of both of his European summers as a member of a new artist's colony in Pont-Aven in the Breton department of Finistère. He traveled there with the American expatriate artist Robert Wylie—who had also studied at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts—and several other American artists in France at the time. Though he enjoyed being a member of the Pont-Aven community, he wrote that, during the experience, his "principal difficulties and

[302] "Shinn, Earl; Edward Strahan, pseudonym," Dictionary of Art Historians, accessed April 9, 2015, https://dictionaryofarthistorians.org/shinne.htm; Daniel Lenehan, "Fashioning Taste: Earl Shinn, Art Criticism and National Identity in Gilded Age America" (Senior thesis, Haverford College, 2005).

[303] Journal entry, November 16, 1878, Earl Shinn journal in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1870–1882. Microfilm reel 3656 (frames 1040–1115), Archives of American Art, Washington, DC.

[304] Anonymous [Earl Shinn], "Art-Study in the Imperial School at Paris. No. IV. A Dinner to M. Gérôme," *The Nation*, June 24, 1869, 492.

[305] Anonymous [Earl Shinn], "Art-Study in the Imperial School at Paris. No. IV. "Style" and "Quality"—the Routine of Work—Eugenie," *The Nation*, July 22, 1869, 67.

horrors occurred while painfully teaching [himself] that [he] could never be a painter."[306] Returning to Gérôme's studio reinforced this point. He wrote to his sister, "M. Gérôme said to me this morning 'C'est Mieux; Mieux; mais voilà une faute grave—' and proceeds to demolish a part of my work as he had quietly done the whole of two days before. . . ."[307] In the wake of this discouraging experience, Shinn decided to become a professional art critic. "[T]he height of my aim at present," he wrote, "is to be a critic and comprehend civilization and things of taste."[308] Though he had failed as a painter, his experience in France at the École des Beaux-arts was formative. For the rest of his career, his criticism favored art by European Academic painters and Americans who had also studied in France.

There are numerous examples in Shinn's criticism that reveal his pro-European preferences. A review of the 1876 Centennial Exhibition stated: "France, let us confess, is the first art-producing country to-day."[309] In a review of the 1877 National Academy of Design show, he insisted:

> [The exhibition's] most striking aspect is the bold front assumed by art-students working in Europe, who sign nearly all the best pieces, and the consequent collapse of what we used to complacently call the American school. . . The work of the European pupils is bold, youthful, and confident with that peculiar loudness in enunciating their masters' principles.[310]

Shinn wanted the American students to do well. In the same review, he wrote, "When this strength in asserting another's theories is exchanged for strength in forming personal theories," we shall have an "American school" again.[311] He just thought the American painters were not yet successful.

This bias toward contemporary European art is also evident in the text of *The Art Treasures of America.* Introducing Mrs. A. T. Stewart's elaborate home gallery, he wrote that works by "American artists stretch along one side of the cornice; those of living Europeans such as Meissonier and Gérôme occupy the other."[312] While the collection seems architecturally balanced, Shinn's description was not. He dedicated twenty-six pages of description to European art and three to American art. When introducing Mrs. Stewart's

[306] Earl Shinn to Anna Shipley, 6 October 1866, Box 112, Morris-Shinn-Maier Collection, Quaker Collection, Haverford College.

[307] Earl Shinn to "Very Day Sir," 10 November 1866, Earl Shinn letters and diary from the collection at Swarthmore College, 1852–1889, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC.

[308] Earl Shinn to Anna Shipley, 3 July 1867, Earl Shinn letters and diary from the collection at Swarthmore College, 1852–1889, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC.

[309] Edward Strahan [Earl Shinn], *Masterpieces of the Centennial Exhibition,* Volume 1 (Philadelphia: Gebbie & Barrie, 1876), 11.

[310] Anonymous [Earl Shinn], "Notes," *The Nation*, April 5, 1877, 207.

[311] Anonymous [Earl Shinn], "Notes," *The Nation*, April 5, 1877, 207.

[312] Shinn, *The Art Treasures of America,* 1:23.

American sculpture collection, he wrote, "The sculpture of the Stewart gallery is largely of American origin, revealing, as indeed do many of the pictures, the collector's liberal, and on the whole intelligent fostering of native art."[313] After complementing Mrs. Stewart's willingness to foster American art that is, implicitly, less accomplished than its European counterparts, he described a version of Hiram Powers' *Greek Slave* (1844):

> There are, it is true, feeble modeling in parts, indicative of crude and imperfect training, and a lack of knowledge on the artist's part of some of the refinement of the human form; but after all deductions are made, the purity, expressiveness and truly ideal grace of the statue remain to testify that the one-time enthusiastic admiration of Europe and America was not misapplied or wasted on a mere piece of artistic trumpery.[314]

The preference that Shinn had previously expressed in his criticism for contemporary European art is echoed like this throughout in the text of *The Art Treasures of America.*

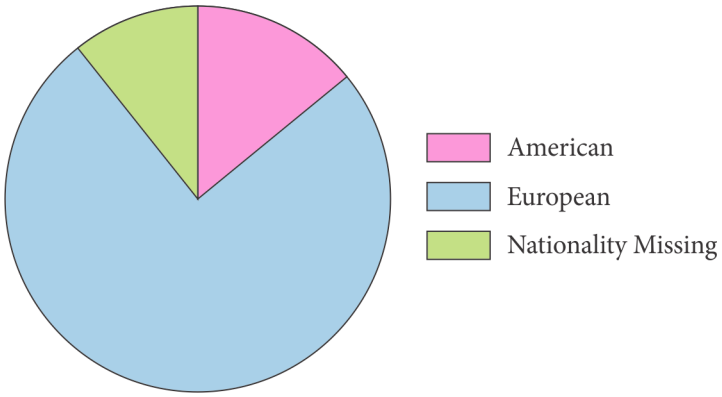


Figure 6.11: Nationalities of All Artists Included in The Art Treasures of American ($N = 3,286$ Works of Art)

While the qualitative bias in Shinn's work is clear, Figures 6.11 and 6.12 quantify this bias. They compare and contrast the composition of the collections that Shinn surveyed and the composition of the average work of art owned by top private collectors listed in the HAAExD. Figure 6.11 demonstrates that in Shinn's sample of works surveyed, most painters are European; specifically, 72 percent of the total sample. Compared with the same analysis for the nationalities of painters in the HAAExD (Figure 6.12), Shinn's bias is clear. In the HAAExD, European painters make up only 30 percent of all artists, and American artists are by far the most frequent contributors to the sample—even when that sample is limited to above-median collectors, as it is in Figure 6.12.

[313] Shinn, *The Art Treasures of America,* 1:49.
[314] Shinn, *The Art Treasures of America*, 1:50.

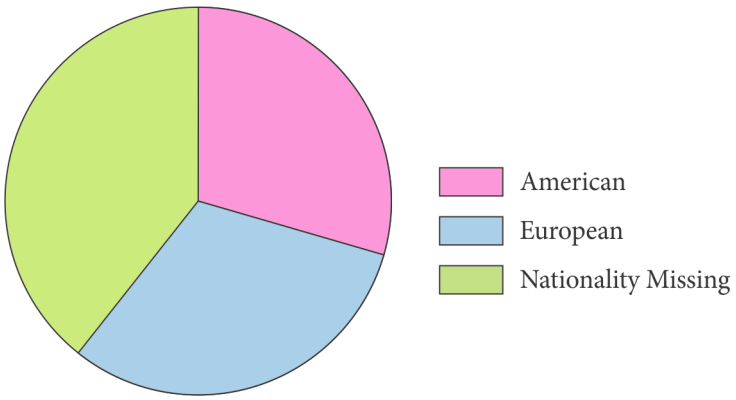


Figure 6.12: Nationalities of All Artists Included in the HAAExD and Collected by Top Collectors, Excluding Works Owned by Artists ($N = 22,402$ Works of Art)

Conclusion: Challenging the Institutionalization of Shinn

This bias is, however, not only attributable to Shinn's preferences for contemporary European art. He was, in fact, friends with several notable American artists—including Thomas Eakins (1844–1916) and John Sartain (1808–97)—and wrote praising comments about their work.[315] In the same National Academy of Design review where he described the "collapse of what we used to complacently call the American school," he wrote that Sartain's work was among those of "thorough study and reserved power."[316] Instead, the bias in the *Art Treasures of America* sample comes from a combination of Shinn's personal preferences and his choice to survey a particular subset of American private collectors.

Dozens of the collections that Shinn inventoried formed the founding collections of the leading American art museums. Either the collectors included in the volume founded their own museums—W. T. Walters of Baltimore, for example—or were closely involved with the founding of new public art museums in their home cities. Shinn's book includes the collections of Martin Brimmer, the founding president of Boston's Museum of Fine Arts, and Joseph Longworth, one of the five original incorporators of the Cincinnati Art Museum. Among the sixty-five New York collectors included in the book, six were founders of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, an additional thirteen served as trustees, and several others were members of families that made major bequests to the museum in the twentieth century, like the Havemeyer family.[317] The tastes of these men and women—and their focus on

[315] Shinn mentions spending time with Eakins—who was also a student in Gérôme's studio -in several of his letters. The two also exchanged letters. He likewise exchanged several letters with Sartain. See Earl Shinn, letters and diary from the collection at Swarthmore College, 1852–1889, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC.

[316] Anonymous [Earl Shinn], "Notes," *The Nation*, April 5, 1877, 207.

[317] Shinn, "Index of Collections Mentioned in this Work," *Art Treasures of America*, 3:129–30; The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *A Brief Record of Development, 1866–1937* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1937); Wayne Andrews, "Martin Brimmer: The First Gentleman of Boston," *Archives of Amer-*

European art—are not only preserved in the pages of *Art Treasures of America*, but on the walls of the museums central to the preservation and study of art in the United States. Between the influence of Shinn's "careful encyclopedia of [America's] art treasure" and the publicity and access provided by an established art museum, the taste on display in the *Art Treasure* is now considered representative of taste for art in nineteenth-century America in general. As analysis of the HAAxD and Shinn's work indicates, however, their tastes are more institutionalized than they are representative.

The HAAExD includes works owned by collectors in Shinn's book. It is not exclusive of the very top tier of American art collectors, but rather includes more collectors than Shinn was able to survey. In the graphs that chart the composition of art pieces owned by above-median collectors, one can see not only the taste of the wealthiest Americans, but also those who—to use a slightly anachronistic expression—were upper-middle-class. The next chapter will take the unprecedentedly large amount of data about art collecting in America provided by the HAAExD and use it to answer questions about the links between art consumption and patrons' socioeconomic backgrounds. Freed from a focus on the mega-wealthy and histories of collecting filtered through biased nineteenth-century accounts, one can trace comprehensive general patterns in the history of collecting in the United States and examine their links to the changing social profiles of the men and women who patronized the arts in America.

ican Art Journal 30, no. 4 (1990), 4–7; Denny Carter, *The Golden Age: The Cincinnati Painters of the Nineteenth Century Represented in the Cincinnati Art Museum* (Cincinnati, OH: The Cincinnati Art Museum, 1979), 88–89; Metropolitan Museum of Art, "The H. O. Havemeyer Family," accessed April 22, 2015, http://www.metmuseum.org/exhibitions/listings/2011/islamic-art/havemeyer-family.

Chapter 7

Exploring Systematic Relationships between Socioeconomic Factors and Art Collecting in Nineteenth-Century America

Introduction

As described in the introduction to this thesis and in the previous chapter, a common set of questions in the social history of art are linked to patronage. Generally, do class and socioeconomic background have any clear effect on art collectors' acquisitions? One can use quantitative evidence and econometric methods to address this and related questions for nineteenth-century America. This chapter analyzes the holdings of a subset of almost 300 collectors included in the HAAExD alongside their socioeconomic background and geographic location. It presents a series of cross-sectional regressions (see Statistical Appendix) to regress these collectors' artistic acquisitions on attributes like wealth at birth, profession, gender, birthplace, and the location where the collection was shown. The results reveal some modest systematic effects of different socioeconomic traits—whether or not the collector was a "self-made" man, for example—on artistic holdings. One significant finding from these regressions is that American artists collected significant amounts of work by other American artists, preferring it to contemporary European or Old Master paintings. Artists were not only the beneficiaries of patronage—they were patrons themselves.

After using quantitative evidence to establish some of the systematic associations between certain socioeconomic markers and acquisition patterns, the second half of the chapter turns to specific case studies about collectors included in the subset of the HAAExD: William Bement, Edwin and Margaret Crocker, Catharine Lorillard Wolfe, and Jasper Francis Cropsey. In the context of these four qualitative case studies featuring collectors from around the US, it is possible to explore the influence of socioeconomic background and geographical context on individuals' specific tastes and acquisitions.

Introducing the HAAExD Collector Sample

The HAAExD includes data about 204,334 works of art displayed between 1825 and 1885. Of these, 86,358 works have a collector listed and belonged to private owners who were *not* the artists themselves. For this chapter, I further limit this number to the 42,484 pieces belonging to what I am calling "top collectors", those who are recorded as owning seven or more unique works of art. There are 1,725 top collectors, which means on average these individuals owned and exhibited about 25 works. I was able to gather comprehensive biographical information—including birthplace, occupation, place of residence, profession, and socioeconomic status at birth—for 291 individuals in this group of collectors, who in total owned 6,924 works. I use a dataset combining these collectors' holdings with their socioeconomic information for the quantitative analysis in this chapter.[318]

Table 7.1: Overview of Top Collectors' Holdings

Category	Mean	Min	Max
Total Holdings	23.79	7	672
Proportion Contemporary American	0.39	0	1
Proportion Contemporary European	0.40	0	1
Proportion Old Master	0.20	0	0.86
Proportion Other (Including Unidentified Artists, Objets d'Art)	0.55	0	1

Tables 7.1–7.5 provide descriptive statistics about this sample of collectors. Table 7.1 describes their typical holdings. The mean collector owned almost 24 works of art, most of them American or from an unidentified maker. Some collections consist entirely of one type of artwork—for example, all contemporary European, or all *objets d'art* or works by unidentified artists.

Table 7.2 indicates the rough era during which the sample population's collections were exhibited and presumably assembled. There is a potential problem with this assumption: collections can be assembled for years prior to the time of exhibition. Whether or not a collector displayed his or her holdings while still actively acquiring varies radically from case to case.[319] If one assumes that collections were exhibited at least once within roughly two decades of acquisition, as qualitative evidence suggests, one can classify the collections as roughly ante- or postbellum. Table 7.2 shows a fairly equal spread of collections acquired before, after, and during the Civil War.

[318] It is worth noting that there is an implicit bias that determines which collectors have socioeconomic data available. They are most often men who were notable in their communities and for whom obituaries were written. While Ancestry.com and other genealogical services have mitigated this bias, they have not eliminated it.

[319] For example, the collection of artist Washington Allston was only displayed after his death in 1843. But there are records for most collectors showing that they displayed some or most of their acquisitions during their lifetimes. These include Edwin Crocker and William Bement, who are profiled below.

Table 7.2: Distribution of Eras in which Collectors Acquired Art

Period	Number	Percentage
Collected Pre-Civil War	78	26.81%
Collected Pre- & Post-Civil War	113	38.83%
Collected Post-Civil War	100	34.36%

Table 7.3 presents demographic information on all of the collectors for whom full biographical information is available. The collectors are overwhelmingly male—specifically 95 percent of them. For a large portion of the sample (23 percent), it is impossible to know how the collector first acquired his or her wealth. Those listed as "Born with Money" were born into at least an upper-middle-class family that could provide capital and connections

Table 7.3: Demographics of Collectors

Gender	Number	Percentage
Male	277	95.19%
Female	14	4.81%
Wealth Acquisition		
Born with Money	80	27.49%
Self-Made	144	49.48%
Missing	67	23.02%
Occupations*		
Artist, Photographer or Architect	155	54.39%
Art Dealer or Related Business	9	3.16%
Sciences (Engineers, Scientists, Doctors)	20	7.02%
Literary (Academics in the Humanities, Journalists, Publishers)	23	8.07%
Church	6	2.11%
Transport (Shipping and Railroad)	18	6.32%
Mining	3	1.05%
Manufacturing	23	8.07%
Merchants	43	15.09%
Lawyers	17	5.96%
Independently Wealthy (No Need for a Profession, Full-Time Philanthropists)	14	4.91%
**It was not possible to find occupations for six of the collectors. Therefore, percentages in this section are out of 285. Also, not all professions are listed here and some collectors had multiple professions–percentages do not sum to 100*		

for professional ventures. "Self-made" men and women were not necessarily born destitute, but they received no significant financial or social support from their families. Using

these criteria, the results show that only 27 percent of the collectors were born with money, and almost 50 percent were self-made.

The occupational data in Table 7.3 provide several interesting observations. First, the distribution of collectors is fairly even across most occupations, each constituting between 2 percent and 10 percent of the sample. This includes manufacturers, railroad men, scientists, and the independently wealthy, who did not need to practice a profession. More than half of the sample, however, were artists, photographers, and architects. This dominance is not the effect of men and women exhibiting their own works of art. Works of art owned by the artists themselves, or whose maker and collector had the same name, were dropped from the sample.[320] Artists who owned and displayed the work of other artists drive this phenomenon. The strength and character of this trend of inter-artist support will be discussed later in this chapter.

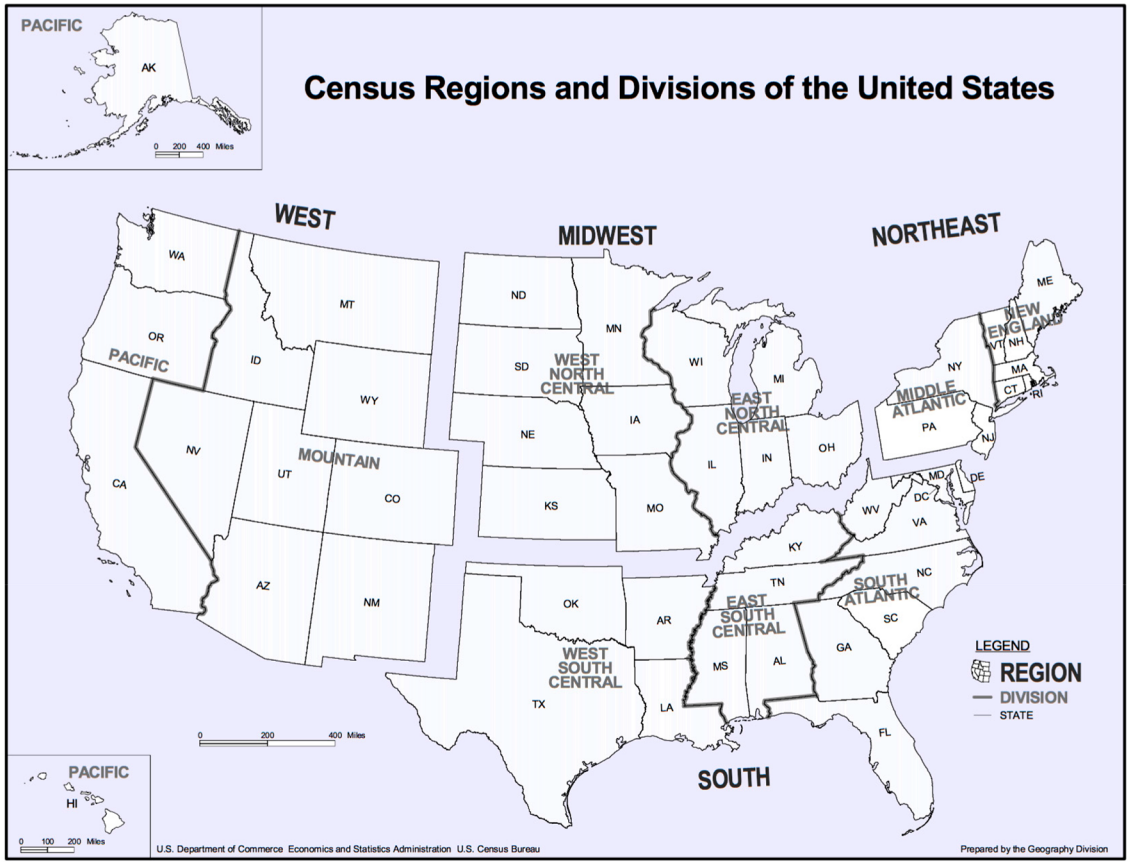


Figure 7.1: United States Census Bureau, "Census Regions and Divisions of the United States" http://www2.census.gov/geo/pdfs/maps-data/maps/reference/us_regdiv.pdf.

Table 7.4 groups collectors' birthplaces by census division (see Figure 7.1). Reflecting the approximate distribution of birthplaces of the US population in the mid-nineteenth cen-

[320] Matches included "fuzzy" matches, like first initials and last names corresponding to a full first name and last name.

tury, most collectors were born in New England, the Mid-Atlantic, or abroad.[321] Table 7.5 shows the distribution of locations where collectors displayed their holdings. New England (division 1) and the Mid-Atlantic (division 2) dominate, both in the number of collectors exhibiting their collections and the number of works displayed. However, the Pacific (division 9), which includes California, placed third for both the number of collectors and works shown. This strong showing for a relatively new and disconnected state is driven by two factors. First, there was an enormous amount of new wealth in California, and many of these newly wealthy men and women chose to collect art.[322] Second, the HAAExD includes a large amount of information about California exhibitions (see Chapter 5). There is thus a data bias towards capturing West Coast exhibitions. Collectors often, but not always, displayed their art collections in the cities where they lived.[323] Therefore, Table 7.5 likely also indicates where most art collectors in the sample lived.

Table 7.4: Collectors' Birth Places

Division	Number of Collectors	Percentage
New England (1)	87	29.9
Midatlantic (2)	74	25.43
East North Central (3)	13	4.47
West North Central (4)	5	1.72
South Atlantic (5)	17	5.84
East South Central (6)	13	4.47
West South Central (7)	0	0
Mountain (8)	2	0.69
Pacific (9)	2	0.69
Abroad (10)	78	26.8
TOTAL	291	100

Using the data represented by Tables 7.1–7.5, one can carry out several basic cross-sectional regressions exploring the effects of collectors' socioeconomic backgrounds on

[321] Digital Scholarship Lab, University of Richmond, "Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States", accessed May 31, 2016, http://dsl.richmond.edu/historicalatlas/.

[322] Ott, *Manufacturing the Modern Patron in Victorian California*, 1–26.

[323] The most prominent exception to this rule is the New Orleans collector James Robb, whose collection was shown around the United States throughout the nineteenth century. The HAAExD records its exhibition in Cincinnati, New Orleans, Boston, and Chicago. Robb was born in Western Pennsylvania, but made his money in banking in Chicago, New York, and ultimately New Orleans. "The Son of a Poor Widow; How He Rose from Poverty to Affluence," *The New York Times*, August 2, 1881. Robb's papers are held at Historical New Orleans, and a mention of his collecting is found in Isaac Monroe Cline, *Storms, Floors and Sunshine: An Autobiography with a Summary of Tropical Hurricanes* (New Orleans, LA: Pelican Publishing, 1951), 126–28.

Table 7.5: Place of Exhibition of Collectors' Holdings

City & State	Division	Number of Collectors	Percentage	Number of Works of Art	Percentage
Boston, Massachusetts	1	49	16.84%	638	9.21%
New Bedford, Massachusetts	1	1	0.34%	7	0.10%
New Haven, Connecticut	1	2	0.69%	31	0.45%
Portland, Maine	1	1	0.34%	7	0.10%
Albany, New York	2	9	3.09%	328	4.74%
Brooklyn, New York	2	5	1.72%	97	1.40%
Buffalo, New York	2	4	1.37%	77	1.11%
New York, New York	2	41	14.09%	1403	20.26%
Newark, New Jersey	2	1	0.34%	8	0.12%
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania	2	36	12.37%	1283	18.53%
Reading, Pennsylvania	2	2	0.69%	31	0.45%
Troy, New York	2	3	1.03%	109	1.57%
Utica, New York	2	2	0.69%	59	0.85%
Chicago, Illinois	3	10	3.44%	264	3.81%
Cincinnati, Ohio	3	9	3.09%	141	2.04%
Columbus, Ohio	3	1	0.34%	9	0.13%
Detroit, Michigan	3	6	2.06%	94	1.36%
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania	3	7	2.41%	114	1.65%
Davenport, Iowa	4	1	0.34%	7	0.10%
St. Louis, Missouri	4	5	1.72%	49	0.71%
Baltimore, Maryland	5	20	6.87%	354	5.11%
Charleston, South Carolina	5	5	1.72%	44	0.64%
Marietta, Georgia	5	1	0.34%	14	0.20%
Washington, DC.	5	3	1.03%	43	0.62%
Louisville, Kentucky	6	8	2.75%	195	2.82%
Sacramento, California	9	1	0.34%	8	0.12%
San Francisco, California	9	57	19.59%	1368	19.76%
Unclear/Multiple Cities	.	1	0.34%	142	2.05%
TOTAL		291	99.98%	6924	100.00%

their holdings. Specifically, four regressions are carried out. The dependent variable in each case is the proportion of a collection consisting of a certain kind of artwork—contemporary American, contemporary European Old Master, or a work by an unidentified maker. The independent variables are consistent throughout the regressions and are roughly those summarized in Tables 7.1–7.5: era of collection, gender, selected occupations, wealth at birth, place of birth, and place of display. From the 291 collectors, the regressions included the 285 collectors whose occupation information was available.

Tables 7.6–7.9 present the results of these regressions. The independent variables for each regression include era of collection, gender, selected occupations, and wealth at birth. No geographic variables are included in column 1. The only geographic variable included in column 2 is the collector's place of birth at the census divisional level. The only geographic variable in column 3 is the division of exhibition. Column 4 includes both of these geographic markers. The results presented in Tables 7.7–7.9 will be discussed thematically; the effects of one variable or set of variables will therefore be discussed across regressions. Table 7.6, however, will first be presented separately.

Table 7.6: Effects of Collectors' Socio-Economic Characteristics on Share of Holdings that have an Unidentified Maker

Dependent Variable: Share of Holdings that are Works of Art with an Unidentified Maker

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Collecting Era				
Collected Pre-Civil War	0.096	0.087	0.115*	0.114*
	(1.59)	(1.43)	(1.89)	(1.85)
Started Collecting Post-Civil War	0.121**	0.134**	0.086	0.118*
	(2.18)	(2.37)	(1.33)	(1.78)
Collected both Pre- and Post-Civil War		*Reference Category*		
Type of Collector				
Artist	–	–	–	–
	0.195***	0.201***	0.212***	0.194***
	(–3.39)	(–3.42)	(–3.64)	(–3.31)
Art Business (Dealer, Lithographer)	0.073	0.111	0.112	0.164
	(0.53)	(0.81)	(0.84)	(1.22)
Industrialist	–0.031	–0.032	–0.063	–0.061
	(–0.39)	(–0.40)	(–0.79)	(–0.76)
Merchant	0.052	0.068	0.076	0.091
	(0.72)	(0.94)	(1.06)	(1.28)
Independently Wealthy	–0.063	–0.050	–0.126	–0.112
	(–0.55)	(–0.41)	(–1.07)	(–0.93)
Self Made	0.114**	0.103**	0.100*	0.096
	(2.31)	(2.06)	(1.97)	(1.89)
Female Collector	0.195	0.156	0.117	0.076
	(1.62)	(1.25)	(0.99)	(0.62)
Collector Place of Birth				
New England		–0.242**		–0.242**
		(–2.11)		(–2.00)
Middle Atlantic		–0.154		–0.208*

		(–1.32)		(–1.71)
East North Central		–0.007		–0.072
		(–0.05)		(–0.47)
West North Central		–0.362*		–0.512**
		(–1.72)		(–2.43)
South Atlantic		–0.067		–0.109
		(–0.46)		(–0.76)
East South Central		*Reference Category*		
West South Central		0.000		0.000
		(.)		(.)
Mountain		–0.706**		–0.676**
		(–2.31)		(–2.27)
Pacific		0.173		0.195
		(0.57)		(0.65)
Abroad		–0.165		–0.226*
		(–1.39)		(–1.89)
Place of Exhibition				
New England			–0.373**	–0.371**
			(–2.32)	(–2.25)
Middle Atlantic			–0.253*	–0.272*
			(–1.65)	(–1.78)
East North Central			0.012	0.002
			(0.07)	(0.01)
West North Central			*Reference Category*	
South Atlantic			–0.214	–0.303*
			(–1.25)	(–1.74)
East South Central			0.003	–0.032
			(0.01)	(–0.16)
West South Central			0.000	0.000
			(.)	(.)
Mountain			0.000	0.000
			(.)	(.)
Pacific			–0.213	–0.267
			(–1.31)	(–1.64)
N	285	285	285	285
r2	0.10	0.15	0.17	0.21
F	3.31	2.68	3.68	3.08

The dependent variable in Table 7.6 is the proportion of works in a collector's holdings that are by an unidentified artist. This broad category includes *objets d'art* and decorative arts with no listed maker as well as works by a *named* artist whose biographical information was not provided by the exhibition index or the Getty Union Art List.

There are two goals for performing regression analyses with this loosely defined category of artwork. The first—which is unique to this regression—is to test the quality of the data in certain indices. Looking particularly at the "Place of Exhibition" variable, we can see which regions' exhibition venues are more likely to show work by identifiable artists. Not surprisingly, collectors exhibiting artwork in New England and the Mid-Atlantic—including Boston, New York, and Philadelphia—are most likely to own artwork by identifiable artists. These cities were the principal artistic centers of the United States during the

nineteenth century. Artists working in these markets are the most studied. The basic biographical information of a minor Boston or New York artist is more likely to be recorded than that of a minor artist from the upper Midwest—the East North Central division.

Table 7.7: Effects of Collectors' Socioeconomic Characteristics on Share of Holdings that are by a Contemporary American Artist

Dependent Variable: Share of Holdings that are Works of Art by a Contemporary American Artist

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Collecting Era				
Collected Pre-Civil War	–0.085	–0.076	–0.099	–0.097
	(–1.42)	(–1.27)	(–1.64)	(–1.58)
Started Collecting Post-Civil War	–0.119**	–0.135**	–0.085	–0.114*
	(-2.18)	(-2.41)	(-1.31)	(-1.74)
Collected both Pre- and Post-Civil War		*Reference Category*		
Type of Collector				
Artist	0.254***	0.255***	0.266***	0.251***
	(4.51)	(4.40)	(4.60)	(4.28)
Art Business (Dealer, Lithographer)	–0.042	–0.070	–0.071	–0.113
	(–0.31)	(–0.52)	(–0.54)	(–0.85)
Industrialist	0.057	0.047	0.084	0.072
	(0.73)	(0.60)	(1.07)	(0.91)
Merchant	–0.082	–0.097	–0.098	–0.116
	(–1.15)	(–1.36)	(–1.39)	(–1.63)
Independently Wealthy	–0.017	–0.043	0.038	0.011
	(–0.15)	(–0.37)	(0.32)	(0.09)
Self Made	–0.101**	–0.091*	–0.090*	–0.086*
	(–2.08)	(–1.84)	(–1.77)	(–1.69)
Female Collector	–0.214*	–0.194	–0.153	–0.126
	(–1.81)	(–1.57)	(–1.30)	(–1.03)
Collector Place of Birth				
New England		0.140		0.158
		(1.24)		(1.31)
Middle Atlantic		0.101		0.157
		(0.87)		(1.30)
East North Central		–0.014		0.046
		(–0.09)		(0.30)
West North Central		0.360*		0.501**
		(1.74)		(2.38)

South Atlantic		0.019		0.053
		(0.13)		(0.37)
East South Central		*Reference Category*		
West South Central		0.000		0.000
		(.)		(.)
Mountain		0.690**		0.674**
		(2.29)		(2.27)
Pacific		–0.190		–0.196
		(-0.63)		(-0.66)
Abroad		0.082		0.142
		(0.70)		(1.19)
Place of Exhibition				
New England			0.270*	0.272*
			(1.68)	(1.66)
Middle Atlantic			0.198	0.205
			(1.30)	(1.35)
East North Central			–0.039	–0.040
			(–0.23)	(–0.24)
West North Central			*Reference Category*	
South Atlantic			0.194	0.261
			(1.14)	(1.50)
East South Central			–0.027	0.004
			(–0.13)	(0.02)
West South Central			0.000	0.000
			(.)	(.)
Mountain			0.000	0.000
			(.)	(.)
Pacific			0.161	0.196
			(1.00)	(1.21)
N	285	285	285	285
r2	0.14	0.18	0.19	0.22
F	4.97	3.34	4.13	3.28

The second goal of the regressions presented in Table 7.6 is to determine which collectors were more or less likely to own *objets d'art*, decorative arts, and paintings without a listed maker. Two robust results address this question. Artists who collect were *less* likely to own works without an identified maker, and self-made collectors were *more* likely to own these works. No other social marker has any consistent significant effect on the likelihood to own art without an identified maker. Drawing on the results presented in Table 7.9, the next section shows which social and geographic markers are associated with a greater propensity to own certain better-defined categories of art.

The HAAExD Collector Sample: The Explanatory Power of Different Variables

Collecting Era

The first category of independent variables in Tables 7.7–7.9 is related to the era when collections were exhibited and presumably acquired. The sampled collections are categorized as having been collected either entirely antebellum, entirely postbellum, or across the two periods. The effects of the period of collecting on the makeup of a collection are strong, consistent, and statistically significant across the different regressions. Collections assembled entirely after the Civil War by this subset of collectors were less likely to include American art. This chapter explores this phenomenon in greater detail in the case studies below. In general, however, it appears to be linked to easier access to Europe and the development of a dealer infrastructure in the US specializing in contemporary European art. In contrast, Table 7.8 shows that collections entirely assembled before the Civil War are less likely to include contemporary European art.

Table 7.8: Effects of Collectors' Socioeconomic Characteristics on Share of Holdings that are by a Contemporary European Artist

Dependent Variable: Share of Holdings that are Works of Art by Contemporary European Artists

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Collecting Era				
Collected Pre-Civil War	–0.036*	–0.038*	–0.037*	–0.041**
	(–1.89)	(–1.95)	(–1.85)	(–2.02)
Started Collecting Post-Civil War	0.010	0.011	0.014	0.012
	(0.59)	(0.60)	(0.64)	(0.55)
Collected both Pre- and Post-Civil War		*Reference Category*		
Type of Collector				
Artist	–0.041**	–0.042**	–0.039**	–0.043**
	(–2.22)	(–2.24)	(–2.03)	(–2.21)
Art Business (Dealer, Lithographer)	–0.020	–0.029	–0.023	–0.032
	(–0.47)	(–0.65)	(–0.52)	(–0.71)
Industrialist	0.002	0.012	0.002	0.012
	(0.06)	(0.46)	(0.08)	(0.44)
Merchant	0.008	0.010	0.006	0.009
	(0.33)	(0.42)	(0.25)	(0.37)
Independently Wealthy	0.032	0.053	0.039	0.055
	(0.89)	(1.38)	(1.02)	(1.39)
Self Made	0.004	0.006	0.008	0.007
	(0.25)	(0.38)	(0.46)	(0.43)
Female Collector	0.031	0.043	0.041	0.051
	(0.82)	(1.07)	(1.07)	(1.25)
Collector Place of Birth				
New England		0.063*		0.051
		(1.71)		(1.28)
Middle Atlantic		0.049		0.040

		(1.29)		(1.00)
East North Central		0.021		0.018
		(0.43)		(0.36)
West North Central		–0.024		–0.029
		(–0.35)		(–0.41)
South Atlantic		0.039		0.041
		(0.85)		(0.88)
East South Central		*Reference Category*		
West South Central		0.000		0.000
		(.)		(.)
Mountain		0.004		–0.007
		(0.05)		(–0.07)
Pacific		0.010		–0.001
		(0.10)		(-0.01)
Abroad		0.079**		0.076*
		(2.09)		(1.92)
Place of Exhibition				
New England			0.070	0.079
			(1.33)	(1.45)
Middle Atlantic			0.065	0.074
			(1.29)	(1.47)
East North Central			0.043	0.058
			(0.79)	(1.05)
West North Central		*Reference Category*		
South Atlantic			0.027	0.047
			(0.49)	(0.81)
East South Central			0.023	0.025
			(0.35)	(0.37)
West South Central			0.000	0.000
			(.)	(.)
Mountain			0.000	0.000
			(.)	(.)
Pacific			0.051	0.066
			(0.95)	(1.21)
N	285	285	285	285
r2	0.05	0.08	0.07	0.10
F	1.62	1.39	1.28	1.20

The results for Old Master paintings are surprising. Antebellum collecting has a robust positive effect on the proportion of a collection that is Old Master. Yet in the antebellum period Americans were generally less wealthy and had less regular access to art in Europe. What, then, accounts for this effect? There were numerous fake Old Masters in America during this period. According to the exhibition catalogs, there were four paintings by Poussin, two by Rembrandt, one by Raphael, and a handful of paintings by Rubens on display just in 1840 along the East Coast. All of these paintings were likely fakes.[324]

[324]Cynthia Saltzman, *Old Masters, New World: America's Raid on Europe's Great Pictures* (New York: Penguin Books, 2009), 1–10, 241–52; Clay M. Dean, "James Jackson Jarves and the 'Primitive' Art Market in

Type of Collector – Occupation

The next category of explanatory variables relates to collectors' occupations. In particular, these variables capture the effects of a collector working as an artist or in an art-related business, working as an industrialist or merchant, or being independently wealthy and not needing to work.

Across regressions—from Tables 7.6 to 7.9—the strongest and most consistent effect of a social marker on the content of collections is whether or not the collector was also an artist. Artists were far more likely to own artwork created by their fellow American artists, and less likely to own artwork by contemporary European artists, Old Masters, or unknown makers. American artists appear to have been helping peers financially and professionally by purchasing and publicly displaying their artwork. This apparent inter-artist support network is explored below in greater detail in the case study of Hudson River School artist Jasper Francis Cropsey. One must also note that the large number of observations for artists (including photographers and architects), who comprise more than half the sample of collectors, is driving the strength and consistency of this result.

Table 7.9: Effects of Collectors' Socioeconomic Characteristics on Share of Holdings that are by an Old Master

Dependent Variable: Share of Holdings that are Works of Art are Old Masters

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Collecting Era				
Collected Pre-Civil War	0.025**	0.027***	0.021**	0.024**
	(2.43)	(2.66)	(2.03)	(2.32)
Started Collecting Post-Civil War	–0.013	–0.010	–0.015	–0.015
	(–1.35)	(–1.11)	(–1.37)	(–1.35)
Collected both Pre- and Post-Civil War		*Reference Category*		
Type of Collector				
Artist	–0.018*	–0.012	–0.015	–0.013
	(–1.92)	(–1.24)	(–1.53)	(–1.32)
Art Business (Dealer, Lithographer)	–0.011	–0.012	–0.018	–0.019
	(–0.47)	(–0.54)	(–0.81)	(–0.81)
Industrialist	–0.028**	–0.027**	–0.023*	–0.023*
	(–2.08)	(–2.02)	(–1.75)	(–1.73)
Merchant	0.022*	0.019	0.017	0.016
	(1.83)	(1.60)	(1.41)	(1.28)
Independently Wealthy	0.048**	0.040**	0.049**	0.045**
	(2.51)	(2.03)	(2.48)	(2.20)
Self Made	–0.017**	–0.018**	–0.018**	–0.018**
	(–2.11)	(–2.16)	(–2.11)	(–2.06)
Female Collector	–0.013	–0.006	–0.006	–0.001
	(–0.65)	(–0.27)	(–0.31)	(–0.04)

Nineteenth-Century America," in *A Market for Merchant Princes: Collecting Italian Renaissance Paintings in America*, ed. Inge Reist (State College, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015).

Collector Place of Birth				
New England		0.039**		0.033
		(2.06)		(1.59)
Middle Atlantic		0.005		0.011
		(0.25)		(0.51)
East North Central		0.000		0.008
		(0.02)		(0.30)
West North Central		0.025		0.039
		(0.72)		(1.09)
South Atlantic		0.008		0.015
		(0.35)		(0.61)
East South Central		*Reference Category*		
West South Central		0.000		0.000
		(.)		(.)
Mountain		0.012		0.009
		(0.24)		(0.17)
Pacific		0.007		0.001
		(0.14)		(0.02)
Abroad		0.003		0.008
		(0.16)		(0.41)
Place of Exhibition				
New England			0.034	0.020
			(1.24)	(0.70)
Middle Atlantic			–0.009	–0.008
			(–0.35)	(–0.29)
East North Central			–0.017	–0.020
			(–0.60)	(–0.69)
West North Central		*Reference Category*		
South Atlantic			–0.007	–0.004
			(–0.24)	(–0.14)
East South Central			0.000	0.003
			(0.01)	(0.09)
West South Central			0.000	0.000
			(.)	(.)
Mountain			0.000	0.000
			(.)	(.)
Pacific			0.001	0.005
			(0.04)	(0.19)
N	285	285	285	285
r2	0.15	0.20	0.20	0.22
F	5.44	3.92	4.55	3.21

While the effect of being an artist on a collector's holdings are clear, the effect of being in a directly art-related business, as in the case of dealers or lithographers, has no clear effect on the content of individuals' collections. The weakness of this effect can be partially attributed to the inclusion in the sample of only nine collectors with such art-related professions.

Industrialists—individuals listed as working in transport, mining, and manufacturing in Table 7.3—do not have a clear positive predisposition to own a particular kind of art. They are, however, significantly less likely to own Old Master paintings. Merchants are similarly associated with very few distinct acquisition patterns. They are only modestly more likely to own Old Master paintings. This effect fades, however, when we add geographic variables to regressions, which suggests that there may be a common geographic factor driving the likelihood of being a merchant and of owning Old Master paintings. This common geographic factor appears to be living in New England, a center of early mercantile wealth. "Independently Wealthy" is a distinct subset of the "Born with Money" category in Table 7.3. These are people who were wealthy enough that they never needed to work and chose not to work. Their primary occupation was often philanthropy or art collecting. This category of collector was more likely to own Old Master paintings.

Type of Collector – Source of Wealth and Gender

The next explanatory variable is supported by information presented in the "Wealth Acquisition" subheading of Table 7.3. Those listed as "Born with Money" were born into at least an upper-middle-class family that was able to provide capital and connections for professional ventures. "Self-made" men and women never received significant financial or social support from their families. Self-made men and women were distinctly less likely to own American and Old Master paintings, and more likely to own artwork with no identified maker. I will explore the reasons for these acquisition patterns in the qualitative case studies below.

Gender has no clear effect on preferences for different types of art. Women appear not to have collected in a way that was fundamentally different from men. That said, it is difficult to draw any clear conclusions based on this result, because the sample includes only 14 women. While there are many more female collectors listed in the HAAExD, little biographical information is available about them.[325] Women are therefore relatively underrepresented in this subsample.

Geography – Place of Birth and Place of Exhibition

Collectors' places of birth and the places in which a collection was exhibited have a limited effect on the content of their holdings. There are some exceptions to this trend.

[325] For a more detailed qualitative consideration of acquisition patterns among female collectors, see Dianne Sachko Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects: American Women Collectors and the Making of Culture, 1800–1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008).

Collectors born in the West North Central and Mountain divisions were distinctly more likely to own American art, and collectors exhibiting in New England venues were also more likely to own American art. However, collectors born in New England were more likely to own contemporary European and Old Master paintings. The final significant geographic effect is that men and women born abroad were more likely to collect contemporary European art. While the individual effects of these geographic markers are not significant, it is worth noting that the addition of geographic variables—either place of birth or place of exhibition—improves the modest explanatory power of each model by almost 50 percent. The R^2 increases in part because of the addition of variables in a regression with limited degrees of freedom. However, the significant increase due to the addition of geographic controls suggests—despite the limited effects of specific geographies—that geography has some general influence on art collecting.

Why and how could geography affect art collections? There are both supply- and demand-side explanations that interact to form geographically specific taste. Supply-side explanations are generally linked to the accessibility of art in a given place. At the most basic level, it was sometimes difficult to move artwork internationally and—particularly before the Civil War—across the United States. Patrons living in cities that were not on the Atlantic Coast, or well-connected to a port by canal or rail, faced higher shipping costs and greater logistical difficulties in transporting art to their homes from abroad or from other American cities.[326] Another supply-side factor linked to (but not necessarily determined by) transport connections was the presence of a network of art dealers and agents who could help collectors acquire works. An art dealer with a developed national and international network could mitigate the effect of distance and transport barriers. These individuals could take on the logistical challenges of moving artwork for their clients. More important than transportation challenges, however, is the fact that a dealer could significantly lower search costs for high-quality artwork with his professional expertise and existing relationships with contemporary artists. This is also true of agents—often expatriate American painters—who counseled top US collectors on acquisitions and often purchased art on their behalf.[327] The dearth of these middlemen in mid-nineteenth-century California plays a significant role in the case study below about the collector Edwin Crocker.

[326] Albert Fishlow, "Internal Transportation in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century," in *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States*, ed. Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman, vol. 2, *The Long Nineteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 552–68.

[327] William H. Gerdts, ed., *Lasting Impressions: American Painters in France, 1865–1915* (Evanston, IL: Terra Foundation for the Arts, 1992); William R. Johnston, *William and Henry Walters, the Reticent Collectors* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 22–40; Alicia Faxon, "Painter and Patron: Collaboration of Mary Cassatt and Louisine Havemeyer," *Woman's Art Journal* 3, no. 2 (Autumn 1982–Winter 1983): 15–20.

Demand-side geographic effects are slightly more difficult to define. I believe they are linked to peer interaction and pressure among collectors, who regularly interacted socially and participated in the same civic and philanthropic institutions. If a collector's friend or acquaintance purchased art that the collector and the rest of the community then judged to be good, that collector would be inspired to emulate that person and purchase a similar work. These somewhat amorphous demand-side effects are examined in greater depth in one of the case studies below.

The HAAExD Collector Sample: Case Studies

While there are aggregate effects of collecting era, occupation, wealth acquisition, and geography on the hundreds of collectors included in the regressions presented in Tables 7.6–7.9, it is not clear *why* these effects typically manifest. One can look for why and how these influences function by isolating how certain categories of collectors' attributes—their sources of wealth, geographic locations and occupations—affected specific nineteenth-century collectors. The four collectors presented here as case studies are William Bement of Philadelphia, Edwin and Margaret Crocker of Sacramento, Catherine Lorillard Wolfe of New York City, and artist Jasper Francis Cropsey, also of New York. These collectors—with the possible exception of Wolfe, who was the subject of a recent doctoral thesis—are relatively unknown in the history of collecting. They are not Henry Clay Frick, Isabella Stewart Gardner, or J.P. Morgan, whose stories have cast long shadows over the study of nineteenth-century American art collectors. Unlike those more famous collectors, their acquisitions and reasons for making those acquisitions are not as well documented. Analyses of their holdings and motives are therefore sometimes speculative; they depend on inference from the extant evidence.

Each case study will help illuminate an effect or phenomenon that appeared in the regression results. I use the case of William Bement to further explore the motives and collecting patterns of self-made men. Two case studies will explore issues of geographic constraint, on both the supply and demand sides. The behaviors and holdings of Edwin and Margaret Crocker—one of the wealthiest couples in nineteenth-century Northern California—will demonstrate the effects of geographic supply-side constraints on collecting. The art collections of Catharine Lorillard Wolfe in her two residences—one in New York and one in Newport, Rhode Island—will illustrate how the demand-side effects of geography can result in divergent collecting patterns in different places for the same collector. Finally, the example of Hudson River School painter Jasper Francis Cropsey will demonstrate that American artists were also active patrons who often chose to help their fellow American artists by purchasing and displaying younger or poorer colleagues' artwork.

William Barnes Bement: A Striving, Self-Made Philadelphia Industrialist[328]

William Barnes Bement (1817–97) was born in New Hampshire and raised in Connecticut. The son of a blacksmith, he worked as an apprentice in his father's shop. He eventually developed an expertise in making machine tools, and moved to Philadelphia after being offered a partnership with a firm there. By the 1870s, the firm became one of the first and largest machine tool manufacturers in the country, operating under the name of William B. Bement & Son. It is now part of Pratt & Whitney. Bement was a self-made man who helped build an industrial conglomerate.[329] He also amassed a large art collection and served as a director of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.[330]

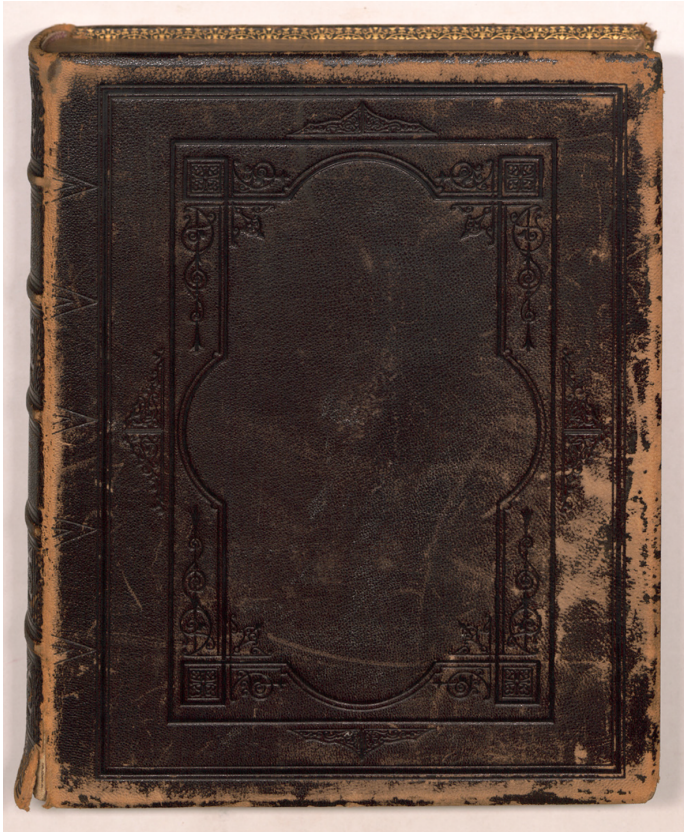


Figure 7.2: Cover, *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc. of William B. Bement* (Philadelphia, 1884).

[328] Sections of this case study were first published in a blog post on Winterthur Museum and Library's Museum Blog. See "Sleuthing in Rare Books to Reveal an Art Lover's Interests," Parts 1 and 2, *Winterthur Museum & Library Blog*, January 15, 2016, http://museumblog.winterthur.org/2016/01/15/sleuthing-in-rare-books-to-reveal-an-art-lovers-interest/.

[329] "Bement, Miles & Co," Vintagemachinery.org, accessed April 18, 2016, http://vintagemachinery.org/mfgindex/detail.aspx?id=2226.

[330] William Bement, Board of Directors biographical information and personal papers, RG.01.02.03, Last names: A-G, Box 1, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts Archives.



Figure 7.3: Frontispiece, *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc. of William B. Bement* (Philadelphia, 1884).

While the records of many collectors' full collections are relegated to lists in personal inventories or auction catalogs from posthumous sales, Bement invested in a more comprehensive and lasting record of his holdings. *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc. of William B. Bement* is a large, leather-bound catalog (Figure 7.2) embellished with gold leaf and printed on thick, high-quality paper stock. The hundreds of illustrations are, according to Bement's own foreword, "made by phototype process, and, being printed in ink, will last as long as any printed matter." No expense was spared to commemorate Bement's expensive real estate holdings and art collection. Using methods from the study of material culture, one can speculate about the reasons behind Bement's selections, and the personal meaning that his art collection held for him.[331] This case study will first present and analyze this catalog's visual record of Bement's homes and the objects that filled them. It will then examine the text that Bement and a professional art critic wrote for the catalog. Finally, limited correspondence and minutes remain from Bement's time as a director of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. The case study concludes with a discussion of these archival

[331] Jules David Prown, "Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method," *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 1–19.

records, the context of the catalog, and how they further illuminate Bement's artistic tastes and what formed them.

The first image in the *Catalogue of Works of Art* is its frontispiece, a three-quarters-view portrait of the collector (Figure 7.3). Placing this image before the presentation or discussion of any art is a clear statement of what unifies this collection: Bement himself.

The next series of images is dedicated to the industrialist's real estate holdings: a house on Spring Garden Street in Philadelphia, and Bay-View Cottage in Lake George, New York. Both exterior (Figure 7.4) and interior views of his Philadelphia home (Figure 7.5) create an image of splendor.



Figure 7.4: Philadelphia Residence (A.), *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc. of William B. Bement* (Philadelphia, 1884).



Figure 7.5: "The Parlor," *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc. of William B. Bement* (Philadelphia, 1884).

Each artwork in Bement's collection receives a two-page spread with an image and description. There is no clear organizing principle or explanation of the order in which works are presented. However, to detect the relative importance of these paintings to their owner, one can consult the interior photos in the catalog. In the image of Bement's library (Figure 7.6), one can see a large painting hung in the center of the wall beyond the doorway and a medium-size bronze statue. This painting is given a place of pride in the center of a sightline, and it is larger than all the works surrounding it. This placement suggests it was important to its owner.

In the painting, one can see several figures cloaked in black, set against a background of elaborate architecture around the edge of the horizontally oriented canvas. These details match *Sortie of the Grand Council* by Louis Claude Mouchot (Figure 7.7). The Great or Grand Council—part of the government of Venice—met in the Doge's Palace. This image of politics at a historical moment in a famous setting is typical of nineteenth-century French Academic painting. Bement's catalog described *Sortie of the Grand Council* as "a canvas freighted with so much of import that 'grand' is not too strong an adjective to apply to



Figure 7.6: Library, *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc. of William B. Bement* (Philadelphia, 1884).

it...grand in its pictorial elements of architecture and costume, grand in the...movement of its figures, grand in the simplicity of its lines, grand, also in its human suggestiveness."[332]

What could this grand painting mean to its owner? Why would a machine tool maker in Philadelphia want an image of historic Venetian government? Clues come from Bement's other holdings, which were mostly European Academic works. First, these paintings were "certified" as good. These artists, and sometimes the specific paintings Bement owned, had won prizes and medals at important foreign exhibitions. Mouchot won many medals at the Paris Salon, and *The Sortie of the Grand Council* is specifically credited with helping him attain the *Legion d'Honneur*.[333] Second, Bement owned several images of men negotiating, both in political and commercial settings— the Belgian painter Théodore Cériez's now-missing *Talking Politics* (Figure 7.8), was one. Tellingly, the importance of commerce and

[332]Charles Montgomery Skinner, "Sortie of the Grand Council," in *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc. of William B. Bement* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co.), n.p.

[333]Smithsonian Institution, "The Sortie of the Grand Council at Venice, XVI Century (painting)," Pre-1877 Art Exhibition Catalogue Index, accessed July 20, 2016, http://americanart.si.edu/research/programs/1877/.

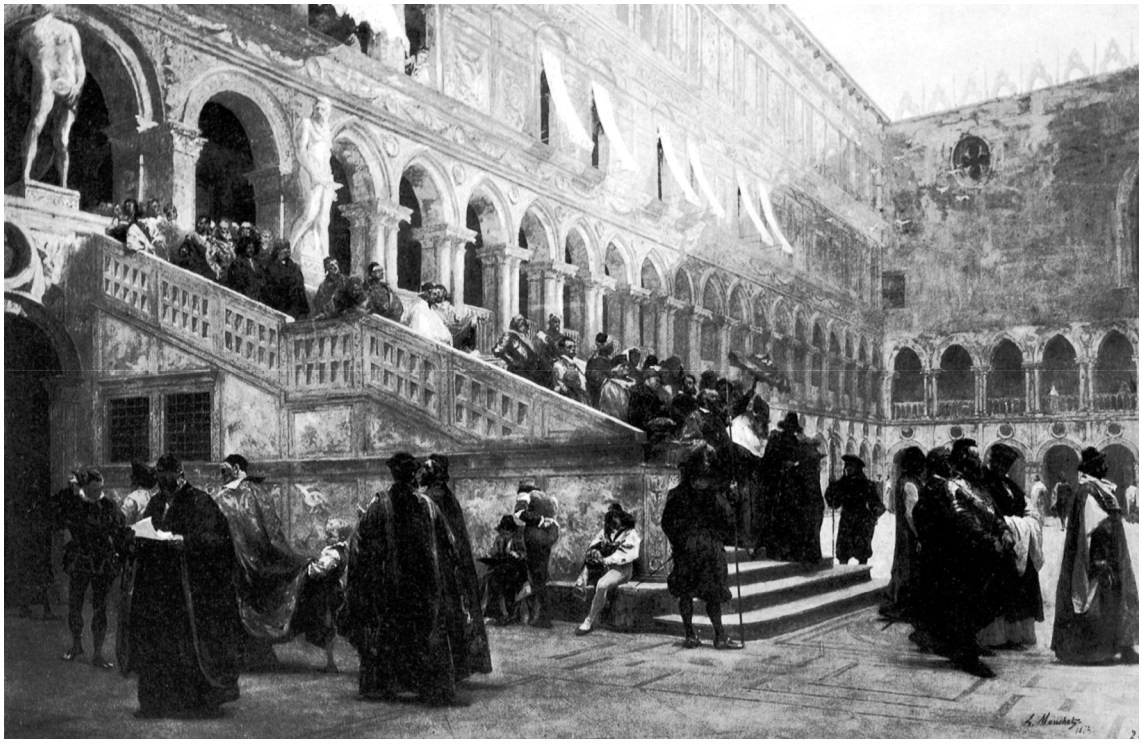


Figure 7.7: Louis Claude Mouchot, *Sortie of the Grand Council*, 1872, reproduced in *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc. of William B. Bement* (Philadelphia, 1884).

negotiation to Bement's own life is emphasized by the image he chose to conclude the catalog: the "Industrial Works" of William B. Bement & Son (Figure 7.9). He may have loved his art collection, but it appears he thought that business was his most important legacy.

In the dedication to his personal catalog, Bement wrote: "The works of art in my possession were not purchased with a view to selfishly enjoying them; for, believing that collections of good pictures serve as educators in art and tend to foster a refined and healthful taste, I have freely opened my gallery to the public." Yet, as a counterbalance to this insistence on public spirit, Bement also stated that the catalog was made so that his faraway family and friends could "see the evidence of my success in life, the direction of my tastes, and the sources of enjoyment provided for myself and family in our declining years." In Bement's estimation, the collection served simultaneously as evidence of his personal wealth and civic largesse.

Charles Montgomery Skinner, who wrote the bulk of catalog's text, was a reporter and art and culture critic for the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*. The son of a Universalist minister in Cambridge, Massachusetts, Skinner, like Bement, had left New England to start his career. He is now best known for his 1896 publication *Myths and Legends of Our Own Land*, "a comprehensive, regionally organized text collection of national scope that presented the



Figure 7.8: Théodore C'eriez, *Taking Politics*, n.d., reproduced in *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc. of William B. Bement* (Philadelphia, 1884).

folklore genre to the American public."[334] Skinner's preface to the catalog tries to link Bement's personal acquisitions and luxuries to a narrative of national improvement and ascendency. "It augurs well for American taste and American art," he writes, "that collections like this are possible here. It is said that the best pictures painted in European studios now find their way to this country, for the merchant princes of this wealthy land can outbid royalty itself for the possession of purchasable treasures." Bement's choice to purchase European rather than American art does, however, throw a wrench into Skinner's patriotic narrative. The critic circumvents this obstacle by insisting that "this influx of foreign pictures has had the best effect upon American artists, for it has stimulated them to rivalry, with results that have created astonishment in those who have watched the country's aesthetic progress through the last decade." He concludes with a reminder that Bement collects

[334] John Bealle, "Another Look at Charles M. Skinner," *Western Folklore* 53, no. 2 (1994): 99–123.



Figure 7.9: The Industrial Works, *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc. of William B. Bement* (Philadelphia, 1884).

more than European art: "The American pictures in the Bement gallery (about one-fifth of the whole number) bear out the truth of this statement."[335]

Skinner supports this assertion by providing, on average, lengthier and more enthusiastic descriptions of the American paintings in the collection. Consider the text dedicated to a marine painting by William Trost Richards (Figure 7.10), similar to one now in the Metropolitan Museum (Figure 7.11): "This is the sea itself—no painted likeness." It continues along these lines for half of a page until concluding with an extended quotation from a Lord Byron poem beginning: "Thou glorious mirror, where the Almighty's form/Glasses itself in tempests; in all time."[336] This depiction of the sea invokes God's own creation, and the implication of Perkins's rapturous descriptions is that Bement is doing God's work by acquiring beautiful objects.

Ironically, despite Bement's love for his collection and his professed belief in its importance for the public good rather than private enjoyment and gain alone, he did not bequeath his art to any institution. The collection was sold in 1899, two years after his death. The auction catalog still exists from the sale held by the American Art Association in New York. Any art that ended up in public collections, such as William-Adolphe Bouguereau's *The Cherry Picker* in the Walters Art Museum, had to be bought at auction. According to

[335]Charles M. Skinner, preface to *Catalogue of Works of Art*, n.p.
[336]Charles M. Skinner, "Thus Far Shalt Thou Come, and By No Farther," *Catalogue of Works of Art*, n.p.



Figure 7.10: William Trost Richards, *Marine*, 1883, reproduced in *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc. of William B. Bement* (Philadelphia, 1884).

annotations in the auction catalog (Figure 7.12), the art dealer Michel Knoedler purchased the Richards marine painting worthy of comparison to Byron. Its current whereabouts are unknown.

Bement's correspondence is spare. There are only two letters preserved in the archives of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. Both are letters of resignation from the Academy's board of directors from 1891 (although he returned several months later). One is a brief notice, and the other is a lengthier description of why he had chosen to resign. The longer description describes his approval of ongoing projects to renovate the physical spaces of the Academy, though he acknowledges his lack of expertise in architectural engineering and construction. He concludes the letter:

> I have been in the board many years—and have long felt that I was in the way of younger and more efficient men, that I am behind the times. Certainly in the knowledge of art, for I have to defer honestly with the taste and judgment of some of our member[s]. Especially in the purchase of paintings. But that is not my reason for resigning—I am away so much and have a growing disinclination to attend to any business, getting lazy I guess! I wish to say in conclusion that I think the Academy never had so good a board of directors from the past down, as now, and I wish you all success.[337]

[337] William B. Bement to Edward H. Coates, 23 April 1891, Box 1, MS.053, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts Archives.



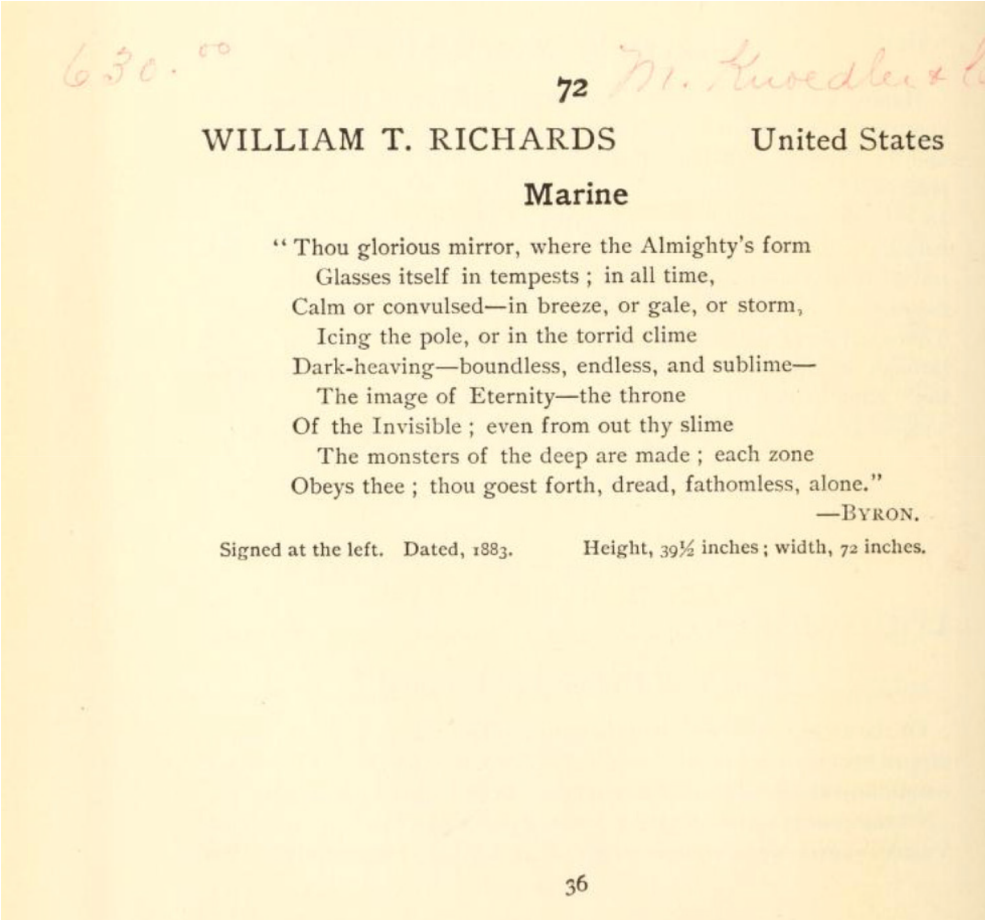
Figure 7.11: William Trost Richards, *New Jersey Beach*, 1901, oil on canvas, 28 × 48 1/4 in., Metropolitan Museum of Art.

The minutes do not provide much more explicit insight into Bement's opinions about the Academy and its activities. But they do show that he was a fastidious board member who regularly attended meetings during his 23 years of service. They also demonstrate that he served alongside some of the best-known artists, collectors, and civic leaders in Philadelphia. His fellow directors, for example, included engineer, educator, and philanthropist Fairman Rogers (1833–1900); engraver and miniature painter John Sartain (1808–97); art collector and dealer James Claghorn (1817–84); and members of the city's Quaker elites, including financier Edward Hornor Coates (1846–1921).[338]

What motivated Bement's choice of acquisitions and inspired him as an art collector? The circumstantial evidence suggests that art, art collecting, and engagement with art institutions provided this self-made industrialist with social status. It allowed him to work on PAFA's board alongside a member of the Quaker elite, like Coates, and—as is physically expressed in the organization of his elaborate catalog—place an image of expensive, gilded distinction on top of his newly acquired industrial wealth in a traditional city.[339] This motive for engaging in art collecting—whether only a partial motive, and whether conscious

[338]For the list of directors, see: "Minutes: 1874–1897," Box 18, Volume 1: April 1874–March 1883, 1–3, Board of Director's Records, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts Archives (PAFA). Information about each board member is available from biographical information held in Board of Directors biographical information and personal papers, PAFA archives. For an extensive discussion of Quaker elites in Philadelphia, see E. Digby Baltzell, *Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class* (Livingston, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1958) and E. Digby Baltzell, *Puritan Boston and Quaker Philadelphia: Two Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Class Authority and Leadership* (New York: Free Press, 1979).

[339]On conspicuous art consumption in this period, see Sven Beckert, "Bourgeois Institution Builders: New York in the Nineteenth Century," in Beckert and Rosenbaum, *The American Bourgeoisie*; Julia B. Rosen-



72

WILLIAM T. RICHARDS United States

Marine

"Thou glorious mirror, where the Almighty's form
Glasses itself in tempests; in all time,
Calm or convulsed—in breeze, or gale, or storm,
Icing the pole, or in the torrid clime
Dark-heaving—boundless, endless, and sublime—
The image of Eternity—the throne
Of the Invisible; even from out thy slime
The monsters of the deep are made; each zone
Obeys thee; thou goest forth, dread, fathomless, alone."
—BYRON.

Signed at the left. Dated, 1883. Height, 39½ inches; width, 72 inches.

36

Figure 7.12: Detail of Page 36, *Valuable Modern Paintings, The William B. Bement Collection* (New York: American Art Association, 1899). https://archive.org/details/valua00amer

or not—likely contributed to the fact that Bement's acquisitions were largely prize-winning contemporary European works of art. Figure 7.13 and Table 7.10 demonstrate the dominance of French Academic art in his holdings.

The prizes its creators were awarded guaranteed the art he purchased to be of a high quality. As on the PAFA board, Bement appears to have "defer[ed] honestly with the taste and judgment of [others]...Especially in the purchase of paintings." While Bement conforms to the patterns and motives of art collecting described in the existing literature surveyed in Chapter 1, he is not necessarily typical of American collectors. The regression results and the next three case studies demonstrate this point.

baum, "Ordering the Social Sphere: Public Art and Boston's Bourgeoisie," in Beckert and Rosenbaum, *The American Bourgeoisie*.

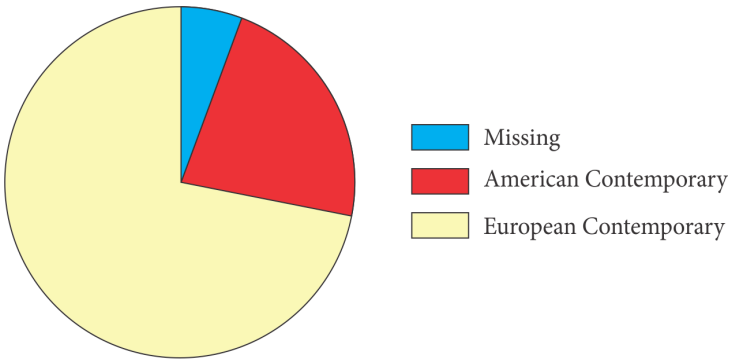


Figure 7.13: Composition of William Bement's Holdings Sold at Auction in 1899, by Nationality and Era of Artist

Table 7.10: Nationalities of Makers of Works of Art in William Bement's Collection

Nationality	Number of Works of Art	Percentage of Total Holdings
Missing	9	5.77
American	35	22.44
Austrian	1	0.64
Belgian	13	8.33
Danish	1	0.64
Dutch	2	1.28
English	5	3.21
French	46	29.49
German	16	10.26
Italian	17	10.90
Polish	2	1.28
Spanish	9	5.77

Edwin and Margaret Crocker: Limited California Culture

Edwin Bryant Crocker was born near Syracuse, New York, in 1818. He was the eldest of five children. His father was a generally unsuccessful businessman, and the family appears to have moved regularly around upstate New York. Crocker—along with his younger brother Charles—developed an interest in railroads, which were then being developed near their home. He ultimately studied civil engineering at the Van Rensselaer School (now Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute). While he was studying, his father relocated the family to Marshall County, Indiana, to develop a homestead. Crocker soon tired of agricultural work with his father, and went to South Bend, Indiana, to study law. He was admitted to the bar

at the age of 24, and became a partner in a local law firm. He also became a well-known and vocal abolitionist.[340]

At the end of the 1840s, Crocker served as defense lawyer for a group of runaway slaves from Kentucky. He was publicly criticized and threatened with mob violence for taking on the case. After this experience, he decided to leave Indiana, but his wife Mary became ill before the family could leave. She died around 1850. Two years later, Crocker married one of Mary's good friends—Margaret Rhodes. They remained married until his death more than 30 years later. Soon after their marriage, the couple relocated to California. By 1850, Crocker's younger brothers Charles, Clark, and Henry had moved from Indiana to California. They opened two general stores in El Dorado County and, in 1852, a third in Sacramento. Crocker joined his brothers in Sacramento in September of 1852. Within four months of their arrival, the frontier town experienced a typhoid epidemic, a "Great Conflagration" that burned many of Sacramento's structures, and a flood called the "Great Inundation" of New Year's Day, 1853. Life was tenuous in newly settled California.[341]

After Crocker helped his brothers establish the dry goods businesses, he returned to the law. He formed his own firm in 1854 and became involved in the California Republican Party. Through his involvement in politics, he became closely allied with Leland Stanford, Mark Hopkins, and Collis Huntington. Along with Edwin's brother Charles, these three men would later form the famous "Big Four" who established the Central Pacific Railroad (CPRR) in 1861. Crocker became a major shareholder in the railroad venture.[342]

In 1863, Stanford, who was then governor of California, appointed Crocker to the state supreme court. Though he only served for seven months, he retained the prefix "Judge" or "Hon." for the rest of his career. After leaving the bench, Crocker served as general counsel for the CPRR from 1864 to 1866. Though no longer general counsel after 1866, he remained involved in railroad operations until just after the completion of the transcontinental route in 1869. While on a business trip in San Francisco that year Crocker had a stroke and collapsed. The incident forced him to retire; he then turned his full attention to travel, collecting art, and building a new home.[343]

Beginning in 1868, the Crockers—Edwin, Margaret, and their children—began to renovate a large home in Sacramento. After the renovation, it included a conservatory and indoor swimming pool. They also planned to create a large gallery building as a wing

[340] K.D. Kurutz, "Sacramento's Pioneer Patrons of Art: The Edwin Bryant Crocker Family, Revised Edition," *Golden Notes* 36, no. 1 (Spring 1990), 1–2.

[341] Kurutz, "Sacramento's Pioneer Patrons of Art," 3–4.

[342] Kurutz, "Sacramento's Pioneer Patrons of Art," 7–8. For further information about the Big Four, see David Haward Bain, *Empire Express: Building the First Transcontinental Railroad* (New York: Penguin Books, 1999).

[343] Kurutz, "Sacramento's Pioneer Patrons of Art," 6–11.

connected to the mansion. Crocker had been involved with the growing California cultural scene for a number of years. Most notably, he was an organizer of the State Agricultural Fairs, which were some of the earliest exhibition venues for local artists and art collectors.[344] He owned "Race for the Bride"—first publically exhibited in 1869—by German-born California artist Charles Nahl (1818–78), and patronized dealers marketing art produced in and around San Francisco. He also acquired the documentary stereographs produced by Alfred A. Hart to commemorate the completion of the transcontinental railroad. In a letter to Collis Huntington, he said of Hart's images, "As a work of art they cannot be surpassed."[345] Shortly after his stroke, however, Crocker turned his attention to Europe and European art. In August 1869, he and his family set off for a tour of the Continent.[346]

The Crockers' primary destination was Germany; they used Dresden as a base. Although almost no documents survive about the family's trip and acquisitions, it is known that for approximately one year, they lived in a rented apartment on 17 Lüttichaustrasse and that the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War (1870–71) severely impeded their ability to travel within Europe. The resultant political and economic chaos, however, provoked many European collectors to sell part or all of their pieces, a development of which the Crockers appear to have taken advantage.[347] In less than two years, the Crockers acquired hundreds of paintings, works on paper, and *objets d'art*.[348]

There is some evidence of travel to or contact with agents in cities beyond Dresden and nearby Leipzig. According to Crocker Museum curator William Breazeale:

> The best evidence for travels further afield comes from the objects themselves. A large number of artists from Munich and Düsseldorf are represented among the paintings, while the presence of a painting almost certainly from the Berlin Kunstakademie exhibition in 1870 makes travel to the Prussian capital extremely likely as well. The address of a copyist in Florence is preserved on the back of a canvas painted in the manner of Salvator Rosa. This, along with a mosaic table of the type made in the Vatican workshops, indicate that the family may have spent time in Italy. A series of prints no longer in the collection were catalogued in French, indicating that, even during the war, the Crockers may have had contact with France.[349]

[344] See Chapter 5 of this thesis.

[345] Letter from Charles C. Crocker to Colis P. Huntington, quoted in Kurutz, "Sacramento's Pioneer Patrons of Art," 11.

[346] Kurutz, "Sacramento's Pioneer Patrons of Art," 11–13.

[347] Geoffrey Wawrow, *The Franco-Prussian War: The German Conquest of France in 1870–71* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004); John Milner, *Art, War and Revolution in France, 1870–1871: Myth, Reportage and Reality* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000).

[348] William Breazeal, *Pioneering Collectors: The E.B. Crocker Collection of Drawings and Its Founders* (Sacramento, CA: Crocker Art Museum, 2010), 10.

[349] Breazeal, *Pioneering Collectors*, 10.

Not much is known about how the Crockers made decisions to purchase particular works. Unlike other Americans on European tours, Edwin and Margaret do not appear to have enlisted the assistance of an expatriate artist or a particular dealer. Instead, the couple worked together to select works to purchase with limited advice and input from experts.[350] Information about the Crockers' purchases comes primarily from stamps and labels still on the frames and versos of works in their collection. They purchased them at auction houses and local galleries and appear to have made bulk purchases from individual collections being liquidated, like Old Master drawings from Leipzig resident Rudolf von Weigel. They even purchased a landscape by an expatriate Californian artist, William Keith (1838–1911), who lived and worked in Düsseldorf from 1869 to 1871.[351]

The Crockers returned to California in May of 1871. Their new acquisitions were first put on display at the Snow and Roos Gallery in San Francisco before being moved into their newly-completed personal gallery in 1872. An article in the *Sacramento Bee* reported that "Judge E.B. Crocker seems determined to have one of the finest galleries of art to be found in the United States.... There arrived this morning, consigned to him, several large paintings occupying two freight cars."[352]

These foreign acquisitions were supplemented by about two dozen local purchases and commissions over the next few years. The most notable of these was a pair of paintings commissioned from Charles Nahl, *Sunday Morning in the Mines* (1872) [Figure 7.14] and *Fandango* (1873) [Figure 7.15]. These appear to have been the largest and most specific commissions that Crocker ever made.[353] A report on Nahl in the *San Francisco Evening Bulletin* mentioned *Sunday Morning in the Mines*: "Charles Nahl is engaged upon an important work illustrating early mining life in California. The subject is worked up from the studies he made in the mines twenty years ago, and the composition shows both the good and bad ways in which the diggers of those days observed the Sabbath."[354]

Sunday Morning in the Mines and its companion piece, *The Fandango*, are the two largest paintings in the Crocker Art Museum. As in the Crockers' own time, they are currently hung facing one another at the entrance to the principal gallery space. In his recent book on Victorian California patrons, John Ott analyzed these two Nahl paintings as a depiction of an idealized California conforming to certain racial and masculine standards. He argues that Nahl's painting is evidence of a California industrialist (Crocker) seeking to demonstrate that success is the product of hard work and general seriousness, and that white men have a greater ability than non-white men to do this work and maintain this sobriety

[350] William Breazeale, curator, Crocker Art Museum, interview with the author, January 4, 2016.
[351] Kurutz, "Sacramento's Pioneer Patrons of Art," 12–14.
[352] *Sacramento Bee,* July 11, 1872 cited in Kurutz, "Sacramento's Pioneer Patrons of Art," 15.
[353] Ott, *Manufacturing the Modern Patron in Victorian California,* 181–83.
[354] *San Francisco Evening Bulletin* (August 10, 1872), 1.



Figure 7.14: Charles Nahl, *Sunday Morning in the Mines*, oil on canvas, 72 × 108 in., 1872, Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento, CA.

of spirit.[355] Ott convincingly makes this argument based on evidence from contemporaneous visual culture, racist political platforms in local politics, and Nahl's involvement with various civic organizations in San Francisco—including his participation in a "Vigilance Committee" that briefly policed the city for moral deterioration and criminal activity.

These paintings and their position in the Crocker home can also be interpreted as a statement about the isolation of California and its relative newness as a "civilized" place. Nahl's paintings are placed as a gateway to the gallery—at the border between everyday domestic space and a space dedicated to art and culture. They mark a passage from Sacramento, California—still very much a frontier town in the 1860s and '70s—to a collection of objects imported from Europe, the cradle of civilization.[356] The subjects of Nahl's paintings emphasize this transition by making reference to California's genesis, tracing its existence as a far-flung outpost of the Spanish Empire—documented in *The Fandango*—to the arrival of Anglo Californians in the form of rowdy miners. The layout of *Sunday Morning*

[355] Ott, *Manufacturing the Modern Patron in Victorian California*, 179–215.

[356] Nathan Hallam, "'We Must Give the World Confidence in the Stability and Permanence of the Place': Planning Sacramento's Townsite, 1853–1870," in *River City and Valley Life: Environmental History of the Sacramento Region*, ed. Christopher J. Castaneda and Lee M.A. Simpson (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013), 61–76; Richard J. Orisi, "Railroads and the Urban Environment, Sacramento's Story," in Castaneda and Simpson, *River City and Valley Life,* 77–100.



Figure 7.15: Charles Nahl, *The Fandango*, oil on canvas, 72 × 108 in, 1873, Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento, CA.

in the Mines—based on an earlier print by Nahl called *Sunday in the California Diggings* (1857)—hints at the civilizing progress of the California population.[357] From left to right, miners engage in better behavior. On the left side, the men spend the Sabbath riding dangerously, drinking, and gambling. On the right, they sit quietly, cleaning and studying the bible. This tableau of progressively better-behaved miners leads to the entrance to the Crocker Gallery, a next apparent step in the process of civilizing California with the collecting and presentation of art and culture.

Both Edwin and Margaret Crocker were civically engaged, and the gallery was semi-public even before its official transformation into a museum. It was used as a venue for charitable events and hosted receptions for major visitors to Sacramento, like former President Ulysses Grant and the Queen of Hawaii.[358] Breazeale has argued that some of the works the Crockers acquired—specifically, a number of drawings—"seem to be present to showcase a technical point. . . [and] have little appeal to the connoisseur's eye but much for the student of artistic practice."[359] The Crocker gallery was opened for students of the Sacramento School of Design from the earliest days of that organization's formation.

[357] Ott, *Manufacturing the Modern Patron in Victorian California,* 183.
[358] Breazeale, *Pioneering Collectors*, 12.
[359] Kurutz, "Sacramento's Pioneer Patrons of Art," 14–15.

Breazeale believes the Crockers may have had this use in mind when purchasing some of their items.[360]

This narrative of importing culture to a distant and isolated edge of the continent is perhaps not only present in the selection of objects that could educate viewers and art students. The limited ability to acquire European paintings, and the need for the Crockers to make most of their acquisitions during one trip, is indicative of California's relative isolation from art markets in the mid-nineteenth century. Even its wealthiest citizens could access only a limited supply of non-local art.

Within just three years of the Nahl commission and four years of their return from Germany, Edwin Crocker passed away. He was 57 years old when he died on June 24, 1875. Margaret, however, outlived her husband by 26 years. She was responsible for transforming the Crocker home gallery into the Crocker Museum of Art.[361] The first inventory of the collection is from 1876, four years after the family's return from Europe and one year after Edwin Crocker's death. The second is from 40 years later. The inventories reveal that the single most prevalent type of art in the collection was nineteenth-century German contemporary art. There was a particular emphasis on painters who were active in Dresden at the same time as the Crockers' stay.[362] All of the American painters represented in the collection lived and worked in San Francisco. Figure 7.16 and Table 7.11 provide graphical overviews of this inventory and the artists' nationalities and listed residences.

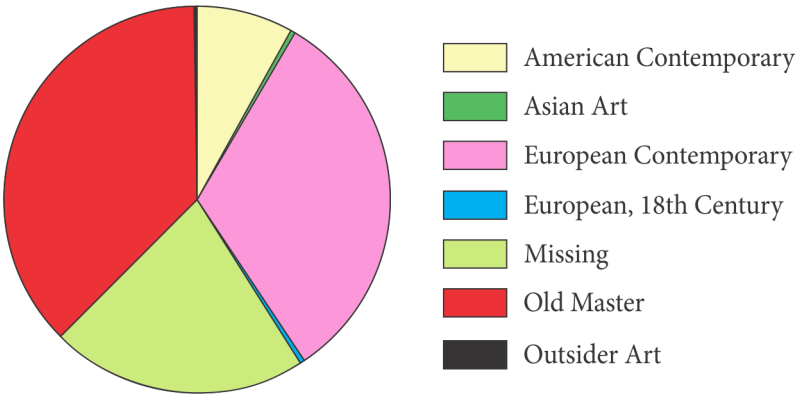


Figure 7.16: Composition of the Crockers' Holdings in 1876 by Nationality and Era of Artist

The Crockers' collection of art is idiosyncratic. The almost complete lack of contemporary French painting, and the emphasis on German works—along with a significant accumulation of works on paper—was exceptional among major nineteenth-century collections. Breazeale attributes this to the Crockers' distance from other art patrons and lack of exposure to their preferences:

[360] Kurutz, "Sacramento's Pioneer Patrons of Art," 14–15.
[361] Kurutz, "Sacramento's Pioneer Patrons of Art," 20.
[362] The first inventory of the Crocker collection also lists residences for many of the artists. Of the 399 artists for whom a residence is listed, 61 reside in Dresden—about 15 percent of the sample and more than any other city. The next most represented are Munich (49) and San Francisco (46).

Table 7.11: Nationalities of Makers of Works of Art in the Crocker Collection

Nationality	**Number of Works of Art**	**Percentage of Total Holdings**
Missing	135	19.26
American	56	7.99
Austrian	6	0.86
Belgian	15	2.14
Chinese	2	0.29
Czech	1	0.14
Danish	1	0.14
Dutch	92	13.12
Dutch-English	1	0.14
English	5	0.71
Flemish	55	7.85
French	22	3.14
German	225	32.10
Italian	70	9.99
Japanese	1	0.14
Polish	1	0.14
Prussian	1	0.14
Russian	1	0.14
Scottish-American	1	0.14
Spanish	7	1.00
Swiss	1	0.14
Swiss-French	1	0.14
Swiss-German	1	0.14

In many ways the Crockers, along with some of the other Big Four families, differed from major Eastern art patrons. Their wealth created suddenly in California, they were not part of the Eastern upper merchant class that in the later nineteenth century provided the majority of art buyers, whose purchases represented only a small part of a lifetime of subtle jockeying for position in business and society. Moreover, they lived far from the cities of Boston, New York, and Philadelphia, where they would have had the opportunity closely to observe the implications of art patronage in action.[363]

[363] Breazeale, *Pioneering Collectors*, 16.

Essentially, Breazeale attributes the idiosyncrasies of the Crocker collection to the couple's isolation from demand-side influences on the East Coast. But limits to supply are equally responsible for the peculiarity of the collection. When the Crockers began collecting, California was difficult to access from the Eastern United States, and therefore from European shipping routes. The CPRR was only connected to the Union Pacific in 1869. Prior to that date, one had to travel via the Isthmus of Panama or cover part of the journey by stagecoach.[364] Even once the tracks were complete, travel was expensive and time consuming. As the railroads reached scale, the price to ship goods steadily decreased, despite pricing manipulations linked to monopolistic control of the routes.[365] This decrease in costs can be explored in two ways: by comparing the relative cost of freight charges to the value of the good or commodity being transported, and by tracking the convergence of prices for goods and commodities to a single national price. The economic history literature focuses on the costs of transporting primary goods like wheat and coal; it shows significant price gaps between the East and West coasts at this time.[366] This indicates that all traded items were affected by these trends in transportation costs—including luxury goods like art. Moving works of art between the East Coast and the West Coast was difficult.

It may be surprising that one of the wealthiest men in California had any problem accessing art beyond what was available from local artists and galleries. After all, as a major shareholder and executive with the CPRR, Crocker could likely have traveled himself and shipped any freight for free or at a heavy discount. But it is necessary to consider the implications of these costs, not only for the handful of super-wealthy patrons, but for the dealers and agents who needed to earn a living selling art. The significant investment required for establishing an office and moving stock across the country was not likely to be paid off by just a handful of super-wealthy clients. It was therefore up to the patrons to either correspond with East Coast agents or travel themselves to New York or Europe to acquire art. Even Leland Stanford, according to the survey of his collection in Shinn's *Art Treasures of America*, had a relatively small art collection that featured mostly American art, with an emphasis on Californian makers. Notably, the one Big Four member to become a major art patron, Collis P. Huntington, was the one whose family quickly relocated to

[364] Breazeale, *Pioneering Collectors*, 24; Richard B. Rice, William Bullough, Richard Orisi and Mary Ann Irwin, *The Elusive Eden: A New History of California*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996).

[365] Robert F. Himmelberg, *The Rise of Big Business and the Beginnings of Antitrust and Railroad Regulation, 1870Ů1900* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1994); Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (New York: Norton, 2011).

[366] Ron Findlay and Kevin O'Rourke, textit{Power and Plenty, chap. 7; David S. Jacks, "What Drove Nineteenth Century Commodity Market Integration?" *Explorations in Economic History* 43, no. 3 (2006): 383–412; David S. Jacks, "Intra- and International Commodity Market Integration in the Atlantic Economy, 1800–1913," *Explorations in Economic History* 42, no. 3 (2005): 381–413.

New York.[367] This limit to supply—caused in part by undersized demand in the California market—contributed to the idiosyncrasies of the Crocker collection.

The content of the Crocker collection never converged with Eastern collections, even as transport connections became more efficient and Californian pockets became deeper. This appears to be the case because very few objects were added to the collection after Edwin's death. The second inventory of the collection dates to 1906, five years after Margaret's death. Almost no additions were made to the collection between the two inventories. There are eighteen new paintings included in the 1906 inventory, approximately 2.5 percent more than were in the collection in 1876. The collection was largely stagnant under Margaret's watch, despite the fact that she made New York her primary residence after Edwin passed away. This stagnation suggests that Edwin was the primary patron. The original Crocker collection remained a relic of an era in California history when culture and objects did not circulate easily between the two coasts.

Catharine Lorillard Wolfe: Geographically Varied Taste

While Bement and the Crockers were self-made, Catharine Lorillard Wolfe (1828–87) was born into extreme wealth. At the time of her death, one obituary began: "We do not know what was the amount of wealth inherited by Miss Wolfe. It was a number of millions, making her the richest woman in America."[368] Wolfe was the third child of John David Wolfe (1792–1872) and Dorothea Ann Lorillard (1798–1866). She was, however, the only child to survive into adulthood, and therefore became the sole inheritor of her parents' fortune. Her mother was an heir to the Lorillard Tobacco Company fortune, and her father also came from a wealthy family. He inherited and then ran a successful hardware store business; profits from this business were then used to acquire a large portfolio of New York real estate. As both of her siblings had passed away by 1847, Wolfe knew for most of her adult life that she would one day become the sole inheritor to a fortune that, in 1867, caused her father to be listed as the seventh wealthiest man in America. Despite her money and social position—and rumors of suitors—Wolfe remained unmarried.[369] Exceptional among female collectors of the age, she was entirely in control of her own financial resources and could choose to use them as she wished.[370]

[367] Shelley M. Bennett, *The Art of Wealth: The Huntingtons in the Gilded Age* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 2013).

[368] Anonymous, "CATHARINE LORILLARD WOLFE," *The Independent. . . Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts* (April 14, 1887).

[369] Margaret R. Laster, "Catharine Lorillard Wolfe: Collecting and Patronage in the Gilded Age" (Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 2013), 24–29.

[370] Macleod, *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects,* 63–92.

Following in her father's footsteps, Wolfe became an active philanthropist after the death of her parents. John David Wolfe was a benefactor of Grace Episcopal Church, a member of the board of the New-York Historical Society, a contributor of the National Academy of Design, and the founding president of the American Museum of Natural History.[371] Catharine Lorillard Wolfe continued to support Grace Church and numerous other church-related charities. She was also a major donor to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and was its first female subscriber and benefactor.[372]

Upon her death in 1887, Wolfe donated 143 works of art to the museum. These were primarily contemporary European paintings. The donation was hailed as a major event in the museum's then-short history and "put it on the cultural map," in one historian's assessment.[373] She also provided $200,000 to endow the maintenance of her collection and the acquisition of new works.[374] An article in the *New York Times* described the donation: "It is scarcely extravagant to say that Miss Wolfe's munificent bequest of her collection of paintings to the Metropolitan Museum distinctly raises the rank of that institution. It is the most important addition to its attractions that has been made since its foundation."[375] Prior to her donation, those works were displayed in her family brownstone on Madison Square. In a gossipy description of Wolfe's house, the author wrote of her art:

> It is a collection of masterpieces hung here, there, everywhere; often in obscure corners quite out of ordinary sight. Some are darkening in the shadows; others glow and flash in the light. How the great names rise before you rank on rank; field marshals of the brush, among whom newer names are lost.[376]

Unfortunately, there are no *in situ* photos of Wolfe's collection. However, a full inventory exists of the collection shortly after the bequest to the Met. Figure 7.17 and Table 7.12 provide an overview of the nationalities and eras of the artists included, and indicate whether or not she collected their work while they were living. The collection is heavily weighted towards French Academic art.

Two of Wolfe's most significant commissions were given to one of the most famous *académiciens*: Alexandre Cabanel (1823–89). Trained at the École des Beaux-arts, Cabanel won the prestigious *Prix de Rome* in 1845 when he was only 23 years old. His first

[371] Laster, "Catharine Lorillard Wolfe," 27.
[372] Winifred E. Howe, *A History of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: With a Chapter on the Early Institutions of Art in New York* (New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1913), 133.
[373] Rebecca A. Rabinow, "Catharine Lorillard Wolfe, the First Woman Benefactor of the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Apollo* (1998): 48–55.
[374] Howe, *A History of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 211–12.
[375] Anonymous, "Miss Wolfe's Bequest," *New York Times* (April 9, 1887), 4.
[376] Anonymous, "Tête-à-Tête Sketches: Miss Catharine Lorillard Wolfe," *Town Topics*, February 24, 1887, 18.

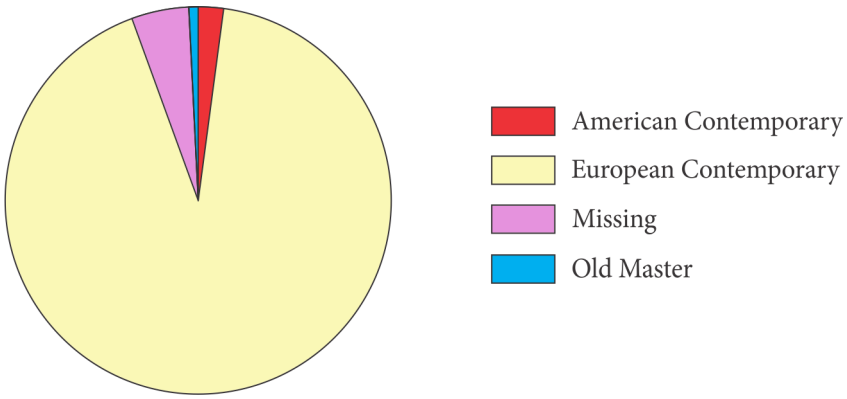


Figure 7.17: Composition of Wolfe's Holdings Donated to the Metropolitan Museum by Nationality and Era of Artist

major success was *The Death of Moses* (Figure 7.19), a medal-winning composition at the Salon of 1852. The renowned art critic Théophile Gautier said the painting "picked up the thread of high, serious, profound art with Michelangelo and Raphael as its prototypes."[377] This strong beginning launched a celebrity career for Cabanel. During the second half

Table 7.12: Nationalities of Makers of Works of Art in Catharine Lorillard Wolfe's Collection

Nationality	Number of Works of Art	Percentage of Total Holdings
Missing	7	4.93
American	3	2.11
Austrian	3	2.11
Belgian	7	4.93
Dutch	4	2.82
English	2	1.41
Flemish	1	0.70
French	86	60.56
French-German	1	0.70
German	15	10.56
Hungarian	1	0.70
Italian	5	3.52
Spanish	5	3.52
Swedish	2	1.41

of the Second Empire, however, he transitioned from historical tableaus like *The Death of Moses* to more saccharine images of women and children, although these were nominally images of biblical or mythological scenes. The most famous of these is *The Birth*

[377] Gautier, quoted in Michel Hilaire, "Cabanel Reconsidered," in *Alexandre Cabanel: The Tradition of Beauty*, ed. Andreas Blühm (Munich: Hirmer Verlag, 2011), 11.

of Venus (1863) [Figure 7.20], which was acquired by Emperor Napoleon III.[378] Cabanel also established himself as a renowned portraitist. He was a favorite portraitist of European aristocracy—he was commissioned to paint the Emperor in 1864—as well as wealthy Americans, particularly women.[379]



Figure 7.18: Alexandre Cabanel, *The Death of Moses*, oil on canvas, 110 × 154 in, 1851, Dahesh Museum, New York

Wolfe gave major commissions to Cabanel in 1875 and 1876. The first was *The Shulamite*—alternately called *Sulamith* and *The Shulamite Woman*. The catalog of Wolfe's collection, published by the Met, notes that it was "Painted to Order" in 1875 and then displayed at the Salon in 1876.[380] In Earl Shinn's survey of Wolfe's collection, he states: "A large and famous picture hangs on the principal wall of the drawing-room.... This is "The Shulamite," by Cabanel, a figure of life-size, all alone in the composition."[381]

Though it was bequeathed to the Met, its location is now unknown. The only record is in reproduction—etchings after the original and a painted copy by an English copyist

[378] Sylvain Amic, "Cabanel and the Salon," in Blühm, *Alexandre Cabanel*, 56; Hilarie, "Cabanel Reconsidered" in Blühm, *Alexandre Cabanel*, 19–21; Sylvain Amic, "The Painter of the Second Empire" in Blühm, *Alexandre Cabanel*, 66.

[379] Leanne Zalewski, "Alexandre Cabanel's Portraits of the American 'Aristocracy' of the Early Gilded Age," *Nineteenth-Century Worldwide* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2005).

[380] Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Hand-Book No. 1, Part I. The Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Collection* (New York, NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art, n.d.), 13.

[381] Shinn, *The Art Treasures of America,* 1:119–20.



Figure 7.19: Alexandre Cabanel, *The Birth of Venus*, oil on canvas, 51 × 88 in, 1863, Musée d'Orsay, Paris

(Figure 7.21). Based on these reproductions, it is clear that *The Shulamite* was a depiction of a semi-nude woman. Dark-haired and in a generic Middle Eastern setting—oriental rugs are combined with Egyptian-style painted columns—the subject is meant to be Oriental. In the Met's catalog for the Wolfe collection, *The Shulamite* is listed with a Bible quote cited as the Song of Solomon, 2^{d} chap. 8th verse:

> The voice of my beloved! Behold he cometh leaping upon the mountains, skipping upon the hills ∗ ∗ ∗∗ he standeth behind the wall ∗ ∗ ∗∗ my beloved spake, and said unto me, rise up my love, my fair one and come away.

Israel's King Solomon loved the Shulamite woman. The language of the book is more romantic and overtly sexual than other parts of the Bible.[382] Based on the reproductions, Cabanel's painting appears to have emphasized the eroticism of the episode. The clothing hanging off the Shulamite's form, her partially exposed breast, and the spread of her legs only covered by delicate and partially sheer material are overtly sexual.

Despite Cabanel's reputation, *The Shulamite* received mostly negative reviews at the Salon and from Shinn. The critic Jules-Antoine Castagnary described the female figure as "anemic and consumptive," while another critic insisted that it was "lethargic... and also dreadfully colored and drawn."[383] Shinn was slightly more charitable: "The charm of the

[382] Jonathan Kaplan *My Perfect One: Typology and Early Rabbinic Interpretation of Song of Songs* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2015), introduction.

[383] Jules Castagnary, "Salon de 1876," *Le Siècle*, May 20, 1876; A. Bonnin, "Salon de 1876. Peinture" *L'Art 5 (1876)*: 21.



Figure 7.20: Lucy Scott Bower (American, 1864–1934) after Alexandre Cabanel, *The Shulamite*, oil on canvas, 57 × 37.5 in, n.d., Private Collection (Source: http://artsalesindex.artinfo.com/auctions/Alexandre-Cabanel-5528511/The-Sulamite-)

theme, and the enlightenment of the painter in every device of pictorial delicacy, have not prevented this picture from sinking into that nerveless weakness characteristic of Cabanel's decline."[384] Yet Wolfe herself was apparently satisfied enough with *The Shulamite* not only to display it prominently in her home, but also to give the artist another commission: a portrait of herself (Figure 7.22). The portrait likely cost more than 5,000 francs (approxi-

[384] Shinn, *The Art Treasures of America*, 1:120.

mately $138,000 in 2014 USD).[385] Choosing to commission her only painted portrait from Cabanel directly aligned Wolfe's self-image with French Academic art.



Figure 7.21: Alexandre Cabanel, *Portrait of Catharine Lorillard Wolfe*, oil on canvas, SIZE, 1876, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY

This alignment was, however, geographically contingent. Wolfe did not bequest her entire collection to the Met. She also collected and patronized artwork for her Newport mansion, Vinland, which was constructed in the early 1880s. Margaret Laster, author of the most extensive scholarly work to date dedicated to Wolfe, has noted the difference between Wolfe's New York and Vinland collections:

[385] Daniel P. Huntington to Luigi Palma di Cesnola, August 16, 1887, MMA Wolfe Collection files, cited in Laster, "Catharine Lorillard Wolfe," 30. This conversion was fairly complicated, because no direct converters exist for French francs to US dollars for the nineteenth century. The variety of ways to complete this conversion are available at "Seven Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a US Dollar Amount, 1774 to present," MeasuringWorth, www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/, April 2016.

> When examined against her patronage of the Salon painters whose pictures she chose for her New York home, Wolfe's selection of artists and architects to work with at Vinland suggests that for Vinland she changed course 180 degrees.... In Newport, Wolfe revealed strains of Anglophilia seemingly at odds with the more Francophilic nature of the bulk of her New York works. Her collecting and patronage in New York and Newport were inextricably bound to the image she wished to construct about her identity in each locale.[386]

The same individual collected radically different types of art for her two homes. While Wolfe had access to the same selection of works for acquisition in both places and could certainly move them from New York to Rhode Island, she chose to collect differently when she was acting in a different geographic context.[387]



Figure 7.22: Winslow Homer, *The Life Line*, 1884, oil on canvas, 28.6 × 44.75 in., Philadelphia Museum of Art

For Vinland, Wolfe acquired English and American Art. She hired English artist and designer William Morris' firm—leading practitioners of the English Arts and Crafts Movement—to decorate her "cottage". Boston architects Peabody and Stearns were responsible for constructing it.[388] Her most significant acquisition for Vinland—both in terms of price and publicity—was *The Life Line* (1884) [Figure 7.22] by the American artist Winslow Homer (1836–1910).[389]

[386] Laster, "Catharine Lorillard Wolfe," 14.

[387] See the description of how collector and industrialist Henry Clay Frick moved his collection between his homes in Boston and New York, in Colin Bailey, *Building the Frick Collection: An Introduction to the House and its Collections* (New York: Scala, 2006).

[388] Laster, "Catharine Lorillard Wolfe," 215.

[389] Laster, "Catharine Lorillard Wolfe," 204–14.

The Life Line [Figure 7.22] is a large and dramatic scene. Measuring more than two feet high and almost four feet wide, it was one of Homer's largest canvases to date. The artist obscured the horizon line—it is barely indicated by a handful of black rocks that divide grey sea from grey sky. The cord supporting the victim and rescuer creates a black line that resembles a horizon; however, it is only just below the top edge of the canvas. This surrogate horizon line is therefore totally above the head of the principal figures in the painting and any viewer. This formal element—combined with the waves forming a concave arc around the figures—creates an aura of inundation and peril. Like the woman and her savior, the viewer is engulfed in tumultuous seas conveyed with loose and impressionistic brushwork.

Although it was shown at the Century Association in March of 1884, the painting was first exhibited to the public at the National Academy of Design in April.[390] Homer's painting provoked an immediate, strong, and mostly positive response from critics. In a catalog for a recent exhibition dedicated to the painting, Kathleen Foster writes: "Of thirty-two substantive reviews that have been found in New York and national publications, twenty-seven were glowingly positive, three mixed praise and criticism, and only two were negative."[391]

This painting differed significantly from Wolfe's New York holdings in several ways. First, it was by an American artist. Prior to collecting *The Life Line*, Wolfe's only other American acquisition appears to have been a watercolor of the Newport coast by William Trost Richards (1833–1905)[392] Second, its impressionistic details and tumultuous subject matter are unlike the form and content of Academic painting. One commonality with her European acquisitions, however, is that it was expensive. She paid $2,500, which is at least $62,300 in 2014 dollars. This was the highest price Homer had ever received and would receive for a piece of art until 1896.[393]

What can one learn from the radically different collecting patterns and preferences exhibited by the same woman in different geographic settings? First—as Laster argues—the case of Catharine Lorillard Wolfe's site-specific collecting indicates that geography influences how a collector chooses to fashion his or her home, art collection, and domestic identity. Even though Wolfe's social circles in Newport and New York were very similar, the different settings of her two homes prompted her to collect for each location in very different ways.[394] Geography forms demand—just as is suggested by the increasing R^2 with the addition of geographic dummies in the regression presented in Tables 7.6–7.9. Whether

[390] Kathleen A. Foster, *Shipwreck! Winslow Homer and* The Life Line (New Haven: Philadelphia Museum of Art & Yale University Press, 2012), 123.

[391] Foster, *Shipwreck!*, 73.

[392] Laster, "Catharine Lorillard Wolfe,", 204–6.

[393] Foster, *Shipwreck!*, 74; conversion of USD from Samuel H. Williamson, "Seven Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a US Dollar Amount, 1774 to present," MeasuringWorth, accessed July 19, 2016, www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/.

[394] Laster, "Catharine Lorillard Wolfe," 221–22.

the crucial element of this geographic influence was the distinction between collecting in New York and in New England or rather the distinction between collecting for an urban setting and for a seaside home is, however, difficult to determine.

While this qualitative case study reinforces the quantitative tests, there is another demand-side effect that may have influenced Wolfe's collecting in her two homes. Though it was not yet public knowledge, Wolfe had already written her will, which, Laster reports, "delineat[ed] the terms of her bequests, in February 1884, two months prior to her purchase of Homer's painting. Had she chosen to display it in New York, *The Life Line* would then have been designated as part of her future gift to the Metropolitan Museum of Art."[395] The works that would be transferred to the museum were the ones that would form her artistic legacy, preserved in perpetuity in an art institution that was still young but had grand ambitions. While she was perhaps free to express her personal whims and taste in the Newport home without long-term consequences, the artwork in New York City was a collection for posterity, both for her and for the Metropolitan Museum.[396]

This constraint may have led Wolfe to limit her New York collection to safer selections—like prizewinning European Academic art. Wolfe was not willing to place Homer—a contemporary American artist whose work and legacy were yet to be proven and universally accepted as "good"—in the Metropolitan Museum. Ironically, Homer is now far more famous than most of the Academic artists that Wolfe collected. *The Life Line*, sold after her death, is now an anchoring highlight of the Philadelphia Museum of Art's collection.

Jasper Francis Cropsey: Artist Helping Artists

Jasper Francis Cropsey (1823–1900) [Figure 7.23] was born in Staten Island, New York, in 1837. At the age of 14, he was apprenticed to a local architect. He was trained as a draftsman, and soon began painting.[397] Cropsey quickly became a successful painter, and was elected an associate member of the National Academy when he was only 21 years old.[398]

Between 1847 and 1863, Cropsey and his family spent a number of years in Europe, where the artist studied Old Masters and became part of the contemporary English art

[395] Laster, "Catharine Lorillard Wolfe," 210.

[396] Rabinow, "Catharine Lorillard Wolfe, The First Woman Benefactor of the Metropolitan Museum of Art"; several scholars, including Rabinow, have hypothesized that Wolfe's cousin John Wolfe influenced her acquisitions for her New York home. Laster, however, believes that this influence cannot be clearly demonstrated.

[397] "Cropsey, Jasper Francis," in *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, ed. Ann Lee Morgan (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007), http://www.oxfordreference.com.lehman.ezproxy.cuny.edu/view/10.1093/acref/9780195373219.001.0001/acref-9780195373219-e-318.

[398] Elizabeth Stevens, *Jasper Cropsey: Interpreting Nature* (Catskill, NY: Thomas Cole National Historic Site, 2006), 11.



Figure 7.23: Edward L. Mooney, *Portrait of Jasper F. Cropsey*, oil on canvas, 31 × 26 in., 1847, Collection of the Newington-Cropsey Foundation, Hastings-on-Hudson, NY

world. He exhibited at the Royal Academy in London and became friendly with the art critic John Ruskin. When he returned to the United States, Cropsey was professionally and financially successful. His preferred subjects were autumnal northeastern landscapes, as in 1861's *Indian Summer, Hudson River* (Figure 7.24). He soon purchased land in Orange County, New York, and built a large Victorian mansion called Aladdin.[399] Cropsey continued to be successful through the 1870s, but his work's popularity, and consequently his finances, declined by the early 1880s. He was forced to sell Aladdin, and he could no longer afford to maintain a New York City studio. He and his family moved to Ever Rest—a cottage complete with artist's studio—in Hastings-on-Hudson, New York. He lived and worked there—continuing to send work to the annual exhibitions of the National Academy and the American Watercolor Society—until his death in 1900.[400]

[399] Anthony Speiser, "Jasper F. Cropsey, Painter of Faith," in *Jasper Francis Cropsey: Catalogue Raisonné*, vol. 1, *1842–1863*, ed. Anthony Speiser (Hastings-on-Hudson, NY: Newington-Cropsey Foundation, 2013), xxiŮxxvi.

[400] Speiser, "Jasper F. Cropsey, Painter of Faith". xxxiŮxxxiii.



Figure 7.24: Jasper Francis Cropsey, *Indian Summer, Hudson River*, 1861, on canvas, 24.5 × 41.5 in., Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, Nebraska

Hundreds of Cropsey's letters, journal entries, and sketches are preserved at the Newington-Cropsey Foundation—based at Ever Rest in Hastings-on-Hudson—and in the Archives of American Art. The bulk of these are from early in Cropsey's career, particularly when he was a young man living and working in London. Nonetheless, these records—and other details of Cropsey's professional habits—provide some circumstantial evidence about his purchases of other artists' works as well as his role in maintaining professional networks. In autumn 1859 the painter Daniel Huntington (1816-1906) wrote to Cropsey, who was living and working in London:

> My Dear Cropsey,
>
> It is personally necessary for me to introduce to you our... brother artist and fellow academician, Mr. George W. Flagg. He thinks of residing in... Kensington and I [illegible] him pleasure of your agreeable artistic circle.
>
> Faithfully yours,
>
> D. Huntington.[401]

Cropsey appears to have enjoyed actively participating in "artistic circles." He was an active member of the Century Association, a private club that aimed to promote the fine

[401] Daniel Huntington to Jasper Cropsey, October 4, 1859, Reel 336, Jasper Francis Cropsey papers, 1845Ů1868, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC.

arts and literature. Many major nineteenth-century American artists were also members, including Cole, Durand, and Homer.[402] Cropsey was a member for 50 years, and contributed over 100 works to the association's exhibitions during a 20-year period.[403]

Other letters sent to Cropsey ask for his assistance in business matters and to generally exchange favors and create connections across artistic networks. John P. Ridner—an artist whose only well-known extant work is a book titled *The Artist's Chromatic Hand-Book* (1850)—wrote Cropsey a long letter asking him to help Ridner recruit artists and engravers for a publication.[404] The expatriate sculptor and art critic William Wetmore Story (1819–95) wrote to Cropsey in 1849, asking for his help with a personal connection:

> [The American artist C.P.] Cranch had paid for me a bill. . . at my bootmakers in Florence and for this I wish you to remember him.. . . The book of views [I previously gave you] I will ask of you the favor to present to Cranch in my name—and ask him to remember me when he looks into it.[405]

Cropsey participated in informal exchanges of favors, goods—like Ridner's book—and introductions.

The strongest evidence that these exchanges included works of art from artists who were lesser known than Cropsey comes from two principal sources: the artist's own records of his expenses, and the inventory of his art collection sold at auction after his death. The Newington-Cropsey archive includes detailed records of the artist's revenue and expenses from 1845 to 1868.[406] In 1858, Cropsey's expenses appear to include an exchange of his own paintings for at least one work that belonged to the London art dealer Ernest Gambart.[407] Cropsey's records often include a "Remarks" section about his expenses and income in a given year. In these reports after his return to the United States in 1863, he values capital in the form of "property in hand. . . furniture, pictures, studio material, books, etc." or a similar category.[408] This appears to be a reference to pictures beyond those that he produced, which are enumerated more carefully, earlier in a separate part of the expense report.

---

[402] James E. Mooney, "Century Association," in *The Encyclopedia of New York City*, ed. Kenneth T. Jackson (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995), 200.

[403] "The Century Association Exhibition Records, November 6, 1869 through December 30, 1917," Archives of the Century Association, New York, NY.

[404] John P. Ridner, *The Artist's Chromatic Hand-Book. Being a Practical Treatise on Pigments; Their Properties and Uses in Painting. To Which is Added a Few Remarks on Vehicles and Varnishes* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1850); John P. Ridner to Jasper Francis Cropsey, June 1, 1847, Reel 336, Jasper Francis Cropsey papers, 1845–1868, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC.

[405] William Wetmore Story to Jasper Francis Cropsey, March 25, 1849, Reel 336, Jasper Francis Cropsey papers, 1845-1868, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC.

[406] Cropsey, "Expenses," 1845–1868, Reel 336, Jasper Francis Cropsey papers, 1845–1868, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC.

[407] Cropsey, "Expenses 1858," 1845–1868, Reel 336, Jasper Francis Cropsey papers, 1845–1868, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC.

[408] Cropsey, "Expenses," 1864–1868, Reel 336, Jasper Francis Cropsey papers, 1845–1868, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC.

Table 7.13: Nationalities of Makers of Works of Art in Jasper Francis Cropsey's Collection

Nationality	Number of Works of Art	Percentage of Total Holdings
Missing	26	9.89
American	95	36.12
American (Self)	89	33.84
Belgian	1	0.38
British	2	0.76
Dutch	4	1.52
English	4	1.52
Flemish	1	0.38
French	24	9.13
German	8	3.04
Italian	8	3.04
Norwegian	1	0.38

The catalog for the auction of Cropsey's collection after his wife's death confirms the suspicion that he was also collecting pictures and engravings other than those he created himself. Figure 7.25 and Table 7.13 present the eras and nationalities of the artists included in

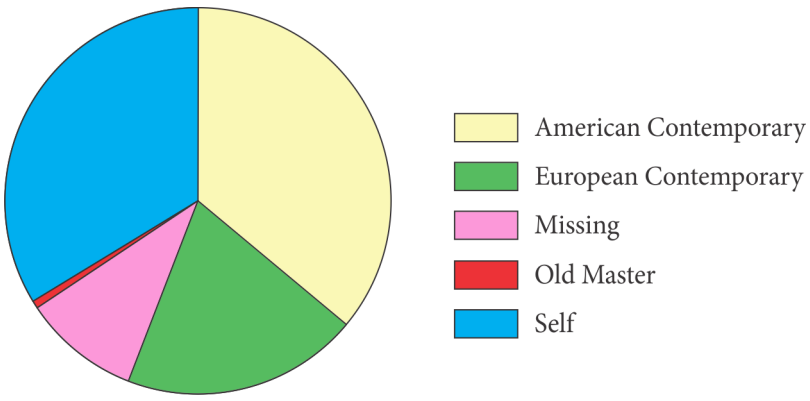


Figure 7.25: Composition of Cropsey's Holdings Sold at Auction in 1906, by Nationality and Era of Artist

Cropsey's collection. While Cropsey certainly owned a large number of his own works at the time of his death, a slightly greater share of his collection consists of work by his fellow contemporary American artists. He owned a comparatively small share of work by contemporary European artists. This runs counter to the behavior of the other collectors profiled in this chapter, and conforms to the regression results presented in Tables 7.6-7.9. Looking at the names of American artists whose work Cropsey owned, they are

almost uniformly younger than him, and are generally little-known today. The best-known among them are Thomas Moran (1837–1926) and Ralph Albert Blakelock (1847–1919). Cropsey also owned one work by Moran's less successful brother, Peter Moran (1841–1914), and three canvases by the now obscure Philadelphia painter Thomas Bigelow Craig (1849-1924), who is listed in the auction catalog as an Associate of the National Academy. Cropsey was an active collector—174 works of art by other artists were auctioned as part of his art collection—with a focus on young American artists. This focus was likely an extension of his participation in the informal exchange of favors and help among American artists that is documented in his letters.

Conclusion: Distinguishing Systematic from Idiosyncratic Relationships

This chapter—and its combination of statistical and qualitative evidence—makes one clear point. One must be cautious about generating general theories about the relationship between socioeconomic backgrounds of collectors and their acquisitions. The regressions demonstrate that few systematic relationships exist between collectors' backgrounds and their holdings. Furthermore, the most robust relationships, such as the distinct collecting patterns of American artists, have been neglected in the existing scholarly literature. An application of Bourdieu-inspired interpretations of the relationship between economic and cultural capital has been central to the history of collecting and museums and, more generally, to the growing field of the history of capitalism. Treating the acquisition of art as consistently symptomatic of social striving is, however, an unsupported generalization. While certain collectors—William Bement, for example—seem to have collected for this reason, others—like Jasper Cropsey—did not. By analyzing a sample of hundreds of collectors, one can see which collecting behaviors are idiosyncratic and which are systematic. Overall, the R^2 in every regression is modest—at most .22. This means that collectors' socioeconomic markers and geographical controls systematically explain *at most* 22 percent of the patterns and variety in art collections in the HAAExD sample. The rest of the diversity of acquisition can be attributed to idiosyncrasies such as taste, price differences in the art market, and which dealers and artists a collector had the opportunity to work with or patronize.[409]

While patrons—and their changing socioeconomic profiles—are one distinct way that broader economic and social change affects art, social historians of art have also studied how broader structural changes to the economy affected the production, consumption and

[409] Kevin Michael Murphy, "Economics of Style: The Business Practices of American Artists and the Structure of the Market, 1850-1910" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Santa Barbara, 2005). A forthcoming article in the *Archives of American Art Journal*, by the author of the present thesis, will deal with the issue of price differences across categories of art in more detail.

interpretation of art during the nineteenth century. As discussed in Chapter 1, many scholars have examined how changes in transport—most notable among which is the growth of the railroad—have affected artistic output. Within this chapter, the Crocker case study explored how limited market integration via rail created both supply-side and demand-side constraints on art consumption in California. Picking up on this theme of how physical accessibility and transport affect art, Chapter 8 focuses on the systematic links between railroads and landscape painting in nineteenth-century America.

Chapter 8

Railroads and Landscapes in the United States, 1825–1885

Introduction

As steam shipping and railroads developed during the nineteenth century, the speed and ease with which goods and people could travel around the United States improved dramatically. Most antebellum transport improvement involved the development of canals and deployment of steamships on rivers and the Great Lakes.[410] From mid-century, internal waterways were steadily replaced by the railroad. In 1839, there were already 3,000 miles of track in operation throughout the East Coast, primarily connecting the Ohio Valley to the Eastern seaboard. Expansion began in earnest, however, only in the 1850s. In 1856, Ohio had the same amount of track in operation as had been operational nationally in 1839; the size of the national network had quadrupled in a single decade.[411] The post-Civil War boom was even larger than that of the 1850s. By 1890, an extra 140,000 miles of track had been constructed. The amount of commodities and goods moving along this new track increased even more: 2.6 billion ton-miles were transported in 1859; that total was 80 billion in 1890.[412]

A school of American landscape painting emerged contemporaneously with the growth of America's internal transport network. Traditionally called "The Hudson River School," this group of painters is named after the New York valley that was the subject their paintings. British-born painter Thomas Cole (1801–48) is considered the founder of the school. The other principal "first generation" Hudson River School painter was Asher B. Durand (1796–1886), who was Cole's student and collaborator. Cole and Durand primarily painted the landscape of New York's Catskill mountains and other Northeastern sites. The second generation of the Hudson River School—men who were trained or inspired by Cole,

[410]Fishlow, "Internal Transportation in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century," 552–68.
[411]Fishlow, "Internal Transportation in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century," 576–77.
[412]Fishlow, "Internal Transportation in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century," 575–76; 583–84.

Durand, and their peers—included John F. Kensett (1816–72), Sanford Robinson Gifford (1823–80), Jasper Francis Cropsey (1823–1900), Albert Bierstadt (1830–1902), Frederic Edwin Church (1826–1900) and Thomas Moran (1837–1926). Unlike their predecessors, these later painters turned to subjects beyond just the Hudson River Valley—to regions not yet or only newly connected by canal, rail, or ocean-going steamship to the United States' major city centers.[413]

The links between American landscape painting and transport—particularly railroads—have been the subject of dozens of histories. The earliest of these histories began with an exploration of expressions of nostalgia in the face of technological development. They charted the ironies of an interest in nature—particularly wilderness—growing alongside the development of industrial power that can effectively destroy and plunder nature. Many scholars tie this yearning for natural imagery occurring alongside industrial development to a broader narrative of the development of an American identity. Roughly summarized, scholars argue that American identity coalesced around images of nature and unsettled spaces that were in fact exceptional in the American landscape and non-representative of the true character of the rapidly developing nation.

The earliest influential assertion of this narrative is in Barbara Novak's seminal work *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting 1825–1875* (1978). In a chapter titled "Man's Traces: Axe, Train, Figure," Novak draws heavily on Leo Marx's *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (1964) when she begins the chapter:

> National identity is both constructed and threatened by the double-edged symbol of progress, the axe that destroys and builds, builds and destroys. The paradoxes of this relationship to nature are sharply revealed in the 'civilizing' of the land. Progress toward America's future literally undercut its past.[414]

Though Novak spends most of the chapter contemplating the image of the axe in the first half of the nineteenth century, she eventually turns to trains. She argues that the insertion of locomotives into paintings hint at struggles with the paradox of progress as both improvement and destruction.[415]

This argument was later extended beyond images of intruding technological change to images of nature that are unrealistically free of evidence of human presence and destruction. The most notable contribution to this extension of the argument was Ann Bermingham's

[413] Kevin J. Avery, "The Hudson River School," *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, accessed July 19, 2016, http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/hurs/hd_hurs.htm.

[414] Barbara Novak, *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting 1825Ů1875*, 3rd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 135.

[415] Novak, *Nature and Culture*, 169.

Landscape and Ideology: The English Rustic Tradition, 1740–1860 (1989). Bermingham's arguments were applied to the American context by several scholars, particularly William Treuttner and Angela Miller.

Treuttner curated the 1991 exhibition *The West as America*. The accompanying catalogue—a collection of essays by a range of authors who continue to be among the most influential scholars of American landscape painting—asserts that nineteenth-century images of the West can be read as ideological statements. Specifically, they are ideological statements that, as Treuttner wrote, "extol progress" and "'authoriz[e]' westward expansion as a beneficial national undertaking."[416] *The West as America* argues that a diverse range of images participated in the legitimation and justification of the project of national expansion, which was fueled and facilitated by the railroad. They include not only landscapes, but also images of the mythic American frontier, complete with cowboys and Indians.

In her much-cited *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representations and American Cultural Politics, 1825–1875* (1993), Angela Miller reasserted that landscape and depictions of the frontier are not only expressions of broader changes in the socioeconomic fabric of the United States and in American's conceptions of national identity, but also played an active role in the formation of that identity. In exploring how images took on this active role, Miller indicates the importance of exploring narrower and more direct links between landscape—both the genre and the locations themselves—and economic change. Her book "disinters the lost history of how the national landscape came into being, which individuals engaged in its inventions, what their motives were, and what alternatives existed."[417] Landscapes are composites and constructions created, patronized and promoted by historical actors with distinct social and economic identities and motivations. Visual culture reflects these individuals' agendas as much as it does national moods and narratives. Tracing the development of nature tourism in America and its links to both landscape painting and the growth of the railroads has been an active avenue of inquiry yielding rich analyses of how the national landscape came into being and the specific historical actors who facilitated its formation.

The first extended theoretical analysis of tourism was sociological: Dean MacCannell's *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976). In the introduction to the book's first edition, MacCannell writes:

> "The concern of moderns for 'naturalness,' their nostalgia and their search for authenticity are not merely casual and somewhat decadent. . . attachments to the souvenirs of destroyed cultures and dead epochs. They are also components of the conquering spirit of modernity—the grounds of its unifying consciousness."[418]

[416] Truettner, "Ideology and Image," 40

[417] Miller, *The Empire of the Eye*, 3.

[418] Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class.* New Edition. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 3.

While MacCannell is referring primarily to tourists traveling to cities—his fieldwork was completed in Paris—and exotic undeveloped countries, his vision of tourism as a component of "the conquering spirit of modernity" can also apply to natural landscapes. In *National Parks: The American Experience* (1979)—a book now in its fourth edition—historian Alfred Runte describes how, as the nineteenth century progressed, a "small group of visionaries" began to form "the national park idea." These individuals convinced other people and the government to preserve elements of the American landscape in their pure natural states.[419] The quest to preserve nature and promote nature tourism incorporated land into the modern economic system that was often useless for mining, logging, or other economic activities.[420]

These historical and sociological arguments were first applied to art historical studies about landscape painting and the development of the railroad in Joni Louise Kinsey's *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West* (1992). Kinsey explores several of Moran's postbellum railroad-sponsored trips to the West and the works he created after those trips. She concludes that through the efforts of Moran and his corporate sponsors, "the West became a familiar and profitable, if still exotic and unpredictable, extension of the United States." The combination of landscape painting and nature tourism made possible by new rail routes facilitated the creation of the "unifying consciousness" that MacCannell describes.

As it has coalesced and gained traction, this story about tourism and American landscape painting has been applied to other decades and natural sites. The narrative now proceeds roughly as follows: the first natural attractions were the Catskills and Niagara Falls, beginning in the 1820s and '30s; this interest then expanded to Mammoth Cave and the White Mountains; tourism went West to the Yosemite Valley in the late 1850s and '60s. It arrived in Montana in 1872 when Congress passed the Yellowstone National Park Protection Act (hereafter "National Park Protection Act"), establish Yellowstone as the first such park.[421] At each of these stages, there was accompanying visual culture—often a "Great

[419] Alfred Runte, *National Parks: The American Experience*, 4th ed. (Lanham, MD: Taylor Trade Publishing, 2010), 1.

[420] John F. Sears also links MacCannell's interpretation to the tradition of pilgrimage, charting the conflation of economic and spiritual investment in natural sites around the US prior to the Civil War in *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[421] Gail S. Davidson, "Landscape Icons, Tourism, and Land Development in the Northeast," in *Frederic Church, Winslow Homer and Thomas Moran: Tourism and the American Landscape*, ed. Barbara Bloemink et al. (New York: Bulfinch Press, 2006), 3–75; Kinsey, *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Books, 1992); Joni L. Kinsey, *Thomas Moran's West: Chromolithography, High Art and Popular Taste* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006), 60–61, 118–23, 214–22; Sue Rainey, *Creating Picturesque America: Monument to the National Cultural Landscape* (Nashville: Applewood Books, 2001); Nancy K. Anderson, Thomas P. Bruhn, Joni L. Kinsey, and Anne Morand, *Thomas Moran* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998). In this last book, see particularly the essay by Kinsey, "Moran and the Art of Publishing," 300–21.

Picture," an enormous oil painting viewed in a dramatic solo exhibition—to portray and publicize the latest natural phenomenon. The sponsors of this visual culture, often a railway, hoped the virtual tourists viewing the site via a painting or print would become real tourists who would travel by railroad to the site in person.[422]

The most recent contributions to the study of American art and transport focus on the experience of these virtual tourists. Jennifer Roberts calls attention to the now foreign experience of geographical distance in *Transporting Visions: The Movement of Images in Early America* (2014): "In our own age of synchronous communication, it can be difficult to imagine the profundity of the geographic and temporal separations at issue here. The artists featured in this book lived in a world governed by absolute, intractable separations that we now associate only with interstellar distances."[423] Roberts uses distance as a lens through which to understand the visual effects of different works of art on audiences in a less-connected world.

While Roberts makes reference to actual trans-oceanic travel times, trade routes, and other concrete expressions of interconnectedness, these facts server her as springboards into the formal analysis of objects. This chapter lingers longer on the concrete details of the quantities of distance and the depiction of sites far away from the artistic centers of the United States. It begins with a presentation and discussion of maps that present growth of the US transport network over the course of the nineteenth century along with the frequency with which a selection of well-known American natural sites were depicted. Mapping railroad growth and frequency of site depiction indicates certain patterns in the relationship between the circulation of images and the growth of the rails that were meant to circulate people and goods. After presenting and discussing the maps, the chapter turns to a detailed case study about the direct relationship between a famous work of art and a railroad. In particular, it explores a subject of Kinsey's influential study: the history of Thomas Moran's Great Picture, *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone* (1872) [Figure 8.1].

What can one learn from combining the macroscopic view presented in the first part of this chapter and the narrow focus on the history of one painting presented in its second part? Two things. First, railroads facilitate the creation of visual culture. The maps demonstrate that sites that are inaccessible by rail are less often depicted than those that can be easily accessed. The case study about Moran's painting demonstrates that an inaccessible place is likely to be depicted only when a patron invested in the depiction and development of a site

[422] The concept and history of the "Great Picture" was first explored in Gerald L. Carr's scholarship, notably Carr, *Frederick Edwin Church: The Icebergs* (Dallas: University of Texas Press, 1980) and Carr, "Albert Bierstadt, Big Trees, and the British: A Log of Many Anglo-American Ties," *Arts Magazine* 60, no. 16 (June 1986): 60–71.

[423] Roberts, *Transporting Visions: The Movement of Images in Early America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014), 3.



Figure 8.1: Thomas Moran, *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone*, 1872, oil on canvas, 84 × 144 1/4 in. (213.0 × 266.3 cm.), Smithsonian American Art Museum, Lent by the Department of the Interior Museum.

provides—and pays for—early access to that site. This point echoes the results about the relationship between industrialization and images of nature in nineteenth-century France presented in Chapter 3. The common denominator of physical access encouraging depiction of landscapes only becomes clear when taking a zoomed-out view of the relationship between an assortment of sites and railroads.

Second, this chapter concludes that the correlation between the growth of rails and the frequency of depiction was not necessarily intentional nor linked exclusively to the development of the nature tourism on which art historians have disproportionately focused. Rails running to other places and for other purposes—mining, logging, interstate commerce generally—can pass by a site that artists then discover is worth depiction. The creation of visual culture was facilitated by the railroad, but railroads were rarely constructed specifically to lead to a site worthy of spectacular depiction.

Mapping Rails and Canvases: Data, Methods, and Format

The quantitative element of this chapter draws on two principal datasets, one about transport and one about art. The railroad data comes from economic historian Jeremy Atack's recently published "Historical Geographic Information Systems (GIS) Database of

US Railroads for 1826–1911."[424] Using this data, it is possible to map the growth of railroads throughout the United States from the early nineteenth to early twentieth centuries.[425]

Artistic data is from the HAAExD discussed at length in Chapter 5. However, a particular subset of the HAAExD is used for these maps: images of selected natural sites around the United States. Table 8.1 lists and describes the twenty-five sites included in this selection. They are geographically diverse, became well-known natural wonders at different times throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and are geologically varied—mountains, lakes, waterfalls, caves, and even swamps.[426] Once sites were selected, keyword searches of titles of works included in the HAAExD were used to determine how many depictions of given site were displayed in a given year. It is important to emphasize that each observation in the HAAExD is the exhibition of a work, not a unique work. There are many landscape paintings that were exhibited multiple times in the same venues and in multiple different venues. Each time the work is exhibited is counted as a distinct observation.[427]

The keyword searches included alternate site names, names of individual attractions within a larger site, and varied spellings to try to capture as many depictions of a specific site as possible. Those images of these places where the title of the work does not explicitly identify the site depicted are not included. Therefore, an image of a "California Valley" that—upon visual inspection—can be identified an image of the Yosemite Valley, will unfortunately not be identified as such in this dataset. Either the name Yosemite (or one of its many alternate spellings) or the name of a specific Yosemite site, such as Half Dome or Bridal Veil, had to be included in the title in order for it to be counted.

There are six maps presented in this chapter. They each represent information for one decade: 1825–35, 1836–45, 1846–55, 1856–65, 1866–75, and 1876–85. The rail information presented in each map are the lines in operation by the midpoint of the time range. For the 1825–35 map (Figure 8.2), for example, the black lines showing railroads are those in

[424] Jeremy Atack, "Historical Geographic Information Systems (GIS) Database of US Railroads for 1826–1911" (August 2015), accessed July 20, 2016, https://my.vanderbilt.edu/jeremyatack/data-downloads/.

[425] For a description of how the railroad data was assembled, see Jeremy Atack, "Created Historical Transportation Shapefiles of Navigable Rivers, Canals and Railroads for the United States Before World War I" (Dec. 26, 2015), accessed July 20, 2016 https://my.vanderbilt.edu/jeremyatack/files/2015/12/Creating-Historical-Transportation-Shapefiles-of-Navigable-Rivers-Revised-December-2015.pdf.

[426] These sites were chosen for a variety of reasons. First, they are evenly spread across different regions of the United States and depict different kinds of natural sites—mountains, bodies of water, and so on. Also, each of these sites has been selected for protection by either the Federal or state governments. By selecting protected sites, this chapter engages directly with arguments about nature tourism, since all of these sites are currently tourist attractions and many have a long history of tourism. Finally, all of these sites are depicted at least one time in the HAAExD, and most have been the subject of at least some art historical or material culture research.

[427] Without seeing images, it is hard to say exactly what proportion of these images are repeat showings. However, by generating a unique id for each unique artist-title pairing, it is possible to estimate that approximately 42,110 of the paintings were repeat showings or displays of multiple versions of the same painting by the same painter.

Table 8.1: Selected Twenty-five Natural Sites around the United States

Place Name	State(s)	Coordinates
Yellowstone National Park	Montana & Wyoming	44.6000° N, 110.5000° W
Yosemite Valley	California	37.8499° N, 119.5677° W
White Mountains	New Hampshire	44.2705° N, 71.3032° W
Pictured Rocks of Lake Superior	Michigan	46.5622° N, 86.3125° W
Lake George	New York	43.4244° N, 73.7153° W
Mount Hood	Oregon	45.3735° N, 121.6959° W
Hot Springs National Park	Arkansas	34.5136° N, 93.0536° W
Louisiana Bayou*	Louisiana	29.9425° N, 89.9942° W
Ozark Mountains	Arkansas	35.8636° N, 93.4931° W
Mount Desert Island	Maine	44.3428° N, 68.3071° W
Niagara Falls	New York	43.0800° N, 79.0710° W
Delaware River Gap	New Jersey, Pennsylvania & Delaware	41.1538° N, 74.9139° W
Crater Lake	Oregon	42.9500° N, 122.1000° W
Mount Ranier	Washington	46.8529° N, 121.7604° W
Florida Everglades	Florida	25.3167° N, 80.9333° W
Mammoth Cave	Kentucky	37.1833° N, 86.1000° W
Great Smoky Mountains	Tennessee	35.6833° N, 83.5333° W
Shenandoah Valley	Virginia	38.4833° N, 78.8500° W
Carlsbad Caverns	New Mexico	32.1753° N, 104.4439° W
Rio Grande River*	Texas	29.2500° N, 103.2500° W
Lassen Peak	California	40.4882° N, 121.5050° W
Lake Tahoe	California	39.0917° N, 120.0417° W
Rocky Mountains (Colorado)∗	Colorado	39.0708° N, 106.9890° W
Grand Tetons	Idaho	43.7412° N, 110.8024° W
Mount Shasta	California	41.3144° N, 122.3114° W

∗*Coordinates for Louisiana Bayou are for Jean Lafitte National Historic Park and Preserve; coordinates for Rio Grande River are Big Bend National Park coordinates; coordinates for Rocky Mountains, Colorado are for the mountain Maroon Bells*

operation by 1830. The sites are indicated on the map with dots labeled with a number. This number corresponds to a key that states the name of the site. Dots are triangular when no images of that site were recorded in the HAAExD as being exhibited during the entire decade covered by the map. Continuing with the 1825–35 map presented in Figure 8.2, one

can see that most of the twenty-five sites were not depicted between 1825 and 1835. Sites that were depicted at least once during this decade are represented by a circle. The size of this dot indicates the total number of depictions of a site exhibited during the decade. The larger the circle, the more depictions were exhibited.[428]

Rails and Landscapes in the Antebellum Period

Figures 8.2–8.4 present maps of railroad growth and of frequency of landscape depiction during the antebellum period. From 1825 to 1835 (Figure 8.2), most railroad growth and landscape depiction are in the Northeast, close to the artistic center of the country.[429] Yet railroad locations seem to have little or no correlation with the depiction of sites. Most of the circles—the White Mountains, the Niagara Falls, the Delaware Water Gap—are not next to a railroad. Still, it is worth noting that the Erie Canal—which led to the Niagara River—provided easy access to the Falls by 1825. There is limited track near Lake George (site 8), but it seems to be isolated to the area around the lake rather than connecting it to distant communities. Interestingly, there was one depiction of the Rocky Mountains shown during this time period. It is *View in the Rocky Mountains* by Thomas Doughty (1793–1856) shown at the Boston Athenaeum in 1833. Doughty, an East Coast painter born in Philadelphia, never traveled West. Therefore, this image—the current location of which is unknown—must have been an imagined studio piece that may or may not have been based on the accounts of frontiersmen.

Figure 8.3 shows that between 1836 and 1845, the railroad grew enormously. In two prominent cases—Niagara Falls and Lake George—railroads were purposely built directly to the natural sites. Both locations had been tourist attractions prior to the railroad era, and lines were built specifically to facilitate more visitors.[430] "The railroads transformed Niagara, exploited it, glamorized it, cheapened it, and created what has been called 'the center of a vortex of travel,'" writes Niagra historian Pierre Berton. "By 1845, close to fifty thousand sightseers were swarming annually over the region, a figure that had doubled in just five years."[431] This new connection had an equally dramatic effect on the frequency of the depiction of Niagara. It was depicted three times more often between 1836 and '45 than in the previous decade.

[428] Exhibitions and railroad construction are aggregated over decades for three reasons: to mitigate the volatility of exhibition patterns, to account for the slow progress of rail construction from year to year, and to make maps and trends more legible.

[429] See Chapter 5 of this thesis.

[430] Richard H. Gassan provides an overview of the development of tourism in New York State prior to the railroad in *The Birth of American Tourism: New York, the Hudson Valley and American Culture, 1790–1830* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008).

[431] Pierre Berton, *Niagara: A History of the Falls* (Albany, NY: Excelsior Editions/State University of New York Press, 2009), 80.

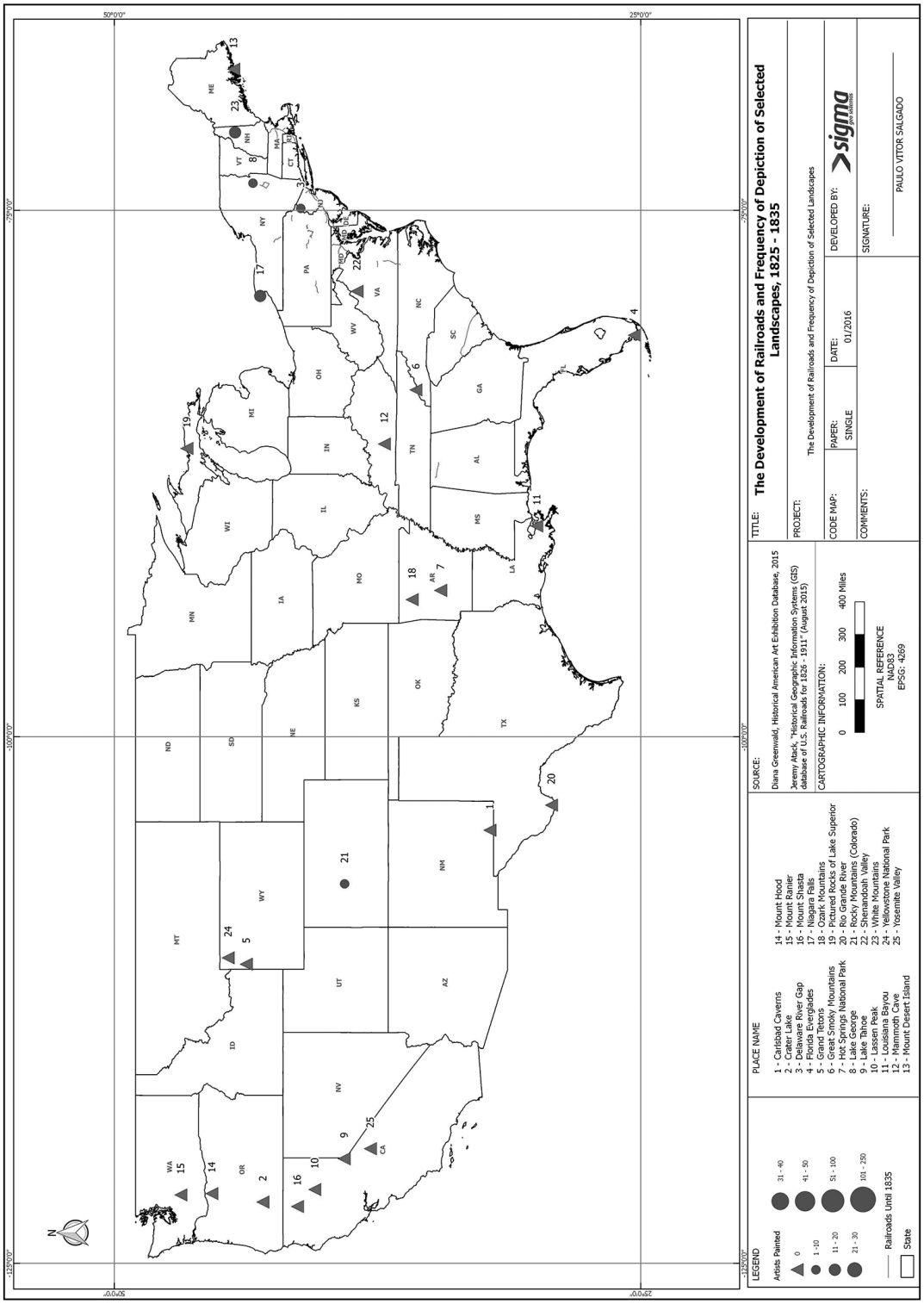


Figure 8.2: The Development of Railroads and the Frequency of Depiction of Selected Landscapes, 1825–35

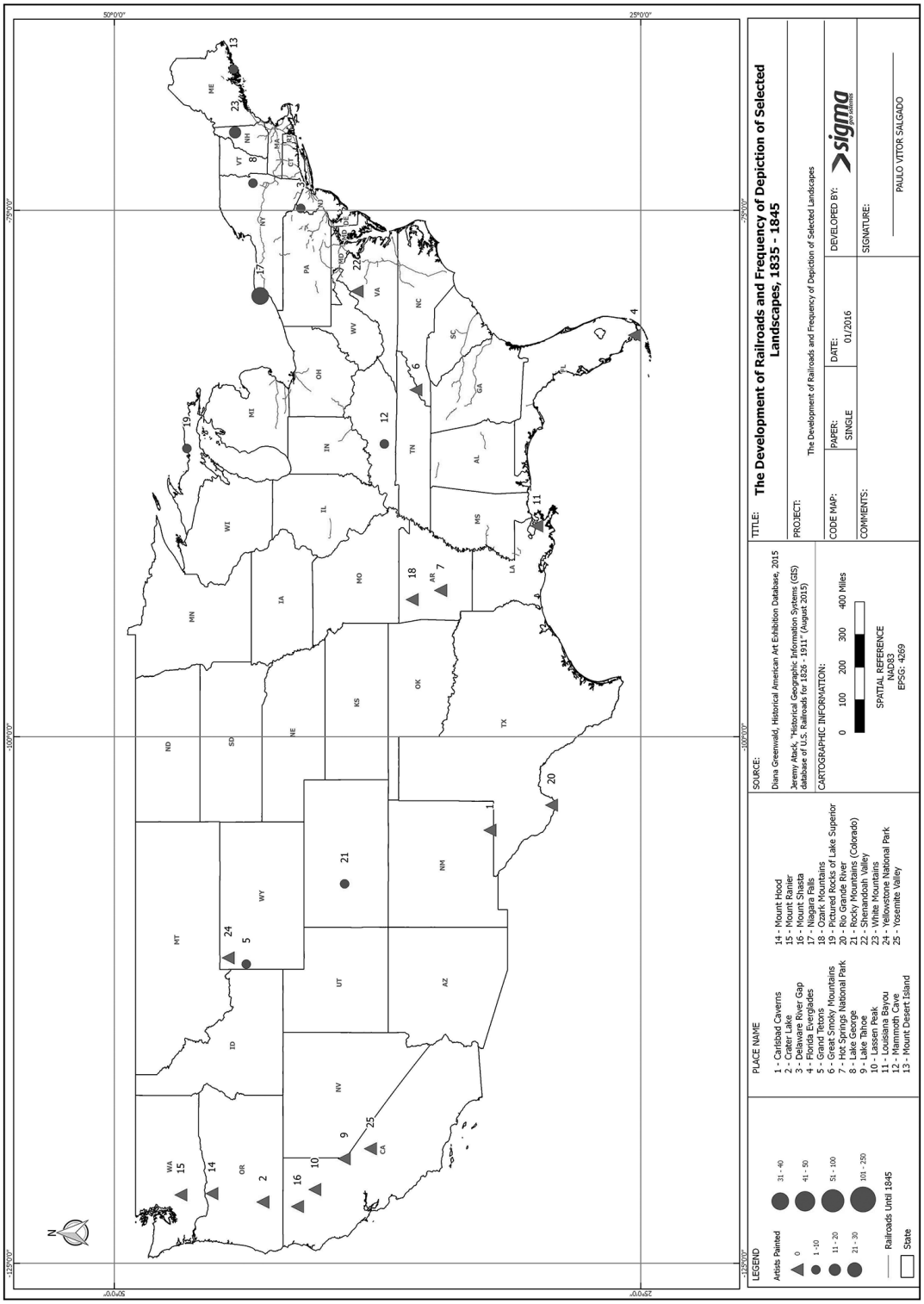


Figure 8.3: The Development of Railroads and the Frequency of Depiction of Selected Landscapes, 1835-45

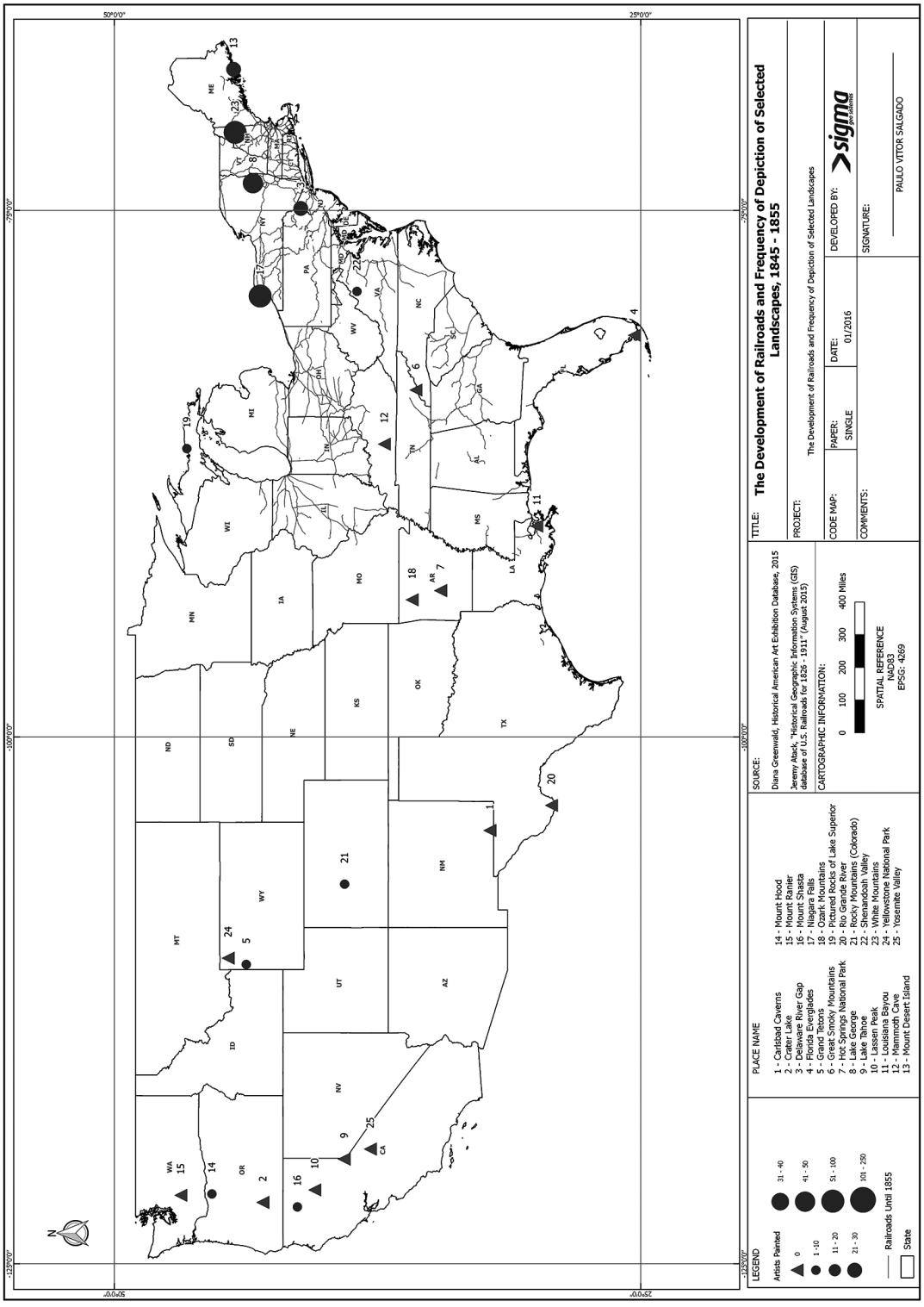


Figure 8.4: The Development of Railroads and the Frequency of Depiction of Selected Landscapes, 1845–55

Though railroads remained most dense in the Northeast, the sites depicted between 1836 and 1845 became more geographically diverse. In addition to a handful of depictions of the Rocky Mountains, artists created several images of the Pictured Rocks in northern Michigan, the Grand Tetons on the present-day Idaho-Wyoming border, and Mammoth Caves in Tennessee. While artists could have traveled to the sites in Michigan and Tennessee, those in the Far West were still presumably studio pieces based on other explorers' field notes and sketches.[432]

The railroad grew significantly between 1846 and 1855, as Figure 8.4 demonstrates. Concurrent with these changes, the frequency of depiction of sites in the Northeast, such as Niagara, the White Mountains, and Mount Desert Island in Maine, increased significantly. During this decade, depictions of Virginia's Shenandoah Valley are shown for the first time. Also during this decade, a railroad branch leading to the Shenandoah Valley appears for the first time. While the creation of a rail line leading to Niagara between 1836 and 1845 was a reaction to tourists' existing interest in the already much-depicted site, the greater depiction of the Shenandoah appears to have been facilitated by the creation of a rail line close to the valley that was created to access nearby agriculture land and iron production.[433]

Also during the ten-year period covered by Figure 8.4, large numbers of Euro-Americans moved to the West Coast to seek gold and general prosperity; settlers traveled by boat and using overland routes.[434] Therefore, while there were no railroads in California and Oregon or leading to these territories, the new settlement seems to have fueled the depiction of West Coast sites back east. During this decade, depictions of Mount Hood and Mount Shasta were exhibited for the first time. The depiction of Mount Hood is listed as a work by A.J. Stansbury shown in Washington D.C. in 1852. This work—*Mount Hood (Oregon)*—was likely by Arthur J. Stansbury (1781–1865), an East Coast draftsman presumably working from someone else's notes or field sketches.[435] The now-obscure Scottish-American artist Thomas Lachlan Smith (d. 1884) was one of the two California artists to depict Mount Shasta during this period.[436] The only depiction of the selected California sites shown on the East Coast during this decade was by an artist named A.J. McKnight, who exhibited his painting of Shasta at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.

[432]Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Painted Sketch: American Impressions from Nature, 1830–1880* (Dallas, TX: Dallas Museum of Art, 1998).

[433]Darwin Lambert, *The Undying Past: Shenandoah National Park* (Lanham, MD: A Roberts Rinehart Book, 2001), Kindle. See particularly chapters 6–8 and 12.

[434]Richard B. Rice, William A. Bullough, Richard J. Orsi, eds., *The Elusive Eden: A New History of California*. 2nd ed. (New York, NY: The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 1996).

[435]See the collection of the Museum of the City of New York: http://collections.mcny.org/C.aspx?VP3=SearchResult&VBID=24UAYWRVWHJXD.

[436]George Fraser Black, *Scotland's Mark on America* (New York, NY: The Scottish Section of 'America's Making', 1921), 89.

In the antebellum period, germane elements of visual culture—the initial selection of sites for depiction—seem to have developed independent of the railroad. Niagara, the Delaware Water Gap, Lake George and other sites that were frequently depicted in 1825–35 were not first depicted because of their proximity to rails. Instead, frequency of depiction of these sites—and presumably demand for these depictions—seems to have been magnified by the construction of rail connections. During wartime and the postbellum period, the sites popular in the antebellum era largely persisted in their popularity. One can also see examples of the railroad magnifying rather than determining interest in spectacular landscapes, such as the Yosemite Valley. However, in the second half of the decade, there are several examples of sites' depictions being facilitated because they are newly accessible via rail. Depiction, in certain cases, appears to be a byproduct of transport for other purposes.

Rails and Landscapes in Wartime and Post-Bellum Periods

Figure 8.5 presents landscape depictions and railroad networks in operation between 1856 and 1865. This ten-year period straddling the Civil War is considered a watershed moment for American landscape painting. It is when the "second generation" of Hudson River School Painters rose to prominence and, in many cases, turned towards Western and foreign subject matter. Despite this reputation of a turn towards the West, Figure 8.5 shows persistence in frequent depiction of well-known and accessible East Coast sites. Images of Niagara, the White Mountains, and other Northeast sites continue to be the most frequently exhibited. During this decade, depictions of several southern sites are exhibited at venues recorded in the HAAExD for the first time or more than in previous time periods. These include Shenandoah scenery—which was depicted more often—and images of the Florida Everglades, Louisiana Bayou and Rio Grande river. Interestingly, artists making these images included both notable northerners—examples include the Philadelphia marine painter James Hamilton (1819–78) and prominent Hudson River School painter William Trost Richards (1833–1905)—and southerners, like Thomas Addison Richards (1820–1900). Interestingly, several California artists—Meyer Straus (1831–1905) and Flora Houghton Carroll (1865–1935) also turned to Southern subjects.

The site that experienced the most dramatic increase in depiction during this period was California's Yosemite Valley. From never being depicted and exhibited in a HAAExD venue in the previous decade, images of the valley were exhibited more than fifty times between 1855 and '65. This occurred despite a lack of rail routes linking California to the Eastern US or linking Yosemite to the most populous settlements in California. The rise of Yosemite as a powerful symbol of the West and its promise for the future of a nation

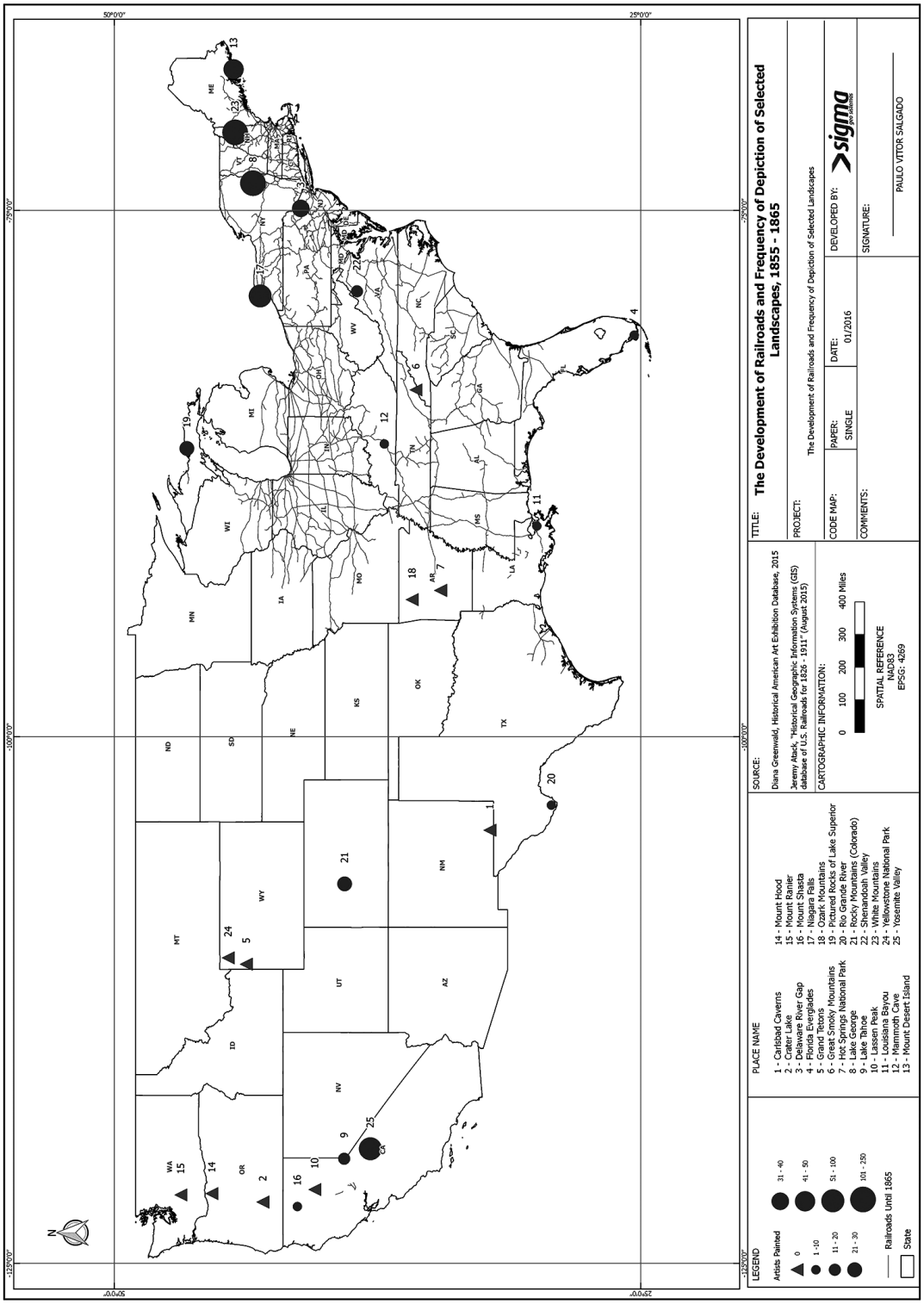


Figure 8.5: The Development of Railroads and the Frequency of Depiction of Selected Landscapes, 1855–65

embroiled in regional conflict and, later, the Civil War is discussed in the qualitative case study later in this chapter.

Figures 8.6 & 8.7—the final maps in the series—present railroad networks and landscape depiction after the Civil War, specifically from 1866 to 1875 and 1876 to 1885. In Figure 8.6, one can see the dramatic effect of the completion of the transcontinental railroad on the depiction of California sites. Yosemite, Shasta, the volcanic Lassen Peak, and Lake Tahoe were among the most frequently depicted sites during this decade. Niagara and the other Eastern sites continued to be frequently depicted, but by the 1866–75 period the landscapes of Western sites—including many images of the Rocky Mountains—were gaining on the East Coast sites' popularity. The depiction of Tahoe and Shasta seem to have been a byproduct of rail construction, which in this period passed right next to them.

Elsewhere around the country, one can see depictions of sites exhibited for the first time apparently after being connected to the railroad. This is true for Arkansas' Ozark Mountains as well as the Great Smokey Mountains. Though very far from most rail connections, the Yellowstone Valley—part of which became the first national park in 1872—was also depicted for the first time during this decade. Trends that emerged in Figure 8.6 continue in Figure 8.7. By 1876–85, the frequency of depiction of western and eastern sites is almost equal. The qualitative case study in the second half of this chapter examines the earliest depictions of Yellowstone and the how the incorporation and development of the western United States into the country's economic and political system interacts with the creation and circulation of visual culture.

Case Study: Moran's The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone and the End of the Homesteading Ideal

Measuring 7 feet tall by 12 feet wide, *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone* (1872; Figure 8.1) is monumental. Only a handful of tiny human figures stand in the foreground of the painting. The men are dwarfed by their surroundings, indicating that, despite its size, the canvas only hints at the colossal proportions of the actual site. But Moran does not sacrifice detail for scale. Distinct veins of pink, orange, and yellow run through rock formations; individual needles are visible on the pine trees' branches; and the mist around the waterfall is not a uniform color, but a range of whites tinged grey, blue, and yellow. This painting—just like the site it depicts—is marvelous. Moran affectionately called it his "Big Picture".

The existing secondary literature describes *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone* as an image of spectacular wilderness, of a wondrous landscape ready-made and destined to be packaged as a tourist attraction and a source of visual enjoyment. This theory is

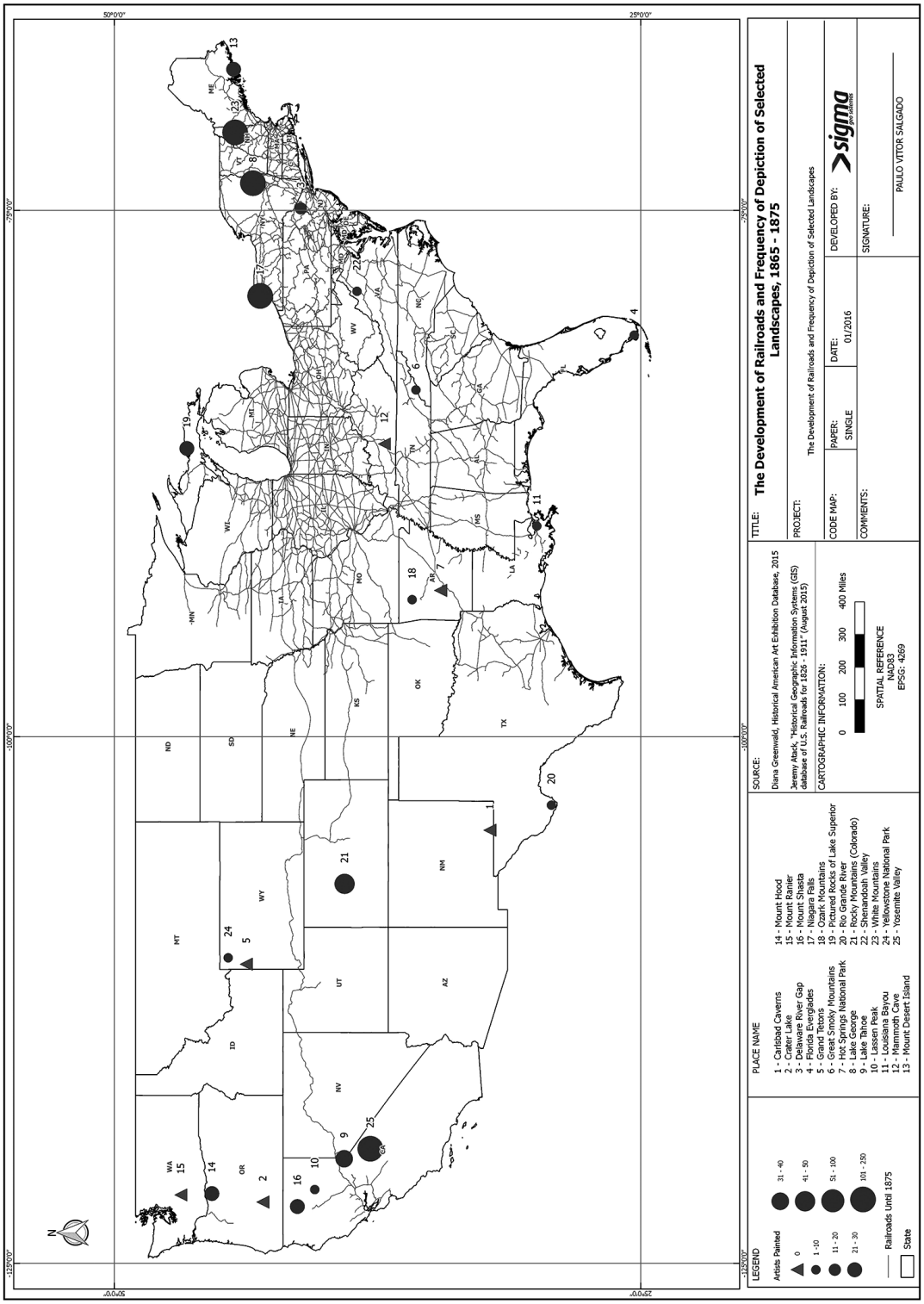


Figure 8.6: The Development of Railroads and the Frequency of Depiction of Selected Landscapes, 1865–75

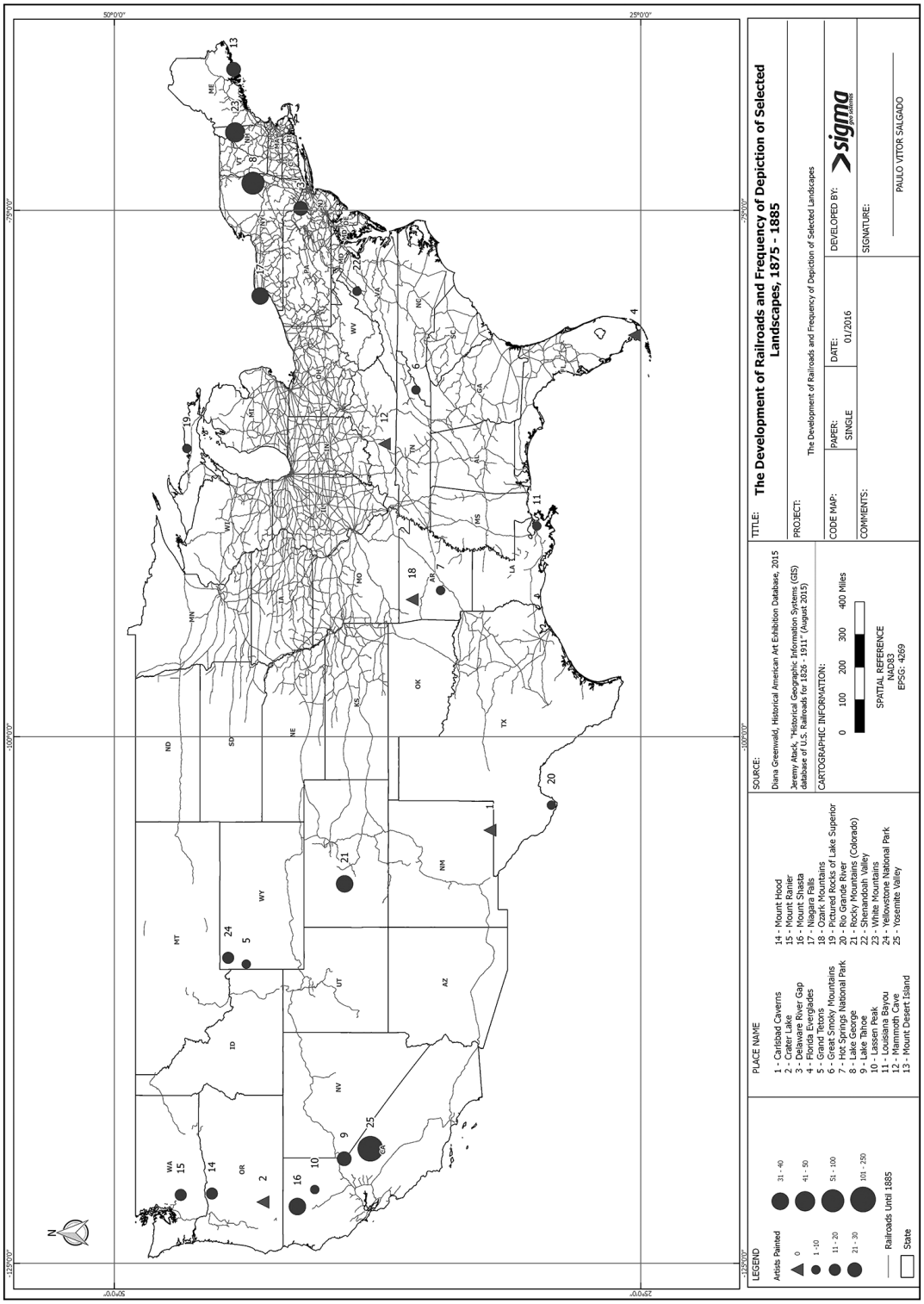


Figure 8.7: The Development of Railroads and the Frequency of Depiction of Selected Landscapes, 1875–85

compounded by the Northern Pacific Railroad's (NPRR) sponsorship of Moran's trip to Yellowstone in exchange for several watercolors depicting the area.[437] Scholars assume that this transaction was intended to cultivate the image of Yellowstone—declared the country's first national park in 1872—as a tourist destination. This case study argues that the NPRR sent an artist to Montana Territory to create images of both spectacular wilderness for tourists and of habitable wilderness for settlement—images resonant of the ideals expressed in the 1862 Homestead Act. To suit its own commercial goals, the NPRR needed to portray the Yellowstone Valley as a western Eden that one should not just visit, but settle in.

After a brief review of the literature dedicated to this painting, this case study introduces the Homestead Act—the principal blueprint for the settlement of the West from 1862. This blueprint—an extension of land policies dating to the end of the eighteenth century—came into question as it was applied to environments in the mountainous West not suited for arable agriculture. The Northern Pacific Railroad's attempts to develop the Yellowstone Valley despite its geographic and geological challenges are considered through the use of period maps. The case study examines the specific artistic needs of the NPRR and the process by which it selected an artist to paint Yellowstone in the light of this legislative and railroad-building framework for development. It then compares Moran and his depiction of the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone with Albert Bierstadt's paintings of the Rocky Mountains and Yosemite Valley and the latter location's initial railroad development. The qualitative case study concludes with extended formal analyses of *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone* and close readings of contemporary critical reactions to further explore connections between legislative debate over Western development and Moran's painting. In particular, this section argues that Moran created an image of a frontier in flux that reflected the debated and heterogeneous plans proposed for the development of the American West during and in the decade after the Civil War.

Beyond Tourism and the National Park

In the sizeable secondary literature dedicated to *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone* and its extraordinary popularity, most scholars have reached some permutation of the same conclusion: Yellowstone is a wonderland, an American treasure to be preserved, admired, and celebrated. The painting acted as a stand-in for the site it portrayed and therefore evoked patriotic emotions. Scholars have reached this common conclusion because they approach the painting equipped with a common vision of its historical context. They primarily situate *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone* in one distinct narrative—the development of nature tourism in the United States.

[437] Kinsey, *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West*, 190.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, this scholarly narrative is not without merit. Americans' interest in seeking out spectacular natural phenomena—either by traveling to sites in person or traveling virtually by viewing a Great Picture—increased exponentially during the nineteenth century.[438] This trend in nature tourism is relevant to the creation of Yellowstone National Park and the success of Moran's painting, but it is not the only relevant historical context.

In the early 1870s, the Yellowstone Valley's fate was uncertain. No one actively tried to encourage and accommodate Yellowstone tourism until years after the debut of *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone* and the passage of the National Parks Protection Act. One reason was a lack of federal funding; another was lack of transportation infrastructure. The new law preserved "all timber, mineral deposits, natural curiosities, or wonders within said park, and their retention in their natural condition" and established the park area as a "pleasuring-ground" for the public.[439] It did not, however, allocate any money to do this. In 1872, tourism may have been on the minds of Moran and other men involved with the painting and the establishment of the park, but given the area's isolation and lack of infrastructure, it is unlikely that tourism was the primary focus of those developing the Yellowstone Valley in the 1870s. The NPRR did not reach nearby Garrison, Montana, until 1883.[440] In 1871, after traveling to Montana to report on mining development, US Commissioner of Mine and Mining Statistics Rossiter Raymond concluded: "When it is considered with what difficulty and expense communication, travel and transportation are maintained between the Territory of Montana and the rest of the world, it seems marvelous that anyone should come there or stop there at all."[441] Given this initial lack of tourists, the tourism narrative is not sufficient to account for the valley's development.

Yellowstone National Park is just one corner of the Yellowstone River Valley, a fertile and mineral-rich area surrounded by arid and mostly desolate territory. The NPRR, which had a federal charter to lay track from Minnesota to Washington Territory, could profit enormously from the valley's development. Large amounts of sustainable revenue for the railroad would come from establishing agriculture, logging, and mining—and settlements created by people working in these industries—on land only made accessible by rail. The NPRR would make most of its money by facilitating the exchange of goods and commodities between the fertile and resource-rich West and the vibrant industrialized markets on the coasts.[442] Compared to the business of interstate commerce, promoting tourism in a distant

[438] Davidson, "Landscape Icons, Tourism, and Land Development in the Northeast," 3–75.

[439] US Statutes at Large 17, ch. 24, "An Act to Set Apart a Certain Tract of Land Lying Near the Headwaters of the Yellowstone River as a Public Park," 32–33, https://memory.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=llsl&fileName=017/llsl017.db&recNum=73.

[440] Paul Schullery and Lee H. Whittlesey, *Myth and History in the Creation of Yellowstone National Park* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003), 13–30; Kinsey, *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West*, 74.

[441] Quoted in Rodman Wilson Paul, *Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848–1880,* rev. ed. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001), 142.

[442] John Lubetkin, *Jay Cooke's Gamble: The Northern Pacific Railroad, the Sioux, and the Panic of 1873* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006), 65–79.

Western territory in the 1870s was a peripheral revenue stream.[443] This thesis, therefore, examines *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone* within the context of the NPRR's attempts to develop the entire Yellowstone Valley as a productive and profitable region.



Figure 8.8: Hutchins, Thomas, W. Barker, and Mathew Carey. *Plat [sic] of the seven ranges of townships being part of the territory of the United States, N. W. of the River Ohio*. [Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1796], map, Library of Congress, accessed March 3, 2016, https://www.loc.gov/item/99441743.

[443] See Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2011), locations 342–72, Kindle; Richard J. Orisi, *Sunset Limited: The Southern Pacific Railroad and the Development of the American West* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), locations 710–943, Kindle; Alfred Runte, *Trains of Discovery: Railroads and the Legacy of Our National Parks*, 5th ed. (Plymouth, UK: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 2011). Runte writes on the history of trains for tourism—the vast majority of his examples come from the 1880s or later.

During an approximately fifteen-year period between 1862 and 1878, Congress passed a series of laws that created varying mandates for managing westward expansion—including a turn to preservation. These debates over land use were reported and echoed in periodicals and civic debates outside of Washington.[444] The *Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone* was created and debuted in the midst of these debates. This case study ultimately places Moran's aesthetic accomplishment in the broader social-historical context of contested Western land use.

The Homestead Act Moves West

By the 1870s, Americans had approximately a century of experience with westward expansion and had particular preferences for a certain kind of frontier settlement. In art, literature, and legislation, the West was often treated as a space that could be made open for settlement that adhered to a Jeffersonian agrarian ideal.[445] The third president believed that farmers should be independent yeomen and that these men would be the backbone of the American citizenry. As Jefferson wrote in 1785, "Cultivators of the earth are the most valuable citizens... They are the most vigorous, the most independent, the most virtuous & they are tied to their country & wedded to the liberty... by the most lasting bonds."[446] Jefferson's vision was translated into the Land Ordinance of 1785. According to this law, unsettled territory was to be divided into rectangular 160-acre plots for farmers to eventually settle and own. Permutations of this grid were imposed across the United States for most of the century to come. This is demonstrated by an early example from the Ohio River Valley (Figure 8.9).[447] In the map, the neatly divided grid of plots to be apportioned evenly among new settlers is imposed on top of the irregular borders and divisions created by waterways delineating and permeating this tract of land. The grid supersedes geography. The Preemption Act of 1842 reaffirmed this programmatic model for Western settlement. It allowed men to move onto 160-acre plots of unclaimed public land throughout the United States for the price of $1.25 per acre. Another important theme in the history of land development is the contested role of "land speculators"—rich landowners who invested in large tracts of cheap federal land and held it for later resale. Advocacy of homesteading—well-enforced homesteading—was considered a way to combat these profit-seekers who sold

[444] Jeremy Atack, Fred Bateman, and William N. Parker, "Northern Agriculture and the Westward Movement," in *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States*, ed. Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 2:285–328.

[445] Robert V. Hine and John Mack Farragher, *The American West: A New Interpretive History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000), 330–61.

[446] Quoted in Ted Steinberg, *Down to Earth, Nature's Role in American History*, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 61.

[447] Steinberg, *Down to Earth*, 62–63.

land to Western migrants at inflated prices. Finally, one should note that military veterans were always an exceptional class in land-use debates. They were given priority for land under military "warrants" throughout the century. [448]



Figure 8.9: Currier & Ives. *American Homestead Spring*. New York: Published by Currier & Ives, 125 Nassau St., c, 1869. Image. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/90708550.

Also beginning in the 1840s, Western settlement along the Jeffersonian plan became intimately linked to the "free soil" question: the support of Western expansion without the expansion of slavery.[449] The emerging Republican party—officially formed on a national scale in 1854—was dedicated to slave-free settlement and generally supportive of providing Western migrants with free public land for homesteading.[450] As regional tensions mounted in the 1850s, the decision to provide free land for settlers became a flashpoint for the broader debate over the continued existence of slavery. Republicans believed that homesteaders could literally crowd out the potential extension of plantation agriculture to the southwest while providing an outlet for the impoverished inhabitants of overcrowded Eastern cities.[451]

[448] Benjamin Todd Arrington, "'Free Homes for Free Men': A Political History of the Homestead Act, 1774–1863" (Ph.D. diss., University of Nebraska, Lincoln, 2012), 105–6.
[449] Arrington, "Free Homes for Free Men," 82–120.
[450] Arrington, "Free Homes for Free Men," 147–50.
[451] Roy M. Robbins, *Our Landed Heritage: The Public Domain, 1776–1936* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962), 185.

The 1862 Homestead Act first came up for debate during the Civil War, when Republicans overwhelmingly controlled Congress.[452] In debating the law, advocates cited the popularity of the measure with the general public, the use of the act for combating greedy land speculators, and the role of the noble yeoman farmer in America's development. Speaker of the House and Pennsylvania Representative Galusha A. Grow declared during the debate of the bill, "The best disposition... of the public domain is to... consecrate it forever in homes for freemen... secure in all their earning with which to develop the elements of a higher and better civilization."[453] President Lincoln signed the Homestead Act on May 20, 1862, and it became effective on January 1, 1863.[454] The Act granted 160 acres [of surveyed but unclaimed public land] to individuals who were the heads of households or 21 years of age. The method of transfer stipulated that individuals who had entered on a homestead were required to pay a few nominal fees to live on the land and cultivate it for five years, at which time title would transfer to them.[455]

Unfortunately, this blueprint for settlement did not work within the geographic realities of much of the West, particularly the Far West. Most territory beyond Missouri or Iowa was arid and required modern irrigation technology to farm.[456] Life as a family farmer west of the Mississippi was precarious and not necessarily profitable.[457] The Homestead Act was best suited for farms that resembled the idyllic 1868 Currier and Ives series of prints of the "American Homestead."[458] In the depiction of the homestead during spring (Figure 8.10), children are lounging on a manicured lawn outside of a quaint wooden house. Fat ewes with their lambs eat the lush grass, and the only reference to hard farm work is a distant vignette of a man at a plow behind two oxen. The scene is idyllic—and very far from reality. A series of photos taken of homesteaders in the early 1880s gives a better idea of what it was like to farm in the Far West during the nineteenth century.[459] In the 1886 picture of "Rural Life in Neb[raska]" (Figure 8.11), a family sits outside a rudimentary one-room house made of sod. The surrounding grasses seem sparse and unlike the richly forested scene in the Currier and Ives print; the only tree in sight is a small sapling apparently

[452] In fact, a similar bill was passed in 1860 but vetoed by President James Buchanan, a Democrat. Arrington, "Free Homes for Free Men," 192–93.

[453] Speech of Galusha Grow, February 21, 1862, *Congressional Globe, House of Representatives, 37th Congress, 2nd Session*, 909–10.

[454] Arrington, "Free Homes for Free Men," 223.

[455] Lisi Krall, *Proving Up: Domesticating Land in U.S. History* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2010), 42.

[456] Hine and Faragher, *The American West*, 330–61.

[457] Steinberg, *Down to Earth*, 133–35.

[458] The Library of Congress lists the date of this series of prints of a homestead across the seasons as 1868, http://www.loc.gov/resource/pga.05780/. However, Frederic A. Conningham, *Currier and Ives Prints: An Illustrated Checklist*, updated ed. (New York: Crown Publishers, 1983) lists the date of the series as 1869 (see 9–12).

[459] Information about the photos is available on the Library of Congress website, https://www.loc.gov/item/2005693382/.

planted by the family pictured. Much of the newly opened Western land was not suitable for farming. Instead, it was rich in minerals or perhaps better suited for producing timber. Mining and logging did not fit well into relatively small gridded plots; they were spatially extensive activities demanding itinerant labor that could follow strikes of ore and venture into unused forest.[460] The Homestead Act had little relevance for these industries.[461]



Figure 8.10: Butcher, Solomon D, photographer. *Rural life in Neb*. [1886] Image. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/2005693382.

Ignoring the geographic and economic realities of the West in the passing of the Homestead Act grew problematic within just a few years of the bill's enactment. Different Western legislators and representatives agitated for amendments to the act for their home states. Minnesota's legislature, for example, asked for exceptions to be made for new settlers in the state because "the emigrant arriving [in] the spring or early summer can raise no crops for the first year from the fact that prairie must be broken in the months of June and July."[462]

[460] Steinberg, *Down to Earth*, 116–33.
[461] Steinberg, *Down to Earth*, 234–73.
[462] "Resolution of the Legislature of Minnesota, asking an amendment to the Homestead Act," referred to the Committee on Public Lands, 42nd Congress, March 20, 1871. Similar documents were submitted by Kansas, California, and Nevada representatives.

The Territory of Colorado asked for homestead-like claims to be awarded for working mineral resources rather than cultivating crops. Its legislators asked Congress to consider "[t]he passage of an act granting titles to lodes or veins whenever sufficient improvement has been made to establish the fact of discovery in good faith."[463]

In response to these requests and with the support of geological survey reports, Congress created legislation recognizing the geographic challenges and heterogeneity of the West. Though the Homestead Act remained intact, legislators passed additional acts to deal with divergence from the original ideal; the Timber Culture Act (1873), the Timber and Stone Act (1878), and the Desert Land Act (1878) are notable examples.[464] In the early to mid-1860s, homesteading along the Jeffersonian model was the undisputed blueprint for developing the American West. By the early 1870s, however, the suitability of this model was in question and would soon be amended.

The Northern Pacific Railroad and the Homesteading Ideal

Railway development proceeded in tandem with the sweep of free homesteading along the frontier as Western communities grew. The idea for a northern transcontinental route running from the Great Lakes to Washington or Oregon Territory first emerged in the 1850s.[465] But political tumult prior to the Civil War made the construction of any transcontinental railroad impossible. In the 1860s, railroad technology profited from a wartime boom—track became more durable, rail gauges were standardized, and locomotives were made more efficient. Riding this wave of technological improvement and a surge of political impetus, construction of the first transcontinental railroad along a south-central route began in the early 1860s and was completed in 1869, when the Union Pacific and Central Pacific railroads were connected at Promontory Summit, Utah Territory.

With the focus on joining the Central Pacific to the Union Pacific, the previously proposed route from Minnesota to Washington Territory was almost forgotten. Two primary advocates of the northern rail route during the 1850s and 1860s were engineer Edwin Johnson and career railroad manager Thomas Canfield.[466] Johnson and Canfield published reports about the merits of the northern route and lobbied Congress to grant the land needed

[463] "Memorial of the Council and House of Representatives of Colorado Territory," referred to the Committee on Mines and Mining, 42nd Congress, February 20, 1872.

[464] For discussion of the Timber Culture Act, the Desert Land Act, and the role of survey information in informing legislation, see Paul W. Gates, *History of Public Land Development* (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1969), 399–434. For information about Timber and Stone Act and mining policies, see Benjamin Horace Hibbard, *A History of the Public Land Policies* (New York: Peter Smith, 1939), 496–501.

[465] Lubetkin, *Jay Cooke's Gamble*, 65–79.

[466] Lubetkin, *Jay Cooke's Gamble*, 15–17.

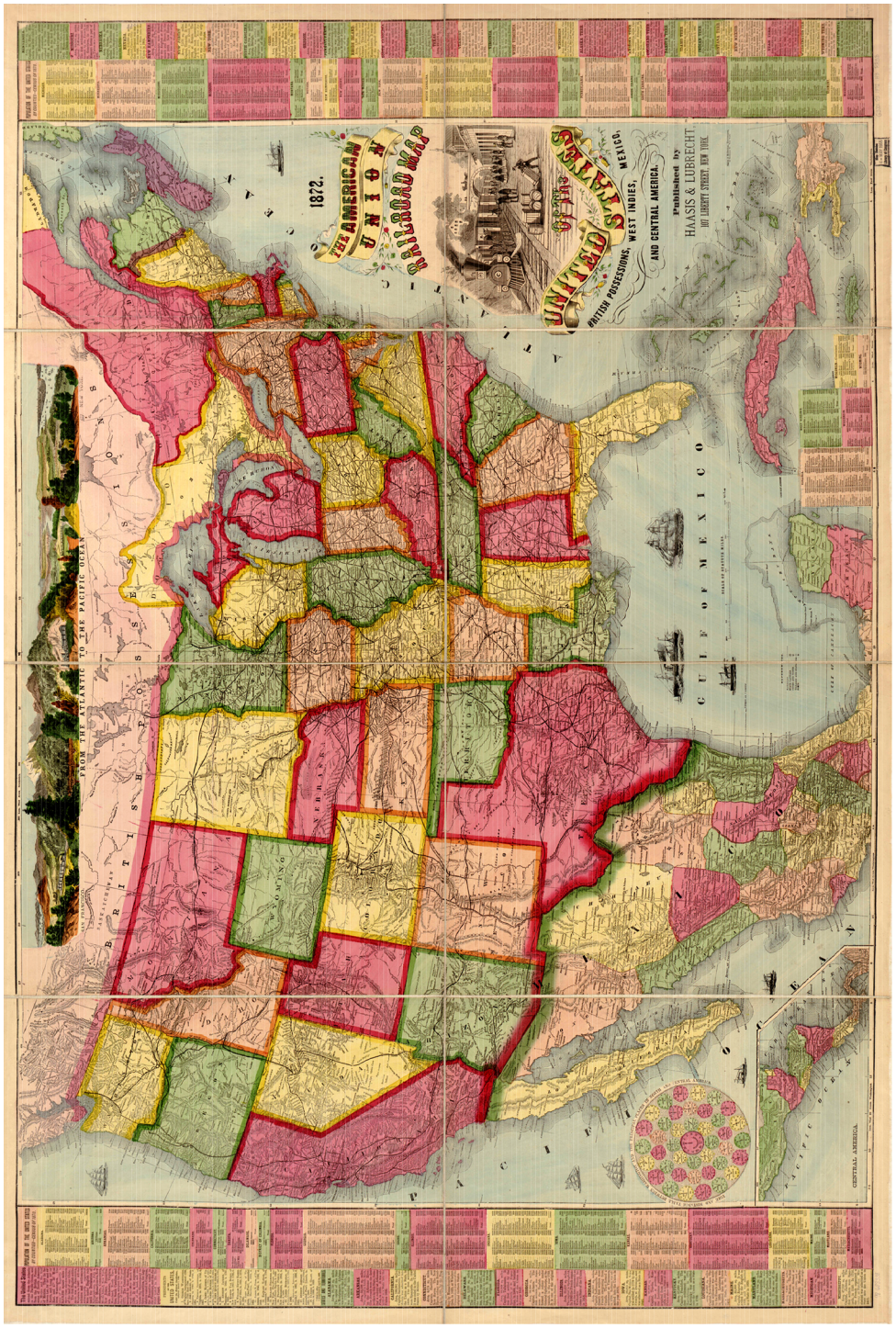


Figure 8.11: Haasis & Lubrecht. *The American Union railroad map of the United States, British possessions, West Indies, Mexico and Central America.* New York, 1872. Map. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/98688338.

to construct the railroad. Johnson's *Railroad to the Pacific, Northern Route, Its General Character, Relative Merits, etc.* (1854) begins with a warning that "It is very important that the best route or routes... should be selected, any error or mistake in this respect cannot, from the magnitude of the undertaking be easily remedied."[467] After this warning, the report discusses the economic merits of connecting Washington Territory to the Eastern seaboard via the northern Midwest. These include connections to large cities in East Asia via Pacific trade routes from the Puget Sound, providing access to "the copper region of Lake Superior," and abundant timber within the region of the "Great Bend of the Missouri."[468] Johnson then focuses on—or rather downplays—the physical challenges of construction of the Northern Pacific's proposed route, like altitude that would need to be gained and lost and the quality of ground on which the rail would be built.

Concluding the introduction to the report Johnson writes, "The population along and near to the located portion [in Illinois, Wisconsin and Minnesota] is already large, and is very rapidly increasing. Irrespective of the continuation to the Pacific, the importance of several lines... to accommodate the region lying West of the Great Lakes, is such as to place them in the very first class of main trunk Roads."[469] This statement is not an honest one. And its placement as the final statement of the introduction to the report perhaps indicates Johnson's recognition that the greatest obstacle to the Northern Pacific's proposal was demographics. According to the 1860 census, only 237,000 Americans lived along the proposed northern route, while almost 1.5 million people already lived along the central transcontinental rail line. Though the number living along the proposed northern route climbed to 593,000 by 1870, it was not until after 1880 that population levels along the northern rail line surpassed the 1860 population levels along the central line.[470] The elaborate and colorful "American Union Railroad Map of the United States" from 1872 (Figure 8.12) shows these two routes. The in-progress Northern Pacific is the thick black line running from the center of Minnesota across northern Dakota Territory, through Montana, and looping through Idaho and Washington. The Central Pacific is the black line dotted with dozens of named stations running from the Nebraska-Iowa border through southern Wyoming, northern Utah, Nevada and terminating in California (Figure 8.13). In its margins, the map hints at the population dynamics along these lines. Montana's largest city—then "Lewis & Clark," later Helena—had 5,041 residents. By comparison, in Nevada—along the recently completed Central Pacific Railroad—the largest city listed had

[467] Edward Ferry Johnson, *Railroad to the Pacific: Northern Route, Its General Character, Relative Merits, etc.*, 2nd ed. (New York: Railroad Journal Job Printing Office, 1854), iii, *Sabin Americana*, Gale, Cengage Learning.

[468] Johnson, *Railroad to the Pacific*, 5–10.

[469] Johnson, *Railroad to the Pacific*, 13.

[470] Lubetkin, *Jay Cooke's Gamble*, 32.

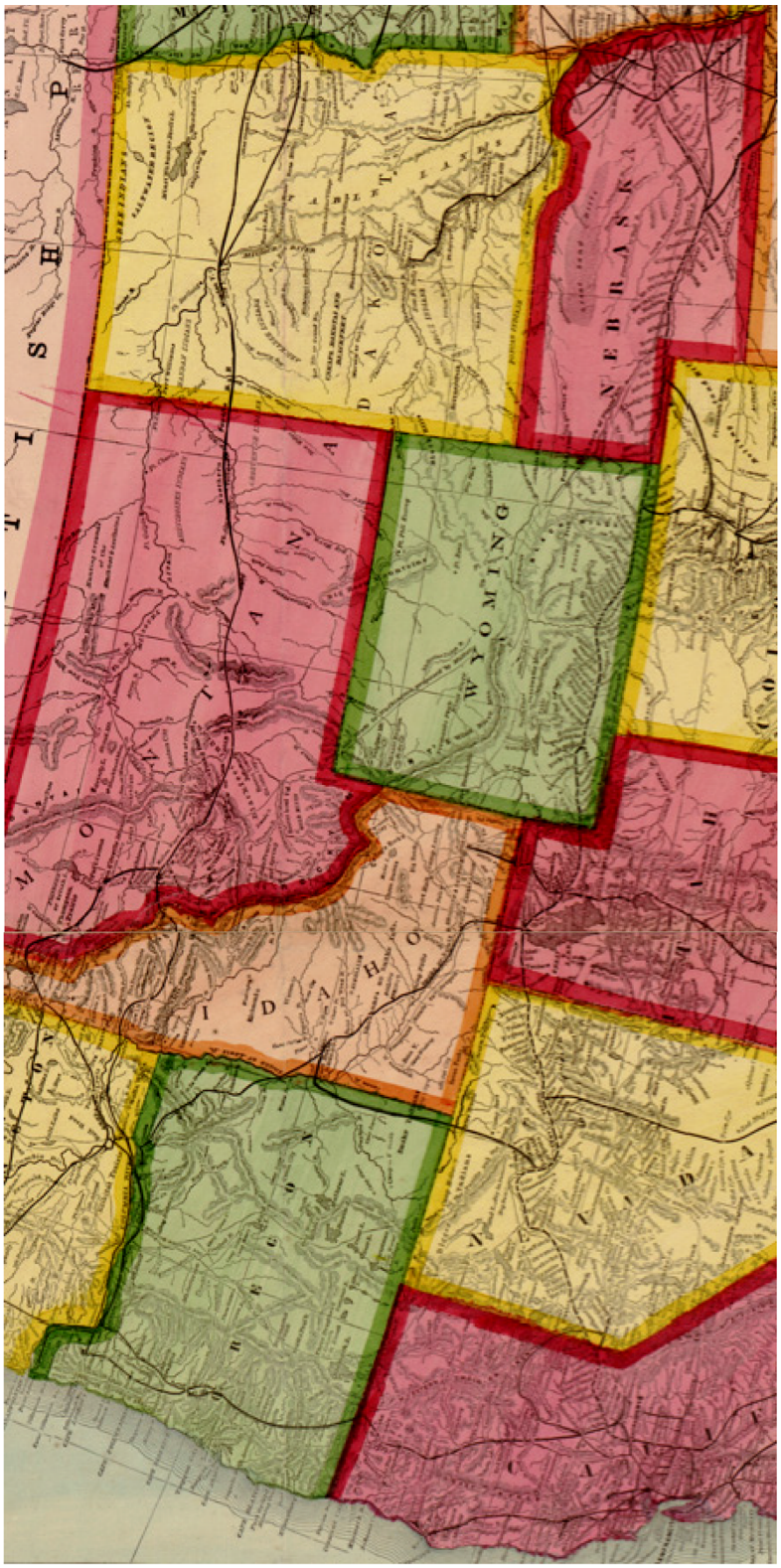


Figure 8.12: Detail, Haasis & Lubrecht. *The American Union Railroad Map of the United States, British possessions, West Indies, Mexico and Central America.* New York, 1872. Map. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/98688338.

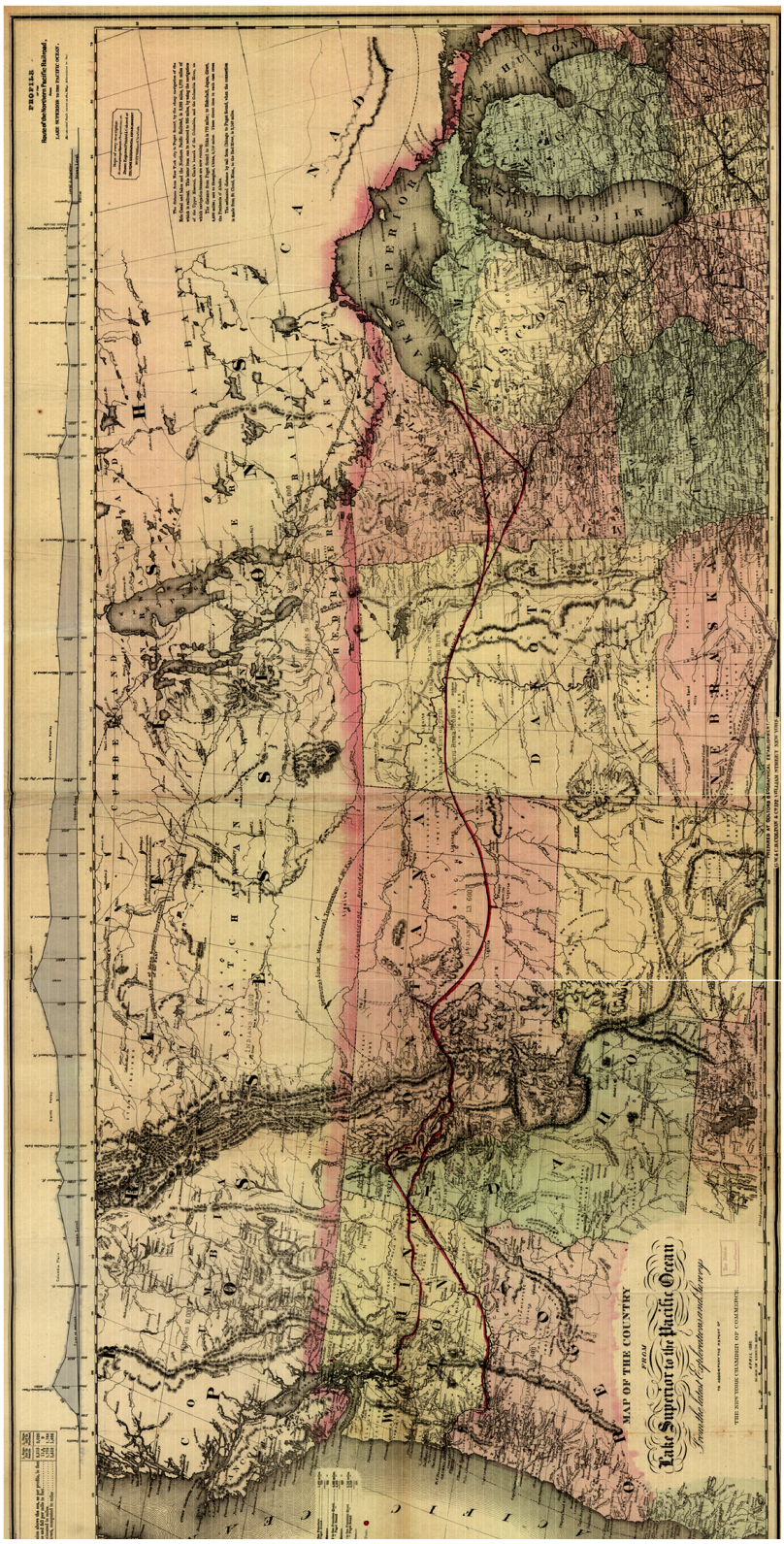


Figure 8.13: G. W. & C. B. Colton & Co. *Map of the Country from Lake Superior to the Pacific Ocean. From the Latest Explorations and Surveys to Accompany the Report of the New York Chamber of Commerce, April 1868.* [N.P, 1868] Map. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/98688438

more than 11,000 inhabitants; the new state had a total population more than double that of the geographically larger Montana Territory.

Why did the United States need a railroad through a no-man's land? Johnson and Canfield never successfully answered this question—and never had to. Gold was discovered in Montana Territory in 1862. After this find, Montana was expected to experience a post-gold-strike population boom. In anticipation of the boom, President Lincoln signed an act in July 1864 creating the Northern Pacific Railroad. The act provided no financial subsidies but endowed the railroad with roughly 50 million acres of land to develop and sell.[471] On the American Union Railroad map, the forthcoming NPRR is surrounded by names of barely populated locations in Montana suggesting mineral riches: Silver City, Silver Bowey, and the Beaver Head Valley Gold Mines.

While lobbying Congress for their charter, Johnson, Canfield, and their partners presented the future railroad to legislators as the "People's Pacific Railway."[472] They planned to fund the project by selling bonds to thousands of small-denomination purchasers, rather than to a small number of banking houses and speculators. The "People's Pacific Railway" pitch—when considered alongside frequent questions about whether there was a sufficient local population to make the NPRR viable—suggests that, from its inception, the Northern Pacific sought to connect with potential Western immigrants. The future success of the railroad was predicated on a future population boom and that population's sustained success in mining, farming, and other typically Western industries dependent on the railroad for access to major markets. In one 1866 appeal to Congress, ten Western senators and congressmen declared, "Much of... the Northwest is practically waste... for the want of such facilities for intercourse with, and transportation to, the commercial centres of the country... Lands now unprofitable, because inaccessible, will be peopled by millions by the building of this road, and the agricultural and pastoral wealth of the country will only be exceeded by the production of precious metals..."[473] From the outset, the NPRR was selling one dream and one promise: economically profitable Western settlement. An "if you build it, they shall come" approach was integral to the Northern Pacific's business plan. A map of the proposed route from 1868 (Figure 8.14) subtly reinforces this business plan with annotations about the resources on and in the land the NPRR would open for settlement. Close examination reveals notes such as "Lignite" (a type of coal) throughout the route and "Gold" in Western Montana, Idaho, and Washington territories.

[471] Lubetkin, *Jay Cooke's Gamble*, 32–33.

[472] Lubetkin, *Jay Cooke's Gamble*, 33.

[473] Alexander Ramsey, D. S. Norton, G. H. Williams et al., "An Appeal to Congress on Behalf of the Northwest in Connection with the Construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad and Telegraph" (Washington: Intelligencer Printing Establishment, 1866), 4.



Figure 8.14: Knight, E. H, and Northern Pacific Railroad Company. *Map of the Country Tributary to the Northern Pacific Railroad, Compiled from English, Canadian, and American Official Sources and Original Surveys by Edward H. Knight, Jan. 1st 1871.* [Northern Pacific, 1871] Map. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/98688747.

In the late 1860s the NPRR floundered. It was short of cash and poorly managed.[474] Despite new financial support from Congress, the railroad did not have the resources to start laying track and had barely begun the land surveying, a prerequisite for construction to start. It was at this stagnant point in NPRR history that the project attracted the attention of Jay Cooke. Cooke—the founder of Philadelphia bank Jay Cooke and Co.—made his fortune during the Civil War. Within roughly a month of the attack on Fort Sumter, he sold $3 million in Union bonds. In March 1862, the Secretary of the Treasury appointed Cooke "Subscription Agent for the National Loan," making him responsible for the sale of all US bonds. In 1863, he and his agents sold $511 million in bonds; in 1864, they sold $830 million worth. Historian John Lubetkin attributes Cooke's stunning achievement to business acumen: "With over 500,000 people purchasing bonds, Cooke's success came not just from advertising…or from his sales force, but rather his feel for the country's mood,

[474]Lubetkin, *Jay Cooke's Gamble*, 35.

public relations creativity and receptiveness to new sales ideas."[475] His methods for selling war bonds in small denominations to large numbers of people resembled the proposed plan for selling bonds to middle-class and working-class people to support Canfield and Johnson's "People's Pacific Railway."

Cooke emerged from the war a millionaire and at the height of his influence. He was personal friends with President Ulysses S. Grant and was almost appointed Secretary of the Treasury. Flush with cash and political connections, Cooke went searching for postwar investments, and in 1869 he found the struggling Northern Pacific Railroad. In the past, Cooke had successfully invested in transportation infrastructure, such as regional railroads and municipal trolleys. He was a fastidious businessman, a hands-on and risk-averse manager. He refused, for example, to invest Cooke and Co.'s funds in oil fields that were in the process of being developed, but would invest in a railroad leading to those fields once they proved productive.[476] Considering this precedent, his speculative investment in the NPRR is surprising. Before investing, though, Cooke took numerous precautions and sent a reconnaissance party to inspect the route in the summer of 1869. The group reported that the route was navigable and that the areas it led to—once mined, logged, or under cultivation—were capable of earning back the large amounts of capital needed to create the railway.[477] In the autumn of 1869, Cooke became the primary financial backer of the Northern Pacific Railroad.[478] The arrival of Cooke and Co.'s capital and management team dramatically accelerated construction. While Cooke and his staff were generally critical of existing NPRR management, they embraced the railroad's public image. Cooke's message was the same as the one that led Congress to create the railroad in 1864. The West was ripe for settlement and economic profit; all that was required for the region to recognize its potential was a transportation system linking it to the Northeastern marketplace.[479]

Cooke and the Northern Pacific were not, however, wedded to an exclusively agrarian vision of the West. NPRR publicity portrayed the Northwestern United States as a catchall Eden. A publication advertising the Northern Pacific captures the optimism: "this whole region may be characterized as one of great fertility and capable of immense production under cultivation... While the soil is so prolific, below it are minerals and metals in such abundance as to be a sufficient source of wealth to any people."[480] While Cooke was willing to invite any and all profitable development to lands opened by the NPRR, one aspect of

[475] Lubetkin, *Jay Cooke's Gamble*, 11.

[476] Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer, *Jay Cooke, Financier of the Civil War* (Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs, 1907), 2:81–82.

[477] Lubetkin, *Jay Cooke's Gamble*, 25.

[478] Oberholtzer, *Jay Cooke, Financier of the Civil War*, 2:157–60.

[479] Ramsey et al., "An Appeal to Congress on Behalf of the Northwest," 4.

[480] Lorin Blodget, "The Opening of the New Northwest" (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1857), reprinted in *New Englander*, July 1871, 367, American Periodicals Series Online.

the homesteading ideal was necessary: permanent settlement. Long-term income, stability, and success for the NPRR could only come from a settled population that sold and received goods and produce shipped by rail.[481]

Accordingly, Cooke and his aides expanded the publicity campaign for territory that would be accessed by their railroad. In 1871, a visitor to Cooke and Co.'s New York office described NPRR press secretary Samuel Wilkeson as "engaged ten to twelve hours a day…arranging materials for newspapers, circulars, pamphlets and books" extolling the value and fertility of the land along the Northern Pacific route.[482] An 1871 map (Figure 8.14) replaces the small notations in the 1868 map (see Figure 8.14) with large statements written across Montana and Washington territories: "the grazing perennial [sic] and unlimited all through this region" and "covered with Bunch Grass which is cured hay in summer and winter," respectively. The former notation referred to the Yellowstone Valley, one of the most common and exalted topics of these pamphlets and promotional materials.

The NPRR's land grant stretched from Duluth, Minnesota to the Puget Sound and was of varying value. Swampy Northern Minnesota was unfit for farming; lake areas could be cleared for timber, but only with great difficulty. However, moving into western Minnesota and North Dakota, the route entered the Red River Valley, which was well watered and perfect for farming.[483] Continuing westward, deep topsoil around the Red River gave way to the sandy and agriculturally useless badlands. The arid and non-arable environment continued for hundreds of miles until the Yellowstone River Valley. The Yellowstone River flows for 692 miles from present-day northwestern North Dakota, though eastern Montana and northwestern Wyoming. The US Geological Survey denotes the Yellowstone River Basin as an approximately 70,000 square mile area across these three states.[484] The Yellowstone region was considered to be just as fertile as the Red River Valley and home to valuable mineral and metal deposits—this was an essential economic opportunity for the NPRR. A railroad pamphlet from 1870 makes the case:

"Some valleys are beautiful. [The Yellowstone valley] *is grand.* It abounds in magnificent scenery, most excellent farm-sites and water-powers. The soil is very rich and fertile, timber very convenient, coal and iron cropping out in abundance at different points, and other evidence of rich deposits of copper [and] the surrounding mountains are full of

[481] Lubetkin, *Jay Cooke's Gamble*, 68.

[482] "Letters from Gotham," *Helena Daily Herald,* May 26, 1871, quoted in Lubetkin, *Jay Cooke's Gamble*, 19. For an extensive description of these marketing and advertising operations, see Sig Mickelson, *The Northern Pacific Railroad and the Selling of the West: A Nineteenth-Century Public Relations Venture* (Sioux Falls, SD: The Center for Western Studies, 1993).

[483] Lubetkin, *Jay Cooke's Gamble*, 145.

[484] Kirk Miller and Tom Quinn, "National Water Quality Assesment: Yelllowstone River Basin," United States Geological Service Fact Sheet 149–97 1997, http://pubs.usgs.gov/fs/FS-149-97/fs-149-97.pdf

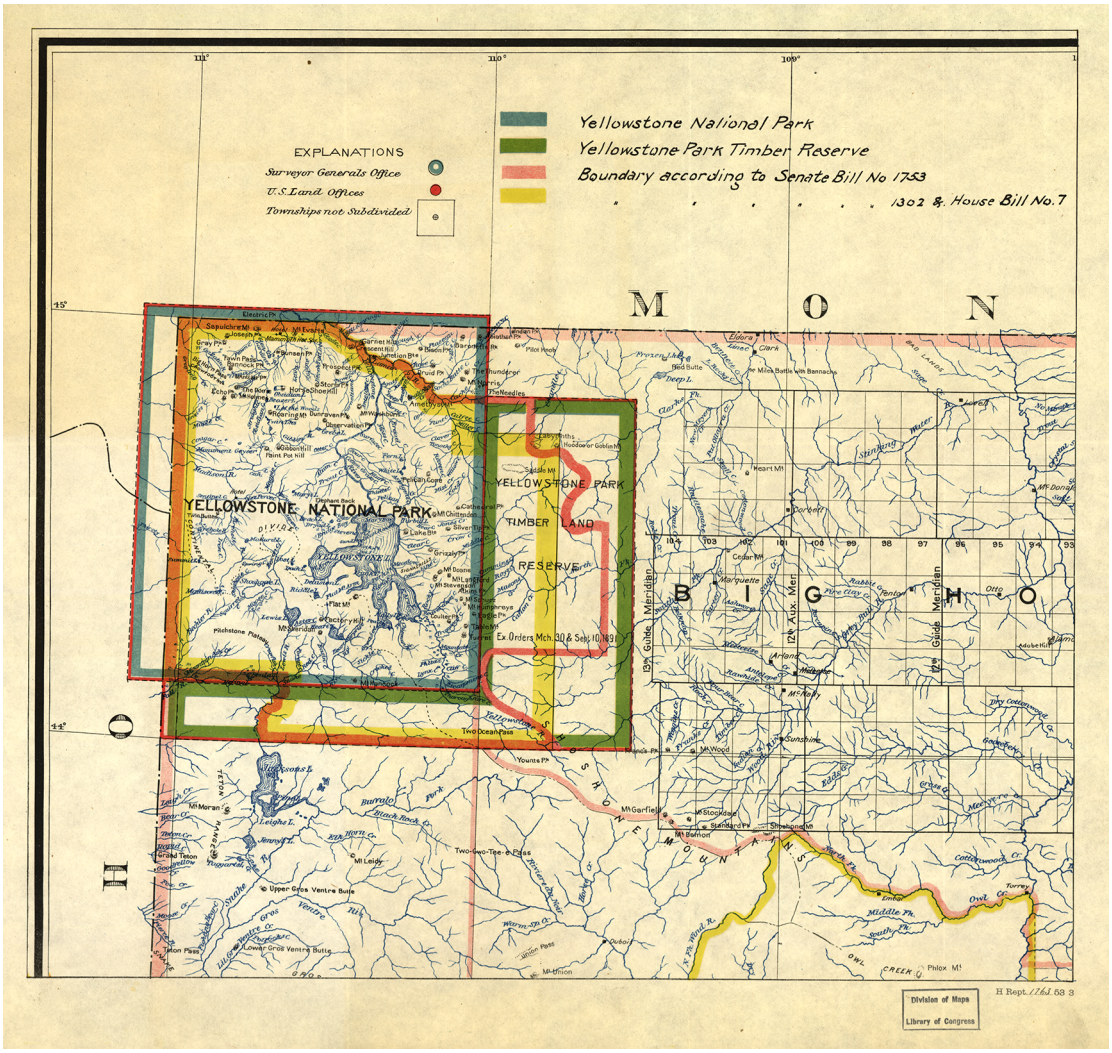
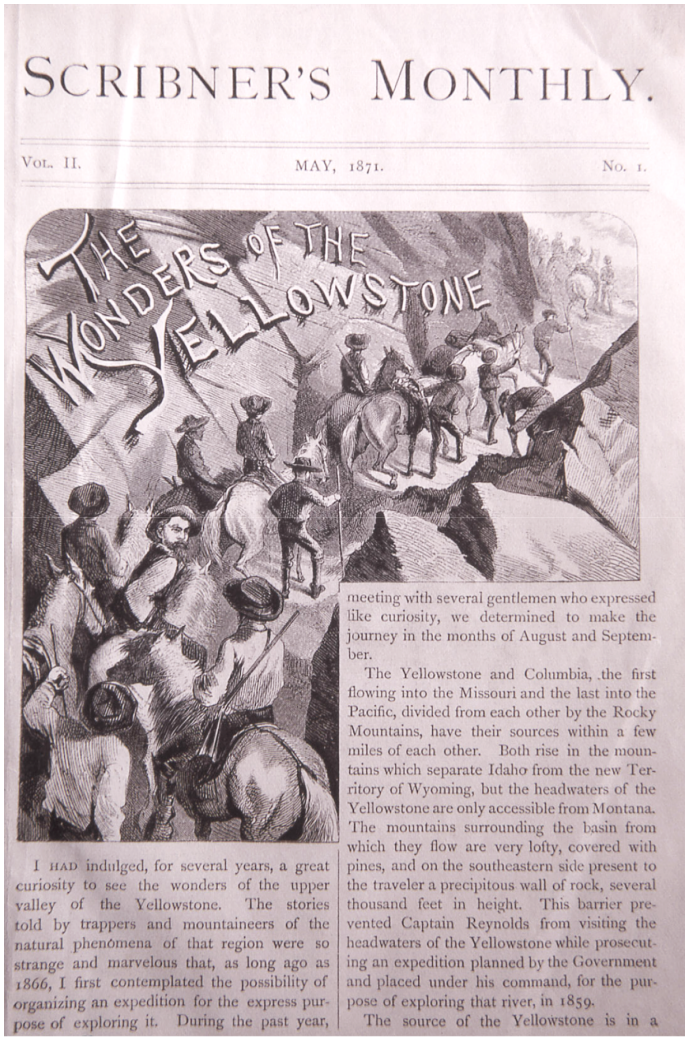


Figure 8.15: [*Yellowstone National Park boundaries*]. [S.l., 1895] Map. Retrieved from the Library of Congress, https://www.loc.gov/item/97683574.

gold and silver-bearing quartz."[485] The vision for the Yellowstone Valley was in lockstep with the vision for the rest of the land opened by the railroad—it was meant to be settled, worked, and perpetually serviced by the NPRR. In the center of this Eden, however, was a geographic anomaly: the approximately 3750-square-mile volcanic basin and plateau where Montana, Wyoming, and Idaho meet that would become Yellowstone National Park (Figure 8.16).[486]

[485] *The Northern Pacific Railroad's Land Grant and the Future of the Road*, March 11, 1870, quoted in Kinsey, *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West*, 69.

[486] National Park Service, "Park Facts—Yellowstone National Park," http://www.nps.gov/yell/planyourvisit/parkfacts.htm



SCRIBNER'S MONTHLY.

Vol. II. MAY, 1871. No. 1.

THE WONDERS OF THE YELLOWSTONE

I had indulged, for several years, a great curiosity to see the wonders of the upper valley of the Yellowstone. The stories told by trappers and mountaineers of the natural phenomena of that region were so strange and marvelous that, as long ago as 1866, I first contemplated the possibility of organizing an expedition for the express purpose of exploring it. During the past year, meeting with several gentlemen who expressed like curiosity, we determined to make the journey in the months of August and September.

The Yellowstone and Columbia, the first flowing into the Missouri and the last into the Pacific, divided from each other by the Rocky Mountains, have their sources within a few miles of each other. Both rise in the mountains which separate Idaho from the new Territory of Wyoming, but the headwaters of the Yellowstone are only accessible from Montana. The mountains surrounding the basin from which they flow are very lofty, covered with pines, and on the southeastern side present to the traveler a precipitous wall of rock, several thousand feet in height. This barrier prevented Captain Reynolds from visiting the headwaters of the Yellowstone while prosecuting an expedition planned by the Government and placed under his command, for the purpose of exploring that river, in 1859.

The source of the Yellowstone is in a

Figure 8.16: Thomas Moran, *Title Page for "The Wonders of the Yellowstone" by Nathaniel P. Langford, Scribner's Monthly* 2, no. 1 (May 1871).

Colter's Hell in the Heavenly Valley

Yellowstone National Park is a caldera, a large crater formed by a massive volcanic eruption. The area is, in fact, one of the most volcanically active sites in the world. It is home to approximately 10,000 thermal features, including 300–500 active geysers—about twice as many as the next largest geyser field in the world.[487] Yellowstone is unique, otherworldly, and explosive. Accordingly, the area's first Euro-American name was "Colter's Hell," in honor of a frontiersman who wandered through it around 1808.[488] Systematic

[487] Thermal Biology Institute, "Overview of Yellowstone Geologic History" (Bozeman: University of Montana, 2006), http://tbi.montana.edu/outreach/hotscience/materials/resources/YNP%20Geology.pdf.

[488] Marlene Deahl Merrill, introduction to *Yellowstone and the Great West: Journals, Letters and Images from the 1871 Hayden Expedition*, ed. Merrill (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999), 11.

exploration of the area began with the 1869–70 Washburn and Cook-Folsom-Peterson expeditions.[489]

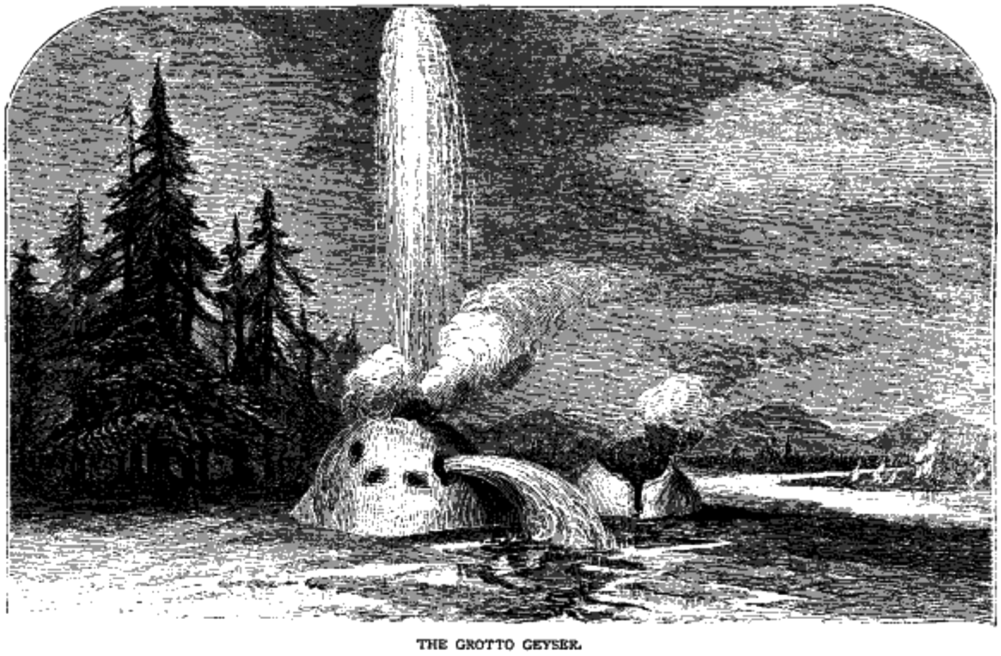


Figure 8.17: Thomas Moran, "The Grotto Geyser" for "The Wonders of the Yellowstone" by Nathaniel P. Langford, *Scribner's Monthly* 2, no. 1 (May 1871).

In the early 1870s, Washburn party member Nathaniel Langford became the most prominent reporter of the Colter's Hell phenomena. With financial and logistical support from Cooke, Langford—a Montana politician and booster—published and gave public accounts of his trip through the volcanic corner of the valley. He lectured both in Montana and in major East Coast cities.[490] He also wrote a two-part feature for *Scribner's Monthly* called "The Wonders of the Yellowstone" (Figure 8.17). In his lectures and articles, the Montana politician presented a wondrous but often hellish picture. An example is his description of the Grotto geyser (Figure 8.18): "So named from its singular crater of vitrified sinter, full of large, sinuous apertures. Through one of these... one of our company crawled to the discharging orifice... a few hours afterwards, he saw a volume of boiling water... shooting through it to the height of sixty feet, and a scalding stream of two hundred inches flowing from the aperture he had entered a short time before..."[491] Langford's writing is dramatic and meant to pique readers' curiosity and fascination with the bizarre. The overall impression created by "Wonders of the Yellowstone" is that the area is a fascinating but threatening place. In addition to the story about the potentially deadly geyser, the text of Langford's

[489] Lubetkin, *Jay Cooke's Gamble*, 76.
[490] Merrill, introduction to *Yellowstone and the Great West*, 10–13.
[491] Nathaniel P. Langford, "Wonders of the Yellowstone, Part II," *Scribner's Monthly*, June 1871, 113–28.

article dedicates several pages to the harrowing plight of Truman Everts, a party member lost in the Yellowstone area for thirty-seven days.[492]



Figure 8.18: Claude Lorrain, *Coast View with the Abduction of Europa*, c. 1645, Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

Yet Langford's characterization of the future park as a "remarkable region of natural wonders," rather than simply Colter's Hell, was a paradigmatic shift in the area's reputation.[493] Its threatening features were recast as components of a wonderland. Cooke sponsored and endorsed this transformation by supporting Langford's publicity work.[494] The public—and later lawmakers—actively consumed his articles and lectures.[495] And Langford, an important figure in Yellowstone history, became the first superintendent of the national park.

[492]Truman Everts, "Thirty-Seven Days of Peril," *Scribner's Monthly*, November 1871, American Periodicals Series Online.

[493]Langford, conclusion of eastern lectures on Yellowstone, quoted in Kinsey, *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West*, 71.

[494]Kinsey, *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West*, 71–72; Mark Daniel Barringer, *Selling Yellowstone: Capitalism and the Construction of Nature* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002), 13–15.

[495]Barringer, *Selling Yellowstone*, 13–15.

Langford concluded his "Wonders of the Yellowstone" article with an optimistic advertisement for the Northern Pacific: "By means of the Northern Pacific Railroad, which will doubtless be completed within the next three years, the traveler will be able to make the trip to Montana from the Atlantic seaboard in three days, and thousands of tourists will be attracted to both Montana and Wyoming in order to behold with their own eyes the wonders here described."[496] Despite that final prediction, Langford's characterization created a public-relations problem for the NPRR. His description of the volcanic southwesterly section of the Yellowstone Valley was anathema to the image of the valley created by the effusive Yellowstone-related NPRR propaganda aimed at settlers. In 1871 there were essentially two popular images of the valley: one to settle in and one to wonder at. The Northern Pacific was thus faced with a bifurcated vision of Yellowstone that needed to be reconciled. To resolve this paradox, the valley needed to be portrayed as a place that was simultaneously wondrous and livable—and the railroad wanted to hire Albert Biertstadt to create this image.[497]

Both Sublime and Beautiful: Bierstadt's Wild Pastorals

Though they have their origins in antiquity, the concepts of the sublime and the beautiful as they are presently understood can be traced to eighteenth-century enlightenment Britain—specifically to philosopher Edmund Burke's (1729–1797) *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757).[498] Roughly summarized, Burke defines beautiful things—primarily women in his discussion— as objects that "inspire us with sentiments of tenderness and affection towards their persons; we like to have them near us." Beautiful objects can be possessed and are pleasurable to behold.[499] This is in distinct contrast to the sublime, experiences and environments that provoke "passions which belong to self-preservation, turn on pain and danger. . . they are delightful when we have an idea of pain and danger, without being actually in such circumstances."[500]

Burke himself applied these concepts of the sublime and the beautiful to art, which he categorized as "imitation.", asserting that "painting and many other agreeable arts have

[496] Langford, "The Wonders of the Yellowstone, Part II," 113–28.

[497] Hayden likely influenced the decision to invite Gifford after Bierstadt declined—the artist had spent the summer of 1870 on a survey with Hayden and proved himself to be capable and friendly in the field. See Heidi Applegate, "A Traveler by Instinct," in Kevin J. Avery Franklin Kelly and Claire A. Conway, ed., *Hudson River Visions: The Landscapes of Sanford R. Gifford* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003), 67.

[498] Andrew Wilton, "The Sublime in the Old World and the New," in *The American Sublime: Landscape Painting in the United States 1820–1880*, ed. Andrew Wilton and Tim Barringer (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003), 11. It should be noted that Burke's aesthetic philosophy was formed as part of a dialogue with a number of other commentators, notably Joseph Addison.

[499] Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 37.

[500] Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry*, 43.

laid one of the principal foundations of [the sublime and the beautiful's] power."[501] Other scholars followed Burke's lead in applying the framework of sublimity and beauty to art. These include philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804). In his treatise on aesthetics and taste—*The Critique of the Power of Judgment* (1790)—he refined Burke's concept of the sublime by defining it as mental experience of a viewer or spectator forced to confront his or her own insignificance and insecurity in the face of the incomprehensible vastness of the world or universe. Kant believed this feeling could be evoked by natural phenomena and by art.[502] The terms sublime and beautiful have frequently been used to describe American landscape painting in reference to the aesthetic experiences defined by Burke and refined by Kant. Beautiful landscapes are the depiction of non-threatening natural scenes and of scenes easily comprehended—calm settled valleys, sunny hills—and the sublime are depictions of large incomprehensible natural phenomena, like enormous mountains, canyons, and arctic icebergs.[503] Often, images of sublime landscapes are large-format Great Pictures whose size evokes the scale of the scenes depicted.[504]

There is also a compromise position between the sublime and the beautiful: the picturesque. Developed by Reverend William Gilpin (1721–1804)—an aesthetic theorist, *en plein air* sketching advocate, and avid fan of the landscape painter Claude Lorrain (1600–1682; Figure 8.19)—the picturesque was an aesthetic that balanced the implied vastness of distant mountains and incomprehensibly old crumbling ruins with beautiful calm bodies of water or sunny fields. Albert Bierstadt's art from the 1860s conforms closely to the picturesque; it balances the sublime and the beautiful. This compromise aesthetic suited the needs of the NPRR, which needed to portray its lands as both spectacular and habitable.

Albert Bierstadt's *The Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak* (1863; Figure 8.20) is the artist's most famous painting and is considered a Great Picture.[505] It received generally favorable critical reviews and was a massive commercial success after its debut. In *Lander's Peak*, Bierstadt presents the viewer with a rich and varied picturesque Western landscape. A lush field populated by Native Americans engaged in quotidian activities dominates the foreground. Behind the field is a pristine lake disturbed only by a luminous waterfall colliding with its own mirror image when it hits the surface. This interface between waterfall and

[501] Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry*, 42.

[502] Immanuel Kant, *The Critique of the Power of Judgment*, trans. Eric Matthews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[503] The application of this framework can be found in the earliest studies of American landscape painting, such as Novak's *Nature and Culture.* Notable recent applications include Wilton and Barringer, *American Sublime*, and Jennifer Raab, *Frederic Church: The Art and Science of Detail* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015).

[504] Wilton, "The Sublime in the Old World and the New," 28–30.

[505] Linda Ferber, "Albert Bierstadt: The History of a Reputation," in *Albert Bierstadt: Art and Enterprise*, ed. Nancy Anderson and Linda Ferber (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1991), 21–68.



Figure 8.19: Albert Bierstadt, *The Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak*, oil on canvas, 73 1/2 × 120 3/4 in., 1863, Metropolitan Museum of Art

lake—between reality and reflection—serves as a transition point between environments in the painting. In front of the waterfall is a habitable oasis that glows green, yellow, red, and brown; above the waterfall is wilderness, and the palette shifts to cooler blues, whites, and purples. The colder palette simultaneously denotes distance from the viewer and indicates that the background of the painting is forbidding.

Bierstadt presents his viewer with an enticing western Eden that is welcoming and insulated—rather than threatened—by the surrounding mountain chain. The large group of Native Americans in the foreground further emphasizes the habitability of this oasis in the mountains. In the lower right-hand corner of the canvas, a group is gathered around a dead bear and half-a-dozen dead deer or mountain goats; this place is full of game ready to be hunted. With their teepees pitched, these nomadic people show no signs of leaving anytime soon. If the natives can recognize the value of living in this place, should not the Euro-Americans standing in front of the painting recognize it as well? As the *memento mori* in the center of the foreground indicates, white settlers can easily displace and replace the Native Americans in this scene.

Bierstadt's painting figuratively issued an invitation to migrate. The pamphlet accompanying the canvas concluded, "on the plain [in the painting's foreground]. . . our descendants may rise."[506] Typical of critical reactions to *Lander's Peak*, the review of the painting in

[506] Ferber, "Albert Bierstadt," 25.



Figure 8.20: Looking Down Yosemite Valley, California. Albert Bierstadt, 1865. Oil on canvas. 64 1/2 × 96 1/2 inches. Gift of the Birmingham Public Library, 1991.879.

Harper's Weekly stated: "It is a purely American scene... It is the curtained continent with its sublime natural forms and its rude savage human life... [yet] this work of Bierstadt's inspires... cheerfulness and promise of the region it depicts and the imagination contemplates it as the possible seat of supreme civilization."[507] Debuting within one year of the passage of the Homestead Act, Bierstadt's image of a landscape that was simultaneously wild and pastoral—and that conformed to a picturesque ideal—coincided with the passage of legislation that sought to tame the wild frontier with a grid and flood of yeoman farmers.[508]

In the summer of 1863—as *Lander's Peak* toured the United States—Bierstadt traveled to California's Yosemite Valley.[509] Upon his return, Bierstadt began to produce paintings of the valley, including several Great Pictures. *Looking Down Yosemite Valley, California* (1865; Figure 8.21) and *The Domes of the Yosemite* (1867) were heavily publicized and attracted attention to Yosemite and its status as a natural wonder.[510]

[507] Review in *Harper's Weekly*, quoted in Nancy Anderson, "'Wondrously Full of Invention,' The Western Landscapes of Albert Bierstadt," in Anderson and Ferber, *Albert Bierstadt*, 75.

[508] Kate Nearpass Ogden, "California as Kingdom Come," in *Yosemite: Art of an American Icon*, ed. Amy Scott (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 24.

[509] Ogden, "California as Kingdom Come," 28.

[510] Ferber, "Albert Bierstadt: The History of a Reputation."



Figure 8.21: Sanford Robinson Gifford, *A Home in the Wilderness*, oil on canvas, 1866, 76.80 × 135.70 cm (30 3/16 × 53 3/8 inches), Cleveland Museum of Art.

Bierstadt's paintings also benefitted California generally as well as the Central Pacific Railroad (CPRR), which soon connected it to the rest of the continent. One way Bierstadt did this is by helping to transform Yosemite into a tourist destination.[511] In 1864 the growing tourist interest in Yosemite was federally recognized and encouraged when President Lincoln ordered California to protect the area as a state park. Second, Bierstadt's paintings not only popularized Yosemite, but also propagated California's reputation as a western Eden. One review of *Looking Down Yosemite Valley* declared, "It looks as if it were painted in an Eldorado, in a distant land of gold. . . dreamed of but never seen. Yet it is real."[512] Not just Yosemite, but California in general was a distant land of gold. "If California was 'a second Canaan for the impoverished and oppressed,' then Yosemite Valley was the symbolic heart of the new Promised Land."[513] Bierstadt's "simultaneously wild and pastoral" portrayal of Yosemite not only beckoned tourists, but also migrants who would

[511] See, for example, Peter J. Blodgett, "Visiting 'The Realm of Wonder': Yosemite and the Business of Tourism, 1855–1916," *California History* 69, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 118–33; Angela Miller, "Albert Bierstadt, Landscape Aesthetics, and the Meanings of the West in the Civil War Era," *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 27, no. 1 (2001): 40–59. One reporter describing the route of the new railroad-controlled carriages remarked, "this line passes over the Mariposa Road, which runs through some of the most enchanting views of the valley, including that of Inspiration Point, rendered world-renowned by the pencil of Bierstadt." In the late 1860s and early 1870s, a flourishing tourism industry developed around the valley. Journalist Ambrose Bierce grumbled that Bierstadt's paintings "incited more unpleasant people to visit California than all our conspiring hotel keepers could compel to return." See Anderson, "'Wondrously Full of Invention'," 95–98.

[512] Anderson, "Wondrously Full of Invention," 97.

[513] Ogden, "California as Kingdom Come," 23–31.

drive and participate in California's economy, which was sagging in the period between the slowing mining profits of the mid-1850s and the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869.[514] This dual-purpose image suited the in-progress California railroad, which maintained a position that "if California's farms could be secured with parks, which themselves would attract thousands of tourists, the railroad was not about to slight either benefit and in fact vigorously campaigned for both."[515]

The CPRR—along with its subsidiaries, most notably the Southern Pacific Railroad—aggressively promoted agricultural settlement in the land it controlled and opened for development. Yet the same men who promoted agriculture on the railroad's land were also champions of the preservation of Yosemite and its transformation into a tourist attraction. Cooke perhaps hoped that images of the Yellowstone Valley could serve the same dual purpose that Bierstadt's paintings had for Yosemite and California. Not only would Montana gain a tourist attraction, but the region could also be depicted as, according to one scholar, the next "Canaan for the impoverished and oppressed," with its geological wonders serving as the symbolic heart of a new promised land.[516]

The Hayden Survey: Choosing an Artist, Choosing an Image

In the spring of 1871, Cooke—with the help of NPRR public relations chief A. B. Nettleton—searched for an artist to accompany geologist Ferdinand Vanderveer Hayden, the head of the US Geological and Geographical Surveys of Territories, on his government-sponsored survey of Colter's Hell.[517] Though a respected geologist interested in scientific discovery, Hayden believed that publicly funded expeditions should serve the American people. Consequently, his survey reports addressed areas' suitability for farming, mining, and other development—their potential profitability for Americans migrating West.[518] He was an ideal ally for the NPRR, and by leading the survey he benefited from the enterprise's informal patronage.

Hayden was never officially employed by the railroad, but an exchange of favors occurred. The NPRR—and Cooke's extensive political contacts—helped Hayden lobby for a

[514]Ogden, "California as Kingdom Come," 24; Richard B. Rice, William Bullough, Richard Orsi, Mary Ann Irwin, *The Elusive Eden: A New History of California*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996).

[515]Quote from Alfred Runte, National Parks: The American Experience, 4th ed. (Lanham, MD: Taylor Trade Publishing, 2010), 53; further discussion of this issue in Orisi, Sunset Limited, locations 793–806, 4846Ů49, Kindle. Runte discusses dual sponsorship of tourism and agricultural development in the course of a discussion of the "worthlessness thesis"—that protected land was commercially useless for other forms of development.

[516]Ogden, "California as Kingdom Come," 23–31.

[517]Merrill, introduction to *Yellowstone and the Great West*, 16–17. The US Geological and Geographical Surveys of Territories was the predecessor to the US Geological Survey, established in 1879.

[518]Marlese Deahl Merrill, introduction to *Seeing Yellowstone in 1871: Earliest Descriptions and Images from the Field*, ed. Merrill (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 2005), 4–11.

$40,000 federal grant to survey Colter's Hell, an area he had been fascinated with for nearly twenty years.[519] In exchange, Hayden lent his credibility and reputation as a trusted scientist to the NPRR's various causes and booster campaigns. He did this both in the popular press and in Washington, DC., where he was well connected and well liked.[520] This casually defined favor-based relationship was typical of agreements that Cooke formed with associates who were potential allies of the railroad, but who did not need to be—or, for public relations reasons, should not be—its employees.[521]

Although NPRR executives were not noted art collectors or connoisseurs, Cooke and Nettleton's contact with art through their immediate families suggests that each man had exposure to judging art and its effects on an audience. A. B. Nettleton's eldest daughter Caroline (1863–1950) was a portrait, figure, and landscape painter.[522] Though Caroline was not yet an artist when Nettleton was considering which painter to send west with Hayden, the fact that her family supported her artistic ambitions and later career is indicative that the Nettleton household was not devoid of artistic sensibilities and sympathies. Jay Cooke's father, Eleutheros Cooke (1787–1864), was a supporter of the fine arts. He was a founding director and later president of the Cosmopolitan Art and Literary Association, established in Sandusky, OH and New York City in 1854.[523]

The NPRR's first choice to accompany Hayden was Bierstadt, but other commitments prevented the painter from joining.[524] Sanford Gifford (1823–80) was the second choice.[525] Gifford also declined. Moran was Cooke and Nettleton's third choice. Determining how

[519]Hayden had a long-standing interest in the Yellowstone Valley, specifically in its seismically active areas. His fascination began when he met frontiersman Jim Bridger on a Montana survey in 1856. Bridger had previously explored the area and liked to tell "wonderful tales" about what he had seen. Hayden was also a member of the Raynolds expedition (1860), the first organized—but ultimately weather-thwarted—attempt to explore Yellowstone. See Merrill, introduction to *Seeing Yellowstone in 1871*. In the 1860s–80s, large geological surveys moved across the Western United States every summer. These were ambitious projects, and their leaders—Hayden, Clarence King, John Wesley Powell, and others—often competed for money and notoriety. Hayden's alliance with the NPRR had the potential to give him an advantage in accomplishing his survey goals and in this ongoing competition. See Kinsey, *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West*, 1–2; Hine and Farragher, *The American West*, ch. 9–10.

[520]Kinsey, *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West*, 43–67.

[521]Thurman Wilkins, *Thomas Moran: Artist of the Mountains* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 80.

[522]Mary Sayre Haverstock, Jeannette Mahoney Vance, and Brian L. Meggitt, comp. and ed., *Artists in Ohio, 1787–1900: A Bio- graphical Dictionary* (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2000), 633.

[523]In its inaugural catalog, the Association declared that its primary mission was "to encourage and popularize the Fine Arts…throughout the country." The "Gallery of Art [was] located at Sandusky" and featured a "splendid collection of Statuary and Paintings." See *The Cosmopolitan Art Association Illustrated Catalogue, 1854: For the Encouragement and General Diffusion of Literature and Art…* (New York: W. H. Tidson, stereotyper, John A. Gray, printer, 1854).

[524]Wilkins, *Thomas Moran*, 80.

[525]Hayden likely influenced the decision to invite Gifford after Bierstadt declined—the artist had spent the summer of 1870 on a survey with Hayden and had proved himself to be capable and friendly in the field. See Applegate, "A Traveler by Instinct," 67.

and why Moran got the job requires consideration of the work of the two artists selected ahead of him. Formal analysis and comparison of Bierstadt's and Gifford's contemporary works sheds light on the railroad executives' possible selection process and criteria. This simulation demonstrates that NPRR managers were looking for a particular idealized image to become Yellowstone's public face: an image of habitable wilderness that one could simultaneously marvel at, live in, and profit from.[526]

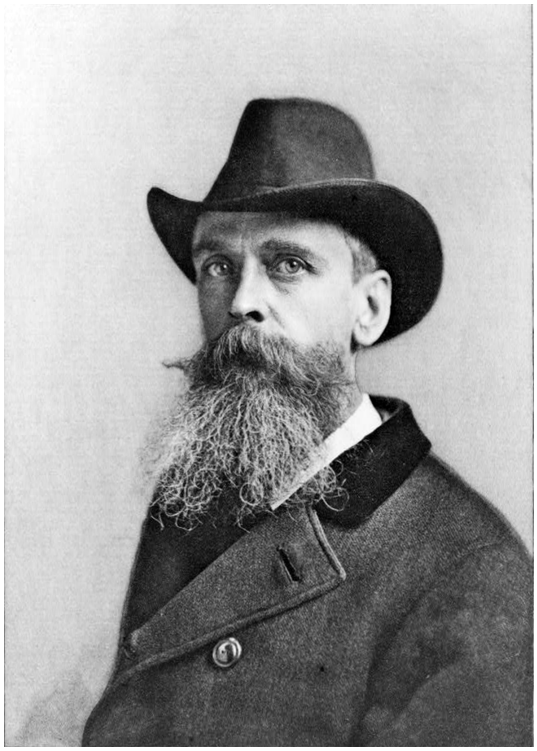


Figure 8.22: Napoleon Sarony, Thomas Moran, ca. 1895, Adoc-photos/Art Resource, NY

Bierstadt's particular expertise at reconciling these images of settlement and wondrous wilderness was demonstrated by *Lander's Peak* and his Yosemite work. That Gifford was second choice behind Bierstadt corroborates the railroad's intention to sponsor images of Yellowstone as an inviting wilderness. Most of Gifford's American landscapes are Eastern mountain scenes lit by permeating warm and hazy sunlight. *A Home in the Wilderness* (1866; Figure 8.22)—a subject Gifford painted multiple times—is typical of his work.

[526]With respect to Bierstadt and Gifford, I chose which canvases to subject to formal analysis by selecting well-known works featuring American subjects; I tried to select works that are representative of the artists' larger bodies of work. With respect to Moran, it is known that Cooke and Nettleton saw and liked his illustrations for the "Wonders of the Yellowstone" articles. It is, however, difficult to know what other Moran work the two men saw. Therefore, the pre-1871 canvas that I chose was—according to the artist's own notes, secondary sources, and provenance research—exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in the late 1860s and was a critical success. As they were wealthy and socially prominent Philadelphians, it is likely that Cooke and Nettleton would have visited the Academy.

Showing a mountain lake in autumn, warm reds, yellows, and pinks dominate the palette of the painting. Like Bierstadt in *Lander's Peak*, Gifford presents a tranquil body of water that reflects the surrounding scenery and denotes the central horizontal axis of the painting. Pointed mountains surround Gifford's lake, but lollipop-like trees and a warm purple- and pink-hued light smooth their crags. A small cabin bathed in a golden glow is placed between the lake, trees, and mountains. While the cabin is dwarfed by its surroundings, it is not overwhelmed, but rather embraced by them.

Gifford had a reputation for rendering landscapes intoxicatingly scenic and infusing them with warmth. One of the most descriptive contemporary reviews of Gifford's oeuvre compared the artist's paintings to the world described in *The Lotus Eaters* by Alfred, Lord Tennyson. The critic quoted: "A land of streams! Some like a downward smoke,/Slow-dropping veils of thinnest lawn, did go;/And some through wavering lights and shadows broke;/Rolling a slumberous sheet of foam below."[527] Gifford, like Bierstadt, presented images of inviting and habitable wilderness. The railroad could not, however, hire either painter. Just weeks before Hayden's departure, the NPRR managers still had not found an artist to accompany the survey. They eventually selected Moran, sent him West and, in the words of Nettleton, hoped he would "surpass Bierstadt's Yosemite".

Thomas Moran (Figure 8.23) was born in Bolton, England, in 1837 and immigrated with his family to the Philadelphia area in 1844.[528] Moran became an apprentice to a wood engraver at the age of 15 and in 1856 became the informal student of marine painter James Hamilton (1819–78). Hamilton extolled the virtues of British painter J. M. W. Turner (1775–1851), valorized travel and sketching in the field, and subscribed to Ruskinite principles of truth to nature.[529] Moran took only one trip to the wilderness before his 1871 trip to Yellowstone—an 1860 expedition to the Pictured Rocks of Lake Superior. He spent the month of August sketching and rowing in a canoe during the day and camping on the shores of the lake at night. The challenging trip was productive; *The Wilds of Lake Superior* (1864) was one of Moran's largest and most successful paintings prior to 1872.[530]

Thomas Moran's oeuvre prior to 1871 shows no tendency by the young artist to create a wild pastoral—a picturesque scene—à la Bierstadt. Instead, his work conformed more closely to the concept of the sublime. The central element of *The Wilds of Lake Superior* (Figure 8.24) is water rushing towards the viewer and falling off the bottom edge of the canvas. Steep cliffs bound the water on the left side and in the distance. Though the land

[527] Quoted in Franklin Kelly, "Nature Distilled: Gifford's Vision of Landscape", in *Hudson River Visions*, 14.

[528] Wilkins, *Thomas Moran*, 9.

[529] Thomas Moran, "Autobiography of Thomas Moran," ca. 1890, Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Gardiner, MT.

[530] Wilkins, *Thomas Moran*, 29–34.



Figure 8.23: Thomas Moran, *The Wilds of Lake Superior*, Oil On Canvas, 30 1/8 × 45 1/8 in, New Britain Museum of American Art

shown in the right side of the painting is flat, it is populated with a stump, a bare tree, and what appears to be dying grass. The sky is tumultuous and shows either an approaching or a departing storm. The landscape is treacherous and unpredictable—it is sublime.*Children of the Mountain* (1866; Figure 8.25), another of Moran's most successful early paintings, is also no picture of happy fields or cozy mountain homes.[531] The vertically oriented canvas features a sort of staircase of gray and slick-looking boulders that form a steep and uneven diagonal. A rushing whitewater stream further accentuates the precarious line of rocks, and turbulent multicolored clouds dominate the center of the canvas. The scene does not present nature as a warm and welcoming place. Why—despite Moran's demonstrated aesthetic interest in sublime, tumultuous nature—did Cooke and Nettleton send the young artist west?

The first answer to this question is practical. Moran was recruited when Hayden was already in Utah.[532] Presumably, as the survey neared, the railroad managers had to relax their criteria for which artist they hired. Moran was well-respected in Philadelphia—where the main Jay Cooke and Co. office was located—and was ready, willing, and able to go to Montana for a low price.

[531] Anderson, *Thomas Moran*, 43.
[532] Wilkins, *Thomas Moran*, 80–81.



Figure 8.24: Thomas Moran, *Children of the Mountain*, 1867, oil on canvas, The Anschutz Collection.

Another reason is that, in addition to his rising reputation as a painter, Moran already had experience illustrating Yellowstone. In the mid-1860s, Moran became a commercial illustrator. Having avoided conscription into the Union Army, he took on reliable and lucrative work illustrating poetry books and articles for *Harper's New Monthly Magazine.* Within a decade, he was one of the most respected and sought-after landscape illustrators.[533] He also displayed paintings at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and sold them in galleries around Philadelphia. The American fine art submission to the 1867 *Exposition Universelle* in Paris included two of his works. Though he continued his commercial

[533] Ibid., 50.

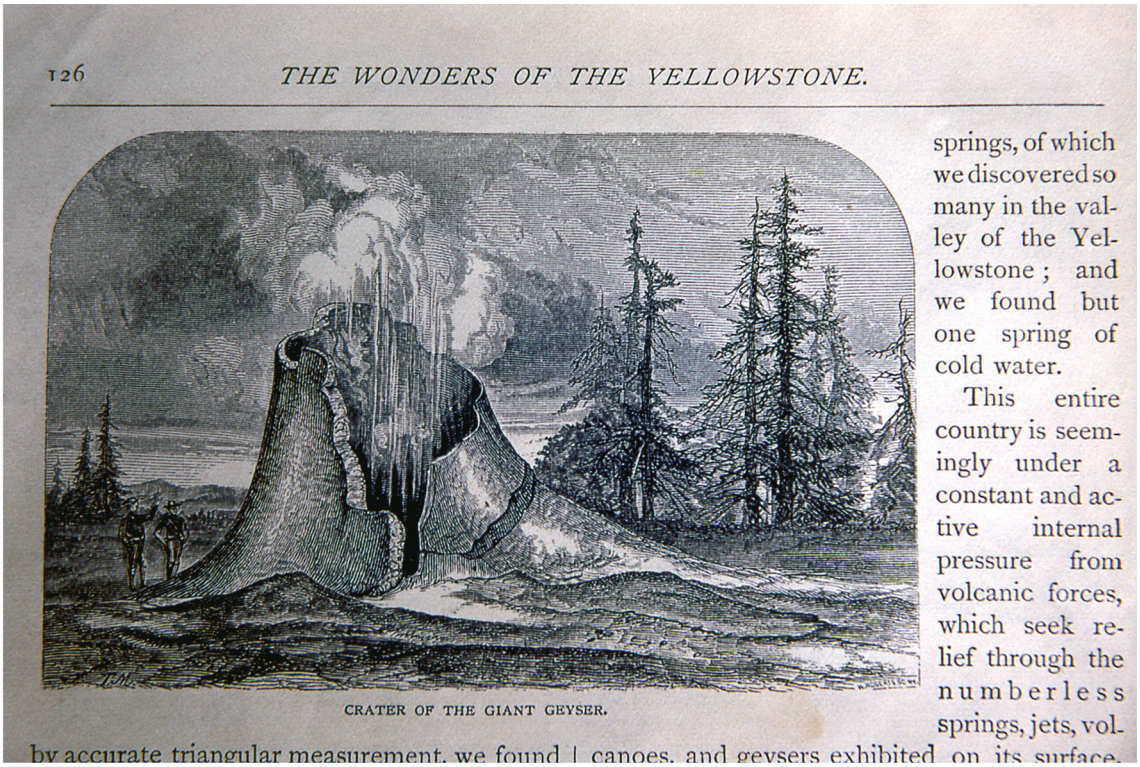


Figure 8.25: Thomas Moran, *"Crater of the Giant Geyser,"* from "The Wonders of the Yellowstone" by Nathaniel P. Langford, *Scribner's Monthly*, 2, no. 1, May 1871

work, inclusion in the *Éxposition* boosted Moran's career and reputation as a fine artist.[534] In 1869, *The Spirit of the Indian*, a large canvas depicting a scene from Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's *Hiawatha*, won a prize at the National Academy of Design in New York.[535] Moran was young artist on the rise in December 1870 when his friend Richard Watson Gilder, poet and editor-in-chief of *Scribner's Monthly*, asked him to provide fourteen illustrations for Langford's "The Wonders of the Yellowstone."

The tone of these illustrations also suggests an aesthetic reason that Cooke and Nettleton selected Moran. Before sponsoring him, the NPRR men presumably discussed the relative merits of his work. This discussion may have included a conversation about his illustrations for Langford's "The Wonders of the Yellowstone" (see Figure 8.17 and 8.18).[536] Even though the focus of the article was the valley's geologically bizarre and dangerous features, Moran's illustrations—based on Langford's rough recollections and field sketches by a member of the party—strike a balance between adventure and approachability. There were pictures of men gathering specimens from geysers, mischievous fat ponies, majestic

[534]Leading American art critic Henry T. Tuckerman praised *The Children of the Mountain* and even included the work in his *Book of the Artists*, an 1867 who's who of American painters and sculptors. Wilkins, *Thomas Moran*, 66–67.

[535]Wilkins, *Thomas Moran*, 66–67.

[536]Kinsey, *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West*, 70–71.



Figure 8.26: William Henry Jackson, 'Grand Canon of the Yellowstone,' 1872, Royal Photographic Society, London, Great Britain, Photo credit: SSPL/National Media Museum / Art Resource, NY

waterfalls, and members of the party falling asleep on nighttime watch. The tone of Langford's article is one of awe and risky adventure, but in Moran's pictures, the sights are not overwhelming. The phenomena are weird and otherworldly, but the men in the pictures stand right next to them (Figure 8.26).[537] While Moran did not create images of habitable wilderness, in the illustrations he portrays it as approachable. Running out of time to send an artist with Hayden at all, this hint of an ability to transform Colter's Hell into something entertaining and not totally resistant to human existence may have supported Moran's selection for the job.

As in its relationships with Hayden and Langford, the NPRR became Moran's informal patron in exchange for partial financial support and the expectation of mutual benefit. In

[537]Langford, "The Wonders of the Yellowstone, Part 1 and Part 2," *Scribner's Monthly* (May–June 1871).

the same letter to Hayden where Nettleton expressed his hope that Moran would "surpass Bierstadt's Yosemite," the press secretary explained that Moran "expects to pay his own expenses and simply wishes to take advantage of [the] cavalry escort for protection. . . [and] have six square feet in some tent." Nettleton then notes that accepting Moran as the artist-in-residence on the survey would "be a great accommodation to our house [Cooke and Co.] and the road [the NPRR]."[538]

The railroad dealt with Moran, Hayden, and other beneficiaries of the railroad's patronage by creating a clear, if informal, expectation of *quid pro quo*. Moran granted both the NPRR and *Scribner's Monthly* a stake in his Yellowstone work in exchange for money to go west. He borrowed half of the $1,000 needed to travel from *Scribner's* publisher Roswell Smith and half from Jay Cooke. Moran gave Smith *Children of the Mountain* (see fig. 24) as collateral and planned to provide *Scribner's* with illustrations of Yellowstone after his return. The specifics of the agreement between Moran and Cooke are unknown.[539] But it is clear that the financier commissioned at least sixteen watercolors from the artist and planned to integrate these into advertising for the NPRR and the regions it made accessible.[540] On the back of one of Moran's Yellowstone watercolors, a note reads: "Made for Jay Cooke to repay loan of money for Yellowstone trip."[541] Neither the NPRR nor *Scribner's* commissioned *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone* or explicitly paid Moran to create a Great Picture. Instead, the ties between the painting and the NPRR were linked to an understanding between artist and corporation that they could help one another succeed.

Moran joined the Hayden expedition in Virginia City, Montana, in early July 1871.[542] The party included eighty-three expedition members, who often splintered into smaller parties, each with their own objectives. One of these groups included Moran and survey photographer William Henry Jackson (1843–1942). The artists followed the survey's general itinerary, but lingered at sites of particular interest to them—such as Tower Creek and the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone.[543] They began the expedition from base camp in Paradise Valley to the north of the present-day park. From there, they went to Mammoth Springs, Tower Creek through the Grand Canyon of the Yellowstone (fig. 8.26), and then to Yellowstone Lake. In the course of circumnavigating the lake, the party visited geyser basins. Moving back to base camp, the group traveled through Mirror Plateau in the northeast corner of the future park, returned to the banks of the Yellowstone River and followed the waterway out of what would become the park area.[544] According to Jackson, "Moran's

[538] Langford, "The Wonders of the Yellowstone, Part 1 and Part 2," *Scribner's Monthly*, May–June 1871.
[539] Langford, "The Wonders of the Yellowstone, Part 1 and Part 2," *Scribner's Monthly*, May–June 1871.
[540] Kinsey, *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West*, 190, note 2.
[541] Wilkins, *Thomas Moran*, 332 note 19.
[542] Wilkins, *Thomas Moran*, 85.
[543] Wilkins, *Thomas Moran*, 90.
[544] Merrill, introduction to *Seeing Yellowstone in 1871*, 18.

enthusiasm [for the canyon] was greater than anywhere else."[545] During the four days at the site, Moran and Jackson hiked in, above, and around the cataract and spent an extended period of time at what is now known as Artists' Point, where Jackson took many pictures of the canyon (see Figure 8.27).[546]



Figure 8.27: Thomas Moran, *Mammoth Hot Springs, Yellowstone*, 1872, Watercolor and pencil on paper, 14 1/4 × 10 3/8 in. Gift of Mrs. Armistead Peter III, Smithsonian American Art Museum, Washington, DC.

After five weeks in the Yellowstone Valley, Moran had documented almost thirty sites and returned home with dozens of sketches. Moran did not, however, only use his sketches as an *aide-memoir*; he also had copies of Jackson's photographs.[547] As a result, Moran's sketches are not as detailed as work from earlier trips. They are contour drawings recording topographical details that are occasionally colored and usually include handwritten notes

[545] Quoted in Wilkins, *Thomas Moran*, 91.
[546] Wilkins, *Thomas Moran*, 91.
[547] Wilkins, *Thomas Moran*, 94.

about which color should go where.[548] Having Jackson's records of geological detail appears to have freed Moran to focus on committing colors to memory. For example, though Moran's *Mammoth Hot Springs* (Figure 8.28) is looking away from the geological phenomenon at the center of Jackson's *Mammoth Hot Springs, Yellowstone Park* (fig. 8.28), one can still see geological details apparently transposed from Jackson's work. The lips of the springs in the lower left quadrant of Moran's watercolor record the dripping candle-like shape, structure, and texture of the formation central to Jackson's photograph. Nonetheless, Moran uses this detail only as a frame for the dramatically colored geyser field and mountains beyond. Jackson's photographs—along with the artist's own quick sketches—provided a documentary platform from which Moran could create dramatically colored and topographically varied scenes in oil and finished watercolor.



Figure 8.28: Jackson, William Henry, *Mammoth Hot Springs, Yellowstone Park.* 1871. Albumen print, 43.0 × 53.5 cm, Musee d'Orsay, Paris, France, ©RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY

As soon as he arrived back East, Moran began the work owed to those who had financed the trip. He created illustrations for a *Scribner's* article about the Hayden expedition and

[548]Thomas Moran, summer 1871 sketchbook, acc. no. YELL 23061, Museum at the Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Gardiner, MT; Anne Morand, *Thomas Moran: The Field Sketches, 1856–1923* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 36.

began the watercolors for Cooke although they were not finished until 1873, and only two of them survived.[549] Moran also began *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone*.[550] The oil painting was the artist's largest work to date, but he completed it in just two months. It was unveiled in New York City on May 2, 1872.[551]

After the expedition, the visual culture of Yellowstone in circulation increased dramatically from just Moran's original *Scribner's* illustrations predating his visit to Yellowstone. Throughout the 1870s, Moran produced images of Yellowstone in several media—including watercolor, chromolithography, and oil painting—and Jackson published his photographs. The results were the circulation of a Great Picture, documentary photographs, and paintings produced and reproduced in a variety of other media. This thesis focuses on *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone*, but it is important to recognize that, contemporaneous with the display of the painting, other images of Yellowstone in a variety of media were also circulating.[552] Importantly, these images in other media—from Jackson's photographs (see Figures 8.27 and 8.29) to Moran's illustrations for the article on the Hayden expedition (Figure 8.30)—show canyon or thermal feature landscapes that were distinctly nonpastoral. Moran's use of huge scale and dramatic color in the Big Picture, however, make that depiction of Yellowstone more unsettling for the viewer than black-and-white images.

The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone: A Dynamic Landscape

The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone (see Figure 8.8) depicts a dynamic landscape. The canyon walls, waterfall, and even the ledge where the few tiny human figures stand are sliding, falling, or sinking. Moran creates this sense of seismic motion by engaging with, but subverting, a number of conventions of landscape painting.

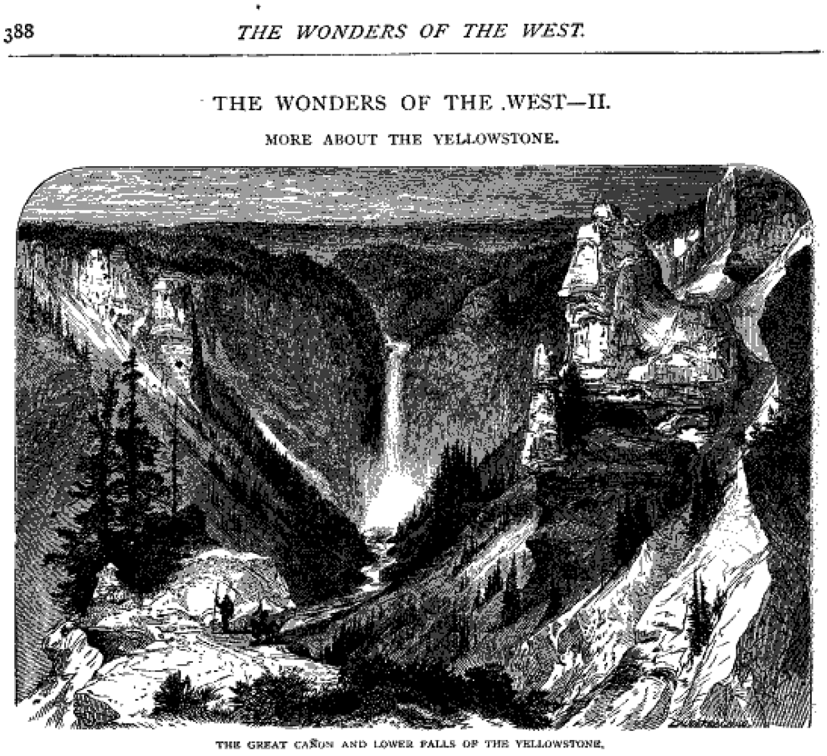
The composition does not have a clear focal point. At first glance, it seems like the misty white and turquoise waterfall is at the center of the painting. But the white water of the Lower Falls is not actually rushing along the central vertical axis of the canvas.

[549] Moran's biographer, Thurman Wilkins, believes that Moran finished the work, but the series became "dispersed following the failure later that year of Cooke & Co. . . Thereafter fourteen of the Cooke aquarelles seem to have disappeared. Only two are now known to exist for certain, one having turned up [in the 1930s] in the attic. . . of the former Cooke estate." Wilkins, *Thomas Moran*, 97. Moran also may have stopped working on the commission once Jay Cooke and the NPRR went bankrupt and no longer had a need for them. Either way, while Moran painted many Yellowstone watercolors during his career, that particular 1873 series is unaccounted for.

[550] Wilkins, *Thomas Moran*, 95–99.

[551] Wilkins, *Thomas Moran*, 100.

[552] Anderson, *Thomas Moran*; Kinsey, *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West*; Kinsey, *Thomas Moran's West: Chromolithography, High Art, and Popular Taste*; Douglas Waitley, *William Henry Jackson: Framing the Frontier* (Missoula, MT: Mountain Press Publishing, 1998).


388 THE WONDERS OF THE WEST.

THE WONDERS OF THE WEST—II.

MORE ABOUT THE YELLOWSTONE.

THE GREAT CAÑON AND LOWER FALLS OF THE YELLOWSTONE.

Figure 8.29: Thomas Moran, *The Grand Cañon and Lower Falls of the Yellowston*, from F. V. Hayden, *Scribner's Monthly, an Illustrated Magazine for the People* 3, no. 4 (February 1872), Source: http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/cgi/t/text/pageviewer-idx?c=scmo;cc=scmo;rgn=full%20text;idno=scmo0003-4;didno=scmo0003-4;view=image;seq=394

It is left of center and located well below the horizon line along the top of the canyon. And while the tumbling water and clouds of spray it creates are eye-catching, the falls' somewhat awkward position in the composition means that they do not hold the gaze. The surrounding canyon demands the viewer's attention.

The right side of the canyon is bright and sun-lit. It creates a strong diagonal beginning in the upper right-hand corner of the painting and sliding out of sight just below the rocky gray outcropping where two miniscule human figures stand. The canyon is painted in yellows, oranges, reds, and pinks dotted with passages of white and brown. The warm palette makes the canyon wall seem as if it is advancing toward the viewer. But its progress toward the foreground is impeded by the detailed rock formations that Moran painted against the front of the picture plane. The very tops of these formations appear to just touch the brightest yellow part of the canyon wall, a dramatic stroke of color that highlights the crevasse's diagonal descent to the river. The rocks, therefore, emphasize the downward slope and the impression that the top of the canyon is slowly but surely sliding down to the bottom.

The formations themselves (Figure 8.31) are dense and seem ready to be touched, even grasped. The smaller of the two collections of rocks is maroon marbled with a cool off-white. It looks like raw meat that has been frozen solid and echoes a similar outcrop in

the sunlight behind it. Flush to the picture plane on the right side and just in front of the maroon rocks is a meticulously rendered collection of dark gray boulders piled upon one another and crisscrossed with languishing fungi and vegetation. Mosses and lichens, ranging from black and burnt sienna to a cool blue-green, cover the boulder. A small and scrubby pine clings to the top of the outcropping. Part of a tree that is cracked, dry, and obviously dead protrudes from the right-hand side of the canvas and in front of the boulders. This passage of delicate coloring, shading, and tiny geological and botanical details catches and entertains the eye—making the boulders the most tactile element of the painting. The viewer could grip the rocks, like the mosses and plants that cling to them. This small cluster of tangible solidity contrasts with the sliding canyon wall behind it, emphasizing that the sides of the cataract are in motion.[553]

Permutations of the palette used to create the gray boulders are repeated throughout the foreground of the painting. Specifically, this collection of colors is used to create the ledge where the human figures and their packhorses stand. The space the horses and humans inhabit is bleak. Its surface is uneven and includes an area of swirling sand that seems to be swallowing a rotting log. The stand of trees perched on the left side of the ledge is painted in a range of greens that contrast with both the black interior of the copse and the pale yellow of the canyon behind it. The largest tree of the group is also closest to the viewer. Contorted branches topped with tufts of green leaves stretch out from its thick trunk, reaching over the canyon rim to create a gothic silhouette against the background of the lilac gray sky.

Considered together, the small stand of trees, ledge, and boulders combine to form a V shape. This creates a frame for the scene that echoes and emphasizes the V shape formed by the diagonal and downward sloping lines of the canyon walls. A series of receding V-shaped planes continue back to the mouth of the canyon and the top of the waterfall. The interaction between these planes is disconcerting and deviates from convention. Other American landscape painters often engaged in a practice emulating Claude Lorrain (see Figure 8.19)—and other painters inspired by Claude—of framing and then constructing a landscape's depth with a successive series of planes. In these Claudian depictions, "trees fram[ing] the picture's lateral edges, as well as by the dark foreground coulisse, the middle-ground scoop of water, and the distant mountain [are] a set of motifs endlessly permuted."[554]

[553] Precise attention to detail and use of close observation in the service of the broader composition is central to the American tradition of landscape painting. In *Nature and Culture: American Landscape Painting*, 199, art historian Barbara Novak writes, "A strong empiricism shaping original solutions to the landscape problem had always been part of the American sensibility."

[554] Novak, *Nature and Culture: American Landscape Painting*, 196–97.



Figure 8.30: Detail, Thomas Moran, *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone*, 1872, oil on canvas, 84 × 144 1/4 in. (213.0 × 266.3 cm.), Smithsonian American Art Museum, Lent by the Department of the Interior Museum.

Bierstadt's *Lander's Peak* (see Figure 8.20) adheres to this blueprint of framing trees, tranquil scoops of water, and distant mountains. Gifford's *Home in the Wilderness* (see Figure 8.22) conflates the trees and mountains, but centers around a tranquil lake. Moran's painting uses framing trees, but where there should be tranquil water surrounded by lush greenery in a Claude-like landscape, Moran places a churning turquoise river surrounded by sliding rocks. While there are peaks in the distance, they are small and barely visible unless one is both right in front of the painting and looking for them. Instead, where one would expect to see a series of peaks—in the space just above the canyon and beyond the waterfall—there is a grassy plain. Moran engages with the concept of framing and successive planes, but he modifies the model by placing more tumultuous features, like churning water and falling rocks, where one expects tranquil ones.

The interaction between the planes in *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone* is also unsettling because of Moran's color choices. The frame formed by the boulders and ledge is flush against the picture plane. These elements are painted in a cool palette of primarily blues, greys, and greens—a palette that recedes from the viewer's eye. The canyon walls, which form the plane behind the boulders and ledge, are painted in a warm palette that moves toward the viewer. If Moran wanted to create a completely legible image of the space of the canyon, he would have painted the foreground primarily in a warm color and made the palette progressively cooler to denote depth and increasing distance from the viewer. Instead, he makes the foreground cool and receding while making the middle ground warm and advancing. This inversion flattens and compresses the space of the canyon, creating tension between space that the viewer intellectually knows is there and space that the eye can actually detect.

Moran also experiments with disconcerting combinations of warm and cool colors on the area of the back wall of the canyon hollowed out by the waterfall. This almost heart-shaped space in the center of the canvas is a mix of reds, blues, maroons, and grays. Neither clearly warm nor clearly cool in tone, the depth of this part of the canyon is particularly obscured. The chaotic mix of reds and blues, and even bits of bright yellow, echoes the churning of the water as it gushes over the falls and then collides with the canyon floor.

Forming the right edge of the outcropping where the people and pack animals stand is a snaking path of large and flat-topped boulders. This rock path extends from the very center of the bottom edge of the painting and reaches partially into the canyon. A white man and a Native American guide stand at its terminus, at the precipice. Where an entire Indian camp existed in the foreground of Bierstadt's painting, Moran has a single male guide with his back turned toward the canyon. If the native settlement in *Lander's Peak* denoted that landscape's habitability, the Native American in Moran's painting denotes the inaccessibility of the canyon—a savage guide is necessary even to find it. The winding shape of the rocky outcropping echoes the meandering path of the bright turquoise river cutting through the canyon. The eye should travel along the winding edge of the outcropping to the river and then up the falls to the horizon, but a portion of the canyon wall interrupts this clear path back into space. This leaves the viewer with disjointed glimpses of turquoise sandwiched between the protruding canyon walls and the mist at the bottom of the falls.

After a few minutes, this painting becomes disorienting. The viewer's focus oscillates primarily between the river and the canyon walls. When the eye is pulled to the sides of the cataract, it immediately follows the diagonals down to the river along the canyon floor. But then the sliding canyon walls interrupt the progress of the river. It is a cycle that forces the eye to be in constant motion, which, in turn, creates the sense that the landscape is in motion.

Fallen or falling pine trees on the cataract's sides further emphasize this sensation of downward motion and collapse. The general aesthetic and aura of collapse reaches a crescendo in the area around the top of the waterfall. The green plateau just above and beyond the canyon appears to slip and sag under the force of the falls. In fact, if one were to draw orthogonal lines from the lower corners of the painting, they would converge on a vanishing point just above and to the right of the falls—just at the point where the tree line begins to turn down and into the canyon. The space behind the falls and behind the vanishing point is obscured by mist, and the viewer is left with the impression that the land beyond the canyon is also sagging and falling into the crevasse.

Even the grassy parts of the plain above the cataract (Figure 8.31) are not free from the dynamism that pervades the scene. Mist extends upward from the waterfall and cuts into the green and verdant-looking space above. Three geysers to the left of the falls, echoing the shape of this vertical column of mist, send up steam and boiling water. Bursting from the plain, the steam and water ultimately lead the eye to rolling clouds. Every element of this painting is in flux. This sense of seismic movement, the scale of the painting, and the restriction of the human presence to a small precipitous ledge conform wholly to the aesthetic of the sublime.



Figure 8.31: Detail, Thomas Moran, *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone*, 1872, oil on canvas, 84 × 144 1/4 in. (213.0 × 266.3 cm.), Smithsonian American Art Museum, Lent by the Department of the Interior Museum.

An Artistic, Legislative, and Economic Frontier in Flux

On April 6, 1872, Moran wrote to Hayden, "The picture is all that I ever expected to make it, and the indication is that it will make a sensation wherever it is exhibited."[555] Moran was right. The painting was a huge success from the moment it debuted in May 1872. Though Moran had created an image of the West radically different from Bierstadt's,

[555] Wilkins, *Thomas Moran*, 101.

the railroad did not reject the canvas. *Scribner's* arranged the painting's debut in New York, and Nettleton and several other NPRR officials attended. Cooke was scheduled to appear but did not make it to the gathering of "press... literati... artists," and"rich people," as Kinsey describes it.[556] It is unclear how Cooke, Nettleton, and the rest of the NPRR felt about *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone* and its ability to help the railroad.

Reviews were overwhelmingly positive. The consensus among critics was "Mr. Moran's 'Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone' [would]... be received by the best judges in America as the finest historical landscape yet painted in this country", or at least would "rank with the great landscapes of Church, Bierstadt, and Gifford."[557] The majority of reviewers focused on the dynamism of the landscape. They described the shifting and seismically moving canyon in dramatic language. One reviewer quoted a particularly evocative passage from Hayden's official survey report: "The entire volume of [the waterfall] seems to be... hurled off the precipice with the force which it has accumulated in the rapids above... and as it strikes the rocky basin below, it shoots through the water."[558] Another reviewer addressed how Moran treated the sky above the canyon: "There is... atmosphere so puzzling to the artist from the ruthlessness with which it denies him those convenient grays... and over all, there is the violent sky."[559] Describing the canyon walls and the processes of how the cataract was formed, the reviewer for *Scribner's* wrote: "Disintegration also sends... floods, of pulverized drift, glowing with all the hues of red and yellow... sweeping in long river-like avalanches... lodging and curdling like snow-wreaths in the ledges and crannies of the firmer basalt."[560] The American West as portrayed in *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone* is full of "water... hurled off the precipice," "avalanches," "pulverized drift," "violent sky," and "disintegration". Moran's image of the most recently explored frontier is of a world entirely in motion. Earth, wind, and water are all shifting while fire-hot geysers and glowing red rocks pervade.

The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone debuted amidst the active national debate about the future of the frontier exemplified by the Homestead Act and its modifications passed by Congress between 1862 and 1878. Bombastic claims pervaded both the civic debates over these acts and the commentary on land use in the popular press. News and magazine articles asserted that one Western territory or another was "the best wheat-growing region in the

[556] Kinsey, *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West*, 64.

[557] Clarence Cook, "Fine Arts," *New York Tribune,* May 4, 1872, ProQuest Historical Newspapers; "Art Notes," *Appleton's Journal of Literature, Science and Art* 7, no. 166 (June 1, 1872), American Periodicals Series Online.

[558] "The Grand Cañon and Falls of the Yellowstone," *Oneida Circular*, March 17, 1873, American Periodical Series Online.

[559] "Literature and Art," *Christian Union*, July 31, 1872, American Periodicals Series Online.

[560] "Thomas Moran's 'Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone,'" *Scribner's Monthly* 4, no. 2 (June 1872), American Periodical Series Online.

world" or had potential for a "rapidly increasing volume of mining," or both.[561] The *Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone* resonated with and reflected this atmosphere of debate about the frontier's future. Viewed through the lens of the debate over the future of the West, certain passages in contemporary reviews of Moran's painting take on new significance. Their emotive descriptions of flux and churn can be read as metaphors for the uncertain and variable future of the frontier.

Amid all the midcentury land-use commentary—both propagandistic and circumspect—there is a discernible trend: after 1865, lawmakers, bureaucrats, and popular commentators increasingly criticized the Homestead Act. The reaction against the law further accelerated in the early 1870s, as is illustrated by comparing the 1867 annual report of the US Commissioner of Public Lands—which was reprinted each year in a number of periodicals—to the one from 1877. In 1867, the commissioner said that the Homestead Act is a "great original measure [that] should stand unimpaired in its full vigor, and its results will continue to increase the producing power of the country."[562] By 1877, the commissioner wrote: "Congress should... withdraw all lands chiefly valuable for pine timber from the operation of the Homestead... laws... [and] the Homestead... laws [should] be expressly amended so as to be applicable only to arable agricultural land."[563] Faced with the geography of the Far West, American devotion to the Homestead Act began to crumble.

These legislative and public attitudes were bad news for an enterprise that wanted Bierstadt to paint its lands and staked its future on a boom of permanent settlement in the Northwest. The Northern Pacific Railroad went bankrupt eighteen months after the debut of *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone*. Even under Cooke's fastidious guidance and with his extensive marketing experience, construction on the NPRR was inconsistent. The railroad was unable to sell and settle enough land to generate revenue to offset the costs of surveys, construction, and management; this inability to develop land had a negative effect on the sale of NPRR bonds.[564] The well-publicized, violent disruption of survey efforts by Sitting Bull's Native American warriors—which included the 1872 death of Lieutenant Louis Dent Adair, President Grant's nephew—further damaged Cooke's NPRR. After the publication of reports of violent encounters during an 1873 NPRR survey through Montana and Dakota Territories—commonly called the Yellowstone Expedition of 1873—these problems became more pronounced. The *New York Times* published an editorial on September

[561] See, for example, "Gen. Hawley on the Pacific Railroad," *New York Evangelist*, November 30, 1871, American Periodicals Series Online; "Article I—The Opening of the New Northwest," *New Englander*, July 1871, American Periodicals Series Online.

[562] "Public Lands of the United States," *Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, September 1, 1867, American Periodicals Series Online.

[563] "About Our Public Lands," *New York Evangelist,* November 15, 1877, American Periodicals Series Online.

[564] Lubetkin, *Jay Cooke's Gamble*, 283–93. This financial weakness also negatively affected railroad bond sales, another major source of income.

11, 1873, that began: "Our correspondence from the Yellowstone Expedition... shows that difficulties lie before the construction of the North Pacific Railroad, and indeed the settlement and civilization of the northern portion of our central territory. If several thousand of our best soldiers... can only hold the ground on their narrow line of march for a hundred and fifty or two hundred miles west of the Upper Missouri, what will peaceful bodies of railroad workmen be able to do, or what can emigrants accomplish in such a dangerous region?"[565] Investors soon began to flee from Northern Pacific bonds; they were convinced that the route was too leveraged, had unproven economic potential, and was subject to consistent Native American hostilities. At 10:30 am on Thursday, September 18, 1873, Jay Cooke and Co. shuttered. The closing of this large and reputable banking house helped trigger the Panic of 1873.[566]

Neither the *Grand Cañon* nor any other Moran artwork is featured in extant official NPRR promotional literature from the 1870s.[567] This failure to appear in materials was not, however, necessarily for artistic reasons. The railroad apparently failed before Moran could finish the Yellowstone watercolors that Cooke commissioned.[568] The day that Cooke and Co. and the Northern Pacific went bankrupt, shipping magnate Cornelius Vanderbilt said, "You can't build a railroad from nowhere to nowhere."[569] The business plan of the NPRR had relied on a conviction that, in the West, the presence of a railroad could transform nowhere to somewhere and that people wanted to settle a habitable wilderness. In the early 1870s, this business plan—and the image it was predicated on—failed. Regular construction on the road would not begin again until after lawyer Frederick Billings took control of the company in 1879. Under the direction of Henry Villard, the railroad was finally completed with a golden spike in September 1883.[570]

Moran and the Yellowstone National Park Protection Act

After its debut, Moran sent *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone* to Washington, DC. It was first displayed at the Smithsonian and then in the Capitol, where Congress had passed

[565] Editorial, "The Yellowstone Expedition," *New York Times*, September 11, 1873, 4, TimesMachine, http://timesmachine.nytimes.com/timesmachine/1873/09/11/79046623.html?pageNumber=4.

[566] John M. Lubetkin, *Before Custer: Surveying the Yellowstone, 1872* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015), locations 2634–3481, 4140, Kindle.

[567] This assertion is based on the author's reading of the secondary material and examination of primary sources. There is, however, a Northern Pacific Railroad (NPRR) brochure from around 1890 based on a Moran watercolor of a Yellowstone subject. It reads "Northern Pacific R.R., the Wonderland Route to the Pacific Coast." Kinsey reproduces and discusses this image in *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West*, 75.

[568] Wilkins, *Thomas Moran*, 103.

[569] Wilkins, *Thomas Moran*, xv.

[570] For the later history of the railroad, see Peter J. Lewty, *To the Columbia Gateway: The Oregon Railway and the Northern Pacific, 1879–1884* (Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1987); Jan Taylor, "The Northern Pacific Railroad's Last Spike Excursion," *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* 60, no. 4 (2010): 16–35.

the Yellowstone National Park Protection Act (1872)—the foundation of the first national park—just two months earlier.[571] It is not clear how Moran arranged for his painting to be displayed in the Capitol, and it is possible that railroad officials facilitated the exhibition. Once it was in the Capitol, however, Moran asked Hayden to help lobby Congress to purchase the painting. Ultimately, the government bought it for $10,000, inaugurating Moran's long career as a renowned painter of the American West.[572]

More than this purchase links the artwork of Thomas Moran with the passage of the National Park Protection Act. Moran's watercolors and Jackson's photographs were used as evidence in support of the bill.[573] This relationship between Moran's art and federal preservation has been a central component of arguments linking *The Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone* and the development of tourism. But the creation of the first national park—and a Great Picture's link to it—must also be situated in the context of broader contemporary debates over land use.

Preservation is an alternative form of land use. Homesteading is predicated on working the land and making it productive, thereby earning private ownership of it.[574] The new Yellowstone National Park was permanently "reserved and withdrawn from settlement, occupancy, or sale under the laws of the United States."[575] This was a radical departure from the agrarian ideal. Preservation, however—as it is legislated in the Yellowstone National Park Protection Act—is stagnant. Though "dedicated and set apart as a public park or pleasuring-ground," Congress failed to allocate any money for the management of the park or development of surrounding areas for at least four years.[576] In the context of the controversy surrounding questions of Western land use, declaring that the land should stay the same—and underlining this fact by failing to allocate funds— effectively postponed making a decision about land policy. Today, Yellowstone National Park is a tourist mecca. Moran's painting helped to publicize the park and turn it into a destination. The significant growth of nature tourism in Montana, however, happened only after transportation infrastructure was in place, however, and should neither overshadow nor be conflated with the early history of Yellowstone and its place in broader debates and concerns about Western development. Calling the *Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone* his Big Picture was unexpectedly prescient of Moran.[577] His Big Picture—an image of a geologically dynamic corner of the frontier undergoing constant seismic transition—is indeed a reflection of the big picture, one of a much wider historical context.

[571] Kinsey, *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West,* 65.
[572] Kinsey, *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West,* 60–62.
[573] Kinsey, *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West,* 60–62.
[574] Krall, *Proving Up*, 9–29.
[575] "Yellowstone National Park Protection (1872)," http://www.nps.gov/yell/learn/management/yellowstoneprotectionact1872.htm.
[576] Ibid.; Schullery and Whittlesey, *Myth and History in the Creation in Yellowstone National Park*, 6.
[577] Kinsey, *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West*, 65.

Conclusion: The Visual Incorporation of America

In his influential book *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (1982), Alan Trachtenberg uses the theme of incorporation—to mean both the knitting together of different elements and the formation of a business—to explore the development and settlement of the American West:

> "The colonization of the West, standardization of time, accelerated mechanization of the means of production and the circulation of goods, the rise of metropolis, of department stores, railroad terminals, and tall office buildings. Less tangible but no less material manifestations included new class formations and antagonisms, extreme polarization of the propertied and the propertyless, a changing middle group increasingly comprised of managers, office workers, and professionals—and not least, altered meanings of keywords such as land, work, city, civic, and incorporation itself."[578]

While Trachtenberg drew links between social, economic and cultural history—most notably in his analysis of the "White City" of the 1893 World's Fair in Chicago—he did not discuss visual representations of the West that was being "colonized" and explored via growing rail networks. Instead, this analysis has mostly fallen to eclectic case studies about particular artists and categories of Western imagery—Kinsey on Moran's landscapes, for example, or Alexander Nemerov on Frederic Remington's depictions of cowboys and Indians.[579] Even the more comprehensive overviews, like Miller's *Empire of the Eye* or the exhibition catalogue from *The West as America* (see Chapter 1), are ultimately collections of case studies focused on individual works. A more systematic exploration of the effects of the incorporation of America in art was previously impossible because the necessary data and computing methods did not exist until recently.

The maps in the first part of this chapter are an attempt to visualize and draw general conclusions about the relationship between the growing physical interconnectedness of the United States and how Americans were able to see—or chose to see—their country as this process proceeded. Images were produced of the places that artists and audiences could visit via rail. It is clear that exhibition of images of American landscapes mirrors the growth of rail travel in the United States. The creation of visual culture was facilitated by the railroad, but the railroad was not usually constructed specifically to lead to a site worthy of spectacular depiction. Niagara Falls was a tourist site well before its connection to the rails—in part because it was made more accessible by the Erie Canal completed

[578] Alan Trachtenberg, "The Incorporation of America Today," *American Literary History* 15, no. 4, History, Economics, and Criticism (Winter 2003): 759–64.

[579] Alexander Nemerov, *Frederic Remington and Turn-of-the Century America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995).

in 1825. For this particular case, rail lines increased the amount of visual depiction, but did not spark the depiction of a previously little- or never-depicted site. Yellowstone is another distinct example: a railroad interested in other forms of transport-facilitated development specifically sponsored depictions of a site that would only become accessible in the future. The maps suggest that more often, rails running to other places and for other purposes—mining, logging, interstate commerce generally—passed by a site that was then "discovered" by artists as something worth depicting. This was true, for example, of the Shenandoah Valley, Mount Shasta, and Lassen Peak. Despite the fact that these sites, selected apparently for convenience, constitute a large portion of landscapes created and exhibited in the nineteenth century, the existing art historical literature focuses disproportionately on exceptional sites like Niagara or Yellowstone.

There are also distinct examples of when these processes—the growth of transport and the demand for depictions of certain sites—do not track directly. Certain areas crisscrossed by rail by the end of the century, particularly in the Midwest and South, remain largely unseen in visual culture as recorded in the HAAExD. Historian William Cronon has noted this phenomenon before by exploring how the government did not protect land in the Midwest until the mid-twentieth century. Instead, the government protected and preserved mountains, canyons and other grand landscapes, such as the much-depicted Yosemite and Rocky Mountains.[580] The image of the United States was curated and skewed towards the majestic. Art historians have already successfully argued this point using surveys of work by famous artists and collections of specific case studies. This chapter provides quantitative corroboration that certain sites were systematically more depicted than others, despite equal transport access.

What can one learn from combining the macroscopic view presented in the first part of this chapter and the narrow focus on the history of one painting presented in its second part? If the macroscopic view provides evidence of the curation of images of the United States—the focus on or neglect of certain sites in defiance of a general trend of more frequent depiction in response to great access—then the case study about Moran provides a specific example of that curation and how and why it occurred. It provides details about why one observation—one site—breaks from the pattern of more frequent depiction of more accessible sites, and the effort and intentionality that break demanded. Chapter 9, the next and final chapter of this thesis, reflects more generally on the benefits of pairing zoomed-out data driven views of the nineteenth-century art world with specific case studies, archival research, and formal analysis.

[580] William Cronon, "The Trouble with Wilderness, or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature," in *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, ed. William Cronon (New York: Norton, 1995), 69–90.

Chapter 9

Conclusion

Across its constituent case studies, this thesis suggests two corrections to the current understanding of how the socioeconomic change affected art in the nineteenth century. First, sample bias compromises existing socioeconomic histories of art, and the use of data can help combat this bias. Second, industrialization most affected artistic output by removing structural constraints on the geographic movement of artists, collectors, and works of art themselves. More broadly, this project demonstrates that art historians can use digital tools in conjunction with economic methods to document and analyze phenomena in the history of art that would be neglected in a purely qualitative analysis.

This conclusion is divided into three parts. The first discusses sample bias and how this project's highlighting of sample bias in art historical sources has broader implications for the discipline of art history. The second part summarizes earlier chapters' conclusions about the importance of geographic barriers—and industrialization's removal of geographic barriers—to the history of art. It also describes how applying the lens of supply and demand to art historical questions was helpful for determining the influence of geography. The third and final part of the conclusion describes how the use of computers, in conjunction with statistical inference, can complement traditional art historical methods.

In his essay "The Conditions of Artistic Creation" (1974), T.J. Clark argued that "art history is in crisis." Reacting to the use of formal analysis and iconography divorced from social and economic context, Clark continued, "To escape from this situation, it seems to me we need a work of theory and practice. We need *facts*—about patronage, about art dealing, about the status of the artist, the structure of artistic production."[581] Art history is different now than it was when Clark wrote this essay. Thanks to the convincing analyses and arguments of Clark himself and his fellow social historians of art—Linda Nochlin, Robert Herbert, Griselda Pollock, and others—most histories of art now include at least a mention of some social or economic context. In fact, recent historiographies of the field have argued that, because of these pioneers' Marxist perspectives, art historians have learned to make

[581] T.J. Clark, "The Conditions of Artistic Creation," *Times Literary Supplement*, May 24, 1974, 561–62.

most of their work "Marxian," if not totally focused on socioeconomic context.[582] But the work of social historians of art is not yet complete.

Sample Bias in the Socioeconomic History of Art

In a 1989 essay on the social history of art, Linda Nochlin highlighted the difficulty of pinpointing the relationship between the social and the art:

> The difficult or thorny issue of mediation is, understandably, often sidestepped by the social history model, leaving a heap of historical or social data on one side of the equation and a detailed analysis of pictorial structure on the other, but never really suggesting how the one implicates the other, or whether, indeed there is really any mutual implication.[583]

Nochlin's critical assessment of the social history of art provides a useful outline for describing the problems with art inquiries, an outline that aims to place works of art in their socioeconomic context and explain how socioeconomic change affected art.

One reason it is difficult to trace the "mutual implication" between artistic and socioeconomic change is the mismatch in the volume of evidence between the "heap of historical or social data" and the narrow detailed analyses of the work of a handful of painters. Modernizing changes affecting millions of people are compared to the activities of only several painters. There is simply not enough artistic evidence to reach a general conclusion about the mutual implication of art and society.

This mismatch is compounded by sample bias, the use of a selection of evidence not representative of general trends. Scholars must work with selections of art and other primary sources that have been edited by the vagaries of time and preservation. As a result, sample bias emerges when the selection of surviving sources is not just limited, but also *unrepresentative* of the entire population of works of art or written sources under examination.

Chapters 4 of this thesis demonstrated that histories and experiences of individual artists—particularly Jean-François Millet—have been used as general cases but are not necessarily representative. Furthermore, such individual artists' stories have been supported by cherry-picked archival evidence. Chapter 6 demonstrated that scholars have depicted the taste of nineteenth-century American collectors as homogeneous and focused on European painting. It found that this impression of homogeneity in the secondary literature

[582] Alan Wallach, "On the Social History of American Art," 74; Jonathan Harris, *The New Art History: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2001); Hatt and Klonk, *Art History*, 120–41.

[583] Linda Nochlin, introduction to *The Politics of Vision* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1989), xv.

is, in part, inspired by bias in the primary sources—the personal aesthetic preferences of nineteenth-century commentators themselves. The chapter demonstrated that one primary source central to studies of American art collectors' tastes, the nineteenth-century art critic Earl Shinn's famous serial publication *The Art Treasures of America* (1879–82), was written by a Francophile whose "inventory in encyclopedic form of the whole treasury of a country['s] works of art [was] kept, however, within the grade of certain obvious criteria of merit and value."[584] "Merit and value" was code for contemporary European art, particularly French art. Sample bias exists in both primary and secondary sources.

Another source of sample bias is endemic to art historical research: interpreting the experience of one artist or a handful of artists as indicative of general trends. Furthermore, this handful of select artists consists of individuals that twentieth and twenty-first century scholars consider to be good and important; such artists are canonical.

The use of novel artistic data evidence to expose sample bias raises questions of *ex post facto* canon formation and its effect on the study of art history. Canonical standards—the criteria for what is good and historically significant art—vary significantly over time as institutional tastes and historical narratives are established.[585] A powerful example of the influence of *ex post facto* canon formation comes from the study of nineteenth-century French art—for example, the Impressionists and their Academic contemporaries. Academic artists were the celebrities of their day. As tastes shifted during the twentieth century, however, the academics have been largely forgotten, and the Impressionists—struggling pariahs for much of their working careers—are now the stars of nineteenth-century French art. Artistic production takes place in response to contemporary standards and judgments by critics, artists, audiences, and collectors. Focusing on a modern canonical subset of work necessarily produces a sample of paintings based on present-day canonical judgments, not ones

[584] Edward Strahan [Earl Shinn], ed., *The Art Treasures of America, Volume 1* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977), v.

[585] In literary history, definitions of the canon have been much debated. In *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for a Literary History* (New York: Verso, 2007), Moretti suggests introducing new criteria for what should be considered the most important literary works—favoring volume of readership as a metric. Book historian William St. Clair has suggested a similar metric, see *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004). There are several authors who address this issue. In art history, this debate about canonical definition often appears in discussions of visual and popular culture. Pushing against traditional canonical standards that can trace their origins to Giorgio Vasari or Johann Joachim Winckelmann, many scholars in recent decades have argued for working beyond the traditional canon or redefining the canon entirely. These have included feminist critiques (e.g., Nochlin's), post-colonial critiques (e.g., Annie Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museums, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in the Late Victorian and Edwardian England*, 1994), and arguments for the greater inclusion of a more broadly defined "visual culture" (e.g., W.J.T. Mitchell, "Interdisciplinarity and Visual Culture," *Art Bulletin*, 1995). This cursory summary of these critiques is better synthesized and applied to general questions about the canon and "canonicity" in Ivan Gaskell, "The History of Images," in *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, ed. Peter Burke (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1991), 168–92.

contemporaneous with the time of production. Correlations and comparisons drawn between a twentieth-century selection and nineteenth-century economic and social variables will be infected by present-day standards. The result of this process is to obscure contemporary nineteenth-century factors at work in determining the relationship between artistic production and economic and social variables, and to produce narratives of interaction that tend to confirm modern notions of importance.

When analyzing how socioeconomic context influenced artists in their own time, it is perhaps better to use a sample that was edited in the nineteenth century rather than one selected *ex post facto* by art historians in the twentieth century. Large datasets formed by exhibition records capture art beyond what has been preserved in museums and textbooks: the artwork that has not survived challenges to physical preservation, such as floods and fire, but also the revolutions in taste that condemn once popular works to obscurity. Reconsidering this lost cultural production–even if only as a data point in a spreadsheet–can help mitigate sample bias in the socioeconomic history of art.

Supply, Demand, and Finding the "Mechanism"

Addressing Linda Nochlin's complaint of a lack of "mutual implication" between the history of society and the history of art, this thesis indicates a way to improve the simple juxtaposition of artistic and social evidence.[586] The thesis exploits the explanatory economic framework of supply and demand—the theory that the increase or decrease in the output of any good can be explained by either suppliers' or consumers' decisions. Such a framework helps to disentangle the complicated channels by which the forces of modernization affected the cultural output on display in nineteenth-century France and the United States. This framework allows one first to unpack modernization into its constituent parts—such as changing transport and growing industry. The framework then allows one to understand how these diverse social and economic changes had varying effects, both on the suppliers of art—most often the painters themselves—and the complex constellation of public audiences, critics, and collectors who were its consumers. Rather than present modernization as a "heap of information," exploring the changing social and economic landscape through the lens of specific variables' effects on suppliers and consumers can help clarify how phenomena such as urbanization and the growth of the railroad specifically influence artistic output.

In addition to classifying elements of modernization as primarily supply- or demand-side, analyses in this thesis have attempted to do what economists call "identifying the

[586] Nochlin, introduction to *The Politics of Vision*, xv.

mechanism" in a model. Statistical analyses such as regressions provide numerical coefficients quantifying the effects of a series of variables, but one cannot interpret these coefficients without a clear understanding of the specific ways in which social and economic changes could influence the art world. This thesis has suggested there may be a common mechanism across case studies that affects artistic supply and consumption: geographic isolation and its mitigation by improvements in the efficiency of transportation.

Chapter 3 demonstrated that supply-side effects—specifically the creation of rural artists' colonies near rail connections to Paris—had a clear positive influence on the output of rural genre and landscape painting at the Salon. A department with an artists' colony was depicted 40% more often than one without a colony. Although the results were slightly more complicated for rural genre painting than for landscapes, the presence of an artists' colony had a positive effect on likelihood of depiction. The second most influential variables were the price of travel from Paris and the establishment of tourist attractions. Considered together, these results suggest that the ability to have easy access to the countryside—and to continue to work within a professional network while away from Paris—was the most important factor influencing the creation of images of nature in nineteenth-century France. Factors linked to accessibility better explain depiction of rural subject matter in nineteenth-century France than factors emphasized in the existing literature, such as audiences' and artists' personal reactions to urbanization and political unrest.

Chapter 7 used a combination of statistics, qualitative evidence, and the lens of supply and demand to locate concrete ways in which American collectors' socioeconomic backgrounds, professions, and geographic locations influenced their art acquisitions. Apart from artists' consistent patronage of their colleagues, geographic isolation—particularly from a supply of art and the dealer infrastructure necessary to provide it—had the clearest systematic effect on collectors' acquisitions. The case study about the idiosyncratic acquisitions of the Sacramento collectors Edwin and Margaret Crocker emphasized this statistical finding.

Chapter 8 demonstrated another example of the influence of changing physical access on visual culture. The chapter showed that the frequency with which a natural site was depicted was often directly linked to whether that site was accessible via rail. When physically isolated sites—such as Yellowstone—were portrayed despite a lack of transport infrastructure, powerful, motivated patrons needed to help artists travel to the sites and depict them.

The most important channel of "mediation"—to return to Nochlin's language—between art and socioeconomic change is the development of physical connections between artists and their subjects and between collectors and suppliers of art for sale. Relative physical isolation or access had clear effects on many aspects of nineteenth-century visual culture,

both in France and the United States. Applying the explanatory framework of supply and demand to the complex process of modernization helps make this fact clear.

In 1964, art historian Jules Prown discovered the utility of quantitative analysis. He was able to demonstrate the presence of a link between John Singleton Copley's (1738–1815) sitters' socioeconomic backgrounds and their preferences in portraiture.[587] In his essay "The Art Historian and the Computer," Prown recounts these findings and his experience of presenting them to his colleagues. When he presented his work at the annual meeting of the College Art Association, his "first slide, which displayed an IBM punch card, was roundly booed. After the conclusion of the session, a senior art historian berated [him] loudly in the aisle for [his] apostasy."[588] After this response, Prown predicted that art historians would soon use computing power as "automated retrieval systems" for images and information, but they would resist its more complex uses. Specifically, historians would resist analyses like Prown's, which used statistics and quantification to see trends in art and to see how these trends were influenced by their social and economic context.[589] Fifty years after Prown was booed, this thesis attempts to use quantification and statistical analysis to complement the current understanding of the history of nineteenth-century French art.

Computers are now frequently used to study art history. The "digital humanities" are growing. This methodological subfield exploits modern computing technology in order to study a wide range of topics in the humanities, including art.[590] In most digital humanities work, however, statistical analysis ends with the creation and description of a line graph, map, or network visualization. Digital humanities work often provides digitally sophisticated descriptions of trends in art or literature, but fails to provide new methods to interpret *why* these trends occur and what their relationships may or may not be to forces outside of the art or literary world. This thesis is distinct from other digital humanities work because it uses statistical tools and theories from the social sciences to trace and measure social

[587] Jules Prown, "The Art Historian and the Computer: An Analysis of Copley's Patronage, 1753–1774," in *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 51.

[588] Prown, introduction to *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture*, 4.

[589] Prown, "The Art Historian and the Computer", 37–51.

[590] Many of the most prominent examples of work in the digital humanities come from the Stanford Literary Lab and Franco Moretti's *Graphs, Maps, Trees: Abstract Models for Literary History* (London: Verso, 2005 and *The Bourgeois: Between History and Literature* (London: Verso, 2013). These works are among the most compelling in this field, while many others often appear to be using digital methods simply for the sake of using them and not because they are a necessary tool to answer the research question being investigated. In art history, much of the ongoing work in digital art history has been contributions to a Mellon-funded digital initiative for *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide,* found at http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/digital-humanities-and-art-history. Other contributors to this field include Christian Huemer (Getty Research Institute), Melody Barnett Deusner (University of Indiana), and Maximilian Schich (University of Texas–Dallas). Symposia about digital art history have been held at the Smithsonian American Art Museum (2012), CASVA at the National Gallery (2014), and the Getty Research Institute (2017).

and economic influences on artistic output and trends. The end-goal of this project is not the visualization of a trend or network, but rather to trace the underlying socioeconomic factors that contribute to the trend. This goal was inspired by the goals of the landmark social histories of art of the 1970s and aims to extend that work by identifying statistical connections between socioeconomic change and artistic trends.

While computers are far more frequently used in historical research in 2016 than they were in 1964, some of the same questions and concerns about their utility for the humanities remain. In "The Art Historian and the Computer", Prown quotes a colleague—historian George Wilson Pierson—who questioned the relationship between computers and humanities research:

> What have the humanities and computers to say to each other? Are they not strangers, perhaps enemies, at heart? By definition, the humanities should be concerned with quality and with individual man, computers with things in quantity or men in the mass.

This tension between the individual and the mass persists today, including within this thesis project. How can a mass of data help a scholar whose expertise is to conduct the careful, close analyses, intellectual histories, and biographic studies that are already the constituent pieces of art history? As Prown discovered, the mass can help complement and contextualize the study of the individual.

Data about a large number of paintings allow a scholar to see trends and relationships that are invisible without the help of computers. They allow one to comprehend and analyze aspects of entire populations of paintings rather than just a handful. Yet abstract data are clearly not an ideal representative of an individual painting. The titles that form the Whiteley Index convey neither paintings' nuances, nor their effects on a viewer. Jean-François Millet's *The Gleaners* (figure 3.11) is a perfect example of this. The words "the gleaners" do not describe the lavender and powder-blue sky shining over an open, pale-gold wheat field. Nor do the words convey large female figures who dominate this Georgic landscape but are so hunched that none of their heavy-boned bodies breaks the horizon line. A wide and beautiful scene opens up behind them, but they seem unaware of it or unable to stand up to see it. One cannot know any of this—except that the women are gathering scraps of wheat—from the title. In fact, Jules Breton's *The Gleaners* (1859) (figure 3.12) has the same title and was exhibited only two years after Millet's. The two paintings are almost identical in the Whitely Index, but they are radically different from each other in reality. Hunched rough women reaching for scraps in Millet's painting are replaced by upright voluptuous girls arranged into a wheat-topped pyramid in Breton's. Breton's gleaners look

sturdy and well-fed by the large amounts of flaxen wheat that they can collect after the harvest. In stark contrast to Millet's painting, one woman on the right-hand side of the Breton is, in fact, able to pause and turn to look at the warm sunset behind her. Despite depicting the same scene, each artist presents a radically different image of rural life.

Taking the close-up view of particular art and artists is the groundwork necessary for most art historical scholarship and does not dictate sample bias. But a close view does become sample bias when a scholar asserts generalities and fails to consider the discrepancies between the art that is included in that narrow view and the full population of works that sample is meant to represent. By providing analyses that oscillate, when necessary, between the individual focus and general trends, scholars can truly place masterpieces in their relevant social, economic, and cultural contexts. This is demonstrated in the standard account of the popularity of landscape and rural genre painting discussed above: that it generally became more common and popular as the nineteenth century progressed. If we accept this account, Millet's *The Gleaners* becomes a compelling painting, one representative of a general trend toward an increasing interest in the depiction of rural life. The painting's formal qualities are exceptional, but it is one among many similar examples. The macroscopic view in figure 3.1 highlights the fact that gleaners—and other rural subject matter—were a relatively rare phenomenon at the Salon. Millet's *The Gleaners* is, in fact, an exceptional painting among the few. Studies that consider Millet's work to be representative of the population of nineteenth-century French painting rather than distinct from general trends are perpetuating sample bias. Only when scholars can chart broader artistic trends—and certain artists' relationships to those trends—can works of art be placed in conversation with their social and economic context in a way that is less compromised by sample bias. Prown concluded that "the computer can and will be used fruitfully for other studies in art history."[591] This thesis has hopefully proven his prediction to be correct.

[591] Prown, "The Art Historian and the Computer", 51.

Appendix A

An Introductory Note on Econometric Analysis

The end-goal of econometric tests is to locate causation—to determine whether on attribute, factor, or event had a demonstrable effect on a particular outcome. The primary tool that economists use to make this determination is regression analysis. There are many kinds of regressions that can be used for different situations, but all of the regressions in this thesis are Ordinary Least Squares (OLS) multivariate regressions. This type of regression is one of the most basic. As economics has become more mathematically and statistically rigorous, econometricians have developed more precise and elaborate regressions. Therefore, any positive results from the regressions in this thesis should be understood as suggestive of a causal relationship, but not definitive proof of causation. The strength of argument in this thesis relies on a common practice in economic history: combining econometrics with qualitative and archival evidence. With this in mind, the remainder of this Appendix presents an introduction to multivariate regression analysis for readers who may not be familiar with it.

Multivariate regression analysis aims to test whether one variable—or a series of variables—influenced another variable. It distinguishes between "explanatory variables" and "dependent variables" and then measures the effect of the explanatory variables on the dependent one. It is easiest to explain regression analysis—and the distinction between explanatory and dependent variables—with an example from outside of art history. Consider that both the number of days of sunshine and of rain can explain how much wheat a farmer can grow in a given year. In a regression testing the effects of weather on crop yields, days of sunshine and inches of rainfall would be explanatory variables, while the amount of wheat the farmer grows is the dependent variable. For this project, the explanatory variables are social and economic phenomena—such as the price of rail travel, number of major cities, or occupation of a collector—and the dependent variable is the quantity and types paintings displayed in an exhibition or in a private collection.[592]

[592] See Charles H. Feinstein and Mark Thomas, *Making History Count: A Primer in Quantitative Methods for Historians* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 93–114 and 231–99, for an explanation of bivariate and multivariate regression analysis.

Regression analyses provide numerical coefficients quantifying the effects of a series of variables, but one cannot interpret these coefficients without a clear understanding of the specific ways in which social and economic changes could influence the art world. To better understand these influences, econometricians divide effects into "supply-side"—factors influencing producers of a good or service—and "demand-side" effects, factors influencing consumers of a good or service. Without this division of effects, it is very difficult to interpret the regression results. This thesis makes frequent reference to demand-side or supply-side influences.

The main results from the regression analysis are summarized in tables. Each row of the tables above the double lines represents a different variable, while each column represents a different "model"—a set of conditions—under which the effects of the variables are being tested. The numbers in the cells that *are not* in parentheses are the "regression coefficients." Regression coefficients represent the "influence of that particular explanatory variable on the dependent variable while the influence of all other variables is held constant."[593] These regression coefficients are standardized, which means they are directly comparable to one another. One can therefore compare regression coefficients within a table, but one cannot compare these coefficients across the two tables or—to use the introductory example—to coefficients from another regression testing the influence of the rain or sun on crop yields.

Because there is no standard scale of the strength of an effect, one instead looks for results that are relatively large and consistently statistically significant, meaning they are non-random and therefore constitute evidence of an underlying causal relationship. The numbers in parentheses under each regression coefficient are the results of a t-test for statistical significance; the larger numbers indicate more statistically significant results.[594] The results that pass a "critical value" for being statistically significant are identified with asterisks. The final three rows of the table—"N", "r2", and "F"—provide information about the model's effectiveness as a whole. "N" is the total number of observations (dependent variable data points) tested; "r2" is a percentage score for how well the explanatory variables explain the behavior of the dependent variable; and "F" is the result of the test for the statistical significance of the whole model. Every model presented in this thesis is statistically significant.

[593] Feinstein and Thomas, Making History Count, 234.

[594] Tests for statistical significance hinge on disproving the "null hypothesis," that the effect of a variable—or the descriptiveness of a whole model—is *not* significantly different from zero. There are certain quantitative thresholds at which one can reject the null hypothesis and conclude that an effect *is* statistically significant. The F-test and t-test are two of these kinds of thresholds. See Feinstein and Thomas, Making History Count, 149–79, 269–73.

Appendix B

French Transcription of Millet Letters

Jean-François Millet to Alferd Sensier, 1851 (Cote BSb12L9 Réserve des autographes, Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris.):

Samedi

Mon Cher Sensier,

J'ai reçu hier vendredi les couleurs huile que vous m'envoyez et le tableau ébauché qui y était joint.

Voici les titres des trois tableaux pour la vente en question:

1. *Femme broyant du lin*

2. *Paysan & paysanne allant travailler dans les champs*

3. *Ramasseurs de bois dans la foret*

Je ne sais si un mot de Ramasseurs peut s'imprimer, si… …vous mettez. Paysan et paysannes es … en … ou en que vous voudrez. Sachez seulement que le tableau se compose d'un homme liant un fagot et de deux femmes, l'une coupant des branches et l'autre tenant une buisson de bois. Voilà.

Dès que les bordures serons faites dites le moi afin que j'aye le temps de voir sans tableaux dedans et au besoin les retoucher.

Il n'y a comme vous pour les décrire par les titres, dans mes tableaux en train, ni femmes nues, ni sujets mythologiques: je veux me poser avant autre chose que en … … que je n'entends pas qu'on me défende mais que je ne voudrais pas être forcé de faire; mais enfin les prémices vont mieux à mon tempérament car je vous avouerai au risque de parler pour encore plus… … que c'est le côté humain, franchement humain qui me touche le plus en art & si je pourrais faire ce que je voudrais ou tout au moins le tenter je ne ferai rien qui ne fait le résultat des impression reçues par l'aspect de la nature soit en paysages soit en

figures et ce n'est jamais le côté joyeux qui m'apparait; je ne sais pas s'il est, je ne l'ai jamais vu. Ce que je… de gai, c'est ce calme et ce silence dont on jouit si délicieusement ou dans les forêts ou dans les endroits labourés, qu'ils soyent labourables ou non, vous m'avouerez que c'est toujours très rêveur & d'une réverie triste bien que délicieuse, vous êtes assis sous les arbres éprouvant tout le bien être, toute la tranquillité dont on puisse jouir, vous voyez déboucher d'un petit sentier une pauvre figure chargée de fagot, la façon inattendue et toujours frappant dans une figure vous apparaît vous rapporte instantanément a la triste condition humaine, la fatigue cela donne toujours une impression analogue a celle que La Fontaine exprima dans la fable du bucheron. Quel plaisir a-t-il eu depuis qu'il est au monde? Est-il un plus pauvre homme en la … … ?

Dans les endroits labourés, quoique quelquefois dans certains pays peu labourables, vous voyez des figures bêchant, piochant. Vous en voyez un de temps en temps se redressant …… comme on dit, et s'essuyant le front avec le revers de la main, tu mangeais ton pain a la sueur de ton front. Est-il là ce travail gai, folâtre, auxquels certains gens voudraient nous faire croire. C'est cependant làă que se trouve pour moi la vrai humanité, la grande … Je m'arrête làă car je pourrais bien vous embêter àă la fin. Il faut me pardonner, je sais tout … sans avoir acquis… de mes impressions parfois, je me suis laissé aller sans m'en apercevoir, je ne recommencerai plus.

Ah tant que j'y pense, envoyez moi de temps en temps vos belles lettres avec le cachet du ministère, le cachet en cire rouge, enfin tous les enjolivements possibles. Si vous voyiez avec quel respect le facteur me remet ces lettres la! La casquette a la main, ce qui n'appartient habituellement, puis me disant de l'air le plus…: c'est le ministère! Cela me pose de la plus belle façon. C'est du crédit car pour une lettre portant le cachet du ministère et tout naturellement du ministre, c'est quelque chose… belle enveloppe de lettres.

[Karl] Bodmer n'est pas encore de retour a Barbizon, [Charles] Jacque non plus.

Croyez-vous que j'ai quelque chance d'avoir une commande du ministère?

Savez-vous si celle de Jacque marche un peu?

Poignées de mains,

JF Millet

Les tableaux de Rousseau produisent-ils un grand effet, ont-ils beaucoup de succès?

Jean-François Millet to Theodore Rousseau, April 1859 (Cote BSb12L156, Réserve des autographes, Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre, Paris):

Barbizon Jeudi

Mon cher Rousseau, je n'ai de bordure d'aucune espàce pour travailler au tableau d'Etienne, ce que m'a retardé énormément. Si donc vous pouvez m'envoyer vite vite la bordure qu'il a mise chez vous me rendrez un très grand service. Les migraines petites & grandes sont venues m'assiéger ce mois de façon que j'ai eu a peine un quart de mon temps. Je vous assure que au physique comme au moral je suis en pleine démolition. Vous avez raison mon cher Rousseau la vie est bien triste & il y a bien peu d'endroits que soient un lieu de refuge. On finit pour comprendre ceux qui soupiraient après le lieu de rafraichissement, de lumière & de paix. On comprend aussi comment Dante a fait dire à certains de ses personnages pour designer le temps qu'ils ont passé sur la terre : le temps de ma dette. Dites bien ceci à Mme Rousseau: c'est que je lui souhaite de tout mon coeur de se bien porter pour son propre compte puis qu'il y a un peu d'égoïsme de ma part dans ce souhait, en ce sens, que j'ai diablement besoin. D'être un peu houspillé & secoué quand j'irai à Paris un de ces jours, & qu'elle peut le faire mieux que personne. C'est que j'en éprouve un vrai besoin. Ma femme a l'air d'agir d'une façon plus de . . . , elle lui souhaite tout simplement de se porter aussi bien que . . .

Sensier me paraît furieux contre l'Exposition. Oui, il faudra tacher d'y aller une fois qui je serai à Paris. Je veux y aller au même temps que Sensier qui vient passer ici ces jours de Pâques. Je ne sais si nous partirons lundi soir ou mardi matin, ce sera comme il l'entendra bientôt mon cher Rousseau. J'ai fait la commission de coco a . . .

Comme poignée de main,

J.F. Millet

Bibliography

Primary Sources:

Archival Sources:

Anonymous. William Bement, Board of Directors biographical information and personal papers, RG.01.02.03. Last names: A-G, Box 1. Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts Archives, Philadelphia, PA.

———. Minutes: 1874-1897, Box 18, Volume 1: April 1874-March 1883, pages 1–3. Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts Archives, Philadelphia, PA.

"The Century Association Exhibition Records, November 6, 1869 through December 30, 1917." Archives of the Century Association, New York, NY.

Bement, William B. William B. Bement to Edward H. Coates, April 3, 1891, Box 1, MS.053, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts Archives, Philadelphia, PA.

Cropsey, Jasper. "Expenses 1858, 1845–1868." Reel 336, Microfilm Collection, Jasper Francis Cropsey papers, 1845–1868, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC.

Huntington, Daniel. Daniel Huntington to Jasper Cropsey, Oct 4, 1859, Reel 336, Microfilm Collection, Jasper Francis Cropsey papers, 1845–1868, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC.

Moran, Thomas. *Autobiography of Thomas Moran*. Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Gardiner, MT, ca. 1890.

———. Summer 1871 sketchbook, acc. no. YELL 23061, Museum at the Yellowstone Heritage and Research Center, Gardiner, MT.

Nevins, Teresa K. "Cowdrey, Mary Bartlett, 1910–1974." Special Collections, University of Delaware. http://www.lib.udel.edu/ud/spec/findaids/pdf/mss0556.pdf.

Ridner, John P. to Jasper Francis Cropsey, June 1, 1847, Reel 336, Jasper Francis Cropsey papers, 1845–1868, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC.

Shinn, Earl. Earl Shinn to Anna Shipley, July 3, 1867, Earl Shinn letters and diary from the collection at Swarthmore College, 1852–1889, Archives of American Art, Washington, D. C.

Shinn, Earl. Earl Shinn to Anna Shipley, October 6, 1866, Box 112, Morris-Shinn-Maier Collection, Quaker Collection, Haverford College, Haverford, PA.

Shinn, Earl to "Very Day Sir," November 10, 1866, Earl Shinn letters and diary from the collection at Swarthmore College, 1852–1889, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC.

Story, William Wetmore. William Wetmore Story to Jasper Francis Cropsey, March 25, 1849, Reel 336, Jasper Francis Cropsey papers, 1845–1868, Archives of American Art, Washington, DC.

Whiteley, Jon. *Subject Index to Paintings Exhibited at the Paris Salon, 1673–1870* (Index, Oxford, 1993).

Oral Interviews:

Breazeale, William. Interview by Diana Greenwald. January 4, 2016. Crocker Art Museum, Sacramento, CA.

Datasets and Data Sources:

Atack, Jeremy. "Historical Geographic Information Systems (GIS) Database of US Railroads for 1826-1911." (August 2015). https://my.vanderbilt.edu/jeremyatack/data-downloads/.

Daudin, Guillaume, Raphaël Franck, Hillel Rapoport "Costs of Travel within French Departments, 1840—80." Provided via email, July, 2014.

———. "The Cultural Diffusion of the Fertility Transition: Internal Migrations in 19th century France." 72nd Annual Meeting, Economic History Association, Vancouver, Canada, September 21-23, 2012. http://eh.net/eha/system/files/Daudinetal.pdf.

Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research. Social, Demographic, and Educational Data for France, 1801–1897. Ann Arbor, MI: Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research, Feb. 20, 2009. (ICPSR00048-v1) http://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR00048.v1.

Getty Research Institute. "Getty Union List of Artist Names." *The Getty Research Institute, J. Paul Getty Trust*. (2015). http://www.getty.edu/research/tools/vocabularies/ulan/.

Paullin, Charles O. *Atlas of the Historical Geography of the United States*, ed. John K. Wright. Washington, DC: Carnegie Institution, 1932. Digital edition edited by Robert K. Nelson et al., 2013.http://dsl.richmond.edu/historicalatlas/.

Tilly, Charles, and David K. Jordan. "Strikes and Labor Activity in France, 1830-1960." Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974. Distributed by Inter-university Consortium for Political and Social Research(ICPSR08421-v2). Accessed Aug. 15, 2015.. http://doi.org/10.3886/ICPSR08421.v2.

Williamson, Samuel H. "Seven Ways to Compute the Relative Value of a US Dollar Amount, 1774 to Present." MeasuringWorth, 2016. https://www.measuringworth.com/uscompare/

Published Primary Sources:

Ady, Julia Cartwright. *Jean François Millet: His Life and Letters*. London: Swann, Sonnenschein and Co., 1896.

An Act to Set Apart a Certain Tract of Land Lying Near the Head-waters of the Yellowstone River as a Public Park. US Statutes at Large 17, ch. 24. (1872). http://www.nps.gov/yell/learn/management/yellowstoneprotectionact1872.htm.

"Art Notes." *Appleton's Journal of Literature, Science and Art* 7, no. 166 (June 1, 1872). American Periodicals Series Online.

"Article I–The Opening of the New Northwest." *New Englander and Yale Review* 30, July 1871, 368–88.

Baedeker, Karl. *Paris and its Environs*, 6th ed. Leipzig, 1878.

Balzac, Honoré. *Les Paysans*. Paris, 1855.

Bellier de la Chavignerie, Emile, and Louis Auvray. *Dictionnaire général des artistes de l'École française*. Paris, 1885.

Blodget, Lorin. "The Opening of the New Northwest." *New Englander and Yale Review*, July 1871, 368–88. First published in 1857 by J.B. Lippincott.

Bonnin, A. "Salon de 1876. Peinture." *L'Art* 5 (1876): 21.

Bouju, Paul et al. *Atlas Historique de la France contemporaine, 1800–1965*. Paris: Librarie Armand Colin, 1966.

Breton, Jules. *Un peintre paysan: souvenirs et impressions*. Paris, 1896.

Burke, Edmund. *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of Our Ideas of the Sublime and the Beautiful*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Cartwright, Julia. "Jules Bastien-Lepage." In *The Portfolio: Monographs on Artistic Subjects*, no. 4 (London, 1894).

Castagnary, Jules. "Salon de 1876." *Le Siècle*, May 20, 1876.

"Catharine Lorillard Wolfe." *The Independent. . . Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Economic Tendencies, History, Literature, and the Arts* 39, April 14, 1887, 17. American Periodicals Online.

Chandeau, Emmanuel. *L'économie nationale aux XIXe etXX^{e} siècles*. Paris, 1989.

"Constitution of the Apollo Association for the Promotion of Fine Arts in the United States." In *Transactions of the Apollo Association for the Promotion of Fine Arts in the United States, 2-4.* New York: Apollo Association, 1839. JSTOR.

Cook, Clarence. "Fine Arts." *New York Tribune*, May 4, 1872. ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Cosmopolitan Art Association. *The Cosmopolitan Art Association illustrated catalogue, 1854: For the encouragement and general diffusion of literature and art*. New York: W. H. Tidson, stereotyper, John A. Gray, printer, 1854.

Cummings, Thomas. *Historic Annals of the National Academy of Design, New-York Drawing Association, etc., with Occasional Dottings by the Way-Side, from 1825 to the Present Time.* Philadelphia: George W. Childs, 1865.

[Earl Shinn]. "Art-Study in the Imperial School at Paris. No. IV." *The Nation*, July 22, 1869, 67.

———. "Notes." *The Nation*, April 5, 1877, 207.

Everts, Truman. "Thirty-Seven Days of Peril." *Scribner's Monthly* 3, no. 1 (November 1871). American Periodicals Series Online.

Farcy, Jean-Claude. *La mobilité d'une generation de français: Recherche sur les migrations et les déménagements*. Paris: Institutional National D'Etudes Démographiques, 2003.

Ferry Johnson, Edward. *Railroad to the Pacific: Northern Route, Its General Character, Relative Merits, etc.* New York: Railroad Journal Job Printing Office, 1854. Sabin Americana.

Gaëlyn, Henry [Henry Naegely]. *The Mummer and Other Poems.* London: E. Stock, 1895.

Grow, Galusha. "Speech of February 21, 1862." *Congressional Globe, House of Representatives*. 37th Congress, 2nd Session.

Houssaye, Arsène. "Salon de 1845, XIV." *L'Artiste*, 4ème série, Tome IV (May-June 1845), 34.

Howe, Winifred E. *A History of the Metropolitan Museum of Art: With a Chapter on the Early Institutions of Art in New York*. New York: Metropolitan Museum, 1913.

James, Henry. *Parisian Sketches, Letters to the New York Tribune 1875–1876*, edited by Leon Edel and Ilse Dusoir Lind. New York: New York University Press, 1957.

Kirkland, Lowell, and William Shaw. *Memoir of the Boston Athenaeum: With the Act of Incorporation and Organization of the Institution*. Boston: Munroe and Francis, 1807.

Langford, Nathaniel. "The Wonders of the Yellowstone, Part I." *Scribner's Monthly*, May 1871, 113–28.

———. "The Wonders of the Yellowstone, Part II." *Scribner's Monthly*, June 1871, 1–17; 113–128.

"Literature and Art." *Christian Union*, July 31, 1872. American Periodicals Series Online.

Metropolitan Museum of Art. *Hand-Book No. 1, Part I. The Catharine Lorillard Wolfe Collection*. New York, NY: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1896.

Metropolitan Museum of Art. *A Brief Record of Development, 1866–1937*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1937.

"Millet." *L'Artiste*, 1ère Tome 1874 (Paris, January 1874): 113–15. http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb343612621/date.

Moreau-Nélaton, Étienne, *Millet raconté par lui-même*. 3 vol. Paris: H. Laurens, 1921.

New York Evangelist. "About Our Public Lands." November 15, 1877. American Periodicals Series Online.

New York Evangelist. "Gen. Hawley on the Pacific Railroad." November 30, 1871. American Periodicals Series Online.

New York Times "Miss Wolfe's Bequest." April 9, 1887, 4.

New York Times. "The Yellowstone Expedition." September 11, 1873, 4.

Oneida Circular. "The Grand Cañon and Falls of the Yellowstone." (Oneida, NY), March 17, 1873, 95. American Periodical Series Online.

Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. "Resolutions of [the] Committee of Arrangements and Inspection [for the Annual Exhibition], April 22, 1811." Reproduced in

Selected Papers of Charles Wilson Peale and His Family. Vol. 2, edited by Lillian B. Miller, 99–100. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992.

Pidagnel, A. "Millet chez lui, souvenirs de Barbizon." *L'Artiste*, 1ère volume de 1876 (Paris, January 1876): 288–97.

"Proceedings at the Annual Meeting of the American Art-Union for 1844." *Transactions of the American Art-Union* (1844), 6; 7–8; 18. JSTOR.

"Public Lands of the United States." *Merchants' Magazine and Commercial Review*, September 1, 1867, 125–28. American Periodicals Series Online.

Ramsey, Alexander, D. S. Norton, G. H. Williams et al. *An Appeal to Congress on Behalf of the Northwest in Connection with the Construction of the Northern Pacific Railroad and Telegraph*. Washington: Intelligencer Printing Establishment, 1866.

Ridner, John P. *The Artist's Chromatic Hand-Book. Being a Practical Treatise on Pigments; Their Properties and Uses in Painting. To Which Is Added A Few Remarks on Vehicles and Varnishes*. New York: G. P. Putnam, 1850.

Rousseau, Jean. "Salon de 1857, les Indépendants." *Le Figaro*, July 9, 1857, 5.

Saint-Victoire, Paul de. "Salon de 1859." *La Presse*, May 28, 1859, n.p.

"Salon de 1831, réouveture, Léopold Robert." *L'Artiste*, Tome I, 19th Livraison, 233 (Paris, 1831).

"Salon de 1836." *L'Artiste*, Tome XI, 6th Livraison, 154 (Paris, 1836).

"Salon de 1841, tableaux du chevalet, premier article." *L'Artiste*, 2ème série, Tome VII, 1st livraison, 266 (Paris, 1841).

Sensier, Alfred. *Jean-François Millet, Peasant and Painter*. Translated by Helena de Kay. London, 1881.

Shinn, Earl [Edward Strahan]. *The Art Treasures of America*. 3 vols. Philadelphia: Gebbie and Barrie, 1881.

Silvestre, Théophile. "Salon de 1857." *L'Artiste*, Série 3, Livraison 20 (September 1857): 33.

———. "Les artistes vivants au Champ-de-Mars et aux Champs-Élysées." *Le Figaro*, May 15, 1867, 2.

Skinner, Charles Montgomery. "Sortie of the Grand Council." In *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc.*, edited by William B. Bement, n.p. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1884.

———.. Preface to *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc.*, edited by William B. Bement, n.p. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1884.

———. "Thus Far Shalt Thou Come, and By No Farther." In *Catalogue of Works of Art, with Illustrations and Descriptions; Also, Views of the Summer and Winter Homes, Etc.*, edited by William B. Bement, n.p. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Co., 1884.

"Song of Songs." *The Holy Bible*, King James Version. New York: American Bible Society: 1999. http://www.bartleby.com/108/22/.

Strahan, Edward [Earl Shinn]. *Masterpieces of the Centennial Exhibition, Volume 1*. Philadelphia: Gebbie and Barrie, 1876.

"Tête-à-Tête Sketches: Miss Catharine Lorillard Wolfe." *Town Topics* (February 24, 1887), 18.

"Thomas Moran's Grand Cañon of the Yellowstone." *Scribner's Monthly* 4, no. 2, June 1872. American Periodical Series Online.

United States Congress, Homestead Act of 1862 12 U.S.C. § 392.

Secondary Sources:

Adams, Steven. *The Barbizon School and the Origins of Impressionism*. London: Phaidon, 1994.

Amic, Sylvain. "Cabanel and the Salon." In *Alexandre Cabanel: The Tradition of Beauty*, edited by Andreas Blühm, 50–56. Munich: Hirmer Publishing, 2011.

Anderson, Nancy K., Thomas P. Bruhn, Joni L. Kinsey, and Anne Morand. *Thomas Moran*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998.

Andrews, Malcolm. *Landscape and Western Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Andrews, Wayne. "Martin Brimmer: The First Gentleman of Boston." *Archives of American Art Journal* 30, no. 1 (1990): 4–7.

Applegate, Heidi. "A Traveler by Instinct." In *Hudson River Visions: The Landscapes of Sanford R. Gifford*, edited by Kevin J. Avery, Franklin Kelly, and Claire A. Conway, 53–73. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003.

Armstrong, Rodney. Foreword to *Boston Athenaeum Art Exhibition Index, 1827–1874*, edited by Robert F. Perkins, Jr. and William J. Gavin. Boston: Library of the Boston Athenaeum, 1980.

Ashton, Dore. *Rosa Bonheur: A Life and Legend*. New York: Viking Studio, 1981.

Atack, Jeremy, Fred Bateman, and William N. Parker. "Northern Agriculture and the Westward Movement." In *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States*. Vol. 2, edited by Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman, 285–328. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Auchincloss, Louis. *J. P. Morgan: The Financier as Collector*. New York: Harry N. Abrams Inc., 1990.

Avery, Kevin J. "The Hudson River School." *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. October 2004. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/hurs/hd_hurs.htm

Bailey, Colin. *Building the Frick Collection: An Introduction to the House and its Collections*. New York: Scala, 2006.

Baltzell, E. Digby. *Philadelphia Gentlemen: The Making of a National Upper Class*. Livingston, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 1958.

———. *Puritan Boston and Quaker Philadelphia: Two Protestant Ethics and the Spirit of Class Authority and Leadership*. New York: Free Press, 1979.

Barringer, Mark Daniel. *Selling Yellowstone: Capitalism and the Construction of Nature*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2002.

Bealle, John. "Another Look at Charles M. Skinner." *Western Folklore*, 53, no. 2 (1994): 99–123.

Beckert, Sven, and Julia Rosenbaum. Introduction to *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Sven Beckert and Julia Rosenbaum, 1–8. New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2010.

Beckert, Sven. "Bourgeois Institution Builders: New York in the Nineteenth Century." In *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Sven Beckert and Julia Rosenbaum, 103–17. New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2010.

———. *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the American Bourgeoisie, 1850–1896*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Bennett, Shelley M. *The Art of Wealth: The Huntingtons in the Gilded Age*. San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 2013.

Berton, Pierre. *Niagara: A History of the Falls*. Albany, NY: Excelsior Editions/State University of New York Press, 2009.

Bezucha, Robert. "Being Realistic about Realism: Art and the Social History of Nineteenth-Century France." In *The European Realist Tradition*, edited by Gabriel P. Weisberg, 1–13. Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana Press, 1982.

Black, George Fraser. *Scotland's Mark on America*. New York, NY: The Scottish Section of America's Making, 1921.

Blaugrund, Annette. *The Tenth Street Studio Building: Artist-Entrepreneurs from the Hudson River School to the American Impressionists*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 1997.

Blodgett, Peter J. "Visiting The Realm of Wonder: Yosemite and the Business of Tourism, 1855Ů1916." *California History* 69, no. 2 (Summer 1990): 118–33.

Blühm, Andreas, ed., *Alexandre Cabanel: The Tradition of Beauty*. Munich: Hirmer Publishing, 2011.

Bogart, Dan et al. “State and Private Institutions.” In *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Europe, 1700–1870.* Vol. 1, edited by Steven Broadberry and Kevin H. O’Rourke, 70–96. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

———. *Art in the Age of Civil Struggle*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Boime, Albert. *The Academy and French Painting in the 19th Century.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1986.

———. “Entrepreneurial Patronage in Nineteenth Century France.” In *Enterprise and Entrepreneurs in 19th and 20th Century France*, edited by E.C. Carter and R. Foster, 137–207. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976.

———. “The Official Realism.” In *The European Realist Tradition*, edited by Gabriel P. Weisberg, 31–123. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1982.

Bourdieu, Pierre. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste.* Translated by Richard Nice. Oxford, UK: Routledge, 1984.

Bouret, Jean. L’Ecole de Barbizon et le paysage français aux XIXe siècle. Neuchâtel: Editions Ides et Calendes, 1972.

Bourrut Lacouture, Annette. *Jules Breton: Painter of Peasant Life*. London and New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002.

Braudel, Fernand, and Ernest Labrousse. *Histoire Économique et sociale de la France*. Paris: Presses Universitaire de France, 1970.

Breazeal, William. *Pioneering Collectors: The E. B. Crocker Collection of Drawings and Its Founders*. Sacramento, CA: Crocker Art Museum, 2010.

Brettell, Caroline, and Richard R. Brettell. *Painters and Peasants in the Nineteenth Century*. Geneva: Rizzoli, 1983.

Broadberry, Steven et al. “Sectoral Developments, 1870–1914.” In *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Europe, 1870-Present*. Vol. 2, edited by Steven Broadberry and Kevin H. O’Rourke, 59–83. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Burguière, André. *Bretons de Plozevet*. Paris: Flammarion, 1975.

Büttner, Nils. *Landscape Painting, A History*. Translated by Russell Stockman. New York: Abbeville Press, 2000.

Cachin, François, and Pierre Rosenberg. *De Corot aux impressionnistes, homage à Etienne Moreau-Nélaton*. Paris: Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, 1991.

Carr, Gerald L. *Frederick Edwin Church: The Icebergs*. Dallas: University of Texas Press, 1980.

———. "Albert Bierstadt, Big Trees, and the British: A Log of Many Anglo-American Ties." *Arts Magazine*, June 1986, 60–71.

Carter, Denny. *The Golden Age: The Cincinnati Painters of the Nineteenth Century Represented in the Cincinnati Art Museum.* Cincinnati, OH: The Cincinnati Art Museum, 1979.

Chevalier, Louis. *La formation de la population parisienne au XIXe siècle* Paris: Presses Universitaires, 1950.

Clark, Eliot. *History of the National Academy of Design, 1825 to 1953*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954.

Clark, T.J. *The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848-1851*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1973.

———. *Image of the People: Gustave Courbet and the Second French Republic, 1848-1851*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1973.

———. "The Conditions of Artistic Creation." *Times Literary Supplement*, London, May 24, 1974, 561–62.

Cline, Isaac Monroe. *Storms, Floors and Sunshine: An Autobiography with a Summary of Tropical Hurricanes*. New Orleans, LA: Pelican Publishing, 1951.

Clout, Hugh. *Agriculture in France on the Eve of the Railway Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980.

———. *The Land of France*. London: Allen and Unwin, 1982.

Coale, Ansley J. *The Decline of Fertility in Europe: The Revised Proceedings of a Conference on the Princeton European Fertility Project*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1986.

Cowdrey, Mary Bartlett. Introduction to *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1826-1860*, xi-xv. New York: New-York Historical Society, 1943.

Cronon, William. “The Trouble with Wilderness, or, Getting Back to the Wrong Nature.” In *Uncommon Ground: Rethinking the Human Place in Nature*, edited by William Cronon, 69–90. New York: Norton, 1995.

“Cropsey, Jasper Francis.” In *The Oxford Dictionary of American Art and Artists*, edited by Ann Lee Morgan. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2007. Online version.

Crouzet, François. “The Historiography of French Economic Growth in the Nineteenth Century.” *Economic History Review*, 2003, 215–42.

Davidson, Gail S. “Landscape Icons, Tourism, and Land Development in the Northeast.” In *Frederic Church, Winslow Homer and Thomas Moran: Tourism and the American Landscape*, edited by Barbara Bloemink et al., 3–75. New York: Bulfinch, 2006.

Dayez, Anne, Michel Hoog and Charles S. Moffett. *Impressionism: A Centenary Exhibition*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1974.

De Marchi, Neil, et al. *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Europe, 1450–1750*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006.

Dearinger, David B. “Collecting Paintings and Sculpture for the Boston Athenaeum.” In *Acquired Tastes, 200 Years of Collecting for the Boston Athenaeum*, edited by Stanley Ellis Cushing and David B. Dearinger, 33–64. London: University of New England Press, 2007.

Denvir, Bernard. *The Chronicle of Impressionism: A Timeline History of Impressionist Art*. New York: Bulfinch Press, 1993.

Dimaggio, Paul. “Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston: The Creation of an Organizational Base for High Culture in America.” *Media, Culture and Society* 4, no. 1 (1982): 33–50.

Dippie, Brian W. *Catlin and His Contemporaries: The Politics of Patronage*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press, 1990.

Doesschate-Chu, Petra ten. *French Realism and the Dutch Masters: The Influence of Dutch Seventeenth-Century Painting on the Development of French Painting between 1830 and 1870*. Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker and Gumbert, 1975.

Driskel, Michael Paul. “An Introduction to the Art.” In *The Art of the July Monarchy, France 1830–1848*, edited by Robert J. Bezucha, Michael Paul Driskel, Patricia Condon, and Petra ten-Doesschate Chu, 49–79. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1990.

Dupeux, Georges. *Atlas historique de l'urbanisation de la France (1811-1975)*. Paris: Editions du Centre national de la recherche scientifique, 1981.

Eldredge, Charles C. Foreword to *The National Museum of American Art's Index to American Art Exhibition Catalogues, From the Beginning through 1876 Centennial Year*. Vol. 1, edited by James L. Yarnall and William H. Gerdts. Boston: G. K. Hall and Co., 1986.

Encyclopedia Britannica, "Charles Xavier Thomas de Colmar." Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannica, 2015. Accessed February 12, 2013. http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/725533/CharlesXavier-%Thomas-de-Colmar.

Kaplan, Jonathan. *My Perfect One: Typology and Early Rabbinic Interpretation of Song of Songs*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Falk, Peter Hastings. Introduction to *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1807-1870*. Rev. ed., edited by Peter Falk. Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1989.

Faunce, Sarah. *Gustave Courbet, 1819–1877*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993.

Faxon, Alicia. "Painter and Patron: Collaboration of Mary Cassatt and Louisine Havemeyer." *Woman's Art Journal* 3, no. 2 (Autumn 1982–Winter 1983): 15–20.

Feinstein, Charles H. and Mark Thomas, *Making History Count: A Primer in Quantitative Methods for Historians*, Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

Ferber, Linda. "Albert Bierstadt: The History of a Reputation." In *Albert Bierstadt: Art and Enterprise*, edited by Nancy Anderson and Linda Ferber, 21–68. New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1991.

Fernie, Eric. *Art History and its Methods*. London: Phaidon, 1995.

Fidell-Beaufort, Madeleine. "Jules Breton in America: Collecting in the 19th Century." In *Jules Breton and the French Rural Tradition*, edited by Hollister Sturges, 51-62. Omaha, NE: Joslyn Art Museum 1982.

———. "Peasants, Painters and Purchases." In *The Peasant in French Nineteenth-Century Art*, edited by James Thompson, 45–78. Dublin: Douglas Hyde Gallery, 1980.

Findlay, Ron, and Kevin O'Rourke. *Power and Plenty: Trade, War, and the World Economy in the Second Millennium*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Fishlow, Albert. “Internal Transportation in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century.” In *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States*. Vol. 2, edited by Stanley L. Engerman and Robert E. Gallman, 543-642. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Foster, Kathleen A. *Shipwreck! Winslow Homer and* The Life Line. New Haven, CT: Philadelphia Museum of Art and Yale University Press, 2012.

Galassi, Peter. “The Nineteenth Century: Valenciennes to Corot.” In *Claude to Corot: The Development of Landscape Painting in France*, edited by Alan Wintermute, 163–237. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991.

Galenson, David W. *Old Masters and Young Geniuses: The Two Life Cycles of Artistic Creativity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2006.

——— and Robert Jensen. “Careers and Canvases: The Rise of the Market for Modern Art in the Nineteenth Century.” NBER Working Paper 9123. September 2002. http://www.nber.org/papers/w9123

Gardiner, Eileen, and Ronald G. Musto. *The Digital Humanities: A Primer for Students and Scholars*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Gaskell, Ivan. “The History of Images.” In *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*, edited by Peter Burke, 168–92. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1991.

Gassan, Richard H. *The Birth of American Tourism: New York, the Hudson Valley and American Culture, 1790-1830*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008.

Gates, Paul W. *History of Public Land Development*. Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1969.

Gerdts, William H., ed. *Lasting Impressions: American Painters in France, 1865–1915*. Evanston, IL: Terra Foundation for the Arts, 1992.

Girard, L. “Transport.” In *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*. Vol. 6, edited by H.J. Habakkuk et al. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965.

Grad, Bonne L., and Timothy A. Riggs. *Visions of City and Country: Prints and Photographs of Nineteenth-Century France*. Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 1982.

Green, Nicholas. *The Spectacle of Nature: Landscape and Bourgeois Culture in Nineteenth Century France*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1990.

Greenwald, Diana. "Sleuthing in Rare Books to Reveal an Art Lover's Interests," Parts 1 and 2. *Winterthur Museum and Library Blog*. January 15, 2016. http://museumblog.winterthur.org/2016/01/15/sleuthing-in-rare-books-to-%reveal-an-art-lovers-interest/

Grew, Raymond. "Picturing the People: Images of the Lower Orders in Nineteenth-Century French Art." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 17 (1986): 203–31.

Hall, Peter Dobkin. *The Organization of American Culture, 1700–1900: Private Institutions, Elites and the Origins of American Nationality*. New York: New York University Press, 1984.

Hallam, Nathan. "'We Must Give the World Confidence in the Stability and Permanence of the Place', Planning Sacramento's Townsite, 1853–1870." In *River City and Valley Life: Environmental History of the Sacramento Region*, edited by Christopher J. Castaneda and Lee M. A. Simpson, 61–76. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013.

Halteman, Ellen. *Publications in California Art no. 7: Exhibition Record of the San Francisco Art Association, Mechanics' Institute and California State Agricultural Society*. Los Angeles: Dustin Publications, 2000.

Hand, Eric. "Word Play." *Nature* 417, June 23, 2011, 437–40.

Harris, Jonathan. *The New Art History: A Critical Introduction*. London: Routledge, 2001.

Harvey, Eleanor Jones. "Tastes in Transition: Gifford's Patrons." In *Hudson River School Visions: The Landscapes of Sanford R. Gifford*, edited by Kevin J. Avery. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003. 75–90.

———. *The Painted Sketch: American Impressions from Nature, 1830-1880*. Dallas, TX: Dallas Museum of Art, 1998.

Hatt, Michael, and Charlotte Klonk. *Art History: A Critical Introduction to its Methods*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2006.

Hauser, Arnold. *The Social History of Art.* 2nd ed. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962.

Haverstock, Mary Sayre, Jeannette Vance Mahoney, and Brian L. Meggitt, eds. *Artists in Ohio, 1787–1900: A Biographical Dictionary*. Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 2000.

Havens, Joel. "Bement, Miles and Co." Vintagemachinery.org. Accessed April 18, 2016. http://vintagemachinery.org/mfgindex/detail.aspx?id=2226.

Haward Bain, David. *Empire Express: Building the First Transcontinental Railroad*. New York: Penguin Books, 1999.

Herbert, Robert L. *Barbizon Revisited: Essay and Catalogue; San Francisco, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, September 27–November 4, 1962*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1962.

———. "Goodbye to All That." *The New York Review of Books*, November 4, 1999. http://www.nybooks.com/articles/1999/11/04/goodbye-to-all-that/

———. "Millet Reconsidered." *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies*, 1966, 28–65.

———. "Millet Revisited – I." *Burlington Magazine*, July 1962, 294–309.

———. "Millet Revisited – II." *Burlington Magazine*, September 1962, 377–89.

———. "City vs. Country: The Rural Image in French Painting from Millet to Gauguin." *Artforum* 8 (1970): 44–55.

———. *Monet on the Normandy Coast: Tourism and Painting, 1867–1886*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994.

Heywood, Colin, *The Development of the French Economy, 1750–1914*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992.

Higonnet, Anne. *A Museum of One's Own: Private Collecting, Public Gift*. Pittsburgh, PA: Periscope Publishing, 2009.

Himmelberg, Robert F. *The Rise of Big Business and the Beginnings of Antitrust and Railroad Regulation, 1870–1900*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1994.

Hine, Robert V., and John Mack Farragher. *The American West: A New Interpretive History*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.

Hohneberg, Paul. "Change in Rural France in the Period of Industrialization, 1830-1914." *Journal of Economic History* 32 (1972): 219–40.

Horace Hibbard, Benjamin.*A History of the Public Land Policies*. New York: Peter Smith, 1939.

Horowitz, Helen Lefkowitz. *Culture and the City: Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago from the 1880s to 1917*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1976.

Howard, Peter. "Artists as Drivers of the Tour Bus: Landscape Painting as a Spur to Tourism." In *Visual Culture and Tourism*, edited by David Crouch et al. Oxford: Berg, 2003.

Jacks, David S. "Intra- and International Commodity Market Integration in the Atlantic Economy, 1800-1913." *Explorations in Economic History* 42, no. 3 (2005): 381–413.

———. "What Drove Nineteenth Century Commodity Market Integration?" *Explorations in Economic History* 43, no. 3 (2006): 383–412.

Jaher, Frederic Cople. *The Urban Establishment: Upper Strata in Boston, New York, Charleston, Chicago and Los Angeles*. Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1982.

Janson, H. W., ed. *Catalogues of the Paris Salons*. New York: Garland Publishing, 1977.

Johnston, William R. *William and Henry Walters, the Reticent Collectors*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.

Jones, Kimberley, Helga Aurisch, and Simon Kelly, eds. *The Forest of Fontainebleau: Painters and Photographers from Corot to Monet*. London: Yale University Press, 2008.

Kant, Immanuel. *The Critique of the Power of Judgment*. Translated by Eric Matthews. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Kearney, Michael. *Reconceptualizing the Peasantry*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 1996.

Kelly, Franklin. "Nature Distilled: Gifford's Vision of Landscape." In *Hudson River Visions: The Landscapes of Sanford R. Gifford*, edited by Kevin J. Avery, Franklin Kelly, and Claire A. Conway, 3–24. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003.

Kinsey, Joni L. *Thomas Moran and the Surveying of the American West*. Washington DC: Smithsonian Books, 1992.

———. *Thomas Moran's West: Chromolithography, High Art and Popular Taste*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2006.

Krall, Lisi. *Proving Up: Domesticating Land in U.S. History*. Albany: SUNY Press, 2010.

Kraus, Hildie V. "A Cultural History of the Mechanics' Institute of San Francisco, 1855–1920." *Library History* 23, no. 2 (June 2007): 115–28.

Kurutz, KD. "Sacramento's Pioneer Patrons of Art: The Edwin Bryant Crocker Family, Revised Edition." *Golden Notes* 36, no. 2. Sacramento: Sacramento County Historical Society, Spring 1990.

Lafont-Couturier, Hélène. "Diffusion de l'oeuvre de Rosa Bonheur par la maison Goupil." In *Rosa Bonheur (1822–1899)*, edited by Francis Ribemeont. Bordeaux: Musée des Beaux-arts de Bordeaux, 1997.

———, ed. *Gérôme and Goupil: Art and Enterprise*. Paris: Editions de la Réunion des musées nationaux, 2000.

Lambert, Darwin. *The Undying Past: Shenandoah National Park*. Lanham, MD: A Roberts Rinehart Book, 2001.

Le Pelley Fonteny, Monique et al. *Léon Augustin Lhermitte (1844–1925): Catalogue Raisonné*. Paris: Editions Cercle d'Art, 1991.

Lears, T. J. Jackson. *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture 1880–1920*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1981.

Lees, Sarah, ed. *Bonjour, Monsieur Courbet! The Bruyas Collection from the Musée Fabre, Montpellier*. Williamstown, MA: Clark Art Institue, 2004.

Lehning, James. *Peasant and French: Cultural Contact in Rural France During the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Leibold, Cheryl. *In the Service of Art: A Guide to the Archives of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts*. Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 2009.

LeRoy Ladurie, Emmanuel. *The Peasants of the Languedoc*. Translated by John Day. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1974.

Levinson, Jerrold. “Titles.” *The Journal of Aesthetics and Art Criticism* 4, no. 1 (1985): 29–39.

Lévy-Leboyer, Maurice, and François Bourguignon. *L’économie française au XIXe siècle: Analyse macro-économique*. Paris: Editions Economica, 1985.

Lewty, Peter J. *To the Columbia Gateway: The Oregon Railway and the Northern Pacific, 1879–1884*. Pullman: Washington State University Press, 1987.

Lubetkin, John M. *Jay Cooke’s Gamble: The Northern Pacific Railroad, the Sioux, and the Panic of 1873*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006.

Lubetkin, John M. *Before Custer: Surveying the Yellowstone, 1872*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2015.

Lübbren, Nina. *Rural artists’ colonies in Europe, 1870–1910*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001.

MacCannell, Dean, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class*. New ed. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013.

Macleod, Dianne Sachko. *Enchanted Lives, Enchanted Objects: American Women Collectors and the Making of Culture, 1800–1940*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008.

Mainardi, Patricia. *Art and Politics of the Second Empire*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1987.

———. *The End of the Salon: Art and the State in the Early Third Republic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.

Mathias, Peter et al., eds. *Agriculture and Industrialization: From the Eighteenth Century to the Present Day*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.

McConkey, Kenneth, ed. *Peasantries = paysaneries: 19th Century French and British Pictures of Peasants and Field Workers*. Newcastle: Newcastle Polytechnic Gallery, 1981.

McPherson, Heather. “Millet, Jean-François.” Grove Art Online. Oxford Art Online. http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove/art/T058295.

McWilliam, Neil, and Christopher Parsons. “‘Le Paysan de Paris’: Alfred Sensier and the Myth of Rural France.” *Oxford Art Journal* 6, no. 2 (1983): 38–58.

Mendras, Henri. *La Fin des paysans: Innovations et changement dans l'agriculture française*. Paris: S.E.D.E.I.S, 1967.

Merrill, Marlene Deahl. Introduction to *Seeing Yellowstone in 1871: Earliest Descriptions & Images from the Field*, edited by Marlene Deahl Merrill. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2005.

Merrill, Marlene Deahl. Introduction to *Yellowstone and the Great West: Journals, Letters and Images from the 1871 Hayden Expedition*, edited by Marlene Deahl Merrill. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1999.

Mickelson, Sig. *The Northern Pacific Railroad and the Selling of the West: A Nineteenth-Century Public Relations Venture*. Sioux Falls, SD: The Center for Western Studies, 1993.

Mill, Alister. "Artists and the Salon during the July Monarchy." In *Paris Fine Art Salon/Le Salon, 1791–1881*, edited by James Kearns and Alister Mill, 137–80. Bern: Peter Lang, 2015.

Miller, Angela. "Albert Bierstadt, Landscape Aesthetics, and the Meanings of the West in the Civil War Era." *Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies* 27, no. 1 (2001): 40-59.

———. *The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics, 1825–1875*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1996.

Miller, Kirk, and Tom Quinn. "National Water Quality Assessment: Yellowstone River Basin." *United States Geological Service Fact Sheet* (1997), 149–97. http://pubs.usgs.gov/fs/FS-149-97/fs-149-97.pdf

Milner, John. *Art, War and Revolution in France, 1870–1871: Myth, Reportage and Reality*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.

Minneapolis Institute of Arts. *Millet's Gleaners*. Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts, 1978.

Mooney, James E. "Century Association." In *The Encyclopedia of New York City*, edited by Kenneth T. Jackson, 200. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.

Morand, Anne. *Thomas Moran: The Field Sketches, 1856-1923*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996.

Moretti, Franco. *Graphs, Maps, Trees*. London: Verso, 2005.

———. *The Bourgeois: Between History and Literature*. London: Verso, 2013.

Murphy, Alexandra R. et al. *Jean-François Millet*. Boston: The Museum of Fine Arts, 1984.

———. *Jean-François Millet, Drawn into the Light*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1999.

Naylor, Maria. Introduction to *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1861-1900*, edited by Maria Naylor, iv. New York: Kennedy Galleries, Inc., 1973.

Nemerov, Alexander. *Frederic Remington and Turn-of-the Century America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.

Nochlin, Linda. *Realism*. New York: Penguin Books, 1971.

———. *The Politics of Vision*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1989.

Novak, Barbara. *Nature and Culture: American Landscape and Painting 1825–1875*. 3rd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2007.

O'Brien, Patrick, and Caglar Keyder. *Economic Growth in Britain and France, 1780-1914: Two Paths to the Twentieth Century*. London: Routledge, 1978.

Oberholtzer, Ellis Paxson. *Jay Cooke, Financier of the Civil War*. Vol 2. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs, 1907.

Ogden, Kate Nearpass. "California as Kingdom Come." In *Yosemite: Art of an American Icon*, edited by Amy Scott. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003, 23 - 54.

Orisi, Richard J. "Railroads and the Urban Environment, Sacramento's Story." In *River City and Valley Life: Environmental History of the Sacramento Region*, edited by Christopher J. Castaneda and Lee M. A. Simpson, 77–102. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2013.

———. *Sunset Limited: The Southern Pacific Railroad and the Development of the American West*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.

Ott, John. "Patrons, Collectors, and Markets." In *A Companion to American Art*, edited by John Davis, 525–37. New York, Wiley-Blackwell, 2015.

———. *Manufacturing the Modern Patron in Victorian California: Cultural Philanthropy, Industrial Capital, and Social Authority*. Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2014.

Palau, François et al. *Le rail en France: Les 80 premières lignes, 1828–1851*. Paris: F. et M. Palau, 1995.

———. *Le rail en France: le Second Empire, Tome 1, 1852–57*. Paris: F. et M. Palau, 1998.

———. *Le rail en France: le Second Empire, Tome 2, 1858–1863*. Paris: F. et M. Palau, 2001.

———. *Le rail en France: le Second Empire, Tome 3, 1864-1870*. Paris: F. et M. Palau, 2004.

Parinaud, André. *Barbizon: The Origins of Impressionism*. Vaduz: Bonfini, 1994.

Parsons, Christopher, and Neil McWilliam. "Le Paysan de Paris: Alfred Sensier and the Myth of Rural France." *Oxford Art Journal* 6, no. 2 (1983): 38–58.

Passini, Michela, and Vincent Pomarede. "Moreau-Nelaton, Etienne." *Dictionnaire critique des historiens de l'art*. Paris: Institute national d'histoire de l'art, 2009. http://www.inha.fr/fr/ressources/publications/publications-numeriques/dictionnaire-critique-des-historiens-de-%l-art/moreau-nelaton-etienne.html.

Patry, Sylvie, ed. *Inventing Impressionism: Paul Durand-Ruel and the Modern Art Market*. London: National Gallery, 2015.

Petersen, Greg. "Titles, Labels and Names: A House of Mirrors." *Journal of Aesthetic Education* 40, no. 2 (2006): 29–44.

Petri, Grischka. "American Academy of Fine Arts." In *Grove Encyclopedia of American Art*, edited by Joan Marter. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011. Online version.

Pollock, Griselda. *Jean François Millet*. London: Oresko Books, 1977.

Price, Roger. *The Economic Modernization of France, 1730–1880*. London: Croom Helm, 1975.

———. *People and Politics in France, 1848–1870*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Prown, Jules David. *Art as Evidence: Writings on Art and Material Culture*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001.

———. “Mind in Matter: An Introduction to Material Culture Theory and Method.” *Winterthur Portfolio* 17, no. 1 (Spring 1982): 1–19.

Raab, Jennifer. *Frederic Church: The Art and Science of Detail*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2015.

Rabinow, Rebecca A. “Catharine Lorillard Wolfe, The First Woman Benefactor of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.” *Apollo* (1998): 48–55.

Rainey, Sue. *Creating Picturesque America: Monument to the National Cultural Landscape*. Nashville: Applewood Books, 2001.

Rathbone, Perry T. Foreword to *Barbizon Revisited*, by Robert L. Herbert. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1962.

Reist, Inge, ed. *A Market for Merchant Princes: Collecting Italian Renaissance Paintings in America*. State College, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015.

Reverdy, Anne. *L’Ecole de Barbizon: L’évolution du prix des tableaux de 1850 à 1960*. Paris: Editions de l’Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1973.

Ribemont, Francis, ed. *Rosa Bonheur 1822–99*. Bordeaux: Museé des Beaux-arts de Bordeaux, 1997.

Rice, Richard B., William Bullough, Richard Orsi, and Mary Ann Irwin. *The Elusive Eden: A New History of California*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1996.

Robbins, Roy M. *Our Landed Heritage: The Public Domain, 1776–1936*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1962.

Roberts, Jennifer. *Transporting Visions: The Movement of Images in Early America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2014.

Rodman Wilson, Paul. *Mining Frontiers of the Far West, 1848Ů1880*. Rev. ed. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2001.

Rogers, Susan Carol. “Good to Think: The Peasant in Contemporary France.” *Anthropological Quarterly* 60, no. 2 (Spring 1987): 56–63.

———. “Which Heritage? Nature, Culture, and Identity in French Rural Tourism.” *French Historical Studies* 25, no. 3 (2002): 475–503.

Rosenbaum, Julia B. "Ordering the Social Sphere: Public Art and Boston's Bourgeoisie." In *The American Bourgeoisie: Distinction and Identity in the Nineteenth Century*, edited by Sven Beckert and Julia Rosenbaum. New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2010, 193–208.

Rosenberg, Harriet. *A Negotiated World: Three Centuries of Change in a French Alpine Community*. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1988.

Rousseau, Madeleine. *La vie et l'oeuvre de Philippe-Auguste Jeanron: Peintre, écrivain, directeur des musées nationaux 1808–1877*. Paris: Broché, 2000.

Runte, Alfred. *National Parks: The American Experience*. 4th ed. Lanham, MD: Taylor Trade Publishing, 2010.

———. *Trains of Discovery: Railroads and the Legacy of Our National Parks*. 5th ed. Plymouth, UK: Roberts Rinehart Publishers, 2011.

Salmon, Frédéric. *Atlas électoral de la France, 1848–2001*. Paris: Le Seuil, 2001.

Saltzman, Cynthia. *Old Masters, New World: America's Raid on Europe's Great Pictures*. New York: Penguin Books, 2009.

Schenkel, Ruth. "Edgar Degas (1834–1917): Painting and Drawing." *Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History*. Metropolitan Museum of Art. October 2004. Accessed July 19, 2016. http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/dgsp/hd_dgsp.htm.

Schullery, Paul, and Lee H. Whittlesey. *Myth and History in the Creation of Yellowstone National Park*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2003.

Schwartz, Ellen Halteman. *Nineteenth-Century San Francisco Art Exhibition Catalogues: A Descriptive Checklist and Index*. Davis, CA: Library Associates, University of California Davis, 1981.

Sears, John F. *Sacred Places: American Tourist Attractions in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Shanin, Teodor. "Peasantry: Delineation of a Sociological Concept and a Field of Study." *Peasant Studies Newsletter* 2 (January 1973): 1–8.

Sicsic, Pierre. "City-Farm Wage Gaps in Late Nineteenth-Century France." *Journal of Economic History* 52 (September 1992): 675–95.

Sizer, Theodore. “The American Academy of the Fine Arts.” In *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art-Union, 1816–1852*, edited by Mary Bartlett Cowdrey. New York: New-York Historical Society, 1953.

Sorensen, Lee, ed. The Dictionary of Art Historians. “Shinn, Earl: Edward Strahan, pseudonym.” *Dictionary of Art Historians*. https://dictionaryofarthistorians.%org/shinne.htm.

Soullié, Louis. *Peintures, pastels, aquarelles, dessins de Constant Troyon relevés dans les catalogues de ventes de 1883 à 1900*. Paris: L. Soullié, 1900.

Speiser, Anthony. “Jasper F. Cropsey, Painter of Faith.” In *Jasper Francis Cropsey: Catalogue Raisonné*. Vol. 1, *1842–1863*, edited by Anthony Speiser, xxi–xxvi. Hastings-on-Hudson, NY: Newington-Cropsey Foundation, 2013.

Smithsonian Institution. “The Sortie of the Grand Council at Venice, XVI Century (painting).” Pre-1877 Art Exhibition Catalogue Index. http://americanart.si.edu/research/programs/1877/.

Steinberg, Ted. *Down to Earth, Nature’s Role in American History*. 2nd ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Stevens, Elizabeth. *Jasper Cropsey: Interpreting Nature*. Catskill, NY: Thomas Cole National Historic Site, 2006.

Sturges, Hollister. “Jules Breton and the French Rural Tradition.” In *Jules Breton and the French Rural Tradition*, edited by Hollister Sturges, 7–28. Omaha, NE: Joslyn Art Museum, 1982.

Swan, Mabel Munson. *The Boston Athenaeum as an Early Patron of Art*. Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1940.

Taylor, Jan. “The Northern Pacific Railroad’s Last Spike Excursion.” *Montana: The Magazine of Western History* (2010): 16–35.

Thabault, Roger. *Education and Change in a Village Community, Mazière-en-Gatine, 1848–1914*. Translated by Peter Treager. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971.

Thermal Biology Institute. *Overview of Yellowstone Geologic History*. Bozeman: Montana State University, 2006. http://tbi.montana.edu/outreach/%hotscience/materials/resources/YNP%{\T1\textbackslash}%20Geology.pdf.

Thompson, James, ed. *The Peasant in French Nineteenth-Century Art*. Dublin: Douglas Hyde Gallery, Trinity College, 1980.

Trachtenberg, Alan. "The Incorporation of America Today." *American Literary History* 15, no. 4 (Winter 2003): 759–64.

Truettner, William, and Alan Wallach, eds. *Thomas Cole: Landscape into History*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994.

Truettner, William. "Ideology and Image: Justifying Westward Expansion." In *The West as America: Reinterpreting Images of the Frontier, 1820–1920*, edited by William Truettner. Washington, DC: Smithsonian, 1991, 27 -54.

Vaisse, Pierre. Introduction to *'Ce Salon à quoi tout se ramène', Le Salon de peinture et de sculpture, 1791–1890*, edited by James Kearns and Pierre Vaisse, 1–6. Bern: Peter Lang, 2010.

———. "Reflections sur la fin du Salon official." In *'Ce Salon à quoi tout se ramène', Le Salon de peinture et de sculpture, 1791-1890*, edited by James Kearns and Pierre Vaisse, 118–38. Bern: Peter Lang, 2010.

Van Miegroet, Hans, and Neil de Marchi. *Mapping Markets for Paintings in Early Modern Europe, 1450-1750*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2006.

Veblen, Thorstein. *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*. New York: Dover Publications, 1994. Kindle.

Vottero, Michaël. *La peinture de genre en France, après 1850*. Rennes: Presses Universitaires de Rennes, 2012.

Waitley, Douglas. *William Henry Jackson: Framing the Frontier*. Missoula, MT: Mountain Press Publishing, 1998.

Wallach, Alan. "On the Social History of American Art." In *A Companion to American Art*, edited by John Davis, Jennifer Greenhill, and Jason LaFountain, 71–84. New York, Wiley-Blackwell, 2015.

Wallach, Alan. "Rethinking Luminism: Taste, Class and Aestheticizing Tendencies in Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Landscape Painting." In *The Cultured Canvas: New Perspectives on American Landscape Painting*, edited by Nancy Siegel, 115-147. Manchester, NH, University of New Hampshire Press, 2011.

Watkins, Jane, ed. *Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1805–2005: 200 Years of Excellence*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 2005.

Wawrow, Geoffrey. *The Franco-Prussian War: The German Conquest of France in 1870-71*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Weber, Eugen. *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870–1914*. Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1976.

Weinberg, H. Barbara. Introduction to The Art Treasures of America. 3 vols. By Edward Strahan [Earl Shinn]. Reprint, New York: Garland Publishing, 1977.

Weisberg, Gabriel P., ed. *The European Realist Tradition*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.

Weisberg, Gabriel P. "Jules Breton in Context." In *Jules Breton and the French Rural Tradition*, edited by Hollister Sturges, 37–50. Omaha: Joslyn Art Museum, 1982.

———. "La fortune des oeuvres de Rosa Bonheur en Angleterre et aux Etats-Unis." In *Rosa Bonheur (1822–1899)*, edited by Francis Ribemont, 55–74. Bordeaux: Musée des Beaux-arts de Bordeaux, 1997.

Wells, Anna Rutledge. Foreword to *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1807-1870*, edited by Peter Hastings Falk. Madison, CT: Soundview Press, 1988.

White, Harrison, and Cynthia A. White. *Canvases and Careers: Institutional Change in the French Painting World*. Rev. ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993.

White, Richard. *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2011.

Wilkins, Thurman. *Thomas Moran: Artist of the Mountains*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998.

Wilson, Raymond L. "The First Art School in the West: The San Francisco Art Association's California School of Design." *American Art Journal* 14, no. 1 (1982): 42–55.

Wilton, Andrew, and Tim Barringer, eds. *The American Sublime: Landscape Painting in the United States 1820—1880*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2003.

Wood, John H. *Seventy-Five Years of History of the Mechanics' Institute of San Francisco*. San Francisco: Mechanics Institute, 1930.

Wylie, Laurence. *Village in the Vaucluse*. 3rd ed. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1974.

Yarnall, James L. and William H. Gerdts, eds. *The National Museum of American Art's Index to American Art Exhibition Catalogues*. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1986.

Young, Patrick. *Enacting Brittany: Tourism and Culture in Provincial France, 1871–1939*. London: Ashgate Publishing Group, 2012.

Zalewski, Leanne. "Alexandre Cabanel's Portraits of the American Aristocracy of the Early Gilded Age." *Nineteenth-Century Art Worldwide* 4, no. 1 (Spring 2005). http://www.19thc-artworldwide.org/index.php/spring05/300--alexandre-%cabanels-portraits-of-the-american-%aristocracy-of-the-early-gilded-age

Unpublished Theses:

Arrington, Benjamin Todd. "'Free Homes for Free Men': A Political History of the Homestead Act, 1774–1863." Ph.D. diss., University of Nebraska, 2012.

Greenwald, Diana. "Painting the Provincial: A Statistical Analysis of Rural Imagery at the Paris Salons 1831–81." M.Phil. diss., University of Oxford, 2013.

Kelley, Simon. "Théodore Rousseau, his Patrons and Public." D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1996.

Laster, Margaret R. "Catharine Lorillard Wolfe: Collecting and Patronage in the Gilded Age." Ph.D. diss., City University of New York, 2013.

Lenehan, Daniel. "Fashioning Taste: Earl Shinn, Art Criticism and National Identity in Gilded Age America." Senior thesis, Haverford College, 2005.

Natale, Mary L. "The American Art-Union, 1839-51: A Reflection of National Identity." Master's thesis, Harvard University, 1993.

Parsons, Christopher. "Patrons and Collectors of Jean-François Millet between 1845 and 1875." M.Litt. thesis, University of Oxford, 1980.

Richards, Nancy Elizabeth. "The American Academy of Fine Arts, 1802–1816: New York's First Art Academy." Master's thesis, University of Delaware, 1965.

Whiteley, Linda. "Painters and Dealers in Nineteenth-Century France, 1820–1878, with Special Reference to the Firm of Durand-Ruel." D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1996.