

美国艺术的容颜变迁

The Changing Face of American Art

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会议以“展览中的美国艺术”为题，就一定要问“什么是美国艺术？”是简单的美国公民的艺术，还是美国人、美国历史、美国地理中某些本质特征的反映？问题的核心是国家身份，美国在历史上从未停止过对国家身份的争论。美国相对年轻，人们的先祖不一，出身不同，就要有共性将大家维系起来，艺术就起到了这个作用。美国的艺术在孤立主义与世界主义之间不断摇摆，从而推动了国家自我意识的形成。本文所要讲述的，就是这种来回摇摆所形成的张力图景，及其在本土展览与国际展览中的体现。

1776年，美国独立。起初的几十年里，美国人并不在意艺术的审美独立。当时，英国在多数美国人心中就相当于“家”，紧随英国的艺术风格是理所应当的。美国艺术家创作的历史画作、权贵肖像都完全遵循欧洲先例，只有描摹对象是美国的。1828年，平民主义者安德鲁·杰克逊（Andrew Jackson）当选为总统，伴随着国家经济的繁荣，兴起了一个强大的中产阶级，他们需要的是表现普通生活、日常经验的艺术。随着艺术赞助从精英贵族转向中产阶级，风俗画中，以寻常的“美国”生活来体现可辨的“美国”样式就成了惯例。“画画要心怀大众——一定要为多数人，而不是为少数人而作，”¹费城画家威廉·西德尼·芒特（William Sidney Mount）这么说过。从芒特、乔治·凯莱布·宾厄姆（George Caleb Bingham，图1）、伊斯门·约翰逊（Eastman Johnson）到乔治·卡特林（George Catlin），他们笔下的美国种族包容、和谐民主，不排斥黑人与印第安人，这引起了争议。在当时的现实中，黑奴状况还未改善，印第安人则不断遭逐，艺术家描绘的美国实际上理想多过真实。但在画里的理想看起来都是真的，他们为这个年轻的国度构想出了一块自由、民主的领地。在当时，初建的艺术学院都会有对公众开放的年度展览，他们因此有了投缘的观众。这些学院中，1807年成立的宾夕法

The topic of this conference—“American Art in Exhibition”—is inextricably linked to the question of “What is American art?” Is it simply art made by citizens of the United States, or does it reflect something essential about the character of the nation’s people, its history, and its geography? At the core of this question is the issue of national identity, which has been an ongoing source of debate throughout American history. As a relatively young country, with a population lacking common ancestors and backgrounds, we have sought to find common denominators that bind us together. Art has played a role in this. In helping to shape the country’s sense of itself, art in the United States has swung between aesthetic insularity and cosmopolitanism. The broad arc of those swings and how they have been reflected in national and international exhibitions is the subject of this talk.

The idea of an aesthetically independent art did not occur to Americans in the early decades after Independence in 1776. At a time when England, for most of the country’s population, was still a synonym for “home”, reliance on it for artistic styles was assumed. Our art was national in subject matter only; the history paintings and portraits of prominent people that American artists produced were completely dependent on European precedents. The 1828 election of populist Andrew Jackson as president, coupled with the country’s growing financial prosperity, changed that by giving rise to a strong middle class demanding a subject matter that addressed the lives and everyday experiences of common people. Genre scenes depicting recognizably “American” types in familiar, everyday “American” situations became the norm, as patronage shifted from the elite to the middle class. “Paint pictures that will take with the public—never paint for the few, but the many,” Philadelphia painter William Sidney Mount said.¹ Artists from Mount to George Caleb Bingham (Fig.1), Eastman Johnson,

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图1 乔治·凯莱布·宾厄姆，《顺河而下的皮毛商人》，1845年，布面油画，29×36½英寸（73.7×92.7厘米），大都会艺术博物馆，纽约。图像版权©大都会艺术博物馆。图像来源：艺术资源，纽约。

Fig.1 George Caleb Bingham, *Fur Traders Descending the Missouri (French-Trader-Half Breed Son)*, 1845. Oil on canvas, 29×36½in. (73.7×92.7cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Image copyright © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Image Source: Art Resource, NY.

尼亚艺术学院与1825年成立的纽约设计学院最为重要。19世纪早期，艺术的民主化是由各种艺术联盟培植起来的，联盟为成员们提供工作，给他们版画原作，若能中奖，则可一睹油画原作。当时，纽约的美国艺术联盟影响力最大，也最为成功，1849年鼎盛时，成员可达19000人。

在欧洲人眼里，那些美国日常生活的图画并不有趣。因而，美国风俗画很少在国际沙龙或是伦敦、巴黎的年度博览会上亮相。唯有卡特林画的印第安人是个例外（图2），无论在美国，还是在欧洲的各大都城，都有一批青睐他的观众，他们在画中看到了不同于欧洲国家的身份证明。卡特林也善于出风头，称自己的展览为“印第安画廊”，其中有标榜印第安人及其文化的绘画，还有印第安人的服装、烟管、武器、篮子、帐篷等工艺品，再以“沙龙风格”助力宣传。他在部落里待过，这些东西都是那时搜罗来的。他还做讲座，讲述狂野西部，让展览更为生动。“画廊”在美国巡回了两年，之后卡特林把它带到了国外，随行的还有一批印第安人，他们可以表演狩猎、剥皮、舞蹈与传统仪式。在欧洲，卡特林一待就是31年，为欧洲观众带去了法国诗人夏尔·波德莱尔所说的“酋长们高傲、自由的品格，既谦恭又骁勇。”²

到了19世纪中期，美国艺术家有了另一个主题来表达这个新生国家的身份意识：广袤、未开发的荒野，

and George Catlin depicted America as a harmonious and racially inclusive democracy in which African Americans and Native Americans had a place, albeit contested. Given the realities of slavery and the forced relocation of Native Americans during these decades, the country these artists described was more ideal than real. But in painting it as if it were real, they codified the special place that freedom and democracy had in the young nation. Their message found a ready audience among the public who frequented the annual exhibitions held at the nation's newly established art academies, the most important being the Pennsylvania Academy of Art, founded in 1807, and the New York Academy of Design, founded in 1825. Art's democratization in the early nineteenth century was fostered by art unions, which commissioned and distributed original engravings to their members and made original paintings available in lotteries. The American Art-Union in New York was the most influential and successful. At its height, in 1849, it had almost 19,000 subscribers.

From a European perspective, depictions of American daily life were of little interest, with the result that American genre pictures were rarely included in the international salons and expositions held annually in Paris and London. The exception was Catlin's depictions of Native Americans



图2 乔治·卡特林,《白云,爱荷华的酋长》,1844年/1845年,布面油画,27¹⁵/₁₆×22¹³/₁₆英寸(71×58厘米),国家美术馆,华盛顿,保罗·梅隆藏品,1965.16.347。

Fig.2 George Catlin, *The White Cloud, Head Chief of the Iowas*, 1844/45. Oil on canvas, 27¹⁵/₁₆×22¹³/₁₆ in. (71×58cm). National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Paul Mellon Collection 1965.16.347.

由东至西,从壮美的哈德逊河河谷一直到落基山脉和约塞米蒂。在近若神圣的光线里,美国那美得令人屏息的自然风光被绘成了一幅幅全景图,托马斯·科尔(Thomas Cole)、弗里德里克·丘奇(Frederic Church,图3)、艾伯特·比兹塔特(Albert Bierstadt)让我们觉得伊甸园式的天堂是神恩的启示,蕴含着上帝对新生美国承诺的祝福。这种解释与美国“天定命运”的信念互相呼应,在宗教上合法化了国家向西部的拓殖。这些作品尺幅巨大,刻画精微,一度被称作“伟大图像”,深受大众喜爱,艺术家也顺势以一种戏剧化的方式来陈列和宣传作品。他们专门模仿当时的移动全景画,那是某种电影雏形,在黑屋子里展示,控制好灯光,以增强画面光线效果,以此招揽了大批观众。排队买票的人数以千计,以求一睹这些既宏大又精微的美国田园风景。在风格上,这些描绘美国西部与哈德逊河河谷的画作类似于杜塞尔多夫艺术学院的德国画派。因而在欧洲,它们也顺理成章地获致青睐,成了第一个在国外得到认可的美国画派,在伦敦皇家艺术学院年度展览上,在巴黎沙龙里,在1851年诞生后的世界博览会上,都有它们的身影。例如,1867年巴黎的世博会上就有87幅美国绘画展出,弗里德里克·丘奇还斩获了一枚奖章。

(Fig.2), which found a receptive audience not only in the United States but also in capital cities around Europe, where they were seen as testaments to a national identity distinct from Europe. Catlin was a showman. His “Indian Gallery”, as he called it, consisted of paintings honoring Native Americans and their culture, hung “salon style” alongside Native American costumes, pipes, weapons, baskets, teepees, and other artifacts he had collected from the tribes he had lived among, all of which he augmented with lectures he gave on the Wild West. After two years of showing his “gallery” across the United States, he took it abroad, bringing with him a retinue of Native American people who enacted hunts, scalplings, dances, and traditional ceremonies. Catlin remained in Europe for thirty-one years, introducing European audiences to what the French poet Charles Baudelaire referred to as “the proud, and free character of these chiefs, both their nobility and manliness.”²

By the mid-nineteenth century, American artists had found another subject through which to express the country’s nascent sense of its national identity: its vast, untouched wilderness, starting with the splendor of the Hudson River Valley in the east and moving to the Rocky Mountains and Yosemite in the west. The seemingly divine light that infused the panoramic depictions of America’s breathtaking natural beauty by artists such as Thomas Cole, Frederic Church (Fig.3), and Albert Bierstadt suggested divine favor, signaling an Edenic paradise that, implicitly, had been granted by God for the benefit of the new nation. Such an interpretation resonated with a country that had come to believe in “Manifest Destiny”, the idea that the nation’s westward expansion was divinely sanctioned. Large in scale and meticulously rendered, these “Great Pictures”, as they were called, had wide popular appeal, which the artists exploited by presenting and promoting them as theatrical experiences. Consciously emulating the contemporaneous pre-cinematic moving panoramas that were then attracting large audiences, the artists exhibited their works in darkened rooms under controlled lighting conditions to enhance optical impact. Thousands of people lined up to pay admission to see these oversized, minutely detailed views of American pastoral landscapes. Stylistically, these paintings of the American West and the Hudson River Valley resembled those of the German school of painting associated with the Dusseldorf Art Academy. Not surprisingly, they found favor in Europe, making them the first school of American painting to be recognized abroad by inclusion in the annual exhibitions at the Royal Academy in London, the Paris Salon and, after their inception in 1851, at World’s Fairs. The 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris, for example, in which Frederic Church won a fine arts medal, included eighty-seven American



图3 弗里德里克·埃德温·丘奇，《荒原黄昏》，1860年，布面油画，40×64英寸（101.6×162.6厘米），克利夫兰艺术博物馆，威廉·H. 马拉特夫妇基金捐助，1965.233。摄影 © 克利夫兰艺术博物馆。

Fig.3 Frederic Edwin Church, *Twilight in the Wilderness*, 1860. Oil on canvas, 40×64in. (101.6×162.6cm). The Cleveland Museum of Art, Mr. and Mrs. William H. Marlatt Fund 1965.233. Photography © The Cleveland Museum of Art.

内战之后，一切都不同了，四年的残酷战争（1861年—1865年）给这个诞生尚不足百年的国家带来了巨大转变。一方面，随着国家稳固，奴隶制问题的解决，美国转型为一个工业强国，它的经济发展迅猛，制造业产量可以与英国、法国、德国三者的总数相较高下。另一方面，战争也在美国人心理上造成了灾难性的创伤，伤亡不计其数，痛楚难以言说，上一代艺术家风俗画中的纯洁理想、风景画里的昭著神性就显得不合时宜了。美国艺术家于是将目光投向了国外，在欧洲风雅场上寻找文化庇护。1876年，艺术不再执着于国家身份的表述。艺术家迫切地抹去乡音，模仿他人。在费城美国独立百年博览会上，有一批评家对展出的艺术作品评述道：“（1876年之前）我们还有所谓的……美国画派；而如今美国画派已近乎消亡……我们开始跟别人一样地作画。”³到了1889年巴黎世博会召开时，旅居法国首都的美国艺术家数量之多，竟可在本土艺术家之外单辟一画廊展陈作品。而不论在美国内外，均少有艺术家描绘全然的美国题材。尊奉欧洲典范的美国艺术家则得到了嘉奖：当年有57位美国画家抱得大奖，24位得到提名。当时，威廉·梅里特·蔡斯（William Merritt Chase）转变风格，吸收法国印象派的画法，斩获了一枚银奖。有评论者称，美国艺术已经“与法国、英国、瑞士、斯堪

paintings.

Everything changed after the Civil War, a brutal four-year conflict (1861–1865) that was of immense consequence for the country, itself not even a century old. On the one hand, with the question of slavery settled and unification certain, the United States transformed itself into an industrial power, growing an economy whose manufacturing output equaled that of Great Britain, France, and Germany combined. Yet, the war had taken a devastating toll on the American psyche, having produced unspeakable injuries and mass numbers of casualties that seemed at decided odds with the innocent, idealistic genre scenes and divinely infused landscapes of earlier generations of artists. In response, American artists looked abroad, seeking cultural refuge in the refinements of Europe. By 1876, art as an expression of national identity had faded. In their desire to shed their provincialism, American artists became imitative. As one critic observed about the art exhibited in the Philadelphia Centennial, “(before 1876) we had what was called...an American school of painting; and now the American school of painting seems almost to have disappeared... We are beginning to paint as other people paint.”³ By the time the 1889 Parisian Exposition Universelle opened, there were so many American expatriate artists residing in the



图4 约翰·辛格·萨金特,《爱德华·达雷·波伊特的女儿们》,1882年,布面油画,87³/₈×87³/₈英寸(221.9×222.6厘米),波士顿美术馆,玛丽·路易莎·波伊特、茱莉亚·欧弗林·波伊特、简·休巴德·波伊特和佛罗伦斯·D.波伊特为纪念父亲爱德华·达雷·波伊特捐赠,19.124。摄影©波士顿美术馆,2014年。

Fig.4 John Singer Sargent, *The Daughters of Edward Darley Boit*, 1882. Oil on canvas, 87³/₈×87³/₈in. (221.9×222.6cm). Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; gift of Mary Louisa Boit, Julia Overing Boit, Jane Hubbard Boit, and Florence D. Boit in memory of their father, Edward Darley Boit, 19.124. Photograph © 2014 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

的纳维亚及其他国家艺术家,那些大部分训练得自巴黎画室的艺术家没有什么差别了。”⁴ 小说家亨利·詹姆斯(Henry James)的笔调也类似,他写道:“今天,要找‘美国艺术’,几乎只能去巴黎。终在巴黎之外找到了它,里面还是有很多巴黎的调调,这是一个简单事实。”⁵ 因而,19世纪晚期三位美国艺术巨匠——约翰·辛格·萨金特(John Singer Sargent,图4)、玛丽·卡萨特(Mary Cassatt)和詹姆斯·麦克尼尔·惠斯勒(James McNeill Whistler)都是旅欧画家。在美国本土,有法国印迹的艺术家也得权得势,掌控了纽约国家学院(译者注:前身是1825年成立的纽约设计学院)的年度展览,那是美国审美品位的首要标杆,把守着通往商业画廊的大门。19世纪90年代,这些画廊纷纷在纽约成立,其中有:杜兰特·吕埃尔、蒙特罗斯、麦克贝斯、金普勒和维尔当斯坦等。

截至1900年,法国的风格与题材已盛行25年,美国科技工业实力的崛起,全球化与帝国主义眼界的养成,使得这种卑躬之态变得摇摆不定了。美西战争的胜利(1898年),对古巴、波多黎各、关岛、夏威夷和菲律宾等地的吞并都是美国国力增强的证明。1901年,西奥多·罗斯福当选总统之后,美国在世界事务中日渐活跃。罗斯福调停了日俄战争(1904—1905年),维护了

French capital that their works had to be shown in a separate gallery from that of American artists who were still living in the United States. Few artists of either group depicted overtly American subjects. The embrace by American artists of European models was rewarded: fifty-seven of the exposition's awards that year and twenty-four honorable mentions were given to American painters. William Merritt Chase, who had altered his style to incorporate elements of French Impressionism, won the silver medal. American art, as one commentator wrote, had become “virtually indistinguishable from that... of the hundreds of French, English, Swiss, Scandinavians and other nationals who had learned most of their lessons in Parisian studios.”⁴ Novelist Henry James echoed a similar sentiment, noting that “it is a very simple truth, that when to-day we look for ‘American art’ we find it mainly in Paris. When we find it outside of Paris, we at least find a great deal of Paris in it.”⁵ Fittingly, three of the giants of late nineteenth-century American art—John Singer Sargent (Fig.4), Mary Cassatt, and James McNeill Whistler—were expatriates. French-influenced artists who remained in the United States entered positions of power, controlling the annual shows at New York's National Academy, which had become the nation's primary arbiter of aesthetic taste, and serving as gatekeepers to the commercial galleries that

开凿和运营巴拿马运河的权力，将之纳为美国属地，并派出一支 16 艘军舰的小型编队巡回全球，张扬国家武力（1907—1909 年）。美国在国际舞台上成为一支主要力量，这又激起了对美国本土题材与风格的需求。温斯洛·霍默（Winslow Homer）和托马斯·伊肯斯（Thomas Eakins）在当年备受拥戴，不逊于政界先人，适逢 19 世纪 90 年代美国各大城市纷纷建立百科式的博物馆，他们的作品赫然在列。为彰显国家的强势，1900 年巴黎世博会的美国艺术展区由美国国务院亲自督办。目标就是要宣扬“美国艺术生产大国的新地位”，不受“外国规束”⁶。为确保作品含有美国独特的题材，国务院下令，美国展品中至少有 70% 需是本土出产。1909 年，美国国会也如法炮制地通过一项法案，对 20 年内所做的非美国艺术征收 15% 的进口关税，以激励对当代美国艺术的赞助。

艺术家中，有一批向欧洲寻求灵感，另一批人则时不我待地打造独立自觉的美国艺术，两者的摩擦难以避免。1908 年 2 月，冲突到了一个高潮，罗伯特·亨利（Robert Henri）及其同道共 8 人（图 5）在麦克贝斯画廊举办了一个“非法沙龙”，以对抗国家学院，后者在其年度展览上拒绝了他们的作品。⁷亨利意识到美国民族主义的思潮日渐蓬勃，故而在展览中植入了这一主题，

opened in New York in the 1890s: Durand-Ruel, Montross, Macbeth, and E. Gimble and Wildenstein.

By 1900, the subservience to French styles and subjects that had prevailed for twenty-five years began to falter in the face of American technological and industrial power and the nation's growing global and imperialist outlook, evidenced by its victory in the Spanish-American War (1898) and its annexation of Cuba, Puerto Rico, Guam, Hawaii, and the Philippines. Once Theodore Roosevelt became president in 1901, America gained even more prominence in world affairs, as Roosevelt mediated peace in the Russo-Japanese War (1904–1905), secured rights to build and operate the Panama Canal as an American protectorate, and sent a flotilla of sixteen American naval warships on a circumnavigation of the globe to assert the country's military strength (1907–1909). As America became a more dominant force on the international stage, calls for indigenous American subjects and styles returned. Winslow Homer and Thomas Eakins found themselves honored as revered elder statesmen, their work featured in the encyclopedic museums that had sprung up in the nation's major cities in the 1890s. In an attempt to underscore America's ascendance, the U.S. State Department assumed administration of the American art



图 5 约翰·斯隆，《野餐园地》，1906—1907 年，布面油画，24×36 英寸（61×91.4 厘米），惠特尼美国艺术博物馆，纽约，购买 41.34。© 特拉华美术馆、艺术家版权协会（ARS），纽约。

Fig.5 John Sloan, *The Picnic Grounds*, 1906-07. Oil on canvas, 24×36in. (61×91.4cm). Whitney Museum of American Art, New York; purchase 41.34. © 2013 Delaware Art Museum / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

以谴责学院对真正美国艺术家的抑制。这张民族牌很起作用,开幕当天,每小时里有300余人涌入麦克贝斯画廊。评论家纷纷拥护展览的民族主义纲领,并将参展者称为“独立、本土的美国艺术的十字军战士”⁸。亨利在美国绘画历程中扮演了重要角色,他倡导艺术需表达“国家本土的伟大观念”,激励艺术同道抛弃欧洲中心的主题,替之以一种新的城市题材,取材美国的兴旺城市与大众文娱,表现不同人种的街区生活与休闲娱乐,不落俗套。⁹然而,在观念与题材之外,他和那些后来以“垃圾箱”得名的艺术家同道却深深受惠于欧洲先驱们的风格。这也是确凿事实,当时有批评家就认为,1908年的这次展览是“这些年来纽约所见最异国化、最法式的绘画展览,跟着20年前风行法国的艺术蹒跚学步,当然称不上是‘革命’”¹⁰。退而言之,民族主义的基调,生动而民主的题材,使得垃圾箱画家在1908年仍算得上是时代之先锋。

先锋的帽子他们一直戴到了1913年2月,直到纽约军械库展览的开幕。展览发起人中不少是亨利的追随者,因而初衷即是要彰显美国的成就。结果却恰恰相反,军械库展览成了从法国新古典主义、浪漫主义至野兽派与立体主义的一场现代艺术历程博览。在附发的展览目录上清晰地写着,任何艺术家的创作,若未有新近欧洲风格的“标识”就“落后”¹¹了。以此标准衡量,美国艺术不但褊狭一方,而且低人一等。威廉·格拉肯斯(William Glackens)代表美国艺术展出,在他看来,展览暴露出“我们无一不是创新者,任何有价值的东西都得益于法国艺术的影响。”¹²展览组委会创始人之一杰尔姆·迈尔斯(Jerome Myers)也有同样的感受,他扼腕道:“我们的国家比以往任何时候都像是殖民地;我们也比以往任何时候更像乡巴佬。”¹³展览上多数美国艺术是写实的,画家奥斯卡·布鲁姆纳(Oscar Bluemner,图6)后来回顾说,即使那一小部分抽象艺术,也落后了欧洲数十年。¹⁴

美国艺术给人的印象就是模仿者,“取道欧洲”而非独辟蹊径,国家表达的自立复兴于是愈见迫切。¹⁵军械库展览三年之后,作家詹姆斯·奥本海姆(James Oppenheim)、瓦尔多·弗兰克(Waldo Frank)和凡·怀克·布鲁克斯(Van Wyck Brooks)合办了文学杂志《七艺》,以支持美国新的视觉艺术,鼓励文学的脱欧独立。《土地》的民族主义号召则更响亮,这本杂志由纽约画廊主罗伯特·科迪(Robert Coady)创办,从1916年12月一直发行到1917年7月。科迪对美国艺术受到欧洲现代艺术的影响直言不讳,他所宣扬的是“独立于欧洲各大‘主义’之外的”¹⁶美国艺术。阿尔弗雷德·施蒂格利茨(Alfred Stieglitz)既是摄影家又是画廊主,在军械库展览之前,他本是欧洲抽象艺术在美国的主要拥护者,遂也将重心转到了审美独立上。1915年,施蒂格

利茨(section) of the 1900 Exposition Universelle in Paris. The department's stated goal was to assert "a new position for the United States as an art-producing nation" without "foreign trammels."⁶ To ensure the inclusion of specifically American subjects in the exposition, the department stipulated that at least seventy percent of the works representing America be made in the United States. In 1909, Congress followed suit, passing a fifteen percent tariff on imported art created within the past twenty years by non-Americans to encourage patronage of contemporary American art.

Friction between artists who looked to Europe for inspiration and those who felt it was time to forge an independent, self-consciously American art was inevitable. It came to a head in February 1908, when Robert Henri and seven fellow artists (Fig.5) opened an "outlaw salon" at the Macbeth Galleries in revolt against the National Academy, which had rejected their art from its annual exhibition.⁷ Cognizant of the rising tide of nationalism in the country, Henri injected the issue into the exhibition by accusing the academy of impeding artists who were truly *American*. Playing the national card worked; on opening day, more than 300 viewers per hour crowded into Macbeth's gallery. Commentators embraced the exhibition's nationalist agenda, calling its participants "crusaders for an independent, indigenous American art."⁸ Henri played an important role in American painting by advocating for an art that embodied what he called "the great ideas native to the country" and urging his fellow practitioners to replace Eurocentric themes with a new urban subject matter drawn from popular entertainments and unfashionable, ethnic neighborhoods in America's burgeoning cities and popular entertainments.⁹ But apart from ideology and subject matter, he and his fellow "Ashcan" artists, as they came to be called, were deeply indebted to European stylistic precedents. Indeed, one critic called their 1908 exhibition "the most foreign, the most Frenchified show of paintings that we have seen in New York in years. Surely it is not 'revolutionary' to follow in the footsteps of the men who were the rage of artistic Paris twenty years ago."¹⁰ Still, the nationalist rhetoric and vibrantly democratic subject matter of the Ashcan painters were enough to position them in 1908 as the era's avant-garde.

They held that title until February 1913, when the Armory Show opened in New York. Initiated by many of the artists in Henri's circle, the show's original aim had been to showcase American achievements. Instead, it became an exposition of the progression of modern art of primarily French origin from Neo-Classicism and Romanticism to Fauvism and Cubism. The message of the exhibition, as explicitly stated in the accompanying catalogue, was that any artist whose work did not "show signs" of the latest



图6 奥斯卡·布鲁姆纳,《今年的最后一天》,约1929年,木板油画,14×10英寸(35.6×25.4厘米)。惠特尼美国艺术博物馆,纽约,茱莉安娜·福斯捐助,31.115。

Fig.6 Oscar Bluemner, *Last Evening of the Year*, c. 1929. Oil on composition board, 14×10in. (35.6×25.4cm). Whitney Museum of American Art, New York; gift of Juliana Force 31.115.

利茨宣布他的“291”画廊不再展出欧洲作品。1917年,“291”画廊息业,随后他的几个画廊——亲密画廊和“一个美国地方”——都只为美国艺术服务,在他看来那是“今日美国的必要部件”¹⁷。

20世纪20年代,美国的工业、金融实力称雄世界,在国际舞台上的地位也愈显重要,创作自立的国家艺术看似是可行之举。第一次世界大战对欧洲人而言是一场浩劫,他们也经历到了美国人内战时的心理创伤。有批评家就说,现在的美国人感到自己的国家“不比天杀的欧洲差”,另有批评家也回应道:“我们刚刚继承了凌驾世界的傲然地位。”¹⁸施蒂格利茨身边的艺术家在世纪初的那些年里汲取了欧洲抽象的养料,如摄影家保罗·斯特兰德所说,那时都将目光转到了“美国而不是其他任何地方”¹⁹的题材上。对于布鲁姆纳、阿瑟·多弗(Arthur Dove)、约翰·马林(John Marin)、马斯登·哈特利(Marsden Hartley)、乔治娅·奥基弗(Georgia O’Keeffe)等人而言,自然是灵感的源泉。另一些人,比如查尔斯·德慕斯(Charles Demuth,图7)、查尔斯·席勒(Charles

European styles had “fallen behind.”¹¹ Judged by this criterion, American art was insular and inferior. To William Glackens, who had selected the show’s American portion, the exhibition revealed that “we have no innovators here. Everything worthwhile in our art is due to the influence of French art.”¹² The sentiment was echoed by Jerome Myers, a founding member of the show’s organizing committee, who lamented that “more than ever before, our great country had become a colony; more than ever before, we had become provincials.”¹³ While most American art in the exhibition was realist, the small amount of American abstract art that was included was decades behind European developments, as painter Oscar Bluemner (Fig.6) noted in his review of the show.¹⁴

The impression that American art was imitative, that it was “sponging on Europe for direction” rather than developing its own path, gave urgency to renewed calls for an autonomous national expression.¹⁵ Three years after the Armory Show, writers James Oppenheim, Waldo Frank, and Van Wyck Brooks launched *Seven Arts*, a literary journal advocating a new American visual art and literature independent of Europe. The nationalist agenda found an even stronger voice in *The Soil*, which New York gallerist Robert Coady published from December 1916 to July 1917. An outspoken critic of the influence of European modern art on American practitioners, Coady promoted an American art “free from all the ‘isms’ that came from Europe.”¹⁶ Photographer and gallerist Alfred Stieglitz, who had been the primary American champion of European abstraction before the Armory Show, put his weight behind aesthetic independence, announcing in 1915 that his “291” gallery would no longer exhibit work by Europeans. After “291” closed in 1917, he devoted his subsequent galleries—The Intimate Gallery and An American Place—solely to Americans whose art addressed what he called “an integral part of America today.”¹⁷

In the 1920s, as America assumed an even greater position of importance on the international stage as the world’s leading industrial and financial power, the creation of an autonomous national art seemed attainable. World War I had wreaked havoc in Europe, causing devastation of the sort that had traumatized Americans during the Civil War; now, as one critic put it, Americans felt that their country “is just as God-damned good as Europe,” a sentiment echoed by another critic, who announced that “we have just fallen heir to the proud position of world supremacy.”¹⁸ Artists in Stieglitz’s circle who had assimilated the lessons of European abstraction in the early years of the century turned their attention to subjects that mirrored “America and nowhere else,” as photographer Paul Strand put it.¹⁹ For those like



图7 查尔斯·德慕斯,《我的埃及》,1927年,油彩、白粉、石墨,木板, 35¹⁵/₁₆ × 30 英寸 (91.3 × 76.2 厘米), 惠特尼美国艺术博物馆, 纽约, 用格特鲁德·范德比尔特·惠特尼提供的捐助购买, 31.172。
Fig.7 Charles Demuth, *My Egypt*, 1927. Oil, fabricated chalk, and graphite pencil on composition board, 35¹⁵/₁₆ × 30in. (91.3 × 76.2cm). Whitney Museum of American Art, New York; purchase, with funds from Gertrude Vanderbilt Whitney 31.172.

Sheeler)、约瑟夫·斯泰拉 (Joseph Stella) 等人, 关注的则是现代工业和技术等里程碑式的符号象征。

1929年, 股市崩盘, 大萧条随后袭来, 美国的孤立主义重新燃起, 日常生活风俗情景是记录美国文化图景最恰当的方式, 又重获青睐。托马斯·哈特·本顿 (Thomas Hart Benton)、约翰·斯图尔特·库里 (John Steuart Curry) 和格兰特·伍德 (Grant Wood, 图8) 的乡土主义, 雷金纳德·马什 (Reginald Marsh, 图9) 的美国情景绘画, 还有在经济灾难面前, 为表明美国生活方式这一理想并未消失并抚慰大众, 政府在全国各地的公共建筑上出资营建了1100幅壁画, 它们是一个更简单、更纯真年代的视觉信标, 回应了不愿变化的祈求, 回应了对美国的信念。

艺术家在大萧条期间的压力很大, 需设法在审美上显出自己的国家身份, 当时就有争论, 现实主义与抽象艺术, 到底谁可以正当地自称“美国”; 抽象艺术到底是或不是从“他国”舶来的? 论辩的升温是在1934年,《时代》杂志将乡土主义定为唯一正统的美国艺术运动, 认为它正在取缔晦涩、外源的艺术风格。言下之意, 真正的美国艺术应是以独立于欧洲, 且是人人所喜的风格来表现美国题材。在体制层面, 两个

Bluemner, Arthur Dove, John Marin, Marsden Hartley, and Georgia O'Keeffe, nature became the source of inspiration. Others, such as Charles Demuth (Fig.7), Charles Sheeler, and Joseph Stella, looked to the monumental symbols of modern industrialization and technology.

The stock market crash in 1929 and the ensuing Depression rekindled the country's isolationism and reinstated genre scenes of everyday life as the style most appropriate to documenting the American cultural landscape. The Regionalism of Thomas Hart Benton, John Steuart Curry, and Grant Wood (Fig.8), the American Scene paintings of artists like Reginald Marsh (Fig.9), and the 1,100 government-sponsored murals that were commissioned for public buildings across America gave comforting, idealistic evidence of the enduring aspects of the American way of life in the face of economic catastrophe. Visual reminders of a more innocent and uncomplicated time, they answered the need for continuity and faith in America.

The pressure on artists during the Depression to aesthetically demonstrate their national credentials was intense, with debates raging between realists and abstractionists over what subjects could legitimately be called “American” and whether abstraction was or was not “foreign.” The arguments heated up in 1934 after *Time* magazine identified Regionalism as *the* authentic American art movement, one that was replacing incomprehensible, foreign-based art styles. The implication was that genuine American art depicted American subjects in a style that was independent of European influence and democratically accessible. Institutionally, the debate played out in the two museums that were founded in New York City in 1929 and 1931, respectively: the Museum of Modern Art and the Whitney Museum of American Art. Although committed to the diversity and inclusiveness it felt was inherently American, the Whitney favored realism, while the Modern, rooted in the ideology of artistic progress, privileged abstraction.

With the outbreak of World War II in Europe, whatever animosity existed over the definition of what constituted authentic American art was supplanted by the appropriation of it by the U.S. government as a marketing tool to counter Nazi propaganda. The State Department contracted with public and private-sector institutions such as the American Federation of the Arts, the Council for Inter-American Cooperation, and the National Gallery of Art to organize traveling exhibitions for distribution to Latin America and Europe of art that portrayed American life and society as harmonious and optimistic. After the war, the department appointed J. LeRoy Davidson, a former director of the Walker Art Center, to take direct charge of these programs. Conscious that European intellectuals viewed America as a cultural

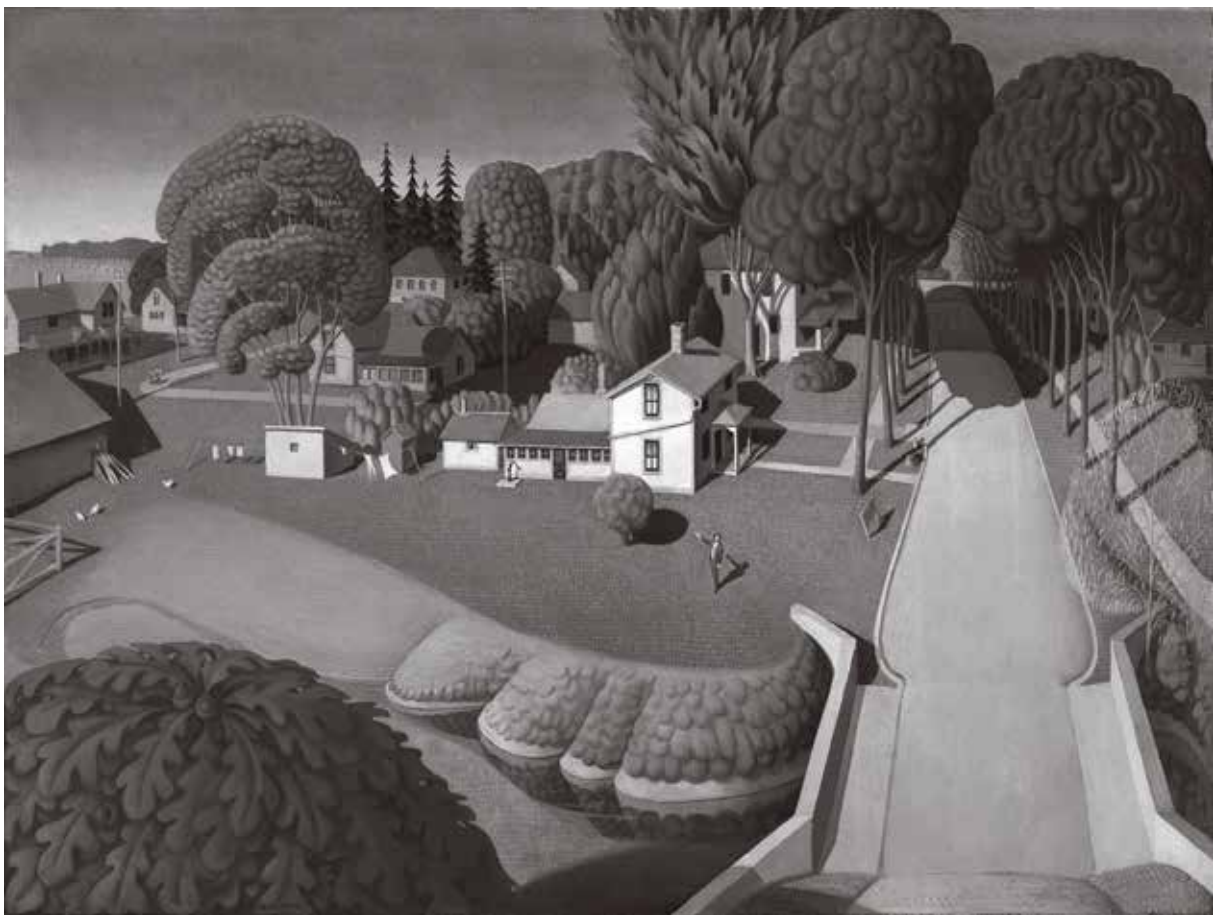


图8 格兰特·伍德，《赫伯特·胡佛的出生地，爱荷华州西布朗奇》，1931年，油彩、纤维板， $29\frac{5}{8} \times 39\frac{3}{4}$ 英寸（75.2×101厘米），明尼阿波利斯艺术学院，由明尼阿波利斯艺术学院与德斯·莫涅斯艺术中心合力购买，由约翰·R.范·德利普基金、霍华德·H.弗兰克先生与艾德蒙德森艺术基金资助，81.105。

Fig.8 Grant Wood, *The Birthplace of Herbert Hoover, West Branch, Iowa*, 1931. Oil on masonite, $29\frac{5}{8} \times 39\frac{3}{4}$ in. (75.2×101cm). Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Purchased jointly by The Minneapolis Institute of Arts and the Des Moines Art Center; with funds from the John R. Van Derlip Fund, Mrs. Howard H. Frank, and the Edmundson Art Foundation, Inc., 81.105.

博物馆在纽约的建立平息了这场争论，它们分别是1929年落成的现代艺术博物馆与1931年落成的惠特尼美国艺术博物馆。惠特尼虽致力于艺术的多元与兼容，却以美国为核心，偏爱写实，现代艺术博物馆则以艺术进步之意识形态为根基，偏好抽象。

第二次世界大战在欧洲爆发之后，不论对定义正统美国艺术由何组成的做法有多少嫌恶，这时都噤声了，它成了美国政府的营销工具，用来对抗纳粹的宣传。国务院与美国艺术联盟、美洲联合委员会、国家艺术博物馆等诸多公立、私立机构订下合约，组织巡回展览，将艺术传播到拉丁美洲和欧洲。在这些作品里，美国生活和谐融洽，社会蒸蒸日上。“二战”之后，国务院任命沃克艺术中心前主管J.勒罗伊·戴维森（J. LeRoy Davidson）直接统领这些项目。戴维森知道在欧洲知识分子眼中的美国是文化荒地，便决定组织一场激进绘画的巡回展览，呈现美国艺术高雅与创新的面貌。他不租

wasteland, Davidson determined to present American art as sophisticated and innovative by organizing a traveling show of progressive American painting. Rather than borrow work, he decided to buy it, reasoning it would reduce costs and allow him to tour the show for five years—longer than most lenders would allow their works to travel. He purchased seventy-nine oils from a wide array of artists, both realist and abstract, including Marsh, Davis, Louis Guglielmi, Ben Shahn, and Yasuo Kuniyoshi. *Advancing American Art*, as the exhibition was titled, demonstrated how far the United States had come as an innovative force in art, but it contained few examples of art that “made Americans feel comfortable about America.”²⁰ After the show’s inaugural opening at New York’s Metropolitan Museum of Art, it was divided into two parts and sent to Latin America and Europe. The initial stops in both hemispheres were unqualified successes. However, reaction at home was a different matter. Attacks in the popular press began shortly after the



图9 雷金纳德·马什,《20美分电影》,1936年,炭笔、墨水、油彩、木板,30×40英寸(76.2×101.6厘米),惠特尼美国艺术博物馆,纽约;购买 37.43a-b。© 2013 雷金纳德·马什、纽约艺术学生联盟、纽约艺术版权协会(ARS)财产。

Fig.9 Reginald Marsh, *Twenty Cent Movie*, 1936. Carbon pencil, ink, and oil on composition board, 30×40in. (76.2×101.6cm). Whitney Museum of American Art, New York; purchase 37.43a-b. © 2013 Estate of Reginald Marsh / Art Students League, New York / Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York.

借作品,都是直接出手买下,一共购得79件,一来省下不少费用;二来他要巡回展览五年,大多数出借方都难以允诺这么长的租期。这些作品写实与抽象并重,涉及很多艺术家,其中包括马什、戴维斯、路易斯·古列尔米(Louis Guglielmi)、本·沙恩(Ben Shahn)和国吉康雄(Yasuo Kuniyoshi)等。展览定名为“前进,美国艺术”,顾名思义,为的是显示美国艺术的创新实力如何强大。然而在展览中,却少有作品“能让美国人舒心地感受美国”²⁰。在纽约大都会博物馆开幕之后,展览一分为二,分别在拉丁美洲和欧洲巡展,地球两边巡回的首站都谈不上成功。然而,家门内的反应却很剧烈。大都会博物馆刚一开展,大众媒体的抨击就紧随而至,1947年2月刊发的《看》上登出一篇贬损的文章,并从保守的赫斯特报业集团那里摘编过来两个版的插图。记者们批评这些绘画是费解的,非美国的。其中就有人写道:“国务院这些收藏的根基……不在美国,而扎根在欧洲外来的文化、观念、哲学与弊病中……(作品)让

exhibition opened at the Metropolitan, with *Look* magazine running a derogatory article accompanied by a double-page spread of illustrations in its February 1947 issue that was picked up in syndication by conservative Hearst newspapers. Reporters criticized the paintings as incomprehensible and un-American. One critic wrote that “(the) roots of the State Department collection... are not in America—but in the alien cultures, ideas, philosophies and sickness of Europe... (the work gives) the impression that American is a drab, ugly place, filled with drab, ugly people.”²¹ Another critic claimed that the paintings were a blunt attempt to “uproot all that we have cherished as sacred in the American way of life.”²² The criticism prompted letters from irate citizens to congressmen complaining about the use of government tax money. Even President Harry Truman got involved, opining about Kuniyoshi’s portrait of a circus girl (Fig.10): “If that’s art, I’m a Hottentot.”²³ The ensuing congressional investigation resulted in the House Appropriations Committee voting to cut off funding for the show’s



图 10 国吉康雄,《正在休息的马戏团女孩》,约 1925 年,39 $\frac{1}{4}$ ×28 $\frac{3}{4}$ 英寸 (99.7×73 厘米),前进美国艺术收藏会,茱尔·柯林斯·史密斯美术馆、奥本大学,艺术 © 国吉康雄财产、VAGA 授权,纽约。

Fig.10 Yasuo Kuniyoshi, *Circus Girl Resting*, c. 1925. Oil on canvas, 39 $\frac{1}{4}$ ×28 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. (99.7×73cm). Advancing American Art Collection, Jule Collins Smith Museum of Fine Art, Auburn University. Art © Estate of Yasuo Kuniyoshi/Licensed by VAGA, New York, NY.

人觉得美国是一个阴沉、丑陋的地方,里面住着的都是阴沉、丑陋的民众。”²¹ 还有批评家放言,这些绘画是要直愣愣地将“美国生活方式中的神圣美好连根拔除”²²。这些批评煽动了愤怒的群众,也刺激了国会议员,他们写信谴责政府对税款的使用。甚至总统哈里·杜鲁门(Harry Truman)也掺和一手,他评论国吉康雄的一幅马戏团女孩的肖像(图 10)时说:“这要是艺术,我就是个霍屯督人(译者注:霍屯督人是非洲南部的一个种族集团)。”²³ 随后,国会开展了调查,众议院拨款委员会投票裁减了展览巡回的资金,并威胁说要废除国务院的艺术项目。一波接一波的攻势最终说服国务院召回了两个展览,并在 1948 年卖掉了这些展品。

矛盾的是,正是在保守艺术组织们斥责进步的写实艺术“不美国”的时候,美国的先锋艺术世界里,有一支抽象风格却日益壮大,他们以普世主义之名,超越了国家、种族与阶级的界限。他们是杰克逊·波洛克(Jackson Pollock)、威廉·德·库宁(Willem de Kooning)、巴尼特·纽曼(Barnett Newman)和马克·罗斯科(Mark Rothko)等画家,集结在“抽象表现主义”的标语之下,不讲故事,不涉及特定题材,倾心于描绘意识的抽象状态。抽象表现主义遵从自发与自由的表达,因而它在对抗苏联文化扩张的心理战争中成了一把称手的利器。²⁴ 在整个 20 世纪 50 年代,美国政府资助博物馆和私人组

tour and threatening to abolish the State Department's art program. The continuing attacks ultimately convinced the department to recall the two exhibitions and sell their contents, which it did in 1948.

Paradoxically, at the same time that conservative art groups were vilifying progressive realist art as “un-American,” the vanguard art world in the U.S. was developing an abstract style that aimed to transcend national, ethnic, and class distinctions in the name of universality. Painters such as Jackson Pollock, Willem de Kooning, Barnett Newman, and Mark Rothko, grouped under the rubric “Abstract Expressionism,” dispensed with storytelling and references to specific subject matter in favor of depicting abstract states of consciousness. Abstract Expressionism's dependence on spontaneity and freedom of expression made it an apt tool in the psychological fight against Soviet cultural expansion.²⁴ Throughout the 1950s, the U.S. government subsidized museums and private organizations to organize shows of Abstract Expressionism to send all over Europe. Within America itself, the verdict on Abstract Expressionism was more polarized, with institutions like the Whitney put off by the style's absence of recognizable subjects and its links to the formal practices and existential themes of European art. A decade later, Pop Art answered the burgeoning need for an art that was both self-consciously American and wholly modern by using hard-edged American advertising

织策划了很多抽象表现主义展览，并将它们送往欧洲各地。但在美国本土，对抽象表现主义还有另一种极端的看法，惠特尼这样的机构就反感这种缺乏可辨对象的风格，反感它跟欧洲艺术的形式探索与存在主义主题的关联。艺术既要有美国的自觉，又需是彻底的现代，这样的要求越来越强势，十年后，波普艺术终于做到了两全其美，它用硬边的美国广告技法来描绘流行文化中的图像，通常还带些批判色彩。无论在美国国内，还是国外，波普艺术都迅速成了媒体焦点，人们原本对西方艺术中心迁到美国的说法还疑虑重重，这下疑云散尽。有了波普艺术，固守地方与模仿他国之间的审美波动也停了下来。美国人第一次在自己的艺术里体验到了安全感。1964年，罗伯特·劳申伯格（Robert Rauschenberg）在威尼斯双年展上获得大奖，也只是让人更确信了这些既成事实。

在20世纪后期，美国的审美霸权在国际上还都畅行无阻，直到后现代主义与全球化汇成合力，永远地扭转了艺术与国家身份的概念，迫使美国的美术馆开始反思自己的使命。全球化经济中，传统的艺术中心为跨国画廊与艺术展会的网络所取代，交通与信息技术转变了观念交流的形态，早先对美国艺术组成的确凿理解轰然崩塌了。不再有人把它看成只是美利坚公民创作的艺术。在很多致力美国艺术的博物馆中，惠特尼就是一个例子，它办了很多展览，参展艺术家有的在美国生活，有的只在美国待过，但都不是美国公民。我们会把19世纪的萨金特、惠斯勒和卡萨特也看作美国艺术家，尽管他们大半人生都在国外度过，同样，那些出身他国，只与美国有些联系的艺术家的，现在我们觉得参与展览也无可厚非。借此，美国博物馆拓展了美国艺术的定义，而且还不限于此。历史上，只有欧洲裔的美国艺术家受到重视，最近几十年里，博物馆的大门则向所有人群的作品大方敞开，包括我们漠视了很久的“工艺”或“民间艺术”。此外，从20年内很多的临时展里可以看到，美国博物馆齐心协力地在填补自己收藏中美国亚裔、美国拉丁人、美国土著和美国黑人之间的沟壑，在讲述他们的国家身份及其多重性时，故事才可以更宽容、更真实。美国自古就是多民族的熔炉，在经济、政治、科学和技术层面都是如此，艺术也不例外。作为移民国家，我们把自己看成一个民族，包容性长久以来都是核心。早在1864年，美国批评家詹姆斯·杰克逊·贾夫斯（James Jackson Jarves）写道：“我们是一个混合的民族。我们的知识是折中的……艺术与其他文化一样，一直也都是折中的。为获得艺术财富，从各个来源习得先例、学识和想法……这是登上艺术巅峰的正确途径。”²⁵这一观点当时正确，现在也没有错。

techniques to depict images from American popular culture, often with subtle critical overtones. The art became an instant media sensation, both at home and abroad, putting to rest any lingering doubt that the center of Western art had migrated to the United States. With Pop Art, the aesthetic swings between provincialism and imitation ceased. For the first time, Americans felt secure about their art. Robert Rauschenberg's receipt of the grand prize at the 1964 Venice Biennale simply confirmed what had become a reality.

American aesthetic hegemony prevailed internationally until the late twentieth century, when the combination of post-modernism and globalization immutably changed notions about art and national identity, causing American art museums to rethink their mandate. In a global economy in which traditional art centers are being replaced by networks of multinational galleries and art fairs, and travel and information technology are transforming the exchange of ideas, earlier definitions of what constituted American art have collapsed. No longer is it seen as something made exclusively by citizens of the United States. The Whitney, as one example among many museums dedicated to American art, has mounted a number of exhibitions of artists who live, or have lived, in the United States but are not citizens. Just as the nation considered nineteenth-century artists such as Sargent, Whistler, and Cassatt to be Americans despite their having lived abroad for most of their lives, so now do we consider it appropriate to showcase the work of artists from other countries with connections to America. This is not the only way American museums have broadened their definition of American art. Whereas historically the primary focus had been on American artists of European descent, the past several decades have seen the doors of American art museums opened to include the work of all populations and demographics, as well as work long dismissed as “craft” or “folk art.” In addition to temporary exhibitions, the past two decades have seen a concerted effort by American museums to fill gaps in their holdings of Asian American, Latino American, Native American, and African American artists in order to be able to tell a more inclusive and true story about the nation and the multiple identities of its people. America has always been a melting pot of nationalities, in art no less than in economics, politics, science, and technology. As a nation of immigrants, inclusivity has long been at the heart of who we are as a people. As early as 1864, American critic James Jackson Jarves wrote: “We are a composite people. Our knowledge is eclectic... It remains, then, for us to be as eclectic in our art as in the rest of our civilization. To get artistic riches by virtue of assimilated examples, knowledge, and ideas drawn from all sources... is our right pathway to consummate art.”²⁵ The sentiment is as true now as then.

Notes:

- 1 Quoted in Oliver W. Larkin. *Art and Life in America*. New York: Rinehart, 1949. 217; Jules David Prown. *American Painting: From Its Beginning to the Armory Show*. Geneva: Skira, 1969. 81.
- 2 Charles Baudelaire. In : Benita Eisler. *The Red Man's Bones*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2013. 326.
- 3 William C. Brownell. "The Younger Painters of America, First Paper". *Scribner's Monthly* 20. 1880 (Mag) : 1; Linda S. Ferber. "Albert Bierstadt: The History of a Reputation" In : Nancy K. Anderson Linda S. Ferber. New York: The Brooklyn Museum, 1990. 60-61.
- 4 H. Barbara Weinberg. "Cosmopolitan Attitudes: The Coming of Age in American Art". In : Annette Blaugrund. *Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition*. New York: Harry N. Abrams for the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1989. 36; Darrell Sewell. "Thomas Eakins and American Art". In : Darrell Sewell. *Thomas Eakins* Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2001. xx.
- 5 Henry James. "John S. Sargent". *Harper's Magazine*, 1887 (10) ; Sewell, xx.
- 6 John B. Cauldwell. "Report of the Department of Fine Arts" *Report of the Commissioner-General for the United States to the International Universal Exposition, Paris, 1900* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1901. (2) : 513-514; Diane P. Fischer. "Constructing the 'American School' of 1900". In: *Paris 1900: The "American School" at the Universal Exposition*. New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press for the Montclair Art Museum, 1999. 1; Sewell, xxii.
- 7 In reality, Robert Henri's art had been accepted; it was that of his students and friends that was rejected.
- 8 William Innes Homer. "The Exhibition of 'The Eight': Its History and Significance". *American Art Journal* 1969 (1) : 53; Elizabeth Milroy. *Painters of a New Century: The Eight & American Art*. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Art Museum, 1991. 15.
- 9 Robert Henri. "Progress in Our National Art". *Craftsman* 15. 1909 (1) . 387.
- 10 William B. McCormick. "Art Notes of the Week". *The New York Press*, February 9, 1908; Milroy, 48.
- 11 Frederick James Gregg, Preface to *The International Exhibition of Modern Art*. New York: Association of American Painters and Sculptors, 1913.
- 12 William Glackens. In: Lloyd Goodrich. *Pioneers of Modern Art in America: The Decade of the Armory Show, 1910-1920*. New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1963. 30.
- 13 Jerome Myers. In : Bruce Altshuler. *The Avant-Garde Exhibition: New Art in the 20th Century*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994. 62.
- 14 Oscar Bluemner. "Audiator et Altera Pars: Some Plain Sense, on the Modern Art Movement". *Camera Work* special number, 1913 (7) . 27.
- 15 Paul Rosenfeld. *Port of New York: Essays on Fourteen American Moderns*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1924. 294; Wanda Corn. *The Great American Thing: Modern Art and National Identity, 1915-1935*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999. 9.
- 16 Robert Coady. In : Menno Hubregtse. "Robert J. Coady's *The Soil* and Marcel Duchamp's *Fountain*: Taste, Nationalism, Capitalism, and New York Dada". *RACAR* 34, No. 2 (2009) : 29.
- 17 Alfred Stieglitz. In : Sarah Greenough. *Modern Art and America*. Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 2001. 306
- 18 Malcolm Cowley. *Exiles Return*. New York: Penguin Books, 1976. 107; Henry McBride. "Art News and Reviews". *New York Herald*, October 15, 1922, sec. 7, 6; Daniel Catton Rich, ed. *The Flow of Art: Essays and Criticisms of Henry McBride*. New York: Atheneum Publishers, 1975. 165.
- 19 Paul Strand. "Reviewing December 1921". *The Arts* 2, 1922 (1) : 151.
- 20 Edward Bruce. In : Richard D. McKinzie. *The New Deal for Artists*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1973. 57.
- 21 "Exposing the Bunk of So-Called Modern Art," *New York Journal American*. December 3, 1946; Margaret Lynne Ausfeld. "Virginia M. Mecklenburg. Circus Girl Arrested: A History of the *Advancing American Art* Collection, 1946-1948". *Advancing American Art: Politics and Aesthetics in the State Department Exhibition, 1946-1948* Montgomery, Alabama: Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts, 1984. 19.
- 22 "Hottentot" is a derogatory term once used to refer to people from Southern Africa; *Congressional Record* 93, No. 4. April 30, 1947-May 20, 1947: 5221.
- 23 Letter, President Harry S Truman to William Benton, April 2, 1947, RG PPF-45F, Harry S Truman Archives, Independence, Missouri; quoted in Ausfeld, 20.
- 24 In 1952, President Dwight Eisenhower discussed the use of culture for propaganda purposes, noting that it was a means of "psychological warfare"; Serge Guilbaut. *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom and the Cold War*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1983. 205.
- 25 James Jackson Jarves, *The Art-Idea*. 1864. 197-198; John I. H. Baur *Revolution and Tradition in Modern American Art*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1951. 151.

Suggestions for Further Reading:

- [1] Altshuler Bruce. *The Avant-Garde Exhibition: New Art in the 20th Century*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1994.
- [2] Anderson, Nancy K., et al. *Albert Bierstadt: Art & Enterprise*. New York: Brooklyn Museum/Hudson Hills Press, 1990.
- [3] *Art Interrupted: Advancing American Art and the Politics of Cultural Diplomacy*. Athens, Georgia: Georgia Museum of Art, University of Georgia, 2012.
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