CHAPTER 2: Official Swedish Art Exhibitions in America Lend Support to Ethnic Artists

Between 1876 and 1916, Sweden sent seven officially-sanctioned exhibitions of its most contemporary art to America, providing encouragement to its immigrant communities and a sense of pride in the cultural attainment of the country they'd left. The exhibitions' venues in important museums and galleries (see fig. 1) provided numerous opportunities for both the general public and artists to view the advanced art of Swedish painters and sculptors.

Year	City	Venue
1876	Philadelphia	Centennial Exhibition Memorial Hall
1887	Minneapolis	Second Minneapolis Industrial Exposition
1893	Chicago	World's Columbian Exposition
1896	Philadelphia	Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts
	Chicago	Art Institute of Chicago
	Boston	Boston Art Club
	Brooklyn	Pratt Institute
	St. Louis	City Art Museum
	Cincinnati	Cincinnati Art Museum
1904	St. Louis	Universal Exposition
1912-13	New York	American Art Galleries
	Buffalo	Buffalo Fine Arts Academy (Albright Gallery)
	Toledo	Toledo Museum of Arts
	Chicago	Art Institute of Chicago
	Boston	Boston Museum of Fine Arts
1916	Brooklyn	Brooklyn Museum
	Boston	Copley Society
	Philadelphia	Pennsylvania Society of Fine Arts
	Pittsburgh	Carnegie Institute
	Detroit	Detroit Museum of Art
	Chicago	Art Institute of Chicago
	Minneapolis	Minneapolis Institute of Arts
	St. Louis	City Art Museum
	Indianapolis	John Herron Art Institute
	Toledo	Museum of Art

Figure 1. Locations of the touring exhibitions of contemporary Swedish art

During this era, attendance at art exhibitions was a growing element of cultural and social life in American cities for people of all educational and socioeconomic backgrounds, thus the Swedish exhibitions traveled to an already receptive public, although the exhibition sites did not have significant Swedish-American populations, with the exception of Chicago and Minneapolis. The success of the exhibitions, in turn, reflected favorably on Swedish-American cultural activities and artists, enabling the latter to more easily enter the American artistic mainstream. More than any other factor, they accelerated the acceptance of Swedish immigrant artists into their own communities' and American cultural life. Although the exhibitions did not effectively influence visual aspects of either Swedish-American or American art in the early twentieth century, with the exception of the Canadian Group of Seven, they were well-publicized in the

Swedish- and Scandinavian-American press and in American art magazines. Following World War I, and due to financial considerations, Sweden suspended large-scale traveling exhibitions until 1938

The history of the Swedish exhibitions and the reactions of the immigrant and American public to the Swedish artists' work reveals a decided acceptance and widespread appreciation of the freshly inspired views of nature that Swedish artists brought to their canvases, with the possible exception of the first. A critic, writing about Sweden's painting entries in the official catalog of the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia, remarked that "they do not impress one as possessing extraordinary merit, although certainly none of them are very bad, while a few are quite up to the ordinary standard for the exhibition."[1] Sweden sent over 100 oil paintings to the centennial celebration, housed in the newly constructed Memorial Hall, today the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The majority of the works were by Swedish painters of the Dusseldorf school, a painting colony in mid-nineteenth century Germany that attracted Scandinavian and American pupils and emphasized romantic landscapes and sentimental genre scenes. Critics singled out Edvard Bergh's *Market Day in Dusseldorf* and *Birch Forest* and Johan Höckert's (1826-1866) painting *Burning of the Royal Palace in Stockholm during the Youth of Charles XII* as exemplary contributions but remained silent on the quality of the rest in the official handbook

Minneapolis hosted the second exhibition of Swedish art in America as part of the Second Minneapolis Industrial Exposition from August 31 to October 16, 1887 (fig. 2, Exposition building exterior). In addition to 400 works by American artists, the Exposition featured 121 paintings by Scandinavian artists. Of the total, 54 were by Swedish artists, 36 by Danes, and 31 by Norwegians. This was the only year Scandinavian art was a part of the Exposition, a business enterprise that lasted only four years. Exposition officials and the cultural mavens of Minneapolis labeled the event a success and at least two of the Scandinavian works were sold when the exhibition closed. However, because only one of the works sold from the Swedish section, the Swedish organizers apparently did not consider it a "commercial success."[2]

Exposition officials purchased Danish artist C.F. Aaagaard's (1833-1895) Early *Morning in Oresund* and Swedish painter Alfred Wallander's (1862-1914) *On Their Way to Church.* Wallander's painting was transferred to the collection of the then six-year-old Minneapolis Society of Fine Arts when the art exhibitions ceased to be a part of the Industrial Expositions. It hung in the Minneapolis Commercial Club in 1909, then at the Minneapolis Public Library (fig. 3) in the Society's official exhibition space until 1915, when the new art institute building was dedicated.

The Swedish segment encompassed a range of styles, from a composite of academic artists who painted historical scenes, to the younger painters who had recently returned to Sweden from Paris to paint landscapes in the out-of-doors.[3] This group formed an organization that rebelled against the Royal Academy in Stockholm, labeling themselves Konstnärsförbundet (the League of Artists); they were also known as the Opponents. The young Opponents had studied in Paris and imbibed a variant of French Impressionism, which they melded onto the bluish atmosphere of Swedish winters and summers. Just two years before the Minneapolis exhibition, this new group courageously boycotted the Royal Academy's 150th anniversary celebratory exhibition, claiming it was too conservative, to show their own work in a separate exhibition in Stockholm entitled, "On the Banks of the Seine."

Swedish critics considered the Opponents' work to be among the most avant-garde in Sweden; therefore allowing Minnesota audiences the first look at the most contemporary and somewhat controversial Swedish art.[4] Twenty-one out of the 54 works shown in the Swedish section at the Industrial Exposition of 1887 were by members of the Opponents. Including Wallander, among the well-known Opponents exhibiting in Minneapolis were Nils Krueger (1888-1930), *Summer Day*; Bruno Liljefors (1860-1939), Fox *and Dogs*; and Ernst Josephson (1851-1906), *The Spinner*, now owned by the Gothenburg Museum. Three of the Swedish paintings were illustrated by pen and ink drawings in the Exposition catalog: The *Fishermaiden* by Oscar Hagborg (1852-1921); On *Their Way to Church* by Alfred Wallander, titled *Going to Church* in the catalog (fig. 4); and *The Spinner* by Ernst Josephson (1851-1906), whose name was misspelled as Emil Josephson.

The other two Nordic countries sent a greater percentage of lesser-known artists to the Exposition. The two best-known Danish artists of the period in the Exposition, for example, were Michael Anchor (1849-1927) and Peder Severin Kroyer (1851-1909). Both artists showed work from the Skagen colony, an informal group of Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish painters who worked in the Danish fishing village of Skagen from 1879 to 1900. Oscar Björk (1860-1929), one of the Swedish exhibitors, was also a member of this colony and entered the work *Fisherman at Skagen*. The Norwegian division contained the work of two young artists who had recently returned from Paris: Elif Peterson (1852-1928), *Midsummer Night, Christianfjord: Painted Between 11 and 12 o'clock p.m.*, and Fritz Thaulow (1847-1906), *Logging in Norway*.[5]

The Swedish section of the exhibition introduced a conservative but pleasing variant of Impressionism to Minnesota audiences, the first Americans outside of New York to view this new French style in a public exhibition. The previous year approximately 290 paintings by French Impressionist artists opened at the National Academy of Design in New York City from April through May of 1886 to extensive but not always favorable coverage in East Coast magazines and newspapers. Sent by the Durand-Ruel Gallery in Paris, the exhibition was titled a "Special Exhibition of Works in Oil and Pastel by Impressionists of Paris."[6] The Scandinavian variant of Impressionism, in contrast, elicited a more positive response from its Minneapolis public.

The Minneapolis exhibition drew favorable comments from critics and public alike. *Svenska Folkets Tidning* ran a column giving responses to the works of art during the exhibition's first four weeks. In their September 7, 1887, edition, the second week of the exhibition, a reporter mentioned that there had been a veritable exodus from Chicago by reporters for Swedish-language newspapers, which also sent their illustrators to sketch paintings for the papers' stories. According to the Swedish-American writer, American newspaper cultural critics remarked that they were amazed at the atmosphere and strength of form shown in the Scandinavian paintings. Bruno Liljefors, Georg Pauli (1855-1935), and Gustaf Cederström were favorites.[7] The same reporter observed that Swedish arts "har redan på ett par dagar förvärfvat många vänner" [have already in a couple of days made many friends][8] Minneapolis' Swedish-American community greeted the exhibition with pride, but revealed a twinge of jealousy about their Norwegian-American colleagues who had organized a special exhibition of 17 paintings and one sculpture at the Exposition and called themselves the Norsk Konstföreningen, the Norwegian Art Society. The Swedish-American artists did not participate, nor attempt to form their own organization. A writer for the Swedish-language weekly published in Minneapolis, *Svenska Folkets Tidning*, gently chided his countrymen that "for us less active Swedes, the exhibition organized by the Norsk Konstföreningen is a beautiful example of the energy and interest for artistic endeavors that is possible with such an organization." The reporter queried "shall we next year have an exhibition of Scandinavian art here . . . a practical solution to raise our status in American eyes?"[9] The Norwegian Art Society continued to contribute to the Exposition until 1893.[10]

For fledging Swedish-American artists, the opportunities to view the most contemporary Swedish art were inspiring. The exhibition's favorable reception by American audiences eased the way for all Scandinavian immigrants, but particularly for its artists. Immigrant artist Fritiof Colling (1863-1944) is one Swedish-American painter who appeared to have been influenced by this exhibition. He saved newspaper clippings about the exhibition, proud of Swedish art's reception in his adopted country. Colling also saved news about cultural events in Swedish-American history, pasting newspaper clippings into scrapbooks years later when he returned to Sweden. Colling, who immigrated to Minneapolis in 1879 at the age of sixteen, was part of a movement that originated in Sweden in the 1880s. Labeled *gåramålare* [farm painters], these self-employed, self-trained artisans found a market in depicting farmsteads and village homes of Sweden's working class who did not emigrate from their mother country in the great exodus to America from 1880-1920.[11] Colling carried the practice of farm painting over to American audiences.

The young artist returned from his first sketching trip to Sweden just a month before the 1887 Exposition. Colling placed advertisements in Minneapolis papers, reporting that he would paint the purchaser's homestead back in Sweden; he charged five dollars. His sketching trip during the summer of 1887 was followed by return trips in 1889, 1892, 1894, 1895, 1897, and 1902.[12] Although he had only four months of formal art training and his paintings were stiffly naïve, their colors were fresh and not muddied. His 1883 painting of *St. Anthony Falls*, (fig. 5), displays a talent for composition that resembles the cropped views of Impressionist canvases and an eye for portraying atmospheric conditions, similar to the quasi-Impressionistic canvases he would have viewed later in the Swedish segment of the Exposition.

When Sweden sent its third official exhibition of art to the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, it was greeted with a groundswell of critical acceptance. With 16 countries participating, Sweden's artists, the majority of whom were members of the League of Artists or Opponents, won 17 medals. A critic recalled that "the marked feature in painting at the World's Fair was the Swedish Exhibit. It was wholly new to Americans and was full of freshness and vitality uncommon to recent art."[13] Anders Zorn (1860-1920), sent by Sweden as commissioner for the Swedish section, became the Scandinavian visitor most thoroughly assimilated into American cultural life. He made friends easily with important American collectors and fair officials, and lined up contacts for portraits to be painted when he returned to Chicago and Boston in 1897. During his first residence in Chicago, Zorn painted a portrait of Halsey Cooley Ives, chief of the fair's Department of Fine Arts; drew a portrait in ink of art curator Sara Tyson Hallowell; and completed an etching of Henry Marquand, prominent art collector, president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, and initial choice to be the Fair's art chief.[14]

Royal Cortissoz, eminent art critic for the Chicago *Tribune,* praised Zorn's paintings, along with those of Georg Pauli, Oscar Björk, Bruno Liljefors, Carl Larsson (1853-1919), Alfred Wallander, Karl Nordström (1855-1923), and Prince Eugen (1865-1947). He wrote:

> The great attraction of the three Swedish rooms . . . comes from the fact that they illustrate a natural taste for colour apprehending the impressionist idea with delight and then utilizing it without failing in restraint. The Swedish section brings forth unexpected sensations.[15]

Cortissoz also noted Zorn's "accent on open air studies, which is that of many of the other clever Swedes, the accent of Monet tempered by a feeling for more nervous, precise effects than he prefers. . . . [Zorn is] Impressionist in spirit without ceasing to be very Swedish."

Although there was no direct influence on American artists at the time, Scandinavian art at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition had a documentable influence on the early formation of the Canadian Group of Seven, Canada's first native landscape school. It was not until the exhibition of 1912-1913, however, that the Group actually began a more formal period as an organization. C.W. Jeffreys (1869-1951), mentor to the group, explained his reaction in 1893:

> The first potent stimulus that we younger men experienced came in 1893. At the Columbian Exposition in Chicago we were shown for the first time on this continent pictures by contemporary Scandinavian painters . . . . When we saw some of the Scandinavian pictures at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893, we perceived that their painters were grappling with a landscape and climate similar to our own, and felt a natural affinity to them, rather than to the London, Paris, Munich and Dusseldorf Schools. We became northern-minded.[16]

The Swedish sector did, however, precipitate the formation of a Swedish Artists Club in New York, according to the July 2, 1894, issue of Minneapolis' *Svenska Folkets Tidning*. This weekly paper, typical of Swedish language newspapers in other large urban areas, carried short news items relating to national Swedish-American interests on its front page. A small news story reported that Anders L. Zorn had accepted the invitation to become an honorary member, and listed A. S. Hedman, Magnus Dahlander, John Borling, John Hartell, and Emil Gelhaar as charter members. Gelhaar (1861-1934), whose name later reappeared as a charter member of the Swedish-American Artists Association in 1905 in Chicago, had trained in Sweden and was a colleague of Zorn's at the Royal Academy School in Stockholm before immigrating to America in 1890. Later that decade, Gelhaar moved from New York to Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, to teach at Lehigh University.

The fourth official exhibition of Swedish art in America was the first to tour to other American cities, traveling to respected galleries and museums in six venues from the East Coast to the Midwest in 1896, providing opportunities for new American audiences to view the fresh quality of Swedish landscapes and genre scenes. The Opponents again triumphed, comprising the majority of the exhibition. Zorn, invited by the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, arranged a collection of Swedish paintings titled *Representative Works of Contemporary Swedish Artists*, which included the work of 18 of his colleagues. But Zorn's popularity in Chicago caused the Institute to manufacture a different title, adding instead, "*An Exhibition of 97 Works of Contemporaneous Swedish Artists Collected by Anders Zorn and Including Several of His Works.*" Besides the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and the Art Institute of Chicago, where it was the first exhibition of European art to be featured on the Institute's annual calendar, the exhibition traveled to the Boston Art Club, the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn, the St. Louis School and Museum of Fine Arts, and the Cincinnati Art Museum.

The most advanced artists in Sweden, all members of the Opponents, showed 97 works in the exhibition. Eugen Jansson (1862-1915), for example, was just emerging in Swedish art circles as a follower of the symbolism of Edvard Munch (1863-1944) and showed four canvases depicting Swedish twilight hours, bathed in blue. Other Opponents, Karl Nordström, Nils Krueger, and Richard Bergh (1958-1914), all members of the Varberg School, showed their newest work. This group lived as a colony of artists in Varberg on the West Coast of Sweden and painted their most forceful canvases of seacoast and picturesque fields from 1893 to 1896. Karl Nordström's *Autumn Evening. The Fort at Varberg* (fig. 6) was painted with stark simplicity in bluish hues on canvas that resembled burlap in texture. The rough surface, minimal design, and monumental forms were influenced by a Danish exhibition in which the Swedish painters had recently participated. Nordström, Bergh, and Prince Eugen had shown work at the Copenhagen exhibit *"Die Frie"* in 1893, which also included the work of French-based, Post-Impressionist painters Vincent Van Gogh (1853-90) and Paul Gauguin (1848-1903). After viewing their canvases, the Swedish painters at Varberg decided to simplify compositions, work with evident brushstrokes, and use a more textured canvas. Thus, this exhibition of Swedish art brought the first glimpses of Van Gogh and Gauguin-influenced canvases to the American viewing public.

The essayist in the catalog for the exhibition carefully drew verbal portraits of each artist, describing their reception in Sweden. Cautioning that Nordström's work was "not a popular favorite," the essayist wrote that in a recent exhibition only three of the artist's works had sold—to his fellow artists. Bruno Liljefors, however, had "gained a wide reputation, although unfortunately up to this time his best works have not been seen in exhibitions."[17]

Carl Larsson, the writer apologized, was far too busy working on murals for the entrance of the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm at the time to produce a painting for the exhibition, but was represented by 12 watercolors illustrating the interior of his home. The writer noted that "his unequalled instinct for beauty of line and decorative effect can be traced in the charming series of interiors in color taken from his home in the country."[18] The images, although not specifically titled nor identified, were probably depictions of his home in Sunborn, in Dalarna province. Larsson began to portray these scenes in 1894 and published them in series form in a book, *Ett Hem* in 1899.[19] These watercolors have since become the most famous works by Larsson. The painter's interest in the arts and crafts movement from England, translated into Swedish rural peasant interiors through Larsson's watercolors from the 1890s, revitalized the idea of home decoration among Swedish architects and designers. (Today they are found on everything in Swedish and American boutiques from matchboxes to kitchen trays.)

The exhibition of 1896 reinforced Chicago audiences' high opinion of Swedish art, gained from the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. It fostered interest within the Swedish-American community to initiate artists' organizations and set the stage for wealthy ethnic businessmen to support the formation and execution of Swedish-American exhibitions at their inception in 1905. Their implementation received further impetus from Sweden's successful showing at the 1904 Universal Exposition in St. Louis.

Declared a "pearl among art exhibitions," the fifth exhibition of Swedish art sent to America was distributed throughout six rooms in the East Pavilion of the fairgrounds in St. Louis.[20] The work of artists representing Denmark, Iceland, and Norway was placed in a small gallery in the same building. Although the largest segment in the fair was given to the French and Germans, the Swedish collection carried a good reputation from its previous exhibitions in America. The introduction of the *Official Catalogue of Exhibits, Department of Art* noted Swedish art's vital connection to its people and countryside:

> The impression made by the Swedish painters at the Chicago Exposition is repeated here. Nowhere is art more patriotic than in Sweden and nowhere has a stronger effort been made to develop a national art, and to induce the return of the artist to his native soil.

> Since 1880 these efforts have been successful and have resulted in the development of an art which has a vital connection with the life and civilization of the country.[21]

The cumulative result of five well-received exhibitions of Swedish art was a traveling exhibition of the most important Scandinavian artists to five major American museums during the winter/spring of 1913. The tour not only reached the largest American audience for any Nordic exhibition thus far, but also indicated that Sweden, Norway, and Denmark took their cultural responsibilities seriously when all three sent their prime ministers to address the audience at the opening of the exhibition at the American Art Galleries in New York, December 9, 1912. The history of the exhibition planning and execution revealed the essential cooperation of the three Scandinavian countries. Initiated by the American Scandinavian Society in April 1910 by its then-president, Niels Poulson, a Danish immigrant, information about the exhibition was sent out to the various society chapters early in 1911 but it was not until the fall of 1911 that plans were finalized. Henrik Lund, a Norwegian painter, approached Poulson to suggest sponsoring a Norwegian exhibition but was persuaded to act as "Artistic Director" for an exhibition of art from Norway, Sweden and Denmark as it toured five American museum sites.

During the summer of 1912, John A. Gade, a Norwegian-American and new president of the American-Scandinavian Society, traveled throughout three Scandinavian countries, accompanied by American art critic Christian Brinton, to secure patronage from the Scandinavian royal families and choose works from artists' studios. Brinton had contacted Henry D. Roberts, director of the Public Library, Museums, and Fine Art Galleries, Brighton, England, in April of 1912 just after the gallery opened an exhibition of modern Danish artists. Roberts pledged to help Brinton with the exhibition, alerting the art critic that his exhibition proposal would be printed in Scandinavian papers by April 14, 1912. Although Roberts suggested that "there are many eminent Scandinavian painters living in Finland who should be included in the Scandinavian exhibition," the final roster of chosen artists included only artists from Denmark, Norway, and Sweden.[22] One hundred and fifty works by 45 artists were chosen. The most important Scandinavian scholars at the time were enlisted to write catalog essays. Brinton, noted for his interest in ethnic art, wrote the foreword to the catalog accompanying the exhibition. Museum professionals Karl Madsen, director of the National Gallery in Copenhagen; art historians Karl and Thorstein Laurin of Stockholm; and Jens Thiis, director of the National Gallery in Christiania (Oslo), contributed essays on the art of their respective countries.[23]

Eleven Scandinavian-American artists greeted the opening crowd as an official reception committee at the American Art Galleries on December 9, 1912. These included five Swedish-Americans: John F. Carlson (1874-1945), August Franzèn (1863-1938), Ava de Lagercrantz (1860-1930), Thure de Thulstrup (1848-1930), and Henry Reuterdahl (1871-1925), all of whom lived in the New York area. After its opening in New York, the exhibition traveled to four additional sites between January 4 and April 21, 1913: Buffalo, Toledo, Chicago and Boston.[24] Attendance totaled 168,000, with the largest audiences in Buffalo (45,000) and Chicago (69,094).[25] In addition, Hugo Reisinger, a German-American who had brought a German art exhibit to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and two other sites on the East Coast in the winter through early spring of 1909, suggested that an exhibition of American art be sent back to the three Scandinavian countries. Reisinger volunteered to defray the expenses of this exhibition.[26] Because of the unrest in Europe the following year and ensuing war in 1914, the exhibition never materialized.

Leaders in the recently organized American Scandinavian Society promoted the 1912 exhibition in a variety of venues. Secretary Henry Goddard Leach and unofficial curator

Christian Brinton placed articles promoting the exhibition in numerous popular magazines. In addition, Leach traveled to areas that did not book the exhibition to speak on Nordic art. In February 1913, for example, he lectured on Scandinavian art to students and faculty at Gustavus Adolphus College in St. Peter, Minnesota, a site far from significant museum audiences.[27] When he helped to found the Society's official quarterly publication, *The American-Scandinavian Review* that same year, Leach and the Society helped to bring news and illustrations of the exhibition to those unable to travel to the five sites. At the same time the publication solidified Scandinavian-American support for the tour and tracked its critical reception in American publications, allowing the magazine to be an historical chronicle that witnessed the Scandinavian-American perception of the exhibition's success.

The magazine included both tepid and enthusiastic critical reviews in its issues. [28] Overall, however, response to the work was mixed in American critics' columns. The printed excerpts in *The American Scandinavian Review* ranged from a favorable review by Elizabeth Luther Cary, critic for *The New York Times*, in the February issue of *Art and Progress* to a rather lukewarm review by Samuel Swift in *The Sun* (New York). Swift wrote critically that:

> It will scarcely fail to stimulate those who know how to value the impact of fresh ideas; it will carry the note of sincerity in nearly every case; it will show that although the development of what the world has ever recognized as beauty of formal utterance has lagged behind the creative function in Scandinavian art, save in a few well-known cases, there is at least an abundance of earnest purpose and genuine emotional thought which should ultimately work out for itself an adequate method of expression.[29]

Royal Cortissoz, a champion of Tonalism, the American variant of Impressionism, declared in *The Tribune* (Chicago) that he was not impressed by the Scandinavians' handling of the painted surface. For Cortissoz the more muted, delicately applied bluish-grey colors in Tonalist/Impressionist canvases were desired stylistic characteristics. He wrote that "the salient defect confronting us, in fact, on every hand, is a heavy-handed and crude treatment of both form and color. The Scandinavians suffer, as we saw the Germans suffering in their exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum not long ago, from an insensitiveness to the genius of their medium."[30]

The paintings of Anders Zorn again won highest praise from the majority of American critics. Cortissoz wrote that he had "regard for the special qualities of paint," while a critic from *The Evening Mail* (New York) hailed Zorn as the "*clou* (centerpiece) of the exhibition. This great Swede, one of the world painters of all time, sends seven canvases glowing with life, seen through the medium of a technique so individualized and mastered that it obliterates itself in its subject."[31] Critics also cited the decorative quality of Swedish art and its foundation in Scandinavian handcrafts, a theme that would resurface in most of the Scandinavian exhibitions to follow. *The Evening Post*, according to an article summing up reactions to the exhibition in *The American Scandinavian Review*, discerned that Swedish art was more "native," while Denmark and Norway were more strongly influenced by German and French art.

The catalog, however, indicated an American perception of Scandinavian ethnic identity. Christian Brinton, writing in the introduction to the exhibition catalog (fig. 7), described the place of Swedish art in the exhibition and its aesthetic characteristics. Sweden, he wrote, was the first of the Northern countries to foster an artistic culture at the time of the Renaissance and Baroque periods. Norway possessed the youngest of the artistic cultures in Scandinavia but did not owe anything to its Viking past, and instead "flaunts the priceless boon of a fresh, unfatigued outlook upon nature and life."[32] He pointed out that the Norwegians were "more fundamentally talented than the Swedes, and endowed with an aggressive force often disconcerting to the pacific Danes."[33] Brinton wrote about Edvard Munch, who in several reviews became the problem-child of the exhibition, as confronting the viewer with "an acute hypersensitivity voiced now with masterly conviction, now in troubled, tortured accents."[34]

Brinton evaluated the works in the exhibition through the lens of nationalistic characteristics. He intimated that the Swedish section was safely conservative in style, noting that the Swedish avant-garde painters, "The Eight," were not represented there. Led by painter Isaac Grünevald (1889-1946), the Eight's expressionistic work resembled that of their teacher Henri Matisse. They were "earnest disciples of progress," Brinton wrote, and their work "is a far cry from the crisp, inviolate whiteness of Gustaf Fjaestad's snow scenes . . . . and from Sunborn, the bright-countenanced scene of Carl Larsson's activity, snugly nestled among the birches of Dalecarlia. We have pushed rapidly forward during the last decade. . . but there is still no cause of alarm, since that which holds within it the precious secret of permanency will survive. . . ".[35]

Repeating the success of the exhibitions of 1893, 1896, and 1904, the works of Zorn, Liljefors, Prince Eugen, Gustaf Fjaestad (1868-1948), and Carl Larsson were the most well-received by the Swedish-American public. In fact, when the exhibition toured to the Art Institute of Chicago in March 1913, Director William M. French pointed out that although the attendance was a healthy 69,094 during the showing, he detected a sense of disappointment among the audience, who instinctively felt that the work was too advanced. He noted that "if they feel any regret it is that many Scandinavians, having in mind the pictures popular in their youth, were disappointed by the new development, as an immigrant returning to his home is disappointed by the absence of the old landmarks."[36]

The presence of Norwegian expressionist painter Edvard Munch's canvases raised viewers' ire. Writing on the exhibition while it toured, J.N. Laurvik noted that "this exhibition was generally regarded as two-thirds success, with the merits of the other third left very much in doubt." He added that although the general public loved the "brilliant realism of Zorn" and the "photographic verisimilitude of Fjaestad's winter landscapes," there "was generally little else than condemnation of the Norwegian section." He pointed out that the Norwegians in the exhibition were searching for "nothing less than a new form, based upon ancient primitive forms, that shall express with greater intensity the new feelings and emotions aroused in man by all objects in the natural world—that is what they are searching for and all modern art that is not dominated by photographic vision is engaged in the same quest."[37]

Munch, however, was sensitively appraised by Henry Reuterdahl, who noted that "Of that bizarre muser and soul stirring painter, Edvard Munch, the Ibsen of Norwegian paint, the [Christiania native] has more than ten canvases—and the painter still in the flesh. No one can say that these visions of sickness, these passionate wild longings, high notes in paint, are there to please the mob; they were purchased by the State because of their importance to the nation's art."[38]

Sales in the five-museum tour were slow, but the majority of works sold were by Swedish artists: Carl Larsson, Gustaf Fjaestad, Anna Boberg (1861-1935), and Axel Pettersson (1868-1925). Lauritz A. Ring (1854-1933), a Dane, and Norwegian painter Harald Sohlberg (1869-1935) each sold one. An article entitled "Marketing Art" in the 1916 summer edition of *The American Scandinavian Review* addressed the artists' frustration: "*Why do my works not sell in America?* Many a disappointed painter raised that question after the exhibition of 1912-1913, when the crowds and publicity in the magazines and press proved that the public were surely interested in Northern art. Two answers are usually given," wrote the author. "The prices fixed by the artists were exorbitant. The exhibition was educational, not commercial, many of the paintings being bold experiments . . . not intended for home consumption."[39]

Swedish-American artists' reactions to the exhibition can be read between the lines in marine painter Henry Reuterdahl's article in *The Craftsman.* Noting a consistency in the subject matter of these Nordic painters, he poignantly wrote that the Swedish public financially supported its artists, whereas the American did not:

> That love for the open, the tradition of the homestead has driven the northern painters out of the cities to settle among subjects which inspired their brush. Their homes are fashioned like those of the locality, not foreign villas, but fitting the soil. Like Winslow Homer they live the life they paint, but not as recluses, curiosities to their neighbors. Nor is theirs a life apart, as with us . . . . The Swede smiles over his own Carl Larsson and buys another picture book of the Larsson kiddies. Zorn celebrated his fiftieth birthday congratulated by Prince Eugen . . . and the peasants came in a torchlight parade—all to honor a painter. It may not be within the scope of this article to surmise in all probability that Winslow Homer, America's great painter, crossed his half-century mark stimulated by his own society, a bottle of beer and a ham sandwich. And honor does not come alone to these men, *their pictures are bought.* At a recent exhibition in Stockholm paintings to the value of sixty-five thousand crowns were sold the first week—this in a town of the size of Cincinnati.[40]

The Scandinavian exhibition had few controversial works in comparison to the notorious but influential Armory Show, which opened just two months later. The Armory Show, or International Exhibition of Modern Art, opened at the 169th Street Armory in New York on February 5, 1913, closed March 15, 1913, traveled to the Art Institute of Chicago March 24-April 16, 1913, and then to Boston later that spring.[41] Americans were introduced to new European Cubist and Fauvist art, which tended towards complete abstraction and sundered lines of influence from more conservative movements. Young American artists, home from their training in Paris, looked on American Impressionism and Post-Impressionism as pale echoes of the past. This period formed a dividing line between continued adherence to an art that still resembled reality versus new forms that took influences from non-Western sources and abhorred historical precedents and camera-like accuracy. The Scandinavian art in this exhibition resembled the former category of realism. N. J. Laurvik wrote in the March 1913 issue of *The Scandinavian American Review* that the Norwegian paintings in the Scandinavian exhibition paled in contrast to the works in the Armory Show:

> But I am certain that by the time this is in the readers' hands their wildest and most incomprehensible flights will appear mild and quite orderly by comparison with what you will see in the forthcoming International Exhibition of Modern Art opening in New York on February 15 and in Chicago a month later. . . . that work which anticipates the slow progress of the community, is a failure today, but an inevitable success tomorrow.[42]

One group, however, attributed the formation of their mission to having viewed the Scandinavian exhibition in Buffalo. They were leaders in Canada's "Group of Seven," the first indigenous Canadian landscape school, headquartered in Toronto. Two of the group had earlier noticed Scandinavian art at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. JEH

MacDonald and Lawren Harris toured the Scandinavian exhibition in January 1913 when it was in Buffalo, and stated that "this is what we want to do with Canada." Eighteen years later, MacDonald attempted to recreate the experience of seeing a body of work which approximated what the group hoped to initiate with their painting program. He recalled that:

> Not that we had ever been to Scandinavia, but we had feelings of height and breadth and depth and colour and sunshine and solemnity and new wonder about our own country, and we were pretty pleased to find a correspondence with these feelings of ours not only in the general attitude of the Scandinavian artists, but also in the natural aspects of their countries. Except in minor points, the pictures might all have been Canadian.[43]

MacDonald's painting *Leaves in the Brook*, 1919, was a possible direct response to Gustaf Fjaestad's painting *Ripples* in the exhibition of 1913. Both paintings were cropped to focus on the swirling waters of a stream, framed by a shoreline of tangled weeds and leaves. MacDonald, in fact, stated years later that "we would know our own snows and rivers the better for Fjaestad's revelation."[44]

The exhibition has not been noted as a seminal factor in the creation of a new style or school, if mentioned at all, in the extant archives of Swedish-American artists. Although John F. Carlson was on the reception committee for the exhibition, and left extensive notes on Swedish-owned book and food stores in Manhattan, he did not acknowledge the exhibition's existence or influence. However, a decided change in his painting begins to be evident in about 1913. His canvases, Tonalist in their bluish and misty cast before this date, became decidedly more carefully structured in their composition. The mosaic-like application of paint on canvas may have occurred because Carlson made note of the Scandinavians' strong sense of design and used the opportunity to change his technique.

An anomaly in the Scandinavian exhibition was the work of Swedish immigrant sculptor David Edström (1873-1938), who was considered Swedish for the exhibition but re-immigrated to America in 1915. Edström's presence in the Swedish sector reveals the divided loyalties witnessed in both the Swedish and Swedish-American communities. Although Edström exhibited a fairly realistic portrait of *Ernst Thiel*, who had been his patron and mentor in Stockholm, Edström was better known in Sweden for his expressionistic portrait heads representing and entitled *Hunger*, *Pride, Fear,* and *Envy* (1902). Born in Dalsheda, Småland, Edström immigrated with his family first to Paxton, Illinois, a typical Swedish way station in the 1870s. They finally settled in Ottumwa, Iowa. He attended Central College in Pella, Iowa, then worked on a ship to earn passage to Sweden. Studying first at the Royal Academy technical college, Edström was admitted to the Royal Academy of Art in 1896. About that time, Thiel, through the author and women's rights advocate Ellen Key, took Edström as a protégé and the sculptor went to live in Neglinge, in the art colony Thiel supported financially. Thiel supposedly said, "Edström has great talent, but is the most uncivilized young man I've ever met."[45]

Edström, who married the Swedish poet Anna Levertin in 1901, was noted by Swedish critics to be original and sensitive. Swedish-Americans featured him in several periodicals, among them the May 1902 issue of the influential *Ungdomsvännen*, the monthly cultural newsletter for young people published by the Augustana Book Concern, a printing company closely allied to the heavily Swedish-American Augustana Synod of the Lutheran church.[46] Although the publication was normally fairly conservative and featured Swedish-American artists who had gained prominence in America, the article on Edström was effusive in its praise of the artist's work, featuring an illustration of *Caliban*, 1902 (fig. 8, Thielska Galleriet, Stockholm), which had been sculpted in Stockholm. Upon his return to America in 1915, Edström settled in New York and exhibited in 1916 with the Swedish-American artists in their annual Chicago exhibition. He moved to Los Angeles in the 1920s, where he became famous for Art-Deco-influenced sculptures, among those a bust of the Swedish-American actress Gloria Swanson.

The Scandinavian Exhibition of 1912-1913 had consequences for two American cities not on the tour schedule, Minneapolis, Minnesota, and Worcester, Massachusetts, both of which had sizeable Scandinavian immigrant populations. Unable to book the Scandinavian art exhibition, the Worcester Art Museum planned its own exhibition for the spring of 1913, drawing upon the resources of local East Coast collectors and artists. This exhibition could be viewed as the forerunner of the series of Scandinavian-American art exhibitions that would be organized and shown at the Brooklyn Art Museum in 1926, 1928, and 1932, continuing in 1933 at Harvard's Busch-Reisinger Museum and in 1936 at a private gallery in New York. Worcester had a large Swedish and Finnish immigrant population, drawn by opportunities for employment in the city's factories. George Jeppson, owner of the Norton Grinding Factory, was a first-generation Swedish immigrant who had successfully acquired property and status in the city and employed many fellow immigrants. The museum announced that "as citizens of Scandinavian descent form a larger population of the city of Worcester than they do of any other city in the United States, the Trustees of the Art Museum deem it advisable to hold this exhibition."[47]

Anders Zorn, Carl Larsson and Norwegian Impressionist painter Fritz Thaulow represented the Scandinavian artists in the exhibition, their works lent by American collectors from the Boston area.[48] Editors of the *Bulletin of the Worcester Art Museum* wrote that "fifty canvases, representing the best achievements of the race on both sides of the Atlantic, will thus be offered to public view. . . ."[49] Swedish-American artists Henry Reuterdahl, John F. Carlson, B.J.O. Nordfeldt (1878-1955), Carl Ringius (1879-1950), and Carl Nordell (1885-1957) delivered their own work to packing and shipping companies in New York and Boston. A photograph of the exhibition (fig. 9, Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts), reveals a fairly conservative group of landscapes and portraits, typical content in American painting during this period when most American painters still viewed their countryside through an Impressionist lens. While Carlson's canvas (second from the right in the photograph) shows a hazy field in an upper New York pasture, Nordfeldt portrayed the gritty grays and blues of downtown Chicago (third from left).

The story of Minneapolis' failed attempt to host the exhibition and its aftermath can be read in colorful headlines of *The Minneapolis Journal*. As early as April 7, 1912, the *Journal* headlined, "Scandinavian Art Exhibition May be Shown in Minneapolis." The newspaper reported that 200 paintings and 20 pieces of sculpture valued at more than one million dollars "will come to Minneapolis in December if sufficient wall space and floor space in one building can be found." The story continued, "The American Scandinavian Society is anxious to have the collection come to Minneapolis, with its large Scandinavian population." Plans were still underway by May 19, 1912, when *The Minneapolis Journal* headline declared, "Swedish, Norwegian, Danish Artists to Have Large Exhibition in Minneapolis." Because the Minneapolis Society of Fine Arts would not complete its new building until 1915, space proved impossible to find and the headline in the March 17, 1913, *Journal* read, "Swedish Art Not to be Exhibited." As a result, a group of Scandinavian leaders met in Minneapolis in mid-December to organize a group to promote Scandinavian art. The *Journal* reported, "Scandinavian Art Society Is

Outlined." University of Minnesota President Dr. George Vincent, Augustana College president Dr. Gustav Andreen from Rock Island, Illinois, and Dr. H. G. Stub, president of the Norwegian Lutheran Synod of America, led the fledgling organization, which pledged to form a Scandinavian collection for the future building of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. Vincent declared that "one of the greatest dangers is that these cultural influences may disappear from America. Our effort here should be to make this city a cultural center for Scandinavians of America."[50] Headlines in *The Minneapolis Journal* told the remainder of the story in "Hundreds Join in Promoting Scandinavian Art," (February 22, 1914); "Scandinavian Art Society Incorporated," (February 24, 1914); and "Scandinavian Art Society Elects Officers" (March 6, 1914).[51]

As a result of the failed attempt to secure the Scandinavian Art Exhibition of 1912-1913, the new organization joined with the Minneapolis Society of Fine Arts to bring to Minneapolis the the Swedish segment from the Panama Pacific Exposition, which had opened in San Francisco in 1915. This group of paintings and sculptures was organized into a touring unit to ten additional sites in 1916. The Panama Pacific was the last of the expositions to bring Swedish art to America at the crucial juncture when her immigrant artists were approaching professional maturity themselves yetstill maintained some semblance of divided personal and artistic loyalties to both Sweden and America.

American critics viewed Swedish art as a mellow substitute to contemporary French and German art during its tenure in San Francisco and its national tour in 1916. The Swedish section had been a very popular part of the Panama Pacific Exposition of 1915. American critics, astounded by the abstractions of European art in the Armory Show of 1913, looked on Swedish art as a peaceful and beautiful alternative. They uniformly praised the Swedish section of the 1915 exhibition, writing that "the Swedish section is not only one of the best selected, but also one of the best presented sections in the whole exhibition."[52] Because of the popularity of the Swedish section of the exhibition, Brooklyn Museum director William H. Fox arranged a 1916 tour of its art to ten additional museum sites: the Brooklyn Museum, the Copley Society of Boston, the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in Philadelphia, the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh, the Detroit Museum of Art, The Art Institute of Chicago, the Minneapolis Institute of Arts, the City Art Museum of St. Louis, the John Herron Art Institute in Indianapolis, and the Toledo Museum of Art. Works of art that sold in San Francisco were replaced by paintings and sculpture shipped from Sweden for the opening of the exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum. Fox noted that the public's opinion of Swedish art was very positive in 1916 because the American Scandinavian Society had educated the public through the touring exhibition of 1912-1913 and the articles in *The American Scandinavian Review*, along with publicity in other magazines and newspapers.[53]

Christian Brinton, who wrote the catalog for the exhibition of Swedish art for its tour of Eastern and Midwestern museums in 1916, wrote about Swedish art's special qualities. He remarked that the group of Swedish paintings and sculptures showed "awakening of race consciousness which was at this period making itself felt along all lines of Swedish endeavor." He discovered Swedish peasant traditions in the works' design and color. "Sweden is preeminently a peasant nation and the basis of Swedish art is to be found in that primal love of pure, bright color and integrity of structure which are essential characteristics of peasant achievement."[54] Brinton also surveyed the entire set of European galleries at the Exposition, focusing his accolades on those belonging to Sweden in *The International Studio*. He wrote that:

> You will readily discern . . . in the work of the Swedes . . . a frankness of vision and directness of presentation as rare as they are stimulating. Unfatigued and lacking in sophistication, the art of Sweden derives its strength from the silent, persistent interaction between nature and man. The elements are few, but they are all sufficient.[55]

Zorn, although absent from the exhibition, was still an influential presence. Gustaf Fjaestad's work occupied an entire gallery at the Panama-Pacific exhibition, as did the idyllic Dalecarlian scenes of Carl Larsson. David Edström showed his "vigorous modeling," representing Swedish sculpture, although by this date he had re-immigrated to New York.[56]

The story of the exhibition's reception in Minneapolis is typical of its experience throughout the tour. When the exhibition of 156 paintings, 61 prints, and 24 pieces of sculpture of Swedish art opened at the newly built Minneapolis Institute of Arts on September 3, 1916, headlines in the *Minneapolis Journal* reported, "Thousands Attend Swedish Exhibition at Museum." Only eight days later the Institute issued attendance figures for the first week at 7,476.[57] Director Joseph Breck enthusiastically reported that "the Swedish art exhibition at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts promises to be a great success from the standpoint of attendance." The exhibition also had consequences for area artists, noted a critic in the September issue of *The Minnesotan*. "Exhibits of this sort are bound to influence American art. We are skilled draughtsmen . . . but afraid of color," wrote the reporter. "We have been fumbling in a fumed oak and dark brown era. . . .Color is the thing we most need in our daily activities. Sweden has shown us how to handle it in pictures and we should indeed be grateful to those who were far-sighted enough to bring . . . this collection . . . of common things done in a most uncommon manner."[58]

The two-year-old Scandinavian Art Society of Minneapolis purchased two paintings from the successful month-long display. Members planned to place the purchases, Hjelmer Mas-Olle's (1884-1969) *Dalecarlian Peasant* (fig. 10, The American Swedish Institute) and Gustaf Fjaestad's *Summer Evening on the River* (fig. 11, The American Swedish Institute) together with Alfred Wallander's *On the Way to Church*, purchased from the Second Minneapolis Industrial Exposition of 1887, to form a nucleus for a Scandinavian Gallery within the Minneapolis Institute of Arts. "Minneapolis as Art Hub of the U.S. Planned," wrote a reporter for the October 1, 1916, *Minneapolis Journal*, noting the purchases. Because of these plans, officials from the New York-based American Scandinavian Society praised both Chicago and Minneapolis for encouraging their own Swedish-American artists and for the installation of touring exhibitions of Swedish art in their cities' museums. "The Swedes in Chicago have done pioneer work for Swedish-American art," wrote the American Scandinavian Society. "The Scandinavians in Minneapolis are keeping alive that fresh current of impulse from the Old Country without which the waters of Scandinavian culture in America would soon turn brackish."[59] There is no record, however, that such a Scandinavian Gallery ever materialized at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

The Swedish exhibition did inspire a collection of Swedish art to be placed in a special gallery in Chicago for an unspecified time period. Charles S. Peterson, prime mover of the Swedish-American art exhibitions in Chicago from their inception in 1905, financed a drive in 1921 to form a special Swedish gallery at the Art Institute of Chicago, as well as make new purchases. Swedish Prince Eugen, a painter colleague of Anders Zorn, headed the committee.[60] Five years later the plan materialized and a new gallery of Swedish art opened at the Institute. Peterson, a respected member of Chicago city politics, joined the Crown Prince of Sweden to inaugurate the gallery. Works by painters Alfred Wahlberg (1834-1906), Carl Larsson, and sculptor Per Hasselberg (1849-1874), already owned by the museum, were joined by Prince

Eugen's *Swedish Landscape*; Carl Willhelmson's (1866-1928) *Two Women, One Knitting*; Eugene Jansson's (1862-1915) *Moonlight*; Karl Nordström's *Houses and Water*; and Carl Skånberg's (1850-1883) *Venice*. "No where else in America will students of art find Swedish art so well represented," claimed a writer in *The American Scandinavian Review*, the year the gallery opened.[61]

Because of the intervention of the first World War and economic problems in the following decades, Sweden did not send another official art exhibition to America until 1938. Instead of organizing an exhibition that consisted entirely of contemporary artists, as in 1887, 1893, 1896, 1904, 1912, and 1916, this new exhibition encompassed a retrospective of Swedish art from early medieval Viking times to 1908. Organized to celebrate the 300th anniversary of the Swedish settlement in the New World, the exhibition opened in Philadelphia, then traveled to Rockefeller Center in New York; Worcester, Massachusetts; Minneapolis; Cleveland; St. Louis; Chicago; Buffalo; Toledo; Washington, D.C.; and Wilmington, Delaware. By this time, most of the immigrant artists who arrived in America between 1880 and 1920, and who would possibly have received some artistic influence from this exhibition, had reached artistic maturity in their work or had already died. But the exhibitions had done their job. They created an environment of acceptance for Swedish visual arts in the minds of the American public and the critics, placing Swedish-American art in a favorable light by intimation. Buoyed by the positive reception of these exhibitions, ethnic leaders began to look back into their own history to highlight newly-rediscovered eighteenth and nineteenth century Swedish-American artists to validate their claim of contributing to America's early cultural achievement.

---

[1] Frank H. Morton, *Illustrated Historical Register of the Centennial Exhibition* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The American News Company, 1878), 186-187.

[2] Claes Moser, "Chronology," *The Swedish Vision, Landscape and Figurative Painting 1885-1920,* Exhibition catalog, Moser & Klang, Stockholm at Shepherd Gallery, New York, Fall 1985, 31.

[3] "Gustaf Cederström," *Ungdomsvännen* (November 1901), 335.

[4] Other opponents exhibiting work were the painters Olof Arborelius, Georg Arsenius, Axel Borg, August Hagborg, Olof Hermelin, Olof Jernberg, Elisabeth Keyser, John Kindborg, Anders Montan, Severin Nilsson, Bengt Nordenberg, Carl Trägårdh, and Allan Österlind and the painter Per Hasselberg. *Complete Catalogue of the Art Deparment of the Second Minneapolis Industrial Exposition Consisting of Casts from the Antique, American and European Modern Paintings, Engravings, Etchings, etc.*,1887 (Minneapolis: The Swinburne Printing Co.), 11-13. See also Claes Moser, 177-178.

[5] *Catalogue of the Art Department of the Second Minneapolis Industrial Exposition Consisting of Casts from the Antique, American and European Modern Paintings, Engravings, Etchings, etc.*, 4-5.

[6] William H. Gerdts, *American Impressionism* (New York: Artabras Publishers, 1984), 51-53.

[7] "Minneapolis," *Svenska Folkets Tidning*, September 7, 1887, 8. Newspaper archives, Minnesota Historical Society. This paper printed at least four articles on the exhibition, from August 31, 1887 through September 21, 1887. They were numbered I—IV and titled "Den Skandinaviska konstutställningen vid Minneapolis Exposition."

[8] Clipping scrapbook of Fritiof Colling, #10-9-8, undated clipping, scrapbook #2.

[9] "Den Skandinaviska konstutställningen vid Minneapolis Exposition," *Svenska Folkets Tidning*, August 31, 1887. Clipping in the Colling collection, Swedish Emigrant Institute, Växjö, Sweden.

[10] Marion John Nelson, *Painting by Minnesotans of Norwegian Background 1870-1970* (Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 2000), 9.

[11] Mary Towley Swanson, "Fritiof Colling: Artist for Homesick Swedes," *Minnesota History*, 55 (Summer 1996., 82.

[12] Mary Towley Swanson, Ibid., 76-87.

[13] *Representative Works of contemporary Swedish Artists*, Exhibited Under the Auspices of The Art Institute of Chicago, The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, The Cincinnati Museum Association, The St. Louis School and Museum of Fine Arts, The Boston Art Club, and the Pratt Institute of Brooklyn, Exhibited During the Season of 1895—1896. Exhibition catalog, Ryerson Library, the Art Institute of Chicago.

---

[14] *Revisiting the White City, American Art at the 1893 World's Fair.* Edited by Carolyn Carr and George Gurney (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art and National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 15, 65, 67, 68.
[15] Robert Stacey, "A Contact in Context: the Influence of Scandinavian Landscape Painting on Canadian Artists Before and After 1913," *Northward Journal* (1980), 41.
[16] Ibid., 40.
[17] "Notes on the Swedish Collection," Ibid., 4-5.
[18] Ibid., 5.
[19] Torsten Gunnarsson, "Carl Larsson: His Life and Art," *Carl and Karin Larsson, Creators of Swedish Style* edited by Michael Snodin and Elisabet Stavenow-Hidemark (London: V&A Publications, 1997), 36.
[20] "Sverige på världsutställningen I St. Louis," *Prärieblomman*, 1905 (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana book Concern), 105.
[21] *Official Catalogue of Exhibitors. Universal Exposition. St. Louis, USA, 1904. Division of Exhibits. Department 'B' Art.*
[22] Letter to Christian Brinton, 16 Gramercy Park, New York, from Henry D. Roberts, Director, Public Library, Museums, and Fine Art Galleries, Brighton, England, April 13, 1912. Dr. Christian Brinton files, FKR Objects, Series 4, Archives of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.
[23] "Scandinavian Art in America," *Art and Progress*, III (September 1912), 725-726.
[24] Buffalo Fine Arts Academy (Albright Gallery) January 4-26; the Toledo Museum of Arts, Toledo, Ohio, February 1-16; the Art Institute of Chicago, February 22-March 16; and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, from March 24 to April 21. "The Art Exhibit," *The American Scandinavian Review* (January 1913), 20-21.
[25] "The Art Exhibition Final Statement," *The American Scandinavian Review* I (September 1913), 23.
[26] "American Art in Scandinavia," *The American Scandinavian Review* (January 1913), 21.
[27] "Gustavus Adolphus College," *The Lutheran Companion* (March 22, 1913), 11.
[28] "The Magazines," *The American Scandinavian Review* (May 1913), 24-25, lists articles on the exhibition in current periodicals.
[29] "Editorial," *The American Scandinavian Review* (March 1913), 19.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid.
[32] Christian Brinton, "Introduction," *Exhibition of Contemporary Scandinavian Art*, The American Art Galleries, New York, December 10-25 inclusive, 1912, 15. Exhibition catalog. Nationalmuseum Library, Stockholm.
[33] Ibid., 16.
[34] Ibid., 23.
[35] Ibid., 25.
[36] "The Art Exhibition," *The American Scandinavian Review* (May 1913), 20.
[37] N.J. Laurvik, "Intolerance in Art," *The American Scandinavian Review* (March 1913), 13.
[38] Henry Reuterdahl, "Scandinavian Painting and Its National Significance," *The Craftsman*, XXIII (December 1912), 288.
[39] "Marketing Art," *The American Scandinavian Review* (May—June 1916), 178.
[40] Henry Reuterdahl, Ibid.
[41] Milton W. Brown, *American Painting from the Armory Show to the Depression* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972), 50.
[42] J.N. Laurvik, "Intolerance in Art," 17.
[43] Robert Stacey, "A Contact in Context: The Influence of Scandinavian Landscape Painting on Canadian Artists Before and After 1913," *Northward Journal* (1980), 9. Originally from a lecture given by JEH MacDonald at the Art Gallery of Ontario, April 17, 1931. The original lecture is in the Public Archives, Ottawa; the typescript in the Library of the Art Gallery of Ontario.
[44] Stacey, Ibid., 52.
[45] David Edstrom, *The Testament of Caliban* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1937), 152.
[46] "David Edstrom," *Ungdomsvännen* (May 1902), 145-146.
[47] "A Scandinavian-American Exhibition," *Art and Progress*, IV (April 1913), 944.
[48] *Worcester Art Museum, Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture by Scandinavian and American Artists*, April 13 to May 11 Inclusive, Nineteen Hundred Thirteen. Exhibition catalog, Library of the Worcester Museum of Art, Worcester, Massachusetts.
[49] "Coming Exhibitions," *Bulletin of the Worcester Art Museum* IV (April 1913), 22.

---

[50] *The Minneapolis Journal,* "Scandinavian Art Society is Outlined," December 15, 1913.

[51] Note also Mary Towley Swanson, "Pictures for a New Home: Minnesota's Swedish American Artists," *Swedes in the Twin Cities, Immigrant Life and Minnesota's Urban Frontier.* Edited by Philip J. Anderson and Dag Blanck (St. Paul:, Minnesota: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2001), 139.

[52] "Notes, Exhibitions at Panama-Pacific," *The American Magazine of Art*, VI (April 1915), 360.

[53] "Marketing Art," 179.

[54] Christian Brinton, "Concerning Swedish Art," *The American Magazine of Art,* VII (June 1916), 306-307.

[55] Christian Brinton, "Foreign Painting at the Panama-Pacific Exposition," *The International Studio* (July 1945), L.

[56] Christian Brinton, "Scandinavian Art at the Panama-Pacific Exposition," *The American Scandinavian Review* III (November—December 1915), 352.

[57] *The Minneapolis Journal*, ""Thousands Attend Swedish Exhibition, September 11, 1916.

[58] "Swedish Art," *The Minnesotan* (September 1916), 35.

[59] "Art Loving Minneapolis," *The American Scandinavian Review* (January 15, 1917).

[60] "Swedish Art to Chicago," *The American-Scandinavian Review* (September 1921), 625.

[61] "The Chicago Institute's Gallery," *The American Scandinavian Review* (September 1926), 543.