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Elizabeth Jane Gardner:
Her Life, Her Work, Her Letters.

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A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research
in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of
Master of Arts

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To
Mrs. Miriam Gardner Dunnan

Fig. 1. Elizabeth Jane Gardner, Gardner Family Archives.

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ABSTRACT

Elizabeth Jane Gardner (1837-1922) was an American artist who lived in Paris from 1864-1922. She was the most frequently represented woman artist of any nationality at the Paris Salon in the late nineteenth century, and the only American woman to have ever won a medal (1887). In 1896, she married William Bouguereau, the major academic painter of the time. Yet in spite of these distinctions, Elizabeth Gardner has received surprisingly little scholarly attention.

This thesis is a biographical and analytical study of the expatriate artist, based on her unpublished letters in the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Though the focus is primarily on her years as a practicing artist in Paris (1864 to 1896), attention is also given to her early and late years, and to the collaborative nature of her relationship with Bouguereau.

A chronology of the artist, as well as inventories of her paintings and letters are also included.

RÉSUMÉ

Le peintre Elizabeth Jane Gardner (1837-1922) était une Américaine du New Hampshire qui vint vivre à Paris de 1864-1922. Elle fit oeuvre de pionnier et ce fut le peintre féminin le plus fréquemment représenté au Salon de Paris, parmi toutes les femmes artistes de la fin du XIX° siècle. Elle fut la seule Américaine à qui une médaille fut attribuée, en récompense de ses tableaux exposés au Salon de 1887. En 1896, elle épousa William Bouguereau, maître incontesté de l'école académique. Cependant, malgré toutes les distinctions qui marquent la carrière d'Elizabeth Gardner, il est singulier de constater le peu d'études qui lui ont été consacrées.

Cette thèse propose, donc, une étude analytique et biographique de l'oeuvre de l'artiste expatriée en se basant sur ses lettres non-publiées déposées aux Archives de l'Institut Smithsonian de l'Art Américain, à Washington, D. C. Elle porte essentiellement sur les années de pratique de l'artiste à Paris de 1864 à 1896. Elle englobe aussi les premières et dernières années d'Elizabeth Gardner et explore la collaboration de cette dernière auprès de Bouguereau.

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INTRODUCTION

In the year 1868, the American expatriate painter, Elizabeth Jane Gardner (1837-1922), submitted two paintings to the Paris Salon: *Les trois amis* (fig. 2) and *Nature morte; raisins, etc.* This was her first attempt to gain official recognition as a painter. When both works were accepted for exhibition, the artist was overcome with joy. In a letter to her family she wrote:

> I did want to get one admitted but had not dared to hope for both. I know you will all be glad for me. It gives me at once a position among foreign artists and raises the value of what I paint.[1]

Thus, at the age of thirty, she became one of the first American women, along with Mary Stevenson (Cassatt), to exhibit at the Paris Salon, an achievement which was to launch her on a long and successful career that spanned over fifty years.[2] She had the distinction of exhibiting more works at the Paris Salon than any other American woman and, as H. Barbara Weinberg has pointed out, was "one of the most consistent Salon contributors of any nationality."[3] In 1879, she received an honorable mention for her work *À la fontaine* (fig. 3). Her reputation grew steadily and, in 1887, a year during which there was much anti-American sentiment among French artists due to the tariff levied against their work in the United States, Elizabeth Gardner became the first and only American woman to receive a medal (silver) for her painting *La fille du fermier* ,1887 (fig. 4) She exhibited regularly at the *Expositions Universelles* and was offered a commission to paint a mural for the women's pavilion at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, an honor she eventually declined because of the physical difficulties involved in painting such a large work.[4] The commission was then offered to Mary Cassatt who

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[1] Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, May 25, 1868. Elizabeth Gardner's letters are located at the Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. I have, for the most part, worked from the transcriptions of the letters done by the artist's great-niece, Mrs. Miriam Gardner Dunnan. Several random verifications of the transcriptions attest to their high degree of accuracy.

[2] Mary Cassatt had already submitted to the Salon in 1867, but was refused. 1868 was her second submission.

[3] H. Barbara Weinberg, The Lure of Paris (New York: Abbeville, 1991) 253.

[4] Madeleine Fidell-Beaufort, "Elizabeth Jane Gardner Bouguereau: A Parisian Artist from New Hampshire," Archives of American Art Journal vol. 24/2 1984: 8 (n. 1).

accepted.[5] Most of Gardner's paintings were sold to dealers or private collectors before they ever left the easel. They were exhibited in major cities in the United States and Europe, and at the height of her career, she had difficulty keeping up with the many commissions she received. Why then are the name and work of Elizabeth Gardner so unfamiliar, while Mary Cassatt, her American contemporary in Paris, is among the most celebrated of all women artists? Not more than two dozen of the artist's paintings have been located in American museums and private collections and, like most academic painting of the late nineteenth century, her work has fallen prey to the label "saccharine".

Methodology

Primarily a biographical study, this thesis investigates Elizabeth Gardner's life through the many roles her identity assumed: as a professional painter and breadwinner; as a woman struggling in a very competitive market; as an expatriate, and devoted wife and companion to William Bouguereau. The purpose is to reconstruct her life and career, through her writings and her works, in an attempt to recapture the artist's rightful place in the history of nineteenth-century art. Elizabeth Gardner wrote over 380 letters to her family in Exeter, New Hampshire. These unpublished letters date from her early years in Paris until two years before her death in 1922. Not only does Gardner's correspondence document events of her own life, it provides, over the course of more than half a century, valuable observations and insights into the artistic life of the city of Paris during the period when it was the major cultural capital of the world. It covers subjects pertaining to Gardner's work, the study of art, the Salon, politics, social life, fashion, professional advancement, models, receptions and entertainment. To date however, very few art historians have explored this rich source of information. The letters have been the focus of but one recently published study, the 1984 article by Madeleine Fidell-Beaufort.[6] Oftentimes when her name appears in art historical literature, it does so only as an appendage to that of her famous husband and teacher, William Bouguereau.

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[5] See Nancy Mowll Mathews, Cassatt and Her Circle: Selected Letters, (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984), for a discussion of Mary Cassatt's avant-garde mural entitled, *Modern Women* . It was placed at one end of the "Hall of Honor" just under the curved glass roof in the Women's Pavilion. Mathews notes that "the mural only survived the duration of the fair," but that the sketches and designs which resulted from the mural were more important to the artist's career (pp.208-209).

[6] Madeleine Fidell-Beaufort, "Elizabeth..."

It is, therefore, this lack of critical attention which is the impetus for the present study. Elizabeth Gardner's work and life offer a very fertile area of investigation from several perspectives. First of all, she was a pioneer among American women who pursued formal art instruction in the French capital. The fact that in the late 1860s she had to "disguise" herself as a man in order to gain access to the government-run Gobelins art school reveals not only her determination to receive instruction similar to that offered men, but also attests to the obstacles that prevented women from achieving professional acclaim to the same degree as their male counterparts. Furthermore, Elizabeth Gardner, who made Paris her home for nearly sixty years, was as much at ease in the French community as she was with the "*colonie américaine*." This Franco-American connection is one which deserves further exploration, especially in terms of artistic influence, taste, and the art market.

On yet another level, her association with the French academic painter, William Bouguereau, which lasted over thirty years, must necessarily enter into the assessment of any study of either artist's work. Their unusual relationship blurs geographical boundaries as well as professional ones of master/student. Yet they shared a system of values and ethics that brought to their union a compatibility of life-style and brush stroke. In addition, Elizabeth Gardner provides an interesting case study of an artist whose modest financial situation dictated career choices. Unlike her financially secure "sister of the brush," Mary Cassatt, she had to rely almost solely on the sale of paintings for her livelihood. Consequently, her perception of her art and career are closely linked to their function as a means of sustenance. Finally, Elizabeth Gardner's journey from obscurity to fame, and back to obscurity is a fate that befell many academic artists. What has come to be viewed as a certain aesthetic of the "saccharine" needs to be reassessed in light of more recent scholarship dealing with the academic tradition and its status in nineteenth-century France and in the United States. This artist's work is a fine example of that tradition. The fact that many of her patrons were Americans, reflects the tastes and values of a New World market whose demands were eagerly catered to by dealers on both sides of the Atlantic.

The letters are crucial to the reconstruction of the artist's biography and compilation of paintings that will eventually lay the groundwork for a catalogue raisonné. It is a further objective of this study to allow the correspondence to function as an open line of communication between Elizabeth Gardner and the

reader. Therefore, a substantial number of excerpts are presented. Though much care has been taken to document events in the artist's life, there is still a considerable amount of verification to be conducted in this area; many questions remain unanswered. The conclusion, therefore, proposes avenues of research to expand on the present study. As one reads through fifty-six years of a person's correspondence, an unusual bond begins to form. By some unsuspecting process, one becomes, without realizing it, a vicarious recipient. Thus, the choice of texts and the overall structure reflect a story-telling approach within a biographical framework. Critical elements and opinion enter into the narrative. The ultimate objective is not to unnecessarily glorify the artist, but rather to document and examine her presence as a significant and active participant in the history of nineteenth-century American art.

The Letters

Elizabeth Gardner was articulate and her writing displays a learned knowledge of English in terms of syntax and style. Besides corresponding to her family on a regular basis, she also wrote articles about the political and artistic life of Paris for newspapers in Boston, Exeter, Cincinnati, and London. An index of all the letters and recipients has been compiled as an appendix to this study (Annex 1). The letters written to Elizabeth Gardner's family in Exeter, New Hampshire, represent the largest component of her surviving correspondence. Practically the entire body of this work was addressed to her brother John, her sister Ria (Maria), her sister-in-law (John's wife) Miriam, and later, to her nephew Perley.[7] Maria lived in Exeter and Cambridge, Massachusetts and in Minnesota for a while, so family letters often circulated. Nevertheless, most of the extant letters were originally sent to the family home at 12 Front Street in Exeter (fig. 5).[8] Miriam Gardner Dunnan, the artist's great-niece, explained how they were discovered there:

> The Gardners have never been known for throwing away anything, and they had plenty of room in which to store letters, etc. So when my

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[7] It is certain that Elizabeth corresponded frequently with her sister Cordelia. None of this correspondence survives as Cordelia moved several times and did not seem to live in Exeter during the artist's stay abroad. Many of the extant letters to her sister Maria may have been recovered by Perley Gardner who executed Maria's estate after her death in 1914.

[8] The house was built by Elizabeth's grandfather, John Gardner, in 1826 and, to this day, has been occupied by six consecutive generations of the Gardner family.

husband retired and we returned to live here (12 Front Street), we found over 300 letters EG had written to her family.[9]

Exactly how much of her entire correspondence this represents is difficult to estimate. There is a period of nearly four years, from May 25, 1868 to January 5, 1872, for which there are no letters. Although Elizabeth returned to the United States sometime in the early 1870s, it is doubtful she remained for more than a few months. A similar interruption occurs at the end of Gardner's life. The last letter is dated February 26, 1920, approximately two years prior to the artist's death.

Much of the correspondence has art historical significance. Although major parts of the letters describe visitors to Paris or discuss local events or friends in Exeter, the reader is able to formulate, through Gardner's perceptions of the nineteenth-century art scene in the capital of France, a vision of how one working artist goes from making copies to doing original work, how she markets her work, how she disciplines herself in order to reach her goals, and what kind of training she pursues to perfect her technique. Her regular participation in the Paris Salons and Universal Expositions as well as her commentaries on them are valuable resources that offer first-hand accounts of these institutions from the artist's point of view. The fact that she was an American expatriate, living in Paris, has the added flavor of a cross-cultural perception of both Americans and the French. The years of her marriage to Bouguereau (1896-1905) project yet another image of a dedicated companion who steps back from her own career to support the advancement of her partner's. Her choices were never clear cut, nor was she always convinced of their having been well chosen. However, once they were made, she adhered to them. Her return to painting and Salon exhibitions in her late sixties, after an absence of nearly ten years, shows the character of a person whose dedication to art was not intimidated by age.

Review of the Literature

Lida Rose McCabe was the first writer to make any serious attempt to document Elizabeth Gardner's life. Her two articles, one written in 1910 for Harper's Bazaar, and the second, at the death of the artist in 1922, for the New York Times Book Review, have been used as sources for much of the

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[9] Untitled report by Miriam Gardner Dunnan, Gardner family archives, September 26, 1989.

biographical information that has found its way into the more recent literature.[10] Neither is longer than two pages and there is little difference in content between the first article, "Madame Bouguereau at Work," and the second, "Mme. Bouguereau, Pathfinder." They represent first-hand accounts of the writer's discussions with the artist at meetings in her Paris studio and at her summer residence in Villa de Cambise at Royat-les-Bains. However, as is to be expected in oral histories, some specific details and dates are inaccurate. For example, Gardner's first Salon exhibition was in 1868 and not 1866 as reported by McCabe, and Bouguereau died in 1905, not 1906. Nevertheless, the major story lines that unfold in this early history are echoed in the artist's letters, albeit in a less romanticized manner.

There are two dates in particular when Gardner receives attention in the American press. They are on the occasion of her marriage to William Bouguereau in 1896, and at Bouguereau's death in 1905. Most of the newspaper articles include such typical headings as: "Years of Constancy;" or "Romance of Exeter Girl Who Married Bouguereau," subtitled, "Promised French Painter She Would not Wed Until He Claimed Her;" or "A French Painter and His American Wife".[11] They mention the couple's long engagement of 17 years, though the exact number of years varies from one account to the other. Other issues often treated in these reviews include Gardner's success in Paris as an artist, the fact that she paved the way for women artists in the French ateliers, and the gifts she made of her paintings to the town of Exeter and her alma mater, Lasell College.

References to Elizabeth Gardner have appeared in studies on women artists and American artists in France such as H. Barbara Weinberg's work, The Lure of Paris (1991), or Lois M. Fink's American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons (1990), but, since the articles by Lida Rose McCabe, very few studies devoted exclusively to Gardner have been undertaken. The most recent unpublished essay on the artist was written by Olive Tardiff, a freelance Exeter

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[10] Lida Rose McCabe, "Madame Bouguereau at Work," Harper's Bazaar 59, December, 1910: 694-95.
____, "Mme. Bouguereau, Pathfinder," New York Times Book Review and Magazine February 19, 1922:16.

[11] "Years of Constancy," Boston Sunday Globe, July 27,1902; "Romance of Exeter Girl Who Married Bouguereau," subtitled, "Promised French Painter She Would not Wed Until He Claimed Her;" Boston Sunday Post, September 3, 1905; "A French Painter and His American Wife" Puritan, May 1898.

writer. Her 1992 paper, on deposit at the Exeter Historical Society, is a forty-eight-page biographical essay, without footnotes, spanning Gardner's entire life.[12] In 1985, Elizabeth Gardner was the focus of an unpublished Master's thesis by Evalyn Milman.[13] A chronological biography, it covers all periods of the artist's life and includes thirteen illustrations of her works. This study reproduces several of the artist's letters with the author's commentary. It does not, however, benefit from the research of Madeleine Fidell-Beaufort, as her 1984 article is not cited. Furthermore, since Milman wrote her thesis, a number of paintings and their whereabouts have come to light thanks to the research of the artist's great-niece, Mrs. Miriam Gardner Dunnan (annex 2).[14] The 1984 article by Beaufort, certainly the most important essay on the artist to date, is a comprehensive and accurate overview of the artist's life and work. In addition to the earlier biographies by McCabe, these three more recent sources, represent the extent of the essential literature on the artist.

The entire collection of Gardner's extant letters, dating from 1864 to 1920, can be consulted at The Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. The Exeter Historical Society has a complete collection of Miriam Gardner Dunnan's transcriptions of the artist's letters for on-site consultation. The archival material at the Exeter Historical Society also includes obituaries, lists of works, and a few contemporary articles from the Exeter News-Letter, a newspaper the artist subscribed to and read throughout her life. Other important primary documents related to Gardner's collegiate education and art instruction are at the Lasell College Archives, Auburndale, Massachusetts. The Worcester Historical Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, is an important source for documenting the years Elizabeth and Imogene Robinson ran the school of design in that city, and the Clark University Archives, also in Worcester, provide information on works collected by the artist for Jonas G. Clark. These documents constitute the foundation on which this paper has been drafted.

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[12] Olive Tardiff, "Elizabeth Gardner Bouguereau: Exeter's Extraordinary Artist," Exeter Historical Society, 1992.

[13] Evalyn Edwards Milman, "The Letters of Elizabeth Gardner Bouguereau: Pathfinder Artist," Master's thesis, Hunter College, New York, 1985.

[14] Annex 2 is a partial inventory of Gardner's works. This study provides further additions and corrections to Mrs. Dunnan's list with updated information collected from museums and private collectors.

Organization

In this study, for purposes of organization, the artist's letters and career have been divided into three distinct periods. The initial one deals with her early education, up to the time of her departure for Paris in 1864. The second covers her professional life in the French capital and dates from the first extant letter home, in 1864, to Gardner's marriage to Bouguereau in 1896. The last period comprises the next nine years during which she ceased painting, until the death of her husband in 1905. In 1906, she resumed her professional activities and became, once again, a contributor to the Salon.

This thesis focuses primarily on the second period, 1864-1896. Gardner's letters from this period offer a unique portrait of a woman's struggle to gain artistic acceptance in a male dominated art community. They reveal her ambition to succeed, but what is particularly endearing in them is her perception of the road to success and the choices she makes in order to accomplish her professional objectives. After the death of her husband, Elizabeth Gardner Bouguereau returned to painting, but suffered from rheumatism. As a woman in her seventies and eighties, she lost none of the charm or interest that had become so characteristic of the style in which she wrote. She had seen the Civil War, the Franco-Prussian War, and was active in relief efforts for the First World War. In spite of the fact that this later period contains important reflections of the artist's vision of early twentieth-century society and culture, it is not within the range of the present study and is therefore treated in a cursory fashion. What is most urgent to bring to the fore is the life and work of Elizabeth Gardner; the first three periods are, thus, best suited to that purpose. Though the scope of this work is necessarily limited, my intent is to provide the basis for a more comprehensive monograph on the artist.

CHAPTER I: THE EARLY YEARS (1837-1864)

Very little is known about Elizabeth Gardner's life before she left for Paris in 1864. She was born in Exeter, New Hampshire, on October 4, 1837. She was the fourth of five children born to George and Jane Lowell Gardner. Her paternal grandfather, John Gardner, was a hardware merchant who had come to Exeter from Brookline, Massachusetts in the latter part of the eighteenth century. At the time of Elizabeth's birth, the Gardners already counted nine generations hailing from Thomas Gardner, the first settler of the name in New England. Her mother, Jane Lowell Gardner, from Portland, Maine, was the daughter of Captain Daniel Lowell of the merchant marine.

In 1800, Elizabeth's father, George, became an associate in the family hardware business and remained there until his death in 1857.[15] Of her two older brothers, one died at the age of 14, George (1831-1845), and the second, John or Johnny (1835-1899), a recipient of many of her letters from Paris, took over the business at his father's death and, in so doing, helped sustain the family's financial affairs which had begun to deteriorate. The artist had two sisters. The elder, Cordelia or Delie (1832-1896), died the year of Elizabeth's marriage to Bouguereau. There are no extant letters to her from Elizabeth. This may be due to the fact that she lived in California, Minnesota, and Massachusetts at the time Gardner corresponded with her family. The younger sister, Maria or Ria (1842-1914), was, like John, a recipient of many of the extant letters. Elizabeth Gardner was of a strong physical constitution and was very seldom bedridden for any illness other than the "*grippe*". She outlived her brothers, sisters, and husband to the ripe, old age of 84.

Her brother, John, attended Phillips Exeter Academy and, in 1856, graduated from Harvard. His sons followed a similar course in their education. However, such avenues were not open to young girls and women. The Phillips Academy, one of New England's oldest and most highly regarded private

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[15] George Gardner died in Gibralter, Spain, August 11, 1857 at the age of 56. At the time, doctors often recommended sea voyages for patients who were seeking restoration from ill health. The obituary from the Exeter News-Letter (21 Sept. 1857) reads: "The deceased was on a visit abroad in search of health, and the first intelligence his friends received after his departure, from home was the sad news of his death....He had represented Exeter in the New Hampshire legislature, and filled other offices of trust. He leaves a widow and four children to mourn his loss." New England Vital Records from the *Exeter News-Letter* 221.

schools, did not accept girls until 1972. Elizabeth attended The Exeter Female Academy where, "The course of instruction extended over a period of five years, and Latin, modern languages, instrumental music, designing and landscape drawing, and other accomplishments were taught."[16] In terms of her aptitude as a student, an Exeter biographer, Olive Tardiff, offers this information:

> Elizabeth once recalled that Mr. Dalton (the principal of The Exeter Female Academy) had stated that while he considered her a promising scholar, her "conduct was not exemplary." (Indicating perhaps that she was by nature restless and lively.) She must have found the limitations of Mr. Dalton's small school frustrating, for in 1854 she transferred to Lasell Female Seminary[17] in Auburndale, Massachusetts, which offered more advanced courses in all areas of learning.[18]

Elizabeth Gardner is first listed in the Lasell records for the 1854-55 school year[19], and graduated in 1856[20] in the school's third graduating class after having completed only the final two years of its four-year program (fig. 6). Curricula of that period reveal that the third and fourth years of instruction at Lasell were collegiate in character.[21] The freshman and sophomore grades corresponded to the last two years of high school. Subjects such as Physiology, Botany, Chemistry, Mental Philosophy, Astronomy, Geology, Moral Science, Evidences of Christianity, Logic, Elements of Criticism, Trigonometry, Geometry, made up the core courses taken by Elizabeth Gardner at Lasell along with Latin and Modern languages. French, one of the more common foreign languages, would have been spoken at the dining table by the girls who were studying it. Instruction for women was geared to practical or useful purposes.[22] However, this rigid academic program demanded much discipline

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16 Charles H. Bell, History of the Town of Exeter New Hampshire, (Boston: J.E.Farwell & Co., 1888) 300.

17 The use of the term "Seminary" for young ladies in the nineteenth century usually designated a school where women were trained for careers as teachers.

18 Tardiff, "Elizabeth Gardner Bouguereau...," 6.

19 Lasell Female Seminary at Auburndale, Massachusetts. 1854-55. (Boston: Bazin & Chandler, 1855) 5.

20 Lasell Female Seminary at Auburndale, Massachusetts. 1855-56. (Boston: Stacy & Richardson, 1856) 7.

21 Donald J. Winslow, Lasell: A History of the First Junior College for Women. (Boston: Nimrod Press, 1987) 258.

22 In 1851, the year Lasell opened its doors, there were no standard four-year colleges for women. Out of the 120 colleges scattered throughout the United States at the time, very few provided higher education for women, a concept that was considered "unnecessary, if not against human nature" (Winslow, 1). Thus, a girl's formal education would end when she graduated from Lasell Seminary.

as graduating students were examined orally by the principal and other instructors. In addition, each student (at Lasell) had to prepare a final essay which could be read by any student or faculty member.[23]

Drawing, like music, came under the heading of "Ornamental Studies" at Lasell. The program emphasized a cultural aspect of learning that was characteristic of good breeding and "gracious living," both values that appealed to families who could afford the two-hundred-dollar yearly tuition and board.

The Drawing and Painting Department of Lasell Seminary was under the direction of Miss M. Imogene Robinson, whose name is on the earliest extant advertisement for the school, dated 1852.[24] The catalogue from the Department of Drawing and Painting provides information on Gardner's early instruction in art.[25] It details the extra costs a student could incur if she wished to go beyond the basics. Pencil and crayon drawing, water color, and linear perspective would have made up the standard curriculum. In this respect, American art schools followed the academic tradition of their European counterparts. At Lasell, "a great deal of beginning work in art involved copy work, and the studio at the Seminary was filled with pictures and statuary which served this purpose."[26]

Imogene Robinson (c.1824-1908), whose life-time association with Elizabeth Gardner began at Lasell, had studied for two years in Düsseldorf with Wilhelm Camphausen in the company of other American painters, including Albert Bierstadt. She had apparently acquired "a large and choice selection of paintings"[27] which travelled with her. Among these were several works by Bierstadt. It is likely that Gardner only studied with Robinson the year of her graduation (1855-56). However, she recalled, many years later, her training at Lasell which she qualified as, "limited to drawing from outline cards and dabbling in water colors - by slavishly copying, where copies could be had, Old World models." She added, "I wakened to a realization that the foundation of good painting is correct drawing."[28] She probably participated in the very popular nineteenth-century student activity entitled *tableau vivant* (fig. 7), a

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[23] Ibid., 6.
[24] Winslow, 16.
[25] Lasell Female Seminary at Auburndale, Massachusetts. 1855-56: 5.
[26] Winslow, 22.
[27] Edmund A. Schofield, "Time Recovering Itself: E. Harlow Russell's Thirty Years (and More) with Henry D. Thoreau," in The Concord Saunterer (1985): 28.
[28] McCabe, "Pathfinder," 16.

well-attended entertainment at Lasell that often took place at the end of term. Dr. Winslow described it as, "a costumed, fixed pose with living figures representing a moment in history or some symbolic subject," and provided as an example of one of the *tableaux* , "Fallen Rome, crouching at the feet of the Goth."[29] It would be difficult to determine how this component of visual culture may have influenced a young artist of the time. All the same, in the chapter dealing with the works of Elizabeth Gardner, we return to the idea of the costume and fixed pose of the *tableaux* with respect to her portrayal of figures.

From Auburndale to Worcester

In the summer of 1856, Imogene Robinson arrived in Worcester, Massachusetts. She began teaching art there at the Ladies' Collegiate Institute and almost immediately opened up an art gallery in Clark's Block, at 257 Main Street.[30] By December 1 of that same year, it became the Worcester School of Design and Academy of Fine Arts. Exactly when Elizabeth Gardner arrived in Worcester is not certain, however, her name is in the 1856-57 catalogue along with Robinson's as a principal.[31] In the later catalogues, she is referred to as an associate principal, Imogene being the senior principal. The school was very successful in the early years. Over a hundred students are listed in the first year's catalogue. An article from the Worcester Daily Spy, (March 1857, quoted in the 1856-57 catalogue), described Robinson's training. While abroad, she studied under "Schroedter, one of the class of Lessing of Düsseldorf, Cornelius of Dresden and Kaulbach of Munich,"[32] in addition to Wilhelm Camphausen, the historical painter. In the 1858-59 catalogue, Gardner is listed as being in charge of the English Department. Of Gardner's qualities as a teacher, one observer is quoted as saying, "her faculty for discipline is especially remarkable, and is combined with much gentleness and quietness of manner, and with superior scholarship."[33] The same author, in a gossipy letter to his mother, was not so charitable in his description of Robinson, "the lankest and palest of

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29 Winslow, 28, 29.

30 Schofield, 28.

31 "Instructors," First Annual Catalogue of the Teachers and Students of the Worcester School of Design and Academy of Fine Arts for the Academic Year Ending July, 1857. (Worcester: Henry J. Howland, 1857) : N. pag.

32 Ibid., 14.

33 Catalogue of the Teachers and Students of the Worcester Academy of Fine Arts, and of English, French, German and Classical Literature for the Academic year, Ending July, 1859 (Worcester: Edward R. Fiske, 1859) 28.

drawling New England women, though she has studied for several years in Düsseldorf and learned how to make everything picturesque except herself ."[34] Imogene Robinson (fig. 8) spoke fluent German and, as stated in the catalogue, Gardner was also a fine German scholar. The two artists often conversed in that language.[35] The school had a Juvenile Department (starting at age 5), a Preparatory Department; a three-year Junior Course, and a two-year Senior Course. It was described as "more European than American." Semi-annual public examinations took place in the rooms of the Academy where relatives and friends witnessed students reciting French, English and Geography lessons; drawing or sketching on a chalk board; singing the English and French national anthems. "The classes in the English branches were examined by Miss Gardner, and by their ready and decided replies showed perfect familiarity with the studies they had passed."[36] Penmanship, too, was an important skill that was considered an extension of the art classes. Samples were exhibited along with art work in the hallways. To illustrate the popularity of the Academy, the night following one of these public examinations, Robinson and Gardner hosted a reception which was attended by approximately one thousand visitors and students.[37]

On an 1861 advertisement, Elizabeth Gardner is named as being in charge of the English and Classical Department. Around that time she took more than thirty private lessons in French Elocution from E. Harlow Russell, a professor who was associated with the Academy's French Institute, founded in September 1859.[38] Gardner and Robinson attended meetings of a local natural history association for which Imogene was elected curator of its large shell collection. During these years, both women would have come in contact with many educators and been familiar with the programs of several disciplines offered at the various institutions and schools in town. Already in her early twenties, Elizabeth was not only head of a department, but also associate principal of a fairly large private school. However, there is no mention of her

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34 Schofield, 28.

35 Catalogue... (1859), 27.

36 Ibid., 29.

37 Ibid., 30.

38 Russell had corresponded with Henry D. Thoreau around this time. Thoreau lived 26 miles from Worcester in Concord, Massachusetts. Other men living at Robinson's and Gardner's boarding house near Lincoln Square also corresponded with Thoreau.

name in relation to art or painting in any of the catalogues, though we know that paintings by Robinson were hung in the school's gallery.

Certainly these were busy years that must have greatly affected her artistic output. In fact, there are only two known works by Gardner thought to be from this early period, both at the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts: *Roses and Catalpas* c.1864, and *Portrait of Charles W. Upham* c.1864,[39] the latter a copy after a painting by Charles Osgood.[40]

The last mention of the School of Design and Academy of Fine Arts is in the 1863 Worcester Directory and Business Advertiser. Whether Gardner was still at the Academy that year is not clear. It is known that both Elizabeth and Imogene sailed for Europe, probably in the summer of 1864. The artist's first extant letter from Paris to her family in Exeter is dated September 19, 1864. Interestingly, there is an entry in the Salem City Directories in 1864 for Miss Eliza Gardner on Winthrop Street, but the name does not appear in the directories either before or after that date.[41] If she had gone to Salem for a brief period to study with Osgood, that might explain the fact that she made a copy of a portrait by this artist. Furthermore, it would make sense that the young artist leaving for Paris might seek additional training in the art of copying from originals, as this would provide her with a modest income on which to survive once in the capital.[42] Copies of European masters were sought after by American collectors. With the exception of large metropolitan areas, there was such a lack of painted examples of art work that enterprising promoters had copies made of famous works which travelled from city to city. An admission fee

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[39]Charles W. Upham (1802-1875) was a clergyman, author of History of Witchcraft and Salem Village, and the Life of Timothy Pickering. He was lecturer for the State Board of Education, and married the sister of Oliver Wendell Holmes.

[40] Frederic Alan Sharp, "Charles Osgood: The Life and Times of a Salem Portrait Painter," in Charles Osgood (1809-1890) The Prolific Portrait Painter of Salem, Massachusetts. Exh. cat. (Salem: Essex Institute, 1979) N.pag. Osgood was a prolific portrait painter of renown in Salem where he maintained a studio from 1828 to 1867. In addition, he was a particularly skilled copyist, an activity which he pursued throughout his career. Unfortunately, my photos of these works are not suitable for reproduction.

[41] I am grateful to Paula B. Richter, Assistant Curator at the Peabody Essex Museum for this information.

[42] Evalyn Milman states that Gardner was living in Boston in the early 1860s before leaving for Paris. Though she produces no proof of this, her source might have been McCabe's articles. Worcester would have been an easy commute from Boston, so Gardner may have lived there while working at the school. The evidence I found to support Gardner's residence in Worcester is the following: "Both women (Imogene and Elizabeth) boarded at a nice boarding house near Lincoln Square where H. G. O. Blake lived for many years." (Schofield, 30). However, the exact dates are not given.

was charged to the public to view them. Imogene and Elizabeth became acquainted with Jonas Gilman Clark, an art collector, probably living in Worcester at the time, and they acted as his agents in Paris, acquiring paintings by French Masters and sending them back to him in New York.[43]

What made two young women embark upon an expedition to Paris at the height of the Civil War is difficult to imagine today. Certainly the fact that Imogene had already been abroad must have been reassuring to Gardner. The skill they had acquired at copying could secure needed revenue, provided they had sufficient orders before leaving or names of agents who could sell their copies. Acting themselves as dealers for Jonas Gilman Clark would have also had its financial benefits.[44] In addition, the seven years spent administrating their own school undoubtedly provided valuable knowledge that would help them forge their way once they reached the French capital.

Elizabeth Gardner's activities to this point suggest a woman of enterprising character with a solid education in the classics and modern languages. There is no evidence of her having studied art with any particular artist except for a short time (1856) with Imogene Robinson. Her earliest works show a definite skill as a draughtsperson that must have come from regular practice. One might conclude that she was, for the most part, self-taught. Consequently, one of her principal reasons for sailing to Paris could very well have been in search of training. This hypothesis is borne out in the events that comprise the next chapters, dealing with the artist's years in Paris.

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[43] Jonas G. Clark made his fortune selling supplies to miners in California and settled in New York after the Civil War. In 1888, as a real-estate speculator, he sold 9 city lots on 5th Avenue and 72nd Street to John D. Rockefeller for $425,000, representing a 66% profit for Clark. Clark was also the owner of the building in Worcester (Clark's block) in which the school of design was located.

[44] According to Bonnie Grad, guest curator for the exhibition entitled, "Selections from the Collection of Jonas and Susan Clark," Worcester Art Museum, Sept. 18, 1987 - Jan. 10, 1988, the Clarks seem to have begun their collecting around the time of their trip to Paris for the 1867 Exposition Universelle. Nonetheless, Clark may have commissioned copies from the artist in the years prior to the exposition.

CHAPTER II: STUDYING ART ABROAD

> When today we look for 'American Art' we find it mainly in Paris. When we find it out of Paris, we at least find a great deal of Paris in it.[45]
>
> *Henry James*

By the mid-nineteenth century, American landscape and still-life paintings were beginning to show the stylistic influences of the students who had gone to Germany and England to study. As Michael Quick has pointed out, it was not until the late 1870s and 1880s that, "what had been receptivity to foreign influences came near to being dependence," and, as he added, "began to approach an extreme degree which became imitation."[46] How this dependence on European models was viewed by Americans, especially patriotic Americans, is a complex issue which evolved significantly from the close of the Civil War to the end of the century. American artists returning home in the 1850s and 60s had to deal with isolationist attitudes from art critics and artists alike. "Instead of welcoming the theories and methods based on studies in France, many critics, including artists who had stayed at home, rejected these new directions as misguided for American art."[47] The highest praise attached to a painting at this time would have been to say it is "truly American". Attitudes such as these were sometimes carried to xenophobic extremes. In 1874, Lucy H. Hooper in "The American Colony in Paris," revealed her derogatory vision of women expatriates who sought to discard their American identity:

> Too often women of good birth and position, whom unfortunate circumstances or lack of principle have lured from the straight path of womanly duty, singularly adaptable to the style and manners of their surroundings, as is the nature of Americans in general, they become in style and toilet veritable Parisiennes, and are among the most admired of the evil set to which they have sunk.[48]

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45 Henry James, The Painter's Eye, 1887 (Cambridge, 1956) 216. quoted in Lois Fink, "American Artists in France, 1850-1870," American Art Journal Nov. 1973: 49.

46 Michael Quick, American Expatriate Painters of the Late Nineteenth Century, (Dayton: Dayton Art Institute, 1976) 14.

47 Fink, "American Artists in France," 42.

48 Lucy H. Hooper, "The American Colony in Paris," Appleton's Journal June 20, 1874: 781.

Hooper estimated that in 1874 the total number of American expatriates in Paris was anywhere from three thousand to upwards of five thousand.[49] How many of those were artists was not estimated. H. Barbara Weinberg noted that of the huge number of American painters studying in Paris in the late nineteenth century, about 1800 were recorded in various sources.[50] By the late 1880s, Elizabeth Gardner offered her evaluation of the situation:

> There are 30,000 artists in Paris and we must work better than the average not to starve, to gain a reputation one must do very well. The few who stand at the summit get rich fast. Of course I am aiming for that, in the meantime I am doing better than others I meet who have studied here longer.[51]

Lois Fink's figures put the number of American artists residing in Paris during the 1860s at a minimum of eighty-five. Her estimates for the 1870s are about one hundred and fifty.[52]

Despite negative reactions to foreign influences on American art, there was a gradual increase in the number of artists studying abroad that corresponded to a progressive change in American sentiment toward European art. One example of this shift occurred as a result of the 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris. Some of America's most respected painters, Frederic E. Church, Albert Bierstadt, Sanford R. Gifford, Eastman Johnson, and Winslow Homer were represented at the fair. Yet, "the only American honor, a silver medal, presented to Church for *Niagara*,[53] put America at the very bottom of the awards list, far behind France and England."[54] This was a sharp contrast to the high esteem accorded the United States in the categories of machines and inventions, where it presented the image of a nation at the cutting edge with its locomotives, railroads, transatlantic cables, and labor-saving inventions. France, by contrast, was awarded thirty-two medals including medals of honor for Meissonier, Cabanel, and Gérôme, the major academic artists of the day. An exhibition such as the one put together for the 1867 fair representing America's

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49 Ibid., 779.

50 H. Barbara Weinberg, "Nineteenth-Century American Painters at the École des Beaux-Arts," American Art Journal Autumn, 1981: 69.

51 Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, April 19, 1867.

52 Fink, "American Artists in France," 34.

53 *Niagara*, 1857, The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

54 Carol Troyen, "Innocents Abroad: American Painters at the 1867 Exposition Universelle, Paris," American Art Journal Autumn, 1984: 4.

most influential artists would have made a large splash on home shores; it hardly caused a ripple in the great wave of European art. "This disappointing response to America's greatest art was a serious blow to its cultural self-image, shaking its faith in the native painters who had been so honored at home."[55] Elizabeth Gardner attended the Universelle Exposition and offered these observations of the American and French art collections:

> Just before we entered the grounds we saw a splendid great American flag waving on a building at one side. I just stood still and looked at it without moving....I felt proud of the flag ....The center (of the Fine Arts building) is a garden, with fountains and pavilions - beautifully arranged with statuary. It was such a relief to reach this lovely, quiet place. We sat down to rest and look, for which luxury we of course were at once invited to pay two sous per chair. At the center one sees the point from which the division of each country radiates, like the slices of mother's pies! We selected of course the American division which is small. Bierstadt's landscape is very fine though not advantageously hung. Church's *Niagara* looks well. The English pictures are in the same hall, though all separate. Their works of Art are very, very poor in my estimation, but they of course think theirs fine....Then we spent several hours in the French collection, they have half of the building. I enjoyed more than I can tell you in looking at their pictures. Some of them we had seen before at the Luxembourg and at other Exhibitions. Some on the contrary are works upon which the artists have been occupied for years.[56]

The World Fairs in Paris in the latter part of the nineteenth century (1855, 1867, 1878, 1889, 1900) were paramount in establishing the capital as an international artistic center.[57] American collectors more readily used their newly acquired fortunes to purchase, among other styles, French academic paintings, as these were works whose values would continue to increase on both sides of the Atlantic. Art critics, writing in American newspapers, were now encouraging artists to go abroad to study. Illustrated reviews were increasing the educated public's awareness of foreign art, and the successes of the Salons were reported and followed with the greatest interest. French dealers had agents in

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55 Ibid., 4.

56 Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, April 19, 1867

57 Paul Lefort, "États-Unis," L'Art moderne à l'exposition de 1878. Ed. Louis Gonse. Paris: A. Quantin, 1879. Lefort describes the increasing number of Americans exhibiting at the Expositions Universelles: "C'est à peine si à cette date (1855) on voyait figurer à notre première Exposition universelle une dizaine de peintres américans. En 1867, on en comptait une quarantaine, et, aujourd'hui (1878), le catalogue *of american art* ne mentionne pas moins de 87 noms d'artistes, peintres, aquarellistes et graveurs..." (p.212)

New York and Boston, all of which contributed to a shift in patronage away from exclusively American interests.

Elizabeth Gardner and Imogene Robinson arrived in Paris in 1864, a good decade before it became a more common occurrence among artists. They found themselves in a favorable position to eventually be able to profit from this newly burgeoning market. Yet there remained many obstacles to overcome before attempting to secure their share of it. They had to acquire a mastery of new techniques, adapt to a foreign life style, and gain acceptance in the French art community. The reaction back home of the citizens of Exeter to the news of their young 'daughter,' Elizabeth Gardner, shipping off to Paris to become a professional artist, must have ranged anywhere from admiration to disdain. What she, herself, expected to find overseas in terms of training was related some years later in an interview:

> I had never dreamed, on quitting America, that all Paris had not a studio nor a master who would receive me...I had forgotten, if I ever knew, that the few French or foreign women then familiar to the Salon or the Latin Quarter, like the women painters who had preceded them were the wives, sisters or daughters of painters, and it was in the ateliers of their kinfolk they lived and worked.[58]

The first obstacle, therefore, was to gain admission to a studio. One of the advantages of the atelier was that it provided the opportunity to study from the draped or undraped model on a regular basis. It was these intensive life drawing sessions that distinguished the nineteenth-century academic curricula from earlier centuries. The *académies* , as they were called, represented the culmination in the long academic process of learning to draw, but this particular element of art instruction was not available to women in mixed classes. Male students had a variety of options at their disposal. For many, the famous École des Beaux-Arts was the ultimate objective; the atelier was simply a stepping stone for acceptance into the prestigious institution. As women were not allowed access to the École des Beaux-Arts until June 1897, there were few, if any, government subsidized studios open to them.[59] Oftentimes, their only

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[58] McCabe, "Pathfinder," 16.

[59] Elizabeth Gardner mentions the classes at the Jardin des Plantes as being about the only subsidized instruction for both women and men (Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, April 19, 1867).

alternative was private instruction.[60] Tuition was much higher for women than it was for men, most often double. H. Barbara Weinberg contrasts the lack of tuition parity in 1887 with these examples: The Academy Julian charged women sixty francs a month for half-days; men paid twenty-five francs for the same instruction. Carolus-Duran charged women one hundred francs a month for half-days; men were offered full days for thirty francs a month. The Academy Colarossi, at forty francs a month for half-days, was the only studio to charge men and women the same fee.[61] The reason rates were kept low for men was in order to compete with government-run schools where tuition was free. Nonetheless, the disparity in the cost of professional training for men and women made it more difficult for women artists like Gardner and Robinson to realize their ambitions.

How much Elizabeth would have been able to afford for private instruction is impossible to determine from the letters. It is clear that a good part of her income came from making copies in the Louvre for orders she had received. In the first extant letter home, dated September 19, 1864, Gardner begins to identify some of the sacrifices involved in making one's way as an artist in the mid-sixties:

> We are well and very busy. Working at the Louvre from 7 1/2 A.M. till 6 at night part of the time, and occasionally when we have friends here, giving all our time to fun...I have a long programme prepared for the future. We should not have worked so long in the Louvre had we not had orders for pictures. I hope soon to go into a studio to study. I am working early and late, busy with anatomy every evening.[62]

By November, she and Imogene had another order "for a picture from one at the Luxembourg - *The Beggar Girl.*" The art of copying was certainly not new to Elizabeth; she had already spent many hours engaged in this practice prior to her arrival in the capital. The Louvre as well as the Luxembourg galleries provided an excellent training ground for students earning a living as copyists (fig. 9). Mature artists, too, continued to copy for their own benefit. Degas, for

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60 Marie Adelaide Belloc, "Lady Artists in Paris," Murray's Magazine September 1890, states that Charles Chaplin was the first artist to accept women (p.373). However these were not mixed classes. Nancy Mowll Mathews mentions that, in those early years, Mary Cassatt had worked in Chaplin's studio.

61 Weinberg, The Lure of Paris, 226.

62 Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, September 19, 1864.

instance, registered to copy at the Louvre for more than ten years between 1855 and 1868.[63]

In the next letter to her brother, John, she describes her working conditions and her first private instruction in the studio of Jean-Baptiste Ange Tissier (1814-1876):[64]

1864

> The Louvre is too cold to work in much now. There are furnaces which make it comfortable for visitors who are moving about, but all the artists who can, go elsewhere for the winter. I have begun at the studio. All was new at first - the walk of two miles, and working from models to which I was unaccustomed, and the strange faces around me. I knew that Mons. Tissier had pupils now beginning their third year whom he did not yet allow to color, so with a sigh I closed my paint box and started the first morning with porte-crayon and paper. I worked with crayon two days and was then told to provide myself with canvas and paints, which you may be sure I remembered the next morning...My admiration for Mr. Tissier is not boundless. He is a Frenchman of about fifty, tender and irritable, drawing is his fort, but his color is bad. I shall learn what I can there while "watching the horison (sic)". Our class is small and select. The French element consists of pet daughters all over eighteen, who are brought by their Mothers or nurses in the morning and called for at night. But they are full of fun and train enough when left to themselves. After fruitless attempts to learn the pronunciation of my name they submit to me whether I object to being called "la petite sauvage" inasmuch as I come from a country of savages![65]

The meagerness of her financial resources at this time is suggested by calculations such as the one she made in the same letter:

> I enjoy my walk when it does not rain, but it gives me such an appetite - the question is which is the most expensive, omnibus fares or côtelettes?

In addition to offering work space and artistic criticism, studios also attracted artists by furnishing models on a daily basis. Some were more appreciated

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63 Hilton Brown, "Academic Art Education and Studio Practices," American Artist 49, February 1985: 50.

64 Bénézit E. Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs. vol. 10, (Paris: Librairie Gründ, 1976) 199. One of the forgotten artists of the nineteenth century, Jean-Baptiste Ange Tissier or Ange Tissier was a portrait and genre painter who had studied with Ary Scheffer and Paul Delaroche. As a regular contributor to the Salon between 1838 and 1875, he won a third class medal in 1845 and a second class medal in 1861.

65 Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, November 13, 1864.

than others. One of the first references to models occurs in this early letter of 1864:

> We have models four times a week and choose our own work the other two days...This week we have had a young Italian boy, with jet black hair and eyes, and complexion to match. He is a spirited little wretch, poses with sentiment, submits gracefully to the pictures we make from him, and criticizes our work without ceremony when the day is over. Next week we shall have his sister.[66]

Her models were often children and, needless to say, difficult to manage (fig. 10) as indicated much later by a reporter from the Exeter News-Letter:

> Madame excels in painting children and once told me a pretty story about a little four-year-old model she had. The child, in spite of sugar plums with which the hour of sitting is invariably sweetened became restless, and at last Mme. Bouguereau said: "Ma petite, écoute! If you are naughty and fidgety, I must send you away and get another model to paint!" "Eh bien, Madame," retorted the baby with fine spirit, shaking an admonitory finger, "if you are naughty and scold me, I shall send you away and get another artist to paint me. Just you remember that!"[67]

Studio Life in Paris

Thomas Couture (1815-1879) was a very popular artist among American expatriates. Both Imogene and Elizabeth had hoped to work with him. In fact, according to the letter of November 13, Imogene took five lessons with the artist. Most of the biographical dictionary entries on Robinson list Couture as her teacher in Paris. How long they maintained a professional relationship is uncertain. Thomas Couture's studios were on the rue Fontaine from 1847 to around 1863. Later, sometime after 1868, they were moved to a suburb of Paris, Villiers-le-Bel.[68] Mary Cassatt, too, settled in the same village for a period of time to study with the master.[69] Couture, like many artists trained in France at the time, was a firm believer in the benefits of solid draughtsmanship. However, what differed in his technique was that he encouraged students to sketch with paint rather than pencil and to work up the composition in that medium. The objective of this exercise was "to preserve the vitality of a sketch by actually

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66 Ibid.

67 "An Interesting Figure," Exeter News-Letter, March 9, 1917.

68 Fink, "American Artists in France, 1850-1870," 36.

69 Nancy Mowll Mathews, Cassatt and Her Circle, (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984) 20.

painting from the first step."[70] Gardner and Robinson seem to have been aware of his reputation before their arrival. The November 13 letter continues:

> Thomas Couture is the first artist here now. When we came we expected to study with him, but heard that he had given up teaching entirely. Last week Imo (Imogene) learned that he had just returned from the country, and was at leisure for a few days, she called to see him the next morning with her paint-box. He took a great fancy to her, set her to work in a few minutes. She took five lessons of four hours each, and then he told her that she did not need any teacher - to work away fast and boldly and to come to him at any and all times for advice or suggestions. She paid him five dollars for each lesson, and in one of these days he drew a crayon portrait for which he had five hundred francs. He says that he will give me a few lessons in about six months. He has a large picture underway. He often earns a thousand francs for an oil portrait which he paints in four hours. He is a genius. He has inspired us both with courage and hope. But he says he only gained his power after fifteen years of hard study, in which he often drew fourteen hours a day.

Whether Gardner actually took any lessons with Couture is not known. He is never mentioned in the letters again, and he does not appear in the Salon catalogues as one of her teachers. What is interesting, though, is the admiration she displays not so much for his talent as for his position as an artist. He is a genius because of the market value of his talent. Both Imogene and Elizabeth aspire to success and both are prepared to make the necessary sacrifices, as is clearly demonstrated further on. By February 13, 1865, the date of the next letter, Elizabeth reveals that she has left Tissier's to join a women's cooperative studio:

1865

> We are painting as usual. I have just joined a few young ladies who have an independent little studio the other side of the river. I found my old walk to the studio too great a tax on time and strength and as they besought me to come with them, I concluded to try it. I have been there now three weeks, and like it much. We hire our own models, buy our own charbon and do just as we please. It is less expensive than where I was before. We are a merry set, and have a good time together the first three days of the week. I have a very pleasant friend in the same class, a German, just my own age, the only young lady I have taken the least fancy to in Paris. She is very smart and we talk German together. By our united energy we have brought about what I have longed for all winter - an evening class. We have bought a splendid lamp to light our models

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[70] Ibid., 36.

> and we work usually four evenings in the week. And the last three days of the week I am painting at the Luxembourg on a picture which is ordered. It is very hard. One young man much my senior who has been several years at the École des Beaux-Arts here is trying to do it too, he commenced two months since, but has not yet succeeded. If I make a good copy, and I am determined that I will, I shall feel encouraged, and it will keep me some time in pocket money.[71]

The determination that dominated her working habits was also characteristic of her own education. Gardner had studied the classics in Latin and Greek and, while in Paris, enrolled in an advanced philosophy course at the Sorbonne that met once a week. In addition to her knowledge of French and German, she also studied Italian:

> Tell John that I find my Italian books very useful. We have an Italian teacher who comes once a week - usually dines with us Saturday evenings. He is a cunning little fellow, an artist. We enjoy our lessons. He feels very proud because he can say "How do you do vis morning". His only English accomplishment. I can understand all he says in Italian, but have to call on French for my replys.[72]

In these early years, Elizabeth was already making important contacts with American travellers that would secure her commissions for paintings or copies. Some of these early patrons may have heard of Gardner through her influential friend Edward (Ned) Tuck,[73] some had letters of introduction from residents in Exeter or Boston, still others may have been acquaintances of Imogene Robinson. Interestingly, many of them were women.[74]

1866

> I wrote you that Mrs. Young called on us. She has had pleasant apartments at the Hotel Wagram a famous resort for Americans with full purses. She invited us to dinner one evening and we had a cosy time...Mrs. Young professes a profound interest in my welfare and I

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[71] Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, February 13, 1865.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Edward Tuck (1842-1938) was appointed vice-consul to Paris by President Lincoln and served from 1866-1896. He and his wife, Julia Stell, donated the money for the building of the hospital at Rueil-Malmaison. For information on the Tucks, see Olive Tardiff, "He Gave Away Millions," Exeter News-Letter 30 July 1980: A4.

[74] Madeleine Fidell-Beaufort, p. 9, n. 29, has listed a few of Gardner's clients: Sara Goelet of New York (1894), George Ingraham Seney, a New York collector (1886), John Duff of Boston (1877, my dating), Mary Copely Thaw of Pittsburgh (1890s). Others to be added to her list are, Mrs. Shindler (1889), Mrs. Rhinelander-Waldo (1889), Mrs. J.P. Ross, Chicago (1892), Mrs. Dietz (after 1896).

> certainly think her a lovely lady. She and her sister Miss Brayton spent an evening with us and have called to see us several times at the house and the Luxembourg. She has given me an order to paint a picture for her, a copy of one at the Luxembourg which she much admires. She has just left for Italy and I am to have it ready for her on her return in May.[75]

In the same letter she tells her mother of a little dinner party they gave. Visitors to her studio (for the most part Americans) were often treated to small receptions, teas, and, on occasion, intimate dinner parties. Many of those who called were potential clients. The prospect of buying directly from the artist, visiting her studio, and even seeing the work in progress added an air of authenticity to the painting while allowing her patrons a privileged opportunity to come in direct contact with a member of the Parisian art community. Elizabeth Gardner became expert at promoting her own work through her studio.

> I must tell you about our dinner party for we have given a little one, and quite an undertaking for us. We invited all the Morrill family - six and another Boston gentleman to dine with us two weeks since. This gave us a table for nine, as many as we thought our room would hold. Well they all came. I was in a little trepidation at first but all went along smoothly. Would you like the details? Imo made some delicious soup, we had green peas, potatoes and turnips as Americans like them but cannot get from a French cook. Our *rôtissier* sent us a great turkey and a duck roasted brown and smoking hot. We had pears, oranges and cakes, nuts, figs, etc. Our concierge presided in the kitchen and her son waited on the table. Old Mrs. Morrill was delighted because it was homelike and they have since sent us a written expression of thanks. They have all gone to Spain.[76]

What dominates the letters, though, is a work ethic, the sense of being on a mission. Gardner's routine consisted of getting up at the crack of dawn, taking a cold shower, and drinking a warm cup of tea. She continues:

> Perhaps you will think we are running about all the time but we do not forget that we came to paint. Every morning last week we were up early, had got breakfast and were at the table when the clock struck seven. Then we dress and are ready to start off when it is fairly daylight. We reach the Luxembourg at half past eight. I copy there a while and then go to our studio to work from life till dark.

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75 Elizabeth Gardner to her mother, January 21, 1866.
76 Ibid.

By April of 1865, her determination had not faded; what is new is her desire to paint original works. For nearly two years she had been working as a copyist and felt ready to make the next step in asserting her creative talents. This would be a necessary move if she wanted to fulfill her desire to become a professional painter.

> When all was over (she had just attended a wedding) I hurried to the Luxembourg to try to make up for lost time. I have been at work for two weeks very steadily on my picture for Mrs. Young, it is already looking well. I hope it will be the best I have painted. I do it with a good zest because it is an order, but I do not like much to copy. I want to be at work on something original...The young artists come out here from America and expect to do something wonderful in a few months, but the most of them get discouraged and go home. I am determined that I will succeed now that I have sacrificed so much for Art, and I know that I have made great progress. Then I shall come home to live and have big orders like Mr. Bierstadt.[77]

Some Early Influences

From Elizabeth Gardner's earliest Salon entries to her latest, she is listed as "élève de (Hugues) Merle." In the Salon *livret* of 1875, Jules Lefebvre is added to the list and, in 1877, we see the first mention of Bouguereau as her teacher.[78] Before undertaking a discussion of her works, it is of interest to note a series of coincidences that occur in relation to her address and Bouguereau's, which may support an earlier 1860s connection between the two artists. By late November, 1866, Elizabeth and Imogene had moved into a new studio. The 1868 and 1869 Salon catalogues give Elizabeth Gardner's address as 2, rue Carnot. Her letters always inform her family of a change of address and there was none between 1866 and 1868, so we can safely assume 2, rue Carnot to be her address in 1866. In the same year, Bouguereau was living at 3, rue Carnot. It wasn't until September of 1868 that he moved with his wife Nelly into their new home at 75, rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs.[79] Later, in the 1872 Salon catalogue, Elizabeth Gardner is listed at 73, rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs.[80]

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[77] Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, April 14, 1866,

[78] It is likely that Gardner studied with Jules Lefebvre (1836-1911) at the Académie Julian as early as 1872. Lefebvre was among the "earliest professors" (Fehrer, 208). According to Fehrer (Ibid.), Bouguereau did not head an atelier until 1882.

[79] Mark Steven Walker, "Chronology," William Bouguereau Exh. cat. Musée du Petit-Palais, Paris; The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts; The Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, 1984: 62, 63.

[80] Mark Steven Walker gives June 1871 as the date Imogene and Elizabeth moved into the apartment at 73, Notre-Dame-des-Champs (Ibid., 52). He further notes that the street "was called by Paul Eudel *la voie appienne de la peinture*, leading as it did to the ateliers of such painters as

Both Gardner's and Bouguereau's studios faced the same courtyard. Bouguereau was introduced to Merle in 1862 by Durand-Ruel, Bouguereau's dealer at the time.[81] That same year the dealer purchased all of Merle's works. In her August 29 letter (1866) Elizabeth mentions, "My teacher, Mr. Merle, has just been decorated with the Cross of the Legion of Honor...He allows me to go to his studio whenever I please which is a privilege." Louise d'Argencourt has rightfully observed the marked change in Bouguereau's style from 1862 on, as he began to devote himself more to genre painting in order to tap into an important market demand, one that Merle had already been successfully exploiting. It is, then, highly probable that Bouguereau and Gardner knew each other, not only as neighbors, but also through the mutual acquaintance of her teacher, Merle. Hence, she could have studied with Bouguereau earlier than the 1870s or 1880s as is generally acknowledged in the literature. This link carries with it certain stylistic influences which can be seen in the three artists' works, and raises important questions of imitation.

Tamar Garb argues against "women's essential imitativeness" which is often perceived as "the ultimate fulfilment of their 'difference'."[82] In characterizing the standard rhetoric on the subject, she summarizes, "After all, a lack of originality and the tendency to slavish imitation were part of what distinguished them (women) from men, and excluded them, by nature, from the pantheon of the greats."[83] Elizabeth Gardner's work was often considered an imitation of Bouguereau's:

> Although Gardner worked briefly with other Parisian artists in the mid-1860s, the most profound stylistic influence upon her was Bouguereau, with whom she appears to have begun study at Julian's in 1875. Gardner would not only re-form her style in close imitation of Bouguereau's - as is evident in her entries in the 1889 fair - she would become her teacher's constant companion and eventually, in 1896, his wife.[84]

Jean-Paul Laurens, Rosa Bonheur, Paul Baudry, Alfred de Curzon, and Carolus-Duran." (Ibid., 50). Madeleine Fidell-Beaufort has added to the list of notables with Cecilia Beaux, Whistler, and Elizabeth Nourse living on the same street at various periods, as well as John Singer Sargent and Caroll Beckwith, who were in the same building as Gardner, though she never mentions them in her letters ("Elizabeth Jane Gardner Bouguereau...."): 9 n..22.

81 Louise d'Argencourt, "Bouguereau and the Art Market in France," William Bouguereau, Exh. cat., 1984: 99.

82 Garb, Sisters of the Brush, 123.

83 Ibid.

84 H. Barbara Weinberg et al., Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition. (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989) 47-48. Weinberg cites 1875 as the year Gardner began to study with Bouguereau at Julian's. Mark Steven Walker also gives 1875 as the year he began

The allusion here is that the act of imitating is somewhat confirmed by her companionship and marriage to Bouguereau. This belief is widespread in both contemporary and recent literature on the artist. Gardner was well aware that her work was often viewed in the reflected light of her husband's. Her early biographer quotes her reaction to the criticism:

> I know I am criticised for not more boldly asserting my individuality, but I would rather be known as the best imitator of Bouguereau than nobody![85]

The controversy concerning imitation goes well beyond that of gender. Artists of all nationalities came to Paris and consciously imitated the masters in order to broaden their artistic repertoire. The modern preoccupation with individual originality did not yet dominate aesthetics; painting in a traditional style or copying were more acceptable. If one were to seek out a model that lay beneath Gardner's stylistic influences, a more logical place to begin would be with Merle (1823-1881). Hugues Merle was born at Saint-Martin and studied in Paris with Léon Cogniet (1794-1880). He was a genre, portrait, and history painter who exhibited at the Salon from 1847 to 1880.[86] Though he is in the Salon catalogue as her teacher throughout her career, he died in 1881. It is not clear from the letters exactly how long she studied with him. She was very fond of the artist and spent the summer of 1873 at Etretat with his family:

> I am going early in July to Etretat, a village near Dieppe, in Normandy on the northern coast of France. Mr. Merle, one of the most distinguished French artists has invited me to spend the Summer in his family and offers one half of his studio. I was his pupil and he always takes a great interest in what I am doing. He and his wife both urged me to go with them last Summer, but I could not leave then. He earns $10,000 a year and when I do the same you shall come out and have a good time.[87]

Merle became very successful as a genre painter. His work centered primarily around family and domestic scenes, as well as portraits. In the mid-1860s he painted portraits of the Durand-Ruels (Paul, his wife and son Joseph).[88] It has already been established that Bouguereau altered his style of painting after his

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instruction there ("Chronolgy," 64). However, as Fehrer has pointed out, Bouguereau did not head an atelier at Julian's until 1882 (Fehrer, 208).

85 McCabe, "Mme. Bouguereau at Work," 695.

86 Bénézit, vol. 7, 346.

87 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, June 10, 1873.

88 Linda Whiteley, 'Accounting for Tastes," Oxford Art Journal 2, (April 1979): 27.

meeting with Merle and their mutual association with Paul Durand-Ruel. Certainly Merle's financial success provided incentive to both Gardner and Bouguereau to exploit that market through their agents. Yet, even though all three artists depicted similar subject matter, their stylistic approaches varied considerably. The following three examples illustrate the point. Hugues Merle's *The Women and the Secret*, 1867 (fig. 11); Gardner's *La Confidence*, c.1880 (fig. 12); and Bouguereau's *The Secret*, 1876 (fig. 13), share common characteristics. They offer the viewer an intrigue that is anecdotal in nature. They do not require knowledge of the classics or history in order to be interpreted and are, thus, capable of appealing to a wider audience. There is an escapist element to them in that they idealize the past and valorize rural settings, a reaction against the industrialization taking place in urban communities. However, the treatment of each painting is significantly different.

All three take place at the well where the maidens are lingering in order to share some secret. Bouguereau and Gardner's portrayals are much more classical in style than Merle's. The latter's gestures and facial expressions are almost caricatures in their exaggeration. The girl receiving the news in both Gardner's and Bouguereau's has a wistful expression as she reflects upon what she hears. In Merle's picture, she throws her arms in the air. Unlike her male counterparts, Gardner's depiction of the news is something which is interiorized and shared between the two women. Here the women are shown full-figure and there is greater intimacy in the act of sharing the contents of the letter.[89] In a style that recalls early Netherlandish traditions, it is truly *une confidence*. Merle's "secret", on the contrary, has reached the proportions of rumor and gossip as it becomes the subject of conversation between others at this public meeting place. Similarly, in the Bouguereau and Merle compositions, the woman telling the secret cautions, through her gesture, not to divulge the information. Gardner's treatment avoids the stereotypical assumption that women cannot keep secrets.

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[89] *La Confidence* is in the collection of the Georgia Museum of Art, University of Georgia. The painting came into the museum's collections through the Lucy Cobb Institute, Athens, Georgia. It was given to the Institute, along with 16 others, by the New York art collector and philanthropist George Ingraham Seney (1826-1893). A 1986 document gives a record of the painting's condition. There were two sharp tears in the canvas and graffiti with the word "Lesbeans" (sic) made with a sharp instrument through the paint and ground of both women's skirts. The painting has since been reconditioned and is on display at the museum. The rock group R.E.M. used the painting in their video "Low," where it continues to be interpreted with lesbian undertones.

Bouguereau's shift to genre paintings in the 1860s came at a time when the state's patronage of "serious" painting was on the decline. Merle, who had been a regular contributor at the Salon since 1847, offered a repertoire of subject matter which the artist could adapt to his own particular temperament. Gardner's earliest influences were directly related to her experience in Merle's studio. He is the only painter referred to in the correspondence as her teacher, especially for the years prior to her engagement to Bouguereau in 1879, by which time she was functioning as an independent professional. Her entire corpus of known paintings is composed of either genre or portraiture. And, as to her "re-forming" her style to that of Bouguereau's, there is no evidence of this in her earlier works. If we compare her Salon entry of 1868, *Les trois amis* (fig. 2),[90] with an 1893 work, *Le Jugement de Paris* (fig. 14), it appears that she had reached her mature style very early in her career and maintained it, with minor adaptations.

Les trois amis depicts two children with pretty faces, possibly brother and sister, along with a pet goat in the foreground of the picture. The boy, in a protective gesture, places his hand on the shoulder of his younger charge while he gets her to drink something from the fine, porcelain bowl he is holding. The threesome is enclosed on one side by the goat and on the other by the young girl in a balanced composition that typifies Gardner's work. The brush stroke is smooth and invisible. Great care is taken in the drawing of figures and the attention to details. In a very similar style, a painting shown at the 1894 Salon, *À travers le ruisseau* (fig. 15), located at the Exeter Historical Society, portrays two children carrying a younger one, in a swing-like fashion, across a brook. The camaraderie of children was often the subject of her paintings and the figures' poses were suggestive of some intrigue. They had the snapshot-like quality of a cliché frozen in time and, in this respect, recall the *tableaux-vivants* of Gardner's Lasell days . For *Le Jugement de Paris*, the artist explains how she came to paint the work:

> One summer, when I was as usual making studies of peasant-life in France, the young daughter of the lord of a chateau came often to play with the children of the farmer who was gate-keeper to the property. I remarked that the well-dressed Miss got much attention from the farmer's son, much to the discontent of his sisters. It amused me to sketch them,

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[90] This painting was loaned to the New Hampshire Historical Society from 1923-1971. It is now in a private collection. The title and date of this work are discussed further on in the paper.

> and I decided to depict the favorite as a small, modern *Venus*, - one neglected child, the pouting one in the corner, as wrathful *Juno*, - and a more reasonable one in the center as *Minerva*. The farmer's son was *Paris*.[91]

All three compositions are anecdotal and, like many of her works, are rendered in rural settings. The children's faces are contemporary in appearance and very pretty; there is a similarity between them. Though *Le Judgement* represents a transposition of a classical theme, it would have been easily understood by viewers who were unaware of its iconographical tradition. Like Merle's works, these paintings focus on family or domestic scenes, here, brother and sisterly love. Her technique was academic in its insistence on detail, encouraged, possibly, by the ever-increasing competition from new scientific developments in photography. The brush stroke technique was part of the same tradition which dominated art instruction at the time: even, regular and, most important, invisible. The slick finish rivaled photography and was much admired by collectors. Besides their classical approach in the treatment of genre, what may account for a perceived similarity in Bourguereau's and Gardner's works later on is the fact that both shared many of the same models. Naturally, the proximity of their studios allowed for such a partnership. Good models were not always easy to come by and often Gardner had to "engage them for nearly every day to prevent other artists from claiming them."[92]

Ménage or Ménagerie?

Elizabeth Gardner loved birds, animals, and children. They enter into the discussion here because of their constant presence in her paintings and in her everyday life. They also serve to paint a picture of the artist's interior, her studio space. Whatever found itself within the physical parameters of Gardner's studio could also have been "fair game" for a canvas. The earliest mention of her "ménagerie" occurs in an 1867 description of her studio, probably at 2, rue Carnot:

> We are enjoying our new studio though we often wish we were a little nearer the center of Paris. We have a splendid great room to work in. Just now our family is quite numerous. We have a little French girl living with us. We found that our housekeeping and sewing took too much time so we took a little orphan child who had neither home nor relatives. She

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91 Elizabeth Gardner to Professor Bragdon (Lasell College), June 2, 1899.

92 Elizabeth Gardner to Miriam Gardner, December 20, 1891.

> is pretty and very smart. She is delighted to be here and says that she shall never leave us. She is very useful and costs but little. And we have a splendid great dog, an African hound, he is an enormous fellow just one yard high. He is very useful to put in pictures. He won't allow anyone about who is not well dressed. The floor of our studio is dark wood and we keep it waxed. The man who comes once a week to polish it is quite deformed. Bruce (the dog) hates him and flies at him if we leave them alone a minute. I have had a present of two lovely turtle-doves. They are perfectly tame and play about the studio all day, often lighting on our shoulders. We fear that they are destined to be eaten by the dog for he is a hunter and at first chased them about, now they will get on his back when he is asleep and he does not like it.[93]

Gardner, at one point, had as many as twenty-six birds in her aviary at 73, rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs. Though they demanded a lot of attention, they were a great comfort to her when she was alone. Her favorite was Coco. In 1878 she writes:

> My birds are all well. I have built a fire in their little room tonight for the first time this season. It opens into the studio and my stove there has thus far been enough...My little maid is good and works well. Coco had a new cage for his New Year's present and he is covered with the afghan tonight. I sent Mary (her maid) with him to the bird-fanciers' this week to have his claws clipped, they were long and troublesome. We put him in a basket and he talked to the children on the street, much to their bewilderment as they could see nothing.[94]

The parrot eventually learned to "cough and cry like a baby," to the astonishment of the visitors and passers-by. "Coco is delighted to be all day at the open window. He calls after everyone who passes not excepting priests and policemen. I have been mating my birds for the summer and am on the lookout for blue eggs."[95] Whenever she left Paris, Coco was the only bird she took with her. Naturally, it spoke French and always created a stir by making people laugh. Winters were long, not only for those with brushes, but for those with feathers as well. She fed the sparrows that would come on her roof every noon, sometimes fifty at a time. A few years later, in 1896, a contemporary description of the artist's studio appeared in the Exeter News-Letter. It provides a clear vision of what visitors and potential art buyers found at 73, rue Notre-

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93 Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, January 28, 1867.
94 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, January 10, 1878.
95 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, March 18, 1879.

Dame-des-Champs after climbing four flights of stairs on her reception day.[96] It also suggests that, by then, the status of artists was somewhat higher than one would imagine:

> Elizabeth J. Gardner...is a great lover of birds, and the antechamber of her charming apartment in the rue Notre Dame des Champs was filled with cages of her chirping friends. Love-birds and peroquets seemed her favorites, and the cages were large, roomy, wire affairs, where the domestic life of her feathered pets was carried on in great comfort and freedom. Her studio, which she occupied for many years, was a large and lofty room, lighted by skylight, and filled with pictures, bric-a-brac and couches, fine rugs, and beautiful tapestries, all in an artistic confusion, which only the unsophisticated philistine could believe was chance. Her salons, through which one wandered to reach the studio, were more conventionally French, but full also of objects of art and virtu. But it was especially in the studio, that Miss Gardner's friends were wont to gather, and there one was sure to meet with cordial welcome, most graciously given, a cup of the tea that cheers, and a company the most interesting and varied, for besides her rank as an artist, Madame Bouguereau has the true New England love of culture, and, being a brilliant conversationalist, gathers about her many clever people.[97]

Three Salon works, among others, that had birds as subjects were, *Deux mères de famille*, 1888 (fig. 16); *Dans le bois*, 1889 (fig. 17); *La Captive*, 1883 (fig. 18).[98] They are subjects that appealed strongly to the Victorian sensibilities of her clientele and are representative of Gardner's genre paintings. Tamar Garb compares Elizabeth's *Deux mères de famille* with Morisot's *Nourrice et bébé* of 1880 in her discussion of Madonna imagery and its insistence on a natural link between mother and infant. One of the contrasts she emphasizes in comparing Impressionism to the academic style is how the formal qualities of the latter are "tinged with moral associations, signifying purity, a striving for the

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96 Elizabeth kept one day of the week for visitors (Tuesdays or Thursdays depending on the years). This allowed her to paint without interruption the other days of the week. On her reception days she paid more attention to her attire than on working days.

97 Exeter News-Letter July 17, 1896 p.5 col. 2, quoted from Harper's Bazaar. This short article, for which there was no title, may have been written by Lida Rose McCabe, the author of Gardner's earliest biography and a friend of the artist.

98 The present locations of *Deux mères de famille* and *Dans le bois* are unknown. *La Captive*, also called *The Dove Fancier*, hangs on the wall of Haussner's Restaurant in Baltimore, Maryland. The standing figure in Gardner's work is the same model as the one in Bouguereau's *The Bather* (1894), also at Haussner's. I am grateful to Ms. Francie George, owner of the restaurant, for her kind help in supplying information and a photograph of Gardner's work.

ideal, a belief in the power of beauty, and a respect for tradition and enduring values."[99]:

> Gardner's *Deux mères de famille*, exhibited at the Salon of 1888 and a procelain (sic) copy of which was shown at the Salon des femmes in 1889 (made by Augusta Beaumont), would have fulfilled the demands for a highly contrived, well delineated and convincingly illusionistic pictorial space, with its skilful draughtsmanship and creation of volume through appropriately subtle tonal modelling. What is more, the Gardner would have been seen to be making a moral statement about the healthy young mother's instinctive and entirely wholesome attitude to her child, inscribed as natural by finding its echo in the hen and her chicks. The moral overtones of the Gardner would not have been restricted to the overt 'message' in the work, however. It was the way in which it was encoded in traditional pictorial means that conferred upon it the status of representing the 'good' and the 'true'.[100]

Dans le bois has similar thematic content. In this work three young girls, represented close to the foreground in a shallow wooded space, happen upon a bird's nest. They are in awe as they peer into it, stressing once again the wholesomeness of nature. The taste for peasant imagery in the second half of the nineteenth century coincides with a Victorian tendency to romanticize poverty and idealize the values of country life. Furthermore, Gardner's focus on the figures of children in rural settings emphasizes feminine innocence and beauty in nature, rustic innocence uncorrupted by modern civilization. Another work, similar in style, but not a Salon entry, entitled *Ne bougez pas* (*He Careth*) (fig. 19) c.1883 (The Philbrook Museum of Art, Tulsa) is described by Charlotte Streifer Rubinstein:

> In *He Careth*, a typically sentimental allegory, there is a certain nobility in the figures of mother and child. The small bird eating crumbs on the window sill hints that God watches over His smallest creatures, child and bird alike. The fine drawing and broad arrangement of the masses of light and dark lift the painting above the purely anecdotal and sentimental level.[101]

La Captive,1883, as the title suggests, also draws upon these same notions. As Lois Fink has observed, this picture "features two young women in classical garb holding a birdcage, a favorite eighteenth-century device that alludes to the

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99 Garb, 158.

100 Ibid., 157-158.

101 Charlotte Streifer Rubinstein, American Women Artists (New York: Avon, 1982) 111,112.

loss of sexual innocence."[102] A comparable phenomenon occurs in the painting *La Confidence* in which the maiden, who is hearing the secret, has a wistful, melancholy gaze. The symbol of the broken or cracked pitcher at the well is also one that suggests the loss of innocence. An 1887 work by Gardner entitled "l'Innocence" portrays a young girl holding a bouquet of lilies with her hands crossed in front of her chest (fig. 20), a further indication of the concern over chastity. In spite of this and other examples, Rubinstein proposes that, "Gardner avoided any taint of sensuality. She dealt exclusively with the noble, the sweet, the sentimental, and the ideal."[103]

Elizabeth Gardner's *David, berger*, (fig. 21) 1895 (The National Museum of Women in the Arts, Washington, D.C.)[104] is yet another example of the interest in animals in her work. It also represents one of the few extant religious subjects she painted.[105] In 1867, spurred by a desire to improve on her painting of animals, the artist enrolled in classes at the Jardin des Plantes where Antoine Barye (1795-1875), the well known animal sculptor, was director.[106] Gardner recalls the training:

> I realized that the animals in my composition were very inferior to Rosa Bonheur's and I at once joined at the Jardin des Plantes the class for animal drawing from skeleton and plaster. This class was directed by the great Barye, many of whose bronzes are owned in America. I found the work in the class at the Jardin des Plantes rather tame, and, longing to study from living animals, I drew an outline from a fine African greyhound which belonged to me, and indicated the skeleton of the dog inside. Barye was so pleased with my enterprise that he ever after took a most paternal interest in my work.[107]

To illustrate the great lengths to which artists sometimes went to sketch from "life," McCabe relates the story of the painting of the lion in *David, berger*, as told to her by Gardner:

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102 Fink, American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons, 176.

103 Ibid., 111.

104 *David, berger* was originally purchased in 1896 from the artist by Mrs. Thaw of Pittsburgh. Gardner also painted a portrait of Mrs. Thaw that same year (whereabouts unknown).

105 Two other religious works were, *Ruth and Noémi*, (fig. 29)1877; *Moïse exposé sur le Nil*, 1878. The whereabouts of both works is unknown.

106 Interestingly, the 1895 Salon catalogue is the only one in which Barye is listed as her teacher, in place of Merle. Possibly there is a connection between this recognition of Barye and the animals depicted in *David*.

107 McCabe, "Madame Bouguereau at Work," 695.

> A lion in a travelling circus was the model...."The lion was ill and asleep," said Madame Bouguereau, "when I asked permission of the circus proprietor to sketch it. Its position was just what I wanted; but the proprietor, having himself no use for a lion not in action, was loath to understand. When I secured his reluctant permission I set to work; but before the study was completed, the lion inconsiderately died. Not to be outwitted, I bought the body and carted it home to my studio where the picture was finished."[108]

While Elizabeth could improve on her painting of animals, the opportunities available to her to paint nudes, especially male nudes, were practically non-existent. This also meant that women and men, for the most part, did not paint side by side, but in separate studios. Elizabeth Gardner has the distinction of being one of the first women in the French capital to have been successful in attempting to eliminate this dichotomy.

Crossing the Threshold of the Ateliers

In 1867, Paris was undergoing the facelift ordered by Napoleon III and carried out by Baron Haussmann, as the city forged ahead in its preparation for the Exposition Universelle that spring. In January, the new Opera House was about to open its doors, the corner of the Tuileries was being completed, and several thousand workers were digging through the mud and rain in the Luxembourg gardens. Elizabeth Gardner wrote home telling her family about the class at the Jardin des Plantes:

> I have just joined a class at the Jardin des Plantes. Government provides the professors and pays all the expenses. We meet three times in the week and as it is about the only instruction provided for ladies as well as gentlemen I am glad to improve it (take advantage of it). I can walk there in half an hour, and shall make studies for my pictures.[109]

What is of particular interest in her remarks is her statement that, "it is about the only instruction provided for ladies as well as gentlemen." In a decade where the government was unwilling to subsidize formal instruction in art for women, it would appear that the drawing of animals from life was perceived as more appropriate to mixed company than the study of nudes. The Académie Julian was most likely the first studio to offer mixed classes in life study, though only for a few years between 1873 and 1877. Rodolphe Julian

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108 Ibid.

109 Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, April 19, 1867.

had opened his first *atelier libre* at 27, Passage des Panoramas, the site of a former dance studio. One student explained how the school came into existence:

> He (Julian) himself used to tell the story of how, at his wits' end for a living, he hired a studio, put a huge advertisement, 'Académie de Peinture', outside, and waited day after day, lonely and disconsolate; but there was no response, One day he heard a step on the stairs; a youth looked in, saw no one, was about to retire, when Julian rushed forward, pulled him back, placed an easel before him, himself mounted the model-stand ---'et L'Académie Julian était fondée!'[110]

Catherine Fehrer has pointed out that when George Moore, an Irish student who later became a critic and novelist, studied at Julian's in 1873, "there were about eighteen or twenty young men and eight or nine English girls studying there."[111] In addition, a work by Julian from the Salon of 1876 entitled, *Une Académie de Peinture* , shows a mixed class, painting from a nude model (fig. 22). However, by 1877, there was already a separate *atelier des dames.* Weinberg's research confirms these dates. She suggests that possibly Gardner and Ellen Maria Carpentier[112] were among the very first American women to study at the Académie.[113] She cites a contemporary observation made by Albert Rhodes, who was visiting training facilities in Paris in 1873. He describes an evening course where the students were sketching from a female model:

> The painters of this atelier were composed of both sexes, working together apparently without difficulty. Six or seven women were present, two of whom were Americans. On (my) making the acquaintance of one of the latter she observed:
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> "Some of our countrymen find an impropriety in our working in a mixed atelier, and perhaps there is, according to society's code; but if a woman wants to be a painter, she must get over her squeamishness; if she wants to paint strong and well like a man, she must go through the same training...There is no sex here; the students, men and women, are simply

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110 William Rothenstein, Men and Memories: Recollections of William Rothenstein, 1872-1900, vol. 1, (London: Faber & Faber, 1931) 39.

111 Catherine Fehrer, "New Light on the Académie Julian and its Founder (Rodolphe Julian)", Gazette des Beaux-Arts May/June 1984: 3.

112 Jim Collins and Glenn B. Opitz ed. Women Artists in America. Poughkeepsie, N.Y.: Apollo, 1980: n.p. Collins puts Carpenter's birth date as 1830 (Killingly, Connecticut) while Rubinstein (p.63) gives her dates as 1836-1909?. She studied with Lefebvre and Fleury and was a painter of portraits and landscapes. She also taught art in Boston.

113 Weinberg, The Lure of Paris, 226.

> painters....This is one of the best ateliers in Paris to learn to paint in, and this is a sufficient reason for our coming here."[114]

This quote closely resembles a commentary made by Elizabeth Gardner to her biographer some years later. In recalling her experience as one of the first women to study in a mixed class, she is reported as saying that it, "procured me the means of studying from life in the company of strong draughtsmen, and to it I am indebted for whatever virility there may be in my drawing."[115] S. T. Hallowell, in her essay on "Women in Art," corroborates Rhodes' story:

> In France the first women to enter a life-class with men were two Americans, and at the time, though it caused much talk, they were admired for it. They held that if they were to compete with men, they must have the same advantages; they must work with them, be subject to their criticism, treated as comrades; and they were. They held their own and wore "unspotted raiment."[116]

May Alcott Neiriker in her discussion of women's entry into Julian's also mentions, "the brave efforts made by a band of American ladies some years ago...."[117] In a similar vein, Anna Klumpke recalls Julian's advice "that women should listen without tears to the criticism of their professors, and follow the lead of such glorious heroines of art as Mme. Lebrun, Angelica Kauffmann and Rosa Bonheur."[118]

Les Gobelins

Although not referred to in any of the extant letters, the episode of Gardner's entry to the all-male studios in Paris is recounted by McCabe in her 1910 article on the artist. The story represents the earliest account of the incident, and gives the Gobelins Tapestry Manufactory as the school where it took place. Her entry into l'Académie Julian apparently occurred later:

> The great drawing school of Paris in the sixties was the Gobelin (sic) Tapestry Manufactory supported by the government. No woman had ever crossed its threshold as a student, nor had one ever applied for

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114 Albert Rhodes, "Views Abroad: A Day with the French Painters," Galaxy 16 July 1873: 13, quoted in Weinberg, The Lure of Paris, 226.

115 McCabe, "Madame Bouguereau at Work," 694.

116 S. T. Hallowell, "Women in Art," in Elliott, Maud Howe, ed. Art and Handicraft in the Woman's Building of the World's Columbian Exposition. (Chicago: Rand, McNally & Co., 1894) 74.

117 May Alcott Nieriker, Studying Art Abroad and How To Do It Cheaply (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1879) 48.

118 Fehrer, 212.

admission to its select classes. "I resolved," said Madame Bouguereau, recalling those tentative days, over the teacups in the garden of Villa (de) Cambise, "to follow Rosa Bonheur's example in a similar emergency. My hair was short, fever having clipped it before I quit America. I applied to the Paris police for permission to wear a boy's costume. This was readily granted. In that guise I was admitted to the Gobelin School, with the approval of the professor who was interested. I never suffered the slightest annoyance. The students were most courteous. I was never remarked in the streets of Paris and always changed my costume when I returned home....

When M. Julien (sic), inspired by the American girl's pluck and talent, opened to women students his famous studio in the Passage des Panorames (sic), Miss Gardner discarded her boy's costume and left the Gobelin School. Where at Gobelin she was the only woman, she had now in the Julien three fellow students. This number soon increased, for, the precedent once established, women not only flocked thither from all parts of the world, but divided the honors with the men, art recognizing no sex in its awards.[119]

This account of the story raises some questions, not in terms of Gardner's entry into all-male life classes, but rather in terms of institutions and dates. First of all, Les Gobelins was a school for the decorative arts. By 1871, it had burned to the ground as a result of the Commune; some of the structure was rebuilt, but not until 1914.[120] If Gardner did attend the government-run tapestry school, it would have had to be before 1871. However, Madeleine Fidell-Beaufort has presented evidence that, "In January 1873....Elizabeth Gardner applied to the Prefecture of Police for permission to wear male attire..."[121] The reason for this "subterfuge," according to McCabe's article was to have access to drawing classes for men at the government-run Gobelins school. Yet, in 1873, as stated above, the school no longer existed. Explanations for these discrepancies and clarification of these accounts have yet to be made. Possibly the Gobelins drawing classes were offered in another location. There is, nonetheless, sufficient evidence to suggest that Gardner would have been one of the first women (in the disguise of a man) to enter an all-male atelier in Paris. Whether her initiative was what inspired Julian to admit women around the same time cannot be determined. Weinberg proposes that, "Julian was less likely to have

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119 McCabe, "Madame Bouguereau at Work," 694.

120 Petit Robert 2, Dictionnaire universel des noms propres, Paris, 1990: 738.

121 Fidell-Beaufort, 3. The author has consulted the *Archives de la Préfecture de la Police* and noted that the final report is dated Feb. 1, 1873 and states that, "La dame Gardner a été authorisé à se travestier en homme." (n.13, p.8).

been guided by compassion than by entrepreneurial concerns; he must have recognized the potential of women students to fill his classes."[122] The fact that women paid more than men must have also offered appealing financial incentives to a businessman like Julian. An 1889 caricature of the man (fig. 23) shows him in profile with a halo circling his head. In contrast to this saintly image is a sign posted on the studio wall that relates his policy concerning credit: "L'abonnement se paye d'avance." Germaine Greer's analysis of Julian's contribution to art instruction for women depicts the entrepreneur in a similar "unsaintly" light. She concludes:

> Artists of both sexes were led up a blind alley by Rodolphe Julian, but only women represented the experience to themselves and others as a liberation.[123]

By 1890, seven of Julian's seventeen studios in Paris were for women.[124] Belloc describes one of these *ateliers des dames* on the rue de Berri:

> First comes the antechamber full of the hats, cloaks, shawls, and luncheon-baskets of nearly a hundred pupils belonging to every nationality and rank, though, among the foreigners, perhaps the Americans predominate....In the section devoted to the *académie* (drawing from life) class, the model is placed on a table, and the students are grouped round in a circle, so that each may obtain a good view; the nearest do a study of the head, those further off, *l'ensemble*. In the interval between 12 and 1, allowed for luncheon, the French pupils are called for by their maids or mothers, and go home for the hour, but the majority picnic in the studio itself, some working right through the time.[125]

It is important, here, to distinguish this later group of women artists from the earlier ones such as Elizabeth Gardner who became forerunners of movements that allowed women a foothold in the sacred sanctuary of a government-subsidized system - one that had its roots in the art schools and perpetuated itself through the Salons into the marketplace. Part of the answer to Linda

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122 Weinberg, 226.

123 Germaine Greer, "*A tout prix devenir quelqu'un* ': the Women of the Académie Julian," in Artistic Relations, edited by Peter Collier and Robert Lethbridge, (New Haven: Yale UP, 1994) 58.

124 Belloc, 374.

125 Ibid., 378. Sarah Bernhardt was one of the celebrated women who had been former pupils at the Académie. Gardner praised the actress but not the artist in the following excerpt: "I am glad to see that Sara (sic) Bernhardt is appreciated by Americans. I was afraid they would lose their heads but I see by the journals that her wonderful talent as an actress, which is most charming, does not blind people to the fact that her painting and sculpture are a farce and that in private life nice persons must leave her alone." Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, December 23, 1880.

Nochlin's 1971 question, "Why Are There No Great Women Artists?" certainly lies within the institutions that made up the educational system. Without official subsidization, a woman artist lacked access to the infrastructures that could serve to give her work the exposure it needed in order to raise its market value.

Parallel to the individual attempts at claiming one's right to equal education and status, were collective movements such as the *Union des Femmes Peintres et Sculpteurs.*[126] Interestingly, Gardner was not a member of the *Union*, even though she waged in her own way many of the same battles. Her departure for Paris in the mid-sixties, her participation in a women's cooperative venture, her pursuit of subsidized training similar to that available to men, her return to Paris at the height of the Commune, and, later in life, her devotion to the war effort, are all actions that testify to her determination to function with the equal status of men. Commentaries in her letters on the role of women and women artists are rare. One example occurs in an account of the 1867 Exposition Universelle in Paris in which she describes Rosa Bonheur's entries: "Rosa Bonheur must have some twenty pictures there, and Madame Browne has some more beautiful still. I feel glad that their work can stand by side of that of the other sex."[127] Issues of women's rights are not discussed in her correspondence either. What preoccupies her thoughts is gaining recognition as an artist and achieving success in her chosen career. Gardner realized that the Salon was one of the few avenues open to her to reach those goals.

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[126] See Tamar Garb, Sisters of the Brush, (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1994) for a detailed history of the *Union*. It was founded in the spring of 1881, spearheaded by the efforts of Mme. Léon Bertaux.

[127] Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, April 19, 1867.

CHAPTER III: A SALON CAREER

In 1868, ten Americans exhibited at the Salon, two of these were women: Elizabeth Gardner and Mary Stevenson (Cassatt). "By 1887, there were 100 American entries, 86 men and 14 women. (The largest number of women entrants during this period was 16.)"[128] The Salon catalogues contained not only the artists' names and the names of their teachers, but also their addresses. This was practical because it functioned as a sort of calling card, allowing prospective buyers to get in touch with the artist. One development which contributed to the increased interest by American buyers in the art market in France was the advancements in transportation. "With the steady improvement of the steamship, Atlantic crossings became easier and more frequent. Collectors and taste-makers went abroad on a regular basis."[129] Ned Tuck, a fellow townsperson and Elizabeth Gardner's close friend in Paris, remarked that, "his first trip across the Atlantic in a sailing ship had taken 19 days, that later he crossed in a steamship in 130 hours, and that finally he had shaken the hand of the young man (Lindbergh) who had just flown the Atlantic in 33 hours."[130] A growing class of industrialists, bankers, and *nouveaux riches* were decorating the walls of their stately homes, many with genre subjects that reflected their tastes in art.

By the mid-nineteenth century there was a sentiment that the Salon had become commercially debased, appealing more to popular taste and less to the noble calling of art.[131] Bouguereau, sometime after meeting Merle, described his reasons for incorporating more genre painting into his repertoire, "If I had continued to paint similar works (*Angel of Death, Dante's Hell*), it is probable that, like these, I would still own them. What do you expect, you have to follow public taste, and the public only buys what it likes. That's why, with time, I changed my way of painting..."[132] Over a twenty-year period from 1866 to 1887

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[128] Jo Ann Wein, "The Parisian Training of American Women Artists," Woman's Art Journal 2.1 (Spring/Summer, 1981): 43.

[129] Quick, 16.

[130] Tardiff, "He Gave Away Millions," A4.

[131] For a discussion of the commercial dynamics of the Salon, see Robert Jensen, Marketing Modernism in fin-de-siècle Europe, (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994).

[132] Louise d'Argencourt, "Bouguereau and the Art Market in France," in William Bouguereau, 100.

sixty percent of Bouguereau's artistic output entered collections through New York or London; only eight paintings (excluding portraits) remained in France.[133] History paintings, religious works, and mythological subjects were more closely linked to the traditional patronage of museums, the state, and the aristocracy. Amateurs were collecting genre, landscape, and portraits. Unlike Bouguereau, Gardner's corpus of paintings shows no major shift in style. It had a specific market appeal that it retained throughout the second half of the century, especially for American collectors. Several of the artist's letters focus on matters relating to the art market, and offer insight into her commissions and her tactics for securing them. In 1864, she solicits the help of her brother, John, in order to make an important contact:

1867

> Your friends Bowles and Dirvet are doing a great business and are very popular. Do you know them well enough to give me a letter of introduction to them, or would you object to asking Barrett to do so? They purchase many pictures and might be of great service to us....If I could have a line to them without annoying you I would be very glad indeed....For one gentleman they have found several orders for pictures and he gives them 20 percent on the commands. Americans are buying many pictures. I have always had the satisfaction of pleasing those for whom I have painted. One gentleman was so satisfied with a copy I did for him that he paid me more than I asked.[134]

> Our studio is large and we are glad to see anyone who enjoys looking at the pictures....I must do very, very well to pay for the sacrifice of living so far from home.[135]

1868

When Elizabeth Gardner's first two Salon entries *Les trois amis* and *Nature morte, raisins, etc.* were accepted, she proudly described her success in the submission and acceptance process in a letter to her sister:

> I had sent two original pictures to the annual Paris exhibition. Twelve of the first artists are chosen as judges. They look over the pictures and decide whether or not they shall be hung in the Salon. It is very difficult for young aspirants to be accepted especially on their first trial, and I had never sent before. We were kept waiting six weeks. One after another of my friends were written to that their pictures were refused. There were

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133 Ibid., 103.

134 Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, January 28, 1867.

135 Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, April 19, 1867.

> 800 unfortunates in all but when the exhibition opened, both of mine were hung in full view among the accepted. I did want to get one admitted but had not dared to hope for both. I know you will all be glad for me. It gives me at once a position among foreign artists and raises the value of what I paint. I have just received $400 in gold for one of the pictures, and have spent it nearly all for curious things to paint.[136]

Later, Gardner recalled the early years and offered the following description of those works:

> I sent two small canvases (to the Salon), nothing very tragic in subject. One was a canary-bird picking at grapes; the other, a young girl with bird and dog. Both paintings were accepted, to my great delight. They were well hung, but to my dismay were in the big room then called in derision 'The Omnibus.' However, I at once sold the *Child and Dog* for a good price, most useful in my quite empty purse. The other I have kept myself as my first exhibition painting. I had seen Rosa Bonheur's first little picture kept by her family, and in this, as in donning boy's costume, I imitated her, for she was the deity I then worshipped.[137]

This excerpt casts some doubt concerning McCabe's description of the work that has come to be known as *Les trois amis*. If we are to trust Gardner's biographer, the painting of "a young girl with bird and dog" has nothing in common with *Les trois amis* . Furthermore, the dimensions of the latter (149.8 x 102.2cm) are not those of a 'small canvas.' All the same, the work (fig. 2) was listed in a New York auction catalogue in 1987 with the above-mentioned title.[138]

1870

Favorable reviews by art critics were central to an artist's success. Gardner and Robinson entertained these potential promoters at their studio by hosting receptions before a work was shipped off to an exhibition or a private collector. In 1870, Elizabeth and Imogene each painted a picture intended as companion pieces. These were: *Cornelia and her Jewels*, 1870 and Robinson's *David Playing before Saul* (fig. 24). A contemporary appraisal appeared in the Paris based *American Register* :

> The two pictures on which our fair country women, Mrs. Morell (sic) and Miss Gardner, have been engaged for several months past at their studio

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136 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, May 25, 1868.

137 McCabe, "Madame Bouguereau.at Work," 695.

138 Phillips, auction catalogue. October 30, 1987: 48. Illustrations, p. 105 and cover.

> in the rue Carnot, are completed, and are now on their way to Boston, where they are to form part of the collection of a wealthy Massachusetts connoisseur (Jonas G. Clark?). The subject of Mrs. Morell's painting is "David playing before Saul" (whereabouts unknown) and that of Miss Gardner's "Cornelia and her Jewels" (whereabouts unknown). We had an opportunity of inspecting both works before they were packed up, and feel pleasure in expressing our unqualified satisfaction with the manner in which these difficult subjects have been treated. Mrs. Morell's picture is remarkable for the almost masculine vigor with which it has been handled, while Miss Gardner's is, on the contrary, characterized by poetic sentiment and great tenderness of color. Though intended as companion pictures, they form admirable contrasts, and we congratulate the fortunate owner on having secured works of such sterling merit for his gallery.[139]

That may have been the last reception held in the studio for, sometime after the summer of 1870, Gardner returned to America. Apparently while away from Paris, she lost the contents of her rue Carnot studio, including works of art. An 1887 article in the Exeter News-Letter explained how a nearby powder house had been touched off during the siege of Paris, causing a dreadful explosion:

> All her (Gardner's) household goods, her sketches, and everything she had disappeared in the twinkling of an eye, and she too would have been gathered to her fathers if she had not happened, most fortunately, to be away from the Rue Carnot at the time of the explosion. Then she went to No. 73 Rue Notre Dame des Champs....[140]

1874

Not all of Gardner's subjects dealt with children or peasants. She also painted portraits and sometimes treated themes of literary or classical inspiration. Other works of this type by the artist include, *Psyche* 1870 (fig. 25), *Cornelia and her Jewels*, 1870, *La Captive* 1883 (fig. 18)). At the 1874 Salon, Gardner exhibited two works: *Corinne* (fig. 26) destroyed in a warehouse fire in Washington, D.C., and *Jannie et Blanche* (whereabouts unknown). *Corinne*

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139 "Exeter Abroad," The Exeter News-Letter, July 29, 1870. The date of this article establishes Gardner's departure for America as sometime after that summer. It also confirms the 2, rue Carnot address through 1870. A document in the Clark University Archives, dated March 13, 1871, confirms that Gardner was in New York at that time. Another paper in the same archives, dated November, 1871, shows her back in Paris. A receipt signed by Gardner, dated June 5, 1873 states, "Received of J. G. Clark Esq. the sum of Two thousand five hundred francs which completes the payment for my painting of Cinderella." There are no paintings by Gardner in the collection of Clark University today.

140 "Miss Gardner and Her Works," Exeter News-Letter, 22 July 1887: 3.

was later exhibited at the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, where it won a medal. A contemporary writer prefaced a description of it by saying, "She (Gardner) was a pupil of Merlé (sic), who painted the glorious 'Marguerite', in Faust," which I have several times seen in Colonel Scott's Philadelphia residence, and, once seen, never forgotten."[141]

> Her "Corinne," after Madame de Staël's story, and her portraits of the two children of Mr. Stebbins[142] (whereabouts unknown), an American gentleman living in Paris, were spoken of in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, a high English critical authority, as follows: "The 'Corinne' wears a laurel wreath, and the sunlight strikes her shoulder and hand, the rest of the figure being in shadow. It is difficult to imagine a figure more finely drawn, or a type of face more interesting: grave yet gentle, maidenly and full of sweet pensiveness. The soft harmony of colors and the delicate firmness of the drawing are the salient features of the picture and its neighbor, a portrait of two children in the dress of Louis Fifteenth's time. Taken together, they struck me as among the most attractive performances of the exhibition."[143]

Corinne was also reviewed in the Paris newspaper, The *American Register* :

> We had frequently seen the pictures which Miss Gardner was painting for the exhibition while they were in progress at her studio, and had conceived for them hopes which are fully realized by their fine positions at the Salon. The name of Corinne has come vaguely down to us from the time of Pindar. Miss Gardner has chosen a purely Greek type for her Corinne. The figure is in dark relief against a bright evening sky, which reflects brilliantly upon the contour of the face, shoulder and hands. The figure is life size, and is seated upon a marble balcony, with an antique harp in one hand, while the other, raised in a moment of inspiration, is about to strike the chords. The head is bound with a golden fillet and is crowned with a laurel wreath. The drapery is a dark blue tunic and a purple mantle embroidered with gold. Grace and elevation characterize the conception of the figure, and there is a peculiar freshness in the rich harmony of the colors.[144]

After the 1874 exhibition, Gardner discussed strategies for marketing her work:

> I have had glorious success with my pictures at the Exhibition which has just closed. The Paris, London and American journals have all said kind things about me and I have now at last a nice position here which will

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141 "Art News and Gossip," in Forney, John W. A Centennial Commissioner in Europe, 1874-76 (Philadelphia. J.B. Lippincott & co., 1876) 34.

142 Mr. Stebbins is listed in the Salon catalogue as the purchaser of *Jannie et Blanche.*

143 "Art News and Gossip," 34.

144 Exeter News-Letter, June 26, 1874, quoted from The *American Register*, n.d.

> compensate me for my year's work. I have not yet sold my large picture. (Albert) Bierstadt has written me from New York not to part with it but to keep it for the Exhibition in N.Y. next spring. This has been a hard year for the artists here and at home. The rich picture buyers felt the crisis and won't open their pockets unless they can drive a sharp bargain. As I have all I need for present personal wants, and some nice though small orders for the future I shall keep my large painting as long as I can afford to. I only regret that I have to be economical in some directions where I had hoped for the contrary, but this won't last long.[145]

Dealers represented yet another means for artists to market their work to wealthy patrons. Many collectors relied solely on the dealer to put together their collections. In the fall of 1877, Gardner was in Boston attending a solo exhibition of three of her paintings held at Williams & Everett's showroom. These were agents with whom she frequently dealt; others included Knoedler, Noyes and Blakeslee of Boston, A. Tooth and Sons of London. The artist's presence at the exhibition would certainly have its promotional value. In a letter to her brother, she described the exhibition:

1877

> I send you a line this morning to announce to you my good success here. I have had lots of nice visitors, everybody seems to like my pictures and Mr. Williams has sold The Baby - your favorite, to Mr. John Duff of Park St. a rich railroad man. I had seen him standing in the gallery every day but he only decided Saturday....A lady also has asked for the refusal of the Flower Girl till this noon. I don't know yet just what I get for them. I am going to have a business talk with Mr. Williams this morning. I have not yet been able to see him alone. He is not willing to have me take away at present what may be unsold. So I am very happy as I now see the way clear to work quietly in Paris till I can get some more paintings ready. The times are so hard that I feel very grateful for my good fortune, and think that now the tide has turned in the right direction.[146]

Women's work was often criticized in relation to men's. Words such as 'virility,' 'strength,' connotes a higher order of painting or, as Greer has pointed out in her discussion of Nélie Jacquemart, the ultimate in praise a woman could receive was, "that you would never guess from the solidity of her technique that she was a woman."[147] An undated clipping enclosed with the above letter is an example of an element of reproach disguised as praise:

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[145] Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, July 3, 1874.
[146] Elizabeth Gardner (in Boston) to John Gardner, October(?), 1877.
[147] Greer, 41.

> Miss E. J. Gardner has at Williams & Everett's three figure subjects that are beautiful works of art, and show consistently strong treatment; and unlike too many pictures by women showing strength, do not lose anything in delicacy thereby. One is a copy of Bouguereau (*The Baby*) of a nurse and child, almost Madonna-like; and the others are original studies respectively of a girl with flowers and a girl with a violin. Possibly the copy shows the more sweetness; but the originals are the more marked in individuality and vigor. It is the fact that betokens the promise of Miss Gardner.

Gardner's choice of subject matter remained within the confines of what was appropriate and acceptable for women artists: children, animals, literary references, portraits. However, it is important to note that the family and domestic genre scenes were not limited to "feminine sensibilities." Bouguereau's corpus of this type of genre subject is testimony to the contrary. It is composed mostly of women and child subjects in which men are conspicuously absent. Yet the virility of his painting does not seem to be an issue. It is, rather, the entire genre, which today is perceived as "saccharine." A glance through the Salon catalogues or the *Figaro Salon* yields a strong dose of this "sweetness" that was very much palatable to late nineteenth-century tastes. Elizabeth Gardner equated a great artist with one that sold a lot of pictures. She, like Bouguereau, responded to the market demand. That is not to say that her compositions were formulaic and churned out simply for consumption. The letters provide evidence of her dedication to her work, and the belief that each Salon entry was the best she had done. Criticism of other styles of painting is, for the most part, absent from her correspondence.[148] It is clear, though, that the academic approach corresponds to her training and suits her tastes both in subject and style. Her classical treatment of genre scenes in addition to her official recognition at the Salons made her work not only accessible to the merchant class, but also marketable.

Principally a figure painter, Gardner also produced a considerable number of portraits.[149] However, none survives from all her years in Paris. It is

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[148] One exception to this statement is found in her later correspondence (Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, May 12, 1911): "I have sold it (*Eve* , Salon 1911) immediately, not for a big price but enough to be welcome, not only financially but as an indication that the taste for delicate art is returning to the hearts of picture buyers. Painters of the new "Impressionist" School have been doing their best to put Bouguereau's style out of the market. I have faith to believe that they will crush neither his memory, nor the talent of his few pupils who in a measure approach his wonderful works."

[149] Though not a portrait per se, *The Cherry Girl* (fig. 27) provides an example of her ability as a portraitist.

doubtful she ever painted a self-portrait; nor did she ever discuss having painted a portrait of Bouguereau.[150] One reason for this may have been the necessity to sell her work in order to earn a living and send money to her family in Exeter, a gesture she perceived as her duty because of the sacrifices she had made in seeking a career. Interestingly, the role of breadwinner she assumed for herself was one she tried to fulfill, however modestly, with regard to the members of her family. This may explain, to a limited degree, her strong desire to succeed, not only for herself, but for those who shared her ambitions. In choosing a non-traditional means of gaining a livelihood, she felt a responsibility to prove that her efforts had not been in vain.

The painting of pictures was just one aspect of the artist's career, selling them was another. Gardner developed skills at promoting her work, and rarely missed an opportunity to do so. One instance of this is seen on her return to Paris where she describes the chance she took in securing an order from a woman on the steamer:

> I suppose I wrote that I had an order for a portrait of a lady on our steamer. I succeeded well with it. So many came to see it that I only boxed and sent it off yesterday. I hope it will go all right and that she will be honest and send me my money. She was a stranger to me, but "nothing risked nothing gained".[151]

In January of 1878:

> The portrait reached New York safe, the family were all delighted, and promptly sent the money, so I can finish my new large pictures in peace of mind, and as soon as they are done I shall do some smaller more saleable ones, of which I shall be sure to dispose during the Summer.[152]

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150 Bouguereau painted a portrait of Gardner in 1879 (fig. 28), the year they were engaged. It closely resembles an earlier photograph (fig. 1). Its pendant, a self-portrait painted the same year, is in the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. The engagement portraits are just one example among others of Bouguereau's adherence to painting traditions. He painted tributes at the deaths of three of his children as well as when his first wife Nelly passed away. The portrait of Gardner is the only one the artist did of her; it is in the collection of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph M. Tanenbaum, Toronto, Canada.

151 Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, December 2, 1877.

152 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, January 10, 1878. The artist also sent another picture "on faith" and described the outcome in a letter dated March 14, 1894: "I sent a big picture to its owner in New York lately and have received a prompt remittance in full payment which is a great satisfaction as none of my friends knew the man and I had taken the order on faith, and many artists are suffering from the hard times." A letter to John Gardner, June 1, 1893, mentions a canvas for Mr. Fleming Smith of New York, who is the person referred to in the March 14 letter.

1878-1879

One of the large pictures she was referring to, *Ruth and Naomi* (fig. 29) had the misfortune of being placed above a doorway at the 1878 Exposition Universelle. Throughout the many years of Salon exhibitions, there are numerous accounts of artists "hitting the roof," so to speak, when their paintings were not at eye level or "on the line". Gardner was no exception. This incident represents one of the few in the letters where her better judgement loses out to anger:

> I was, in common with the other known American artists, invited to send one picture. I sent Ruth. Then came an invitation for another. I hastily finished a little reduction from the Flower Girl which I sold in Boston. To my horror I found that these men considered the little one the best. It is beautifully placed and really does me credit. But Ruth is quite too high, over a door. It was unjust, and I wish the man who did it was hung in its place. It will never sell there and there it must stay for six months. Bierstadt's picture they refused entirely.[153]

1879 was a year of promise for Gardner as her work began to receive more public acclaim. She had four paintings on exhibit in Boston with Noyes & Blakeslee. Another one was being shown in New York, and still another in Glasgow.[154] Her Salon entry for that year, *À la fontaine* (fig. 3), received an honorable mention which made her hopes for a future medal even more attainable. It was also the year she became engaged to William Bouguereau, with whom she had been studying for at least three years. Gardner was following the example of many of the major French painters of the time by exploring a variety of historical and literary themes in addition to family and domestic genre subjects. Most of the characters she chose to portray were female. *Ruth and Naomi* sold at the Boston exhibition for $1200. Though biblical in subject matter (first chapter in the "Book of Ruth"), the composition portrays one woman's courage and devotion to another. Naomi implores her two daughters-in-law, Ruth and Orpah, to return to the houses of their husbands

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153 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, May 23, 1878.

154 The Noyes & Blakeslee exhibition took place from April 23 to April 26, 1879. The works exhibited were *Ruth and Naomi*, *In the Garden*, *The Mother of Moses Placing Her Babe on the Nile*, and *Feeding the Rabbits*. The whereabouts of all four works is unknown. The painting in New York may have been *Maud Muller* (after a poem by John Greenleaf Whittier) that was in the 1878 Exposition Universelle. There is no information on the work exhibited in Glasgow.

and leave her to continue alone on her journey to the land of Judah. As quoted in the exhibition invitation, Ruth replies:

> ...Intreat me not to leave thee, or to return from following after thee: for whither thou goest, I will go; and where thou lodgest I will lodge; thy people shall be my people, and thy God my God; where thou diest will I die, and there will I be buried; the Lord do so to me, and more also if naught but death part thee and me.[155]

The invitation further describes the painting:

> The composition before us is more severe, and belongs almost to what French critics call "*la peinture de style*." The attitudes of the figures are very carefully studied, and so are the simple folds of the draperies. The moderate degree of expression which the subject required is compatible with a serious kind of art.....In Miss Gardner's picture Orpah is in the middle distance, on her way back, and Naomi is generously expostulating with Ruth against what she regards as a too devoted an act of self-sacrifice on her part.[156]

Gardner's *À la fontaine* was illustrated in the Salon catalogue of 1879. The honor gave recognition to the artist and made her work more attractive to dealers and private investors. She shared her pride and excitement with her family:

> ...I have good news to tell you. As soon as these boxes were off I began a small painting of two children at a fountain[157] for the Spring exhibition. The jury liked it and gave me No. 1. I have had no.2 in two preceeding (sic) years. Mr. Goupil bought the picture as soon as he saw it for enough to pay all my Winter and Spring expenses and now the jury have just awarded the recompenses and Miss Gardner has received an "Honorable Mention". It is not quite as high as a medal but it is a sure stepping stone to one and I am overjoyed. I have received telegrams, letters and congratulatory cards from every direction, it has taken me all one day to acknowledge them and I begin to fear it is not true. So few rewards are given among the 3000 pictures exhibited and there is so much pulling and pushing to get them, that a poor little woman stands but little chance. Only one other woman besides myself has a reward.[158]

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155 Exhibition invitation, "Miss E. J. Gardner," April 23 to April 26, Noyes & Blakeslee, 127 Tremont Street, N.pag.

156 Ibid.

157 The only illustration I have found of this work (M. Fidell-Beaufort, 4) depicts just one girl (fig. 3), and not two as described by Gardner. There is, in the Gardner Family Archives, a picture of a painting by Bouguereau (1897) of two children at a fountain that resembles more closely Gardner's description of the work (fig. 30).

158 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, June 8, 1879.

1880

In 1881, at the time the *Union des Femmes Peintres et Sculpteurs* was founded, Elizabeth Gardner had already shown thirteen paintings at ten Salons. She was making her way on her own through hard work and perseverance; she spent little time socializing, even within the art community. Her reputation had now been established and she was having fewer difficulties finding clients to purchase her work. The 1880 Salon marks a turning point in Salon history for it was now run exclusively by artists. In a letter to John on the eve of the exhibition, she explains her position:

> I have sent to the Spring exhibition two important pictures, the best I have done.[159] The jury gave them No. 1. The exhibition does not open till May 1st. I shall have to wait till its close in June or July to know what I shall realize from these pictures. I think my prospects are very bright. My career in Paris has been very expensive and I have sometimes made mistakes and met with disappointments but for the last two years I have been decidedly getting ahead, and have not only paid easily all my expenses but have got rid of some old obligations. Now I ought to be earning still more and have a little extra for those I love. I will do my best. Everything looks bright, many strangers are coming over and I hope they will bring plenty of money. The more I see of very rich people the better contented I feel with a modest position, honorably earned. I see families so excited with sudden wealth and then again so wretched when a crash comes that I have no desire to be among the number.[160]

Any extra money, even small amounts, Elizabeth could manage to put aside was sent to her family in Exeter. She never travelled abroad except for two return visits to America in 1871 and 1877, and a visit to Italy with Bouguereau in the late 1890s. Most summers she went to Royat, in Auvergne, for her holidays, and did landscape and figure studies that were incorporated into her Salon pictures. On one occasion, in 1882, she put off a visit home because of her work:

> One reason I postponed my letter was that I dreaded to tell mother that I must again defer my visit home. I wanted to go and tried to arrange it, but I have been so successful in receiving orders and so many are pushing to keep me back, from jealousy, that I feel I ought to remain near and make hay while the sun shines.[161]

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159 She is referring to *Priscilla la puritaine* and *Le bord de l'eau* (whereabouts of both paintings unknown).

160 Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, April 12, 1880.

161 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, July 14, 1882.

1882

According to the letters dated between 1864 and 1896, the number of times she attended a concert, banquet, or went to the theater were few and far between. This "dissipation," as she called it, was quickly compensated for the next day by doubling her efforts. In this respect, she and Bouguereau were most compatible. Neither enjoyed socializing; both refused countless invitations in favor of using precious work time to their advantage. In spite of this, she held large receptions in her studio before a painting left for the Salon. This she perceived more as a *vernissage*, in the modern sense of the term.

Her 1882 Salon work, *Daphnis et Cloë* (fig. 31), was classically inspired. In this pastoral poem, the crowning of flowers possibly signifies a passage from the innocence of girlhood to the 'flowering' of womanhood. The charming bucolic setting serves to imbue the figures with the ideals of a nature poem, a *fête galante.* Lois Fink discusses the work in the context of a renewed appreciation, during the Second Empire, of French eighteenth-century paintings:

> A painting from the Salon of 1882, *Daphnis and Chloe*, depicts the celebrated adolescents from classical mythology. Gardner adapted the pastoral love story to her basic type of composition of figures depicted full length, placed close to the foreground of a shallow space: Daphnis kneels beside the seated Chloe, who crowns herself with flowers. Gardner was one of many Parisian figure painters, ranging from William Bouguereau and Charles Chaplin to Auguste Renoir, who were attracted to the revived interest in paintings by Jean Baptiste Greuze, François Boucher, and Jean Honoré Fragonard. Themes focusing on adolescent love and idealized pretty figures, so prominent in the works of rococo artists, were especially attractive to Gardner and Bouguereau.[162]

This work, begun in December of 1880, offered a considerable amount of difficulty to the artist because of its size and subject. However, it brought her many orders and callers; she could have sold it "many times over." Gardner described the experience:

> I have worked constantly for three months on my large painting of Daphnis and Chloe and finished it I think successfully. Being the largest I had undertaken (172.7 x 116.8 cm.) it gave me no end of thought and work. It left on the 24th for the exhibition, and the Jury for admission have sent me a word of congratulation doubly gratifying because Monsieur

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[162] Fink, American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons, 176, 177.

Bouguereau was not there to be accused of favoring me as his pupil, as the jealous artists always think.

On the 20th (March) I gave a reception in the afternoon inviting the best of my American friends and only a few French as I wanted to avoid a jam. About 100 came and as many of my particular friends stayed all the afternoon it was constantly lively. All the rooms were open and I believe they looked prettily. Mrs. Ryan, the wife of the editor of the N.Y. Herald...helped me receive in the studio, and Mrs. Herrick, the wife of the man with the long whiskers, presided in the tea room. The day was superb, warm enough for no fires which was a relief. I wore my pretty new bronze and blue dress. There were three stylish men to wait on the guests and Toinette (her maid) really did wonderfully well....it was the most brilliant thing I have ever done. I requested the papers to say nothing about the reception. I am delighted to have my pictures praised but personally I desire to belong to my friends and not to the public.[163]

That same year she shipped off two other paintings to a collector in Cincinnati, *Avant les fiançailles* (fig. 32) and *Après les fiançailles* (fig. 33), both of which she concluded to be, once again, her best works. Gardner's concern over the "marketability" of her works was constant. Throughout the years there were fluctuations in the art market, caused by circumstances which were beyond artists' control. For instance, large estate sales would attract American buyers who might otherwise have come to Europe to seek out the Salon successes of the year.[164] Even though the 1870s and 1880s were still peak years for the sale of academic paintings, the Impressionists and newer schools were gaining ground. Sales at the World Fairs also had an effect on how quickly the yearly Salon selections were purchased. Elizabeth followed the developments in the market with great interest:

1886

Last Friday I sent a new picture to the Exhibition (*L'imprudente,*) which will open on May 1st. I did my very best and hope it will be successful, especially as for the first time in several years it is not sold in advance.

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163 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, April, 7, 1882.

164 Gardner comments on how the sale of the Stewart collection in 1887 affected sales in Paris (Elizabeth Gardner to Miriam Gardner, January 13, 1887). Robert Isaacson describes Mr. A.T. Stewart as a self-made American millionaire who owned "the world's largest department store" and put together "one of the most famous private galleries of the time." (Isaacson, Bouguereau, 108) Bouguereau's *Return from the Harvest* (*Promenade à âne*) was commissioned by Stewart in 1874. He had already acquired *The New-born Lamb*, 1873, and *Homer and His Guide*, 1874. Other examples include the big sale of Meissonier's work in 1893, as well as speculation over works at the Columbian World's Fair the same year.

> The sale of paintings has dragged in New York all winter on account of the Morgan collection. We have very stirring news of the results of this auction and hope the fashion of paying big prices will continue. I did not as usual give a reception for my last work. The few who happened in considered it the best I had done, perhaps some rich man will take a fancy to it. I have made a little drawing of it for the Art ??? of New York which is to appear in the May number and I think the N.Y. Times will give me a favorable notice. The present correspondent for the Herald does not like my style, but I shall not change it to please him! I have some orders for small pictures and have already two underway.[165]

Gardner's 1886 Salon painting, *l'Imprudente* (fig. 34) (whereabouts unknown), represented a small girl who, in pursuit of water lilies, would have drowned had it not been for the timely arrival of an older child. The intrigue is less anecdotal and much more dramatic in nature than any of her other paintings of this genre. This degree of dramatic sentimentality is not found in Bouguereau's oeuvre, nor does it seem to reappear in Gardner's. A reviewer for the Boston Herald offered these comments:

> Miss Elizabeth Gardner's picture is, I think, a great improvement on all her previous works. This talented lady is one of the very best American Painters abroad. She calls her work "L'Imprudente," but as that does not exactly convey her idea to English minds, she also calls it "Too Venturesome."....It is an exquisitely artistic picture, well composed and showing all that strength of color and drawing, which, if the artist had had her just dues, would long since have won her medals from the Salon jury.[166]

What was perceived as 'strength of color' in Gardner's work were rich tones that harmonized well together, that reflected a trueness to life in costumes, and a palette that was tasteful. Just as there was no bright sunlight, there were no bold colors. *La Confidence* , *Avant les fiançailles* , *Après les finançailles* display examples of solid areas of warm colors painted in a diffused light that gives a smoothness to the texture. This approach to coloring pleased Salon juries and impressed collectors. In a spirit of collecting, and speculation, clients often bought more than one painting from the artist.[167] By August of 1886, there had been an increase in orders:

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[165] Elizabeth Gardner to Miriam Gardner, March 18, 1886.

[166] "Salon of 1886. The Great French Art Exhibition," Boston Herald, April 28, 1886.

[167] Mrs. Dietz had four paintings by Gardner in her collection. One, *By the Sea Shore* (1912), at the Joslyn Art Museum, Omaha, and three others, *Cherries*, *Study at Royat*, and *Two Happy*

My summer has been a busy one. I have had orders for pictures from travellers who wished to take their purchases back to America on their return and I have tried to be on time. I believe I have pleased all so far. I am expecting in a few days some friends now in Switzerland who already own four of my paintings and who wish for something else. I have also had the happiness to sell some pictures for artists less fortunate than myself, no easy matter in these hard times.[168]

1887

In 1887, there was a turn of events that gave Elizabeth Gardner, once more, a distinguished position among artists exhibiting in the French capital. With her painting *La fille du fermier* (fig. 4), she became the first and only American woman to receive a medal (third class) at the Paris Salon. She was then fifty years of age. This was an honor she had desired for some time. As early as 1877 she turned down orders from Williams so as to have more time to devote to her Salon entry, "I must work to get a medal in Paris and not for money a while longer. All will come right in time I am confident if I work hard and am patient."[169] She wrote to Maria on January 10, 1878, "I am bound to get a medal some year." Then it came:

My pictures at this year's Salon (*La fille du fermier* and *L'Innocence*) have just received the medal which I have waited for so many years. I hasten to write you by the first mail for I know you will All sympathize with me in my happiness. The jury voted me the honor by a very flattering majority - 30 voices out of 40 - and it is the only medal given to an American since the new tariff.[170] No American woman has ever received a medal here before. You will perhaps think I attach more importance than is reasonable to so small a thing, but it makes such a difference in my position here, all the difference between that of an officer and a private, and I hope it will be a good thing for the sale of my paintings. I made an extravagant risk in my large one this year. Monsieur Bouguereau is very happy at my success. He is as usual President of the Jury, it is his great impartiality which has so long kept him in office. He has always said that I must succeed through my own merit and not by his influence. I hope to send some photos soon....I have nearly a hundred

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Friends, (after 1896) whereabouts unknown. See Joslyn Art Museum files for Gardner's correspondence with Mr. and Mrs. Dietz.

168 Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, August 8, 1886.

169 Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, December 2, 1877.

170 This tariff, levied by the American government and supported by many artists in America, was a source of embarrassment to expatriates because it discouraged Americans from buying foreign works of art due to taxes imposed on them. Elizabeth Gardner wrote letters and lobbied for the tariff to be abolished. By the summer of 1908 Congress had ratified the law, but recent works of art continued to be taxed. Ironically, through her marriage to Bouguereau, Gardner became a French citizen and, henceforth, her works were subject to the tax.

> letters of congratulation and dispatches to acknowledge today. I have begun by the dear ones at home.[171]

Gardner and her medal-winning work were discussed in a 1902 supplement to the Boston Sunday Journal:

> She is very fond of portraying children and of representing on canvas the ineffable tenderness of young maternity. She is a colorist of no mean order. Her creations, while not strikingly original, are clever, and have an element of humanity in them which is lacking in the works of painters of greater renown. "The Farmer's Daughter" is considered one of her best works. It is a familiar scene, idealized, perhaps, but most good paintings are idealizations. The Girl is feeding the poultry. They cluster around her and gobble the grain as it falls. Her pose is graceful, her face beautiful in spite of the rough working garb which would disguise it.[172]

1893

The Woman's Building of the 1893 Columbian Exhibition at Chicago was designed, built and decorated by women. Elizabeth Gardner's *Soap Bubbles.* 1891 (fig. 35), was lent to the exhibition by its then owner Mr. Arthur Tooth of London.[173] The painting is currently in the Jefferson Hotel, Richmond, Virginia, and there is a pen and black ink study of it in a private collection.[174] According to Rubinstein, it was, "one of the most celebrated paintings in the ... Exposition ... and was reproduced in books about the fair."[175] A contemporary reviewer wrote, "this simple picture attracted whole families of visitors, who ventured to guess at facial resemblances to their friends, while the great landscapes, mountains and nativities near by, were passed by in haste."[176] The fine

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171 Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, May 30, 1887.

172 Jean d'Albert, "The Masterpiece of Elizabeth Gardner. Romantic Story of New England Woman," Boston Sunday Journal, July 13, 1902: n.p.

173 Concerning Bouguereau's contribution of religious works to the Exposition, Gardner writes, "Mons. Bouguereau has just sold his large painting of the "Virgin and Angels" through the French Commissioner. I presume it has been purchased for some church. The "Women at the Tomb" will probably return to him. It is a sad subject, but I admire it. I was glad to have him represented by religious subjects as well as profane, for he has certainly the most elevated religious sentiment of any living master." (Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, November 18, 1893)

174 The study was sold at Christie's in 1984 and is now in a private collection. In a letter to Maria Gardner dated May 18, 1908, Elizabeth said she was told the original oil painting had been lost in a fire "that consumed the owner's house and contents." The same letter seems to suggest that the work had, in fact, turned up somewhere. However, no particulars were given. The painting was found in the Jefferson Hotel in 1989. The work now hangs in a room called "The Library".

175 Rubinstein, 111.

176 Halsey C. Ives, The Dream City: Illustrated World's Columbian Exposition. (St. Louis: N.D. Thompson Publishing Co., 1893) section15.

treatment of the bubbles and the reflection of the woman in the glass were characteristics that amazed the public because of their trueness to life. However, these very same attributes repelled certain critics. In an 1882 review of Gardner's Salon painting that year (*Daphnis and Chloe*), the artist's academic technique was seen in a harsher light:

> Miss Gardner is all technique - nothing but technique one might almost say - and her picture was as faultlessly, painfully perfect as the work of her master Bouguereau, whose style hers so much resembles. But with all the elaborate perfection of technique, there was an almost repellent coldness about Miss Gardner's work. Her faces were expressionless, her attitudes and drapery savoring strongly of the Academic. A heatless atmosphere surrounded her figures, an atmosphere as of silver - or rather steel - in impalpable solution....If miss Gardner would only study nature more and Bouguereau less, then would her splendid painting grow warm and vital, with a magnetic attraction which it utterly lacks.[177]

This critical discourse typifies most negative reviews of Gardner's and other academics' work. The classical poses and attitudes of figures were perceived by many as cold and unnatural. However, audiences today still marvel at the photo-realistic effects of these works, the subdued treatment of light that reveals otherwise lost details, the seemingly vacant expressions of figures in a timeless space. These works extol perfection, and somewhere in the praise of it, there is a nostalgia over its disappearance in the real world. Similarly, in this image, as the mother casts a nostalgic glance at her daughter, a moment from her own girlhood is being reflected in the simple, vacant act of blowing bubbles.

As so many of the previously quoted letters demonstrate, the market was a major preoccupation throughout Elizabeth Gardner's career. To what degree she adjusted her subjects and style to market taste is difficult to estimate from her correspondence, though it is doubtful she compromised her artistic integrity. At times she speculated on the public's buying habits, "the figures will be half-life as so few (clients) have room for very large frames."[178] The larger Salon pictures were more demanding in terms of composition and thought whereas smaller works she sometimes produced for quick sale. "I am now painting some little pot-boilers - small canvasses for sale. I try to make them works of art as

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177 "American Women in the Paris Salon," Art Amateur, July 1882: 68.

178 Elizabeth Gardner to Miriam Gardner, December 19, 1887.

well."[179] From 1868 to 1896, her Salon contributions suggest that there was no major stylistic change in her painting. She reached what may be termed her mature style early on in her Salon career. The themes of her compositions varied little over the period: classical, biblical, literary, and domestic, allowing women and children prominent roles in the foreground of the picture plane. The Victorian collectors who patronized her work were confirming their tastes in art, but, at the same time, many were also speculating on the value of the commodity they were purchasing. Elizabeth Gardner had to be visible in the Salons, in the press, and at the Expositions in order to maintain a profile that would encourage purchasers to invest.

Not all artists were successful at developing the business or promotional aspect of their art, but Elizabeth Gardner realized how vital these were to her survival. What comes to the fore in her remarks concerning the saleability of her work is, first of all, an eagerness to sell, but at the same time, a knack for speculation. Much like dealers, if she could afford to keep a painting for a more favorable market, she did so. Secondly, she was able to turn to her advantage the commercial dynamics of the Salon, based on the principles of contest and prize. By presenting classically treated genre subjects within the confines of a state-patronized system, it legitimized a taste that was popular among the monied class, especially among the Americans who knocked at her studio door. Gardner's expatriate status served her well vis-à-vis this clientele that increasingly ventured beyond its own shores in search of international art and culture. Her marginal position as an American artist assimilated into the French artistic milieu, offered travellers a convenient intermediary for acquiring Salon art. Having to support herself, she had as resources the skill of her craft, and a sense of entrepreneurship. She knew she had to "make hay while the sun shines" in order to survive in her chosen profession. That was her objective, and she accomplished it.

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[179] Elizabeth Gardner to Perley Gardner, June 14, 1894.

CHAPTER IV: THE MARRIED YEARS

The middle period (1896-1905) of Elizabeth Gardner's life in Paris is marked by much warmth and joy spent in the company of William Bouguereau, her long-time fiancé whom she eventually married (fig. 36). What appears somewhat perplexing in their relationship is the fact that, throughout their marriage, she relinquished her painting career in favor of Bouguereau's and abandoned the brush. It seems out of character for a person who had spent endless hours striving to achieve critical acclaim to suddenly give up painting altogether after having invested so much of her time and energy. Some of the reasons behind these decisions are suggested in her correspondence from this period, but before discussing them, it is worth considering the artist's equally lengthy relationship with Imogene Robinson and its effect on her artistic production.

Imogene Robinson (c.1824-1908)

Imogene Robinson and Elizabeth Gardner were true "sisters of the brush". For close to eighteen years, from 1856 to 1874, they travelled together, shared studio space and living quarters, promoted each other's work, went for evening strolls, and enjoyed many of the same friends. Not much is known about Imogene Robinson's artistic production, nor about her life.[180] Biographers give her birthplace as Attleboro, Massachusetts, though no date of birth is ever recorded.[181] She married Abram Morrell in 1869, but it does not appear that she moved permanently out of the studio she shared with Gardner until 1874. Biographical dictionaries consistently mention her death in 1908, her studies in Düssledorf with Wilhelm Camphausen, and in Paris with Louis

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[180] Information on Robinson is scarce. Aside from references in biographical dictionaries, very little has been written about her. See: Petteys, Chris. Dictionary of Women Artists: An International Dictionary of Women Artists Born Before 1900. (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1985): 508; Bénézit vol. 6, 223; Thieme, Ulrich, and Felix Becker, Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler. (Leipzig: E. A. Seemann, 1907-50) vol. 25:167; Fielding, Mantel. Dictionary of American Painters, Sculptors and Engravers. (Connecticut: Modern Books and Crafts, 1974): 657; Champlin, J.D. and Perkins, Cyclopedia of Painters and Paintings, (New York, 1885-1887) vol. 3: 298; The Capital Image: Painters in Washington, 1800-1915. Exh. cat. (The National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C., 1983): 226,267.

[181] Gardner, in a letter dated December 3, 1906, says she believes Mrs. Morrell to be eighty-two that year, thus my dating of c.1824.

Français and Thomas Couture.[182] She specialized in history painting and portraits and was known for painting horses "with great fidelity."[183]

Imogene never exhibited at the Paris Salon, and Gardner's correspondence does not make mention of any attempts on her part to submit works. She may have been among the many who tried and were not accepted. Nevertheless, the artist seems to have been more successful in America as her paintings won medals at the Mechanics' Institute in Boston and at the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia. Among her more important works are: *First Battle between the Puritans and the Indians* ; *Washington and His Staff Welcoming a Provision Train* (both won medals at the 1876 Centennial in Philadelphia; the locations of both are unknown)[184], *David before Saul* (fig. 24); *Portrait of General John A. Dix* , before 1883 (Capitol Collection, Washington, D.C.). After leaving Paris, she settled in Washington D.C. and, in 1879, established the National Academy of Fine Arts. Over two hundred of her paintings were destroyed in a terrible warehouse fire at Knox's storage rooms, in Washington, sometime around 1886. Two of Gardner's works were in the fire.[185] There was no insurance, and any money she did receive seems to have been squandered on other ventures that were never successful. Robinson remained penniless for most of her later life, and she eventually died in extreme poverty on November 22, 1908. An article appearing in the Washington Post the day after her death related her sad story.[186]

Elizabeth Gardner's letters seldom discuss in detail other artists or their work.[187] The first substantial mention of Imogene Robinson is in 1866:

> Mother asks about Mr. Morrell. He has been for a long while about as poor as Father was (the only indication in the letters of Gardner's father's financial situation), very much depressed and anxious about his

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182 See biographical references above.

183 J.D. Champlin and Perkins, Cyclopedia of Painters and Paintings, (New York, 1885 - 1887) vol.3: 298.

184 Clara Erskine Clement Waters, Women in the Fine Arts from the Seventh Century B.C. to the Twentieth Century, A.D. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1904) 290.

185 *Corinne*, Salon of 1874; and *Chez une sorcière*, (*The Fortune Teller*), Salon of 1875. Both paintings had been exhibited at the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. *Corinne*, #224; *Chez une sorcière*, #1043.

186 "Probe Artist's Death; Officials Investigating Demise of Mrs. Imogene Robinson; Painter Died Amid Squalor," The Washington Post, Nov. 23, 1908.

187 One example of a reference to another artist is the following: "One of my French friends, a lady of much talent in painting, a daughter of the famous Jules Breton, has recently been decorated with the Cross of the Legion of Honor, a rare distinction for a woman." (Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, November 25, 1894).

> business...I am entirely unwilling that Imo (Imogene) should risk her happiness while he is in such a frame of mind and only wish that she could forget him. We do not say how ill he has been to anyone, and I beg you not to mention it out of the family.[188]

Because there are no surviving letters from Gardner between May, 1868 and January, 1872, information concerning Imogene during that period is hazy. In 1873 she states, "Mr. Morrell surprised us by arriving the first of May, earlier by six weeks than we expected him."[189] If Robinson married in 1869, as the biographies state, she continued to live, at least partially, with Elizabeth in Paris from January 1872 until the fall of 1874, when it is clear that she left for Washington, D.C.: "Mrs. Morrell sends her love to you. She will not go home before fall. Goupil is much pleased with the work she has been doing for him."[190] In March of 1875 she relates her feelings of loneliness to her sister after Imogene's departure:

> Imo writes me from Washington that she received a kind letter from Mother which she would answer. Thank you. Here I am all alone and likely to remain so at present. I get on famously with housekeeping with one little girl who provides very nicely for my simple wants and contrives to get up a good dinner when I have company, which often happens. I miss Imo very much, especially in the evening when we always went out together. I make my lonely condition an excuse for not attending balls and receptions which are never to my taste. My friends are all very kind to me, indeed I was never so petted and spoilt in my life before. About eight families have invited me to dine with them regularly twice a week. Your knowledge of mathematics will shew you that if I accepted in toto I should rarely dine at home. There is a French family in our house[191] who like me and whom I like, so it is not like being alone. I run in to see them whenever I please.[192]

1879, the year Elizabeth Gardner received an honorable mention for her Salon entry *À la fontaine* , was also the year Imogene opened the Academy. As

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188 Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, August 29, 1866.

189 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, June 10, 1873.

190 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, July 3, 1874. It is not clear what work Imogene was doing for Goupil. He was a dealer who, in the late 1840s "had built up a capital by selling reproductions of popular Salon favourites, notably after Delaroche's historical subjects." (Whiteley, 26.) Later, Bouguereau and Merle left Durand-Ruel and signed contracts with Goupil that presented better offers.

191 The family she refers to may very likely be the Bouguereaus. At least two early sources indicate that Elizabeth was friends with Bouguereau's first wife, Nelly. They are: "Romance of Exeter Girl who Married Bouguereau, " Boston Sunday Post September 3, 1905; and "The Approaching Bouguereau wedding.," The Exeter News-Letter June 12, 1896: 4.

192 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, March 1, 1875.

Gardner recounted, "Mrs. Morrell is in Washington all winter. She likes the society there. She gets orders for portraits and receives much attention."[193] By November, however, there was a turn of events in Imogene's life: "I had not spoken of Mr. Morrell's death because at first his wife wished quietly to find out what fortune he had left. There is a considerable amount and a part of it is due her, but he left very heavy debts. His death is a relief to her."[194] It was not until several years later, in 1893, that Gardner revealed to her family other sentiments concerning Imogene. They were written on a separate page in a letter sent to her sister, Ria:

> You have several times inquired about Mrs. Morrell and I have not replied because the subject has long been a very painful one to me. She has been unfortunate in every respect and is now in trouble again having been forced to close her school. My friendship has been taxed to the uttermost. I consider that she has been unkind and unappreciative towards me. She again needs my help and I have offered it on conditions which I consider due to me. I am no longer an inexperienced girl to be led by promises destined never to be fulfilled.
>
> I felt obliged to refuse to allow her to return to me here as she much desires to do. I am old enough and have worked hard enough to be independent.
>
> Hitherto I have complained of her to no one. I am of a peace loving nature. Should she undertake to prejudice Frank R. (Frank Robinson, Imogene's nephew and a good friend of Elizabeth) against me, I think he will believe that I mean to do right. I shall be very firm in holding my ground now, but if she decides to be reasonable and accommodating I shall be helpful to her in the future. Use my statement should you at any time consider it necessary to defend me, otherwise please say nothing, and don't let this little matter trouble you at all. I was afraid you would wonder why I left your question unanswered....[195]

As the letters suggest, their relationship had changed, at least in Gardner's eyes, from the years in Worcester where her role was one of an apprentice to Robinson, as opposed to the years during which Gardner became a master in her own right. Elizabeth sent small sums of money to Imogene throughout her life and, when she learned of her friend's death and squalor, felt regret that she was not able to have sent more. In a letter to her sister, Maria,

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193 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, March 18, 1879.
194 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, November 7, 1879.
195 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, November 18, 1893.

she summed up Imogene's later years in Washington and her own devotion to her friend:

> Dear Sister Ria,
>
> Your letter brought me first the news of Mrs. Morrell's death. I have also received clippings from journals from Perley and from several other sources. I am very much distressed to learn of her cruel accident and that she died in poverty. The Newspaper accounts are full of mis-statements but I intend never to reply to them as they are deferential to her memory which is sacred to me.
>
> Poor old lady. She was very industrious but being of a visionary character, she was constantly incurring obligations which she could not honorably discharge. Although she made many friends, especially in the frequently renewed society of Washington, they in time wearied of making sacrifices for her in vain.
>
> I am afraid that I shall be accused of negligence towards this old friend. In self-defense I want to say to my family what I have never confided to anyone. I did not approve of her divorce. Mr. Morrell was usually impecunious but he was a kind-hearted gallant gentleman. I disapproved of her trying to found an Academy of Fine Arts in Washington because her career in America before had proved that she lacked executive ability. Then for several years our intimacy was broken, but when her institution ended in disaster, I renewed my interest and tried to be helpful. She put her valuables in store without insurance, they were burned and with them two of my best original pictures which at her request I had loaned her for her gallery. It was a bitter blow to her but she received several thousand dollars compensation, how much I never knew, then against the advice of gentlemen who counselled her to take a modest apartment, she launched into another extravagant enterprise and failed. Since then she has been in constantly straightened circumstances. During twelve years I sent her quite regularly, twice a month, small sums , begging her to use the money for her personal comfort. Then for the last two years as I was less favored with superfluous means after the loss of my dear husband, I had been less generous to her, and I now reproach myself for it. She would not heed my advice to accept some modest position where she could earn her livelihood without getting in debt. She was not an unhappy woman for she lived on delusions, confident that she would be a "millionaire" and could never give up her dreams of wealth and fame. I did send her money last July and was intending to send again before Xmas. Her last letter to me was written in October. She said she was in good health, but that she had been forced to enter a cheap boarding house where she could be of service in return for her room, etc. Her belongings which she considered to be of great value, were again in storage for debt. She begged me to advance her funds to enable her again to open an Academy which she would call the "Bouguereau Institute"!! I could not be instrumental in leading her to such

an undertaking at her age - 83 I believe, since when younger she could never succeed. In this last letter she said, if you will help me to get started again, I feel that I have "a glorious future" before me. I am afraid she has left debts more than the sale of her effects can bring. She had inherited some property from a deceased sister, which she had not realised owing to family dissensions. She has numerous nephews and nieces. I am afraid she is not on good terms with them.

I shall never make any claim for the important sums she owed me, nor in any way meddle with the settlement of her affairs. My conscience does not reproach me. Let me know if you learn anything of the burial. I do hope it has taken place with decorum.

Mrs. Morrell was a member of the Baptist Church. She could have had a comfortable retreat in their home for the aged in Washington but she refused.

Dear old lady! She is at last at rest. I do feel very sad for her last sufferings, and ask myself if I was foreboding and helpful enough the last two years.

What a tiresome letter for you! Don't let it worry you a bit....[196]

Companionship among expatriate women artists provided a union of convenience. Examples of such sisterhoods were numerous: Mary Cassatt and Eliza Haldeman; Rosa Bonheur and Anna Klumpke, to name a few. Professional partnerships allowed artists the opportunity to pursue careers in painting by limiting every day expenses of studio space and models. The exchanges nourished their creative temperaments and enabled them to develop and expand their technical skills. It was these same principles that fostered many of the artist communities that sprung up in France in the nineteenth century. It also led to the opening of studios and life-drawing classes to women.

Though Imogene and Elizabeth differed in their visions of the road to success, their relationship provided a means by which both artists could survive in the capital and devote themselves to painting. It was, for Elizabeth, a commitment to her own art. Throughout her seventeen-year engagement to Bouguereau she continued to remain dedicated to her art. It was not until her marriage to the artist that she began to reevaluate those goals. For the time that she and Bouguereau were married, their relationship represented a commitment to him, and to his art. After his death, she resumed her own artistic

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[196] Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, December 9, 1908.

activities. If Elizabeth and Imogene could live together and paint, what prevented Gardner and Bouguereau from maintaining a similar partnership? The circumstances that led to her decision to cease painting are revealed in her correspondence; they occur over a period of nearly two decades.

A lengthy Engagement

In a letter to her sister, dated 1879, Gardner announced her engagement to Bouguereau. It came after the "good news" of the honorable mention she was awarded at the Salon:

> And now about my engagement. I am very sorry that there is an excitement on your continent about it. As an artist I like to be noticed but I think I might be let alone in my private life. I was sorry for the paragraphs in the journals before its time, but however it is no matter only I am so sorry you have been annoyed by questions. It was because I foresaw that we should not be married at present that I did not tell you at first, for I wished to save you anxiety. I am very fond of Mr. Bouguereau and he has given me every proof of his devotion to me. We neither of us wish to be married at present. I have long been accustomed to my freedom. I am beginning to attain a part of the success for which I have struggled so long, he is ambitious for me as well as I for myself, as it is I can't help working very much like him. I wish to paint by myself a while longer. He has a fretful Mother who is now not young, 78 I think. She is of a peevish, tyrannical disposition and I know she made his first wife much trouble. The house and everything belongs to the son, but she has always lived with him and I should never have an easy conscience if I caused any change. She wants him all to herself, and he is of course fond of her. Bye and bye she will feel the care of their large house and many servants a burden and I shall have my way. She always used to like me very much and when the proper time comes I shall try to be a comfort to her....Perhaps I am selfish, but my lot here has not been without its troubles and one of the strongest motives to persevere has been the hope to be of some help to my dear ones at home. So far I have been powerless, but I think the future looks bright. I have no objection to persons knowing that we are engaged with the understanding that the matter remains as it is for the present. That I prefer to work alone without interruption a while longer is excuse enough. What I say about the domestic matters is in strictest confidence. I mean to do right in every way and so does he. My friends here have all been lovely and not inquisitive. They think it is a splendid thing for me and take it for granted that people of our years and position may manage our private affairs as we think best....Mr. Bouguereau went with me to a party the other evening at the house of old friends of ours, it was our first time out together. We can not have as good times here as engaged people in America. Long engagements are not customary and we never drive together or do anything to attract attention. I am very happy in my future prospects and

> so is he, but I have seen enough of the storms of life to be somewhat philosophical.[197]

First of all, it is clear that Gardner was not prepared, at this point, to sacrifice her career as a painter for the prospect of marriage. This arrangement appears acceptable to Bouguereau whose "peevish" mother was not in favor of the union. Elizabeth was forty-one years old and William, fifty-three. Both artists were at the peak of their careers and, as Elizabeth expressed, she had not yet reached the goals she set for herself. The compromises artist couples had to make was not something she was able to appreciate until much later. She is quoted by McCabe as saying:

> M. Bouguereau's mother objected to our marriage because I was a painter. Two painters in a family she thought too much for domestic happiness, and so do I - now. It was because of my passion for painting that I refused to marry when I was younger, and had yet to win position as an artist. When I was older, I saw the wisdom of his mother's objection; and when he was alone and needed me I abandoned the brush. Voilà tout![198]

Of interest too, is the French nineteenth-century sense of propriety. The fact that they are cautious about attracting attention, even at their ages and under the circumstances, seems old fashioned to modern readers. Nevertheless, Gardner and Bouguereau, during the seventeen years of their engagement, never spent a vacation together. Bouguereau went with his family to La Rochelle to paint every summer; Elizabeth sketched landscapes and figures in Auvergne. Naturally, in the letters to her family there is no specific mention or suggestion of intimacy, though his name appears much more often in the 1880s, and particularly around the time of their marriage when Bouguereau and his children came regularly to dinner at Gardner's apartment. Needless to say, their relationship drew attention:

> One day at the Salon I saw Mons. Bouguereau and with him a pleasant looking lady who seemed to be rather intimate. I asked if it were his wife and was told "no." A young man with me said in a low tone to me, "She ought to be."[199]

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197 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, June 8, 1879.

198 McCabe, "Pathfinder," 16.

199 Jeanie Lea Southwick, "The Last Fifty Years of the Art Life of Worcester in the Nineteenth Century" recollections read before the Historical Society October 10, 1935, Worcester Historical Society Publications, 2/2 (September) 1937: 93.

The Wedding Plans

In 1896, Bouguereau's mother died. Elizabeth's less than compassionate reaction is expressed in the following excerpt:

> I think I wrote in my last letter to John that the old lady died on February 18th at the age of 91. She was very well when this last illness set in from a slight cold. Her devoted son who had borne with such affectionate patience all her peculiarities was quite afflicted by the change. He had so long had the habit of subordinating every detail of life to her desires, of which the first was to rule without opposition in his house. She could not even endure to have his married daughter come for a visit to her father....The funeral was a flattering demonstration of sympathy for Monsieur B. In all the time I have lived in Paris I have not seen a more exquisite profuse display of choice flowers, and the numbers, the hundreds of distinguished gentlemen who followed on foot to the church....There is a married daughter (Henriette), 38 years of age, who lives at La Rochelle. The Grandmother had separated us, but now she has come back to me and is very lovely. There is also a son (Paul) ten years younger. He is fond of military service and by dint of hard work has risen to be Lieut. in the Reserved Army, but this only occupies him a part of the time. He is also a young lawyer of some eminence, and means to bear his father's name honorably. The three are attached to me and have just been in to dine with me. I may have something new to write you a little later. So many questions come in the way of thinking of what when one is young seems easy, that it requires reflection, and I am only afraid the newspapers will begin to meddle too soon.[200]

The "something new" of course would be the wedding plans. By the time she married in June 1896, ending an engagement of seventeen years, she was a few months shy of her fifty-ninth birthday. By that time, Elizabeth had attained many of the goals she set for herself and felt proud of her achievements. This is in sharp contrast to the perception she had of her career at the time of her engagement. Both artists had aged, both had enjoyed success, and each was attracted to a quiet, home life with a minimum of social obligations. In a letter to her brother in March of 1896, she informs him of her decision to marry and her feelings about this new phase in her life:

> After what I have written in my last letters to you and Ria, you are doubtless prepared to hear that I expect soon to marry Monsieur Bouguereau. All through our acquaintance of so many years he has invariably shewn himself to be a kind, noble Christian gentleman, he has received titles and honors such as few mortals can boast of, he has a sufficient fortune for our needs, he is in splendid health. I have a warm

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[200] Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, March 20, 1896.

and deep affection for him and he manifests the same for me. I know you will All be glad for my happiness. I am today quite happy.

Still the question whether it was well to accept what nineteen years ago[201] seemed to us too difficult has not been for me easy to decide now. Formerly I was not willing to sacrifice any part of my devotion to the Art in which I was so ambitious to succeed and which I loved above everything else. Now, that ambition has been satisfied beyond my hopes. I have made myself known on both sides of the ocean. Monsieur Bouguereau is 70 years of age. he begins to look and feel like an old man, but I am 58, which for a woman is almost as much. I have not made a fortune, business is much more difficult than before, my eyes are delicate. I am glad to know that I shall work only when I feel like it.

Monsieur Bouguereau has a house of his own, which here bears the dignified title of hotel. He is attached to it. His studios are all he could need, but the dwelling apartment is smaller than we could wish. It is not a modern house, but it is very comfortable and there is a fine garden, a luxury for a city. He has a large property at La Rochelle, on the western coast of France, and we intend to go there, as he usually does, for 2 months in the Summer. I am sure the change will do me good as for two years I have never slept out of this house.

I have decided to give up entirely this studio etc. It is prettily arranged, but it is old and out of order. I could have kept it had I chosen to do so, but I think best to have all under the same roof.

It seems strange that we are both in deep mourning (Elizabeth had lost her sister, Cordelia, in January of the same year). French customs are very rigorous, one must respect them when in a conspicuous position, still we do not want to wait a year, which must mean separation this Summer. So we intend to be married in June....[202]

The "etc." in Elizabeth's remark, "I have decided to give up entirely this studio etc.," is revealing. It most certainly refers to her artistic career. Though she had made her decision, it was painful to pronounce. It is unlikely that there was one determining factor which led her to abandon the brush, but more probably a combination of circumstances. By the end of the nineteenth century, academic art was being more seriously challenged by Impressionism and other current trends. Orders were becoming difficult to obtain, especially for artists of lesser reputation, and Gardner complained of fewer American travellers. Elizabeth was getting on in years and her eyesight, which had been

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201 The first letter that mentions her engagement is dated June 8, 1879, which would make it 17 years earlier. Bouguereau's first wife, Nelly, died in 1877, 19 years earlier.

202 Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, March 26, 1896.

problematic since childhood, was becoming worse.[203] A few months after her marriage she reflected:

> It is indeed hard to earn money in these difficult times, and I say to myself every day that I ought to be very grateful, as old age comes on and my eyes are delicate, to know that all my reasonable wants are and will be provided for.[204]

Furthermore, she greatly admired Bouguereau's work. His status as an artist far surpassed hers and possibly nineteenth-century protocol in relationships of master and apprentice dictated, to a certain extent, her behavior. It is clear from the correspondence that Bouguereau never tried to persuade her in her choice, and neither did he protest once it was made.

June 22, 1896

For two months preceding the wedding, Elizabeth was busy with preparations and the renovations of Bouguereau's living quarters at 75, rue Notre-Dames-des-Champs. This was the beginning of a nine-year contract that was to transform the artist's life significantly:

> As I told you the ceremony will be simple, as becomes for old persons in mourning[205]....It is always customary for the bride's letter to be in the name of the parents if living or in the name of brother and wife if married...Therefore I ask permission of you and Miriam to put your names on my wedding announcement, thus: (I give the English Translation)
>
> Monsieur and Madame John E. Gardner have the honor to announce the marriage of their sister Mademoiselle Elizabeth Gardner to Monsieur William Bouguereau, Member of the Institute, Commander of the Legion of Honor, etc.[206]

Concerning her wedding gifts, Elizabeth writes:

> Monsieur Bouguereau has given me a magnificent engagement ring. We are both simple in our tastes but he wanted me to have this. It is a very large sapphire surrounded by little diamonds. My poor little hand,

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203 Early medical treatment of vision problems left much to be desired. Elizabeth described hers: "...when I was a young person in Exeter my eyes were painful and old Dr. Perry was most lugubrious in his predictions. I was limited to knitting! with frequent burnings of nitrate of silver or some other stinging fluid, which I preferred to apply myself, so excrutiatingly painful was it. However the cure was thorough and final. My eyes are not very strong but excellent for all reasonable use." (Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, February 23, 1911).

204 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, February 25, 1897.

205 Elizabeth's sister Cordelia had passed away in January.

206 Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, May 29, 1896.

that has done so much work, feels quite abashed at the unaccustomed decoration.[207]

I do not usually approve of wedding gifts. My American acquaintances here are so rich, the most of them, that I abstain from trying to compete with them in the way of presents. So I presume I shall have very few, which I decidedly prefer....I know that I have in store diamond earrings and broach from Mr. Bouguereau. I have requested that they be of modest dimensions, which is my taste. His children have chosen for me a diamond hat-pin which can also be worn in the hair.[208]

The delicate question of religion occupied Gardner's thoughts prior to the wedding.[209] She was an active member of her church in Paris, participated in charities, and taught Sunday school to children for many years. Bouguereau's father was Catholic while his mother was Protestant, of an old Huguenot family. His sisters were brought up as Protestants, he as a Catholic. To McCabe, her biographer, Elizabeth spoke of Bouguereau's religious faith:

When death drew near, his faith was strong and beautiful to witness. But never did he use the slightest influence to convert me. For many years I was drawn to the Catholic Church, but postponed the step (conversion), fearing to pain my mother who was a Presbyterian.[210]

Her letters confirm McCabe's assessment:

I am so thankful, my dear good Sister, that you broached the subject of my being of the same religion as my husband. This has long been my profound desire. I have hesitated in a step which might give pain to some of my family. As long as it was only a matter of taste I held back. But it seems to me it will be much better for my husband and myself to go to church together. The French Protestants are not sympathetic to me. I could not even wish for him to be of their mind. So I have decided to accept the Catholic faith. The creed is the same word for word as yours. To all the articles of belief strictly required I can adhere. There are some customs which I could like to see changed but they are habits not dogma. I act thoughtfully and prayerfully and I believe I am acting rightly. It seems to me that our dear departed ones are near me and that they approve.[211]

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207 Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, May 8, 1896.

208 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner,June 5, 1896.

209 Elizabeth was a Congregationalist, like many citizens of Exeter, as this was the first church and the most established one in town.

210 McCabe, "Madame Bouguereau at Work," 695.

211 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, June 5, 1896.

To her brother, a few days later, she reiterated her decision:

> I wrote to Ria that I had decided that it was best for me to go to the same church as my husband. I hope you have no prejudice against the Catholics, who are what is best and most influential in France. You cannot judge them from the Irish specimens you see, be they priests or lay-men. This has for years been my wish, but I refrained lest I might give pain to some of those I love; but now I see my duty plainly, and have decided thoughtfully and prayerfully. Ned Tuck said I was right. Ria wrote you in advance that she had no objection. When you come I shall try to convert you![212]

The wedding ceremony consisted of three discreet and simple events. None of Gardner's family was able to attend. At 10 o'clock on June 22, there was a civil ceremony conducted by the Mayor of Paris. Elizabeth had two witnesses: Ned Tuck and Mr. Morse, the American Consul to Paris. Bouguereau's witnesses were Monsieur Ginain, architect, and Monsieur Thomas, sculptor.[213]

> For the religious ceremony, as the company will be most limited, sixteen at most, our parish priest who is very desirous to do something nice, proposes that instead of the large church, where a little company looks forlorn, and where all the curious scallywags of the neighborhood would be likely to flock in to the side aisles to look on, we should be married in a lovely little chapel belonging to the convent of Notre-Dame-de-Sion....Then Mr. and Mrs. Tuck will give us a wedding breakfast in their beautiful new home....[214]

Gardner's description of the "eventful day" is the object of her June 25 letter:

> Monday was a lovely day. Ned Tuck and Julia (Tuck) came for me at half past nine, and at the mayor's we met all the rest of our party of 16. The service was brief. The mayor made a justly complimentary speech and then we all drove to the chapel where every thing was certainly charming. I believe I behaved well although I confess to a considerable internal emotion. The Bishop made rather a lengthy address and I was proud enough of his appreciation of my dear, noble husband. He also said kind things of your sister.

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212 Elizabeth Gardner to John and Miriam Gardner, June 11, 1896.

213 Mark Steven Walker notes that "A bronze copy of Bouguereau's bust by Thomas is installed (October 1896) in the *salle des professeurs* at the École des Beaux-Arts." W. Bouguereau. Exh. cat. (1984): 66.

214 Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, May 8, 1896.

As soon as the knot was tied, before the religious ceremony was terminated my young Carmelle drove to the telegraph to cable a few words to Exeter and to Cambridge (Maria). I trust the brief messages arrived and were acceptable.

On reaching the Tucks' my cable from home was put into my hands and I bless you for the lovely attention which was a comfort to me.

Of course our good friends did every thing splendidly. The wedding breakfast was delicious and the floral decorations beautiful. Then came a few toasts. Our Consul proposed the health of the bride and groom. Paul Bouguereau replied in a manner which brought tears to the eyes of many guests. He was most eloquent; he said he had already had occasion at home to shew what he felt for me, but that he wished before the company to assert how proud and happy the children both were at their Father's choice, and to promise constant respect and affection for their new Mother. Then Ned read your cable and proposed the health of my family necessarily absent, saying such nice things of the friendship which had united our Fathers and which he was so happy to continue.

There was nothing to mar the success of the day....As our home is not yet in order (renovations), and as the daughter has had so much care in preparing all, I asked not to take a journey at present.

We came then quietly to the hotel which I found beautifully dressed with flowers. I felt weary and so glad to pass the rest of the day quietly in our little garden with my husband; while the young people profited by the fine carriages to take long drives....[215]

The Bouguereau Enterprise

During the second half of the nineteenth century, Bouguereau was one of the foremost artists in the French capital. In 1883, when he had been elected president of the *Société des peintres, sculpteurs, architectes & graveurs*, and, in 1885, when he won the medal of honor at the Salon, Gardner had assisted him in responding to all the letters of congratulations. She certainly had no illusions as to what might be required of her as the companion of a painter of his renown. There was also a great respect and love for him on her part, as he began to "look and feel like an old man."[216] In becoming mistress of a household with its servants, a step-son who had developed typhoid, a step-daughter, Elizabeth's decision reflected her values. By December, she summarizes her new situation:

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[215] Elizabeth Gardner to the Dear Ones at Home, June 25, 1896.

[216] Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, March 26, 1896.

> We are now comfortably settled for the Winter. I have a small house for a large family, and six servants to direct. My husband's position brings him constant callers, business-letters, etc. etc. I love to work and am so glad to assume many responsibilities which would otherwise disturb him. We are happy together, he is most kind and jolly, and his health is now excellent (she had nursed him through a bad cold). Alas he is an old man. 71 a few days ago! I invited a party of his oldest pupils and gentlemen friends to dine on his birthday, and they were all jovial....[217]
>
> I have none of the discomforts which Winter always brought me in my old house and after the first wrench was over, I am thoroughly glad I left my former studio.
>
> Think of me as not idle, although not painting at present. I have projects ahead which interest me infinitely, time will shew if I can realize my ambition.[218]

Elizabeth's new functions allowed Bouguereau to devote more time to painting in his studio. This was something few understood as well as she. We are given a glimpse in the next letter of how her situation was perceived by others:

> My new position has brought me many responsibilities but I am very happy and content. I do regret that so many acquaintances imagine me in the midst of gaiety and riches, and expect from me what is neither appropriate for our years or our position. I have lots and lots of invitations which we refuse, as it was our wish to finish the year quietly at home.[219]

Elizabeth Gardner had always signed her letters "Lizzie". However, from the first letter after her marriage until the end of her life, she signed "Lizzie Gardner Bouguereau" or "Lizzie Bouguereau". Though she depicted many children in her paintings, she never had a family per se, until then. "My two big children call me "Mother" and of course I am an indulgent parent!"[220] or, "...we are six at table when all the family are here. My children are lovely to me and interfere with none of my prerogatives."[221] What had an impact on their lives more than social obligations were Bouguereau's duties as a public figure. His notoriety brought new experiences to Elizabeth's life which both artists seemed to appreciate.

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217 Traditionally, on Bouguereau's birthday (Nov. 30), Elizabeth organized a *fête* and invited his close friends. It usually consisted of a dinner party for his gentlemen friends, but many acquaintances and students would stop by during the day with flowers and good wishes.

218 Elizabeth Gardner to Miriam Gardner, December 11, 1896.

219 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, December 18, 1896.

220 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, July 3, 1896.

221 Elizabeth Gardner to Miriam Gardner, July 10, 1896.

> We, my husband and I, have just returned from a delightful journey. It was unexpected, the preparations and the incidents of the trip were fatiguing, but we enjoyed it thoroughly. We have been for ten days on the western coast of France. First at La Roche-sur-Yon where a monument to a famous French artist - Paul Baudry - was unveiled. The committee wished Monsieur Bouguereau to pronounce the inaugural address, and he consented. As the President of the Republic, with a crowd of dignitaries were present, and my husband was a guest of honor, and wore his handsome costume of Member of the Institute, and as he as well as the President wished me to be present, it was one of the proudest weeks of my life. I had appropriate costumes and we received such attention. From there we went to La Rochelle where the President came also for an official visit. We illuminated our house and did all I could. This event took all my time and strength for a month, hence I have been slow in writing.[222]

Bouguereau corresponded with American patrons and even developed what Robert Isaacson referred to as a "mail-order business to deal with clients waiting with their commissions."[223] Arrangements had to be made for paintings that travelled to exhibitions throughout the world. The artist and the couple received numerous letters of congratulations and invitations from government officials, dignitaries, and social organizations. Bouguereau alone, received more than 1200 greeting cards at New Year's. Managing the Bouguereau enterprise was, in itself, a full time occupation which Elizabeth accomplished both in French and in English. Bouguereau's primary concern was to be able to devote as much time as possible to his painting. Thus, Elizabeth's organizational skills, dating as far back as the years in Worcester, allowed the ageing artist to maintain a level of productivity that would have, otherwise, been impossible (i.e. an average of ten finished paintings per year for 1896/97/98). At times, one senses from the letters the weight of the responsibilities she carried:

> My position here is delightful in almost every respect, but my time is thoroughly absorbed by new heavy duties and many pleasures. My family is such a dependent one and I have so much business writing to do for my husband that I cannot have leisure for myself.[224]

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[222] Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, May 7, 1897.

[223] Robert Isaacson, "Collecting Bouguereau in England and America," William Bouguereau, Exh. Cat.(Paris, Montreal, Hartford, 1984): 108. Whether the artist corresponded in French or English is not stated.

[224] Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, December 3, 1897.

Because the school year ended the first week of August, William and Elizabeth's summer holiday lasted until the beginning of October. Before leaving for La Rochelle in 1898, she writes:

> We are in Paris till August 5th as the schools close only now, and my husband, who is devoted to his pupils in art, would never leave them while his presence could be useful. We are much gratified because one of our students has just received a Prix de Rome (William Laparra)[225] which secures him three years, all expenses paid, to study painting in Italy. He is a brave young man, who has struggled on, with little or no fortune, and we hope he will continue now that good luck has come to him in this prize.
>
> We, who are usually so closely tied at home, have taken two short journeys recently. First we went to Plombières, at the eastern extremity of France. It is a fashionable health resort, in very beautiful country, but we did not go for the waters. One of the oldest and best French landscape painters, Louis Français, died a year ago, and his friends who are to erect a fine monument in his native town requested Monsieur Bouguereau to go and select the best spot to place the statue. We were received there with many honors and I enjoyed the change.
>
> A few days after our return we set off for London. The Lord Mayor invited your Uncle and Aunt to come with a few others from France to a series of Fetes to be given in honor of French Artists....I could not help feeling proud at the attentions we received from distinguished people but what gave us the most delight were the many hours we passed in the British Museum, among the original marbles by Phidias and at the National Gallery where are so many paintings by the old masters. It was many years since I had been in London, and although my old legs did grumble at the prolonged fatigue, I accomplished more than some gentlemen much younger than I. My English was of great service to us all.[226]

The city of Bordeaux had invited Bouguereau to preside at the annual distribution of prizes on August 6 at the School of Fine Arts which he had attended fifty-five years earlier.

> From the moment when the authorities met us at the railway station on a Saturday morning, until their farewell escort on Monday, there was a series of enthusiastic ceremonies, most touching and gratifying. Monsieur Bouguereau was eloquent and wore his uniform of Member of the Institute, and I believe that I did not disgrace the scene. The

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225 I am grateful to Damien Bartoli for the information on Bouguereau's pupil. William Laparra (1873-1920) entered Bouguereau's class at the Académie Julian in 1894. The painting that won him the Prix de Rome was entitled: *La Piscine de Bethsaïda.*

226 Elizabeth Gardner to Perley Gardner, August 1, 1898.

> excessive heat was a drawback to our comfort but we did not faint under it.
>
> We reached here (La Rochelle) on the 9th quite tired but I was right in urging William to accept the tribute to his talent, for he broods over his son's delicate health and needs diversion.[227]

By late August, they were back in Paris, but not for long:

> I was then just beginning calmly to prepare for our summer absence, but an unexpected despatch came from here announcing the death of an aged aunt and claiming our immediate presence as the other members of the family were absent. So I folded away my light summer traps, hunted up some old black dresses and in a few hours took the train with all my household. It was a busy day and a warm night to travel but we arrived in good condition and William was most appreciative for my effort. He was fond of the good old lady who has gone to the better land and I was grateful that I could relieve him of many painful duties....
>
> The shooting season has just begun. William is always eager to be out before daybreak on the opening morning and I accept his invitation to accompany him to the scene of his exploits. We took our tea and eggs at 3 o'clock in the morning, started at 4 with dog, gun, and coachman and at dawn were at the place of rendez-vous (fig. 37). There I left my hunter to go off with his companions, and remained at the country house with a lady friend. This programme we shall follow once a week as long as we remain here. It is good exercise.[228]

It is evident from the above excerpts that Gardner's responsibilities were not limited to her secretarial skills. Bouguereau was an active and sought-after celebrity. She accompanied her husband in his official capacities and organized the household as it moved from one location to the other. She participated in his leisure activities as well, responding to his needs, for which he was grateful. She acted as care giver to the artist and his son, Paul, whose health progressively deteriorated until his death on April 27, 1900.

> Our son Paul, the lawyer, 30 years of age, who has always been so affectionately devoted to me, took a heavy cold at Xmas which developed into a congestion of the lungs and for nearly six weeks he has been confined to the house. I have done all I could to nurse and amuse him, although the family is numerous he has preferred my care for many reasons. We have been anxious, but this morning a consultation of physicians pronounce him able to travel as far as Menton, and he will

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227 Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner, August 17, 1898.

228 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, September 1, 1898.

> probably soon go South to remain till Spring. The details of the journey are not yet decided but I do not expect to accompany him, as my first duty is to my husband who cannot leave Paris at this season.[229]

As it turned out, both Elizabeth and William left with Paul for the south of France and remained there for three months. Bouguereau had already lost three of his five children and was very fond of Paul. The next letter is addressed from the Hôtel des Iles Britanniques, Menton. Alpes Maritimes, France:

> The Father and I decided that we were the ones to come....Here we are in the best hotel, have a Salon and three large chambers, and I enjoyed at first the rest very much, for at home I always have a numerous family and here I have no such care. Were we on a pleasure trip, I should think it fine indeed but we are very anxious about Paul. Here he can sleep with his window open all night, walk and sit in the sun by day. I cannot say that I think his health improves, although the doctors say they will cure him.
>
> He is a wilful, capricious man, but affectionate and with me most docile. This is a health station, very different from other pleasure resorts near us. Paul misses his gay friends in Paris, it is dull here. Occasionally he gets very blue and declares he will leave by the next train, then he considers that it is best to remain. I think we shall stay till the last of March, but my letters should always be directed to Paris.
>
> It is very hard for William to abandon a splendid large painting which he was intending for the Spring Exhibition,[230] and all the pupils who depend on us and a thousand other cares, but he is a firm, high-minded gentleman, and never counts the cost when duty directs.[231]

In June of 1899, Elizabeth Gardner donated one of her paintings *Le Jugement de Paris*, 1893 (fig. 14), to Lasell Seminary in Auburndale where she had done her literary studies.[232] Later that summer, she received the "cruel dispatch" from her family announcing the death of her brother, John, whom she loved dearly. They had been faithful correspondents for thirty-five years. It was to him that she entrusted her financial concerns (family inheritances, payments, gifts of money, etc.), and to him that she requested permission to marry Bouguereau. Her letter-writing attests to the strong bond that existed between her and her family, extending to nieces and nephews. It is clear from her

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229 Elizabeth Gardner to John Gardner,February 3, 1899.

230 Damien Bartoli suggests that the work referred to in this passage may be *Regina Angelorum* (285 x 185cm.).

231 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, March 1, 1899.

232 See Winslow, Appendix B, 246, 247 for a copy of Gardner's letter to Professor Bragdon (June 2, 1899) in which she donates the painting to Lasell College.

correspondence that, as an expatriate, she felt a fond allegiance to her native country, and a sense of national pride. Her expatriate status paralleled, in a way, her family situation. In moving to France for the sake of her art, she had adopted a new country, and now a new family. One of the rare moments when Gardner expresses regret over her decision to marry Bouguereau occurs in her response to the sad news:

> ...After a night of anguish, without sleep, I was unable to write you by the first mail, and today my heart is so full that I know not what to say....You at home have been delicate in trying not to alarm me but I well understood from others that my brother was seriously ill, and for many months every telegram has been a terror to me....
>
> I have often reproached myself the marriage which renders me less useful to my dear ones at home. Had I still been a young artist earning a little more than I needed I should have made no change. But my eyes were no longer strong. I have home comforts for my old age. I wish I had more.[233]

A New Centenary

1900 marked the year that Marius Vachon published his monograph on Bouguereau. Elizabeth was pleased with the work:

> Lahure, one of the best Paris publishers, has just issued a biographie (sic) of W. Bouguereau. The text is by a distinguished writer, the numerous illustrations are, aside from a few weak exceptions, very fine. I am delighted that this work exists. Of the edition which is on the market, I am to have one for you, which I shall send when the occasion offers.[234]
>
> An "édition de luxe" is also published by subscription, the very limited number of these volumes gives them a superior value. As I have been useful in getting material for the work, the editor asked to whom I would allow him to dedicate one of the choice books. I think you will approve the sentiment which prompted me to reply - "to Mr. Edward Tuck." I was so glad to do for Ned and Julia something really nice....Ned's name with a personal dedication was printed on the first page.[235]

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[233] Elizabeth Gardner to Miriam Gardner, August 25, 1899. The last sentence, "I wish I had more," is an expression of Gardner's concern over being financially limited in the help she could offer to John's widow, Miriam, and her boys. In the end, Edward Tuck provided the financial assistance for the continuation of the boys' education (John Jr. and George, at Phillips Exeter Academy; Perley, at Harvard) as a gesture of friendship to both Elizabeth and her brother, John.

[234] This edition is in the Gardner Family Archives inscribed by Bouguereau to his sister-in-law, Maria.

[235] Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, January 3, 1900.

Bouguereau's responsibilities were more than ever demanding of their time and energy. He was president of two associations of artists and, though he had secretaries, he preferred to attend to many of those duties himself with the help of Elizabeth, "...I have so little time to write outside of our voluminous French correspondence,"[236] she complained. Elizabeth seems to have had some project of her own, possibly related to writing, to which she made allusions in a few of the letters. For instance, in March 1900, she wrote: "I have been trying to do some work lately on my own account, not painting my eyes cannot bear it. Oh, it is hard to grow old...I do not yet know if I shall succeed in my work and therefore say nothing about it to others."[237] In letter dated a week before his passing, Paul had just returned, once again, from the south of France:

> Our poor son Paul has arrived today from Pau where he has passed nearly six months only to return more feeble than before. I shall try to take better care of him, but this is a great sorrow in our household.[238]

Gardner had corresponded with Paul on a daily basis during his absence, and had tried to keep William from despairing over his son's condition. In a letter to her sister-in-law some months later she left a description of her step-son:

> You expressed a desire to have a photo of our Paul (fig. 38). The recent ones have all a saddened expression. I send you this in his military costume, of which he was proud, as he was Lieut. in the Cavalry, Reserved army, and always on duty 6 weeks in the summer. He had always a boyish face, just a delicate black moustache the last year of his life. His Father had no beard till nearly 30 years of age.[239]

Bouguereau exhibited eight works at the Exposition Universelle of 1900 and the city was, once more, topsy-turvey: "The preparations for the Exhibition have kept Paris in such a disturbed condition for the last two years....But in a few weeks I believe all will be beautiful. The crowds are already great and accommodations difficult."[240] Her description of this Fair, in comparison to others, marks a change in her perception of the event, possibly related to her own change in life style:

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236 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, October 28, 1900.
237 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, March 16, 1900.
238 Elizabeth Gardner to Miriam Gardner, April 19, 1900.
239 Elizabeth Gardner to Miriam Gardner, November 23, 1900.
240 Elizabeth Gardner to Miriam Gardner, April 19, 1900.

> I have recently been several times to the Exposition and have accompanied your Uncle to some official dinners and receptions where our presence was necessary to his interests. Everything is on a gorgeous scale, and some of the collections are rare and beautiful beyond description. There is a tendency now to cater to the lower tastes of the crowd. 26 establishments are already in bankruptcy. Electricity is a great element in the decorations by night. We keep away from wild festivities and I shall hardly go at all to the evening displays.[241]

In October she returned to the Expo and continued:

> The weather is favorable now, since the long Summer heat has subsided, but the crowds of visitors have not diminished. We are rather less incommoded by the masses of work-people and their families who arrive, baskets of provisions in hand, by the "pleasure trains", from all parts of France. Worthy persons, doubtless, but too fragrant of garlic. Now that the schools have reopened the natives have returned to their respective towns and villages.
>
> Foreign travellers are more than ever in force, still they represent generally a higher order of society and are less disagreeable to encounter. Circulation in the streets of Paris is precarious. The automobiles, bicyclettes and electric trams have so increased in number and drive at such murderous rates. Doubtless the underground railway will relieve the city, but at present they lack experienced drivers, the accidents are of daily, almost of hourly occurrence. I have not yet been forced to try it. Has the Exhibition been a success? Not financially. Among the exhibitors there is much jealousy and heart ache and sometimes ruin. But as a whole it has been <u>wonderful</u>. I have been very seldom, still in choosing what charmed me most I have enjoyed what I can never see again, and can feel reconciled to go no more. Your brother's pictures have had <u>unparalleled success</u>. Many protest that they are the very finest of all. This is my opinion. The balls, receptions, and official dinners are splendid. We have refused all, save, as I told you, the banquet at the Mexican Pavilion, and a dinner at the Senate. William wanted me with him so I accepted.[242]

In August of 1901, they returned to Plombières for the dedication of the monument to Louis Français; Bouguereau pronounced the dedication address. They then went to La Rochelle and were among the dignitaries invited to witness military and naval manoeuvres off the coast. In 1902, Gardner donated a painting, *À travers le ruisseau* 1894 (fig. 15), to Robinson Seminary in her native town of Exeter on the condition that it be "advantageously placed." Her

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241 Elizabeth Gardner to Perley Gardner, July 20, 1900.

242 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, October 28, 1900.

primary concern with this donation, as with the previous one to Lasell, was that it be placed in a strong light. She wrote:

> ...it seems to me that the Robinson Seminary has the most space and light. I know that your dear Father enjoyed his connection with this institution, and besides it interests me as a woman.[243] I do not wish my picture to go to the Philips Exeter Academy, nor would it be appropriate.
>
> I have always loved to paint children. I found this subject in the country in the centre of France (Royat) where I used to pass my Summers, studying among the peasants.[244]

A Silent Ending

As the years advanced, Bouguereau became more dependent on Elizabeth. He had difficulty relinquishing responsibilities and duties and was particularly devoted to his students, "sa porte était toujours grande ouverte...il les (les étudiants) accueillait comme des membres de sa famille spirituelle."[245] In March 1903, at seventy-seven years of age and still active, there were no indications in the letters that the artist's end was so near (August 19, 1905):

> My good husband is completing his last year of office as President of the Society of French Artists which can last only three years. Since he assumed this charge more than two years ago I have just devoted myself to lightening his cares and I neglect so many other pleasures and duties which gives me pain.[246]

In April, a very exciting turn of events occurred which took both William and Elizabeth to Italy and, in a sense, brought their lives full circle. Gardner and Robinson had originally intended to go to Italy in the 1860s when they arrived in Paris. This plan never materialized. Bouguereau had been a Prix de Rome recipient in 1850 and spent three years at the Villa Medici. There had even been some discussion of going to Italy on their honeymoon, but that did not occur either. Now, with William in his late seventies and Elizabeth in her late sixties, it was to become a reality:

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[243] Robinson Seminary (1869-1955) was a school for girls. By the time of its opening, the Exeter Female Academy that Elizabeth had attended no longer existed. Phillips Exeter Academy did not accept girls at the time which explains why she felt it more appropriate to donate her work to Robinson Sminary.

[244] Elizabeth Gardner to Perley Gardner, April 11, 1902.

[245] Catherine Fehrer, "New Light on the Académie Julian and its Founder (Rudolphe Julian)." Gazette des Beaux-Arts 6/103 (May/June 1984): 209.

[246] Elizabeth Gardner to Miriam Gardner, March 31, 1903.

You will be surprised to receive another letter from me so soon but as I have good news to tell I will not postpone writing. You have perhaps already seen in the papers that Monsieur Bouguereau has been raised to the dignity of Grand Officer in the Legion of Honor. It is a rank to which very, very few attain outside of Military Officers, for an Artist it is very rare.

The news of this nomination has been received with the greatest enthusiasm here. For the last few days our house is crowded with persons of all stations who come to congratulate and as to the letters and dispatches they come in by hundreds. Tomorrow I shall begin to reply to them as I am chief secretary of the family.

On Sunday we both went in state to call on the President of the Republique, several Ministers and dignitaries who had contributed to this success. Of course the painter has no more talent on this account but it is a satisfaction to be rewarded for a long life of modest, faithful work.

This is not all. This new decoration has been given on the occasion of the celebration of the centenary of the foundation of the French Academy at Rome, of which Bouguereau was a government pupil 50 years ago. The building is called the Villa Medicis. I will send you a paper with illustrations. A festival is to be given at this Villa on April 18th, the King and Queen will preside and they have sent us cards of invitations. At first we declined as I did not wish my husband to be exposed to fatigue, but the refusal was not accepted. We are told that it is a duty for my husband to be present at the celebration. So we have decided to leave Paris on Tuesday, April 14th for Rome! I can hardly believe that I am actually to see Italy. I shall at least see a bit of it.

We shall not stop by the way but continue directly 30 hours to arrive on Wednesday for dinner. We travel under the best conditions possible accompanied by a younger Member of the Institut and his wife, who are very fond of us and will be tender prudent companions. So do not be anxious. I do not know how long we can be absent - about two weeks probably.[247]

Requests for the artist's presence continued to come in; Elizabeth always seemed to hold the deciding ballot:

Also he (Bouguereau) is asked to consent to be on the royal committee for the fetes to be given in Berlin, early in October in honor of Wagner. Madame Bouguereau is named by the Emperor to be among the guests. Again the question of advancing age comes in as a damper to such projects, and sacrificing the delicious music we should hear, I shall propose to remain quietly by the sea. We are both quite well and wish to keep our good health.[248]

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247 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, April 9, 1903.

248 Elizabeth Gardner to Perley Gardner, July 17, 1903.

As late as December, 1904, Bouguereau continued to be solicited:

> After a very bright summer, we are now in the dull days of winter, very unfavorable for painting, but I am only too glad that the hours for work are shortened for your Uncle, for he begins to feel the weight of years and walks with difficulty. Still all the pupils, friends and artistic societies who are accustomed to profit by his prudent advice persist in calling on him for constant services. I can spare him much fatigue and give all my time to his society. We have lots of company, but go out less than formerly. The 30th of Nov. we celebrated his 79th birthday. All day and till late in the evening there was a procession of friends bringing flowers and good wishes. I gave a fine gentlemen's dinner in honor of the occasion.[249]

The next letter, addressed to Ria from Paris, is dated , July 14, 1905. It contains no significant mention of Bouguereau except that he, "persists in accomplishing his duties as professor, etc. etc. at the close of the year and will not be free to leave (for La Rochelle) before the last of July." After that, there are no extant letters until practically the beginning of October. Bouguereau's house had been burglarized in the summer of 1905, and apparently the strain had caused the artist's health to worsen.[250] At the end of July he left for La Rochelle. Henry Roujon, permanent secretary of the École des Beaux-Arts, recalled his departure:

> "Three weeks ago (Bouguereau) attended a session with us as punctual and methodical as ever, but sad and mostly silent. As soon as he discharged all the academic duties we had affectionately entrusted to him, he left for his old home town, bidding us all farewell. His handsome, grand fatherly face was veiled with melancholy. Perhaps he could already sense, with the lucidity that comes before the supreme hour, that his time of final rest was close."[251]

Mark Steven Walker, in his biography on Bouguereau, relates the artist's final hours as quoted in The *Bulletin religieux du Diocèse de La Rochelle et Saintes*::

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[249] Elizabeth Gardner to Perley Gardner, December 14, 1904. This was the last birthday party Elizabeth had for her husband.

[250] Mark Steven Walker, Bouguereau, 58.

[251] Henry Roujon, "*Compte-rendu mensuel des travaux de la société des Artistes Français*," (August-Sept. 1905): 183, quoted in M.S. Walker, Bouguereau, 58.

> When the grand old man felt his last hour had come, he gathered his family around him, dictated his last will and testament, and spoke to them. Then he said, "Tell the priest to come, now..."[252]

The silence from July to October, in terms of Elizabeth's writing, is a painful testimony to the distress she endured. Two cable messages arrived one after the other at Exeter (Annex 3). The first, dated August 19, 1905, read: "Uncle William delicate health myself well, Love Aunt Lizzie" The second, August 20, said: "I have just paid a final good-bye to my dear husband. Love to all. Aunt Lizzie."[253]

In the September 29 letter she writes:

> I have recovered from my recent fatigue but as I grow stronger I realize more and more the aching void in my life. My dear husband and I passed ten years of perfect affection together. All our tastes were the same, and as he grew older he depended so entirely upon me that I almost never left him. I shall try to be useful in some way. At present my family here need me. We have most important business questions to settle, but all goes as I wish.[254]

A few days later she continues:

> ...I had strength and courage for all the sad scenes through which I was called to pass, but after the great effort was over I have felt very weary, and my determination to reply myself to each of my hundreds of letters of condolences has not yet been realized (annex 4). I cannot be reconciled to my terrible loss... I realize that God's will was for the best, but it is very hard, and in all the important decisions I have to make for myself and for others I do miss the good counsel which I found in my dear husband.
>
> He is universally mourned for - such a loss to his friends and to all the pupils who depended on him. So many who have not the moral force to fight on alone find their career blasted.
>
> I am not ill. I am beginning to feel rested. I see the good friends who call. It is a comfort to talk with them of him.
>
> Our family affairs are very long to settle. There is no trouble or disagreement but the legal formalities are tedious and sometimes perplexing. My step-daughter is making many changes in the house. It is painful to see dear souvenirs disappear before the desire for modern

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252 A. Héron, "Mort de M. Adolphe-William Bouguereau," *Bulletin religieux du Diocèse de La Rochelle et Saintes,"* August 26, 1905: 102.

253 Western Union cable messages from Elizabeth Gardner to Perley Gardner, August 19/20, 1905, Gardner Family Archives.

254 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, September 29, 1903.

> improvements. I do not interfere. It is never easy for two women to be of the same mind in the same household. When the Father was here I was sole mistress, now I let the daughter do just as she pleases and find my recompense in the kind deference with which I am surrounded. So don't be anxious about me. My wish is to pass this year of deep mourning in quiet retirement.[255]

The relationship that existed between Elizabeth and William for the nine years that they lived together as a couple differed significantly from that of their seventeen-year engagement. This earlier period was marked by each other's commitment to their art. The "warm affection" they felt for each other was subordinate to their artistic goals. Elizabeth Gardner was determined to succeed as an artist and devoted her time and energy to the project. Her Salon career and artistic output attest to her perseverance. Bouguereau continually accepted greater responsibilities and duties while maintaining a high level of productivity. Both artists developed strategies to enhance the marketability of their work. In the case of Gardner, one can more readily understand the need; it represented a means of sustenance. Yet, it was almost as if the sale of one work became the justification for the next one. Although each artist painted for different reasons, both were most content in front of their easels.

From the moment of the ceremony at Notre-Dame-de-Sion, another kind of personal and professional partnership emerged. Several factors contributed to its success: the age of the artists, Elizabeth's decision to abandon the brush, nineteenth-century values and mores, financial considerations, the fact that both partners were artists, a mutual understanding and respect, as well as the affection they shared for each other. Elizabeth Gardner's correspondence clearly demonstrates the complexity of circumstances that surround the relationship of artist couples. Her decisions were heavily weighed and then implemented with her characteristic drive.

For the next seventeen years, until her death in 1922, at the age of 84, Elizabeth Gardner Bouguereau returned to painting, contributing to the Salon until the outbreak of World War I. She kept up her correspondence, and was active in providing aid to French soldiers and their families during the war. As early as December 1905, there is the hint of a revival underway:

> I am trying to be interested in painting and writing as of old, I cannot tell if I have enough of imagination and skill to be true to the efforts of younger

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[255] Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, November 10, 1905.

years. Then besides, I miss the wise, affectionate adviser who was so devoted. I feel daily that I am "a wounded bird who has but one, unbroken wing to fly upon."[256]

Epilogue

The notarized marriage contract (non-community) between Bouguereau and Gardner stipulated that if Elizabeth were to outlive her husband, she would receive a yearly annuity of 25,000frs. ($5000) for the rest of her life.[257] She was also given full use of the Paris apartment and studio. Through the final days of her life, she lived modestly, as she always had, and continued to send small sums of money home. She never returned to La Rochelle in the summers. Instead, she spent August and September, as she had before her marriage, at Royat in what she affectionately referred to as her "cobweb villa". She regained her studio at 73, rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs. This space she shared with a painter by the name of Henri and later with Boyd Waters in exchange for which they kept it in good order, did odd jobs and ran errands.[258] Thus, the detour that married life had set before her, led her back to a path she had followed for so many years as a professional artist. Her reliance on painting helped her deal with the sorrow and, much the same as when her sister Cordelia had passed away in 1896, she began "hiding everything in colors."[259]

In 1906, she submitted *l'Appel d'en haut* (fig. 39), a painting which she described as "a souvenir for my lost artist...My husband at nearly 80 years of age, still painted, and this is a good likeness of him in the last days of his life."[260] Elizabeth received visits from American students, some of whom wished to study with her. She always referred them to other painters, oftentimes pupils of her husband's. One of these students, Russell Cheney, studied at Julian's under Jean-Paul Laurens, a painter Gardner qualified as having a "great talent,

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256 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, December 14, 1905.

257 Marriage contract between Elizabeth Jane Gardner and William Bouguereau, June 11, 1896. Gardner Family Archives.

258 In 1912, Boyd Waters painted a miniature from a photograph of Gardner's niece and namesake, Elizabeth Gardner Bouguereau. The work is still in the family's possession.

259 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, January 24, 1896.

260 Elizabeth Gardner to Mrs. Lawrence, November 23, 1906. Mrs. Sarah B. Lawrence was a writer who lived in Boston and who was collecting information on the artist for an article and a book of sketches on famous people. The book was never published and it is doubtful that she made much headway in writing it. Concerning the article, Gardner wrote, "...I regret that Mrs. Lawrence allows her enthusiasm to run away with her discretion. I must try to live up to her compliments!" (Elizabeth Gardner to Perley Gardner, October 31, 1917.

strong and solid, a good teacher," adding," but I do not like his color."[261] After living in Paris for more than forty years, Elizabeth had seen many American artists come and go. She offered her evaluation of the young Cheney:

> I am glad to know that he considers himself a beginner and that he is drawing seriously instead of jumping into painting at once as so many young Americans do. Bouguereau always said - the American students are conscientious workers and gifted, but they do not consider the question of time, which cannot be avoided. Many poor fellows are obliged to hurry not having the means to remain long, forced to earn money at once.[262]

Besides artists' visits, she also received many requests for documents and information related to Bouguereau.

> A friend has sent me the new monthly from Boston, 'Masters in Art - Bouguereau'. I see it is Miss Potter's work and am glad that the papers I sent could be of service. If you see her, please ask her to return them, as they are treasures which I cannot replace.[263]

Her next work, *Cantique de Noël* (fig. 40), oil with gold leaf, was ready in time for the Salon of 1907, though she worried it would not be.[264] Elizabeth could not work as diligently as in her younger years and, unless the light were very good, she had difficulty seeing clearly. The four models used for this work were very young as well, making the sittings somewhat chaotic. Of the painting she writes:

> My new picture is a 'Christmas Carol'. It interests me to represent the divine Child, floating on the sky, attended by three cherubs who are singing. The group is interesting, my cartoon drawing quite good, but the execution is difficult. I find it difficult to realize my dreams. If I can finish before March 25th, the painting will go to the Spring Exhibition. If I am not satisfied I shall keep it another year. I want to give a golden background, as the Italien primitifs delighted in. Tomorrow will be quite a decisive time as the upper part of the canvas is to be gilded by my frame maker, and I do not yet feel certain that it will succeed. If it does, I shall have something original and effective.[265]

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261 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, December 9, 1906.

262 Ibid.

263 Ibid.

264 At the artist's death in 1922, both *l'Appel d'en haut* and *Cantique de noël* were willed to her family. The first was given to Wallace Gilpatrick (Cordelia's son), and the *Cantique de Noël*, along with another of her late works, *Madonna and Child* (1914 Salon), went to Perley Gardner. These last two works have remained in the Gardner family since then.

265 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, February 17, 1907.

Elizabeth was aware that religious subjects and carefully finished works were no longer in vogue. However, she continued to paint in this style because it suited her tastes and was representative of her training. The difficulty she experienced selling some of the paintings she produced during this later period, she repeatedly attributed to Americans' interest in the automobile: "...rich people spend all their substance on automobiles at this age of the world and the artists complain bitterly."[266] Nevertheless, she exhibited at four more Salons, up to and including the 1914 Salon before the outbreak of the war with Germany.[267] She persevered in her efforts to abolish the duty on foreign works of art and wrote an article for The American Free Act League in protest.[268] Many of the letters after 1914 are filled with news of the war. Gardner acted as an intermediary between wealthy Americans and agencies that provided aid to wounded French soldiers and their families. One organization among the many she supported was the Artists Fraternity, an association that offered financial and moral support to families of artists who were absent at war.

Carmen, the model who had come into Gardner's household at a very young age, is referred to in the early letters as Carmella or Carmelle, but most often as Carmen.[269] On October 2, 1905, a few months after Bouguereau's death, Carmen was married to Mr. Vassard and left Elizabeth's service (Annex 5). This was yet another separation for the artist that year, but she considered the girl's husband to be "a brave young man" and she realized how happy they were together. When Carmen is mentioned in Gardner's correspondence, it is with maternal pride and affection. Both Mr. and Mrs. Vassard remained devoted to the artist until the end. Carmen visited her practically on a daily basis when she was in Paris, and the couple often journeyed to Royat to spend a week or

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266 Elizabeth Gardner to Maria Gardner, April 21, 1907.

267 Her Salon paintings were: *Une partie à quatre* ,1909 (whereabouts unknown); *Eve* ,1911 (whereabouts unknown); *By the Seashore*,1912 (Josyln Art Museum); *Madonna and Child*, 1914 (Private collection).

268 This article is annexed to a letter to Perley Gardner dated May 6, 1908. Bouguereau, as president of the Salon jury, helped protect American artists from having sanctions levied against them because of the tariff. See letters dated June 1, 1884; Feb. 10, 1885.

269 The first specific mention of Carmen (de Rosa) is in a letter from Elizabeth to Miriam dated April 25, 1888. At that time Carmen is twelve years old which would put her birth at c.1876. How she came into Elizabeth's care is not explained in the letters, but she was in the artist's service as early as 1880. Their relationship is best qualified as one of mother and daughter. She remained with Gardner until her marriage, in 1905, at the age of twenty-nine. A document in the Gardner Family Archives says she was the daughter of Bouguereau's gardener, Pierre de Rosa, and gives her dates as July 6, 1876-Jan. 1959. It gives her burial place as Montparnasse Cemetery.

two with Elizabeth in the summer months.[270] As a wedding gift, the artist furnished their small apartment "with economy and good taste."

Elizabeth Gardner's last extant letter to the family is dated February 26, 1920. It is unfortunate that no letters remain from the last two years of her life. The artist complained of rheumatism in her legs, but other than that she was in perfect health. She remained active, kept up her painting, had a large collection of books and read everyday. Before the end of the war, there were air raids in Paris, and coal was difficult to obtain. Elizabeth painted less because she lacked combustibles to light the large stove in her studio, and she began to consecrate more of her time to relief work.[271] From 1916 on, she rented a small villa at Saint-Cloud, near Paris, in order to be close to Carmen and her husband during the summer months. By 1918, she was living there year round. It was in their company that Elizabeth spent the remainder of a very active and healthy life. In a translation of a letter written by Mr. Vassard to Perley Gardner, we learn of Elizabeth's passing on January 28, 1922, at the age of 84:

> You have learned by my telegram the sad news of the decease of our dear Mme. Bouguereau. This telegram was sent to you entirely according to her instructions. She succumbed on the 28th of January to an attack of cerebral congestion. For about a fortnight she was suffering a little, but her illness was not greatly shown until the 20th of January. She remained greatly ill for only eight days. The abruptness of this separation has affected greatly my wife and me, for nothing gave us indication of an end so near.[272]

Elizabeth Gardner was buried at the cemetery at Saint-Cloud, not far from the home of her faithful friends.[273] Carmen, who had always been in charge of caring for the artist's books and papers and finery, continued her daily visits, oftentimes with freshly cut flowers for the woman who had so affectionately taken her under her wing.

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[270] Albert Vassard worked for the railway company.

[271] With the exception of the works willed to Gardner's family, any completed paintings from this later period (if there were any) would more than likely have remained in France after the death of the artist.

[272] Translation from French of a letter from A. Vassard to Perley Gardner, Saint-Cloud, France, February 2, 1922.

[273] Elizabeth Gardner's body may have been moved at a later date to Montparnasse Cemetery next to Carmen's. Mrs. Dunnan had not visited the cemetery herself, but was told that there was no gravestone bearing the artist's name.

CONCLUSION

Though the Epilogue in no way does justice to the artist's correspondence in the twentieth century, the focus of this study has been primarily Elizabeth Gardner's career as a Salon painter in the years between her arrival in Paris in 1864 and her temporary retirement from painting in 1896. Her letters depict a marked difference in the art markets of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Excursions in automobiles replaced visits to artists' studios and, naturally, the onslaught of the war affected the number of visitors to the capital as well. In this later period, we observe an expatriate artist who is engaged in the war effort, a painter whose works no longer attract the attention of dealers and rich American travellers, and a person who has difficulty adjusting to an underground railway system as well as an above-ground frenzy of speeding vehicles. Already in the latter part of the nineteenth century, her work carried nostalgic undertones of bygone years, of rural maidens and literary heroines. Her palette at the time she resumed her career was not one of a new centenary.

Bouguereau was a prominent figure in the heyday of French nineteenth-century art and his work, along with that of other academic artists, is now being reassessed by modern scholars. The chapter dealing with Elizabeth Gardner's marriage is an important contribution to the scholarship on William Bouguereau. To date, biographies on the artist have provided little, if no material on their relationship, one that spanned a period of over thirty years. Elizabeth's devotion to her husband in many ways typifies how women perceived their identity in marriage in the late nineteenth century. She chose to relinquish her career in favor of his, and along with her decision came sorrows and joys. The chapter is viewed from Elizabeth Gardner Bouguereau's perspective, but it is also revealing of William's expectations and sentiments vis à vis Elizabeth. She became the wife of a public figure, step-mother to his children, chief secretary for the administration of his art and art-related duties, and gate-keeper to the many callers. For Elizabeth, William was a companion, a painter and a mentor whose genius she admired. The groundwork put forth in this study opens other avenues of investigation with respect to both artists: the notions of imitation and originality in artist couples, the treatment and choice of subjects, their

collaboration and working methods, favoritism in jury selections, are examples of these.

Elizabeth Gardner's Salon career, as documented through her correspondence and contemporary observations presented in this paper, leaves no doubt as to the historical value of the artist. The fact that she was the first American woman to exhibit at the Paris Salon and the only one to win a medal, are proof enough of the claim. Her artistic output establishes her not as a primary figure, but a secondary one, whose work, though well known in French artistic circles, was purchased almost exclusively by American patrons. Gardner's obscurity is related more to the dominance of the modernist agenda in twentieth-century art historical research than it is to merit. The main objective of this study has been to establish a biographical framework for future research on Elizabeth Gardner. Newly uncovered archival material has been presented, unpublished excerpts have been quoted from the artist's correspondence, and contemporary descriptions and criticisms of her life and work have been brought to light. Although limited in scope, the information assembled here proposes directions for a more interpretative and contextual analysis of Gardner's oeuvre, with respect to her fellow and sister artists, and in terms of different styles and techniques.

The chronology and inventories of Elizabeth Gardner's letters and paintings are new contributions to the scholarship on this painter. They add to the growing body of knowledge becoming available on expatriate artists, especially women artists who, until recent years, have been less favored by research. The catalogue of Gardner's works presented here is only a partial inventory to which other works will be added with further research. Many of the paintings included in the inventory have not as yet been located. The reproductions in this paper represent the largest collection of the artist's work in any document to date. A corpus of good illustrations, and more of them, would offer a valuable tool for further analyses of the paintings.

As indicated in the first chapter, it is probable that Elizabeth Gardner was a self-taught artist, at least until her arrival in Paris. One of the objectives of this study has been to uncover information concerning her training. In the process, a very interesting artist, Imogene Robinson, has entered the discussion. She, too, deserves more scholarly attention in her own right, but also in relation to Elizabeth and her work. Their life-long association and their circle of friends

(Albert Bierstadt, Thomas Couture, Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier) would gain from further exploration.

The chapters dealing with the founding of the Academy in Worcester, Gardner's work as a copyist, and her attempts to desegregate the life-drawing classes reveal an artist who continually sought to better herself in spite of the obstacles at hand. Her earnest efforts to succeed and the hope she maintained of reaching her goals are traits of a strong character and a healthy determination. What has come to the fore in the evidence presented is the relation between Elizabeth Gardner's success and her skills at marketing her work. An artist's merchandizing of his or her own art is an often neglected aspect in the review of a career, having little romantic appeal. Yet, in the case of Gardner it represented survival. Financial concerns were a constant worry to the artist; they dictated personal and artistic choices.

Finally, what remains one of the most fascinating aspects of Gardner's correspondence is the pictures it paints of Paris: its galleries, artist studios, Salons, streets, people, concerts, clothes, food, and birds. And what has been most rewarding for me in the process of reading it, is making the acquaintance of an endearing individual, a fine artist, and a devoted correspondent.

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CHRONOLOGY

Elizabeth Gardner

1837_____Born October 4, 1837 to George and Jane Lowell Gardner, Exeter, New Hampshire.

1850-54_____Attends Exeter Female Academy, Exeter New Hampshire.

1856_____Attends and graduates from Lasell Female Seminary after two years of study (now Lasell College). Probably studies art with Imogene Robinson the year of her graduation.

1856-63_____Opens, with Robinson, the Worcester School of Design and Academy of Fine Arts in Worcester, Massachusetts (Clark's block at 257 Main Street). Is associate principal, in charge of the English and Classical Department. Lives with Imogene at a boarding house near Lincoln Square. May have lived in Boston in the early sixties. The artist's father, George B. Gardner, dies August 11, 1857, Gibraltar, Spain.

1864_____In the summer, leaves with Imogene for Paris to study art. Begins regular correspondence with her family that lasts 56 years, until 1920 (nearly 400 letters). In September, their address is 3, rue Dauphin. Earns her living by making copies at the Louvre and Luxembourg Galleries for American purchasers. In November, studies in the studio of Jean-Baptiste Ange Tissier (her first experience in working with models on a regular basis). Meets Thomas Couture and hopes to study with him.

1865_____In February, leaves Tissier's atelier to join a women's cooperative studio. Works four evenings a week by lamplight sketching from life, and paints at least three days a week at Luxembourg. Studies Philosophy at the Sorbonne and takes private Italian lessons. Resides at 7, rue de Lille.

1866_____Expresses desire to begin painting original works. Moves into a new studio at 2, rue Carnot.

1867_____Joins an art class that meets three times a week at the Jardin des Plantes, under the direction of Antoine Barye. Is the only instruction in art offered in a mixed class.

1868_____Submits first two works to the Salon: *Les trois amis* and *Nature morte; raisins, etc.* ; both are accepted. Becomes the first American woman, with Mary Cassatt, to exhibit at the Paris Salon. Studies with Hugues Merle who is listed as her teacher in Salon catalogue. Rupture in letters to her family from May 1868 to January 1872.

late 60s_____Disguises herself as a man to gain access to Les Gobelins art classes. Is the first woman to study in an all-male life class (McCabe, 1910).

1870_____Many artists, including Gardner, do not exhibit in this Salon because no government representatives are on the jury. 3000 paintings hang side by side in alphabetical order. Shortly after the close of the Salon, France is at war with Prussia.

1871_____There is no Salon the year of the Commune. Returns to America for the first time since her departure. Is in New York in March for business (purchase and sale of paintings) with Jonas and Susan Clark. Returns to Paris the same month, accompanied from Liverpool by Mr. Field, Director of the Boston Museum. During her absence, her studio and its contents at 2, rue Carnot are destroyed in an explosion. In June, moves with Imogene to 73, rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs. Her studio shares a courtyard with William Bouguereau's.

1872_____Is a Paris-based correspondent for the Boston Traveller. Writes about the political and social situation in Paris.

1873_____Probably begins painting at l'Académie Julian around this time. Does not submit a work to the Salon this year. From 1868 to 1896, submits works to every Salon except 3 (1870, 1871, 1873).

1874_____Spends the summer with Hugues Merle and his family in Etretat, Normandy. Imogene Robinson leaves in the fall for Washington D.C. Elizabeth's older sister Cordelia moves to California with her husband Isaiah.

1875_____Jules Lefebvre is listed in the Salon catalogue as her teacher from this year on. Elizabeth's brother, John, marries Miriam Stedman Nightingale.

1876_____Is listed in the catalogue for the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia and may have returned to America for a second visit at this time. There are no extant letters for 1876.

1877_____Attends an exhibition of 3 of her paintings at Williams and Evrett's in Boston, from April 23 to April 26. Leaves in October for Paris. This is her last visit to America. Is listed in the Salon catalogue for the first time as a student of Bouguereau.

1879_____Receives an honorable mention at the Salon for her work *À la fontaine* . The work is illustrated in the Salon catalogue. Becomes engaged to Bouguereau.

1880_____Attempts to develop a career in journalism. Says she has been writing a good deal for a London journal. Carmen enters Gardner's household at the age of four.

1881_____Gardner's reputation is well established. Goes to Royat, in Auvergne, for the summer. Maria, her younger sister, visits her in Paris. The Salon is now run exclusively by artists. The *Union des femmes peintres et sculpteurs* is founded (Gardner is not a member).

1883_____ Writes letters to repeal the new tariff by the American government on paintings and illustrations coming into the country. Says it is having a devastating effect on French artists and American artists living abroad.

1884_____ Wins more votes than any other American for her Salon entry *La coupe improvisée* . French artists are angry over the tariff and vote that no prize be given to Americans that year.

1885_____ Has works on exhibit at Knoedler's in New York and Blakeslee's in Boston. Paul Bouguereau (William's son) gets typhoid while doing his military service. Bouguereau receives a medal of honor at the Salon and is elected President of the Association of Artists. No medals awarded to Americans, only honorable mentions. Attends Victor Hugo's funeral.

1886_____ Elizabeth's mother dies January 17. Her estate is just enough to cover the funeral expenses. Maria continues to live with John and his wife at 12 Front Street. Imogene Robinson's entire collection of paintings (over 200) is lost in a fire at Knox Warehouse, Washington, D.C.

1887_____ Receives a third class medal for her Salon painting *La fille du fermier.*

1889_____ A porcelain copy of Gardner's *Deux mères de famille* by Augusta Beaumont is shown at the *Salon des femmes..*

1890_____ Maria moves to California to join Cordelia. The Gardner sisters sell their share of the house to John and he becomes the owner of 12 Front Street. Bouguereau's *Return of Spring* is vandalized by a man in Omaha.

1891_____ Sends pictures to an exhibition in London. First mention in the letters of the name Carmelle or Carmella (the model

who lived with her and remained faithful to her throughout her life). Her favorite bird, Coco, dies.

1893_____Exhibits *Soap Bubbles* (#458) and *At the Water's Edge* (#459) at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago.

1894_____The dealer, Goupil, gives an engraving of her Salon picture *À travers le ruisseau*, a place of honor in his illustrated magazine of Salon works. Is painting some pot-boilers that she "tries to make works of art." Attends an advanced Philosophy course at the Sorbonne once a week. Maria and Cordelia move to Cambridge, Massachusetts.

1896_____Cordelia dies January 16. Bouguereau's mother dies February 18. Elizabeth and William are married June 22. Elizabeth gives up her studio to live with Bouguereau at 75, rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs. She ceases painting. The artist's graduating class (1856) at Lasell celebrates its 40th anniversary. *David, berger* is loaned by Mrs. Thaw to the Carnegie Gallery in Pittsburgh for exhibition.

The Married Years

1897_____Helps Bouguereau with his correspondence and accompanies him to La Roche-sur-Yon where a monument to Paul Baudry is unveiled. Bouguereau pronounces the inaugural address in the presence of the President of the Republic. A terrible fire consumes the Charity Bazar in Paris.

1898_____One of Bouguereau's students receives the Prix de Rome. William and Elizabeth go to Plombières to select the site for a statue of the landscape painter, Louis Français. They also go to London for a series of festivities in honor of French artists, and to Bordeaux to preside at the annual distribution of prizes at the School of Fine Arts. Paul Bouguereau, an officer in the reserves, is on military duty in Brittany.

1899_____Paul's health worsens at Christmas and William and Elizabeth accompany him to Menton, in February, for a cure. In October he leaves again for the South of France with a nurse. Elizabeth donates *Le Jugement de Paris* to her alma mater, Lasell. Her brother, John, dies August 21.

1900_____Lahure issues a biography of Bouguereau written by Marius Vachon. A large, new studio is built at the end of their garden. Paul returns from Pau April 19, very weak. Dies April 27. Bouguereau exhibits eight works at the Exposition Universelle.

1901_____In August, Bouguereau pronounces the dedication address at the inauguration of the monument to Louis Français.

1902_____Donates her painting, *À travers le ruisseau*, to her home town of Exeter. Bouguereau's only grandson is seized with a temporary paralysis of the face in August.

1903_____Bouguereau completes his last year of office as President of the Society of French Artists. Is elected Grand Officer of the Legion of Honor. Elizabeth and William go to Rome for the celebration of the centenary of the foundation of the French Academy at Rome.

1904_____Bouguereau has difficulty walking and "begins to feel the weight of the years." Elizabeth organizes, as every year, a "gentlemen's dinner" for his birthday.

1905_____Bouguereau dies August 19. Carmen marries Albert Vassard Oct. 2. Elizabeth resumes painting.

The later years

1906_____Submits *l'Appel d'en haut* to the Salon. Regains her old studio at 73, rue Notre-Dame-des-Champs. Maria sails on the "Philadelphia" on May 12 to visit Elizabeth, and is

accompanied by her nephew Wallace Gilpatrick. She leaves in August.

1907 Drafts her final will and testament. Bequeaths her share of the Gardner homestead to her nephew, Perley Gardner. Shares studio space with an artist by the name of Henri (from La Rochelle). Submits *Cantique de noël* to the Salon. Begins work in December on two paintings, *Une partie à quatre* and *Madonna and Child.*

1908 Writes an article for the American Free Act League in Boston protesting the tariffs charged on foreign works of art. Imogene Robinson dies in Washington D.C. at about eighty-three years of age. A monument to Bouguereau is delayed because of the architect's illness. Antonin Mercie is the sculptor for the project.

1909 Submits Une *partie à quatre* to the Salon. Resumes work on *Madonna and Child.* Maria, the maid, dies in June after thirty years service to the family.

1910 Paris and the surrounding villages are ravaged by terrible floods as the Seine overflows its banks. Work on *Madonna and Child* is interrupted as the models fled to Italy. Henri leaves the studio to do his two-year military service and is replaced by Boyd Waters, a Canadian miniaturist of English birth.

1911 Submits *Eve* to the Salon. Goes to see Isadora Duncan perform an "incarnation (in dance) of Greek plastic art."

1912 Submits *By the Seashore* (fig. 41) to the Salon. Has three friends who were on the Titanic, but were saved. Carmen and her husband move to Saint-Cloud. Her sister Maria's health worsens. Bouguereau's grand-son, William Vincens-Bouguereau is married on October 10. Ned Tuck is promoted to the rank of Officer of the Legion of Honor.

1914 Submits *Madonna and Child* (fig. 42) to the Salon. Follows Harry Thaw's trial in the newspapers (Mrs. Thaw was a patron of her work and a friend). Elizabeth's sister, Maria, dies in Exeter on August 3. France is at war with Germany.

1915 Continues to paint regularly, but takes much longer to finish a work. Many Americans leave Paris. No longer returns to Royat for the summer; goes to Saint-Cloud instead (3, rue Tahère).

1916 Paints less because of rheumatism and scarcity of coal. Mrs. Thaw sends money to Gardner for war relief efforts. Julia and Ned Tuck receive a medal from the Académie Française for their service to France in the war.

1917 America declares war on Germany.

1918 Is in Paris during air raid attacks of February and March. In April, moves to Saint-Cloud permanently (95, rue Tahère). Rheumatism in her legs keeps her from going out. Moves to 9, rue des Terres Fortes, Saint-Cloud, for the winter. American troops enter France. The war ends.

1919 Moves to 12, rue Tahère.

1920 Last extant letter is dated February 26.

1922 Dies January 28. Is buried February 1 at the cemetery of Saint-Cloud.

INVENTORY OF LETTERS

Annex 1

Recipients' relation to Elizabeth Gardner:

John or Johnny Gardner (1835-1899):	brother.
Miriam Gardner (1851-1936):	sister-in-law (John's wife).
Ria Gardner (1842-1914)	sister.
Mother (1808-1886)	mother, Jane Lowell Gardner.
Perley Gardner (1875-1974)	nephew, John and Miriam's son.
John Gardner Jr. (Jack) (1882-1966)	nephew, John and Miriam's son.

*note: the letter (a) after a number corresponds to letters not found in Miriam Gardner Dunnan's transcriptions, but which are in the archival material at the Smithsonian Institute, Washington, D. C. Furthermore, there are approximately 25 letters that do not appear on the Smithsonian microfilms for which there are transcriptions.

letter #	Recipient	Month	Day	Year	pp	City
1	John	September	19	1864	1	Paris
2	Johnny	November	13	1864	2	Paris
3	Ria	February	13	1865	2	Paris
4	Mother	January	21	1866	2	Paris
5	Ria	April	14	1866	3	Paris
6	Johnny	August	29	1866	2	Paris
7	Ria	November	27	1866	1	Paris
8	Johnny	January	28	1867	2	Paris
9	Johnny	April	19	1867	4	Paris
10	Ria	May	25	1868	2	Paris
11	Ria	January	5	1872	1	Paris
12	John	January	23	1873	2	Paris
13	Ria	June	10	1873	2	Paris
14	Johnny	January	18	1874	1	Paris
15	Ria	July	3	1874	2	Paris
16	Johnny	October	15	1874	2	Paris
17	Ria	March	1	1875	2	Paris
18	Mr. Faluhaber	August	10	1875	1	Paris
19	Johnny	October	?	1877	2	Boston
20	Johnny	December	2	1877	4	Paris
21	Ria	January	10	1878	2	Paris
22	Ria	May	23	1878	3	Paris
23	Miriam	November	21	1878	3	Paris
24	Ria	March	18	1879	2	Paris
25	Ria	June	8	1879	5	Paris
26	Ria	July	28	1879	2	Paris
27	Ria	November	7	1879	1	Paris
28	Johnny	February	19	1880	2	Paris
29	Johnny	April	12	1880	2	Paris
30	Johnny	December	23	1880	2	Paris
31	Johnny	February	16	1881	1	Paris
32	Ria	March	18	1881	2	Paris
33	John (from Ria)	August	1	1881	3	?
34	Ria	January	12	1882	2	Paris
35	Ria	April	7	1882	3	Paris
36	Ria	July	14	1882	3	Paris

37	Ria	February	7	1883	2	Paris
38	John	December	7	1883	2	Paris
39	John	March	31	1884	1	Paris
40	Johnny	May	12	1884	2	Paris
41	Mother	June	1	1884	2	Paris
42	Perley	August	10	1884	2	Royat
43	Johnny	February	20	1885	2	Paris
44	Miriam	June	16	1885	2	Paris
45	Ria	November	10	1885	2	Paris
46	Perley	December	21	1885	2	Paris
47	John	January	31	1886	3	Paris
48	Miriam	March	18	1886	2	Paris
49	John	May	14	1886	2	Paris
50	Perley	July	1	1886	2	Paris
51	John	August	8	1886	2	Paris
52	Miriam	January	13	1887	2	Paris
53	John	May	30	1887	2	Paris
53a	Perley	June	28	1887	1	Paris
54	Miriam	December	19	1887	2	Paris
55	Miriam	April	25	1888	3	Paris
56	John Jr.	May	17	1888	1	Paris
57	Miriam	March	29	1889	3	Paris
58	Johnny	December	18	1889	2	Paris
59	Nephew	February	7	1890	1	Paris
60	Perley	September	1	1890	1	Paris
61	John	December	11	1890	1	Paris
62	Miriam	December	11	1890	1	Paris
63	John	January	6	1891	2	Paris
64	Perley	March	13	1891	2	Paris
65	Miriam	May	6	1891	2	Paris
66	Miriam	December	20	1891	2	Paris
67	John	May	4	1892	2	Paris
68	Ria	May	16	1892	2	Paris
69	Miriam	December	1	1892	2	Paris
70	Johnny	December	23	1892	1	Paris
71	Johnny	June	1	1893	2	Paris
72	Ria	July	4	1893	4	Paris
73	Miriam	September	19	1893	2	Royat
74	Ria	November	18	1893	2	Paris
75	Perley	December	12	1893	2	Paris
76	Ria	March	14	1894	2	Paris
77	Ria	May	9	1894	2	Paris
78	Perley	June	14	1894	3	Paris
79	Ria	October	26	1894	1	Paris
80	Ria	November	25	1894	2	Paris
81	Ria	February	4	1895	3	Paris
82	Ria	May	3	1895	2	Paris
83	Ria	December	13	1895	3	Paris
84	Miriam	December	18	1895	2	Paris
85	Ria	January	24	1896	1	Paris
86	Johnny	January	27	1896	2	Paris
87	Ria	February	7	1896	1	Paris
88	Ria	February	13	1896	1	Paris
89	Johnny	February	27	1896	3	Paris
90	Ria	March	20	1896	3	Paris
91	Johnny	March	26	1896	3	Paris
92	Ria	March	27	1896	2	Paris
93	Ria	April	16	1896	1	Paris

94	John	May	8	1896	2	Paris
95	Ria	May	22	1896	3	Paris
96	Johnny	May	29	1896	2	Paris
97	Ria	June	5	1896	3	Paris
98	John/Miriam	June	11	1896	2	Paris
99	Dear Ones at Home	June	25	1896	3	Paris
100	Ria	July	3	1896	2	Paris
101	Miriam	July	10	1896	2	Paris
102	Ria	July	10	1896	1	Paris
103	Miriam (from McClellan)	July	24	1896	1	Des Moines
104	Perley	November	27	1896	2	Paris
105	Miriam	December	11	1896	2	Paris
106	Ria	December	18	1896	2	Paris
107	John	January	15	1897	1	Paris
108	John	January	25	1897	1	Paris
109	Ria	February	5	1897	2	Paris
110	Ria	February	25	1897	2	Paris
111	Ria	May	7	1897	2	Paris
112	Johnny	May	28	1897	2	Paris
113	Ria	July	8	1897	3	Paris
114	John	November	12	1897	2	Paris
115	Ria	December	3	1897	2	Paris
116	Johnny	March	18	1898	2	Paris
117	Perley	May	19	1898	2	Paris
118	Perley	August	1	1898	2	Paris
119	John	August	17	1898	2	La Rochelle
120	Ria	September	1	1898	2	La Rochelle
121	John Jr.	September	8	1898	1	La Rochelle
122	Perley	November	4	1898	2	Paris
123	Johnny	February	3	1899	2	Paris
124	Ria	March	1	1899	2	Menton
125	Professor Bragdon	June	2	1899	2	Paris
126	Ria	June	10	1899	2	Paris
127	Miriam	August	25	1899	2	La Rochelle
128	Ria	October	6	1899	1	Paris
129	Perley	October	15	1899	2	Paris
130	Miriam	December	22	1899	1	Paris
131	Ria	January	3	1900	2	Paris
132	Ria	March	16	1900	3	Paris
133	Miriam	April	19	1900	2	Paris
134	Perley	July	20	1900	2	Paris
135	Ria	October	28	1900	2	Paris
136	Miriam	November	23	1900	1	Paris
137	Perley	June	21	1901	2	Paris
138	Ria	December	5	1901	4	Paris
139	Perley	April	11	1902	2	Paris
140	Ria	May	3	1902	2	Paris
141	Perley	June	6	1902	1	Paris
142	Ria	July	21	1902	2	Paris
143	Ria	December	12	1902	2	Paris
144	Miriam	December	15	1902	3	Paris
145	Miriam	March	31	1903	2	Paris
146	Ria	April	9	1903	2	Paris
147	Perley	July	17	1903	2	Paris
148	Ria	December	16	1903	2	Paris
149	Ria	March	4	1904	1	Paris
150	Perley	March	24	1904	1	Paris
151	Perley	July	15	1904	2	Paris

152	Perley	December	14	1904	3	Paris
152a	Perley	March	16	1905	1	Paris
153	Ria	July	14	1905	2	Paris
153a	Perley	July	26	1905	2	Paris
154	Ria	September	29	1905	2	Paris
155	Ria	November	10	1905	3	Paris
156	Ria	December	14	1905	2	Paris
157	Ria	January	18	1906	2	Paris
158	Nephew	April	20	1906	1	Paris
159	Ria	April	25	1906	2	Paris
160	Ria	August	9	1906	2	Royat
161	Ria	August	10	1906	1	Royat
162	Ria	August	16	1906	1	Royat
163	Ria	August	21	1906	2	Royat
164	Ria	August	22	1906	2	Royat
165	Ria	August	23	1906	1	Royat
166	Ria	September	19	1906	2	Royat
167	Ria	October	1	1906	1	Royat
168	Ria	October	23	1906	3	Paris
169	Mrs. Lawrence	November	23	1906	2	Paris
170	Ria	November	30	1906	2	Paris
171	Ria	December	3	1906	1	Paris
172	Ria	December	9	1906	4	Paris
173	Ria	December	21	1906	1	Paris
174	Ria	January	4	1907	1	Paris
175	Ria	February	1	1907	3	Paris
176	Ria	February	17	1907	3	Paris
177	Ria	April	21	1907	4	Paris
178	Ria	May	2	1907	1	Paris
179	Ria	May	12	1907	1	Paris
180	Ria	June	7	1907	1	Paris
181	Ria	June	9	1907	2	Paris
182	Ria	September	16	1907	3	Royat
183	Ria	September	23	1907	2	Royat
184	Ria	October	17	1907	3	Paris
185	Ria	November	15	1907	2	Paris
186	Ria	November	29	1907	2	Paris
187	Miriam	December	12	1907	2	Paris
188	Ria	December	15	1907	2	Paris
189	Ria	January	24	1908	2	Paris
190	Ria	February	2	1908	2	Paris
191	Perley	February	16	1908	2	Paris
192	Ria	February	27	1908	2	Paris
193	Ria	March	16	1908	1	Paris
194	Ria	March	26	1908	3	Paris
195	Ria	April	13	1908	2	Paris
196	Perley	May	6	1908	3	Paris
197	Miriam	May	6	1908	2	Paris
198	Jack	May	15	1908	2	Paris
199	Ria	May	18	1908	2	Paris
200	Ria	June	11	1908	2	Paris
201	Ria	June	18	1908	2	Paris
202	Ria	July	2	1908	3	Paris
203	Ria	August	5	1908	2	Royat
204	Ria	August	20	1908	2	Royat
205	Ria	September	10	1908	2	Royat
206	Miriam	September	29	1908	2	Royat
207	Ria	October	8	1908	1	Paris

208	Ria	October	22	1908	2	Paris
209	Miriam	October	30	1908	1	Paris
210	Ria	November	6	1908	2	Paris
211	Perley	November	13	1908	2	Paris
212	Ria	November	24	1908	2	Paris
212a	Ria	December	9	1908	3	Paris
213	Ria	December	16	1908	2	Paris
214	Miriam	December	16	1908	2	Paris
215	Ria	January	8	1909	2	Paris
216	Miriam	January	14	1909	2	Paris
217	Jack	January	21	1909	1	Paris
218	Ria	January	27	1909	2	Paris
219	Jack	February	4	1909	2	Paris
220	Ria	February	14	1909	2	Paris
221	Ria	February	28	1909	2	Paris
222	Ria	April	1	1909	3	Paris
223	Ria	April	26	1909	2	Paris
224	Perley	May	4	1909	1	Paris
225	Ria	May	13	1909	2	Paris
226	Ria	June	11	1909	2	Paris
227	Ria	June	22	1909	2	Paris
228	Miriam	July	8	1909	2	Paris
229	Ria	July	13	1909	2	Paris
230	Ria	October	14	1909	2	Paris
231	Ria	November	15	1909	2	Paris
232	Ria	December	14	1909	2	Paris
233	Miriam	December	19	1909	2	Paris
234	Perley	December	20	1909	1	Paris
235	Ria	January	21	1910	3	Paris
236	Ria	February	8	1910	2	Paris
237	Ria	February	16	1910	2	Paris
238	Ria	March	1	1910	2	Paris
239	Ria	March	26	1910	2	Paris
240	Ria	April	29	1910	2	Paris
241	Perley	May	12	1910	2	Paris
242	Ria	May	12	1910	1	Paris
243	Ria	June	1	1910	2	Paris
244	Ria	June	15	1910	2	Paris
245	Ria	June	25	1910	3	Paris
246	Miriam	June	28	1910	2	Paris
247	Ria	July	22	1910		Paris
248	Ria	August	3	1910	2	Royat
249	Ria	October	10	1910	4	Paris
250	Ria	November	11	1910	3	Paris
251	Ria	November	13	1910	2	Paris
252	Ria	December	7	1910	2	Paris
253	Ria	December	29	1910	2	Paris
254	Ria	January	6	1911	2	Paris
255	Ria	January	12	1911	2	Paris
256	Ria	January	26	1911	2	Paris
257	Ria	February	23	1911	3	Paris
258	Ria	March	17	1911	2	Paris
259	Ria	April	12	1911	2	Paris
260	Ria	May	12	1911	3	Paris
261	Perley	June	16	1911	2	Paris
262	Ria	June	29	1911	2	Paris
263	Ria	August	3	1911	2	Royat
264	Ria	August	30	1911	3	Royat

265	Ria	September	13	1911	2	Royat
266	Elizabeth Gardner (from Sophie M. Goodridge	September	24	1911	2	St. Germain
267	Ria	October	5	1911	2	Paris
268	Ria	October	19	1911	2	Paris
269	Ria	November	3	1911	2	Paris
270	Ria	November	30	1911	2	Paris
271	Ria	December	13	1911	1	Paris
272	Ria	January	5	1912	2	Paris
273	Ria	January	17	1912	2	Paris
274	Ria	February	1	1912	2	Paris
275	Perley	February	8	1912	2	Paris
276	Miriam	February	8	1912	1	Paris
277	Ria	February	15	1912	1	Paris
278	Ria	March	8	1912	1	Paris
279	Ria	March	29	1912	1	Paris
280	Miriam	March	29	1912	1	Paris
281	Ria	April	4	1912	1	Paris
282	Ria	April	11	1912	2	Paris
283	Ria	April	27	1912	2	Paris
284	Ria	May	9	1912	2	Paris
285	Ria	May	22	1912	1	Paris
286	Ria	June	29	1912	2	Paris
287	Ria	July	18	1912	2	Royat
288	Miriam	August	5	1912	2	Royat
289	Perley	August	?	1912	2	Royat
290	Ria	August	15	1912	2	Royat
291	Ria	September	?	1912	1	Royat
292	Ria	September	27	1912	1	Paris
293	Ria	October	4	1912	2	Paris
294	Ria	October	16	1912	2	Paris
295	Ria	October	31	1912	3	Paris
296	Ria	November	22	1912	2	Paris
297	Perley	December	12	1912	4	Paris
297a	Ria	February	7	1913	2	Paris
298	Ria	March	10	1913	2	Paris
299	Ria	March	14	1913	1	Paris
300	Ria	April	4	1913	2	Paris
301	Ria	June	1	1913	1	Paris
302	Ria	June	19	1913	2	Paris
303	Ria	June	30	1913	2	Paris
304	Ria	July	24	1913	2	Royat
305	Ria	August	7	1913	2	Royat
306	Ria	September	3	1913	2	Royat
307	Perley	September	11	1913	2	Royat
308	Ria	November	4	1913	2	Paris
309	Ria	November	12	1913	2	Paris
310	Miriam	November	17	1913	2	Paris
311	Ria	November	24	1913	2	Paris
312	Ria	January	2	1914	2	Paris
313	Ria	January	25	1914	3	Paris
314	Ria	February	10	1914	2	Paris
315	Ria	March	3	1914	2	Paris
316	Perley	March	24	1914	2	Paris
317	Ria	April	17	1914	2	Paris
318	Ria	May	22	1914	1	Paris
319	Perley	June	21	1914	1	Paris
320	Ria	July	1	1914	2	Paris

321	Ria	July	16	1914	2	Royat
322	Ria	July	29	1914	2	Royat
323	Perley	August	6	1914	2	Royat
324	Miriam	August	13	1914	3	Royat
325	Perley	August	27	1914	3	Royat
326	Perley	September	2	1914	3	Royat
327	Perley	September	15	1914	2	Royat
328	Perley	October	14	1914	3	Royat
329	Miriam	November	5	1914	3	Paris
330	Miriam	November	23	1914	3	Paris
331	Perley	December	13	1914	1	Paris
332	Perley	January	25	1915	3	Paris
333	Perley	April	12	1915	4	Paris
334	Perley	April	12	1915	2	Paris
335	Perley	April	29	1915	1	Paris
336	Perley	June	3	1915	1	Paris
337	Perley	June	30	1915	3	Paris
338	Perley	September	7	1915	2	Saint-Cloud
339	Perley	September	18	1915	3	Saint-Cloud
340	Perley	September	28	1915	1	Saint-Cloud
341	Perley	October	14	1915	2	Paris
342	Perley	October	21	1915	1	Paris
343	Miriam	December	9	1915	2	Paris
344	Perley	December	22	1915	2	Paris
345	Perley	February	24	1916	3	Paris
346	Perley	March	15	1916	2	Paris
347	Perley	April	21	1916	3	Paris
348	Miriam	May	11	1916	3	Paris
349	Perley	June	7	1916	2	Paris
350	Perley	July	13	1916	1	Saint-Cloud
351	Miriam	August	28	1916	2	Saint-Cloud
352	Perley	September	2	1916	4	Saint-Cloud
353	Miriam	November	6	1916	2	Paris
354	Perley	November	27	1916	3	Paris
355	Ned, Julia Tuck	December	16	1916	1	Paris
356	Perley	December	18	1916	3	Paris
357	Miriam	January	7	1917	2	Paris
358	Perley	January	24	1917	2	Paris
358a	Perley	February	14	1917	1	Paris
359	Perley	February	29	1917	2	Paris
360	Perley	March	21	1917	2	Paris
361	Perley	April	2	1917	2	Paris
362	Perley	April	4	1917	1	Paris
363	Perley	April	9	1917	1	Paris
364	Perley	May	1	1917	2	Paris
365	Perley	May	28	1917	2	Paris
366	Miriam	June	15	1917	2	Saint-Cloud
367	Perley	July	19	1917	2	Saint-Cloud
368	George	September	16	1917	2	Saint-Cloud
369	Perley	October	31	1917	3	Paris
370	Miriam	December	6	1917	1	Paris
371	Perley	February	12	1918	3	Paris
372	Perley	March	11	1918	2	Paris
373	Perley	April	1	1918	3	Paris
374	Perley	April	30	1918	2	Saint-Cloud
375	Perley	June	13	1918	2	Saint-Cloud
376	Miriam	July	29	1918	2	Saint-Cloud
377	Perley	August	29	1918	2	Saint-Cloud

378	Perley	September	21	1918	2	Saint-Cloud
379	Perley	September	30	1918	1	Saint-Cloud
379a	Miriam	October	19	1918	2	Saint-Cloud
380	Perley	November	4	1918	1	Saint-Cloud
381	Miriam, Perley, Little Miriam	December	22	1918	1	Saint-Cloud
382	Perley	February	19	1919	2	Saint-Cloud
383	Perley	August	6	1919	2	Saint-Cloud
384	Miriam	September	4	1919	2	Saint-Cloud
385	Perley	February	26	1920	2	Saint-Cloud

PARTIAL INVENTORY OF PAINTINGS

Annex 2

note: all measurements are in centimeters

	Date	Title	Dimensions	Location	Salon year	Salon no.	Medium
1	c.1864	*Les Mendiants* The Mendicants	unknown	unknown			oil on canvas
2	c.1864	Roses and Catalpas	85 x 67.3	Peabody Essex Museum			oil on canvas
3	c.1864	Portrait of Charles W. Upham	76.2 x 71	Peabody Essex Museum			oil on canvas
4	1866	Two Princes in the Tower	unknown	private			oil on canvas
5	1868	*Nature morte: raisins etc.*	unknown	unknown	1868	1039	oil on canvas
6	1868	*Les trois amis*	150 x 102.2	private	1868	1038	oil on canvas
7	1869	*Un retour de chasse*	unknown	unknown	1869	998	oil on canvas
8	1870	Psyche	35.5 x 26.6	William A. Farnsworth Art Museum			oil on wood panel
9	1870	Cornelia and Her Jewels	unknown	unknown			oil on canvas
10	1872	*Cendrillon* Cinderella	unknown	unknown	1872	668	oil on canvas
11	1874	Corinne	unknown	destroyed by fire	1874	767	oil on canvas
12	1874	*Jannie et Blanche*	unknown	unknown	1874	768	oil on canvas
13	1875	*Chez une sorcière* The Fortune Teller	unknown	destroyed by fire	1875	859	oil on canvas
14	1875/6	*Ruth et Noémi*	unknown	unknown	1877	889	oil on canvas
15	1877	The Baby	unknown	unknown			oil on canvas
16	1877	Girl with Flowers	unknown	unknown			oil on canvas
17	1877	Girl with a Violin	unknown	unknown			oil on canvas
18	1877	Portrait of a New York Lady	unknown	unknown			oil on canvas

	Date	Title	Dimensions	Location	Salon year	Salon no.	Medium
19	1878	Maud Muller	82 x 63.5	unknown			oil on canvas
20	1878	*Moïse exposé sur le Nil* Moses in the Bulrushes	unknown	unknown	1878	973	oil on canvas
21	1879	*À la Fontaine* At the Fountain	91.4 x 61	unknown	1879	1311	oil on canvas
22	1879 c.	In the Garden	unknown	unknown			oil on canvas
23	1879 c.	Feeding the Rabbits	unknown	unknown			oil on canvas
24	1880	*Priscilla la puritaine* Priscilla the Puritan	110 x 176	unknown	1880	1537	oil on canvas
25	1880	*Le bord de l'eau* At the Water's Edge	114 x 76	unknown	1880	1538	oil on canvas
26	1880 c.	*La Confidence*	171 x 120	Georgia Museum of Art			oil on canvas
27	1881	*Loin du pays* In a Strange Land	unknown	unknown	1881	942	oil on canvas
28	1881 c.	Portrait of Mr. Noyes	unknown	unknown			oil on canvas
29	1882	*Après les fiançailles* John Anderson, My Jo	111.7 x 76	private			oil on canvas
30	1882	*Avant les fiançailles* John Anderson, Young	111.7 x 76	private			oil on canvas
31	1882 c.	*Daphnis et Cloë*	172.7 x 116.8	unknown	1882	1123	oil on canvas
32	1883	*La Captive* The Dove Fancier	172.7 x 120.6	Haussner's Restaurant	1883	997	oil on canvas
33	1883 c.	*Ne bougez pas* He Careth	120 x 80.6	Philbrook Art Center			oil on canvas
34	1884	*La coupe improvisée* The Improvised Cup	86 x 64	private	1884	1002	oil on canvas
35	1885	*Un coin de ferme* Girl at the Well	172.7 x 89	unknown	1885	1052	oil on canvas
36	1885 c.	*Une Faneuse* Girl with a Rake	unknown	private			oil on canvas

	Date	Title	Dimensions	Location	Salon year	Salon no.	Medium
37	1885 c.	Study at Royat	unknown	unknown			unknown
38	1886	*L'Imprudente* Too Venturesome	unknown	unknown	1886	1006	oil on canvas
39	1887	*La fille du fermier* The Farmer's Daughter	unknown	unknown	1887	989	oil on canvas
40	1887	*L'innocence* Girl with Lilies	35 x 27	unknown	1887	990	oil on canvas
41	1888	*Deux mères de famille* The Two Families	100 x 73.6	unknown	1888	1071	oil on canvas
42	1889	*Portrait de Bébé*	unknown	unknown	1889	1116	oil on canvas
43	1889	*Dans le bois* Bird's Nest	152.4 x 108	Owen Edgar Gallery	1889	1117	oil on canvas
44	1889	The Cherry Girl	25.4 x 33.4	Dr. William Simon			oil on canvas
45	1890	*La réponse au petit-fils*	unknown	unknown	1890	1007	oil on canvas
46	1891	*Les bulles de savon* Soap Bubbles	162.5 x 116.8	Jefferson Hotel	1891	679	oil on canvas
47	1891	*Les Cerises* Little Mother	125.7 x 80	unknown			oil on canvas
48	1892	*L'escapade* The Truants	unknown	unknown	1892	734	oil on canvas
49	1893	*Le jugement de Paris* The Judgement of Paris	160 x 118	Lasell College	1893	764	oil on canvas
50	1893	unknown: painting of children (for Mr. Fleming Smith, N.Y.)	unknown	unknown			oil on canvas
51	1894	*À Travers le ruisseau* Crossing the Brook	183 x 136	Exeter Historical Society	1894	788	oil on canvas
52	1895	Portraits of Edward and Julia Tuck	unknown	unknown			oil on canvas
53	1895	*David, berger* David the Shepherd	156.2 x 109.2	National Museum of Women in the Arts	1895	796	oil on canvas

	Date	Title	Dimensions	Location	Salon year	Salon no.	Medium
54	1895	Portrait of Mrs. Glasier	unknown	unknown			oil on canvas
55	1896	*Dans les champs* In the Woods	109.8 x 82.5	unknown	1896	873	oil on canvas
56	1896	Portrait of Mrs. Harry Thaw	unknown	unknown			oil on canvas
57	1906	*l'Appel d'en haut* Souvenir of Bouguereau	122.5 x 72.5	unknown	1906		oil on canvas
58	1906 c.	*Cantique de Noël* Christmas Carol	89 x 116	Mary Fleming	1907		oil with gold leaf
59	1907	*Portriat de la fille de Rudyard Kipling*	100 x 67	unknown			oil on canvas
60	1909	*Une partie à quatre* A Game of Four	unknown	unknown	1909		oil on canvas
61	1911	Eve	unknown	unknown	1911		oil on canvas
62	1912	By the Seashore	79 x 98	Joslyn Art Musuem	1912		oil on canvas
63	1914	*Amour Divin* Madonna and Child	111.7 x 81	Mrs. Joy Bryant	1914		oil on canvas
64	1913	Two Happy Friends	unknown	unknown			oil on canvas
65	undated	*Le Becquée* Feeding the Bird	152.4 x 120.6	unknown			oil on canvas
66	undated	Iris	100 x 76	unknown			oil on canvas
67	undated	Portrait of J. H. Stebbins	unknown	unknown			oil on canvas
68	undated	Pet Dove	176.5 x 122	unknown			oil on canvas
69	undated	*Une bonne récolte* The Berry Picker	132 x 76	private			oil on canvas
70	undated	The Little Vintager	106 x 64	unknown			oil on canvas
71	undated	unknown (deux filles à la fontaine)	unknown	unknowm			oil on canvas
72	undated	*La joueuse de mandoline*	unknown	private			oil on canvas

Annex 3: Western Union Cable

Form No. 8.

CABLE MESSAGE.

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY.

INCORPORATED

ROBERT C. CLOWRY, President and General Manager.

TWO AMERICAN CABLES FROM NEW YORK TO GREAT BRITAIN.
CONNECTS ALSO WITH FIVE ANGLO-AMERICAN AND ONE DIRECT U. S. ATLANTIC CABLES.
DIRECT CABLE COMMUNICATION WITH GERMANY AND FRANCE.
CABLE CONNECTION WITH CUBA, WEST INDIES, MEXICO AND CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICA.
MESSAGES SENT TO, AND RECEIVED FROM, ALL PARTS OF THE WORLD.

OFFICES IN AMERICA:

All Offices (23,000) of the Western Union Telegraph Company and its Connections.

OFFICES IN GREAT BRITAIN:

LONDON: 21 Royal Exchange, E. C.; 40 Mark Lane, E. C.; Effingham House, Arundel Street, W. C.; 109 Fenchurch Street, E. C.; 2 Northumberland Avenue, W. C.; Hay's Wharf, Tooley Street.
LIVERPOOL: 8 Rumford St. and Cotton Exchange. BRISTOL: Backhall Chambers, Baldwin Street. BRADFORD: 10 Forster Square. DUNDEE: 1 Panmure Street. EDINBURGH: 50 Frederick Street.
GLASGOW: 4 Waterloo Street; 29 Gordon Street. LEITH: Exchange Buildings. MANCHESTER: 31 Brown Street. NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE: 1 Side.

NUMBER	SENT BY	REC'D BY	NO. OF WORDS	FROM
5 B	Pe	Td	12	Larochelle

RECEIVED at ______ Aug 19 1905

Perley Gardner
Exeter NH

Uncle William delicate health Myself well Love

Aunt Lizzie

206P

RECEIVED at 6:54 P. Exeter, N.H. Aug. 20, 1905.

Perley Gardner,
Exeter.

I have just paid a final good-bye to my dear husband. Love to all.

Aunt Lizzie.

Annex 4: Funeral Notice

M

Vous êtes prié d'assister aux Service, Convoi et Enterrement de

Monsieur William Adolphe Bouguereau,

Membre de l'Institut,
Président de l'Association des Artistes fondée par
le Psaume Gayler.
Grand-Officier de la Légion d'Honneur,

décédé le 19 Août 1905, muni des Sacrements de l'Eglise,
en son domicile à La Rochelle, Rue Verdière, N° 15, dans
sa 80ème année ;

Qui se feront à Paris le Jeudi 24 courant, à 10 heures
très précises, en l'Eglise Notre-Dame des Champs, sa paroisse.

De Profundis.

On se réunira à l'Eglise.

De la part de Madame William Bouguereau,
sa veuve ;

De Monsieur et Madame Georges Vincens Bouguereau,
ses gendre et fille ;

De Monsieur William Vincens Bouguereau, S.-Lieutenant
au 24e d'Artillerie à l'Ecole d'Application, son petit-fils ;

Et de toute la Famille.

L'Inhumation aura lieu au Cimetière Montparnasse.

Prière de n'envoyer ni fleurs ni couronnes.

Paris, Rue Notre-Dame des Champs, N° 75.

Administration Spéciale des Funérailles, 70, Rue des Saints-Pères, Maison Henri de Parmid.

Annex 5: Wedding Invitation

Monsieur Prosper Vassard
Monsieur & Madame Leborgne
ont l'honneur de vous faire part du mariage
de Monsieur Albert Vassard, leur
petit-fils, beau-fils et fils, avec Mademoiselle
Carmen de Rosa.

En raison d'un deuil de famille la
Bénédiction nuptiale leur a été donnée dans la
plus stricte intimité le 2 Octobre 1905 en l'Eglise
Notre-Dame des Champs.

64, Rue du Montparnasse.

Madame William Bouguereau
a l'honneur de vous faire part du mariage
de Mademoiselle Carmen de Rosa,
sa pupille, avec Monsieur Albert
Vassard.

En raison d'un deuil de famille la
Bénédiction nuptiale leur a été donnée dans la
plus stricte intimité le 2 Octobre 1905 en l'Eglise
Notre-Dame des Champs.

75, Rue Notre Dame des Champs.

ILLUSTRATIONS

Fig. 4. Elizabeth Gardner, *La fille du fermier* , 1887, oil on canvas, location unknown.

Fig. 5. Photograph of Elizabeth Gardner's Birth place, 12 Front Street, 1996.

CLASS OF 1856

The picture of Elizabeth Gardner Bouguereau is second from the right in the bottom row.

Fig. 6. Photograph ofElizabeth Gardner's Graduating Class, 1856, Winslow Archives, Lasell College.

Fig. 7. *Tableau vivant*, *Beaking Bread*. Lasell A History of the First Junior College for Women, p.27.

Fig. 8. Photograph of Imogene Robinson, no date, Gardner Family Archives.

Fig. 11. Hugues Merle, *The Women and the Secret* 1867, oil on canvas, location unknown.

Fig. 13. William Bouguereau, *The Secret* , 1876, oil on canvas, The New York Historical Society.

Fig. 12. Elizabeth Gardner, *La confidence* , c.1881, oil on canvas, 171 x 120 cm., Georgia Museum of Art, University of Georgia.

Fig. 14. Elizabeth Gardner, *Le jugement de Paris* , 1893, oil on canvas, 160 x 118 cm., Lasell College, Auburndale Massachusetts.

Fig. 15. Elizabeth Gardner, *À travers le ruisseau* , 1894, oil on canvas, 183 x 136, Exeter Historical Society.

Fig. 15. Elizabeth Gardner, *À travers le ruisseau* , 1894, oil on canvas, 183 x 136, Exeter Historical Society.

Fig. 16. Elizabeth Gardner, *Deux mères de famille* , 1888, oil on canvas, 100 x 73.6 cm., location unknown.

Fig. 17. Elizabeth Gardner, *Dans le bois* , 1889, oil on canvas,152.4 x 107.9 cm., Owen Edgar Gallery.

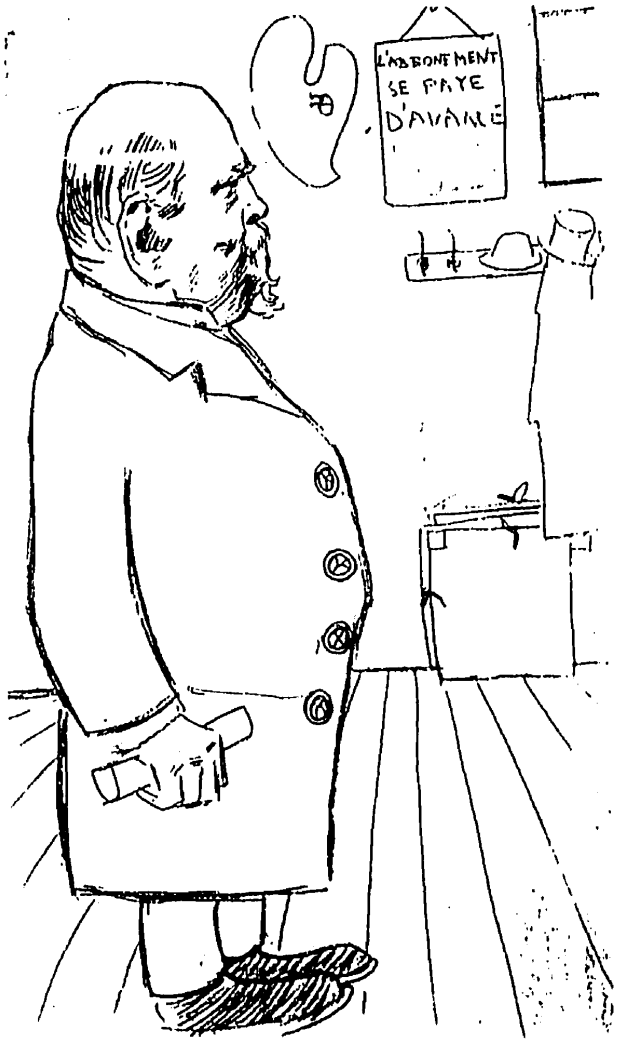
Fig. 18. Elizabeth Gardner, *La captive*, 1883, oil on canvas, 172.7 x 120.7 cm., Haussner's Restaurant, Baltimore, Maryland.

Fig. 19. Elizabeth Gardner, *Ne bougez pas*, 1883, oil on canvas, 120 x 80.6 cm., Philbrook Art Center.

Fig. 20. Elizabeth Gardner, *L'Innocence*, 1887, oil on canvas, location unknown.

Fig. 21. Elizabeth Gardner, *David, berger*, 1895, oil on canvas, 156.2 x 109.2 cm., National Museum of Women in the Arts.

Fig. 22. Rodolphe Julian, *Une Académie de peinture*, 1876, oil on canvas.



CARICATURE OF M. JULIAN (1889)

Fig. 23. *Caricature of M. Julian*, 1889, pencil drawing.

Fig. 24. Imogene Robinson, *David Playing Before Saul*, 1870, oil on canvas, location unknown.

Fig. 25. Elizabeth Gardner, *Psyche*, 1870, oil on canvas, 35.5 x 26.6 cm., William A. Farnsworth Art Museum.

Fig. 26. Elizabeth Gardner, *Corinne*, 1874, oil on canvas, destroyed by fire.

Fig. 27. Elizabeth Gardner, *The Cherry Girl*, 1889, oil on canvas, 25.4 x 33.4 cm, private collection.

Fig. 28. William Bouguereau, *Portrait of Miss Elizabeth Gardner*, 1879, oil on canvas, 46 x 38 cm., private collection.

Fig. 29 Elizabeth Gardner, *Ruth and Noémie*, 1877, oil on canvas, location unknown.

Fig. 30. William Bouguereau, *À la fontaine* , 1897, photo, Gardner Family Archives.

Fig. 31. Elizabeth Gardner, *Daphnis et Cloë*, 1882, oil on canvas, 172.7 x 116.8 cm., location unknown.

Fig. 32. Elizabeth Gardner, *Avant les fiançailles*, 1882, oil on canvas, private collection.

Fig. 33. Elizabeth Gardner, *Après les fiançailles* 1882, oil on canvas, private collection.

Fig. 35. Elizabeth Gardner, *Soap Bubbles*, 1891, oil on canvas, Jefferson Hotel, Richmond Virginia,

Fig. 36. Photograph of William and Elizabeth Bouguereau, 1902, Gardner Family Archives.

Fig. 37. Photograph of William and Elizabeth Bouguereau with dog, c.1898, Gardner Family Archives.

Fig. 38. Photograph of Paul Bouguereau, before 1900, Gardner Family Archives.

Fig. 39. Elizabeth Gardner, *l'Appel d'en haut*, 1906, oil on canvas, location unknown.

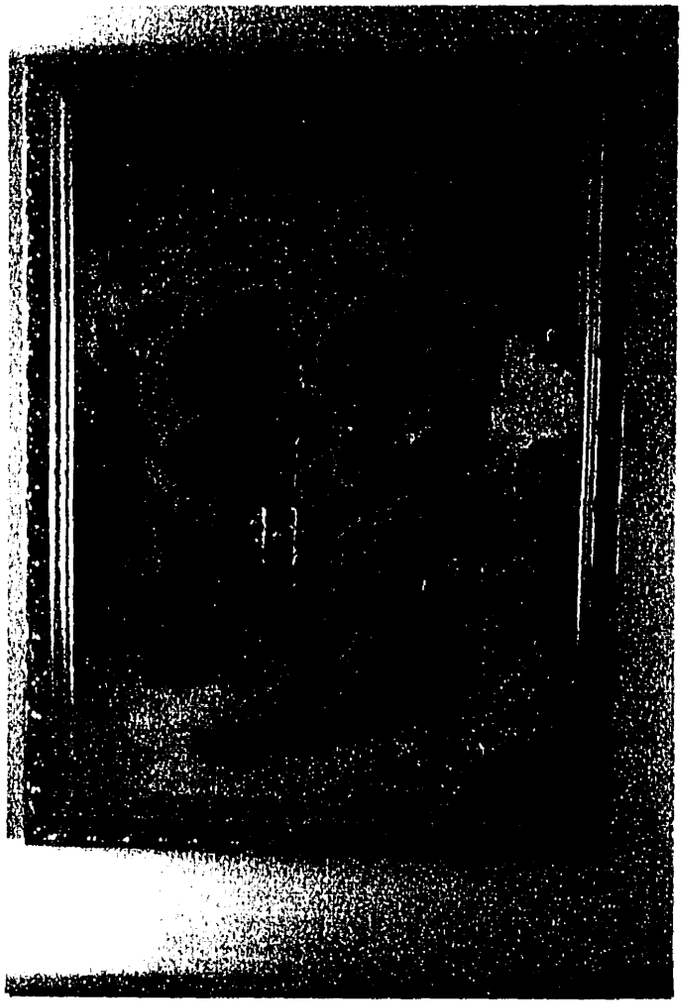


Fig. 40. Elizabeth Gardner, *Cantique de noël*, 1909, oil with gold leaf on canvas, 89 x 116 cm., private collection.

Fig. 41. Elizabeth Gardner, *By the Seashore*, 1912, oil on canvas, 79 x 98 cm., Joslyn Art Museum.

Fig. 42. Elizabeth Gardner, *Madonna and Child*, 1914, oil on canvas, 111.7 x 81, private collection,

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)

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