

2004

A Tangled Web: Swedish Immigrant Artists' Patronage Systems, 1880-1940

Mary Towley Swanson
University of St. Thomas, Minnesota

Follow this and additional works at: http://ir.stthomas.edu/arthistory_pub



Part of the [History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Swanson, Mary Towley, "A Tangled Web: Swedish Immigrant Artists' Patronage Systems, 1880-1940" (2004). *Art History Faculty Publications*. 9.
http://ir.stthomas.edu/arthistory_pub/9

This Paper is brought to you for free and open access by the Art History at UST Research Online. It has been accepted for inclusion in Art History Faculty Publications by an authorized administrator of UST Research Online. For more information, please contact libroadmin@stthomas.edu.

A Tangled Web: Swedish Immigrant Artists' Patronage Systems, 1880-1940

An unpublished manuscript by Mary Towley Swanson, emeritus Professor of Art History, University of St. Thomas © 2004

Table of Contents:

CHAPTER 1. Overview: Towards a Definition of Swedish-American Artistic Patronage

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

CHAPTER 3: Early Immigrant Artists Create Template for Success

CHAPTER 4. Ethnic Periodicals Help Artists Sustain Careers

CHAPTER 5: Exhibitions Create a Catalyst for Artists' Ethnic Sustainability and Support

CHAPTER 6: Diverse American Systems of Patronage Provide Broad Support

CHAPTER 7: Swedish Patronage Networks Encourage Artists' Careers and Ethnic Collections

APPENDIX A: Art Exhibitions: American Swedish Institute

APPENDIX B: Art Exhibitions, American Swedish Historical Museum

APPENDIX C: Swedish –American Artists' Index

CHAPTER 1. Overview: Towards a Definition of Swedish-American Artistic Patronage

Patronage conjures grand images of wealthy benefactors protecting and providing for penniless artists, but money is not the only instrument of patronage. Benefactors may also give time and vital encouragement. Patronage can be provided by organizations, publications, institutions, urban or rural settings that offer a nurturing environment, and the community of artists themselves. Broadening our understanding of patronage is mandatory in order to document the increasingly complex panorama of late nineteenth into twentieth century American art. The term "patron" in American art summons up the names of industrialist families--- Rockefellers, McCormicks, Deerings, Fricks and others--- living in palatial splendor in large American cities while imitating the cultural mores of their European mentors. Ethnic leaders and organizations in the lower and middle classes also found a variety of methods to support and encourage their visual artists. This book, based on more than 25 years of research in archives, libraries, and artists' studios, examines the patronage systems that flourished for Swedish immigrant visual artists who arrived in America between 1880 and 1920 during the last great waves of immigration.

Seldom studied a component in the careers of immigrant artists because it is difficult to find sources and there are few affluent donors, histories of ethnic artists generally omit this influential factor. Scholars who include artists in their study of American ethnic groups have tended to alphabetically list the artists, their training and accomplishments in a compendium of biographical data. This approach is used in Peter C. Merrill's *German Immigrant Artists in America* (1997), Regina Soria's *American Artists of Italian Heritage*, (1993), and David Karel's *Dictionnaire des artistes de langue française en Amérique du Nord: peintres, sculpteurs, dessinateurs, graveurs, photographes, et orfèvres (French Artists in America, 1992)*. Research on ethnic visual artists is a fairly recent scholarly endeavor. Rarely has issue of patronage been highlighted. Aase Bak's *Danish-American Artists* (1979) or John McElroy's catalog *Black Artists in America* (1990) note generic patrons while emphasizing artistic themes and tendencies. In his detailed catalog *Painting by Minnesotans of Norwegian Background, 1870-1970*, (2000), Marion John Nelson included new information on these immigrant artists' support systems. But he concluded, "patronage is a subject on which it is very difficult to get precise information."¹ As new finds of artists' and galleries' papers are being catalogued daily in museum and institutional archives, art historians who study ethnic-Americans will find patronage increasingly important in their efforts to comprehend the gigantic mosaic of influences that helped immigrant artists find a niche within the American artistic mainstream.

Since the early twentieth century, a limited number of articles, exhibition catalogs, and books have traced the careers and idiosyncrasies of connoisseurs of American art. These early patron/collectors included Alfred Steiglitz, Duncan Phillips, Lillie P. Bliss, Katherine S. Dreier, and Arthur J. Eddy, among others, who helped American artists achieve some measure of financial stability while at the same time satisfying their almost-compulsive need to acquire contemporary art. Collectors of ethnic American art, however, remain unexamined.

The network of patronage, both informal and formal, that supported Swedish-American artists was uniquely vigorous and, although diffuse, was often interconnected. Why did this network exist more strongly for Swedish-Americans than for other groups? Two significant factors appear to be at least partially responsible. From the mid- to late nineteenth century, Sweden had one of the highest levels of literacy in Europe, thus assuring aspiring visual artists from various social classes of a solid educational background. Secondly, Sweden respected and

generally supported its talented visual artists, making them an esteemed part of the social fabric. Exceptionally talented artists were able to climb the social ladder in the mother country, achieving status because of their artistic abilities. The examples of Anders Zorn (1860-1920) and Carl Larsson (1853-1919), both men from poor, lower class families who found a niche in social circles because of their abilities, served as an inspiration to young immigrant artists. Recalling this high level of social acceptance in their mother country, the immigrant artists worked to establish their careers in the New Land. Swedish artists sought to assimilate successfully and quickly into the American societal framework within the most populous waves of immigration to the New World between 1880 and 1920. Swedish-Americans settled *en masse* in Chicago during this period, becoming the third most populous national group in that city. They also settled in large numbers in areas on the East Coast: Brooklyn, among the other Scandinavians; Worcester and Boston, Massachusetts; and regions of New York. In collections of essays in *Swedes in the Twin Cities* (2001), and *Swedes in Chicago*, (1991), scholars such as Dag Blanck and Philip Anderson reported that as a group these immigrants developed community-based organizations that paralleled both those they left in the homeland and those they found in the New World. Thus immigrant artists and collectors alike transferred roles they witnessed in the mother country into this new society forged from immigrant beginnings.

The early decades of the twentieth century also witnessed the American public's acceptance of seven widely popular exhibitions of Sweden's most contemporary art in major American cities, ranging from the East Coast to the Midwest. No other European country sent as many exhibitions of their cutting-edge paintings and sculptures on tour to respected American galleries and museums. American art critics greeted the exhibitions with astonishment, pointing to the fresh vision of Sweden's modified Impressionist artists. The exhibitions' widespread acceptance by critics and museum personnel alike helped to ease the transition of Swedish-American artists into the American cultural mainstream. They also inspired the founding of Swedish immigrant artists' associations and exhibitions in the early twentieth century. Thus the Swedish government and Swedish artists themselves became factors in the process of building a supportive network for Swedish-American artists.

At the turn of the century, immigrant leaders wrote numerous essays about their artists, then reaching maturity in their careers, and art collectors in Swedish-American and Scandinavian-American publications. During an era when immigrants were increasingly perceived with suspicion and resentment on the part of the American public, these essays and news stories served to remind their ethnic colleagues and general populace that Swedish-Americans were an educated and culturally sophisticated group. The publications served as inspiration for an immigrant people and their artists, as well as providing a public relations ploy to advance the social and cultural status of Swedish-Americans.

This period also coincided with the era when galleries, museums and patrons focusing on American art were just being established and nurtured in East Coast and large Midwestern cities. Swedish-Americans witnessed this phenomenon and attempted to clone these kinds of exhibitions and systems of patronage in their own community, asserting that the visual arts helped to increase Swedish-American social standing in the eyes of their American neighbors. Eager to assimilate, they established exhibitions that would showcase their artists in the most enduring series of ethnic exhibitions in American history, between 1905 and 1964. They invited American gallery and museum personnel, art historians, and city officials to participate in these exhibitions, which helped to authenticate their cultural position.

Swedish-American leaders often leveraged their involvement in patronage of the visual arts to further their own assimilation into American society. For example, Charles S. Peterson, Chicago publisher and businessman, purchased the work of Swedish-American artists and helped to further their careers through Swedish-American exhibitions in the clubhouse founded for wealthy Swedish-American businessmen. In addition to his support for Swedish-American activities, he became active in Chicago city politics, serving as treasurer of the city, member of the school board, primary leader and vice president for Chicago's "Century of Progress" exposition of 1933, and founder of the annual city-wide Navy Pier art exhibitions, still an ongoing, successful institution today.

Many of the Swedish-American artists had the advantage of an educational system that contributed to shared experiences and circles of friendship established before and after the time of immigration. To a great extent, the Swedish-American artists who immigrated in the later decades of the nineteenth century were well-educated professionals trained in Swedish and European art schools. Those who were not educated in Sweden often had a background in folk crafts and quickly assimilated into American art schools because of that background. Once established, the artists often served as promoters of their Swedish-American colleagues' works, as in the case of painters Charles Hallberg and Birger Sandzen, who sold the work of fellow artists from their private homes in the early twentieth century. Research reveals that many of these artists knew one another in Sweden or met shortly after they arrived in East Coast or Midwest American cities. This factor alone accounts for the camaraderie found in the relationships among the artists and their cohesiveness as a group, which helped to establish the Swedish-American exhibitions.

This level of education also accounts for the books and essays, written by a small number of the Swedish-American artists after living for several years in their new country. These publications served not only to publicize their own careers, but provided a view into their working lives. The earliest of the immigrant artists to publish, Lars Gustaf Sellstedt (1819-1911) wrote two books about his life, *From Forecastle to Academy, Sailor and Artist*, 1904, and *Art in Buffalo* in 1910. The next in chronological order was Birger Sandzén who wrote *Med Pensel och Penna (With Pencil and Pen)* in the early years of the twentieth century, probably a decade after he had immigrated in 1894. The title symbolized the dual goals of this artist, who both illustrated the views he saw in Mexico and Kansas and wrote short stories about the experiences of Swedish immigrants. "Hans nya atelier" (his new studio) chronicles the career of a young artist who eventually starves from lack of support, leaving stacks of unsold canvases in his studio. John F. Carlson (1874-1945) wrote *Elementary Principles of Landscape Painting* in 1927, hoping to sell enough to free him from the teaching that was his main source of income. Although the book never accomplished its purpose, it continued to be published, with color illustrations, through 1973 in a popular format. Carl Eric Lindin (1869-1942) self-published a volume of poetry and essays, *Fallen Leaves*, in 1941. Poems on "Love," "Loneliness," and "At Fifty," along with a long article of painting landscape, traced his career in Woodstock, New York over 40 years. David Edström (1873-1938), nostalgically reminisced about his lifetime of successes and failures, first in Sweden and then in re-immigrating back to America in 1916 in his book, *The Testament of Caliban*, published just one year before his death. Several wrote critiques of exhibitions for noted magazines or chapters in books, including Sandzén and Carlson. Henry Reuterdaahl (1870-1925) wrote an article in *The Craftsman* in 1913, extolling Swedish support of their artists, while pointing out the difficulties immigrant artists encountered in America. Carl Sprinchorn (1887-1971), wrote essays, never published, while living and

painting out in the Maine winter wilderness, reminiscing about his youth in New York art studios and his close relationship to American artist Marsden Hartley (1877-1943). Although small in number, the immigrant artists' sensitive assessment of their lives and work, revealed in writings, offers a rare look into their assimilation and acculturation to American life and the arts.

Swedish organizations also provided distinct advantages for their immigrant artists in the early to middle years of the twentieth century. Swedish news services regularly sent back stories on Swedish-American artists who won American art awards or exhibited in New York galleries to daily papers such as *Dagens Nyheter* and *Expressen*. This kind of publicity, claiming the artists as their own, reminded Swedish people that America could nurture and develop talented Swedish artists on its soil. More importantly, it allowed their ethnic immigrant artists to achieve the satisfaction of knowing that their colleagues and family back in Sweden were aware of their successes in the New World. Having left to seek their fortune, they could safely say that they had achieved their goals.

Donations of immigrant artists' works to Swedish museums such as Smålands Museum in Växjö and Riksföreningen Sverigekontakt in Gothenburg brought Swedish-American visual arts to a Swedish public unfamiliar with these artists. At the same time, the immigrant art collections gave significant psychological support to the artists: if the mother country's museums placed their work in a collection, the artists were affirmed for the quality of their work *and* in the realization that "back home" their careers were perceived as achieving some measure of success. The support of American collectors conferred a similar legitimacy in the "new land." Finally, recitation of the accomplishments of the earliest Swedish immigrant artists in ethnic journals was an important part of the network of patronage that bolstered their success. By including the achievements of their painters and sculptors in Swedish- and Scandinavian-American periodicals, read by Swedish-American, American, and Swedish audiences alike, ethnic cultural leaders used their publications to both encourage their visual artists and to raise the perception of Swedish-American contributions to American society.

¹ Marion John Nelson, *Painting by Minnesotans of Norwegian Background, 1870-1970*, (Northfield, Minnesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 2000), 17.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Swedish critics considered the Opponents' work to be among the most avant-garde in Sweden; therefore allowing Minnesota audiences the first look at the most contemporary and

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

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

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

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

solution to raise our status in American eyes?"⁹ The Norwegian Art Society continued to contribute to the Exposition until 1893.¹⁰

For fledging Swedish-American artists, the opportunities to view the most contemporary Swedish art were inspiring. The exhibition's favorable reception by American audiences eased the way for all Scandinavian immigrants, but particularly for its artists. Immigrant artist Fritiof Colling (1863-1944) is one Swedish-American painter who appeared to have been influenced by this exhibition. He saved newspaper clippings about the exhibition, proud of Swedish art's reception in his adopted country. Colling also saved news about cultural events in Swedish-American history, pasting newspaper clippings into scrapbooks years later when he returned to Sweden. Colling, who immigrated to Minneapolis in 1879 at the age of sixteen, was part of a movement that originated in Sweden in the 1880s. Labeled *gåramålare* [farm painters], these self-employed, self-trained artisans found a market in depicting farmsteads and village homes of Sweden's working class who did not emigrate from their mother country in the great exodus to America from 1880-1920.¹¹ Colling carried the practice of farm painting over to American audiences.

The young artist returned from his first sketching trip to Sweden just a month before the 1887 Exposition. Colling placed advertisements in Minneapolis papers, reporting that he would paint the purchaser's homestead back in Sweden; he charged five dollars. His sketching trip during the summer of 1887 was followed by return trips in 1889, 1892, 1894, 1895, 1897, and 1902.¹² Although he had only four months of formal art training and his paintings were stiffly naïve, their colors were fresh and not muddled. His 1883 painting of *St. Anthony Falls*, (fig. 5), displays a talent for composition that resembles the cropped views of Impressionist canvases and an eye for portraying atmospheric conditions, similar to the quasi-Impressionistic canvases he would have viewed later in the Swedish segment of the Exposition.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The most advanced artists in Sweden, all members of the Opponents, showed 97 works in the exhibition. Eugen Jansson (1862-1915), for example, was just emerging in Swedish art circles as a follower of the symbolism of Edvard Munch (1863-1944) and showed four canvases depicting Swedish twilight hours, bathed in blue. Other Opponents, Karl Nordström, Nils Krueger, and Richard Bergh (1858-1914), all members of the Varberg School, showed their newest work. This group lived as a colony of artists in Varberg on the West Coast of Sweden

and painted their most forceful canvases of seacoast and picturesque fields from 1893 to 1896. Karl Nordström's *Autumn Evening. The Fort at Varberg* (fig. 6) was painted with stark simplicity in bluish hues on canvas that resembled burlap in texture. The rough surface, minimal design, and monumental forms were influenced by a Danish exhibition in which the Swedish painters had recently participated. Nordström, Bergh, and Prince Eugen had shown work at the Copenhagen exhibit "*Die Frie*" in 1893, which also included the work of French-based, Post-Impressionist painters Vincent Van Gogh (1853-90) and Paul Gauguin (1848-1903). After viewing their canvases, the Swedish painters at Varberg decided to simplify compositions, work with evident brushstrokes, and use a more textured canvas. Thus, this exhibition of Swedish art brought the first glimpses of Van Gogh and Gauguin-influenced canvases to the American viewing public.

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

Carl Larsson, the writer apologized, was far too busy working on murals for the entrance of the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm at the time to produce a painting for the exhibition, but was represented by 12 watercolors illustrating the interior of his home. The writer noted that "his unequalled instinct for beauty of line and decorative effect can be traced in the charming series of interiors in color taken from his home in the country."¹⁸ The images, although not specifically titled nor identified, were probably depictions of his home in Sunborn, in Dalarna province. Larsson began to portray these scenes in 1894 and published them in series form in a book, *Ett Hem* in 1899.¹⁹ These watercolors have since become the most famous works by Larsson. The painter's interest in the arts and crafts movement from England, translated into Swedish rural peasant interiors through Larsson's watercolors from the 1890s, revitalized the idea of home decoration among Swedish architects and designers. (Today they are found on everything in Swedish and American boutiques from matchboxes to kitchen trays.)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The catalog, however, indicated an American perception of Scandinavian ethnic identity. Christian Brinton, writing in the introduction to the exhibition catalog (fig. 7), described the place of Swedish art in the exhibition and its aesthetic characteristics. Sweden, he wrote, was the first of the Northern countries to foster an artistic culture at the time of the Renaissance and Baroque periods. Norway possessed the youngest of the artistic cultures in Scandinavia but did not owe anything to its Viking past, and instead "flaunts the priceless boon of a fresh, unfatigued

outlook upon nature and life.”³² He pointed out that the Norwegians were “more fundamentally talented than the Swedes, and endowed with an aggressive force often disconcerting to the pacific Danes.”³³ Brinton wrote about Edvard Munch, who in several reviews became the problem-child of the exhibition, as confronting the viewer with “an acute hypersensitivity voiced now with masterly conviction, now in troubled, tortured accents.”³⁴

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

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

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

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

Sales in the five-museum tour were slow, but the majority of works sold were by Swedish artists: Carl Larsson, Gustaf Fjaestad, Anna Boberg (1861-1935), and Axel Pettersson (1868-1925). Lauritz A. Ring (1854-1933), a Dane, and Norwegian painter Harald Sohlberg (1869-1935) each sold one. An article entitled “Marketing Art” in the 1916 summer edition of *The American Scandinavian Review* addressed the artists’ frustration: “*Why do my works not sell in America?* Many a disappointed painter raised that question after the exhibition of 1912-1913, when the crowds and publicity in the magazines and press proved that the public were surely

interested in Northern art. Two answers are usually given," wrote the author. "The prices fixed by the artists were exorbitant. The exhibition was educational, not commercial, many of the paintings being bold experiments . . . not intended for home consumption."³⁹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Edström, who married the Swedish poet Anna Levertin in 1901, was noted by Swedish critics to be original and sensitive. Swedish-Americans featured him in several periodicals, among them the May 1902 issue of the influential *Ungdomsvännan*, the monthly cultural newsletter for young people published by the Augustana Book Concern, a printing company closely allied to the heavily Swedish-American Augustana Synod of the Lutheran church.⁴⁶ Although the publication was normally fairly conservative and featured Swedish-American artists who had gained prominence in America, the article on Edström was effusive in its praise

of the artist's work, featuring an illustration of *Caliban*, 1902 (fig. 8, Thielska Galleriet, Stockholm), which had been sculpted in Stockholm. Upon his return to America in 1915, Edström settled in New York and exhibited in 1916 with the Swedish-American artists in their annual Chicago exhibition. He moved to Los Angeles in the 1920s, where he became famous for Art-Deco-influenced sculptures, among those a bust of the Swedish-American actress Gloria Swanson.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The story of the exhibition's reception in Minneapolis is typical of its experience throughout the tour. When the exhibition of 156 paintings, 61 prints, and 24 pieces of sculpture of Swedish art opened at the newly built Minneapolis Institute of Arts on September 3, 1916, headlines in the *Minneapolis Journal* reported, "Thousands Attend Swedish Exhibition at Museum." Only eight days later the Institute issued attendance figures for the first week at 7,476.⁵⁷ Director Joseph Breck enthusiastically reported that "the Swedish art exhibition at the Minneapolis Institute of Arts promises to be a great success from the standpoint of attendance." The exhibition also had consequences for area artists, noted a critic in the September issue of *The Minnesotan*. "Exhibits of this sort are bound to influence American art. We are skilled draughtsmen . . . but afraid of color," wrote the reporter. "We have been fumbling in a fumed oak and dark brown era. . . .Color is the thing we most need in our daily activities. Sweden has shown us how to handle it in pictures and we should indeed be grateful to those who were far-sighted enough to bring . . . this collection . . . of common things done in a most uncommon manner."⁵⁸

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

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

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

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

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

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

³ "Gustaf Cederström," *Ungdomsvännan* (November 1901), 335.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹² Mary Towley Swanson, *Ibid.*, 76-87.

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

¹⁴ *Revisiting the White City, American Art at the 1893 World's Fair*. Edited by Carolyn Carr and George Gurney (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art and National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1993), 15, 65, 67, 68.

¹⁵ Robert Stacey, "A Contact in Context: the Influence of Scandinavian Landscape Painting on Canadian Artists Before and After 1913," *Northward Journal* (1980), 41.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 40.

¹⁷ "Notes on the Swedish Collection," *Ibid.*, 4-5.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 5.

¹⁹ Torsten Gunnarsson, "Carl Larsson: His Life and Art," *Carl and Karin Larsson, Creators of Swedish Style* edited by Michael Snodin and Elisabet Stavenow-Hidemark (London: V&A Publications, 1997), 36.

²⁰ "Sverige på världsutställningen I St. Louis," *Prärieblomman*, 1905 (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana book Concern), 105.

²¹ *Official Catalogue of Exhibitors. Universal Exposition. St. Louis, USA, 1904. Division of Exhibits. Department 'B' Art.*

²² Letter to Christian Brinton, 16 Gramercy Park, New York, from Henry D. Roberts, Director, Public Library, Museums, and Fine Art Galleries, Brighton, England, April 13, 1912. Dr. Christian Brinton files, FKR Objects, Series 4, Archives of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

²³ "Scandinavian Art in America," *Art and Progress*, III (September 1912), 725-726.

²⁴ Buffalo Fine Arts Academy (Albright Gallery) January 4-26; the Toledo Museum of Arts, Toledo, Ohio, February 1-16; the Art Institute of Chicago, February 22-March 16; and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, from March 24 to April 21. "The Art Exhibit," *The American Scandinavian Review* (January 1913), 20-21.

²⁵ "The Art Exhibition Final Statement," *The American Scandinavian Review* I (September 1913), 23.

²⁶ "American Art in Scandinavia," *The American Scandinavian Review* (January 1913), 21.

²⁷ "Gustavus Adolphus College," *The Lutheran Companion* (March 22, 1913), 11.

²⁸ "The Magazines," *The American Scandinavian Review* (May 1913), 24-25, lists articles on the exhibition in current periodicals.

²⁹ "Editorial," *The American Scandinavian Review* (March 1913), 19.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² Christian Brinton, "Introduction," *Exhibition of Contemporary Scandinavian Art*, The American Art Galleries, New York, December 10-25 inclusive, 1912, 15. Exhibition catalog. Nationalmuseum Library, Stockholm.

³³ *Ibid.*, 16.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 23.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 25.

³⁶ "The Art Exhibition," *The American Scandinavian Review* (May 1913), 20.

³⁷ N.J. Laurvik, "Intolerance in Art," *The American Scandinavian Review* (March 1913), 13.

³⁸ Henry Reuter Dahl, "Scandinavian Painting and Its National Significance," *The Craftsman*, XXIII (December 1912), 288.

³⁹ "Marketing Art," *The American Scandinavian Review* (May—June 1916), 178.

⁴⁰ Henry Reuter Dahl, *Ibid.*

⁴¹ Milton W. Brown, *American Painting from the Armory Show to the Depression* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972), 50.

⁴² J.N. Laurvik, "Intolerance in Art," 17.

⁴³ Robert Stacey, "A Contact in Context: The Influence of Scandinavian Landscape Painting on Canadian Artists Before and After 1913," *Northward Journal* (1980), 9. Originally from a lecture given by JEH MacDonald at the Art Gallery of Ontario, April 17, 1931. The original lecture is in the Public Archives, Ottawa; the typescript in the Library of the Art Gallery of Ontario.

⁴⁴ Stacey, *Ibid.*, 52.

⁴⁵ David Edstrom, *The Testament of Caliban* (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Company, 1937), 152.

⁴⁶ "David Edstrom," *Ungdomsvännan* (May 1902), 145-146.

⁴⁷ "A Scandinavian-American Exhibition," *Art and Progress*, IV (April 1913), 944.

⁴⁸ *Worcester Art Museum, Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture by Scandinavian and American Artists*, April 13 to May 11 inclusive, Nineteen Hundred Thirteen. Exhibition catalog, Library of the Worcester Museum of Art, Worcester, Massachusetts.

⁴⁹ "Coming Exhibitions," *Bulletin of the Worcester Art Museum* IV (April 1913), 22.

-
- ⁵⁰ *The Minneapolis Journal*, "Scandinavian Art Society is Outlined," December 15, 1913.
- ⁵¹ Note also Mary Towley Swanson, "Pictures for a New Home: Minnesota's Swedish American Artists," *Swedes in the Twin Cities, Immigrant Life and Minnesota's Urban Frontier*. Edited by Philip J. Anderson and Dag Blanck (St. Paul, Minnesota: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2001), 139.
- ⁵² "Notes, Exhibitions at Panama-Pacific," *The American Magazine of Art*, VI (April 1915), 360.
- ⁵³ "Marketing Art," 179.
- ⁵⁴ Christian Brinton, "Concerning Swedish Art," *The American Magazine of Art*, VII (June 1916), 306-307.
- ⁵⁵ Christian Brinton, "Foreign Painting at the Panama-Pacific Exposition," *The International Studio* (July 1915), L.
- ⁵⁶ Christian Brinton, "Scandinavian Art at the Panama-Pacific Exposition," *The American Scandinavian Review* III (November—December 1915), 352.
- ⁵⁷ *The Minneapolis Journal*, "Thousands Attend Swedish Exhibition, September 11, 1916.
- ⁵⁸ "Swedish Art," *The Minnesotan* (September 1916), 35.
- ⁵⁹ "Art Loving Minneapolis," *The American Scandinavian Review* (January 15, 1917).
- ⁶⁰ "Swedish Art to Chicago," *The American-Scandinavian Review* (September 1921), 625.
- ⁶¹ "The Chicago Institute's Gallery," *The American Scandinavian Review* (September 1926), 543.

CHAPTER 3: Early Immigrant Artists Create Template for Success

At the turn of the twentieth century, Swedish-Americans reached back into their ethnic history to retrieve the stories of three immigrant artists whose stories would emphasize to an American public, suspicious of immigrants, that Swedish-Americans had been a successful part of the American cultural fabric since colonial times. In periodicals published from 1904 to 1916, Swedish-American writers highlighted the careers of painters Gustaf Hesselius (1682-1755), Adolph Wertmüller (1751-1811), and Lars Gustaf Sellstedt (1818-1911). These artists' lives, as crafted in the articles, mirrored the ongoing assimilation of immigrant painters and sculptors who arrived in America between 1880 and 1920. Added to the series of successfully received art exhibitions from Sweden that toured to American galleries and museums between 1876 and 1916, these stories of the three early artists eased the acceptance of Swedish immigrant artists into American cultural life. Coincidentally, they were also rediscovered in ethnic periodicals at the same time that the exhibitions took place. Although they had founded no ethnic organization of artists, as did later arrivals, and were relatively unheralded, the painters' careers would serve as inspirational guideposts for Swedish-born artists arriving in that last great wave of immigration. Ethnic publications heralded their stories as models of success for late nineteenth and early twentieth century immigrant painters and sculptors about to embark on their lifework. These stories using the three artists as role models provided encouragement to the Swedish-American community and its artists. Documenting the history of these artists' roles as exemplary models indicates the importance of the visual arts to Swedish-American cultural leaders at the turn of the century.

The discovery of Gustaf Hesselius' career and paintings from the eighteenth century provided the first tangible example of a Swedish-American cultural model. His life story was quickly highlighted in ethnic journals. Even American art historians were unaware of Gustaf Hesselius' existence until the late nineteenth century. Only the name of John Hesselius, Gustaf's son, was listed in extant American art exhibition and museum catalogs through 1876.¹ In 1898 Charles Henry Hart wrote an article in *Harper's Magazine* on "The Earliest Painter in America." The author stated that "we in this country have not unnaturally looked to our mother England as the source of our culture in the fine arts."² However, to test that "natural tendency," Hart traced records of Hesselius' altar painting for St. Barnabus church in Maryland, his advertisement in the *Pennsylvania Packet* of December 11, 1740, and his relationship with both the Lutheran and Moravian churches. Hart also noted that art historians credited Gustaf Hesselius' son, John Hesselius, to be "an Englishman of the school of Sir Godfrey Kneller."³ According to Hart, the elder painter was rediscovered sometime in the 1890s, in a document that accompanied two portraits, one of Gustaf and the other of Lydia Hesselius, placed in the archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania by descendants of the Hesselius family. Adolf Wertmüller, who had married Hesselius' granddaughter, wrote in the letter accompanying the portraits that his wife "is a granddaughter of Gustaf Hesselius [sic] of the Swedish nation, and painter of portraits, who arrived from Sweden at Philadelphia in 1710."⁴

Swedish-Americans didn't claim their artistic ancestor until 1904. They used Hart's research on the recently unearthed documents to buttress their claim to being on equal footing with Anglo-Americans in contributing to America's early cultural achievement. The date coincided with the critical success of the Swedish art sector at the St. Louis World's Exposition of 1904, and Swedish-American cultural leaders possibly decided to emphasize their ethnic group's colonial roots once the American public realized the artistic attainment of contemporary

Swedish artists. Anders Schön, editor of *Ungdomsvännan*, the monthly magazine for Lutheran young people, wrote in the first of a series on Swedish-American artists that “Amerikas förste verlige konstnär var svensk” (America’s first real artist was Swedish).⁵ Although he didn’t credit Hart, Schön wrote a short essay on Swedish-American art history, tracing the ethnic group’s important historical artists from Hesselius to Wertmüller, then skipped over decades to Chicago-area painter Peter Almini (1852-1890) and Moline-area altar painter Axel Blomberg (1841-1879). A photo of Hesselius’ *Self Portrait* (Fig. 1, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania), illustrated the article.

The same *Self Portrait* reappeared as an illustration a year later for Birger Sandzen’s article, “Amerikas förste konstnär” (America’s first artist), for the 1904 annual *Prärieblomman*. Sandzen credited Hart with Hesselius’ rediscovery, basing the last seven pages of his 14- page article entirely on Hart’s earlier one, but included Sandzen’s own speculation that Hesselius might have studied seventeenth century portraiture in Holland. Ending his article, Sandzen speculated that “we can hope that this beginning of research about unknown colonial paintings will show that some paintings are by this painter’s hand.”⁶ At the time these articles appeared in Swedish-American periodicals, immigration had become a growing concern for second-, third-, and fourth-generation Americans. The turmoil of assimilating newly-arrived peoples into a more homogenous society and the periodic downswings in the economy worried American politicians and leaders. Swedish-Americans, eager to prove their worth to those native-born, seized on information relevant to the longevity of Swedish immigration. Johan Alfred Enander, for example, Swedish-American lay leader in the Augustana Lutheran Synod and publisher of *Hemlandet*, insisted that Swedes preserved American beliefs more strongly than their Anglo-American counterparts. They shared values with the Puritans in New England, whose heritage came out of the Viking Danelaw.⁷ Historian Dag Blanck pointed to the 1888 jubilee celebration of the Swedish colony, founded in 1638, that emphasized Swedish-Americans were a colonial people.⁸ Thus the introduction of Hesselius as a predecessor to Anglo-American artists served to make the argument that Swedish people were early cultural and artistic contributors to American history. Although so many of the immigrants entering America in the last great waves of immigration were laborers and peasants, Swedish-American leaders claimed that Swedish immigrants were part of a continuation of that earlier colonial migration. They advanced this perception so that Swedish-Americans would be placed in a category favorably apart from ethnic groups arriving in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Swedish art historians first discovered Hesselius two years after the Swedish-American community did, in 1906. That year Sigrid Leijonhufvud wrote *Gustaf Hesselius, en bortglömd svensk konstnär* (Gustaf Hesselius, a Long-Forgotten Swedish Artist). She based her research on the Hesselius family archives in Sweden as well as Hart’s discoveries. The title was a precursor to other Swedish newspaper and magazine articles that claimed ownership of successful emigrant artists as ethnically Swedish. The Swedish dictionary of noted persons, however, *Svenskt Biografiskt Hand Alfabetiskt Ordnade Lefnadsleckninga af Sveriges Namnkunniga Man och Kvinnor från Reformationen* (1906), did not list the painter. It included instead his brothers Andreas (1677-1733) and Johan (1687-1752); a nephew Anders (1714-1755) who was born in America; and another relative, Gustaf Hesselius (1752-1775) who was a decorative painter of interiors in Sweden.

Hesselius wasn’t featured again in an ethnic-American publication until 1915 when Williella Goddard Ball wrote an article on “Scandinavian contributions to Early American Art,” featuring the careers of Hesselius and Adolf Wertmüller in *The American-Scandinavian Review*.

The article coincided with the successful showing of Swedish art in the Panama-Pacific Exposition, which opened that spring of 1915 to almost universal accolades by critics. Emphasizing that Hesselius immigrated earlier than English artists and “has often been claimed to be the first professionally-trained artist to arrive in America,” Ball summarized his achievements and asserted that he had immigrated in 1711, a year after Hart’s version of the story. She emphasized Adolf Wertmüller’s background as a painter to noble and royal families, intimating that he transferred these skills when portraying George Washington in 1794 and in a later copy in 1795. He looked, she claimed, more like a European courtier with “a frill of lace under his chin.”⁹ Ball’s article pointed to Swedish immigrant artists’ early contributions to American history, thereby implying the importance of later immigrant artists to American art history and setting the stage for the *Review’s* six-part series on Scandinavian immigrant artists that followed in the next three years.

Ball’s article came at a time when foreign-born artists needed a positive image. By 1915 Europe was involved in the first World War and Americans, a patchwork quilt of ethnic peoples, reacted nervously to any actions that might seem disloyal to American values. Immigrants, pressured to assimilate quickly into the American cultural and social fabric, eagerly showed evidence of staunch devotion to their new country. Even art exhibitions displayed American patriotism. An exhibition “of works by foreign-born artists, including also those of foreign parentage, . . . organized by Mrs. Edward T. Stotesbury, second Vice-Chairman of the National Americanization Committee” opened January 19, 1916 at the Pennsylvania Museum in Philadelphia, forerunner of the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Titled “Americanization Through Art,” the exhibition featured 324 works of sculpture and painting, many of them portraits or American landscapes that seemingly showed how immigrant artists had joined the demographic mainstream.¹⁰ Held in conjunction with a conference on Americanization, the Philadelphia exhibition modeled itself on an earlier conference/exhibition organized in October 1915 by Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney in New York City. The catalog for the Philadelphia exhibition noted that the art showed Americans “what her citizens of foreign birth have accomplished since they landed on these shores, under the influence of the art training that has been offered them, and the places they’ve come to occupy in the art life of this community.”¹¹

An artist’s ethnicity was a subdued, often moot subject in the 1920s, but surfaced again for Swedish-Americans in 1938 when they celebrated 300 years of Swedish settlement in America. The latter part of the decade, a period of heightened tensions in Europe, again brought the need for Swedish-Americans to validate their loyalty. Sweden maintained its neutrality from the period of the first World War, although some ties to Germany, particularly regarding industrial materials, were suspect. The New Sweden tercentenary reminded Americans once again of Sweden’s early contributions to American culture. As part of the anniversary, Hesselius was given his first one-person American exhibition on the occasion of this New Sweden Tercentenary celebration. Sixteen of his paintings were hung in the Philadelphia Museum of Art and noted art critic Christian Brinton wrote the catalog accompanying the exhibition, a logical choice, having written the catalog for the 1913 exhibition of Scandinavian art that toured American cities, as well as the catalog for the successful tour of Swedish art to American cities in 1916. Although several of Brinton’s facts have been disclaimed by subsequent art historians, the Hesselius exhibition reinforced the perception of Sweden’s important contributions to American cultural life. In conjunction with the Hesselius exhibition, the inauguration of a new American Swedish Historical Museum, June 27-29, 1938, emphasized Swedish immigrants’ presence in America during the colonial and federal periods.¹² An advertisement by the

International Business Machines Corporation (IBM) in the June 1938 issue of *American-Swedish Monthly* lauded Hesselius' contributions to America, stating "Think what Sweden has done for America. Gustaf Hesselius, a Swede living in New Sweden, was the first artist to be commissioned to paint a picture for a public building."¹³ The advertisement referred to the altar painting at St. Barnabas Church, at that time the only known public commission the artist had painted.

In the intervening years few articles appeared on Hesselius. American art historian E. P. Richardson wrote in 1949 that the painter "had attracted the interest of very few students."¹⁴ Richardson examined the extant works and formulated Hesselius' stylistic characteristics: the fingers seemed boneless, the flesh tones fresh and luminous with softly rounded forms, and the figures appeared small in a large space. Although by this time Richardson was wary about attributing "first professionally-trained painter in America" status to Hesselius, he credited him with embodying the ethos of a time and place:

In fact, he seems the founder of a tradition [influencing] the art of Benjamin West. His mechanical gifts, his varied interests (if we may take his sympathetic Indian portraits as a hint of the scientific interests in the Peale family, which dominated Philadelphia at the close of the century). To a striking degree Hesselius embodies, if he did not create, the culture of the middle colonies, which is very different from that of either Calvinist New England or the Hudson River Dutch painters, and whose contribution to the formation of the new nation has yet to be given its proper weight.¹⁵

Sporadic articles on Hesselius appeared until 1988, when another exhibition commemorated the colonial settlement of New Sweden in 1638. Its curator, art historian Roland Fleischer, wrote that "in recognition of the achievements and contributions of this first Swedish-American painter, it is entirely fitting that an exhibition of his works be part of the celebration of the 350th anniversary of the Swedes in America."¹⁶ Fleischer remarked that "during the intervening half century [since the tercentenary exhibition], further study of Hesselius has brought to light new information concerning his life as well as new attributions of paintings to him."¹⁷ Fleischer's study was thorough in its examination of Hesselius' paintings, all of which were unsigned, and questioned several of Brinton's attributions. But his diligent research uncovered new information on the painter's life and works. Although no new art historians have become interested in Hesselius, Fleischer's catalog reveals a non-celebratory, even-handed approach to the painter's life. While he doesn't compare Hesselius to other later immigrant artists, Fleischer's straight-forward approach allows the reader to draw comparisons to the assimilation experience of the early twentieth century for Swedish-American painters. In a broad sense, Fleischer and earlier art historians who had written about Hesselius can be considered ongoing patrons of Swedish-American art history. By categorizing and documenting the assimilation process, Fleischer and the earliest Swedish-American writers reminded their public and ethnic artists alike that there was a definite structure immigrant artists followed as they became a part of the American cultural landscape. The stories of the three artists, as pieced together from the earliest accounts in Swedish-American publications to contemporary journals, reveals this structure and a set of similar characteristics common to immigrant artists.

Most late nineteenth to early twentieth century artists immigrated with or joined family in America. These ethnic enclaves became the initial patronage base for the newly-arrived artists.

Gustaf Hesselius was no different. He came with his brother Andreas, a newly ordained pastor in the Swedish Lutheran church who was called to a parish in the Delaware Valley. Differing from earlier accounts, Fleischer wrote that the Hesselius brothers disembarked from the ship "Potopsico Merchant" on April 28, 1712, at Bohemia Landing on the northern edge of Chesapeake Bay, an event that Hart dated to 1710. The Delaware Valley settlement, established by King Gustav Adolf in 1638 and settled by Swedish and Swedish-Finnish men from the upper-middle classes, had been under English rule for 48 years. However, the state church of Sweden, which supplied ministers and hymnbooks to its ethnic parishioners, remained a strong social, cultural, and linguistic force in their lives.¹⁸

In 1697, Rev. Andreas Rudman wrote to his bishop in Sweden, "we live scattered among the English and Quakers, yet our language is presented as pure as anywhere in Sweden There are about twelve hundred persons that speak it."¹⁹ Like his early twentieth century counterparts, Hesselius found himself in an area that offered potential clients from his ethnic constituency. In fact, he painted the portraits of two Swedish clergy: *Rev. Peter Tronberg* (1696-1748) and *Rev. Israel Acrelius* (1714-1800) during his career. Although he probably painted many more of his fellow Swedes, the works are now lost or not attributed to the painter, since he did not sign or date his works. The painter did complete a commission for one of the Swedish churches near Philadelphia. Roland Fleischer has found evidence that Hesselius painted an altarpiece for the Wiwaco, Gloria Dei (Old Swedes) Church in 1715, according to notes written by Peter Kalm, the Swedish naturalist who was a friend of Hesselius.

Typical of many Swedish artists who were to immigrate over the next 150 years, Hesselius' family came from the educated classes in Sweden. They were predominately ministers, giving the family social standing in a country that operated within strict class limitations. His father and four of his five brothers were clergy and five of his seven sisters married clergy in the Swedish Lutheran Church. An uncle by marriage, Jesper Svedberg, was the Bishop of Skara and of Swedish congregants in London, North America, and Lisbon.

Similar to many Swedish immigrant painters who arrived in America in the mid to late nineteenth century, Hesselius was probably trained in a private studio or academic academy in Europe. He was enrolled at his "nation," an organization of students from the same province, at Uppsala University from 1690 until 1700. The University was the oldest in Sweden and its students were from educated or noble families. Although little is known about his training as a painter, he was listed as a wood engraver and gilder at Uppsala. Between 1700 and 1712, when he left for America, he may have apprenticed or studied with foreign artists who practiced in the Swedish court, such as David von Krafft (1655-1724).²⁰

Hesselius moved to Philadelphia a little more than a month after his arrival in the Maryland Colony. He became a member of the Swedish church at Wiwaco, and for the next twenty years traveled between Maryland and Philadelphia taking commissions for portraits, possibly constructing organs for churches, painting signs, and decorating interiors of homes and churches. In this respect, the "face painter," as he was labeled, was similar to most other Colonial artists who had to practice several vocations in order to make a living. Hesselius wrote his own advertisement in a Philadelphia paper in September of 1740, attesting to his versatility:

Painting done in the best manner, by Gustavus Hesselius from Stockholm, and John Winter, from London, viz. Coats of Arms drawn on Coaches, Chaises, &c. or any other kind of Ornaments, Landskips, Signs, Shewboards, Ship and House

Painting, Gilding of all sorts, Writing in Gold or Colour, old Pictures clean'd and mended, &c.²¹

Hesselius' advertisement echoed that of the typical limner (draftsman), drumming up colonial business in the mid-eighteenth century. The Swiss immigrant artist Jeremiah Theus only a decade later wrote that he would paint "landscapes of all sizes, crests and coats of arms for coaches or chaises."²² Hesselius' portrait style and business, a staple during his American lifetime, may have been influenced by the artistic techniques and practices of artists whose work he saw in Sweden and England before immigrating. American Hesselius scholar Roland Fleischer speculates that the painter was familiar with the darkly colored, straightforward portrait poses of David Klocker Ehrenstrahl (1629-1698), court painter to Charles XI of Sweden, and of his nephew, David von Krafft (1655-1724), court painter to Charles XII. Fleischer also speculated that Hesselius may have visited the studios of Swedish-born painters Michael Dahl (1656-1743) and Hans Hysing (d. 1753) while waiting to get a ship to America during a two-month delay in London.²³

Hesselius' portraits, although generally dark and direct in the style typical of courtly and middleclass Baroque portraiture throughout Europe during the period, were of Pennsylvania businessmen and property owners and their wives. *James Logan, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania*, c. 1715-1720 (fig. 2, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania), is a good example. He looks directly out at the viewer, his arm resting on the requisite classical pillar used by painters during the period to denote stability, upperclass station, and education. Art historian E.P Richardson noted that Logan was a "man of great classical learning and of notable scientific and mathematical interests."²⁴ Logan, however, wrote in 1733 that Hesselius had a reputation for excruciating realism in portraiture, a tendency that prefigured later American realism from the colonial period through the mid-twentieth century. In a letter to Dr. William Logan, James Logan remarked:

We have a Swedish painter here, no bad hand, who generally does justice to the men, especially to their blemishes, which he never fails showing in the fullest light, but is remarked for ever having done any to ye fair sex, and therefore few care to sitt to him. Nothing on earth could prevail with my spouse to sitt at all, or to have hers taken by any man, and our girls—believing the Originals have but little from nature to recommend them, would scarce be willing to have that little (if any) ill treated by a Pencil the Graces never favor'd, and therefore I doubt we cannot make you the most proper Return for so obliging a present.²⁵

Hesselius' portrait of Logan and other well-connected Pennsylvania settlers is also typical of later successful Swedish-American artists' predilection to assimilate into the broader American demographic picture, drawing clients from a cross-section of American life. In this vein, he painted two portraits of American Indians that are conceded to be Hesselius' best portraits. *Tischohan (He-Who-Never-Blackens-Himself)*, 1735, and *Lapowinsa (Going-Away-To-Gather-Food)*, 1735 (fig. 3, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania), show men who are resolute but discouraged. They were tribal leaders of the Leni-Lenape in colonial Pennsylvania, an ethnic nation who were part of the Algonquin peoples. Commissioned by John Penn to record the process of his land negotiations with the native inhabitants in 1735, Hesselius depicted them with the painted, tattooed faces of the ethnic peoples in North America both

before and during the early contact period. Typical of Eastern Woodlands Native Americans during the eighteenth century, they wore trade cloth blankets around their shoulders and carried their European-manufactured clay pipes in beaded bags, constructed from the pelt of animals. The eminent American scholar, Thomas Flexner, attributed the success of these portraits to the fact that they "were commissioned not as parlor decorations but as accurate records."²⁶

Hesselius' religious commissions were possibly the first in American art, but he was again typical of later Swedish immigrant artists who completed altar paintings as part of their *oeuvre*. Although primarily known as landscape and genre painters, Olof Grafström (1855-1933), Birger Sandzen (1871-1954), B.J.O. Nordfeldt (1878-1955), Carl Lotave (1872-1924), and Gus Higgins (1863-1909) all produced altar paintings at some point in their careers. Besides painting the altarpiece for the Wiwaco church in 1715, according to Fleischer, Hesselius also painted a Last Supper for Saint Barnabas Church in Prince George's County, Maryland. The painting stood on the altar from 1722 until 1773 and is now lost. The commission specified that:

Mr. Gustavus Hesselius to draw the history of our Blessed Savior and the twelve apostles at the Last Supper, the institution of the Blessed Sacrament of His body and blood, proportionable to the space over the altar piece, to find the cloth and all other necessaries for the same (the frame and gold leaf excepted which Mr. Henderson engages to procure and bestow on the church). Mr. Hesselius to paint the frame, for all of which the vestry is to pay him when finished 17 pounds current money, and Mr. Hesselius further engages to have it fixed upon the altar at his own Cost.²⁷

Consistent with his profession of painting and decorating interiors, Hesselius had also painted the altar, communion table and church interior of a third unspecified church. Described by James Adams in the late eighteenth century, and possibly painted in 1748, the painting was attributed to Hesselius by Christian Brinton in 1938. Brinton wrote that Adams saw "the crucifixion by Hesselius, with bloodstains trickling down, the mob of Roman soldiers, the darkness, etc." which hung at St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church in Philadelphia.²⁸ Roland Fleischer, however, could not find this direct quotation in Adams' letters in doing research for his 1988 catalog.

Although Hesselius made enough money through various painting ventures to support a large household and servants, primarily during his last two decades in Philadelphia, Hesselius was definitively described in his will, probated in 1755, as a "face painter." Addressed in Benjamin Franklin's account books as "Mr.", a rare title given anyone by Franklin and indicative of the artist's reputation as a solid citizen, Hesselius not only bought paints but also had Franklin's business bind the books that Hesselius had ordered from Sweden.²⁹

Hesselius' son John (1728-1778), presumably trained by his father, was also discovered to be Swedish in Hart's 1898 article. Before that time, art historians relegated him to being English and from the school of Godfrey Kneller, a seventeenth century English portraitist. He painted portraits of the families of businessmen and wealthy planters in colonial Maryland. More mannered and less realistic than the portraits painted by his father, John Hesselius' portraits were also influenced by the visiting English painter, John Wollaston, whose figures appeared almost stuffed into their satin waistcoats and bodices. Charles Calvert and Colored Slave, 1761 (fig. 4, Baltimore Museum of Fine Arts), typifies the doll-like stance of his sitters.

Adolf Wertmüller (1751-1811) was the second Swedish painter to contribute his talents to the New World. Swedish-American journalists eagerly claimed him as their own in early twentieth century articles, dating back to Anders Schon's article in 1904, but often relegated him to second place after Hesselius. Wertmüller, although included in the list of American artists from the time of his arrival in 1794, received little notice in American histories because his career had peaked in France before he immigrated. Rarely seen in historical books on American art, with the exception of American historian Franklin D. Scott who wrote *Wertmüller, Artist and Immigrant Farmer* (1963), the primary interest in Wertmüller's career has come from scholars in Sweden. In March 1920, however, Frederick H. Shelton spoke on "Adolph Ulrich Wertmüller, Portrait Painter" to the Swedish Colonial Society of Philadelphia. Tracing the artist's career in Europe and America, Shelton used the chronology supplied by the artist, documenting the dates of his paintings and other historical sources. Scott employed the artist's diary and Shelton's manuscript to document Wertmüller's experience, while also emphasizing the structure of the assimilation process in his foreword to the publication. Wertmüller immigrated as a professional artist with a significant résumé of commissions.

A wide range of ties bound the elder Hesselius to Adolf Wertmüller. The American painter Charles Wilson Peale (1741-1827), who supposedly took his first painting lessons from John Hesselius in exchange for a horse saddle, later befriended Wertmüller and helped to bring the artist's earlier paintings to the New World.³⁰ Both Gustaf Hesselius and Wertmüller portrayed their subjects in a starkly realistic manner, possibly because of their Swedish artistic penchant for realism. In fact, Hesselius' portraits of women did not follow the typical formulaic colonial practice of a mask-like face. His women's faces had individualistic attributes emphasizing the character of the sitter. Wertmüller's American clients also viewed that artist's portraits as accurate records, which often discouraged commissions from new clients.

Of course, the strongest tie between the two artists came through Wertmüller's wife, who was Hesselius' granddaughter Eliza, or Betsey, Henderson. Wertmüller married her in 1801, when Hesselius was 50. Although they lived in the same area, but during different centuries, both artists settled in comfortable ethnic enclaves. Both Hesselius and Wertmüller lived within the vicinity of Naaman's Creek, an area that had belonged to the original Swedish settlement in the seventeenth century.

Wertmüller had sailed to the New World in June 1794, in search of new portrait commissions with another Swedish friend, Henrik Gahn. Wertmüller set up a studio in Philadelphia, possibly because the federal Congress was still based in Philadelphia and could conceivably supply ample portrait commissions. There was also a substantial community of Swedish-speaking Americans in the city to promise additional portrait commissions, a miniature of Mrs. Soderstrom, the wife of the Swedish consul in Philadelphia being one. He lived in a Swedish-owned boarding house, operated by Mrs. David Henderson, daughter of Gustaf Hesselius, where he met and fell in love with Betsey.

It is misleading to label the artist an American, except for his naturalization in 1802. With the exception of Wertmüller's portrait of *George Washington*, 1794 (fig. 4, Philadelphia Museum of Art), the majority of the artist's best works had been painted between 1783 and 1800, when he lived in Paris and Sweden. With money from his father, a wealthy apothecary in Stockholm, and under the sponsorship of his cousin, the Swedish portraitist Alexander Roslin, Wertmüller studied in Paris and later in Rome at the French Academy under J. M. Vien. The famous French Neoclassical painter Jacques Louis David (1748-1825) also studied with Vien at this time and, encouraged by Vien's rigorous adherence to classicist ideals, changed his style to a

more starkly realistic and static portrayal of Greek and Roman history scenes. By 1783, Wertmüller was elected a member of the French Academy and his realistic painting of the sculptor *Jean-Jacques Caffieri*, 1784, (Fig.6, Boston Museum of Fine Arts) was presented as his reception piece for the Academy. Under the sponsorship of Gustaf III, who had visited his studio in Paris and appointed him "First Painter" to the King, he painted a large (6 feet wide by 8 1/2 feet tall) portrait of *Queen Marie Antoinette and her Children, Walking in the English Gardens at Versailles*, 1785 (fig. 7, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm). Completed by August 1785, in time for exhibition at the salon, the portrait reportedly shocked the queen with its accuracy and lack of flattery. Although it went to Sweden in 1786 to the royal palace at Gripsholm, it did not bring the expected commissions from French nobility.³¹

When Wertmüller painted *Danae and the Golden Rain*, 1787 (Fig. 8, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm) to praise from David and others while in Paris, it too brought few commissions.³² In 1788 Wertmüller left for Bordeaux, then for Madrid and later Cadiz, where he painted some portraits for Spanish nobility. The intervening years with the political uncertainty and bloodshed of the French Revolution discouraged the painter from returning to Paris. Instead, he painted numerous portraits in Spain, but by early 1794 decided to seek richer markets in the New World and sailed for New York on March 8, 1794.

Washington's portrait, finished November 8, 1774, painted while the president sat in the senate chambers in Philadelphia, was typical of the artist's realistic portraits of male subjects.³³ When Wertmüller painted women's portraits from life or mythological figures, the painter veered towards a stereotyped sweetness. Their features had similar rosebud-shaped mouths, slightly protruding eyes and pointed chins. Wertmüller's version of Washington was hailed by a Mr. Marshall of Baltimore as possessing an astonishing realism:

I have never before seen a picture of Washington that so forcibly brings back to memory what I retain there of Washington, as he appeared for a whole season in church; our pew being next to his in Philadelphia.³⁴

Many, however, viewed Washington's likeness as less egalitarian in pose, posture and clothing than necessary. The powder on the velvet waistcoat from Washington's wig, the lace collar and self-assurance connoted American aristocracy. Charles Wilson Peale's seven individual portraits of Washington, contemporary to that of Wertmüller's, evoked feelings of a more idealized, down-to-earth leader while Gilbert Stuart's (1755-1828) portrait of *George Washington*, 1796 (fig. 9, Boston Museum of Fine Arts), displayed the aesthetic distance necessary for eventual deification.

Wertmüller sent a replica of the portrait, painted in 1795, to his sister Louisa Pauli in Stockholm. It was his earlier painting of *Danae and the Golden Rain*, 1787, however, that helped to defray expenses connected with farming when he purchased land south of Philadelphia, near present-day Wilmington, Delaware, in 1802. The painting, according to the artist's record book, brought as much as \$800 per year when exhibited in Philadelphia, with the proceeds dwindling towards the end of Wertmüller's life. It was judged by the painter Rembrandt Peale (1778-1860), Charles Wilson Peale's son, to be "admired by the few persons in Philadelphia that talked about painting; but nobody thought about purchasing it, partly repelled by the subject."³⁵

Peale's brother, Raphaele Peale (1774-1825) later attempted a nude, *Venus Rising from the Sea—A Deception (After the Bath)*, c. 1822. He painted the nude figure of a woman behind a

folded sheet, which appeared to be a napkin placed over a canvas to hide the nude. Both Rembrandt and Charles Wilson Peale helped Wertmüller get the paintings brought over from his storage in France, including the *Danae*. According to Peale's biographer, however, the elder Peale also disliked the work and was amused when a group of Indians turned their backs on the painting.³⁶

Although Wertmüller continued to paint, his eyesight began to fail and farming took most of his energy. His "Diary of Naaman's Creek" described farming activities from 1803 to 1807, with additions in 1811. The artist painted eighteen to twenty canvases between 1794-1796 and 1801-1811, as well as numerous miniature portraits and small copies of paintings. He charged \$100 for the normal-sized portraits -- a fee twice that of American painters Charles Stuart, Thomas Sully and Charles Wilson Peale at the time.³⁷

In immigrating to and settling near their Swedish-American ethnic group, both Hesselius and Wertmüller predated but typified later American immigration settlement patterns, moving to areas where their national group had already established communities. Lars Gustaf Sellstedt (1818-1911), however, moved to an area that had few Swedish immigrants. He didn't immigrate with family, like Hesselius, nor become involved with the Swedish immigrant community, as did both Hesselius and Wertmüller. Unlike either painter, Sellstedt had left Sweden as a young child and worked as a sailor for a decade before settling in Buffalo, New York. However, Sellstedt's career was the epitome of success for Swedish-Americans whose ultimate goal was to integrate fully into the American mainstream. By the time he was first noted in the Swedish-American publication *Ungdomsvännan* in April 1913, his story encouraged Swedish-American artists who were then in the early years of their careers. This date coincided with the continuing publicity from the successful tour of the Scandinavian Art Exhibition of 1912-1913, which ended in late April. Sellstedt had been one of the founders of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, which hosted the exhibition while on tour, and it's possible that the story of this successful Swedish-American artist was first brought to the attention of Scandinavian-American cultural leaders at that time.

Sellstedt, in fact, wrote his own story first, not waiting for discovery by American or ethnic historians. When Sellstedt died in Buffalo in 1911 at the age of 93, he left not only his paintings, but also two books: an autobiography published in 1904, *From Forecastle to Academy, Sailor and Artist*; and a 1910 history of Buffalo, *Art in Buffalo*. In his autobiography, Sellstedt described the difficult early years of childhood and young adulthood as a cabin boy and sailor, then finally his career as a painter. The book chronicled his rags-to-riches success story, similar to the Horatio Alger tales published at the time to inspire young Americans to seize the capitalist dream of turning business ventures into a fortune. Sellstedt's obituary in *The Buffalo Express* hailed the artist as "Lars G. Sellstedt, Began Life as a Drudge on the High Seas and Became One of Our Most Distinguished of American Painters."³⁸

Sellstedt wrote about his early years in the villa Gronborg, near Sundsvall, possibly to assure his American in-laws that he had originally come from "bättre folk i Sverige" (better people in Sweden). His father operated a clothing factory and firm, and his mother was determined that Lars Gustaf would become a clergyman---an esteemed position for an upwardly mobile Swedish family at mid-nineteenth century. His mother, Eva Thorén, was the daughter of a parish minister, Anders Thorén, who served the parish near Härnösand in Häggenås until 1806.³⁹ When his father died, and his mother remarried, the young boy was taken out of school, forced to work at menial labor, and often beaten by the stepfather. Sellstedt ran away at the age of twelve to become a cabin boy on the ship *Petrus*, sailing to Alexandria, Egypt, which he wrote took "three mortal winter months from land to land." He wrote that although he endured terrible

storms at sea, "and yet I never for a moment thought of impending danger. It was the bliss of ignorance."⁴⁰

Sellstedt reported his early adventures with the same forthrightness he painted scenes. He taught himself to read English while sailing the seven seas. Fascinated by religious writings, similar to many during the revivalist period at mid-century, his favorite book was a devotional writing, *The Course of Time*. When it accidentally fell into the water, Sellstedt disobeyed an order to retrieve the book and deliberately fell overboard. Fascinated by its language, he described the book as "in grand Miltonian style, this poem paints hell in the most lurid colors, while the blissful state of heaven is charmingly made to conform to what the intelligent mind would accept as the very highest happiness conceivable."⁴¹

Sellstedt began to paint small scenes and portraits to earn extra money and amuse other sailors. In order to get a berth on a Great Lake steamer, he came to Buffalo in 1842 and boarded in Bethel Sailor's Home. A former sea captain, a Captain Black, was superintendent of the home and owned a painting by Gilbert Stuart (1755-1828), the eighteenth century American portraitist. As a young man Black had supposedly studied with Stuart.⁴² Sellstedt took lessons from William John Wilgus (1819-1853), who had studied painting in New York with Samuel F.B. Morse (1791-1872), the founder of the National Academy of Art. The combination of stimulation from Wilgus' encouragement and Black's interest influenced Sellstedt to change vocations. Shortly after that first encounter with Stuart's work, Sellstedt painted a portrait of a young woman and "succeeded in making a smooth picture which her friends could recognize and what more could art accomplish?" He added, "I knew that I was not born to obscure the fame of Raphael."⁴³

Continuing to sail the Great Lakes in order to make a living, Sellstedt finally decided that "I found I could no longer lead a dual life, but that a choice must be made between the laborious and often dangerous occupation which hitherto had been my certain refuge from want and the easy and pleasant work of an art student." He wrote, "with all the drawbacks [poverty] I chose to trust my future life to Art, hoping that by hard study I would at last succeed in making pictures which would bring me sufficient for my modest wants."⁴⁴ Taking on a pupil, while simultaneously studying painting on his own and attending anatomy lectures at the local medical college, he added, "I cannot at this time fully realize that assurance with which I must have been blessed in undertaking to lead another on the thorny path of Art, when I must have been, comparatively, both blind and lame myself."

Finally he wrote that, by the late 1840s, a painter who had studied with the French academician Thomas Couture (1815-1879) came to Buffalo and painted portraits for \$50 per head, causing trickle-down economic benefits to Sellstedt. He explained, "In this way the little world that then constituted the society of Buffalo became greatly agitated on the subject of painting, and even I began to feel the beneficial influence of the wave."⁴⁵

Marrying into an old Buffalo family, he described them as "that charmed circle known as the older citizens whose title to the distinction of leaders in society in those days remained unchallenged."⁴⁶ With marriage, Sellstedt gained influential sitters and contacts and became the foremost resident artist in Buffalo. Reminiscing years later, the artist wrote that "Two presidents of the U.S. have honored me with friendship: Millard Filmore and Grover Cleveland, and I have even had the distinction of painting their portraits."⁴⁷

Sellstedt helped to arrange an art exhibition in Buffalo in December 1861, which led to the establishment of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, of which he became president in 1876.⁴⁸ He earned associate membership in the National Academy in 1872, then full membership in 1875, becoming the first Swedish-American to do so. His National Academician designation assured

entrance into private collections, and prominent buyers. Sellstedt's self portrait, a stipulation for Academy membership, was only one of two paintings sent to represent Buffalo in the 1876 Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia.⁴⁹ He continued to paint portraits and landscapes, such as *Buffalo Harbor at the Foot of Porter Avenue*, 1871 (Fig. 10, Albright-Knox Gallery, Buffalo), and took a tour of the continent that year to celebrate his success. Sellstedt assiduously reported in his autobiography that he painted few canvases, "with the exception of a couple of studies from my window in Venice." He wrote, "I have devoted my outing to the exhibition of works of great masters, thereby hoping to advance my technique . . . but I was yet to discover that any hopes I might have of ultimate success as far as my ability could insure it, lay not in painting Velazques', Rembrandts, or Titians, but simply Sellstedts as well as my powers enabled me to copy nature."⁵⁰

At the age of 92, one year before his death, he wrote a poem to the National Academy on the occasion of their annual meeting, an ode to his life in art:

My years are many, and my course near run,
my palette laid to rest -- my work is done;
Farewell dear Art, farewell dream of youth.
The art I loved of which my soul was full,
is cherished still and fills my fading day
with forms of beauty and bright color-play.⁵¹

Although Sellstedt had left Sweden and appeared not to seek out the small Swedish community in Buffalo, the publication of his autobiography was an indication of the importance he placed on his early social advantages in Sweden, before his mother remarried. This tendency to document some aspect of a successful past in the Old Country, then record the upward climb to professional achievement in diaries and works of art, was typical of many Swedish immigrants who became artists in the New World.

Although these three early painters immigrated under differing circumstances and arrived with varying degrees of education, all attained some measure of success in the New World. Their lives and work documented the assimilation process into mainstream American culture and the published stories of their lives set a standard for Swedish-American artists reaching the new land in the early twentieth century. Hesselius and Wertmüller strengthened this group's perception of their legitimate place in American cultural history, their rediscovery in 1904 aided by the successful reception of Swedish art at the St. Louis World's Exposition of 1904. Sellstedt, on the other hand, came to the Swedish-American public's attention in 1913, just as a new exhibition of Scandinavian art completed its triumphal tour of American galleries, including the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy which owned several paintings by Sellstedt. The 1913 publication, *Ungdomsvännern* portrayed him as a Horatio Alger-like hero, motivating their ethnic audience to follow the artist's example. Wertmüller, Hesselius, and Sellstedt, separated from each other by decades and destination, inspired Swedish-American artists immigrating in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Their stories, published in Swedish-American periodicals by the early twentieth century and thus accessible to immigrant artists, provided a template for success and encouraged an ethnic community struggling to enter mainstream American life.

-
- ¹ James L. Yarnall and William H. Gerds, *The National Museum of American Art's Index to American Art Exhibition Catalogs, From the Beginning Through 1876*. (Boston, Massachusetts: G.K Hall & Co., 1986), 1712.
- ² Charles Henry Hart, "The Earliest Painter in America," *Harper's Magazine* XCVI (1898), 566. Documents of Wertmüller's paintings were acquired by Hart and sold to the Royal Library in Stockholm. The Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts has a copy written in French, according to Frederick H. Shelton, "Adolph Ulrich Wertmüller, Portrait Painter, an Address Upon His Life and Principal Works," prepared for the Swedish Colonial Society, Philadelphia, March 1920, 96. Unpublished typescript, Archives of the American Swedish Historical Museum, Philadelphia.
- ³ Hart, 566.
- ⁴ *Ibid*, 567.
- ⁵ Anders Schön, "Svensk-Amerikanska Konstnärer," *Undomsvännan* (April 1904), 114.
- ⁶ Birger Sandzen, "Amerikas förste konstnär," *Prärieblomman*, Augustana Book Concern, Rock Island, Illinois, 1904, 226.
- ⁷ This summation of Enander's views is noted in Victor K. Green, *American Immigrant Leaders: Marginality and Identity*. Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins Press, 1987.
- ⁸ Dag Blanck, "History at Work: The 1888 New Sweden Jubilee," *The Swedish-American Historical Quarterly*, XXXIX (April 1988), 6.
- ⁹ Williella Goddard Ball, "Scandinavian Contributions to Early American Art," *The American-Scandinavian Review*, III (January 1915), 12.
- ¹⁰ Eugene Castello, "Works by Foreign-Born Artists," *Magazine of Art*, 7 (February 1916), 204.
- ¹¹ "Foreword," *Americanization Through Art*, exhibition catalog, January 19-February 22, 1916, Memorial Hall, Fairmount Park (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 1916), unpaginated.
- ¹² *The American Swedish Historical Museum, League Island Park, Philadelphia . . . Erected by the American Swedish Historical Foundation . . . As Its Contribution to the Swedish American Tercentenary Celebration . . . 1638-1938*. Program catalog.
- ¹³ *American-Swedish Monthly* (June 1938), 45.
- ¹⁴ E.P. Richardson, "Gustavus Hesselius," *The Art Quarterly*, XII (summer 1949), 220.
- ¹⁵ *Ibid*, 222.
- ¹⁶ Roland Fleischer, *Gustavus Hesselius, Face Painter to the Middle Colonies*, exhibition catalog (Trenton, New Jersey: New Jersey State Museum, 1988), 12.
- ¹⁷ *Ibid*, 13.
- ¹⁸ Michael F. Metcalf, "Letters from the Delaware," *The Swedish Pioneer Quarterly* (Jan. 1988), 195-214, writes about the continued Swedish influence in the area through the eighteenth century.
- ¹⁹ Adolph B. Benson, "The Swedish Language in Colonial America," *The American Swedish Monthly*, 29 (January 1935), 10.
- ²⁰ Roland E. Fleischer, *Gustavus Hesselius, Face Painter to the Middle Colonies* (Trenton, New Jersey: New Jersey State Museum, 1988) suggests that von Krafft's portraits might have been models for Hesselius' dark, realistic paintings done in America.
- ²¹ Roland Fleischer, *Gustavus Hesselius*, 23.
- ²² James Thomas Flexner, *First Flowers of Our Wilderness, History of American Painting, Vol. 1: The Colonial Period* (New York: Dover Publications, 1969), 108.
- ²³ Fleischer, *Gustavus Hesselius*, 14-16.
- ²⁴ E.P. Richardson, 222.
- ²⁵ James Logan, letter to Dr. William Logan, May 31, 1733, *Logan Letter Books*, IV, 331. Pennsylvania Historical Society. Found in James W. McCoubrey, *American Art 1700-1960, Sources and Documents*. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1965, 5-6.
- ²⁶ Flexner, *First Flowers of Our Wilderness*, 96.
- ²⁷ Flexner, *First Flowers of Our Wilderness*, 101.
- ²⁸ Flexner, *First Flowers of Our Wilderness*, 100.
- ²⁹ Fleischer, *Gustavus Hesselius*, 23.
- ³⁰ Flexner, *First Flowers of Our Wilderness*, 102-103. See also Willietta Goddard Ball, "Scandinavian Contributions to Early American Art," *The American Scandinavian Review* (Jan. 1915), 7-15.
- ³¹ Marianne Ugglä, "Konstnären," *Marie-Antoinette, Porträtt av en drottning* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1989), 9.

³² According to Franklin D. Scott, *Wertmüller, Artist and Immigrant Farmer* (Chicago: Swedish Pioneer Historical Society, 1963), 24-25, Wertmüller wrote letters to C.F. Sundvall about this matter. Sundvall was an architectural student who had studied with him in Paris. The original letters, written between 1791-1809, are in the Wertmüller Collection in the Royal Library, Stockholm. They have been published by Ernst E. Areen, *Gustavianska Konstnärsbref, C.F. Sundvall till A.U. Wertmüller* (Stockholm: Norstedt, 1916).

³³ Frederick H. Shelton, "Adolph Ulrich Wertmüller, Portrait Painter, an Address Upon His Life and Principal Works," 17.

³⁴ Frederick Shelton, "Adolph Ulrich Wertmüller, Portrait Painter, an Address Upon His Life and Principal Works," 20-21, excerpted from Washington Irving's *Life of Washington* (New York: Putnam's, 1855).

³⁵ Franklin D. Scott, *Wertmüller, Artist and Immigrant Farmer*, 18. Originally found in *The Crayon*, II (Oct. 3, 1855).

³⁶ Charles Coleman Sellers, *Charles Willson Peale, Later Life, 1790-1827*, II (Philadelphia: American Philadelphia Society, 1947), 276-277.

³⁷ Franklin D. Scott, *Wertmüller, Artist and Immigrant Farmer*, 20. Note also Michel Benisovich, "The Sale of the Studio of Adolph-Ulrich Wertmüller," *The Art Quarterly* (Spring 1953), 20-39. Comparable prices for these artists are found in the unpublished manuscript, Frederick H. Shelton, "Adolph Ulrich Wertmüller, Portrait Painter," American Swedish Historical Foundation, Philadelphia, 1920.

³⁸ Otto Robert Landelius, unpublished scrapbook/catalog of Swedish-American Cultural Leaders, Emigrant Institute, Växjö, Sweden.

³⁹ Otto Robert Landelius, scrapbook/catalog.

⁴⁰ Lars Gustaf Sellstedt, *From Forecastle to Academy, Sailor and Artist*, (Buffalo, New York: 1904)

⁴¹ Sellstedt, *From Forecastle to Academy, Sailor and Artist*, .

⁴² Lars Gustaf Sellstedt, *Art in Buffalo* (Buffalo, New York: The Matthews-Northrup Works, 1910), 8.

⁴³ Sellstedt, *From Forecastle to Academy, Sailor and Artist*, . William Gerds in *Art Across America*, III, speculated that Sellstedt never studied with Wilgus, 208.

⁴⁴ Sellstedt, *From Forecastle to Academy, Sailor and Artist*, .

⁴⁵ Sellstedt, *From Forecastle to Academy, Sailor and Artist*, .

⁴⁶ Sellstedt, *From Forecastle to Academy, Sailor and Artist*, .

⁴⁷ Sellstedt, *From Forecastle to Academy, Sailor and Artist*, .

⁴⁸ Otto Robert Landelius, unpublished scrapbook/catalog.

⁴⁹ Sellstedt, *Art in Buffalo*, 59.

⁵⁰ Sellstedt, *From Forecastle to Academy, Sailor and Artist*, .

⁵¹ Sellstedt, *From Forecastle to Academy, Sailor and Artist*, . Otto Robert Landelius in his scrapbook/catalog of Swedish-American cultural leaders reports that one of Sellstedt's friends in Buffalo was the poet David Gray, who encouraged the painter to write poetry.

CHAPTER 4. Ethnic Periodicals Help Artists Sustain Careers

An unusual variety of periodicals served as supportive conduits of information and publicity about Swedish-American painters and sculptors from 1900 to the mid-1940s. These were peak years for the professional careers of those who arrived during the last great waves of immigration between 1870 and 1920. Diverse in focus, the ethnic publications ranged from literary journals and religious denomination annuals to business and public relations magazines. Each publication served a different audience within the Swedish- and Scandinavian-American community, yet many included articles of various lengths on artists and collectors, reproductions of the artists' latest work, and news of current exhibitions. Their inclusion in Swedish-American publications inspired descriptive word choices used by critics to subtly define Swedish and Swedish-American characteristics in the works of their ethnic immigrant artists. Disseminating news and information on the immigrant artists to their ethnic public, these publications, part of an established and respected press, proved invaluable publicity agents for Swedish-American artists and attested to the importance of a cultural and artistic life within the Swedish-American community.

In particular, three of the periodicals, *Prärieblomman* (1900-1913), *Ungdomsvännan* (1897-1918), and *Valkyrian* (1897-1909), gained prominence among the Swedish-American communities for their literary quality and the reputation of their critics and writers, thus perceived as acceptable vehicles to carry reproductions of the artists' works.¹ Art published in *Prärieblomman* and *Ungdomsvännan* educated their Swedish-American Lutheran community while making a cultural statement about the status of art in that community for readers in America and in Sweden. Augustana Book Concern of Rock Island, Illinois, the largest Swedish-American publishing house in the early years of the twentieth century, published both periodicals, during a period when immigration from Sweden was at its height and ties to Sweden were most solid.²

Prärieblomman introduced early twentieth century artists to its constituency, establishing a canon of its painters and sculptors by its demise in 1913. Important to the establishment of this canon, the critic/writer for *Prärieblomman* Birger Sandzen, was himself an influential painter within the immigrant community. *Ungdomsvännan*, on the other hand, reiterated this canon yet introduced a wider variety of artists to its publish until it closed in 1918.

In contrast, the other Swedish-based denominations rarely printed work by Swedish-American artists to illustrate articles, often exchanging reproductions by Renaissance and nineteenth century European masters for use in their annuals, possibly to save printing costs. *Hemåt* (1892-1957), published by the Missions-Vännens Expedition and *Aurora* (1900-1934), by Svensak Missionsförbundet, both arms of the Swedish Mission Covenant denomination, and *Vinter Rosor* (1903-1931), by the Swedish Methodist church, more often used work by Danish or Swedish artists, if illustrations were used at all. Although only the covers bore illustrations, *The Covenant Companion*, a guide for church school teachers in the Swedish Mission Covenant denomination, liberally published drawings and woodcuts by Swedish-Finnish-American Werner Sallman during its tenure. Periodicals and annuals published by the Swedish Evangelical Free Church and the Swedish Baptist congregations used decorative motifs but not reproductions of paintings or drawings.

Although *Prärieblomman* and *Ungdomsvännan* reached a specific ethnic audience, that audience was a fairly small, generally educated and religiously conservative group.

Demographics dictated that its targeted audience lived primarily in the Midwest. *Prärieblomman* ceased publication by 1914 after its once peak enrollment of 2500 subscribers declined and *Ungdomsvännan* followed suit when its peak enrolment of 9,269 in 1913 dropped to 3,337 by 1918.³ Both periodicals' decline in the rate of subscriptions may reflect the language assimilation process into English but also mirrors the impact of prejudice against the foreign language press in the wake of World War I.⁴

Augustana Book Concern also published both the weekly *Augustana* and *The Lutheran Companion*, a monthly publication. Although both featured advertisements for altar paintings, they didn't reproduce works of art. Olof Grafström (1855-1933), who did illustrations for *Prärieblomman* and *Ungdomsvännan*, advertised in one issue of *Augustana* (January 3, 1907) that he not only painted altar paintings after old and modern masters but also painted landscapes from different sections of Sweden and America. He noted that they were "exhibited permanently at the art school of Augustana College. Orders continuously accepted and carried out as reasonable."⁵ In the May 23, 1907 issue Grafström's advertisement declared that he painted altar paintings based on unusual motifs, his prices were reasonable, and that the prospective buyer could send for a catalog. Grafström's competitor, August Klagstad, a Norwegian immigrant artist in Marquette, Wisconsin, also advertised in *Augustana*, claiming in the January 31, 1907 and February 7, 1907 issues that he had created first class work at low prices for over twenty years and encouraged readers to send for an illustrated catalog.

Valkyrian (1897-1909), an exclusively literary journal, featured illustrations by Swedish and Swedish-American artists, but seldom credited them. Published in New York by Charles K. Johansen under the auspices of the weekly newspaper *Nordstjernen* and edited by Edward Sundell for a Swedish-American audience, the journal occasionally featured an artist, such as an article on the career of August Franzén in a 1906 issue.

A consistent advocate for Swedish- and Scandinavian-American artists, the bi-monthly *The American-Scandinavian Review* (1913--), featured articles about artists and/or reproductions of Scandinavian or Scandinavian-American artwork in each issue, along with short news items on forthcoming exhibitions. From 1913 to 1940 this magazine published eleven articles on Swedish-American artists, a larger number than on any other ethnic Scandinavian-American group. More importantly, its word choices helped define Swedish-American or (more inclusive) Scandinavian artistic stylistic tendencies for its audience, who were primarily from the professional classes in Scandinavia and Scandinavia-America. The focus of *The American Swedish Monthly*, a magazine published by the Swedish Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, was on businesspeople in both Sweden and America. Serving as a public relations conduit for news from Sweden, it nevertheless annually featured one Swedish-American artist in issues dating from the mid-30s to the late 1940s. Its monthly columns on music and the visual arts, moreover, regularly included short news items and profiles on Swedish-American artists and exhibitions. By the early 1940s, Swedish-American artists' works published in *The American-Scandinavian Review* and *The American Swedish Monthly* were seldom on the cutting edge of contemporary American art, at that point influenced by European modernist abstractions. Conservative landscapes dominated the *oeuvre* of these immigrant artists, most of whom were either deceased or had passed the peak years of their careers.

Prärieblomman (fig. 1) was the earliest of these publications to exclusively spotlight Swedish-American artists by printing both articles and reproductions of their canvases, sculpture, and etchings.⁶ The publication emphasized immigration's effects on Swedish values carried by immigrants to the new world, tracing the development of these values into a uniquely new

ethnicity that combined elements of old and new world culture.⁷ First published in Chicago in December 1899 (but dated 1900), the annual was the brainchild of Vitterhetens Vänner (friends of belles-lettres), a group of Swedish-Americans probably led by Johan Alfred Enander, Chicago journalist and lay leader in the Augustana Synod.⁸ When ownership passed to the Augustana Book Concern, Anders Schön became the new editor, having also become the editor-in-chief of the weekly Augustana Synod-biased newspaper *Hemlandet*, after its former editor Enander stepped down. Although its circulation never reached beyond 2,500, *Prärieblomman* functioned as a visible Swedish-American cultural product and was sent to the Swedish Academy as such. Many compared it to the Swedish Christmas annual *Svea* (1847-1907), published by the Swedish publishing house Bonnier. *Prärieblomman* featured reproductions of paintings, some drawings, and a few pieces of sculpture by Swedish-American artists exclusively, and published approximately 70 of their works over a 13-year period. During its 12-issue existence, the annual published 10 articles on Swedish-American art, art exhibitions, art schools, art collections, and collectors. Only its first issue in 1900 and the issue from 1907 contained no references to Swedish-American art. A survey of the 10 articles reveals a tendency to preach the importance of ethnic support for Swedish-American artists and art schools, alongside a prideful recitation of their careers and works of art.

Birger Sandzen (1871-1954), artist and teacher at Augustana Synod's Bethany College in Lindsborg, Kansas and the most consistent advocate for his fellow artists, wrote seven of the articles and Anders Schön, its editor, wrote three. In addition, nine of Sandzen's paintings and drawings were illustrated in *Prärieblomman*. The artist possessed unusual credentials within his ethnic community. He studied French and aesthetics at the University of Lund for a year and a half before he left the University in 1891 to study at the school of the Artists Federation in Stockholm under Anders Zorn and Richard Bergh. From 1893 to 1894 he studied painting under the symbolist artist Edmond-François Aman-Jean in Paris, a former colleague and friend of the neo-impressionist painter Georges Seurat (1859-1891), whose pointilist method of applying paint can be seen in Sandzen's early work. Aman-Jean maintained a teaching studio where the majority of pupils were Americans. Spurred on by his new American colleagues and by reading *I Sverige* by Carl Swensson, the Swedish-American president of Bethany College in Lindsborg, Kansas, Sandzen wrote to the author, who invited him to teach at Bethany in 1894. In addition to painting, Sandzen taught German, Swedish, French, and Spanish, and still found time to hurriedly organize the first exhibition of paintings by Swedish-Americans during Bethany's spring oratorio in 1899.⁹

By the time Sandzen wrote his first article for *Prärieblomman* in 1902, he had been in Kansas for eight years and had already begun to give a series of lectures to his constituency, educating them in the fine arts, a life-long vocation. This same academic predilection to lecture/preach can be detected in the article, "Något om svensk konst i Amerika" ["Something about Swedish art in America"]. Not only did Sandzen describe the work of selected Swedish-American artists, but he also told his readers that they should support their own countrymen-artists. Sandzen poignantly noted that although one found Swedish names on canvases shown in the great exhibitions in America, many of these names were not well known to his countrymen in Sweden or in Swedish-America. When the artists immigrated to America, he explained, they were often young and couldn't afford to purchase expensive art supplies. It was also difficult, he wrote, to put oneself out to the world on a canvas. He implored his readers to educate themselves about art. Both Bethany and Augustana colleges boasted art courses, he noted, and although many Swedish-Americans welcomed the music of Beethoven, Chopin and Grieg into

their homes and were participants in singing feasts, they were not as familiar with their countrymen's oil paintings and etchings. He encouraged his readers to go to Swedish-American artists and have them paint portraits of "your old father or young wife" or beautiful atmospheric landscapes of birches and sun.¹⁰

Sandzen then proceeded to introduce his readers to those artists who were successfully making a living by their art. He emphasized that these were first generation immigrant artists, who had been trained abroad and had already made their names in the evolving canon of America art. The list reads like a *Who's Who* of Swedish-American art in 1902. Sandzen wrote about Olof Grafström (1855-1933), who taught at Augustana College in 1902; C. F. von Saltza (1858-1905), then at Columbia in New York; August Franzén, (1863-1938), well known for his portraits; Alfred Jansson (1863-1931), who painted landscapes and lived in Chicago; Henry Reuterdaahl (1870-1925) who traveled to America to draw illustrations for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago and moved to New York to do magazine illustrations; Hugo von Hofsten (1865-1947), who drew illustrations for Chicago newspapers and was a skilled portrait painter; Charles Hallberg (1855-1950), who painted seascapes in Chicago; Charles Fribert (1868--) who sculpted a silver work sent to King Oscar II and lived in New York; Carl Lotave (1872-1924), who also taught at Bethany; Thure de Thulstrup (1898-1930), who lived in New York and was well known as an illustrator; and sculptors Knut Åkerberg and Jean LeVeau, by then both living and working in California. Sandzen pointed to the artists' professional training in both Sweden and Paris and the fact that they did not live in one area but throughout America. Why, he asked, was there not a museum built to hold their work or an exhibition featuring their art?

In his next two articles Sandzen again exhorted readers to support Swedish-American artists. He compared nurturing students to planting and caring for a garden in the 1903 article "Våra svensk-amerikansk konstskolar" [our Swedish-American art schools]. "Our young Swedish-American art schools, poor as they are, have a great work to do."¹¹ Giving the history of Bethany and Augustana's art departments [Bethany began in 1890, Augustana in 1895, both with American women instructors], he noted that not only did each school teach drawing and painting, but they also worked with altar paintings. Sandzen implored his readers once again to become educated in the arts. He noted that Swedish-American families owned both pianos and phonographs but were not educated in the visual arts. At the end of his essay he asked the readers' forgiveness, stating, "Dear reader, if you find me one-sided, forgive me. I myself have great interest in this matter and have tried to pull you along with me, but I have meant well."¹²

Sandzen's next articles highlighted the careers of Swedish and Swedish immigrant artists. In "Amerikas förste konstnär" (America's first artist), published in 1904, he focused on the career of Gustaf Hesselius, crediting an 1897 article by American art historian Charles Henry Hart with the colonial artist's rediscovery, closely paraphrasing Hart's wording for his own article. His next two articles focused exclusively on Swedish art, "Sweden's Modern Art," published in two installments in 1909 and 1910. Sandzen traced the careers of Swedish painters Anders Zorn (1860-1920), Karl Nordström (1855-1923), Nils Krueger (1858-1930), and Richard Bergh (1858-1919), all of whom he knew as teachers at the school of the artists' federation (Konstnärsförbundet, or the Opponents) in the 1890s and all of whom had returned to Sweden in the early 1880s to bring a blue-laced Impressionism to scenes of Swedish landscape. Placing these artists within a context, he gave a short history of Swedish art from the eighteenth century through then-contemporary artists Albert Engstrom (1864-1940) and Olof Sager-Nelson (1868-1896), describing the typical subjects and techniques used by each painter. Once again Sandzen

preached the gospel of art appreciation when he told about the sad vision he witnessed yearly in America, where talented and gifted persons in the arts succumbed to choosing careers as businessmen and factory workers rather than remain as artists. He exhorted his readers to buy Swedish and Swedish-American art and to attempt to form collections.

In 1906, Sandzen wrote an article about the Swedish-American art collection of A. E. Johnson, director of the Scandinavian-American shipping line. Sandzen enthusiastically implored well-to-do Swedish-Americans to consider collecting art, noting that the person who buys works from the artist nourishes not only himself, but also the artist. Most artists, he claimed, were impractical and realized that they would not make a living while alive, but hoped that fifty years after their death, their work would gain visibility in the art world.¹³ Remarking that he was surprised but pleased to find a Swedish-American who collected art, Sandzen described the collection as he went through the collector's house room by room.

Schön, the *Prärieblomman*'s editor, wrote about a Chicago-based collector, businessman Fritz Schoultz, for the 1911 publication. Although the author described Schoultz's rococo-influenced decorative interiors and furnishings along with his art collection, he couldn't resist an opportunity to implore his readers to educate themselves in the visual arts. His readers, Schön stated, knew about music and church architecture and were becoming increasingly aware of the arts because of the demand for altar paintings as new churches were being built. Augustana's art professor Olof Grafström had helped educate the Swedish-American public, he wrote, by completing more than 50 altar paintings in the preceding 15-20 years. In the same article, Schön proudly reported on the exhibition of Swedish-American art, March 11-24, 1911, at the Swedish Club of Chicago, writing that the most renowned and representative of the Swedish-American artists had exhibited their work. Towards the end of the article, he toured Schoultz's home, listing paintings by German and Russian artists, as well as works by three Swedish-American artists.

Both Schön and Sandzen wrote about the second (1911) and third (1912) Swedish-American art exhibitions in the 1912 and 1913 publications respectively, although none of the prize-winning works was shown in the annual, nor specifically pointed out in the text. Schön's essay covered the history of Swedish-American art, from the hurried exhibition at Bethany College engineered by Sandzen, G.N. Malm, and Carl Lotave in May of 1899 to the establishment of the Swedish-American Art Association and subsequent exhibition of 80 works in November 1905 at the Anderson Galleries in Chicago. Art exhibitions were apparently new for Chicago's Swedish-American constituency, he claimed, and attendance was sparse. Nevertheless, Schön described the 1911 entrants' work in great detail. The underlying sub-theme of *Prärieblomman*, that Sweden was the mother image and America the chosen bridegroom, could be subtly read in Schön's exhortation that Sweden was still the mother country, describing John F. Carlson's canvas, *Desolation*, as a "gripping piece from our adopted land."¹⁴

Birger Sandzen reported on the third (1912) Swedish-American exhibition in great detail, reporting that some of the exhibitors were good friends whose work he knew "like my five fingers."¹⁵ Reporting on all 29 of the artists who submitted work, Sandzen devoted a paragraph to each, except for the works submitted by seascape painter Henry Reuterdahl and Woodstock artist John F. Carlson. He dedicated a page and a half to each of these painters, describing their work in glowing terms, based on his familiarity with their work and possibly the desire to show the broad national scope of the exhibition to his readers, since both artists lived and typically exhibited in New York. He had written about Reuterdahl as a promising New York illustrator in

his 1902 article, "Något om svensk konst i Amerika," and probably had viewed Carlson's painting, which won first prizes in the Swedish-American exhibition in 1911 and 1913.

In the last three pages of his article, however, Sandzen couldn't resist the tendency to educate his readers on the French Impressionist painters and American Impressionist painter Childe Hassam (1854-1935) who, he claimed influenced the more avant-garde of the artists in the Swedish-American exhibition. Without specifically comparing Swedish-American artists to French Impressionist or Post-Impressionist painters, Sandzen lauded the unpretentiousness and modest conservatism of his countrymen's work. He explained the emphasis on color seen in the works of the Impressionists while questioning the naïve, child-like quality of Post-Impressionist European painters Paul Cezanne (1839-1906) and Vincent van Gogh (1853-1890). By 1912, however, American and European art critics labeled the canvases of both Cezanne and van Gogh seminal to the new European movements of expressionistic fauvism and cubism, which had been viewed in Parisian galleries early in the twentieth century. Cezanne's late paintings, from 1904-1906, and those of the French fauvist painter Henri Matisse had already been displayed in New York in Alfred Steiglitz's gallery 291. American artists such as Max Webber (1881-1961), who had viewed the works of the cubist innovator Pablo Picasso and fauvist master Matisse by 1908, were already painting in modified fauvist-cubist styles by 1910 when Webber showed works in Alfred Steiglitz's *Younger American Painters* show. Thus, while Swedish-American publications supported their ethnic group's exhibitions, they were either unaware of new artistic currents from Europe that were already used by American artists on the East Coast or chose to deliberately ignore them. The annual's writers and editor did a thorough job of reporting on Swedish-American art exhibitions of 1911 and 1912, but did not refer to other American or Scandinavian art exhibitions that took place in America and were well publicized in newspapers and magazines at the time. In contrast, Wilhelm Berger, writing for *Ungdomsvännan* in 1913, compared the entrants in the 1913 exhibition to American painters George Bellows (1882-1925) and George Luks (1867-1932), assuming that his readers were aware of these artists or could be educated. Both American artists were on the vanguard of modernism, but Berger noted that their art was not based on a national ethos as were the Swedish-immigrant artists.

Although the last issue of *Prärieblomman* in 1913 could conceivably have covered the important exhibition of Scandinavian art which opened in New York in December 1912, the publication's editors either decided against it or deadlines precluded its inclusion. *Prärieblomman* editors had reviewed the Swedish pavilion in the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis, devoting three pages to Sweden's art, with photographs of work by Anders Zorn and Carl Larsson. Comparing the gray tonalities in the canvases in the Dutch and German pavilions, the editor wrote that jubilant color greeted the visitor to Sweden's art exhibition. It is clear to see, he wrote, that Sweden possessed a fully developed national art in comparison with the other European countries.¹⁶

Illustrations published in *Prärieblomman* featured conservative landscapes, and predominantly American scenes rather than Swedish. With the exception of Birger Sandzen, nine of whose paintings and drawings were published in *Prärieblomman* between 1902 and 1913, Augustana College art professor Olof Grafström published the greatest number of illustrations of his work. Grafström, who had seventeen images of his paintings in the annuals, lived and worked in Rock Island, within the same campus complex as the Augustana Book Concern which published the periodical. The beauty of the romantic views illustrated in the painter's compositions but also the proximity of the artist to the publishing house may have been a factor in the large number. Grafström painted conservative, romantic landscape compositions

depicting river scenes from Rock Island, views of American Indian encampments, and scenic mountainscapes from the West Coast and Sweden. Charles Hallberg led the artists after Grafström and Sandzen, with seven similar seascapes in consecutive issues from 1904 to 1910. A portrait, atmospheric landscape painting, view of Sweden, and genre painting of a mother and child by Woodstock, New York, painter Carl Eric Lindin (1864-1942) were illustrated in four of the periodicals. Chicago-based portrait painter Arvid Nyholm (1866-1927) also contributed four portraits to three separate issues of the annual; Chicago landscapist Alfred Jansson (1863-1931) published three works during the periodical's 13-issue existence; and New York painter Henry Reuter Dahl, Pennsylvania illustrator and former Chicago cartoonist Gus Higgins (1863-1909), and Chicago-based painter B.J.O. Nordfeldt (1878-1955) each published two illustrations. Chicago painter M.J. Ahlströmer, Bethany College art teacher Carl Lotave, and Anders Walgren each had one painting illustrated in the annual. Few sculptures were represented, with the exception of three works by Illinois sculptor Charles Hagg (1867-1933); two by Henning Ryden (1864-1938); and four by C. J. Nilsson (1867-1940) of Chicago. These artists may have been chosen in part for their proximity to the publishing house and editor Schön's home.¹⁷

Since Augustana Book Concern published both periodicals, the plates by the artists were already in the archives. *Ungdomsvännen*, the monthly magazine for second generation Swedish-American young persons, re-used several of the illustrations from *Prärieblomman* in their issues, often years later than the original publication of the work. For example, *Prärieblomman* published Olof Grafström's painting *Mount Ranier* in 1903 and *Ungdomsvännen* reproduced the same painting in the February 1912 issue.

Reproductions of paintings, drawings, or sculpture illustrated in *Prärieblomman* represented the artist's most current work. In the first issue (1900), for example, Olof Grafström's painting *Indianlägger*, reproduced on page 7, was a photograph of the painting *Indian Camp in Kansas* (fig. 2), which Grafström had sent back to Sweden for the 1897 Stockholm Exposition. The painting arrived too late to be exhibited, but instead remained with his family in Sundsvall and today is owned by the museum at Sundsvall.¹⁸ Almost interchangeable with *Indianlägger*, Grafström's painting *Vy från Lappland*, 1886-1887, in the same issue showed similar tents, but with a panoramic mountain view in the background. Equally as current were paintings Birger Sandzen sent to the annual. The artist's charcoal drawings such as *Skymning*, reproduced in the 1909 issue, were similar to the decorative shapes of trees and prairies Sandzen was exploring at the time on canvases in his Lindsborg, Kansas studio. His paintings were influenced by the wave of curving forms used in Art Nouveau compositions by contemporary Swedish artists from Gustaf Fjaestad (1868-1948) to Eugene Jansson (1862-1915). The tendency towards broader, flat shapes and atmospheric horizons could be viewed in Swedish paintings as early as the 1890s with the works of the Varberg School. Karl Nordström, Richard Bergh (both teachers of Sandzen in the school of the Artists Federation in Stockholm in 1893-1894), and Nils Krueger had formed this colony in the west coast seaport of Varberg, where they painted landscapes with strong, broad brushstrokes and simplified but monumental landscape shapes.

Although his work was probably influenced by seventeenth century Dutch sea paintings with their expanse of water and sky, the canvases by Chicago seascapist Charles Hallberg, reproduced in seven annuals between 1904 and 1910, were similar to the paintings he exhibited at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1906. The paintings' formulaic half sky and half sea bisected the canvas and offset churning waves. Although Hallberg could have seen Dutch seascapes at

the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm before immigrating in 1887, several such compositions were available for him to view at the Art Institute of Chicago or in magazine reproductions.

It is possible to trace the painters' mentors in the illustrations. Two etchings from B.J.O. Nordfeldt's Chicago suite, 1912, exhibited in the Rouillers gallery in Chicago in 1912, illustrated the 1913 annual. Their focus on the city, such as *Five o'Clock* and *Clark Street* with the emphasis on smoke-laden factories and street construction, emulated the grime-ridden city scenes of the American painters in the Ashcan school, who had first exhibited to a shocked New York public in 1908 and continued to paint the underbelly of the city through the teens of the century. The majority of the illustrations in *Prärieblomman*, however, were derivative of Sweden's National Romantic tradition, which began when Swedish artists began to study in Dusseldorf, Germany, from the late 1840s to the 1860s. Their canvases, such as those of waterfalls by Swedish painter Marcus Larson (1825-1864) emphasized panoramic views of forests, dying trees, cloudy skies, and running water. In both the Swedish National Romantic tradition and in Olof Grafström's paintings, the vast, wide wilderness was often offset by a small figure of a hunter or wild deer or elk. The Royal Academy school in Stockholm, which Grafström attended from 1875 to 1882, emphasized the Swedish National Romantic tradition in landscapes. When Grafström immigrated to Portland, Oregon, in 1886 and then settled in Spokane in 1889, he carried this tradition with him. Its emphasis on broad, picturesque views that dwarf man and beast can be seen in most of Grafström's paintings reproduced in *Prärieblomman*. By 1913 these romantic scenes still appeared acceptable to the Swedish-American public, but conservative and outdated within a national context. With the increasing acceptance of early European modernism's influence on American art in mainstream art reviews and galleries, the Swedish-American artists were consigned to isolated, ethnic venues.

What distinguished *Ungdomsvännen* from the annual *Prärieblomman* was not only its monthly schedule, but also the individual articles on contemporary Swedish-American artists. These ranged from sculptor David Edström, who successfully exhibited work and lived in Sweden and had gained a Swedish patron in Ernst Thiel (May 1902), to New York ship portraitist and sea painter Henry Reuterdahl (January 1916). Although this monthly drew from the same pool of Swedish-American artists as the annual *Prärieblomman*, the published artworks represented the realistic vein of work being done in America which would be easily understood by a conservative constituency. Published in the Midwest, the periodical's art reflected the interests of its readership and the proximity of the illustrators to the printing house. The majority of artists' paintings depicted American landscapes, but most had at least one picturesque view from Sweden. American landscapes were generally romantic depictions of Western mountains, Midwestern lakes or swamps – often featuring an American Indian or a deer to measure scale – and tree clumps out on the prairie at sundown. These views, influenced by the Swedish Romantic landscape tradition from the mid-nineteenth century, translated Swedish panoramas into American scenes of lakes and mountains. This can be seen in Olof Grafström's paintings such as *Vinterscen*, reproduced in the January 1910 issue, and *Solnedgång, motiv från Minnesota*, illustrated in the January 1916 issue.

The list of artists illustrating pages of the periodical *Ungdomsvännen* was exactly the same as those in *Prärieblomman*, with a few exceptions, notably those of New York portrait painter Ava Lagercrantz (January 1913), Chicago illustrator Hugo von Hofsten, Buffalo seascape artist Lars Gustaf Sellstedt (April 1913), Connecticut painter Carl Ringius (January 1918), and sculptors David Edström (May 1902); and Jean LeVeau (March 1903). In addition, reproductions of work by well known Swedish artists Carl Larsson, Anders Zorn, and Anshelm

Schultzberg (1862-1945), among others, were published several times during the 21-year tenure of the publication.

Editor S. G. Youngstedt made a concerted effort to run a series on Swedish-American artists from 1904 until 1907, but also published occasional articles on artists after that date through 1916. Anders Schön began the series, *Svensk-Amerikanska Konstnärer* (Swedish-American Artists), by examining the career of Gustaf Hesselius, proudly asserting that “America’s first real artist was Swedish.”¹⁹ Like Birger Sandzen, Schön relied heavily on the 1897 article by art historian Charles Henry Hart. He sketched the careers of John Hesselius, Adolf Wertmüller, Peter Almini (1825-1890), and Lars Axel Blomberg (1841-1879) in this early article, quoting from Sandzen’s 1904 *Prärieblomman* article that “even in art’s domain, we believe that Swedes have something to give their new homeland.” Sandzen was the focus of the May 1904 issue, in an article that showed his studio at Bethany College; Olof Grafström appeared in the June 1904 issue; and David Edström, already featured two years earlier, and Charles Hallberg were profiled in the July 1904 issue. Appropriate to the publication, one of Hallberg’s religious paintings, *Jesus går på vattnet* (Jesus walks on the water) was reproduced along with his more typical seascapes. Schön, the author, wrote humorously about Hallberg’s first entry in an exhibition at the Art Institute of Chicago when its director, William French, persuaded the seascape painter to submit his marine painting even though the submission deadline had passed. French took the painting and hung it in a gallery with works by well-respected late nineteenth century painters: Joseph Israels, James McNeill Whistler, and William Merrit Chase. The author concluded that Hallberg’s painting “hung in good company.” Schön wrote on altar painters Frank Lundahl (1858---) and V.L.E. Fredrikson, respectively, for the August and September issues of the magazine. The photograph of Fredrikson featured the artist almost dwarfed by an altar painting of Jesus and the women at the well. The series featured caricature artist and painter Gus Higgins in October and sculptor Henning Ryden (1869-1938) in December.

In contrast to the nine artists individually profiled in 1904, only four were featured in 1905, three in 1906, and none in 1907. Anders Schön wrote six of the articles, while Birger Sandzen wrote one, on Carl Lindin for the February 1905 issue. Although he originally settled in Chicago in 1889, Lindin had been a classmate of Sandzen’s in the Parisian studio of Aman-Jean in 1894, returning to paint in Chicago in 1897, later moving to Woodstock, New York, where he painted atmospheric landscape scenes of Catskill Mountain woods. Schön sketched the career of Chicago painter and newspaper illustrator Hugo von Hofsten (1865-1947) in the April 1905 issue; Swedish-trained decorative sculptor Axel E. Olsson in the June issue; and Chicago portrait painter Arvid Nyholm in the August issue. In February 1906 Schön wrote an article on C.F. von Saltza (1858-1905), Swedish-trained portraitist who had taught at the art department of Columbia Teachers College before his death just a year earlier. He also wrote on commemorative sculptor Jean LeVeau (b. 1849--) in the March 1906 issue and on Chicago sculptor C. J. Nilsson in April 1906. Articles focusing on specific artists appeared more sporadically after 1906, although the magazine continued to publish reproductions of artists’ works. These included features on marine painter Charles Hallberg, July, 1908; landscape painter Oscar Brouse Jacobson (1882-1966), June 1910; portraitist Ava Lagercrantz (1882-1938), January 1913; Buffalo land- and seascape painter Lars Gustaf Sellstedt (1818-1911), April 1913; and ship portraitist and painter of Navy vessels Henry Reuterdahl, January 1916.

At the same time, but to a lesser extent, *Ungdomsvännan* kept its readers apprised of cultural events in Sweden. The January 1902 edition described galleries and square footage of

the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm, illustrating the article with paintings by Swedish academician Johan Tirén. Popular painter of Swedish home life Carl Larsson and his wife, the weaver Karin Larsson, were highlighted in the June 1912 issue, while the opening of Stockholm's new Liljevalchs Gallery focusing on contemporary Swedish art was described in the summer 1916 edition.

Ungdomsvännen's most important role, however, was that of a supportive publication for Swedish-American artists. Besides publishing individual articles on and illustrations by these painters and sculptors, the magazine featured articles on the artists' current exhibitions in private galleries. Editors reviewed C. J. Nilsson's exhibition of sculpture at the Anderson Galleries in Chicago in the April 1906 issue and the November 1911 edition featured a short article on Charles Hallberg's exhibition of seascapes in Chicago. In the January 1913 issue, reproductions of B.J.O. Nordfeldt's *Five o'Clock*, and *Clark Street* illustrated a short article on his exhibition of etchings in Chicago. Editors also published a book review on Birger Sandzen's book, *Med Pencil och Penna* (With pencil and pen), in the March 1906 issue.

The first ethnic publication to introduce its young readers to contemporary Swedish art, the magazine publicized the Scandinavian art exhibition in its February 1913 issue and the Swedish art from the Panama Pacific Exposition of 1915 in its October 1915 issue. V. (Wilhelm) Berger, who reviewed the 1913 exhibition, noted that the Swedish art showed traits of nationalism and that this was the lesson that Scandinavian art would teach American audiences. He reported that New York mayor William J. Gaynor, who opened the exhibition at the American Art Galleries, confessed to the crowd at the opening that he knew about Scandinavian literature and music, but until now had been ignorant of a Scandinavian art of significance. Berger wrote that most Swedish-American viewers went straight to the work of Carl Larsson and Axel Pettersson, or Döderhultarna. Both artists illustrated almost stock characters of Swedish people: Larsson painted happy, decorative images of home and Pettersson carved cartoon-like images of Swedish peasants.

Continuing its coverage of Scandinavian art officially traveling to America, the magazine included a story on Swedish art in the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco in an October 1915 issue, using a photograph of the Swedish pavilion designed by Ferdinand Boberg to illustrate the article. Birger Sandzen, the reviewer, educated his audience of first and second-generation Swedish-Americans about the Swedish artists who had shown work and won prizes in the exhibition, although he did not include the names of Swedish-Americans Carl Oscar Borg (1879-1947), John F. Carlson (1874-1945), and B.J.O. Nordfeldt, who had won silver medals in the American pavilion of the Exposition. Sandzen cited Carl Larsson and Bruno Liljefors' (1860-1939) grand prizes, describing Larsson's happy depictions of home and Liljefors' gripping portrayals of Nordic animals in lush landscape environments. He reported on the most radical of the exhibitors, Gabriel Strandberg (1885-1966), who worked in the "ultramodern expressionist" style, and praised Gustaf Fjaestad (1868-1948) for his decorative experiments with motifs of water, snow, and forest.^{20 1}

Although the magazine had not covered previous Swedish-American art exhibitions, it highlighted the third annual exhibition in its June 1913 issue. Author Anders Sanon, possibly a pen name for Anders Schön, conveyed his enthusiasm for the art, glowingly reporting that not only did the exhibition receive a warm review from the art critic on the Chicago *Evening Post*, but that Mayor Carter Harrison purchased no fewer than four paintings. Typical of the journalism of the times and knowing that he was playing to his audiences, the reporter commented on the "ypperliga" (excellent) landscapes of John F. Carlson, "one of America's

foremost painters” and described Emil Gelhaar’s canvas *Pont Neuf* as drenched in golden light.²¹ While Sanon described the artists and works using superlative language in Swedish, he gave all of the titles in English, the language used in the exhibition’s catalogs. Unlike the articles on the first two exhibitions in *Prärieblomman*, the reporter listed prize-winners at the end of the article and included a panoramic photograph of the interior of the exhibition in which works can be clearly identified.

Unlike the Augustana Synod’s publications, the annuals *Hemåt* and *Aurora* and bi-weekly *The Covenant Companion*, published by the Mission Covenant denomination, and *Vinter Rosor*, by the Swedish Methodist church, reproduced work by few Swedish-American artists. Instead they often used prints by Renaissance or nineteenth century English, French, or German masters. Raphael’s *Madonna of the Chair*, 1505, for example was used in the 1901 annual *Aurora* while his *Sistine Madonna* was published in the 1906 edition of *Vinter Rosor*. Both *Aurora* and *Hemåt* liberally used photographs of Michelangelo’s religious sculpture, Michelangelo’s prophet *Daniel* in the 1915 *Aurora* and *David* in 1908 *Hemåt*. Nineteenth century Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen (1768-1844) had his images of Christ and the apostles reproduced numerous times, beginning as early as 1914 in *Aurora*, *Hemåt*, and *Vinter Rosor* and as late as 1933 in *Hemåt*.

Reproductions by Swedish artists were more common in the early years of all these publications. *Hemåt*, for example, published Johan Höckert’s *Gudmoders Besök* (also translated as *The Godmother’s Blessing*), 1866, in 1892, and Bruno Liljeförs *Röfvare, mördare, hjälp!* (*Rob, kill, help!*) in 1898, while Anders Zorn’s painting *Fiskarvens Hemkomst* (*Fisherman’s Homecoming*) was published in *Aurora* in 1907. *Vinter Rosor*, in an unusual emphasis, highlighted the paintings of Swedish-Finnish painter Albert Edelfeldt (1854-1905), reproducing several including *Old Women Outside the Church at Ruokolahti*, 1887, in its 1906 edition. Popular Swedish illustrator Jenny Nyström’s illustrated at least eight of the articles in *Aurora*, *Hemåt*, and *Vinter Rosor*, beginning as early as 1916 in *Aurora*.

All four publications traded plates of artists’ works with each other, using some of these plates repeatedly, probably to cut printing costs. For example, an unidentified print of three angels appeared numerous times in each, beginning as early as 1896 in *Hemåt*, then in *Vinter Rosor* in 1903, in *Aurora* in 1916, and on the cover of *The Covenant Companion* January 6, 1930. A drawing of a small child holding a typically Swedish candelabra was used in *Vinter Rosor* was used successively from 1911, 1912, 1915, 1918, and 1929; then by *Hemåt* in 1927 and 1943. Readers apparently viewed these repetitions as part of the annual’s Christmas emphasis.

Contrasting with the annuals, the monthly, then bi-weekly *The Covenant Companion* often employed Covenant artist Werner Sallman to illustrate its magazine for church school teachers. Sallman’s famous head of Christ appeared first in its February 1924 issue. His family genre scenes, such as “Benediction of Christian Education,” on the cover of the April 17, 1929 edition, and several dramatic woodcuts of landscape scenes illustrated covers through 1933. Besides Sallman, *The Companion* also reproduced well-established Swedish-American painter Carl Ringius’ *Afterglow* on three covers (October 17, 1928, September 15, 1920, and October 22, 1932) and Christian von Schneidau’s painting of *The Landing of the Swedes in New Sweden*, originally completed for the ballroom of the Swedish Club in Chicago in 1922.

Unlike the religious publications, *Valkyrian* (1897-1909), published out of New York, differed from both *Prärieblomman* and *Ungdomsvännen* by offering its audience short, serialized stories. During its 12-year tenure, the journal featured few illustrations by Swedish-American

artists, but used reproductions of paintings by Swedish artists, often those from the more conservative National Romantic school. Although the editors credited these artists in captions under the reproductions, they did not create a separate category for reproductions or illustrations in the yearly index. They used, among others, a reproduction of a canvas depicting Nordic legends by M. E. Winge, for example, in January 1905; and August Jernberg's (1826-96) *Young Woman Writing* in the January 1907. During its life cycle, the magazine featured articles on only two Swedish artists, Carl Larsson and Anders Zorn, and these were published in the early years of the magazine, 1897 and 1899 respectively. The writer described Carl Larsson as "a man with the courage to follow his own taste . . . and not some academic scholar's cookbook."²² Larsson's drawing, *Farfar och Lilla Susanne* (Grandfather and Little Susanne), illustrated the article and was re-used in an issue in 1907, possibly resulting from the problems after 1906 when editor Edward Sundell stepped down and the periodical evidenced both a decline in illustrations and shorter articles.²³

Drawings for the stories and articles were seldom credited to an artist in the caption and were not part of the annual index of articles. Besides illustrations by Carl Larsson, a number of pen and ink drawings illustrating articles published in the periodical from 1898 to its demise in 1909 were drawn by Per (Pelle) Erik Hedman (1861-1933), a colleague of Zorn and Larsson, who had studied at the Art Academy in Stockholm and in Paris. Hedman did not immigrate to America, but his illustrations were possibly purchased or pirated from Swedish periodicals. When Congress legislated tougher copyright laws by 1910, this practice ceased.²⁴ It is probable that illustrations by Swedish illustrator Carl Axel Kjellen (1862-1939) found in issues of the periodical from November 1898 and reprinted in the November 1907 issues were secured in the same manner.

At least two prominent Swedish-American artists/illustrators published illustrations for the periodical during its existence, Bror Thure de Thulstrup (1848-1930) and Gus Higgins (1863-1909). Thulstrup, who had immigrated to New York in 1874, created two pen and ink wash drawings for the article "När Jenny Lind Sjöng i Castle Garden" (When Jenny Lind sang in Castle Garden) in the August 1897 issue. Thulstrup, who did illustrations for *The New York Graphic*, *Harper's Weekly*, and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, had also done drawings of the 1893 World's **Columbian Exposition** in Chicago for the official handbook of the World's Fair. Gus Higgins, a Stockholm-born artist who immigrated to New York, then moved to Chicago to work on *The Chicago Tribune* and *The Chicago Globe*, drew two illustrations and had reproductions of two paintings published in the monthly. Higgins, living in Pittsburgh and then McKeesport, Pennsylvania, created cartoon-like figures for *Signalen* (The Signal) in January 1903 and *Fiskargubben* (The Old Fisherman) in May 1904. One of his oil paintings, *Bellman sjunger ihop pengar till Lidners begrafning* (Bellman Sings for Money at Lidner's Burial Service), was reproduced in the December 1904 issue.

Although published in New York, *Valkyrian* often focused on prominent Swedish-Americans in the Midwest, three of whom were Swedish-American artists. Olof Grafström, Augustana art professor, was featured in the October 1902 issue with several of his paintings (*Indian Camp in Idaho*, actually titled *Indian Camp in Kansas*; *Mt. Ranier*; and *Norrlands Vattenfall*). The author wrote that Grafström had a real "cultural mission to fulfill" with his teaching.²⁵ An article on Bethany College's annual Messiahfest in the spring of 1901 featured not only a picture of Birger Sandzen as a tenor soloist, but also reproduced two of his drawings, *I Tallskogen* (in the Tall Woods) and *Före Stormen* (Before the Storm). Sandzen later wrote an article in May 1905, "Straffpredikan" (Hellfire Sermons). *Valkyrian* pictured the third prominent

Swedish-American artist, former Chicago resident August Franzén (1864-1938), in his luxuriously furnished studio atop Carnegie Hall in its July 1906 issue. Portraits, the staple of his career, hung from the walls and perched on the easels, amid potted palms and hanging wall tapestries.

The American Scandinavian Review, the official magazine of the American Scandinavian Society, reached the broadest audience nationally, publishing the majority of its fine arts articles on Swedish-immigrant artists between its founding in 1913 and 1940. The language used by its writers and reviewers helped to define Scandinavian- and Swedish-American artistic tendencies and subtly educate the magazine's constituency. In fact, art critic Christian Brinton noted that "Thanks to the tri-national Scandinavian art exhibition of 1912, 1913, and the progressive pages of the *Review*, the American public is tolerably familiar with the physiognomy of contemporary Northern painting and sculpture."²⁶ From its inception in 1913, each issue contained news items relating to Scandinavian and Scandinavian-American art, often spotlighting a particular artist or exhibition of works. In the 27 years between 1913 and 1940, the magazine published 15 articles or news items relating to Scandinavian-American artists, 11 of which were about Swedish-American painters and sculptors and two each about Danish-American and Norwegian-American artists.²⁷ Its editors first attempted to define Scandinavian characteristics in the aftermath of the 1912 Scandinavian Art Exhibition that traveled to New York and five other national sites. Polling the New York newspaper critics that reviewed the exhibition, the magazine's editorial noted that *The Evening Post* found distinctly different characteristics in the art of each country. The editor reported that the *Post* defined Swedish art as more native, while the art of Denmark and Norway was derivative of German art. Culling reviews from the city's papers, the editor wrote that most deciphered a touch of decorative craftsmanship in Swedish art. Scandinavian art, in general, wrote the editor, had a "rugged, primitive strength . . . a disregard for sheer beauty, particularly for the beauty of color."²⁸

The official catalog for the exhibition, published by the American Scandinavian Society, introduced vocabulary that defined Swedish characteristics in its art, thus influencing the word choices of the *Review*. Dr. Christian Brinton, who wrote the catalog, acknowledged that Sweden was the first of the Nordic countries to foster the arts, but did so for an elite group of courtiers. It was not until the late nineteenth century that Sweden's literary figures, according to Brinton, influenced the austerity of its painters' canvases. The Open Air Museum at Skansen, with its appreciation of folk craft and handicrafts, developed by Artur Hazelius in the late 1890s, created a design aesthetic grounded in peasant patterns and handicrafts' colors. Filled with "tender lyricism and heroic intensity," Brinton defined an art that had a direct communication with nature.²⁹

This same rhetoric, however, was not used in subsequent descriptions of Swedish-American art when described in the six-part series on "Scandinavian Artists in America," which began with the January-February 1914 issue of the magazine and ended in the March-April 1918 issue. Authors negated stylistic characteristics of the artists that may have been carried over from the mother countries, but instead emphasized successes in their American careers. Four of the six featured artists were Swedish immigrants. Fittingly, the first article in the series of essays on Scandinavian artists in America, "Scandinavian Contributions to Early American Art" (January-February 1914), traced the history of Swedish colonial painter Gustavus (Gustaf) Hesselius, the first Scandinavian-American in American art, from his arrival in 1711 to his depiction of colonial worthies at mid-eighteenth century. Author Williella Goddard Ball hailed Hesselius as the earliest European master to settle in America.³⁰ Adolph Wertmüller, she wrote, achieved a

mixed reception from his American public for his aristocratic portrayals of Federal-era worthies, but had been a successful portraitist back in Sweden.

Danish-born sculptor Solon Borglum (1868-1922), the subject of the second article in the series (May-June 1915), was labeled "American to the core" for his depictions of cowboys, Indians, and horses, by Norwegian-American art historian J. Nielsen Laurvik. The third artist featured in the series, Jonas Lie (1880-1940), was viewed as both Norwegian and American. Perhaps because its author, Christian Brinton, often wrote catalogs on ethnic American artists, he traced vestiges of high mountains and fjords in Norwegian-American Jonas Lie's cityscapes.

Following articles on Borglum and Lie, the fourth article in the series focused on Birger Sandzen. In her article (May-June 1916), art critic Mary Marsh emphasized Sandzen's American views and images, alluding to no use of color or technique that would distinguish the painter as Swedish-American. Praising Sandzen's canvases, author Mary Marsh wrote that he found beauty in his daily surroundings. While most American artists, she wrote, would consider the "monotonous prairies of the West" to be ugly, Sandzen glorified them. She emphasized his American allegiance, writing that "yet one American artist, Birger Sandzen by name, has found a new, strange beauty in the desolate, flat-topped buttes and distant white-walled river banks."³¹

The fifth and sixth articles in the series highlighted the careers of Swedish-American sculptors Charles Haag (January, February 1918) and David Edström (March, April 1918). Writer Amelia von Ende emphasized Haag's American career but pointed to late works in which the sculptor carved wooden figures from Nordic folk tales. Swedish writer Carl Johannes Södergren emphasized David Edström's success in international exhibitions and galleries, pointing to the sculptor's modern, expressionistic style and equated his work to that of Swedish sculptor Carl Milles (1875-1955), without emphasizing qualities of "Swedishness" in their work.

In an article on Swedish immigrant sculptor Agnes Fromén (January-February 1917) that was not part of the series, the author emphasized Fromén's American successes in galleries and schools. The author noted that she promoted Swedish-American exhibitions in Chicago and the travelling Scandinavian exhibition of 1912-1913, had been a student at the Art Institute of Chicago, and exhibited work in the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915.

There were six additional articles on Swedish-American artists between 1919 and 1940, only two of which, on Birger Sandzen and J. Olof Olson, analyzed the artist's work in terms of ethnicity. At least four were short news articles: the cartoons of Oscar Cesare (1883-1948) depicting World War I sentiments in New York papers for the September-October 1917 issue; exhibitions of East Coast painter Emil Gelhaar, June 1927; West Coast artist Gunnar Widforss (1879-1934), June 1929; and Minnesota painter Dewey Albinson (1898-1970), April 1932.

At least in one case, the *Review* prompted American critics to evaluate an artist on ethnic criteria. Birger Sandzen's first exhibition in New York at the Babcock Gallery featured prominently in the February 1922 issue of the magazine. The American Scandinavian Foundation sponsored a tour of his work to Chapter Associates of the foundation and Christian Brinton wrote the catalog essay. Perhaps because of Brinton's language defining Sandzen's Swedish temperament in the catalog, other reviewers picked up the rhetoric. The *Review* reprinted the critiques found in New York papers, emphasizing the ethnic references. Royal Cortissoz, critic for *The New York Tribune* reviewed the exhibition, noting Sandzen's thick, impastoed surface and commenting that this "fairly brutalizes the surfaces of his canvas. . . . It is the familiar crudity of the Scandinavian school that robs his sincere, sweeping paintings of the beauty that so strong a temperament ought to secure." A kinder critic for *The Christian Science Monitor* wrote that "His pictorial display has startled New York like the banners of his ancestral

Vikings. Here . . . is the wild Nordic impulse, transplanted and recharged with the old vigor in the atmosphere of Western America."³²

The July 1931 issue noted that J. Olaf Olson had "the Northern urge for self-expression, the racial feeling for dynamic design." Frederick W. Cobourn, its author, also wrote that Olson's paintings expressed *stämning*, "a mood of nature that transforms the artists into a phase of the nature he depicts. In such art is reminiscences of the brooding melancholy of Northern nature. This has not been lost by repatriation."³³ Olson, who trained in New York and traveled in Europe, settled in the West to paint Western landscapes.

With the exception of the magazine's articles on Norwegian-American painter Jonas Lie and J. Olaf Olson, the strongest article to argue for ethnic qualities in artists' work was written by Elisabeth Luther Cary on the Swedish-American artists exhibition, then on display at New York's National Academy of Design, in the June 1920 issue. Cary, an art critic for *The New York Times* from 1908 through 1920, wrote that "It will be very interesting to know how far American conditions and surroundings, and . . . American teaching shall have modified for Swedish eyes these transplanted talents." Cary wrote that she found "little evidence of modification" to her American eyes.³⁴ Cary saw in many of the artists' works "a tendency that seems to belong to Sweden, a tendency to weave and plait, either with thick substance or lightly flowing ribbons of color."³⁵ Cary discerned more Swedish tendencies in the younger artists, writing that "among the older artists represented in the collection are Thure de Thulstrup, well-known here as an illustrator, Carl Eric Lindin, J. Lars Hofstrup, Alfred Jansson, Charles E. Hallberg, Henrik Hillbom, and Hugo von Hofsten, all conservative talents, showing less noticeably than the younger group the traits we seem to recognize as distinctly Swedish."³⁶ She pointed to the work of Woodstock painter John F. Carlson as "the best illustration of the Swedish temper of mind changed somewhat by American environment." She wrote that "the strong draughtsmanship is more or less concealed by tonal delicacies, the brisk spotting of surfaces with pure color is made subservient to a general grayness, occasionally, as in the *January Morning*, a building sings jubilantly red in the distance; more often the color declines to a mellifluous murmur."³⁷

The rhetoric of defining Swedish and Swedish-American artistic tendencies, however, could be deciphered in sporadic articles, particularly those written by Christian Brinton. A book review by *New York Times* critic Elisabeth Luther Cary, for example, quoted Brinton's preface to *Scandinavian Art*, published by the American Scandinavian Foundation. He declared that the further one gets from Greece and Rome, "the less is one enslaved by the fetish of form, by that academic tyranny which is the enemy of individual expression." Cary also quoted Brinton's surmises of Nordic content in which he stated that a "kind of pregnant intimacy" existed between the Northern painter and his environment.³⁸

Stories about Swedish-American artists exhibitions were sporadic. After the editors included a short news item about the 1915 Swedish-American exhibition in Chicago, no further exhibitions of this organization were reported through 1940, although there had been 14 exhibitions during the interim. In the February 1927 issue the editors included a short story on the exhibition "American Painters of Swedish Descent" in Vasa Castle Hall, sponsored by the St. Erik Society of New York, although the review did not mention participating artists.

Short news items appeared on the decision to tour the Swedish segment of the Panama Pacific International Exposition of 1915, but possibly because the exhibition was not sponsored by the American Scandinavian Foundation, the exhibition that subsequently toured to ten American cities in 1916, received scant coverage in the magazine. The periodical limited itself

to a short article on the Swedish artist Helmer Mas-Olle, a part of the traveling exhibition, by Christian Brinton (January, February 1917). Four years later it covered Charles S. Peterson's sponsorship of a Swedish gallery for the Art Institute of Chicago.

Although the bi-monthly magazine featured articles on at least seven Swedish-American artists and four small news items on five others from its beginning in 1913 to 1940, the magazine's New York-based editors and writers appeared to ignore the work of other prominent Swedish-American artists who were successfully exhibiting in prestigious New York Galleries during this same 27-year period. These years encompassed the time when Swedish artists who had immigrated with parents or as adults in the last great waves of immigration from the 1880s through the 1920s were at the height of their professional status as artists, many exhibiting in prominent New York galleries. The periodicals appeared to choose featured artists on the basis of a pre-judged canon of Swedish-American artists. These artists had shown work early in the twentieth century in Swedish-American publications, connoting a veneer of authority about the quality of the artists. While this canon had the merit of publicizing a certain number of artists to its ethnic constituency on a continuing basis, it did not retain a flexibility that allowed other, often more prominent artists who had entered the American mainstream to introduce their work to their Swedish-American counterparts.³⁹

The American Swedish Monthly, on the other hand, did not adhere to a prescribed canon of Swedish-American artists but surveyed the New York and East Coast arts scene. Published in New York City by the Swedish Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, the magazine lent the most consistent support to Swedish-American artists in the 1930s through 1940s. Its early issues, from the chamber's incorporation in 1907 until the early 1930s, emphasized Swedish products and American trade with Sweden rather than cultural events. By 1934, however, articles on Swedish-American artists, their patrons, and a column on artists' exhibitions were a part of the magazine. From 1934 to 1946, one article per year focused on an artist while the monthly columns on "The Arts," surveyed music recitals and current art exhibitions by Swedish-Americans.

Holger Lundbergh, who wrote the column "The Arts" was the manager of the American-Swedish News Exchange in New York and thus had access to news of both Swedish and American cultural events, particularly in New York. Lundbergh carefully documented activities of both Swedish artists and Swedish-American artists. For example, in columns from 1935 issues he mentioned one-time –American –immigrant and expressionist painter Emile Zoir's exhibition in Stockholm, WPA artist Olle Nordmark's exhibition of murals at the Grand Central Gallery, and the fact that Chicago marine painter Charles Hallberg had just turned 80. Occasionally Lundbergh included a short profile on an artist in his column on the arts, such as one on Minnesota landscape and portrait painter Elof Wedin (1901-1983), who had an exhibition at the Hudson D. Walker gallery in New York in 1937, or on Henry Mattson (1887-1971), who had just sold his painting *Wings of the Morning* to the Metropolitan Museum in the spring of 1937 and had recently won a Guggenheim fellowship.

Featured articles for 1934 and 1935 emphasized the American content of the immigrant artists rather than the retention of Swedish characteristics. The article on Connecticut landscape painter, "Carl Ringius and His Art," publicized Ringius' (1879-1936) exhibition of paintings at the John Morton Memorial Museum in Philadelphia, the forerunner to the present American Swedish Museum. Ringius' Swedish birth and background were summarized, but his American subject matter and success in American galleries and museums were the focus of the article. "Carl Oscar Borg, Portrayer of American Indians," (January 1935), emphasized the artist's

American climb to the mainstream and his successes along the way, including Borg's stint as a painter for Hollywood studios in the 1920s and his artistic cataloging of Native Americans for Phoebe Hearst's ethnographic collection.

Lundbergh, whose primary responsibility was his column on the arts, wrote the feature article for 1936 on Woodstock landscape painter John F. Carlson's success with American galleries and awards, but also tied the artist's childhood to his retention of Swedish characteristics, blending the artist's background into the article. He described the painter's visual education in Sweden, watching his mother's brother decorate carriages with idyllic landscapes framed in "golf leaf curlicues," while "breathless villagers came to admire." When studying his uncle's work, Carlson told Lundbergh that "given a pencil stump and a torn piece of wrapping paper, the boy would scratch contentedly for hours, his imagination soaring." The author also pointed to Carlson's first sketches in America, claiming that they "were of trees, and mountains, of lakes and knolls. It was Småland, starved yet richly beautiful, that the boy recaptured in those unfinished sketches."⁴⁰ Lundbergh clearly traced aspects of Carlson's subject matter to his early visions from Sweden, not unusual rhetoric in articles about artists from scattered reviews in American periodicals from the early to mid-twentieth century, but seldom written in Swedish- or Scandinavian-American publications. The ethnic journals tended to emphasize Swedish-American artists' American content and place in American art, usually after the artist had reached a comfortable accommodation with sales and success in respected New York or Chicago galleries.

Even the news on Swedish sculptor Carl Milles focused on his American works. Linton Wilson writing an article "Indian and Orpheus, the Latest Creations of Carl Milles," in August 1936, emphasized his new piece for St. Paul, Minnesota. Milles, at that time sculptor-in-residence at Cranbrook Academy of Art in Bloomfield Hills, Michigan, had just completed a statue of a gigantic Indian for the St. Paul City Hall. Wilson wrote a second feature on Milles for the July 1940 issue entitled "The Meeting of the Rivers."

Lundbergh's column throughout 1936 offered breaking news about ethnic artists' activities. He publicized the exhibitions of Midwestern landscape painter Edward Gustave Jacobsson at the Morton Gallery in New York; the re-election of Connecticut painter Carl Ringius as secretary of the Connecticut Academy of Fine Arts; the April 27-May 9 exhibition of the Swedish American Art Association in the galleries of Marshall Field and Company in Chicago; the exhibition of "the celebrated Swedish-American painter, Carl Oscar Borg" at the Grand Central Galleries in April; including the news that Borg had sailed to Sweden to paint and study the Lapps that June.

Victor Freeburg revealed that Birger Sandzen concentrated on the beauty in Lindsborg, Kansas locations as a "pioneer in American art."⁴¹ The featured 1937 article described the inspiration that the flat prairies and creek beds posed for the painter. Sandzen's "winning personality" accounted for the painter's success as a teacher, according to Freeburg. Although the author emphasized Sandzen's culturally-rich ancestral home in Sweden, the majority of the article emphasized his American subjects.

News about Swedish artists was also included in Lundbergh's columns on the arts throughout 1937, but often with an American twist. For example, in the October 1937 column he reported that Swedish-Finnish landscape painter Louis Sparre painted a portrait of Dr. William H. Fox in 1925, when Fox was director of the Brooklyn Museum of Art. He wrote that Birger Sandzen and his daughter Margaret exhibited together at the Galerie Moderne in Stockholm in March and that Charles S. Peterson's donation to Smålands Museum in Växjö had

added another work by a Swedish-American (wood carver Carl Hallstahammer) to its gallery in the new annex. In May, he profiled the career of Swedish-born Woodstock marine painter Henry Mattson; and described the Swedish art exhibition that would tour American museums during the celebration of the Tercentenary in 1938.

In 1938 the monthly's featured artist was Oscar Brousse Jacobson (December 1938). Author Edna Nyquist emphasized Jacobson's American triumphs in galleries and as head of the art department at the University of Oklahoma. Painting in Colorado during the summer months when classes were over, Jacobson depicted mountainous landscapes, possibly influenced by the content in the work of his first art teacher, Birger Sandzen at Bethany College. The author, focused on Jacobson's position as head of Federal Art Projects in Oklahoma and his support of American Indian artists.

While there was no featured article about a Swedish-American artist in the magazine's 1941 issues, the magazine profiled Worcester native George N. Jeppson in the February 1941 article "Industrialist and Art Collector." Loring Holmes Dodd, its author, focused on each work in Jeppson's collection of Swedish artists ranging from Anders Zorn, Carl Larsson, Bruno Liljefors to Carl Milles. Jeppson's interest in the arts, with minimal emphasis on his career, was primary. The author reported on Jeppson's sponsorship of the Swedish art exhibition during the celebration of the Tercentenary in 1938. In another interesting feature article that same year, Swedish-born Ella Strom, the wife of American composer Percy Grainger, was spotlighted in an August 1941 issue by Paul S. Swensson, who later became editor of the *Minneapolis Tribune*. Trained in Sweden, Ella Strom sketched symbolic portraits on tile.

The magazine did not include a feature article on artists until 1946, but Holger Lundbergh consistently incorporated news of Swedish-American artists' triumphs in American galleries and periodicals through 1950 in his column "The Arts." In January 1941, for example, he listed three artists of Swedish descent who exhibited work at the "Survey of American Painting" sponsored by the Carnegie Institute. These included seventeenth century portrait painter Gustaf Hesselius, his son John Hesselius, and marine painter Henry Mattson. Lundbergh reported on the Carl Milles exhibition opening at the Orrefors Galleries in New York in March, on B.J.O. Nordfeldt's exhibition of flowers and still-lives at the Lilienfeld Gallery in New York, and his recent feature in the March 1941 issue of *Esquire*. Later in the year he devoted part of his column to carver and sculptor John Torell's many commissions for decorative reliefs in the Chicago area; the presentation by Carl Milles and George N. Jeppson of Milles' silver and pewter sculptural fountain to the Worcester Art Museum; an exhibition of New York cityscapes by Ragnar Olson at the Academy of Allied Arts in New York; and an exhibition of Carl Lindin's Woodstock landscapes at Bard College in Annandale-on-the-Hudson.

Lundbergh's columns in 1942 continued to emphasize Swedish-American artists' successes in entering the American artistic mainstream. He featured magazine illustrator Lealand R. Gustavson in his January column, reporting on his long career in top-drawer magazines such as *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier's*, and *Country Gentleman*. He reported on Henry Mattson's exhibition of seascapes at the prestigious New York Rehn Gallery in November of 1940, emphasizing that he was a "splendid American artist of Swedish birth."⁴² In the same column Lundbergh also reported that Carl Lindberg, landscape painter from Landsdowne, Pennsylvania, showed work at the American Swedish Historical Museum (November 20-December 31, 1941). Ragnar Olson's canvases of the Swedish West Coast and Brooklyn were shown at the exhibition of the Independent Artists of America at the Fine Arts

Society of New York; that Leon Lundmark, marine painter, had died in California; that prize-winner at the Swedish-American Art Association exhibition in Chicago, Thomas Hall, had sent his painting to the Peterson collection in Smålands Museum in Sweden; and that landscape painter John F. Carlson and illustrator Gustav Tenggren exhibited watercolors at the annual exhibition of the American Water Color Society at the National Academy of Design in New York.

In his 1943 columns Lundbergh noted that Henry Mattson had won the First W. A. Clark prize for his painting *Rocks* at the Corcoran Gallery of Art (April 1943); that Mattson's painting of his cat, entitled *Lovin'*, was on the cover of *The Art Digest* (October 1943); and that Leon Lundmark was honored with a retrospective of nineteen of his marine paintings at the California Palace of the Legion of Honor (August 1943).

"The Arts" column in 1944 again noted Henry Mattson's rising career, writing that his painting, *Toll of the Sea*, had been given to the Nelson Gallery of Art in Kansas City (February 1944); that Ragnar Olson turned 60; that B.J.O. Nordfeldt showed works at the Passedoit Gallery in New York, a move from his former dealer at the Lilienfeld Gallery. Nordfeldt explained that move in a letter to his future wife, Emily Abbott. At the Passedoit, he told her, "they seem able to talk English ---I got so damn sick of Germans (at Lilienfelds) . . . But the break came when he closed his gallery to all American painters but myself."⁴³ This reflects the tensions of a period when there was anti-German feeling against both Germans and even against Swedish people because of their neutrality during World War II.

In November 1944, Lundbergh devoted his column to the career of Woodstock landscape painter John F. Carlson, who was then showing work at the American Swedish Historical Museum in Philadelphia. Lundbergh wrote that Carlson's book, *Elementary Principles of Landscape Painting* was now in its fourth edition and that Carlson still spoke with a strong Småland accent. He noted that Carlson had to return the coveted Benjamin Altman landscape prize, won at the annual exhibition of the National Academy of Art in 1937, because he was foreign born.

During 1945 Lundbergh's columns included short sections on an exhibition by Connecticut landscape painter Henrik Hillbom; Carl Milles' seventieth birthday celebration at Cranbrook Academy of Art; and a column in December on the two-person exhibition at the American Swedish Historical Museum of landscapes, portraits, and still-lives by B.J.O. Nordfeldt and both paintings and illustrations by Gustaf Tenggren. Tenggren had worked as an illustrator for Disney Studios from 1937-1942 and illustrated children's literature for Golden Books. Uncharacteristically enthusiastic, Lundbergh reported that "it goes without saying that they will soon become the talk of that proverbially artistic city and the exhibition will prove one of the most popular ever staged at this place."⁴⁴

The 1946 issues of the monthly contained two feature articles on Swedish-American artists, emphasizing their American content and artistic triumphs. In his article on Gustaf Tenggren (1896-1970), Eric Sylvan reported on "The Tenggren World, of illustrations for movies and children's books. He wrote about Tenggren's Disney career as inspirational artist for Disney's *Pinocchio* and *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, his illustrations for Golden Books, and his particular love for gnomes, trolls, and tomtes, although he did not relate them to Tenggren's birthplace in Magra, Sweden, nor his stint as illustrator for the Swedish annual *Bland Tomtar och Troll*, a job he inherited in 1917 after the death of Swedish master illustrator John Bauer and held for 10 years. The second article "Art for the Future," explored the work of Santa Fe painter Raymond Jonson (1871-1982) in August 1946. The exact opposite of

Tenggren, Jonson's paintings were non-objective and resembled colorful Art Deco modernist designs. Author Harold Butcher focused on Jonson's success as a University of New Mexico professor and his relationship to contemporary galleries.

In Lundbergh's columns from that year, he reported on the 23rd exhibition of Swedish-American artists in Chicago in April and the exhibition of Edward Gustave Jacobsson's woodland landscapes at the American Swedish Historical Museum from October 20 to November 11, 1946. Lundbergh noted in the column that Jacobsson's mentors were John F. Carlson and Henry Mattson, thus not only telling his readers "news" about Jacobsson but also educating them about the history of their ethnic artists.

Like the *Monthly*, Swedish-American magazines, newsletters, and annual journals served as supportive patrons to their immigrant artists. The publications' articles on the artists, art exhibitions, and reproductions of the artists' works reached a broad audience, informing their readers about the rich visual arts culture within their society. Although most articles eschewed claims of artistic ethnicity and focused on the American successes of the Swedish-American artists, their stories often subtly defined stylistic characteristics seen in the works that revealed a divided loyalty to Swedish and American content. Without these publications, which provided free publicity for the artists, knowledge about the artists and the Swedish-American art exhibitions would not have traveled beyond the small ethnic enclaves in Midwestern and East coast cities. From the earliest years of publication in the late nineteenth century, these journals and magazines disseminated information on the immigrant artists and their art, becoming effective public relations vehicles and a network of support for several generations of first generation American artists.

¹ Anna Williams, *Scribent I Amerika: Jakob Bonggren, journalist och poet*. Skrifter utgivna av Avdelningen för litteratursociologi vid Litteraturvetenskapliga institutioen I Uppsala, Nr. 26, 1991, 44.

² See Dag Blanck, "From the Director," *Swenson Center News*, No. 9, 1995, 1, notes that by 1910 the Augustana Book Concern was the second largest foreign language press in the United States, after the German language publications.

³ Finis Herbert Capps, *From Isolationism to Involvement, The Swedish Immigrant Press in America* (Chicago, Illinois: the Swedish Pioneer Historical Society, 1966), 234.

⁴ For a discussion of the Augustana Synod's decision to cease publication of the annual, see Svensson, Birgitta, *Prärieblomman (1900-1913): A Swedish-American Cultural Manifestation* (Gothenburg, Sweden: Gothenburg University, 1994), 157.

⁵ *Augustana* (January 3, 1907), 15. "Altartaflor efter gamla och moderna mastere. LANDSKAPS-MÅLINGAR från olika delar af Sverige och Amerika, exponeras ständigt vid Augustana Colleges Konstskola. Beställningar emottaga samt utföras till resonabla. O Grafström, 831-44th Street, Rock Island."

⁶ Anna Williams, "När och Fjerran: A Swedish-American Family Magazine," *The Swedish-American Historical Quarterly* XL (April 1989) notes that an earlier magazine, published in Chicago between 1874-1877 featured 29 illustrations of works of art, many borrowed from the Swedish family publication, *familjetidskrift*, 53.

⁷ See Svensson, "Prärieblomman (1900-1913): A Swedish-American Cultural Manifestation," 157.

⁸ Birgitta Svensson, "Prärieblomman (1900-1913): A Swedish-American Cultural Manifestation," *The Swedish-American Historical Quarterly*, XLIII (July 1992), 156.

⁹ For a thorough investigation of the career of Sandzen, see Emroy Lindquist, *Birger Sandzen* (Lindsborg, Kansas: Bethany College), 1988. See also the essay by _____ in the exhibition catalog *Härute*

¹⁰ Birger Sandzen, "Något om svensk konst I Amerika," *Prärieblomman* (1902), 108.

¹¹ Birger Sandzen, "Våra svensk-amerikansk konstskolar," *Prärieblomman* (1903), 44.

¹² Birger Sandzen, "Våra svensk-amerikansk konstskolar," 55.

¹³ Birger Sandzen, "En svensk-amerikansk konstsamling," 132.

¹⁴ A. Schön, "Den forsta storre svensk-amerikanska konst utställningen," *Prärieblomman* (1912), 134. Note also that Birgitta Svensson in "Prärieblomman, Gustaf N. Swan, and the Swenson Center," *Swenson Center News*,

Number 9 (1995), emphasized the concept of Swedish-Americans' dual attitude towards their cultural heritage, that was further developed in Swedish-American cultural publications.

¹⁵ Birger Sandzen, "Svensk-Amerikansk konstnärernas utställning i Chicago 1912," *Prärieblomman* (1913), 21.

¹⁶ "Sverige på världsutställningen i St. Louis," *Prärieblomman* (1905), 105-108.

¹⁷ Birgitta Svensson in her dissertation *Prärieblomman (1900-1913): A Swedish-American cultural Manifestation* (Gothenburg University 1994), 84-88, lists five Swedish-American artists with their number of illustrations. These included Olof Grafstrom, Charles Haag, C.J. Nilsson, Charles Hallberg, Birger Sandzen, but did not include Arvid Nyholm, Carl Eric Lindon, Alfred Jansson, Henry Reuter Dahl, B.J.O. Nordfeldt, M.J. Ahlstromer, Carl Lotave and Anders Walgren.

¹⁸ Mary Towley Swanson, *fäderneslandet/Elusie Images of Home* (Stockholm: Millesgården and Riksställningar), 1996, 61. Note also an interview by the author with Brian Magnuson in May 20, 1996, who is writing a book on Grafström.

¹⁹ Anders Schön, "Svensk-Amerikanska Konstnärer," *Ungdomsvännen* (April 1904), 114.

²⁰ Birger Sandzen, "Svensk konst på världsutställningen i San Francisco," *Ungdomsvännen* (October 1915), 295.

²¹ Anders Sanon, "Tredje årliga svensk-amerikanska konstutställningen," *Ungdomsvännen* (June 1913), 180.

²² "Carl Larsson's Fresker i Nationalmuseum," *Valkyrian* (February 1897), 20.

²³ Gunnar Thander, *Valkyrian 1897-1909: A Study in Swedish-American Ethnicity*, A Thesis Submitted to the University of Minnesota Graduate School, 1996, 102.

²⁴ Gunnar Thander, 134.

²⁵ "En Konstnärsbana," *Valkyrian* (October 1902), 499.

²⁶ Christian Brinton, "Danish Painting, Apropos of the Exhibition," *The American Scandinavian Review* (January 1928), 13.

²⁷ The first article (January, February 1915) examined the work of both Gustavus Hesselius and Adolf Wertmüller; and the other articles or news items on Swedish-American artists included: Birger Sandzen (May, June 1916), (February 1922), and (January 1934); Oscar Cesare (September, October 1917); Charles Hagg (January, February 1918); David Edstrom (March, April 1918); Agnes Fromen (February 1917); J. Olaf Olson (July 1931); Emil Gelhaar (June 1927); Gunnar Widforss (June 1929); Dewey Albinson (April 1932). Brothers Solon Borglum (May, June 1915) and Gutzon Borglum (November, December 1919) represented Danish-American artists and Jonas Lie (July, August 1915) and Chris Jorgensen (November, 1939) represented Norwegian-American artists.

²⁸ Editorial, *The American Scandinavian Review* (March 18, 1913), 18-19.

²⁹ Christian Brinton, "Introduction," *The Scandinavian Exhibition, 1912-1913*, exhibition catalog, (New York: The American Scandinavian Foundation), 25-26.

³⁰ Williella Goddard Ball, "Scandinavian Contributions to Early American Art, First in a Series of Essays on Scandinavian Art in America," *The American Scandinavian Review* (January-February, 1914), 7.

³¹ Mary Marsh, "Birger Sandzen, Fourth in a Series of Essays on Scandinavian Art in America," *The American Scandinavian Review* (May-June, 1916), 172.

³² "Birger Sandzen in New York," *The American Scandinavian Review* (April, May 1922), 237.

³³ Frederick W. Cobourn, "J. Olaf Olson, A Swedish-American Painter of the West," *The American Scandinavian Review* (July 1931), 425.

³⁴ Elisabeth Luther Cary, "An Exhibition of Work by American Painters of Swedish Descent," *The American Scandinavian Review* (June 1920), 599.

³⁵ Elisabeth Luther Cary, 600.

³⁶ Elisabeth Luther Cary, 604.

³⁷ Elisabeth Luther Cary, 605.

³⁸ Elisabeth Luther Cary, Book review of *Scandinavian Art* in which she quotes the preface by Christian Brinton, *The American Scandinavian Review* (January, 1923), 41.

³⁹ For example, East Coast painter Carl Sprinchorn had his first one-person exhibition at the George S. Hellman Gallery in 1916 and prominent New York critics Charles W. Caffin and Forbes Watson wrote about his work. He also exhibited at the Scandinavian Shop in April 1918, soliciting good reviews from Elisabeth Luther Cary. (The shop had been highlighted, using a reproduction of a Birger Sandzen woodcut, in the March-April 1918 issue.) Outside of reviews on the Scandinavian American art exhibition of 1928 in the *Review* and the Swedish-American exhibition that traveled to Sweden in 1920, Sprinchorn's work was not mentioned in the bi-monthly magazine. Similar to the position of Sprinchorn, Woodstock painter John F. Carlson, who had won first prizes in the Swedish-American exhibitions of 1911 and 1912, had shown work that elicited solid reviews by American critics in New York at the Glaenger Gallery in 1908; the Katz Gallery in 1909-1912; the Macbeth Gallery in 1913, 1916, and 1930;

the Babcock Gallery in 1917; the Milch Gallery in 1926; and the Grand Central Galleries throughout the 1920s. He was not featured in a separate article, although he was mentioned in Cary's article on the group exhibition to Sweden. In addition, Carlson's work toured in a one-person exhibition to the Art Institute of Chicago and the City Museum of St. Louis in 1917 and he had won numerous national prizes that were publicized in New York and Chicago papers.

⁴⁰ Holger Lundbergh, "John Carlson, *The American Swedish Monthly* (May 1936), 10.

⁴¹ Victor O. Freeburg, "Birger Sandzen, Who Has a Genius for Friendship As Well As For Art," *The American Swedish Monthly* (January 1937), 10. (7-10)

⁴² Holger Lundbergh, "The Arts," *The American Swedish Monthly* (January 1941), 27.

⁴³ Letter to Emily Abbott, Minneapolis, from Nordfeldt January 11, 1944. Nordfeldt continued to exhibit at the Passedoit Gallery annually until his death in 1955.

⁴⁴ Holger Lundbergh, "The Arts," *The American Swedish Monthly* (December 1945), 18 (29).

CHAPTER 5: Exhibitions Create a Catalyst for Artists' Ethnic Sustainability and Support

A series of 34 art exhibitions mounted in Chicago between 1905 and 1964, admitting only Swedish-American entries, provided Swedish immigrant artists with an avenue into the American artistic and cultural mainstream. They created a core of work that toured nationally and two large exhibitions that traveled to Sweden in 1920 and 1923. These exhibitions, the earliest and most enduring ethnic art exhibitions in America, prompted other Scandinavian ethnic groups to organize similar exhibitions in several East Coast and Midwestern cities by the early 1920s. Exhibitors benefited from a mode of patronage that brought their prints, paintings, and sculpture to the attention of their ethnic audience and a broader American constituency.

Although Chicago became the fulcrum for these exhibitions, its Swedish-American cultural community maintained strong ties to and participated in the artistic lives of other American cities and regions. Artists outside of the Chicago area comprised approximately one-third of the exhibitors through 1929, the high point artistically for these exhibitions. When artists moved from Chicago, they continued to send artwork back to the exhibitions. While most located in cities on the Eastern seaboard, a few migrated to the West Coast and almost all, through 1929, can be traced back to Chicago origins.

Chicago was a natural center to nurture the founding of Swedish-American exhibitions. A city of immigrants that needed the strong work ethic of its new citizens, Chicago was an urban center large enough to attract a sizeable Swedish immigrant population and provide enough jobs for its artists and craftspeople to make a living. By 1870, for example, in the midst of the great waves of immigration, over half of Chicago's citizens were immigrants. This percentage decreased to one third by 1910, the decade when Swedish-American artists began to organize into a supportive group with financial and psychological help from the Swedish-American business community.¹ By 1890, when Chicago numbered over one million, Swedish-Americans comprised approximately 10 percent of its population, making it the third highest immigrant group behind the Germans and Irish. That Swedish-Americans were a desired group of immigrants can be read in this tribute by a reporter for *The Chicago Tribune* who wrote in 1895 that "as naturalized citizens, no nationality stands higher in the estimation of native-born Americans than Swedes."² This ethnic group created an urban community within its city limits, developing a set of established cultural activities and organizations that paralleled that of mainstream American organizations concurrently evolving in Chicago.

These immigrants and children of immigrants moved from the center of the city into suburban enclaves, but remained faithful to their ethnic churches and organizations. Between 1880 and 1920, Swedish-Americans founded over 145 social organizations, among them benefit societies and clubs such as the Swedish Club, founded in 1892 as an outgrowth of the male chorus movement. This elite organization of wealthy Swedish-Americans fostered an interest in the arts among its constituency and, similar to other Swedish voluntary organizations, created networks of support for Swedes within the city.³ Chicago's Swedish-Americans, numbering 144,719 by the turn of the century, quickly sensed that their artists could help raise their cultural prestige in neighboring American eyes.⁴ By 1911 the Swedish Club was a center for Swedish-American art exhibitions, continuing to sponsor them through the late 1920s.

Two of the earliest Swedish immigrant artists to settle in Chicago provided exemplary role models for those to follow. Their participation in Chicago society and cultural life eased the path for acceptance of the careers and work of later Swedish-American painters and sculptors. The first Swedish immigrant artist to settle in Chicago, Peter Magnus (Adamsson) Almini (1825-

1890), “played a leading role in the city’s artistic life and had many business colleagues.”⁵ Involved with both his Swedish and Anglo-American communities, he helped other Swedish-American artists to assume a veneer of respectability within Chicago’s dualistic communities. Almini emigrated from Sweden either in 1848 or 1852. Peter Cassel, early immigrant leader in the New World, wrote to a friend back in Sweden in 1848 that “Almini possibly came here to find great fortune in the painting profession.”⁶

Almini’s parents owned a farm back in Sweden, apparently large enough to support their son’s artistic training. Until age 14, Almini studied privately in Eksjö, then trained and lived in Stockholm for six years, where the artist claimed to work on decorative painting at the royal palace. After visiting Russia, Almini immigrated to America. The painter set up a decorative painting company with a partner that operated until 1917 as the Almini company and primarily decorated church interiors. In the 1860s he opened a small art gallery, “the first of its kind in Chicago” and a forerunner of the Academy of Fine Arts (1879-1882), which would become the Art Institute of Chicago in 1882.

According to *The Painter*, the city’s unofficial leading art periodical, “Almini played a leading role in the city’s artistic life and had many business colleagues. In 1866 he established, together with several other Chicago Swedes, the newspaper *Svenska Amerikanaren*. . . .”⁷ The article in *The Painter* called him “one of the time’s greatest fresco painters.” Almini and his firm also produced 24 small black and white lithographs and four colored lithographs with accompanying text for *Chicago Illustrated* from 1868-1871. In addition, Almini was also tied to the Anglo-American community through marriage to a “beautiful and beloved wife, who sang ‘Gubben Noach’ and ‘Wermeland, du sköna,’” although she was not Swedish (note the importance to the Swedish writer).⁸

Almini’s reputation as a successful businessman and community leader lent authenticity to Swedish-American artists to follow. Connected to his ethnic community through his decorative painting firm and *Svenska Amerikanaren*, a more liberal and secular paper than the conservative and Augustana Lutheran Synod-favored *Hemlandet*, Almini was also a part of the Linnéus Monument Association from its inception in 1887. The monument association, probably inspired by the German-Americans’ 1886 dedication of the monument to Schiller in Lincoln Park, eventually collected monies from (primarily) Chicago area Swedish-Americans to raise the statue in Lincoln Park in 1891. It was a copy of one by Fritiof Kjellberg unveiled in Stockholm in 1885. Linneus became a symbolic cultural hero for the immigrant community, which staged parades and festivals annually around the work through the early twentieth century until World War I, when ethnic Americans downplayed overt allegiance to their country of birth and emphasized their American citizenship.⁹

Henry E. C. Peterson (1841-1918) was the second early Swedish-American artist to foster good will for his ethnic group among the Anglo-American community. Educated first at the slöjd or handicraft school at Brunkebergstorg, Sweden, then at the Royal Academy in Stockholm before he immigrated to Chicago, Peterson was active in the Academy of Fine Arts concurrently with Almini in the late 1860s. The artist served in the American Navy during the Civil War, settled in Chicago but left for Paris in 1871 to study at the Académie Julian. He returned to Chicago, where he painted portraits of prominent Chicago families, including the McCormicks and Moses Wentworths. He also taught life drawing at the Academy of Fine Arts until 1886, when he left Chicago to work in New York, Boston, and Springfield, Massachusetts for two decades, returning to Chicago in 1908.¹⁰

Swedish immigrant artists entered an environment already hospitable to their ethnic group, partially due to the efforts of Peterson and Almini. Chicago also became a more attractive drawing point for Swedish urban settlement when officials chose it as the site of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. Several artists who reported about or worked on Sweden's official pavilion immigrated because of the fair, while countless other workers found employment in industries surrounding the building of the "White City." Alfred Jansson (1863-1931), who immigrated to Chicago in 1889 after having studied in Stockholm and Paris, was hired to paint murals in the Swedish pavilion, but never returned home. Bror Thure de Thulstrup (1848-1930), who had immigrated in 1874 to New York where he did drawings and watercolors for *The New York Graphic*, *Harper's Weekly*, and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, made watercolors illustrating sections of the exposition for the official handbook of the world's fair. Hugo von Hofsten (1865-1847), who had also worked on *The New York Graphic* after immigrating in 1885, settled in Chicago when the fair opened in 1893 and was hired to do illustrations for *The Chicago Graphic*, *The Chicago Times-Herald*, and *The Chicago Record-Herald*. Henry Reuterdaahl (1871-1925), primarily self-trained in Sweden but also trained in theatrical backdrop painting at the Royal Opera Company, was hired by the Swedish newspaper *Svea* to do drawings of the fair. Once in Chicago, Reuterdaahl was hired away by *The Chicago Graphic*, possibly encouraged by Hofsten, and never returned to Sweden. Reuterdaahl moved from Chicago in 1895 to find employment in New York's many magazines, where he made illustrations for *Harper's Weekly*, *Outlook*, *Scribner's Magazine*, *Truth*, and *Collier's Weekly*.¹¹

From the 1880s to the turn of the century, the rapidly growing city provided opportunities to Swedish immigrant artists, many of whom settled there during the early years of their careers. Although there is no record of his place within Chicago's ethnic community, August Franzén (1863-1938) lived in the city for two years, attending evening classes at the Academy of Fine Arts from 1884-1886 under American painter Charles Corwin. He worked along with Gus Higgins (1863-1909), a Swedish immigrant who illustrated stories for Chicago papers, in a studio that manufactured battlefield panoramas, based on the French studio of painter Felix Phillipoteaux (1815-1884).¹² The Chicago-based studio hired Franzén and others to paint panoramas of the battles of Gettysburg, Shiloh, and General Grant's assault on Vicksburg. Franzén left Chicago shortly after completing the paintings, returned to Sweden, and then traveled to Paris in 1886 to study under conservative American impressionist master Frank Vincent DuMond (1865-1951). Although one of Franzén's paintings won a bronze medal in the **World's Columbian Exposition** in Chicago in 1893, he did not return to stay. He took numerous portrait commissions, however, after his successful exhibition at the Art Institute of Chicago, "Portraits and Pictures, Works of August Franzén" (January 17-February 4, 1896). This exhibition was installed just one week prior to the exhibition "An Exhibition of 97 Works by Contemporaneous Swedish Artists Collected by Anders L. Zorn and Including Several of His Works" (February 11 to March 1, 1896).

Franzén's was only the third one-person exhibition by an American artist that was featured at the 15-year-old art institution. In addition to 10 oil portraits of prominent Chicago citizens, Franzén showed 40 drawings, which he labeled "interpretations of human character." Included were drawings that revealed his ethnic background, including *Evicted*, *Swedish-Americans*, and *Showing the Bride*.¹³

Ensnconced in the Anderstoria Hotel as well as working in his clients' homes, Franzén returned to Chicago in 1901 to paint portraits and show 30 portraits and genre paintings at the O'Brien Gallery. Franzén commented that the exhibition "turned considerable work my way,

including a portrait of Arthur G. Eddy, a Chicago lawyer, art connoisseur, and writer.”¹⁴ Eddy’s commission indicated the position of Franzén’s reputation at that time. A collector of modernist French and American art in the early twentieth century, Eddy had sat for a portrait by the famous expatriate American painter James McNeill Whistler (1834-1903) and in 1903 published an essay, “Recollections and Impressions of James A. McNeill Whistler.” After the International Exhibition of Modern Art, nicknamed the Armory Show, opened in New York and then Chicago in early 1913, Eddy devoted himself to supporting avant-garde modernists and wrote a book, *Cubists and Post-Impressionism*, in 1914.¹⁵

Franzén acquired clients from mainstream America, not from his ethnic community. Although he exhibited work with the “First Annual Exhibition of the Swedish-American Art Association” in Anderson’s Galleries in 1905, he was already living in New York by that time and exhibited only one more time with this group when it reorganized in Chicago in 1911. Although his records do not indicate a relationship with the Swedish-American community in Chicago, he did become part of a circle of Swedish-American artists in New York. Franzén formed a congenial quartet with seascape and ship-battle painter Henry Reuterdaahl (1871-1925), Swedish-American sculptor Charles Friberg (1868-?), and portrait and genre painter Arvid Nyholm (1866-1927) in his New York studio at Carnegie Hall. Nyholm, who immigrated to New York in 1891 and moved to Chicago in 1903, had befriended Reuterdaahl in 1887, when both men studied in Andreas Brodin’s theatrical painting studio in Stockholm. Both Reuterdaahl and Franzén had done illustrations for *The Graphic* in Chicago during the World’s Columbian Exposition of 1893. Reuterdaahl’s daughter, Sigrid Rupp, recalled that Franzén was “a great and handsome man, very expressive and entertaining.”¹⁶ Charles Friberg had trained at the Royal Academy in Stockholm before studying at the Beaux-Arts in Paris and immigrating to New York in 1895. Friberg worked in the city for nine years before returning to live in Paris.

Gus Higgins (1863-1909), who worked together with Franzén to complete Civil War battlefield murals, immigrated in 1879 but settled in Chicago in 1885, about the same time as Franzén. Swedish language newspapers described Higgins as “one of the most picturesque personalities in the group of literary and artistic Swedish-American bohemians who in the 1880s and 1890s gather together in Chicago.”¹⁷ Supposedly among them were the writers Ville Åkerberg and Magnus Nilson (known as Lomax).¹⁸ Higgins, born Gustaf Henning Lindström in Stockholm, studied portraiture and figure drawing at Edvard Perseus’ drawing school in Stockholm before immigrating. In Chicago he worked as an assistant in the battlefield painting studio through 1886, and then began a career as a caricature artist on the *Chicago Tribune*. He called himself a “political cartoon-liar” for the *Chicago Globe* in his unpublished autobiographical sketch.¹⁹ Higgins later drew portraits for *The Graphic* in 1892 and was part of a publishing group for the humorist publication *The Chi Photo* and for the magazine *Nisse* or *Svenska Kuriren*. The caricature artist also painted an altarpiece for the Augustana Synod’s Gustaf Adolfs Lutheran Church in Grand Crossing, Chicago. Altar painting was a sideline for at least two other Swedish-American artists living in or near Chicago at the time, B.J.O. Nordfeldt (1878-1955) and Olof Grafström (1855-1933). Grafström, in fact, made altar painting a business second only to his teaching at Augustana College in Rock Island.

Higgins took his name from the Irish-American family with whom he boarded while in Chicago, possibly a ruse to assimilate more quickly into American society. The artist illustrated and sometimes wrote stories with Ville Åkerberg entitled “Svensk-amerikanska Söndagsnisse” in Swedish language newspapers. After Åkerberg died, Higgins formed a partnership with Adrian Palmer, but after 1900 he moved to McKeesport, Pennsylvania, where he painted portraits and

genre scenes. His canvas, *Bellman sjunger ihop pengar till Lidners begravning*, was the only painting by a Swedish-American in the Swedish pavilion at the World's Fair in St. Louis in 1904 and was illustrated in the New York Swedish literary monthly, *Valkyrian*, in December 1904. Higgins' humor emerged even after death, when he directed that his cemetery stone be incised with the poem:

“Artisten Higgins vilar här,
Suput och slarv och gycklare,
Men hans berömmelse dock är,
Att han var ingen hycklare.”²⁰

Besides providing rich opportunities for artists as illustrators and portraitists, the Chicago 1893 World's Columbian Exposition emerged as a drawing card for Swedish immigrant artists. Alfred Jansson (1863-1931), who immigrated to Chicago in 1889 after having studied in Stockholm and Paris, was hired to paint murals in the Swedish pavilion. Jansson, originally intending to return to Sweden after decorating the Swedish pavilion, received offers to do decorative painting for other establishments and settled instead in Chicago. He developed a genre of winter and autumn countryside views near the Chicago area throughout his career. Although he never returned to visit Sweden and his landscapes were American in content, Jansson nostalgically referred to his home province, Värmland, and Sweden itself as the “best and most beautiful in the world.”²¹ Jansson showed his landscapes 31 times in the annual exhibitions of paintings and sculpture at the Art Institute of Chicago, beginning in 1898 and continuing almost yearly until 1925.²² The artist also gained some prominence outside his native Chicago for his landscapes, exhibiting them at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, the National Academy of Design, and the Panama-Pacific Exhibition in San Francisco in 1915.

Other Swedish-American artists also came to work on the Chicago World's Exposition of 1893 for professional reasons. Bror Thure de Thulstrup (1848-1930) illustrated sections of the exposition for the official handbook of the event, although he lived and worked out of New York as an illustrator. Born in Stockholm, Thulstrup first had a military career in Sweden, then served in France during the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871. Immigrating to Canada in 1872, he first worked as a civil engineer before moving to Boston in 1874 and finally to New York where he illustrated articles for *Harper's Weekly*, *The New York Graphic*, and *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*. Thulstrup illustrated books throughout his career. Often sent on assignments abroad by *Harper's Weekly*, Thulstrup paired with marine and ship painter Henry Reuterdahl to illustrate an album about the Spanish-American War entitled *Lest We Forget*.²³

Swedish-American painter Hugo von Hofsten (1865-1947) immigrated to New York in 1885, but moved to Chicago in 1893 to draw illustrations of the Exposition and other events for *The Chicago Graphic*, *The Chicago Times-Herald* and *The Chicago Record-Herald*. During his tenure at *The Graphic*, he worked with his former countryman, Henry Reuterdahl. Born into a noble family in Värmland, von Hofsten was educated at the Royal Academy of Art in Stockholm before emigrating. Although a professional illustrator, portraits were his specialty. He also illustrated children's books and entered his drawings in exhibitions in Chicago. He became active in the Swedish-American art exhibitions as early as 1905. Anders Schön featured the artist in the April 1905 issue of *Ungdomsvännen*, a part of the magazine's series on Swedish-American artists.

Henry Reuterdahl, who was to become a member of Franzén's studio group in New York at the turn of the century, and who had trained in Stockholm under theatrical painter Andreas Brolin, along with Arvid Nyholm in 1887, traveled to Chicago in 1893 to draw illustrations of the world's fair for the Swedish newspaper *Svea*. He worked later with von Hofsten and Franzén for *The Chicago Graphic*, but moved to New York in 1896 to draw illustrations for *Harper's Weekly*, *Outlook*, and *Collier's Weekly*, among others. Collaborating with Thulstrup on illustrations of the Spanish-American war in *Lest We Forget*, he also painted canvases of the American naval fleet on and before World War I. Ten of these paintings hang today in the Navy Museum at the Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland. His posters created for the War Department during World War I were part of an intensive American government campaign, designed to inspire Americans to support the war effort.

While many of the artists came to Chicago because of work opportunities connected to the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, it was Anders Zorn (1860-1920) who, as the most prominent of the Swedish artists and as the official Swedish commissioner of art for the exposition, inadvertently helped the position of Swedish-American artists in Chicago's cultural community. Garnering important portrait commissions from Chicago's elite business establishment families, Zorn raised the status of Swedish art among the city's moneyed cultural and social leaders. Zorn's leadership also fostered a pattern of cooperation with the Art Institute of Chicago. Art Institute personnel, for example, actively participated in the Swedish-American art exhibitions in Chicago from 1905-1929 as judges and prize panelists.

Zorn brought the first European art exhibition to the Art Institute of Chicago when he curated "An Exhibition of 97 Works of Contemporaneous Swedish Artists Collected by Anders L. Zorn and Including Several of His Works," February 11 to March 1, 1896. This exhibition, only the third of Swedish art to tour America, had been organized by five institutions to tour not only to Chicago, but also, Philadelphia, Cincinnati, Brooklyn, and Boston. Its exhibiting artists, members of the Opponents group, were the most avant-garde in Sweden at the time, illustrating Impressionist views of Sweden's landscape and its people.²⁴

Zorn's status helped the Swedish immigrant artists secure a place in Chicago's art world. Probably at the invitation of Zorn, Carl Fredrik von Saltza (1858-1905), who immigrated to New York and then settled in Chicago in 1891, exhibited a portrait of his wife in the Swedish section of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. Because of von Saltza's social position back in Sweden and his friendship with Zorn, he became acquainted with Halsey C. Ives, head of the organizing committee of the Exposition, who helped the artist secure a position as superintendent of the art school of the Museum of Fine Arts in St. Louis in 1896. Von Saltza had studied at the Royal Academy of Art in Stockholm at the same time as those Swedish artists who were to become leading members of the Konstnärsförbundet (Opponents): Anders Zorn, Bruno Liljefors (1886-1912), and Karl Nordström (1886-1920). Von Saltza, in fact, exhibited with the League in 1885 in Sweden. Before immigrating to New York and then Chicago, he studied in Brussels and Paris. The painter returned to Chicago in 1898 at the invitation of Art Institute of Chicago Director William M.R. French to become a visiting artist in the fall of 1898, teaching advanced painting at the Institute. French apparently invited the Swedish immigrant to return to Chicago between career moves, describing him in his annual report as "a distinguished teacher from St. Louis (who is now called to the Fine Arts Department of the Teacher's College connected with Columbia University in New York)."²⁵ His short tenure was the third in a series of prominent visiting American artists. The program began in 1897 with abbreviated seminars taught by well known American painters Frank Duvenek (1848-1919) and William Merritt Chase (1849-1916).

Chicago became a nucleus for other Swedish immigrant artists, who found an hospitable climate for their work. Carl Olof Erik Lindin (1869-1942) immigrated to Chicago in 1887, earned a meager living painting advertising signs while studying evenings at the School of the Art Institute, but left to study in Paris in 1893, possibly inspired by what he had seen at the Chicago World's Exposition. Lindin studied in the studio of Edmond-François Aman-Jean along with and probably the same time in 1893 as Birger Sandzen and Arvid Nyholm.²⁶ The young artist traveled forth and back between Paris and Sweden for the next four years, exhibiting work in the 1897 Stockholm Exposition before returning to settle in Chicago, "greeted with open arms by Chicago's art world."²⁷ Lindin later exhibited 27 canvases in a traveling exhibition that toured the Art Institute of Chicago, the Detroit Museum of Fine Arts, and the St. Louis Museum of Art in the winter of 1899.²⁸ He returned to Sweden in 1900, but came back to exhibit at Roulliers Gallery in Chicago in 1901, leaving Chicago in 1902 to settle in the East Coast arts and crafts colony Brydcliffe, in Woodstock, New York. After having spent from 1908 to 1910 in Sweden, he came back once again to Chicago to exhibit 38 paintings of the "rugged coastline, deep purples enveloping the woods" of Sweden from January 3, 1911-January 22, 1911 at the Art Institute, leaving Chicago once again to settle back to Woodstock.²⁹ Although he was president of the Woodstock Artists Association from 1919-1940 and as such mediated the ideological chasm between the modernists and conservatives in the Woodstock art community, Lindin remained somewhat realistic and academic throughout his career in Woodstock. In that respect, he followed the example of fellow Woodstock artist and Swedish immigrant John F. Carlson (1874-1945), whose mosaic-like winterscapes remained realistic throughout his career. Both men met often throughout their time in that idyllic colony, often speaking Swedish to each other while playing their weekly round of golf.³⁰ Critics cited Lindin's canvases, respected in the Woodstock colony for their conservative realism, in the artist's memorial exhibition of 1944: "the works selected are landscapes, often characterized by a sort of Scandinavian sparseness and straightforward simplification."³¹

The land-locked sea at Chicago's shores became important to several immigrant artists, but particularly to Charles Hallberg (1855-1940). Born in Gothenburg, Hallberg immigrated to Chicago just a year before Lindin, but had sailed on the Great Lakes 10 years before that. Although Hallberg never alluded to the influence of either Swedish or American art exhibitions at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, he certainly would have seen the exhibition or at least heard references to the success of the Swedish section. At the time of the Exposition, the self-taught artist was already painting seriously while working as a janitor at the Austin State Bank in Chicago. In fact, Hallberg claimed that Anders Zorn had given him encouragement—whether during Zorn's first visit to Chicago in 1893 or his second in 1900—to drop his fulltime job and make his living as a painter. By 1900 Hallberg had shown a work at the Art Institute of Chicago and in February 1901 said that "Mr. French [the director of the Art Institute of Chicago since 1890] heard of me, too late to enter the annual exhibition, but *The Open Sea* hung in a room with old masters instead. This was really the commencement of my career as a marine painter."³²

Hallberg had a one-person exhibition at the Institute in 1906, and exhibited in the annual exhibitions through the 1920s. In its April 1905 issue, the Chicago-based *Fine Arts Journal* featured Hallberg in its publication, predicting that "there is hope that from the ranks of Chicago artists will come a painter of the sea—the actual sea—in its profoundest suggestion of depth and mightiness that shall command the respect of the world of art at large."³³ Although elements of naivete remained in Hallberg's canvases with a formulaic rendition of the sea and boats

throughout his career, he continued to exhibit work in the Chicago area, holding a one-person exhibition at the Marshall Field Galleries in 1908 and exhibiting work in the annual exhibitions of the Art Institute of Chicago 33 times between 1902 and 1927. Hallberg's most important role for Swedish immigrant artists, however, was his leadership in organizing the Swedish-American art exhibitions of 1905 and 1911. The artist served as the sales agent for the exhibiting artists from 1911 through 1928, according to exhibition brochures.

Avid Nyholm (1866-1927) worked with Hallberg to set up both initial Swedish-American art exhibitions. He initially immigrated to New York in the autumn of 1891, however, where he became a part of Reuterdaahl's Swedish-American artists' circle. Nyholm had known Reuterdaahl when both studied painting with the theatrical painter Andreas Brolin back in Stockholm in 1887. He also studied with Anders Zorn in 1891 in Stockholm, along with Birger Sandzen. Sandzen described Nyholm in Zorn's studio: "We all held him to be sincere, honest. He had such a real artistic soul, gifted, a colleague, kind and humorous. One never had to be sad when he was along. How often we choked with laughter when Nyholm with incomparable theatrical talent, told one of his droll stories."³⁴ When he moved to New York, he exhibited work in both the New York Watercolor Society exhibitions and at the National Academy of Design. After moving to Chicago in 1903, he quickly became active in the cultural life of the Swedish and American cultural communities. Known primarily as a portrait and landscape painter, he entered 30 annual exhibitions at the Art Institute of Chicago between 1904 and 1926 and continued to send canvases to the National Academy of Design in New York. As one of the founders of the Swedish Artists Association in 1905, he exhibited with this group and in their subsequent exhibitions until his death. Anders Zorn, his former teacher in Stockholm and mentor in Chicago, often turned portrait commissions his way, telling customers that if he (Zorn) were unable to take a project, Nyholm was a very capable and available painter. Probably because of national connections, he was asked to paint a portrait of vice-president Adlai Stevenson. But it was a combination of both his ethnic patronage network and national recognition that secured commissions for the portrait of Minnesota governor A. O. Eberhart (1914) hanging in the Minnesota State Capitol building, and of Swedish-born engineer, John Ericsson, now in the National Portrait Gallery, Washington D.C.³⁵

A congruence of factors enabled the Swedish-American artists to organize the first Swedish-American art exhibition on January 24, 1905. The encouragement of Anders Zorn within the Swedish-American art community, his status in American art circles, the examples of successful Swedish immigrant artists in group and one-person exhibitions at the Art Institute of Chicago, and the drawing power of the Columbian World's Exposition of 1893 created a favorable cultural climate for Swedish immigrant artists. Nine active and five nominal members of the newly-formed Swedish-American Art Association, including Charles Hallberg, Arvid Nyholm, and Alfred Jansson, met February 21, 1905, to plan an exhibition for the following October in the Anderson Galleries. They met again in April and finally on October 11 to install the works.³⁶

Chicago's Swedish language paper, *Svenska Amerikaneren*, reported that 100 people had attended the exhibition before it opened at the Anderson Galleries at 178 Wabash Avenue in mid-October. Included in the 80 works exhibited were a total of nine canvases from Swedish artists Bruno Liljefors (1860-1939), Carl Larsson (1853-1919), Anselm Schulzberg (1862-1945), and Anders Zorn. Several of the works were borrowed from their owners in the Swedish-American community. Anders Zorn's entry, for example, belonged to Arvid Nyholm.³⁷ Charles Hallberg's entries in the catalog included *Summer Day on Lake Michigan*. Differing from any

notations in the entire catalog, all the titles of which were printed in English, Hallberg noted that certain works had been shown at the Art Institute of Chicago and the St. Louis World's Fair. Arvid Nyholm, who had moved to Chicago only two years earlier, showed five portraits and five landscapes, an unusual number of landscapes for this artist, whose work in 15 subsequent Swedish-American exhibitions was primarily portraiture. *Svenska Amerikanaren* scolded its community members for not backing their fellow Swedes: "Our countrymen here in town shouldn't neglect this and should visit them [the exhibition]." Editors predicted, however, that perhaps the planners should have gotten a venue closer to an area with a substantial population of Swedish-Americans.³⁸ Although the exhibition was extended another week, Swedish-American historian Ernst Olson recalled in 1908 that "the sales were few, the expenses heavy, and the association soon dissolved for lack of encouragement" from its own ethnic group.³⁹

Possibly Nyholm or Hallberg secured instructors from the School of the Art Institute of Chicago to act as jurors for the exhibition, insuring a level of professional competence and involvement with the mainstream American art community. Certainly the record of prominent Swedish-born artists exhibiting at the Institute by 1905, including August Franzén, C.F. von Saltza, Anders Zorn, and Carl E.O. Lindin, helped to bolster the reputation and probable success of the exhibition in the eyes of the jurors and the public. Charles Francis Browne and John H. Vanderpoel, both instructors at the Art Institute of Chicago and William Schmedtgen, the head artist on *The Chicago Record-Herald*, chose 72 works by 15 Swedish-born artists. Nyholm noted in a letter to Birger Sandzen that "It seemed to be the opinion of those gentlemen (the jurors) that we were going to have quite a creditable exhibition."⁴⁰

Of the the 72 artists chosen only three were sculptors and at least four of the painters—including Henry Reuter Dahl, Birger Sandzen (1871-1954), Emil Gelhaar (1861-1934), and August Franzén—sent canvases from other parts of the country. Sandzen, in fact, sent canvases from Sweden, where he was on sabbatical from his position at Bethany College in Lindsborg, Kansas. Arvid Nyholm, his classmate from Zorn's studio in 1891, invited him on September 17, 1905, writing that a group of Swedish-American artists would "hold an exhibition of our canvases and sculpture at the end of October, and naturally want you to be represented."⁴¹ New York sculptor Charles Friberg (b. 1869), a classmate of Sandzen's in the studio of Aman-Jean in France in 1893, and who had lived in Chicago when he first immigrated in 1895, sent one work. Although East Coast painters Reuter Dahl and Franzén had lived in Chicago the previous decade and were friends of Nyholm's when all three lived in New York, it is possible that articles publicizing the forthcoming exhibition in New York's weekly *Nordstjernen* reached Emil Gelhaar's notice. This would also explain the heavy involvement of East Coast artists in subsequent exhibitions through the late 1920s. With the exception of Charles Hallberg, who had already attained some notoriety as the self-trained "janitor artist," all of the exhibiting artists had received the majority of their training in the fine arts or in decorative painting in Sweden and/or France.

The organization attempted to arrange a larger exhibition in autumn of the following year, 1906, sending invitations to artists in Stockholm. Plans were made to hang the work at the Art Institute of Chicago. The director of the Institute, William R. French, wrote in early June 1906 that "during the coming year we expect to exhibit the works of Alphonse Mucha (1860-1939), the Paris artist and designer, and we hope also to make an exhibition of contemporary German pictures and perhaps of Swedish pictures."⁴² Only the exhibition of German art materialized by 1908, however, and Ernst Olson explained that "circumstances placed obstacles in the way."⁴³ Significantly, the membership rosters of the Art Institute of Chicago revealed no

Scandinavian names on its rolls by 1908, a factor that changed abruptly by 1916 when approximately 15 percent of its membership had names that were of Scandinavian origin.

Final plans for a second exhibition of Swedish-American artists began in October 1910, although the exhibition was to be installed in the Swedish Club rather than the Art Institute. While subsequent exhibition catalogs of the organization identified it as the first Swedish-American art exhibition, this was actually the second in Chicago and the third nationally. Bethany College art instructor Birger Sandzen, along with colleagues, had hurriedly organized the first exhibition to coincide with the annual spring Messiah choir festival in 1899. Both Sandzen and immigrant artist Carl Lotave (1872-1924) showed paintings but few visitors came until Sandzen made fliers to publicize the event and charged ten cents to view the exhibition.⁴⁴

The organization of the exhibitions and their opening celebrations combined the joint efforts of the artists, the Swedish Club of Chicago and its leaders, officials in city government, and staff members of the Art Institute of Chicago, all of which revealed the significant status of the Swedish-American community in Chicago by this time. Wellington J. Dressler and Bertha Menzler Dresser, both on staff at the Art Institute of Chicago, along with Nyholm and Jansson, judged the 142 works submitted, paring them down to eighty-three paintings and fifteen sculptures on March 19, 1911. Charles S. Peterson (discussed in the chapter on patronage), owner of the Swedish language newspaper *Hemlandet* and a large printing company and president of the Swedish Club from 1909 to 1918, offered gallery space at the club for the 1911 exhibition. The large, two-story clubhouse, built by Swedish-American business and professional men on LaSalle Avenue in 1896, had sufficient space for exhibitions in the ballroom of a new addition.

The Swedish consul in Chicago, H.S. Henschen, opened the exhibition Sunday evening, March 11, with a short speech on the meaning of art, followed by a greeting from Chicago's mayor Carter H. Harrison. The participation of these significant figures in Chicago society reveals the desire of the Swedish Club and the artists association to validate its importance as an artistic event paralleling those of mainstream American art. Crowds of Swedish-Americans and "Americans" viewed the exhibition until it closed on March 26.⁴⁵

As evidence of the exhibition's importance to leaders in the national Swedish-American cultural community, *Prärieblomman* ran a long account of the exhibition, describing in detail each of the best paintings and sculptures. This publication and *Ungdomsvännen*, in writing about the exhibitions of 1911, 1912 and 1913 in detail, provided a descriptive record of the early displays and inadvertently ordained a canon of Swedish-American artists. Anders Schön, for example, wrote about Woodstock artist John F. Carlson's painting, *Desolation* (fig. 1), which won the first prize of \$100 donated by Charles S. Peterson. Although Carlson's exhibition records do not list this particular title from that period, *The Abandoned Farm* dates from the early twentieth century and fits the description of the prize-winning canvas. It is painted in Carlson's typical bluish overlay of colors, noted by critics writing about his exhibitions at New York galleries such as the Glaenzer Gallery (1908) and the Louis Katz Gallery (1909, 1910, 1911, and 1912). In 1908 an unidentified critic described the overall feeling of Carlson's canvases from that early decade, writing that "nothing on earth is clearly defined in the gathering shade, but everything is intensely felt."⁴⁶ His use of a group of unified, muted colors, another critic wrote, gave "the impression of gathering dusk."⁴⁷ Although this unified veil of bluish color was used by prominent American painters at the time as an American variant of French Impressionism, Carlson's teacher in Woodstock from 1902-1906, Birge Harrison recalled that

while he lived in France the Tonalism in his own art was influenced by an unidentified Scandinavian painter.⁴⁸

Schön wrote that young Bror Julius Olsson-Nordfeldt's (1878-1955) painting *Irena* was almost monochromatic, but "notwithstanding, quite realistic." He described the pose as quite simple, probably referring to Nordfeldt's tendency to silhouette a life-sized or three-quarter figure against a blank wall in canvases dating from 1910-1913.⁴⁹ The poses, reliant upon James McNeill Whistler's portraits of the 1870s through the turn of the century, used a similar blank gray wall cut off only by the horizontal of the baseboard. Nordfeldt showed portraits and depictions of Chicago just one year later, at Rouillers Gallery in May 1912 and the Thurber Gallery in November 1912, galleries that were an important part of Chicago's urban artistic scene. Thurber's Gallery, for example, had just been remodeled in 1912 by the then-controversial architect, Frank Lloyd Wright, and often displayed more forward-looking American painters and sculptors, who showed their work soon after they had exhibited at Alfred Steiglitz's avant-garde 291 gallery in New York. Nordfeldt's portraits, moreover, had already been noted in Chicago's publication *The Sketchbook* in 1905, when Alice Henderson wrote that they were impressive because of their "extreme simplicity of the composition" and by the "severity and length of line of the figure, standing against a white wall, with the black baseboard and door of the room making the left side of the canvas."⁵⁰ Nordfeldt followed a similar formula described in the article in his portrait of *Irena*, in the Swedish-American exhibition and in a portrait of arts critic *Robert Friedl*, 1911-1912, now in the Hirschorn Museum in Washington D.C.

In the same article on the exhibition, author Schön praised Olof Grafström's (1855-1933) use of warm, light colors, reminiscent of "the beautiful in God's free nature." Grafström had entered one painting, *Sunset on the Mississippi River*, probably quite similar to the many depictions of river scenes he painted circa 1911- 1913, such as *Sunset*, 1913 (fig. 2), now owned by Augustana College. Grafström's use of trees mirrored in quietly flowing rivers, misty shores, and pinkish sunsets depicts a romanticized view of scenes near his home in Rock Island. The author, however, wrote that he wished Grafström had sent one of his majestic mountain landscapes, for which he was well known.

Schön detected Impressionist color in Sandzen's atmospheric depictions of Kansas prairie and sky in works such as *Evening*, *Twilight*, and *Early Moonrise*, writing that he hoped Sandzen would send more of these paintings in "the new manner" and that the artist was fortunate to represent scenes from Arizona to Kansas. At this time Sandzen was working in the shredded brushstroke of impressionism, using colors that were pitched to a light, golden hue.

The author viewed Carl E. Lindin's *Sunshine and Snow* as a genuinely Swedish winter picture that reminded him of Swedish landscape painter Anshelm Schultzberg's canvases with similar motifs. Gerda Ahlm's (1864-1956) painting, *Swedish Summer Evening*, was infused with a "melancholy atmosphere," and Emil Gelhaar's *Sunshine in October* treated viewers to a canvas of "incomparable strength and beauty."⁵¹ Genuinely impressed with Henry Reuter Dahl, he wrote that the artist's canvas *People Going Home* was a realistic view of American city life and that his canvas *Old Church, Katwick Hollow* was one of the best works in the exhibition.

Chicago mayor Carter Harrison greeted exhibition participants and the crowd again in 1912 on opening night at the second exhibition of Swedish-American artists at the Swedish Club, March 5-17, 1912, revealing once again the insertion of the Swedish-American community's cultural events into mainstream American life. About one-third of the artists exhibiting—a percentage similar to that in 1911—were from states other than Illinois, promising a truly

national exhibition. For the second year, the Augustana Book Concern's annual publication *Prärieblomman* featured a long article on the exhibition. Its author, artist Birger Sandzen, devoted 21 pages to analyses of canvases he considered to be the most stimulating, singling out John F. Carlson's paintings for his most penetrating criticism and accolades. Allotting the greatest space in his critique to Carlson, he wrote that Carlson's color and touch were somewhat feminine, and that Carlson viewed Woodstock as a second silvery-hazed Barbizon village, influenced by the popular French landscape movement of the mid-nineteenth century. In contrast, wrote Sandzen, the light in his state of Kansas intensified and brightened color. Perhaps Sandzen's vantage point of having lived for two decades in Kansas, completed his upperclass education at the University of Lund, and studied at the art school of the League of Swedish Artists (Konstnärslöfvet) and in Paris with Aman-Jean, predisposed him to judge that the exhibitions and the painters were just beginning their careers. Carlson was still young, he wrote, and then went on to praise his 1912 entries, including *Winter Haze*, *May Morning*, and *Wayside Huts*.

Sandzen's mild criticism possibly reflected his frustration with a location out on the prairies of Kansas, away from the opportunities of Eastern galleries. Carlson, living in Woodstock, had already exhibited in respected Boston and New York galleries and received favorable notices from eastern critics by 1912. The Woodstock painter was given an exhibition March 13-31, 1913, at the Macbeth Gallery in New York, an early champion of American painting. In a letter to the Macbeth Gallery dated December 30, 1913, Sandzen wrote that two pictures were being sent to the gallery for consideration to have the artist's work handled by that gallery. "I need not tell you that I shall be very grateful if you will take the trouble of giving my humble efforts some consideration," Sandzen began. "There is, of course, in the East a very strong prejudice against the Western artist . . . The West is a new factor in American art and has so far contributed very little of value to our national art. Even the leading artists of Chicago, St. Louis, etc. simply indulge in endless repetition and mass production according to formulas laid down by good Eastern or European artists." The artist ended his letter with a plea: "If some kind soul would go to the risk of helping me a little bit by buying some of my works, I believe it can be said with all humility that I could repay them many times over." He added that "I can not help thinking of what I could do if I only had a little backing and would not have to fight my way inch by inch."⁵²

Robert Macbeth wrote back January 31, 1914 about receiving the two paintings *The Dry Creek* (fig. 3) and *Early Moon* in a letter that must have been disappointing for Sandzen, "They interested me very much but I did not feel I could make success for you by exhibiting them here." Macbeth suggested that Sandzen use a technique that would show the beauty of the Kansas countryside and countered Sandzen's argument that Western artists were excluded from Eastern galleries by writing that "I have for years been showing pictures from artists in the far and middle west and only because they were good from my point of view."⁵³ In a letter from Sandzen dated February 6, 1914, the artist asked if he could send another canvas showing a different technique. Sandzen explained his method of working:

It was my fate to come out here from the damp atmosphere of Northern Europe. I was used to handle [sic] soft outlines, intimate form, blue grays and soft greens. Here I met an intensely strong light, long lines forming vast designs and large surfaces of color in almost flat light, new values and new tones, such as purple and orange, and *dry* atmosphere. There is a peculiar rhythm in the long lines of

ravines, hills, and clouds on the plateaus, *another* rhythm with abrupt staccatos in the mountains⁵⁴

Macbeth replied within a short period that he had made up his mind. He wrote Sandzen that “you refer to the result of a letter of recommendation from Zorn. Neither that nor a ‘Press notice’ would be of the slightest use. You will stand or fall by your work wherever your pictures are seen. At present [it] would be of no advantage for you to have it [a one-person exhibition].”⁵⁵ Macbeth wrote that he would keep the two paintings and attempt to find buyers. Both were sent back March 15, 1915, however, when the dealer failed to find a purchaser. Sandzen wrote a short letter to the dealer in September 8, 1915, notifying him that his work had been shown in group exhibitions at the Pennsylvania Academy of fine Arts and the Panama-Pacific Exposition, sales were going better, and “it looks as if the struggle would be easier after this.”⁵⁶ Sandzen later secured two one-person exhibitions at New York’s Babcock Gallery in 1922 and 1924, to mixed reviews from critics.

Although it is possible to detect some frustration in Sandzen’s article in *Prärieblomman* that covered the exhibition of 1912, the painter even-handedly wrote at least a sentence, often a paragraph, on all 28 artists who entered their work, reserving a page and a half each for Carlson, Henry Reuter Dahl, and Charles Hallberg. “Some of the twenty-eight exhibitors are my good friends and I know their art like my five fingers, and some I only know by hearsay, and some are altogether new to me,” he wrote, calling Charles Hallberg an “old friend.”⁵⁷

Sandzen wrote that **he could** detect the underlying decorative compositions of Reuter Dahl, overlaid with realistic detail. He commented several times that Reuter Dahl’s use of fantasy-like color was part of his temperament, but noted that in the work *Foreign Ports*, the artist had demonstrated that he could paint objectively, modestly, and soberly as needed. *The Emigrants*, Sandzen noted, was purchased by Charles S. Peterson for his private collection. He wrote that Hallberg, entering six marine paintings, had sold three immediately and sent a fourth to the Nationalmuseum in Stockholm. [There is no record of his work at the museum according to registration records.] Sandzen succinctly described Olof Grafström’s work in a paragraph as “obviously displaying more and more of a free, modern spirit. Those who wait to see the old, conservative landscape school represented in his work, were surprised. . . . Yellow, red, green daubs. Good.”⁵⁸ Gerda Ahlm, he wrote in a short paragraph, created paintings that had a serene and decorative composition overlaid with colors that were “often very good.” He suggested, however, that she could apply stronger colors to the canvas *From Visby, Sweden*.⁵⁹ Ahlm (1869-1956) had immigrated to Chicago in 1903 and entered work not only in the first Swedish-American art exhibition of 1905, but also in the 1911 exhibition and at the Art Institute of Chicago Exhibitions in 1905 and 1906. Trained in Stockholm at the Free Art Academy, she had studied printmaking and painted in France, Germany, Italy, England, and Belgium before immigrating. Sandzen wrote only a sentence or two describing the canvases of the other entrants, adding no critiques. He did not comment on the entry of B.J.O. Nordfeldt, which was the last time Nordfeldt was to enter any of the Swedish-American exhibitions through the Chicago venues.⁶⁰

Anders Sanon, presumably a pen name for Anders Schön, reviewed the third annual exhibition, opening April 27, 1913 at the Swedish Club, in the monthly publication *Ungdomsvännan*. By that time *Prärieblomman* had ceased publication. Using a format similar to that of Birger Sandzen in his critique of the exhibition of 1912, Sanon wrote a few sentences describing each entry and went down the list alphabetically, seldom giving a direct criticism. He

reported that the exhibition was well received by American art critics in Chicago newspapers, particularly the *Evening Post*. He also noted that Carter H. Harrison, Chicago's mayor, purchased four paintings from the exhibition, out of the total of 15 works sold. With pride, he noted that John F. Carlson, "one of America's foremost painters" had won first prize in the exhibition for his discrete and atmospheric color; that one could almost reach out and touch Ada Enander's *Chrysanthemums*; that Olof Grafström's canvases showed mastery in color; that Arvid Nyholm stood among Swedish-Americans as the master of portraiture; and that he wished Henry Reuter Dahl had entered some of his elegant watercolors. He praised Birger Sandzen's canvases and eight excellent etchings, writing that *The Granite Cathedral* showed a majestic beauty that the American West invites from its artists.⁶¹ Although the exhibition of contemporary work from the three Scandinavian countries had also been displayed at the Art Institute of Chicago in May, the author did not mention it. Vilhelm Berger, however, had written about the exhibition's opening in New York. Sanon also did not refer the International Exhibition of Modern Art, or the Armory Show of 1913, which had opened in New York and had moved to the Art Institute of Chicago, where "Matisse, Brancusi, and Walter Pach were burned in effigy."⁶² Modern art, not indicated by the names of artists nor titles of work in the Swedish-American exhibition of 1913, had eluded the exhibition and the reviewer.

Although the catalog for the fourth exhibition (fig. 4) of Swedish-American artists from 1915 is not found in archival collections in America or Sweden, it is possible to find minimal information on the exhibition through Scandinavian periodicals. Erik Westmann, for example, reported in the October 1915 issue of the *American Scandinavian Review* that first prize was awarded to Alfred Jansson for *The Creek*; second to Charles Hallberg for *A Calm Sea*, and third to Ava de Lagerkrantz (1862-1938) for her portrait of *Greta*. Lagerkrantz, who had a studio in Carnegie Hall in New York, exhibited with the Swedish-American artists in 1911, 1915, 1916 and 1918. Her specialty was portrait miniatures and at the invitation of King Gustaf V of Sweden, she had painted his portrait in a miniature in 1908. The daughter of Sweden's vice admiral Jakob Reinhold Lagercrantz, the painter came from the upper echelons of Swedish society. She had studied in Paris with the academic masters Gustave Boulanger, Jules Lefebvre, Tony Robert-Fleury and Benjamin Constant at the Académie Julian, a private studio-school for both men and women established in 1868. Because women were not admitted to the official Ecole des Beaux-Arts until 1897, women came from all parts of Europe and America to study at the Académie Julian.⁶³ When she immigrated, Lagercrantz assimilated easily into upperclass American society, painting its members in an academically realistic style through the 1920s. She returned to Sweden in 1933 to show her work in Stockholm⁶⁴

Erik Westmann reported in a 1915 article that "John F. Carlson, the New York painter whose work is praised by critics all over the country, contributed four landscapes." He then added that "Birger Sandzen's work was a storm center, as usual; for the great indiscriminating public does not understand his coloring, while connoisseurs maintain that his rendering of peculiar atmospheric conditions in the country where he paints is perfectly veracious."⁶⁵

With the exception of the exhibition of Swedish-American art that toured to three separate venues in Sweden in 1920, the *American Scandinavian Review* covered only the 1915 Swedish-American exhibition. In its September 16, 1918 issue, *Allsvensk Samling* copied the names of the entrants for the seventh annual exhibition, with their home cities, but added no descriptions, and reported on the six murals which were commissioned to decorate the Swedish Club ballroom, the site of each annual exhibition. By 1918 only the painting of the Swedish pavilion at the 1893 **World's Columbian Exposition** had been completed by Hugo von Hofsten.

Five of the six lunettes were completed by the 1921 exhibition, including *Landing of the Swedes on the Delaware—1638* by Christian von Schneidau (b. 1893); *Old Swedes' Church, Philadelphia—1700* by Olof Grafström; *John Morton Signs the Declaration of Independence—1776* by Christian von Schneidau; *The Founding of Bishop Hill Colony—1847* by Alfred Jansson; and Hugo von Hofsten's *Swedish Building at the World's Columbian Exposition—1893. The Monitor and the Merrimac Battle, Hampton Roads—March 9, 1862* by Henry Reuter Dahl, who had been unable to finish his commission in 1921 due to illness, was completed in time for the dedication of the paintings April 1, 1922.

The exhibitions (fig. 5) were held almost annually through 1929, with the exception of the years 1914 and 1922. Held just before the Depression, the exhibition of 1929 proved to be the high point aesthetically and nationally, according to its organizers. The 1929 exhibition, titled "The First Annual Exhibition of Works Given Under the Auspices of the Swedish American Art Association," was held at the Illinois Women's Athletic Club March 10-17 instead of the Swedish Club. Its organizers wrote that "at this writing, it can be said that the works submitted promise perhaps the best exhibition yet given in point of quality; that the jury consists of Chicago's best known artists, the committee of patrons of the city's most prominent art lovers and patrons and that a considerable amount of money is available for prizes."⁶⁶ The prologue to the catalog explained:

It was felt by the society that while the annual exhibitions at the Swedish Club are doing splendid work and deserve every encouragement, they appeal almost entirely to a Swedish-American audience, which by now is familiar with practically all the artists exhibiting and in many cases has already bought some of their works. Through an exhibition at the Illinois Women's Athletic Club, the largest and finest women's club house in the world, it might be possible to reach the American public and thus bring the work of our artists before a much larger clientele and one that at present does not know enough about their work.⁶⁷

Thyra H. Peterson, wife of Swedish-American publisher Charles S. Peterson, spearheaded the organization of a more inclusive Swedish-American Art Association in 1927 that was to incorporate musicians and writers as well as visual artists. By 1929 there were over three hundred members, a portion of whom were honorary patrons. As chairperson of the Illinois Women's Athletic Club, Thyra H. Peterson possessed the means to offer artists a more mainstream venue for the exhibitions. Peterson herself contributed two watercolors to the exhibition.

After 1929, exhibitions were held sporadically until 1946, when they resumed on a regular basis through 1964. The exhibition honoring the late Thyra H. Peterson, probably a part of the series, was held at the Swedish Club in 1934. Two other exhibition dates and their catalogs are missing in archives from the 1930s, probably because of the economic problems of the Depression. The catalog from the 1936 Swedish-American artists exhibition held at the American Swedish Institute, dating May 1-9, 1936, contains entrants from Chicago who typically exhibited with the Chicago Swedish-American art exhibitions, so it can be assumed that this exhibition traveled to at least two sites. The *American Swedish Monthly* from June 1936, however, gives a date of April 27-May 9, 1936, for the exhibition of the Swedish-American Art Association in the galleries of Marshall Field and Company department store. Exhibitions toured to other sites from Chicago in 1920, 1923, 1936, 1940, 1941, 1947, 1949, 1951, 1955, 1957, and

1961.⁶⁸ The exhibitions of 1920 and 1923, however, were sent to Sweden under the auspices of the American Scandinavian Foundation and were financially guaranteed by Charles S. Peterson.

If Chicago provided urban stability and a communal center for Swedish immigrants, it was the immigrants' ability to organize that created and sustained the Swedish-American artists exhibitions, a trait that Swedes humorously claim in ethnic stories and jokes. This was a helpful characteristic in initiating and funding the 34 exhibitions over a 59-year period, from 1905 to 1964. The exhibitions, however, were strongest in terms of overall quality in technique and content during the first three decades, from 1905 to 1929. This period paralleled the last waves of immigration before the Johnson-Reed Act (the Immigration Act of 1924) and the subsequent National Origins Quota system, operative in 1929, effectively restricted the large influx of immigrants from Northern Europe. It also mirrored the decades when artists who had immigrated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries would have reached artistic maturity in their new country. These decades showed the greatest numbers of exhibited works:

	Number of paintings shown
1905	72
1911	101
1912	91
1913	130
...	
1929	136 (peak)

In 1940 and 1941, the artists themselves designated several to be invited as guest artists, invited because of their "outstanding accomplishments and their importance in the art world."⁶⁹ This helped the exhibitions retain their aesthetic and national standards. The association invited John F. Carlson, Charles E. Hallberg, Carl Eric Lindin, Henry Mattson, Birger Sandzen, Christian von Schneidau, and Frank Gustafson in 1940 and Carl Eric Lindin, Birger Sandzen, Christian von Schneidau, and "the late" Charles Edward Hallberg in 1941.

Although it is difficult to judge the art exhibitions in terms of quality because few visual records remain, it is possible to judge the prominence of exhibiting artists by correlating names in American art magazines, artists' encyclopedias, and Archives of American Art files to names in the exhibition catalogs. From 1905 to 1929 it is possible to trace artists showing work in East Coast galleries and museum exhibitions, comprising approximately one-third of the exhibitors. Henry Reuter Dahl, for example, not only showed work in the Society of Illustrators from 1912 on, but also at the National Academy of Design's annual exhibitions. John F. Carlson had one-person exhibitions at New York galleries, the Macbeth Gallery in 1913, 1916, and 1930, at the Milch Gallery in 1926, and showed with groups at the Grand Central Galleries in the 1920s through 1940s. B.J.O. Nordfeldt exhibited his etchings in New York at "An Exhibition of Contemporary American Etchings" in May, 1913 and continued to show work in New York through the 1920s in the Montross and Kingore Galleries. Henry Mattson exhibition reviews are first seen with group shows in New York's Dudensing, then the Rehn Galleries. Carl Sprinchorn's paintings were reviewed in group exhibitions at New York's New Gallery and the Marie Sterner Gallery throughout the twenties, as were Birger Sandzen's two exhibitions at the Babcock Gallery.

Nathaniel Pousette-Dart (1886-1965) is another example of an artist who exhibited early on with the Swedish-American artists and eventually attained a national reputation. Living in St. Paul at the time, he showed his painting *Convalescence* in the "Fifth Exhibition of Swedish-American Artists," April 30-May 7, 1916. Pousette-Dart, trained in New York with renowned American art teachers William Merritt Chase and Robert Henri, had also studied in France from 1910-1911. His father, Algot Pousette, was a silversmith of Wallon origin from Northern Uppland who immigrated to St. Paul. Pousette-Dart moved his family to New York in the early 1920s and became active in the New York art world through the 1950s. While continuing to paint, Pousette-Dart edited a series of books on American artists, including Childe Hassam, Robert Henri, Winslow Homer, John Singer Sargent, Abbott H. Thayer, and James McNeill Whistler.⁷⁰ His son, Richard Pousette-Dart (1916--), was part of the abstract expressionist painters movement that was active in New York through the 1960s and also taught at the Art Students League in New York.

The high caliber of the exhibiting artists is revealed in the parallel rosters of the annual exhibitions of painting and sculpture at the Art Institute of Chicago between 1892 and the early 1930s. Gerda Ahlm, for example, showed work in 1905 and 1906; Ada Enander in 1914; Charles Friberg in 1897; Bessie Hellstrom in 1910, 1912, and 1925; C. F. von Saltza in 1892, 1896, and 1905; Charles Kaeslau (b. 1889) in 1922, 1923, 1929, and 1930; and Ben Hallberg in 1913 and 1915. Charles Hallberg exhibited 33 times between 1902 and 1927; Arvid Nyholm, 30 times between 1904-1926; Alfred Jansson 37 times from 1898-1925; and Tory Ross (b. 1875), eight times between 1907 and 1927.⁷¹

A healthy percentage of participant artists also exhibited work in the National Academy of Design's annual exhibitions. Between 1906 and 1940, for example, August Franzén exhibited 36 paintings; John F. Carlson showed 55 works between 1907 and 1944; David Ericson (1869-1946) exhibited four canvases between 1904 and 1911; Henry Mattson, seven canvases between 1927 and 1950; and Carl Nordell (1885-1957), 13 works from 1916 on; B.J.O. Nordfeldt, three canvases between 1938 and 1948; and Tory Bentz, seven works between 1941 and 1950.⁷²

Several of the artists entered national competitions and won prizes. Carl Sprinchorn (1887-1971), who first showed paintings with the Swedish-American Artists in 1920, 1921, and 1923, entered paintings in the 1913 New York Armory Show. Birger Sandzen, Henry Reuter Dahl, John F. Carlson, Carl Oscar Borg (1879-1947), and Alfred Jansson showed work in the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915, with Borg, Carlson, and Nordfeldt winning silver medals. John F. Carlson won the Carnegie prize at the National Academy of Design in 1918 and the Altman prize for landscape painting at the Academy in 1936, among others. Henry Mattson, who began to show with the Swedish-American artists in 1920, won a Guggenheim award fellowship in 1936.

Rarely were the artists viewed as Swedish when they showed works in New York, but occasionally some were viewed through a Nordic lens. When Sandzen showed work at the Babcock Gallery in New York, critics readily used his ethnicity to explain the expressiveness of his color and brushwork. Royal Cortissoz in *The New York Times* attributed his work to their Scandinavian origin, writing that "They are esthetically repellent even in the moment when they touch the imagination through their robust veracity . . . it is the familiar crudity of the Scandinavian school that robs his sincere, sweeping paintings of the beauty that so strong a temperament ought to secure." The critic of *The Christian Science Monitor*, however, saw the expressionism as a plus, reporting that "his pictorial display has startled New York like the banners of his ancestral Vikings. Here . . . is the wild Nordic impulse, transplanted and

recharged with the old vigor in the atmosphere of Western America.”⁷³ Tying them to his Swedish heritage, New York critics noted John F. Carlson’s predilection for snow scenes in reviews from the 1920s. One critic wrote that “perhaps Carlson’s Scandinavian birth and upbringing have influenced him. In a land where winter is the dominant season, and winter sports the dominant entertainment, it is not surprising that one learns to find the season’s good points.”⁷⁴ Reviewers in 1922 also claimed a Scandinavian bias for Carl Sprinchorn’s snow scenes from Maine, painted from 1919 to 1921. One wrote, “Swedish by birth, Sprinchorn has been educated in this country, but his best work has been done the past two winters in Monson, Maine, in an atmosphere at least reminiscent of his homeland.”⁷⁵ The noted art critic Christian Brinton wrote that Sprinchorn “has always been a seeker and a searcher. Imbued with true Nordic restlessness, this young Swedes recalls his eclectic compatriot Egon Lundgren, who flitted over the face of Europe, jotting down with imperishable charm, the fragrance of brighter, braver days. . . .”⁷⁶ When he showed at the Rehn Gallery in New York during the 1920s, Henry Mattson was also viewed occasionally as a “traditional northern dreamer, something of the rapt solitary, of the spinner of folk yarns. . . .”⁷⁷

Swedish subjects were more prevalent within the first three decades of the Swedish-American art exhibitions, although never numerous. Because the immigrants wished to show allegiance to their new home, Swedish themes or content was minimal. In 1905 only four works, or five percent of works in the exhibition, had titles relating to Sweden or Swedish-America. The percentage remained fairly low until 1921, a year after 100 works were sent to Sweden for a summer to tour. From 1921 through 1925, the percentage averaged nearly 10%. As might be expected with increasing assimilation, this percentage decreased to 2.7% by 1946 and zero by the last exhibition in 1964.

The covers of the Swedish-American art exhibitions tell the story of assimilation into American society. In 1905 the cover information, surrounded by a thin black frame, was topped by a circular design. One half consisted of the three Swedish crowns on a dark background; the other half was a portion of the American stars and stripes (fig. 7). Elegant in its simplicity, it succinctly illustrated the story of the divided loyalties of the immigrant artists early in the new century. The second catalog, also the exhibition’s poster design by Ben Hallberg (fig. 8), bore two royal lions on either side of the American eagle, perching on the symbol of an American shield. The lions, wearing crowns, took the exact stance of those on the cornice of the parliament building in Stockholm, the symbolism again indicating the importance of both countries to its immigrant artists.

Just one year later, the catalogs began to be illustrated with drawings by exhibitors and displayed the Americanization process in form and content. In 1912, a stereotypical artist with beret and palette, probably drawn by Arvid Nyholm, was shown drawing a well-endowed nude (fig. 9). In 1913 Hugo von Hofsten drew a mood-filled, northern woods interior; Alfred Jansson drew a gentle forest scene in 1916; in 1917 the illustration resembled an art nouveau woodlands scene but was neither signed nor decorated; and in 1918 the interior sketch by Einar Sodervall was less professionally drawn. Olof Grafström’s 1919 cover showed a typical river scene by the artist; and by 1921 a humorous artist, clad in smock and beret, was dramatically painting a frog in a sketch by Christian von Schneidau. In 1925 Arvid Nyholm drew an Italian woman on the cover, and in 1923 and 1926 Tory Ross drew illustrations successively of a young woman and sailboats in a harbor. Only in 1920, when the exhibition was sent to three Swedish cities, did the cover again carry ethnic imagery. A Viking ship, plowing through stylized waves, possibly indicated the carrying of successful immigrants’ work back to the home country in a vessel that

overtly showed nostalgic allegiance (fig. 10). After 1928, the covers were largely graphic designs with blocks of type visually juxtaposing shapes of black. The exhibition cover of 1941, however, displays a woman silhouetted between the Stockholm City Hall and a Chicago skyscraper. That of 1946 shows a Viking ship with a flag bearing an outstretched eagle; and the cover for the 1948 exhibition shows a farmer and his family, presumably settlers, situated between log cabin and church, while viewing the modern city in the background. The cover of 1959 has an eagle, surrounded by the three Swedish crowns, a tribute to the artists' divided heritage, an interesting exterior design when only three of the 104 entries had titles that alluded to Swedish subjects.

By contrast to the decreased ethnic content of the exhibitions, the percentage of women entering work in the exhibitions gradually grew in the 59-year period. These numbers swelled from just one (along with 18 men) in 1905 and two in 1911 to 11 by 1928. This number remained somewhat constant through the sporadic periods of exhibiting from the 1930s until the exhibitions' demise in 1964, when 13 women entered works (out of 67 entrants). The most professionally competent women submitted work in the first two exhibitions in 1905 and through the early teens. Thereafter, women exhibitors were more typically the dilettante or amateur, with few exceptions. Titles of work by the majority of women exhibiting paintings from 1911 through 1923, for example, were typically names of flowers. Bessie Hellstrom's (b. 1874) entries in 1916, *Pink Roses* and *Tea Roses* were similar to titles found in other women's pieces. Born in Västergötland, Hellstrom studied at the Fine Arts Academy in Chicago after immigrating. She exhibited work in all exhibitions from 1912 through 1929, then again in 1934 and 1955. Her watercolor entry won first prize in watercolor painting in the 1913 exhibition. While titling paintings with the names of flowers does not necessarily indicate the quality of a work, the content was often the subject of paintings by late Victorian-era women who were raised to look on art as a pleasant pastime. With the exception of Gerda Ahlm, Ava de Lagercrantz, Bessie Hellstrom, and the sculptor Agnes Fromén, the names of the other women exhibitors are not listed in professional art dictionaries.

Gerda Ahlm (1869-1956) was the only woman to submit work (eight landscapes) in the first exhibition. Trained in Stockholm, by 1917 she was working as a conservator in one of Chicago's museums. She showed work in the Swedish-American exhibitions of 1905, 1911, 1912, 1929, 1936, 1946, 1947, 1951, and 1953. Her canvas *Vårträdet* (fig. 6), owned by Riksföreningen Sverigekontakt in Gothenburg, is freely brushed and sensitively colored, showing years of training in conjunction with evident talent. At this point, there are no records of her work in the Art Institute of Chicago, although she entered their annual exhibitions of 1905 and 1906. Her name is not listed in the Swedish-American Museum in Chicago, nor in the Illinois Art Registry.⁷⁸

Ava de Lagercrantz showed work in 1911, 1912, 1916, and 1917. As discussed earlier, Lagercrantz studied in Paris from 1885 to 1889 at the Académie Julian, during a period when a number of talented Scandinavian women studied at the Académie with academic masters. Almost all were from middle to upper middle class homes, which fits the socioeconomic profile of Lagercrantz.⁷⁹

Although the majority of the artists in exhibitions through 1929 were either from the Chicago area or the East Coast, a small minority lived on the West Coast and most of that group could be traced back to Chicago or Midwest origins. Oscar Brousse Jacobson (1882-1966), for example, was the first and only artist to list his address from the West in 1913. He was teaching then at Washington State College in Pullman, Washington. Born in Sweden, he immigrated to

Kansas and studied under Birger Sandzen. After completing a master's degree at Yale, he taught first at Minnesota College in Minneapolis, then at Washington State College. He studied in Paris in 1914, but returned to teach at the University of Oklahoma from 1915 until the end of his career. Portraitist Christian von Schneidau was the next artist to list a West Coast address, in 1921. Von Schneidau had, however, lived in Chicago and exhibited with the Swedish-American artists through 1917. B.J.O. Nordfeldt was the third to exhibit with the group in Chicago and list an address from the West. Nordfeldt, living in Santa Fe, New Mexico, by the exhibition of 1923, had originally exhibited with the Swedish-American artists in 1911 and 1912 while living in Chicago. Axel Linus (b. 1875), who showed paintings with the group and lived in Chicago through 1929, had apparently retired to California by 1941 when his name reappeared on the catalog roster. Portrait painter Carl Nordell, listing his address from Boston in 1916, then New York in 1917, was living in California by 1951. By 1946 and through 1964, the percentage exhibiting work from the West Coast was still small but exhibitors came from cities in California and Washington. Unlike their predecessors before 1929, these artists, with few exceptions, were not recorded in artists' dictionaries or encyclopedias, indicating a less professional status of the artists and exhibitions after 1929.

Although Swedish-American exhibitions traveled to other sites from Chicago, the high point of Swedish-American exhibitions was a touring exhibition that traveled to three Swedish cities in the summer of 1920 and provided its Swedish audiences with their first comprehensive view of the immigrant artists' work. These touring exhibitions, which originated with the Swedish-American art exhibitions Chicago, were comprised of works chosen from the Chicago exhibitions supplemented with art juried in New York. Judges from both touring exhibitions were professional museum directors or well-respected artists. These included William Henry Fox, director of the Brooklyn Museum; Dr. Henry Goddard Leach, president of the American Scandinavian Foundation; Dr. Christian Brinton, art historian and critic who had chosen work for the Scandinavian exhibition of 1912-1913 that toured America; Jonas Lie, a respected Norwegian-American landscape painter and later president of the National Academy of Design; J.W. von Rehling Quistgaard, a Danish-American portrait painter and director of the American Portrait Foundation; and Karl von Rydingsward.⁸⁰ Charles S. Peterson was the financial guarantor for both exhibitions, although he approached the American Scandinavian Foundation several years before the first to suggest that the 1920 exhibition tour Sweden under the auspices of the foundation. As early as June 1919, *Allsvensk Samling* reported a touring exhibition of 100 of the best works completed over the last 10 years by Swedish-American artists would open in Stockholm on June 6, 1920. Peterson not only financially supported the exhibition, but also guaranteed and set up a tour for the Swedish Choral Club of Chicago to accompany the art. The organization humorously claimed that their motto was "Swedish Club of Chicago, To Sweden 1920 or Bust Peterson—Or Both."⁸¹

The 65 works were chosen from the annual exhibition of Swedish-American artists in Chicago, then shown at the Swedish Club during the week of March 27, 1920, were joined by 35 juried works from the East Coast were shown at the National Academy of Design's Fine Arts Building May 16-23.⁸² Art critics and reviewers speculated about the ethnic qualities remaining in the works, citing the paintings of several artists. Critic Henry McBride wrote in the *New York Herald* that to the Scandinavians who see the exhibition "there will be the problem of deciding just how much Scandinavian savor remains to these artists that she has contributed to the New World and deciding also which have been most Americanized."⁸³ Possibly having seen the exhibition of Scandinavian art, which toured six American cities in 1913, or the second, which

toured four major cities in 1916, McBride pondered which Swedish-American artist still seemed most Swedish. He observed that Carl Sprinchorn “whose cleverness has more than once been acknowledged by *The Sun* and *New York Herald*, carries off all the honors in the exhibition for prestidigitation. His scenes of Northern woodsmen and Southern dancers are admirable as decoration, as color and for dazzling effects of light. Qualities of this sort are so much appreciated on the other side that it would not be a surprise if Mr. Sprinchorn’s three canvases were retained permanently over there.”⁸⁴ McBride mused that “though it is never safe to prophesy what other people are going to think, it seems here as though Scandinavians will probably accept Birger Sandzen, who lives in Kansas, as the artist who most nearly paints the sort of thing that Europeans expect from Americans. Mr. Sandzen loves those lurid and grandiose effects in nature—such as the sunset on the Arizona Canyon—the people in general are fond of declaring unpaintable. So far as the ‘riot of color’ is concerned, Mr. Sandzen finds them easy. Those tawny scarlets and golds of the great canyon are certainly not more brilliant in nature than in Mr. Sandzen’s showy canvases. It is one case, at least, where nature must take a back seat.”

Critic Marion E. Fenton from *The Vogue* also questioned the possibility that immigrant art would employ both strains from the old and new countries. After having viewed the exhibition at the National Academy of Design before it was crated and shipped to Sweden, she pondered: “Exhibition of the work of artists whose parents belonged to the old world and who were, perhaps, born there themselves, showing something of the native strain and more of the molding influences of the new environment, would be, to say the least, decidedly interesting.”⁸⁵ She singled out only John F. Carlson, Birger Sandzen, and Carl Sprinchorn for comments. She wrote that “notable among the artists represented is John F. Carlson with his strong and forcefully painted interpretations of the forest. There is a certain quiet strength and beauty in the treatment and richness which is in keeping with the silent woods he paints.” Fenton noted that “with equal strength, but less subtlety, Birger Sandzen has painted his brilliant landscapes of the western mountains. Even his technique expresses their rough and rugged character.” She also wrote on Carl Sprinchorn, asserting that “among the most individual works in this group were those of Carl Sprinchorn, whose flat design of horses and riders against a foliage background made an interesting decorative composition in low key . . . proving far more, as to the artist’s technical ability, is the study of the play of light and color through which dance the figures of Nijinsky and Pavlova (fig. 11).”⁸⁶

Elizabeth Luther Cary, art critic for the *New York Times* from 1908 to 1922, reminded her public that they had had opportunities to view Swedish art in 1913 and again in 1916. She quoted Swedish painter Carl Larsson’s admonition to his countrymen to be “clumsy rather than elegant . . . make everything in bright, strong colors. . . .”⁸⁷ She deduced that it would be harder for Swedish-Americans to exhibit ethnic tendencies because they could only recall images of home but that “the galleries in which the exhibition was hung were startlingly eloquent of the racial type.” Cary singled out the work of Birger Sandzen, Arvid Nyholm, Christian von Schneidau, Henry Mattson, Raymond Johnson [Jonsson], Carl Sprinchorn, and John F. Carlson for extensive criticism. She mused that “it will be very interesting to know how far American conditions and surroundings, and, in a large number of instances, American teaching shall have modified for Swedish eyes these transplanted talents. In a considerable proportion of the exhibited works there is, to our American vision, little evidence of modification.”⁸⁸ She wrote that Sandzen was a “bold weaver of pigment”; that Nyholm, like Sandzen, had a tendency to “weave and plait” his brushstrokes; and that von Schneidau’s portrait of *Mrs. Thyra Peterson*

used a similar technique. Henry Mattson, she wrote, painted views that showed a true understanding of underlying forms and Raymond Johnson [Jonsson] used violently contrasting colors that focused on a Swedish tendency to emphasize expressive hands and the figure. Carl Sprinchorn wove his colors in the manner of the modern Synchronists, an American version of color cubism seen in New York galleries in the mid- to late teens.⁸⁹ John F. Carlson was judged to be the best example of Swedish tendencies changed by an American environment. Cary mused:

In the group of admirable paintings by John F. Carlson, whose work is familiar to all Americans, we have, perhaps, the best illustration of the Swedish temper of mind changed somewhat by American environment. The strong draughtsmanship is more or less concealed by tonal delicacies, the brisk spotting of the surfaces with pure color is made subservient to a general grayness, occasionally, as in the *January Morning*, a building sings jubilantly red in the distance; more often the color declines to a mellifluous murmur.⁹⁰

Only one painting had overtly Swedish content. Dr. Henry Goddard Leach, however, believed that the subject of a work of art need not be ethnic. He wrote in the foreword to the 1920 exhibition when it opened in New York that “no demand is made by the sponsors of the present exhibitions other than that it show in representative fashion the strivings and contributions to American art of American painters of Swedish birth or descent.”⁹¹ Just one year earlier, Leach had advocated the establishment of a permanent collection of Scandinavian art in America, writing in a publication issued by the Swedish Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America that “Art is the bridge of commerce and commemorates the intellectual and human elements in material exchange.”⁹²

Crated and readied for the trip to Sweden, the works of art and the touring choir of the Swedish Choral Club of Chicago sailed on the Drottningholm June 8, 1920. The exhibition opened at the Academy for Free Art Exhibition Hall in late June with artists and art historians in attendance, including art historian Carl G. Laurin, who had written an essay for the 1912-1913 Scandinavian touring exhibition to America. Henry Goddard Leach gave the opening greetings, telling his audience that the artists had come from all parts of America and that many had achieved success there. The exhibition opened in Malmö in early July at the City Hall, and in Gothenburg at Valand, a noted art school, in late July.

Newspapers from all three cities commented on the works. Stockholm's *Nya Dagligt Allehanda* asserted that the most interesting artists were Birger Sandzen, Carl Sprinchorn, and Oscar Cesare (1883-1948) but then went on to comment on several others, including Arvid Nyholm, Christian von Schneidau, John F. Carlson, and Alfred Jansson, leaving Cesare out completely. Sandzen, the paper believed, showed strength and fantasy in his paintings, but even more in his lithographs and etchings. They labeled Carl Sprinchorn a modernist who was a good designer, particularly in his winter pictures; Arvid Nyholm a painter whose portraits were good, but a small landscape from Brittany even better; and John F. Carlson's canvases sensitive and value-ridden in their color.

Aftonbladet also applauded Sandzen's lithographs and woodcuts, calling his a strong talent. Sprinchorn was “one of the most interesting among the Swedish-American painters” and the critic wrote that John F. Carlson's work, which was “really beautiful,” resembled the scenes of Norwegian painter Fritz Thaulow, noting that Carlson was counted as one of the best art teachers on that side of the Atlantic.⁹³

When the exhibition opened in Malmö, the daily paper *Skånska Aftonbladet* observed that most Swedish people didn't know that there was a Swedish-American artists group in America. The critic wrote about the atmospheric paintings of Carlson; the American-based marine paintings of Hallberg; the subdued colors of Alfred Jansson's landscapes; the strong color and draftsmanship of Sandzen's paintings and lithographs; and Carl Sprinchorn's gifted and original talent.⁹⁴

When the exhibition moved to Gothenburg in August, the newspaper *Ny Tid* wrote that a great part of the exhibition revealed the work of dilettantes and that only about 10 of the canvases showed artistic maturity. By 1920, Sweden's most advanced artists, who had studied in Paris with cubist and fauvist masters, were working with more expressionistic color and abstract form than the majority of the canvases in the Swedish-American exhibition. In his remarks, the critic for this paper compared the more academic and realistic canvases and sculpture to the more modernist Swedish artists showing in galleries and museums at that time. Most of the Swedish-American painters, he noted, were landscape painters. The critic wrote that Sandzen was the most individualistic of the artists; that John F. Carlson paintings had a Nordic atmosphere; that Alfred Jansson's work was influenced by Swedish art of the 1890s; that Olof Grafström, Carl Erik Lindin, and Arthur Linqvist had some deserving paintings; that Carl Sprinchorn's *Nijinsky and Pavlova* was a color fantasy and his other works were modern and well done; and that Raymond C. Johnson's [Jonsson] painting *Woman from Savannah* showed American originality.

Göteborgs Handels och Sjöfartstidning was more critical in its review, finding Swedish influences from the early twentieth century in many of the landscapes. The critic wrote only about the work of Birger Sandzen, John F. Carlson, and Raymond Johnson [Jonsson]. He wrote that the most richly represented was Sandzen [who showed nine paintings that were in the New York exhibition also and 26 lithographs, which were shown only in the Swedish exhibitions] with his violent color and desolate motifs and rocks that often floated like decorations. John F. Carlson, he wrote, a highly esteemed landscape painter in America, showed in *January Morning* that he painted engaging landscapes with pleasant colors. Raymond Johnson's *Woman From Savanah* was considered one of the most original works with its expressive background.⁹⁵

When the exhibition returned to America to show at the Art Institute November 16-30, Henry Goddard Leach wrote in the foreword that:

Although no claim has been made for these paintings other than that they showed in representative fashion the offering to American art of American painters of Swedish descent, they were favorably received by public and press, who not only recognized in them significant examples of American art but were proud to trace the colorful contribution of their own people to the art of the new world.

Thirty-five works of art from the East Coast were added to 54 chosen from the Chicago exhibition of Swedish-American artists that had taken place February 4-11, 1923, at the Swedish Club with 108 works. William Henry Fox chaired the New York committee of jurors, to which were added Dr. Christian Brinton, Dr. Henry Goddard Leach, Dr. Victor Freeburg, and Anna Astrup Larsen, then editor of *The American Scandinavian Review*. The committee from Chicago included Edgar S. Cameron, Elmer Forsberg and Alfred Juergens, all on staff at the Art Institute of Chicago, along with artists Arvid Nyholm and Hugo von Hofsten. Works were on view May 8- September 30 at the hall of art in the Gothenburg Tercentenary Exposition. Costs for transporting the exhibition were again borne by Charles S. Peterson, who also paid for the Swedish Choral Club of Chicago to travel to Gothenburg and take part in a ceremony on June 29,

1923.¹ An unidentified New York paper reported that the paintings were carried by the “Drottningholm” to Gothenburg and that the Eastern contingent consisted of “two notable works by John F. Carlson,” the latest work from Carl Sprinchorn, winter landscapes by Henry Reuter Dahl, “whose works on posters for the United States Navy attracted so much popular attention in the world war,” and erroneously stated that Olof Grafström’s work, which was not listed in the official catalog for Sweden, would be part of the works from the western half of the country. The writer concluded that “these paintings will make an impressive representation of the works done in America by Swedish immigrants or their descendents now in America.”⁹⁶

The exhibitions of Swedish-American art of 1920 and 1923 were the first official exhibitions of American art to travel to Sweden. The third, which was sponsored by the American Scandinavian Foundation, was a retrospective survey of American art from the eighteenth through the twentieth centuries and did not purposely focus on Swedish- or Scandinavian-American art. Chosen by George W. Eggers, director of the Worcester Museum of Art, 115 works were sent. The crown prince of Sweden, Gustaf Adolf, had originally extended an invitation to the American Scandinavian Foundation in 1926 to tour work by American artists. When the exhibition opened in Stockholm at the Royal Academy of Art, on March 15, 1930, four of the American artists were Swedish-born: Dewey Albinson, Gustaf Hesselius, B.J.O. Nordfeldt, and Birger Sandzen. At its opening in Stockholm, director Eggers asked his audience to look at the exhibition as a representative of the American people, “we have come with it as children might come—in the hope that by looking upon the work of our hands, you may the better know our hearts.”⁹⁷ The exhibition toured to the Carlson Glyptothek May 3, closing May 23 to go on to Munich (this segment was then sponsored by the Brooklyn Art Museum).

The Swedish-American Artists exhibitions influenced other ethnic groups to organize exhibitions and associations. The Norwegian-American artists, for example, held their first exhibition at the Chicago Norwegian Club in 1920 and these exhibitions continued throughout the decade until 1930.⁹⁸ Although the Norske Konstföreningen initiated exhibitions of primarily Norwegian-American artists from 1887 to 1893, it began as a subsidiary exhibition to the Scandinavian Section at the second Minneapolis Industrial Exposition of 1887.⁹⁹ Norwegian-American artists also showed work at the Norsk-American Centennial Exhibition at the Minnesota State Fair Grounds, June 6-9, 1925. A bibliography on Italian-American art published in 1994 revealed that this group held their first ethnic art exhibition in 1926, while another published on French-American art, published in 1992, showed that no ethnic group exhibitions were held by this national group. Neither the Finns nor the Danes had corresponding art associations or exhibitions. According to Danish art historian Aase Bak, the Danes “lived too scattered to form a truly stable basis for support of the arts, and perhaps most important, most immigrants came from the sections of Danish population where there was no tradition for contact with the arts.”¹⁰⁰ The Finns, however, had a rich tradition of theatrical backdrop painting, designed to accompany plays sponsored by the temperance and cooperative associations.¹⁰¹

Spurred on by the early organization of the Swedish-American artists, the Scandinavian-American artists organized themselves into a society as early as 1924 in New York. They first exhibited together as a group in 1926 at the Brooklyn Museum, January 30-March 1, 1926, drawing 258 works from 81 entrants primarily from the East Coast and the Midwest. The Brooklyn Museum was again the site of two additional Scandinavian-American artists exhibitions: 1928 and 1932. The forewords to these exhibitions de-emphasized their ethnic identities, perhaps answering the rhetoric inspired by the increasing political isolationism in America and the ensuing feelings of anti-immigration, which culminated in the Johnson-Reed

Act of 1924 that placed permanent quotas on immigrants, and the National Origins Quota System in 1929, allowing each country an immigration quota of two percent annually, based on the census of 1920. Thus in the foreword to the 1926 exhibition Martinus Anderson, the Scandinavian-American Artists Association president wrote that "it is not to be assumed that his is an effort to produce an exhibition that would be national in character, for the society absolutely believes art to be international and common to all peoples." This exhibition was the first of only two of the Scandinavian-American exhibitions reviewed in *The American Scandinavian Review*. Although the review basically listed the information on the works, it did state enthusiastically that "It augurs well for the organizations that such nationally known artists as John F. Carlson, Ernest Ipsen, Birger Sandzen, Brynjulf Strandenaes, Olaf Brauneer, Charles Haag, Trygve Hammer, Agnes Fromén, and George Lober were among the exhibitors."¹⁰²

The 1928 exhibition in the Brooklyn Museum from April 9-May 7, drew 67 entrants and was the second of the only two Scandinavian-American artists exhibition reviewed in *The American Scandinavian Review*. Holger Cahill, a reviewer for New York papers and himself of Icelandic descent, alerted readers that it was difficult not to be personally prejudiced when viewing and reviewing a group exhibition. He wrote that "this reviewer at once reveals his dominant interests with the statement that what most appeals to him in this exhibit is the work of B.J.O. Nordfeldt. This painter's work has a sobriety and strength, a simplicity based on rigid selection and an architectural quality which makes his portrait of *La Señora Chavez* and his *Still Life* the high points of the exhibition."¹⁰³ In fewer sentences than he gave to Nordfeldt, he lauded the similar work of Swedish-American painter Charles Kaesela; mentioned that Dewey Albinson was "making some discoveries;" wrote that Henry Mattson's flower pieces were "excellent" and the design and color "always interesting;" and that Carl Sprinchorn's "warmth and freedom of brush stroke . . . give his canvases an air of fluidity and movement."¹⁰⁴ Merely mentioned by name as other painters who interested Cahill were Swedish-Americans J. Emmanuel Carlson, Lars Hoftrup (b. 1881), Otto O. (Olle) Nordmark, Birger Sandzen, and Peter Wedin (1894-1980).

Olaf Olesen, writing in the foreword to the 1932 catalog, stressed the universal artistic characteristics of the 253 works shown by 86 entrants: "Whatever Scandinavian characteristics these works may possess, they have possibly become modified by an American environment. But justification for our strivings as artists must depend upon the universal test of Art—namely: that it enriches the life of mankind." The next exhibition, only a year later at the Germanic Museum, Harvard University, November 4—December 3, 1933, drew only 24 artists and 56 works of art. The rhetoric in its foreword, written by Olaf Olesen, negated any ethnic characteristics. Olesen wrote that "Chinese ceramics, Greek, sculpture and modern paintings carry the message because the fundamentals of Art are the same at all times and in all places. Racial characteristics may add variety and interest. Justification for Scandinavian-American Artists' work must be that it speaks the universal language of beauty." The fifth and probably final exhibition of Scandinavian-American artists was held September 21—October 11, 1936. Forty-nine artists entered a total of 151 works of art at the Squibb Building art galleries. A 1929 exhibition in Chicago was probably inspired by the exhibitions of Scandinavian-American artists but does not seem to have been associated with the groups above. Its catalog, "An Exhibition of Works by Scandinavian-American Artists Given Under the Auspices of the American-Scandinavian Foundation at the Illinois Women's Athletic Club, 111 Pearson Street," December 1—10, 1929, featured 199 works by 89 artists, the majority of whom were from Chicago.¹⁰⁵

As the Swedish-American artists, most of whom had immigrated to America between 1880 and 1920, reached artistic maturity in their new home, they initially attached great importance to exhibiting as a group. Sponsors and patrons purchased work from the Swedish-American exhibitions at a moderate rate, although there are few records outside of pencilled notations in catalogs to indicate precise rates of buying by purchasers. The artists appeared to organize exhibitions that correlated to those in mainstream American artistic culture, although by 1920 many of the entrants already exhibited work in recognized galleries and museums. The sustainability of these exhibitions was a remarkable factor for one ethnic group in American art history. Concurrent with the economic fallout of the Depression and the highpoint of artists' careers who had arrived in the last waves of immigration, the percentage of artists from outside Chicago and the quality of the exhibitions declined after 1929. The exhibitions, success can also be attributed to a diverse but loyal group of patrons both within and outside of their ethnic community.

¹ David Ward, *Cities and Immigrants: A Geography of Change in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: 1971), 76f.

² *Ibid.*, 255.

³ Anita Ruth Olson, "Swedish Chicago: The extension and transformation of an urban immigrant community," unpublished dissertation, Northwestern University, 1990, 109.

⁴ Ulf Beijbom, *Swedes in Chicago: A Demographic and Social Study of the 1846-1880 Immigration* (Stockholm, Gothenburg, Lund: Läromedelsförlagen, 1971), 9n1.

⁵ Otto Robert Landelius, *Utlandssvenskarna*, Scrapbook #2, Emigrant Institute, Växjö, Sweden. The article copied came from the periodical, *The Painter* from 1882. This source was also used by E.W. Olson in his article on Almini for *The History of the Swedes of Illinois* (Chicago: Peterson Publishing Company, 1908).

⁶ George M. Stephenson, "Documents Relating to Peter Cassel and the Settlement at New Sweden, Iowa," *Swedish-American Historical Bulletin*, II (February 1929), 40. Otto Robert Landelius papers, scrapbook #2 of "Utlandssvenskarna" lists Almini as immigrating in 1852.

⁷ Otto Robert Landelius, *Utlandssvenskarna*, Scrapbook #2, the article copied came from the periodical *The Painter*, 1882. This periodical was also used by E.W. Olson in his article on Almini for *The History of the Swedes of Illinois* (Chicago: Peterson Publishing Company, 1908). Landelius lists Almini's parents as Adam Nilsson and Anna Greta Persdotter from Mellängård in Jönköpingslän.

⁸ "Bref från Amerika av Isidor K." *Göteborgs Posten*, 27 January, 1870. *Utlandssvenskarna*. Scrapbook #2. Emigrant Institute, Växjö, Sweden.

⁹ For a thorough study of the Swedish-American involvement in the Linneus monument, see Eric Johannesson, "The Flower King in the American Republic: The Linneus Statue in Chicago, 1891," *Swedish-American Life in Chicago*, Dad Blanck and Philip Anderson, Editors (Urbana, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 267-282.

¹⁰ Adolph Benson and Naboth Hedin, *Americans From Sweden* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott Company, 1950), 350. See also Ulf Beijbom, *Swedes in Chicago*, 284-85.

¹¹ Among other sources, Otto Robert Landelius' unpublished essay on Reuter Dahl gives a good chronology of the artist's early career. Landelius files, Emigrant Institute, Växjö, Sweden.

¹² Paul Dominique Philippeaux (1846-1923) studied with his father, Felix, then traveled to the United States where he exhibited a cyclorama of the battle of Gettysburg which traveled to Chicago and was ultimately exhibited at the National Academy of Design. *Who was Who in American Art, 1564-1975*, Vol. 3. Ed. Peter Hastings Falk (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1999), 2598.

¹³ DeWitt McClellan Lockman papers, 153. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C. The first exhibition was of the work of William Inness, the second of Robert Vonnoh in 1895.

¹⁴ DeWitt McClellan Lockman papers, 156.

¹⁵ Milton W. Brown, *American Painting from the Armory Show to the Depression* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972), 95. Eddy, although a lawyer, wrote fiction and aesthetic criticism. Edouard Manet's *Philosopher* was an early purchase.

¹⁶ Lasse Holmqvist, "Han gjorde skandal, Tack, sade presidenten," *Kulturens Värld*, December 1987-April 1988, 14.

¹⁷ Axel Fredenholm, "Ur Amerikas svensk dikt," newspaper clipping from an unidentified Swedish language paper (probably *Svenska Folkets Tidning* published in Minneapolis), Fritiof Colling papers, scrapbook 10.4.13, 170. Emigrant Institute, Växjö, Sweden.

¹⁸ "Gus Higgins," *Prärieblomman*, (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Book Concern, 1910), 253.

¹⁹ A. Schön, "Svensk-Amerikanska Konstnärer,," *Ungdomsvännen*, December, 1904, 317.

²⁰ Otto Robert Landelius, *Utlandssvenska Klippsamling*, scrapbook of artists and cultural leaders, Emigrant Institute, Växjö, Sweden. The poem, roughly translated, reads: "The artist Higgins wishes to be here, drinking and careless and having fun, but his reputation is, however, that he was no hypocrite."

²¹ "En Minnesruna," *Allsvensk samling*, January 28, 1932. Linder files, Swenson Immigration Research Center, Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois.

²² *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1888-1950*, Peter Hastings Falk, ed. (Madison, Connecticut: Second View Press, 1990).

²³ For additional information on Thulstrup, see Åke Thulstrup, "Thure Thulstrup: Painter of American Historical Scenes," *The Swedish-American Historical Quarterly* XV (October, 1964), 9-19.

²⁴ The exhibition included works by Richard Bergh, Karl Nordström, Nils Krueger, Carl Larsson, and Anders Zorn, among others. The first official exhibition of Swedish art sent by Sweden to the second Minneapolis Industrial Exposition opened August 31, 1887. It was part of an exhibition of Norwegian, Danish, and Swedish paintings, and contained works by several of the above artists.

²⁵ *Twentieth Annual Report*, Art Institute of Chicago, June 1, 1898 to June 1, 1899, 37.

²⁶ Letter from the Swedish painter Helmer Osslund (1866-1938) to "friend Sandzen," dated Paris, November 12, 1894. The letter also mentions "Friberg" as a fellow student (often also spelled Fribert). The address was the American Art Association, 131 Boulevard Montparnasse, Paris. Sandzen Archive, Lindsborg, Kansas.

²⁷ Anders Schön, "Svensk-Amerikanska Konstnärer, VIII. Carl O.E. Lindin," *Ungdomsvännen*, (February 1905), 60.

²⁸ Undated newspaper clippings in C.O. Lindin's scrapbook, including one which dates the exhibition in Detroit from February 19, 1899-March 16, 1899, David Cook Fine Art, Denver, Colorado.

²⁹ Hand-dated newspaper clipping and art exhibition announcement in C.O. Lindin's scrapbook.

³⁰ Interviews with Carlson's son, David Carlson, by the author in Woodstock, New York, February 1993.

³¹ "A Memorial," clipping in the New York Public Library Files, National Museum of American Art Library, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

³² "Autobiographies of Modern Artists," George Washington Stevens papers, c. 1910. Roll D34, 113-879, 313, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

³³ "Charles E. Hallberg—Painter of the Open Sea," *Fine Arts Journal*, XVI, No. 4 (April 1905), 200. See also "Exhibition of Painting by Charles Hallberg of Chicago," exhibition catalog, The Art Institute of Chicago, March 1 to March 21, 1906. Library of the National Museum of American Art, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington D.C.

³⁴ Anders Schön, "Svensk-Amerikansk Konstnärer, XI, Arvid Nyholm," *Ungdomsvännen* (August 1905), 239.

³⁵ Otto Robert Landelius, *Utlandssvenska Klippsamling*, Emigrant Institute, Växjö, Sweden.

³⁶ Initial meetings were reported in two issues of *Svenska Amerikanaren*, February 21, 1905 and October 11, 1905. Clippings in the archives of the Swedish-American Historical Association, North Park University, Chicago, Illinois.

³⁷ "First Annual Exhibition of the Swedish-American Art Association," exhibition catalog, Anderson Galleries, 178 Wabash Avenue, Chicago. Nationalmuseum Library, Stockholm, Sweden. The catalog is incorrectly dated 1910 in pencil.

³⁸ Clipping dates October 17, 1905, from *Svenska Amerikanaren*.

³⁹ Ernst W. Olson, ed. *History of the Swedes of Illinois*, Part I (Chicago: the Engberg-Holmberg Publishing Company, 1908), 882. Rolf H. Ericson has written on these exhibitions as well as exhibitions held by the Painters and Decorators' Local No. 194 in his chapter, "Swedish-American Artists and Their Exhibitions," *Swedish-American Life in Chicago, Cultural and Urban Aspects of an Immigrant People, 1850-1930* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 150-177. Ericson also painstakingly cataloged every artist and the works shown in the Swedish-American art exhibitions between 1905 and 1964. This list is unpublished, and located in the Nils William Olson papers, Swenson Immigration Research Archives, Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois. He wrote a shortened version of this list in the *Swedish-American Geneologist* (has to be sometime before 1990), "Swedish-American Artists' Exhibitions in Chicago Described in Checklists and Catalogs," 90-113 (check). In it he lists in this order the title of the exhibition on the catalog page, the number of works shown and number of artists, the illustrations within the catalog, and the jury which chose the works.

-
- ⁴⁰ Letter from Arvid Nyholm to Birger Sandzen, who was then in Sweden, dated October 27, 1905. Sandzen archives, Lindsborg, Kansas.
- ⁴¹ Letter from Arvid Nyholm to Birger Sandzen, September 17, 1905. Sandzen archives, Lindsborg, Kansas.
- ⁴² "The Art Institute of Chicago, Twenty-Seventh Annual Report," June 1, 1906, 31.
- ⁴³ Ernst Olson, *History of the Swedes of Illinois*, 883.
- ⁴⁴ Emory Lindquist, *Bethany in Kansas: the History of a College* (Lindsborg, Kansas: Bethany College, 1975), 181-182.
- ⁴⁵ For an interesting account of both the exhibitions of 1905 and 1911, read Anders Schön, "Den första större svensk-amerikanska konstutställningen," *Prärieblomman*, 1912, 123-142.
- ⁴⁶ Unidentified clipping, dated March 10, 1908, Carlson Archives, Jim's Antiques, Lambertville, New Jersey.
- ⁴⁷ Clipping, *The New York Times*, March 10, 1909. Carlson archives.
- ⁴⁸ Birge Harrison, *Landscape Painting* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1906), 138-139.
- ⁴⁹ Schön, 137.
- ⁵⁰ Alice C. Henderson, *The Sketchbook*, Chicago (December 1, 1905), 190.
- ⁵¹ Anders Schön, "Den första större svensk-amerikanska konstutställningen," 134.
- ⁵² Archives of American Art, Macbeth files, NMc74, 2633, letter dated December 30, 1913.
- ⁵³ Archives of American Art, Macbeth files, NMc74, 2633-2640, letter dated January 31, 1914.
- ⁵⁴ Archives of American Art, Macbeth files, NMc74, 2633-2640, letter dated February 6, 1914.
- ⁵⁵ Archives of American Art, Macbeth files, NMc74, 2633-2640, letter dated February 9, 1914.
- ⁵⁶ Archives of American Art, Macbeth files, NMc74, 2633-2640, letter dated September 8, 1915.
- ⁵⁷ Birger Sandzen, "Svensk-amerikanska konstnärernas utställning i Chicago 1912," *Prärieblomman*, (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Book Concern, 1913), 21.
- ⁵⁸ Birger Sandzen, 30.
- ⁵⁹ Birger Sandzen, 31.
- ⁶⁰ The catalog, "2nd Exhibition of Paintings and Sculpture by Swedish-American Artists at The Swedish Club," March 3-17, lists Nordfeldt's name, but does not give a title to his entry.
- ⁶¹ "Tredje årliga svensk-amerikanska konstutställningen," *Ungdomsvännen*, June 1913, 180-182.
- ⁶² Milton Brown, *American Painting, from the Armory Show to the Depression* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1972), 50.
- ⁶³ Gabriel P. Weisberg, "The Women of the Académie Julian," *Overcoming All Obstacles, The Women of the Académie Julian*, ed. Gabriel P. Weisberg and Jane R. Becker (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1999), 13.
- ⁶⁴ Ernst W. Olson, "Konstnärinnan Ava Lagercrantz," *Ungdomsvännen* (January 1913), 12. See also the Linder Files, 920, L136, Swenson Swedish Immigration Archives, Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois; and the Otto Robert Landelius Scrapbooks on Swedish-American Cultural Figures, Emigrant Institute, Växjö, Sweden.
- ⁶⁵ Erik Westmann, "A Swedish Art Center in Chicago," *American Scandinavian Review* (September, October 1915), 304.
- ⁶⁶ Prologue to the catalog, "The First Annual Exhibition of Works Given Under the Auspices of the Swedish American Art Association, Illinois Women's Athletic Club, 13th Floor and Art Salon, Rom 906, March 10-17, 1929." Linder files, Swenson Immigration Research Center, Augusta College, Rock Island, Illinois.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid.
- ⁶⁸ 1920-the National Academy of Design before the works were sent to Malmö, Gothenburg, and Stockholm. They were returned to an exhibition at the Art Institute of Chicago in November 1920. 1923-Gothenburg; 1936-Minneapolis; 1940-Detroit; 1947-Minneapolis, Rock Island, Rockford; 1949-Detroit, Lindsborg, Kansas, East Orange, New Jersey, Philadelphia; 1951-Minneapolis, St. Peter, Rock Island, Rockford, Lindsborg; 1957-the same tour; 1961-the same tour.
- ⁶⁹ "Twenty-First Swedish American Art Exhibition," The Swedish Club of Chicago, March 23-31, 1940.
- ⁷⁰ Robert Hobbs and Joanne Kuebler, *Richard Pousette-Dart* (Indianapolis, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990), 12-16.
- ⁷¹ Peter Hastings Falk, ed. *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Art Institute of Chicago, 1888-1950* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1990).
- ⁷² *The Annual Exhibition Record of the National Academy of Design, 1901-1950* (Madison, Connecticut: Sound View Press, 1990).
- ⁷³ "Birger Sandzen," *The American Scandinavian Review* (April 1922), 237.

⁷⁴ "winter Canvases at Mohr's Gallery," unidentified newspaper, Toledo, Ohio, January 13, 1929. Carlson archives, Woodstock, New York.

⁷⁵ "Snow Scenes from Brush of Swedish Painter to be Feature of Big Collection," *Worcester Daily Telegram*, April 23, 1922. Sprinchorn archives, University of Maine at Orono.

⁷⁶ Christian Brinton, *Carl Sprinchorn*. Introduction and Catalog by Christian Brinton. New York: Redfield-Kenrick, Odell Company, Inc., 1922.

⁷⁷ Jean Paul Slusser, "Henry Mattson," *Arts*, 15 (January, 1929), 27.

⁷⁸ Telephone interviews with Illinois Art Registry, July 30, 1996, with the Swedish-American Museum in Chicago, September 4, 1996. Information on Ahlm can be found in Otto Robert Landelius *Utlandssvenska Klippsamlingar*, Emigrant Institute, Växjö, Sweden. According to the official at the registry, Ahlm was also listed in the *American Art Annual* of 19095, lived in the Farfield Nursing Home in Chicago the last nine months of her life, and was buried in Graceland Cemetary, August 28, 1956.

⁷⁹ *De Drogo från Paris* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1988). The catalog chronicles the unusual number of Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, and Finnish women in Paris studying art in the 1880s. Most knew one another, ate together, even painted together.

⁸⁰ The exhibition catalog, *American Painters of Swedish Descent*, The Art Institute of Chicago, November 1920, lists the Chicago judges as Allen St. John, Gordon Saint Clair, Antonin Sterba, and Swedish-American artists Arvid Nyholm and Hugo von Hofsten.

⁸¹ Erik G. Westman, *Succèssturnén Genom Sverige 1920, En rikt illustrerad skildring utarbetad för The Swedish Choral Club of Chicago*, Utgifven på bekostnad af Charles S. Peterson, Peterson Building, Plymouth Court, Chicago, Illinois, Pris \$2.00—I Sverige 10 kronor, 12.

⁸² "American Exhibition to Tour Sweden," *The American Magazine of Art*, XI (March, 1920), 182.

⁸³ Henry McBride, "Art for Sweden is Shown Here," *New York Herald*, clipping collection, Carl Sprinchorn archives, University of Maine at Orono.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Sprinchorn's canvases came back to America and none from this period were purchased in Sweden for Swedish museums or privately. Only in 1930-1931 did Sprinchorn return to Sweden and leave work with friends and family in Broby, Skåne.

⁸⁵ Marion E. Fenton, "Art," *The Vogue*, c. 1920. Carl Sprinchorn archives, University of Maine at Orono.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Elixabeth Luther Cary, "An Exhibition of Work by American Painters of Swedish Descent," *The American Scandinavian Review* (June 1920), 598.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 599.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 600-602.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 605.

⁹¹ "American Painters of Swedish Descent," National Academy of Design, Fine Arts Building, May 16-23. Foreword by Henry Goddard Leach, unpaginated.

⁹² "Swedish Art in America," *The American Magazine of Art*, X (January 1919), 108.

⁹³ Erik G. Westmann, "Konstutställningen Öppnas," *Succèssturnén Genom Sverige 1920*, 74.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 258. The reviews are printed verbatim in the book, but not every artist's work was reviewed.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 260.

⁹⁶ Unidentified newspaper clipping, Carl Sprinchorn archives, University of Maine at Orono. The Eastern contingent, added to the works chosen from the annual Swedish-American exhibition in Chicago were Helge Anderson, two additional works by John F. Carlson, Emil Gelhaar, an additional work by Charles Kaeselau, Carl Eric Lindin, Arthur Linquist, Henry Mattson, Eric Maunsbach, C.G. Molin, two works by Henry Reuterdaahl, Anna Soderquist, Carl Sprinchorn, Frank Colson, and A.M. Bjorkman.

⁹⁷ "The American Exhibition," *The American Scandinavian Review* (May 1930), 239.

⁹⁸ Marion John Nelson, *Paintings by Minnesotans of Norwegian Background 1870-1970* (Northfield, Minesota: Norwegian-American Historical Association, 2000), 9.

⁹⁹ Alfred Söderstrom, *Minneapolis Minnen, Kulturhistorisk Axplockning* (Minneapolis: 1899), 266.

¹⁰⁰ Aase Bak, "Art? Among Danes in America?" *The Bridge*, No. 7 (1981), 69. See also Baks's unpublished dissertation, "Danish-American Artists, 1850-1914," University of Aarhus, 1979.

¹⁰¹ For sources on these theatrical paintings note files in the Immigration Historical Research Center files, Univeersity of Minnesota. Note also *The Finns in America and Finland: A Bibliography of the Writings of John I. Kolehmainen* (Tiffon, Ohio: Aigler Fund, Heidelberg College, 1980).

¹⁰² "A Scandinavian American Art Exhibition," *The American Scandinavian Review* XIV (April 1926), 120.

¹⁰³ Holger Cahill, "Our Northern Artists," *The American Scandinavian Review* XVI (June 1928), 367.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 367-368.

¹⁰⁵ Rolf H. Erickson, "The Chicago Exhibition of Scandinavian-American Artists in 1929," *Swedish-American Genealogist*, (June 1989), 60-77. This continued in September 1989 issue, 129-148.

CHAPTER 6: Diverse American Systems of Patronage Provide Broad Support

In most ethnic-American cultures the visual arts were the last of the fine arts to find strong support within their communities, but Swedish-American art appears to be an exception. Their artists found affirmation from a variety of national and local groups. A diverse and informal network, it gave both psychological and monetary support for Swedish-American artists and Swedish-American art exhibitions between 1880 and 1950. The network included pastors and lay leaders within organized Protestant churches, specifically the the Augustana Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church, urban area businessmen; museum professionals and gallery personnel, many of whom were not Swedish-American; and the artists themselves, particularly those in urban areas.

The earliest Swedish-American collectors lived in Chicago and conceivably began amassing paintings and watercolors by their fellow immigrants in the 1890s. While collecting works from other Europeans, they also focused on Swedish artists. The Opponents' work, for example, reached Chicago through the private collection of Swedish-American cultural leader A. (Alexander) E. Johnson (1840--), who lived in Chicago through the mid-nineties and owned work by three of the Swedish painters who were members of the progressive group. Attesting to the importance his ethnic community attached to owning works of art, the Illinois-based annual *Prärieblomman* ran an article on Johnson in 1906, highlighting his collection. Six years later the same annual featured an article on the collection of Chicago businessman and Swedish Club director, Fritz Schoultz, revealing the importance the ethnic community attached to the support of both Swedish and Swedish-American artists.

By the time Birger Sandzen wrote the article in 1906, Johnson had moved to New York and been appointed Swedish consul, a post he held until 1908. But his journey to wealth and respectability began with tragedy. Shortly after he and his father immigrated from Värmland to Chicago in 1854, Johnson's father died. The enterprising young Johnson, sensing a market for Swedish settlements in the Midwest and eventually on the West Coast, founded A. E. Johnson & Company, General Land and Emigration Agents, in 1883. The firm was operating with offices in St. Paul and Minneapolis, Chicago and New York by 1889. Soon after that date, Johnson became the general agent for the Scandinavian American Line. For several years Johnson was an owner of the Chicago-based *Hemlandet*, the newspaper that advocated close ties with the Swedish Augustana Lutheran Church and retention of Swedish cultural roots. He also was a longtime director of *Nordstjärnan*, the Swedish language newspaper in New York. Rated by fellow American business leaders as the "transportation man," Johnson founded and became the first president of the Swedish Businessmen in New York in 1907.¹

Reviewed by Sandzen, Johnson's art collection was fairly extensive. He owned landscapes by two Danish painters and eight Swedish artists, three of whom were founding members of the Opponents. Johnson, himself a constant traveler between Sweden and America because of his leadership in the American-Scandinavian Line, had numerous opportunities to view the most avant-garde art in Sweden, and buy works from these exhibitions. In addition, he and his wife actively attended gallery and exhibition openings in New York. Johnson owned paintings by Opponents artists Olof Hermelin (1827-1913), *Höststämning*, an atmospheric painting of birches according to Sandzen; a mountain landscape by Herman Norrman (1864-1906), famous for his mood-infused sunsets; and a sun-drenched scene of *Badande Poikar* (Bathing boys) by Paul Graf (1866-1903). Other canvases in his collection were by Swedish

artists Alfred Wahlberg (1834-1906); A. Hjelm (1868-1944); Alfred Bergström (1869-1930); and Nils Lundström.

The sole Swedish-American presence in Johnson's collection was a series of "beautiful watercolors" by seascape and ship painter Henry Reuterdahl (1871-1925). Impressed by the marine artist's drawings in *Svea* and other illustrated periodicals in Sweden, Sandzen noted that "Reuterdahl shall become an artist of high status." Finding "strength, energy, and elegance" in his watercolors, Sandzen pronounced Reuterdahl better than other illustrators he had noticed in the American magazine *Collier's Weekly*.²

Johnson later helped fund the Scandinavian Art Exhibition of 1912-1913, in which paintings and sculpture from Denmark, Sweden, and Norway opened at the American Galleries in New York and toured to five national locations. *The American-Scandinavian Review* gave its endorsement, testifying that "thanks are due to the generosity of Messrs. A. E. Johnson & Co., of the American-Scandinavian Line, who carried the pictures from Scandinavia and back, entirely free of charge."³

Chicago had ties to a second early collector, Fritz Schoultz. In 1912 Anders Schön, writing about Chicago Swedish Club director and area businessman Schoultz in *Prärieblomman* asked in mock astonishment, "A Swedish-American art collector! Is there really such a person? Can the interest be so great that he's gone on to form a collection?"⁴ Schön toured the director's home, going into each room to list the canvases in Schoultz' collection. Schoultz owned work, probably landscapes, by New Orleans based Swedish-American painter Bror Adde Wikstrom (1854-1909) and two seascapes by Chicago area painter Charles Hallberg (1855-1933); *Lumpsamlare* (the Rag Collector) by Chicago illustrator Gus Higgins (1863-1909), a canvas (not described) by Moline painter and altar painter for several Illinois, Wisconsin, and Minnesota churches, Frank A. Lundahl (1858-), and watercolors by Henry Reuterdahl. Although Schoultz' collection was eclectic (he owned work by little-known German, American, and French painters also), the collector could have purchased Reuterdahl's watercolors from the exhibition "First Annual Exhibition of the Swedish-American Art Association" which took place at Chicago's Anderson Art Galleries in late October 1905. Reuterdahl showed three watercolors in that exhibition, as well as one seascape and four landscapes in the second group exhibition, "First Exhibition of Swedish-American Artists at Swedish Club House" March 12-26, 1911. Schoultz probably viewed Charles Hallberg's paintings at the Art Institute of Chicago where he showed works from 1906 on, or in one of the Swedish-American art exhibitions. Hallberg was both an organizer and exhibitor in these shows. Although Wikstrom did not exhibit paintings in the 1905 exhibition, Schoultz could have viewed his work in New York galleries or Louisiana. Swedish language newspapers reported that Wikstrom exhibited in both geographical areas. Minneapolis-based *Svenska Folkets Tidning*, for example, reported in its January 17, 1900 issue about Wikstrom that "when the history of art in the South shall be written, his name shall be at the front."⁵

Like Schoultz and A.E. Johnson, Swedish-American art collector Charles Simeon Peterson also boasted Chicago roots. Unlike them, however, he and his collection were never featured in *Prärieblomman*, possibly because Peterson began his collection later than either Johnson or Schoultz, probably sometime in 1911 when he first became actively involved in promoting Swedish-American art exhibitions. *Prärieblomman* ceased publication by the end of 1912 (its review was always given the date of the succeeding year). Peterson's collection eventually included some of the best Swedish-American artists nationally. By 1915, an article in the November 1 issue of *Allsvensk Samling* referred to Peterson as "the owner of the largest

private museum in Swedish-America.” Peterson was the Renaissance man of Swedish-American art patrons: he helped to organize the Swedish-American art exhibitions, beginning in 1911; he and his wife Thyra Peterson sponsored prizes for the exhibitions; he bankrolled two exhibitions of Swedish-American art that were sent to Sweden, in 1920 and 1923; and he spearheaded the funding and organizational drives for a gallery to show Swedish art in the Art Institute of Chicago in 1927. After his wife’s death in 1933, he donated his collection to Smålands Museum in 1935.

Born in Daglösen, Värmland in 1873, Peterson immigrated to America in 1887 at the age of 14. His parents were the Reverend Peter and Sophia Christina Peterson, who provided the future patron with a home that supported Peterson’s interest in cultural activities.⁶ He first worked in Chicago as an errand boy or messenger for the newspaper *Gamla och Nya Hemlandet*, then traveled to Colorado, California, and the Sandwich Islands (the Hawaiian Islands), returning to Chicago in 1895 at the age of 22 to settle down and work as a compositor or typesetter, supposedly learned during his journeys,. Only four years later in 1899, he founded the Peterson Linotype Company, which he directed through 1924. At its height, his company employed 1,000 workers. He also headed the Kenfield-Leach company and had controlling interest in a number of other plants.⁷ As vice president of the *Svenska Amerikanska Posten*, a weekly paper published in Minneapolis, Peterson later extended his influence to the newly-created American Institute of Swedish Arts, Literature, and Science (later to become the American Swedish Institute), an organization affiliated with the newspaper and dedicated to furthering Swedish culture in the upper Midwest.

Gothenburg’s newspaper obituaries reported that Peterson was known as “the honest Swede” in business circles. Politically a Republican, he was elected a member of the Board of Education of the city of Chicago, 1913-1918; elected City Treasurer and City Comptroller; and was a member of the Board of County Commissioners, 1922-1926. Peterson became vice president of Chicago’s 1933 Century of Progress Exposition and “when the early plans for the century of Progress Exposition seemed doomed to failure, it was Peterson who by personal enthusiasm and initiative saved the day. . . . he was largely responsible for its success.”⁸ In fact, Chicago’s Mayor Thompson initially appointed Peterson to a committee in 1925 to investigate the possibilities of a world’s fair for Chicago. When the mayor determined that there was little interest in the project in 1927, he appointed Peterson as a committee of one to see if the plans could be resurrected. Peterson became a flying ambassador to interest European countries in participating in the Exposition, combining his trip to Scandinavia with the Swedish Choral Club recitals to solicit backing from the Danish, Swedish and Norwegian monarchs. When he returned to Chicago, he gave a luncheon for eleven prominent city fathers, persuading them to head the drive for the Century of Progress Exposition and earned the title as “the real father of the Century of Progress Exposition.”⁹

When he headed the annual Navy Pier Art Exhibition in the city as its general manager, Peterson’s civic activities continued to elevate the image of the Swedish immigrant in Chicago’s artistic circles. The June 29, 1939 issue of the newspaper *Scandia* reported that “he is Swedish and is noted for his civic activities on behalf of the citizens of Chicago, who are acquainted with him as their former treasurer. He has been connected with the Navy Pier Exhibition from their beginning, and, as a trustee of the American Scandinavian Foundation, reveals his interest in the furtherance of American culture as well.”¹⁰

In addition to his active participation in city politics and civic organizations, Peterson held national leadership roles in Swedish- and Scandinavian-American organizations. Peterson

was vice-president of the American Scandinavian Foundation from 1922 to 1926 and chair of the Foundation's American Advisory Committee in 1920. He also wrote an article for the March 1920 issue of *The American-Scandinavian Review*, "Carrying Our Song to Sweden," as one of the founders of the Swedish Choral Club in Chicago in 1915. The group's tour, June 26-August 3, 1920, was financed by Peterson.¹¹ Its tour coincided with the touring exhibition of paintings of Swedish-American Artists, also financed by Peterson.

While the chorus gave its departing concerts in Jamestown, New York, the center of a sizeable Swedish-American population, and in New York's Carnegie Hall in late May, 1920, the painters exhibited their work at the National Academy of Design in New York. Both the exhibition and chorus left New York on the Swedish-American line's flagship *Drottningholm*. The exhibition opened in Stockholm in June at the exhibition hall of the Academy for Free Art, with a lecture by American Scandinavian Society secretary Henry Goddard Leach. Moving on to the city hall in Malmö in July, the tour ended in Gothenburg in late July, but returned to Chicago to be exhibited at the Art Institute of Chicago in November 16-30, 1920 before being dispersed.

Peterson, president of the Swedish Club of Chicago from 1909 to 1919, led the committee organizing the first Swedish-American exhibition in the newly built addition to the Club, March 12- 26, 1911, and donated prize monies for the exhibitions. In addition, Peterson chaired the committee that brought an exhibition of Swedish Industrial Art to Chicago in 1913, which 10,000 persons attended during the run of the exhibition.¹² A portion of this exhibition was sent to Minnesota for the Annual State Art Exhibition, "through the kindness of C. S. Peterson, President of the Swedish Club of Chicago, and other members of the club."¹³ Peterson donated 15 hand-crafted items, while Fritz Schoultz donated seven.

Besides instigating and funding a gallery of Swedish artists the the Art Institute of Chicago in 1926, Peterson's crowning achievement his gift of a collection of Swedish-American art to Smålands Museum, Växjö, Sweden, in 1935 as a memorial collection honoring his wife, Thyra H. Peterson, who died in 1933.¹⁴ Peterson had obviously been collecting work from the Swedish-American exhibitions, from private galleries, and the artists themselves. For example, Pennsylvania-based painter Emil Gelhaar's canvas *Parisidyll* or *Parisisk Bro* (fig. 1), probably



Fig. 1. Emil Gelhaar, *Parisidyll* or *Parisisk Bro*

was the painting Gelhaar showed in the 1913 exhibition which was titled *Pont Neuf*. Woodstock artist John F. Carlson's painting, *Skogsmarker*, was actually the painting *Sylvan Aisles* (fig. 2)



Fig. 2. John F. Carlson, *Sylvan Aisles*

which toured to Sweden with the Swedish-American artists' exhibition in the summer of 1920 and had its final showing at the Art Institute of Chicago in November 1920.¹⁵ *Charles S. Peterson*, 1913 (fig. 3), painted by Arvid Nyholm, was possibly in the Swedish-American art exhibition of 1915, whose records are now lost, or was commissioned by Peterson. Speaking in 1939 about his collection, Peterson said that he was proud of the artists in the group, but highlighted only Birger Sandzen, John F. Carlson, and Henry Mattson (1887-1971) as the great names of Swedish-American art. Oddly enough, Mattson's work was not in the collection Peterson donated to Smålands Museum in 1935.



Fig. 3. Arvid Nyholm, *Charles S. Peterson*, 1913.

Thyra Peterson (1881-1933), Charles' wife, Thyra Peterson was an example of the Swedish-American who had successfully acculturated to her American cultural environment. In Chicago she had been a member of the board of directors of the Drama League, active in the Alliance Française and the Cercle Français as well as the American Opera Society of Chicago and on its board of directors. As a onetime art chairman of the Illinois Academy of Fine Arts, chair of the art committee of the Illinois Women's Athletic Club, and honorary member of the South Side Athletic Association, she was equally as important as her husband in nurturing the Swedish-American art collection and supporting Swedish-American artists. When her husband became the president of the Swedish Club in 1911, she founded the Ladies' Auxiliary of the Swedish Club of Chicago, that helped to raise funds for an extension to the club house. Thyra Peterson also helped to arrange openings for the Swedish-American art exhibitions beginning in 1911 and found money and donors for the exhibition prizes. The exhibits, according to the memorial catalog for the "Thyra H. Peterson Memorial Exhibition of Swedish-American Artists," helped "toward raising the prestige of our Swedish-American artists and of our people, and have done a great deal from a cultural point of view." In 1928 she organized the Swedish-American Art Society, which encompassed painters, sculptors, musicians, and architects, initiating its first exhibition at the Illinois Women's Athletic Club in 1929, where she was a director. Thyra Peterson, who also showed two watercolors in this exhibition, organized a membership of 300 persons for the Swedish-American Art Association. Many of the members were non-Swedes, and were "among the best known art patrons and lovers of art in the city."¹⁶ The association's second exhibition in 1930 included Norwegian-American artists and was held at the same facility. In 1931, a third exhibition was held at the Chicago Women's Club, of which she was a member, where "the exhibit proved popular and did much to acquaint people with Swedish-American art."

Although Chicago had a greater percentage of Swedish-American immigrants and its ethnic community's patrons actively collected and supported its arts, patrons on the East Coast also proved helpful to the immigrant artists. They maintained ties to the Swedish-American cultural leaders in Chicago, nourishing a diffuse but helpful patronage network for Swedish-American artists. Dr. Johannes Hoving, for example, a physician from the Swedish-speaking area of Finland who lived in New York, he reported that he traveled for the first time to Chicago in 1917, where he had lunch at the Swedish Club with Charles S. Peterson in conjunction with the John Ericsson sculpture committee. The committee had invited Swedish-American sculptors David Edström (1873-1938), Agnes Fromen (1868--), Olaf Bjorkman (1868-1946), and Carl Skoog (1878-1933) to submit plans and models for the monument. None were accepted and the commission went to American sculptor Earl Fraser.¹⁷ Hoving later commissioned a portrait of himself by Skoog, although other works of art or a collection of art were not mentioned in his diary.¹⁸

Hoving founded the St. Erik's Society in 1916. An organization devoted to encouraging Swedish and Swedish-American literature and music and headquartered in New York, the Society later added the visual arts to its mandate and sponsored exhibitions by Swedish-American artists in the 1920s although the exhibitions also included work by American artists. Hoving's diary revealed that the Society and supporting events were extremely important to the wealthy physician. He compulsively noted the dates of each Society meeting, along with names of the artists he entertained in his home, such as the Swedish painter Anders Zorn and illustrator Albert Engstrom (1869-1940).

By 1943, a number of New York-area businessmen, most of them associated with the Swedish Chamber of Commerce of the United States, collected Swedish art, but not Swedish-American art. They showed works from their collections at a small exhibition at Bonnier's bookstore on Lexington Avenue in New York in May, 1943. When these Swedish Chamber of Commerce members loaned their work to a small exhibition at Bonnier's, they showed works of artists whose portraits and landscape scenes would please an American public. The display consisted of works by Swedish painters, including portraitist Alexander Roslin (1718-1793), Adolf Wertmüller (1751-1812), and Ferdinand Fagerlin (1825-1907); and "Opponents" Anders Zorn (1860-1920), Bruno Liljefors (1860-1939), Carl Larsson (1853-1919), Ernst Josephson (1851-1906), Gottfrid Kallstenius (1861-1943), and Anselm Schultzberg (1862 -1945). Although reporter Holger Lundbergh called the exhibition "small and rather spotty," he wrote that "what it lacked in scope and continuity it made up for in educational value."²¹ Their bias nevertheless, helped to authenticate the importance of Swedish art, and therefore by implication, the reputation of Swedish-American artists then exhibiting in New York Galleries.

Educated by the touring exhibitions of Swedish art of 1912-1913 and 1916, these collectors made safer choices, buying more established and historical figures rather than the less well known Swedish-American artists. There was also, however, an implicit bias within the Chamber's organization that saw its goal to be "that of fostering mutually profitable relations between the two countries, Sweden and America."²² The Chamber's magazine ads primarily featured Swedish products that could be purchased in America. Buying Swedish art was a further visual manifestation of trading directly in the motherland's products. Three of the lenders were officers in the Swedish Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America: G. Hilmer Lundbeck, United States Managing Director, the Swedish-American Line, was the Chamber's president; and Nils R. Johaneson, President of Cellulose Sales Company, and Alex J. Pagel, President of Pagel, Horton & Company, were vice-presidents of the Chamber. Johaneson lent a

miniature by Wertmüller of George Washington to the exhibition. Other lenders were Birger Lagerlöf and Dr. Harry S. de Brun. Columnist Lundbergh hinted that there were more collectors of Swedish art in the area, noting that “undoubtedly there are many homes in and near New York that might yield an even greater and more representative selection of Swedish art.”

Other East Coast Swedish-Americans also collected “Swedish” rather than “Swedish-American.” Their prominence as community leaders, however, assured a place for Swedish art, and by association for Swedish-American artists. Worcester, Massachusetts native George N. Jeppson, a Swedish Chamber of Commerce board member since 1916 and a vice president 1936, amassed a sizeable collection of Swedish art in the first third of the century. Worcester, a city that in 1913 had a larger percentage of Scandinavian-Americans than any American city, provided a fertile ground for Swedish interests. Jeppson, the son of the founder of the Norton Grinding Company, was both its president and president of the American Union of Swedish Singers from 1916-1920. As chair of the American committee in 1938 of the Tercentenary of the landing of the Swedish colonists on the Delaware, he added works from his own collection to those paintings and artifacts from Sweden that toured to 10 cities in 1938. His art collection, examined in the 1941 issue of *The American Swedish Monthly*, featured works by former members of the Opponents as well as earlier painters. Among his collection were two oil paintings by Anders Zorn, *Opal* and *The Girl from Floda*. He also owned three etchings by Zorn: *Portrait of Ernest Renan*, *Wet*, and *In the Omnibus*; a watercolor of *The Bee-keeper* by Carl Larsson; three oil paintings by Bruno Liljefors, including *The Fox*; a small model of *Diana*, by Carl Milles (1875-1955), the larger model of which is in the courtyard of a factory in Stockholm; *Count Stanislas de Clermont Tonnerre* by Adolf Wertmüller, and *Count Schouwaloff*, Russian ambassador to Sweden in the eighteenth century by Alexander Roslin. Jeppson donated the Milles and the Zorn works to the Worcester Art Museum, where he later served as a trustee. Jeppson said that he began to be interested in art when he was very young. “So I began as a boy when my father brought home the old magazines, *Century*, *Harper’s*, *Scribner’s*, illustrated then entirely by wood-engravings.”²⁴

Unlike their East Coast Swedish-American colleagues, two Anglo-American patrons used their positions in a predominately White-Anglo-Saxon-Protestant-culture to bring Scandinavian- and Swedish-American art to a broader national audience. Henry Goddard Leach (1880--and Christian Brinton (1870-1942) wrote articles and catalogs on the Swedish, Scandinavian and Swedish-American art exhibitions, as well as collected this art, authenticating its importance to museums and galleries throughout America and Scandinavia. An associate of both Hoving and Jeppson at the headquarters of the American Scandinavian Society, Henry Goddard Leach supported pan-Scandinavian interests, including the promotion of Scandinavian and Scandinavian-American art as early as 1911. He headed the Society from 1911 to 1921 as its secretary and publications editor; as president from 1925-1940, and again from 1944 to 1949; and served again as its editor and general secretary from 1945 to 1951.²⁵ Although based on the East Coast, Leach’ influence was national. As the first secretary of the Society, Leach had an interest in all Scandinavian countries, but was a prime mover in organizing and promoting Swedish and Swedish-American art. Notable for his part in the organization of the touring exhibition of Swedish art in 1916, as editor of *The American-Scandinavian Review*, Leach revealed a visual bias towards Swedish-American art. Between 1913 and 1940, for example, the magazine devoted 15 articles to Scandinavian-American art, 11 of which featured Swedish-American artists.

Although from an old New England family whose roots went back to the Mayflower, Leach had an early interest in Scandinavia. Graduating from Princeton in 1903, he traveled to England over the summer and began to study Swedish at the British Museum. Returning to Groton School as a master from 1903 to 1905, he was encouraged by its headmaster, Dr. Endicott Peabody, who detected Leach's interest in Scandinavia, to make a career as a specialist in Scandinavian studies. Studying at Harvard from 1905 to 1908, he wrote a Ph.D. dissertation on relations between England and the Scandinavian countries, later published by Harvard's Studies in Comparative Literature. For two years, from 1908 to 1910, Leach served as unofficial secretary to the American ambassador to Denmark, Maurice Francis Egan. During that time he began writing *Scandinavia of the Scandinavians*, published in 1915. When Leach returned to America in 1910, he taught in the English and Scandinavian departments at Harvard for two years, before he became the general secretary and executive officer of the newly formed American-Scandinavian Society in September 1912. Just three months later, the Society sponsored an exhibition of Scandinavian art from Denmark, Sweden, and Norway that opened at the American Art Galleries, Madison Square in New York. Leach was a leader in helping to promote the exhibition in its five venues, which ultimately reached 168,000 viewers, in addition traveling around the country to publicize the exhibition.. He also wrote four articles on Scandinavian art for general interest magazines from 1912 to 1913: "Concerning Scandinavian Art," in the December 26, 1912, edition of *The Independent*; to "The Painting of Bruno Liljefors," in the March, 1913 issue of *The Outing*; "Gustaf Adolph Fjaestad," in the March issue of *The American Magazine*; and on "Vilhjalmur Stefansson" in the April issue of the same periodical.

Leach helped to found the Society's bi-monthly magazine, *The American-Scandinavian Review* in 1913. As the first of any national ethnic organization to mandate ties to both its American and European (Scandinavian) constituencies, the Society and its magazine served as a model for future ethnic organizations.²⁶ Leach also initiated and planned the 1916 tour of Swedish paintings and sculpture, originally a part of the Swedish pavilion at the 1915 Panama-Pacific Exposition held in San Francisco. Although the American-Scandinavian Society did not sponsor the exhibition, Leach published four articles on aspects of the exhibition in its bi-monthly issues between 1916 and 1917. Leach purchased the greatest number of works in the exhibition while it held its first showing at the Brooklyn Museum of Art, including *Among Gnomes and Trolls* by John Bauer.²⁷ Leach was also instrumental in promoting the tour of Swedish-American art to Sweden in 1920. Agreeing to send the art under the auspices of the American Scandinavian Society at Charles S. Peterson's request, he also served as a judge for the selection of artists based on the East Coast.

When Leach resigned from the editorship and secretary of the Society and Foundation in 1921, he was elected to the board of trustees and served as its president. Shortly after he left his position as editor of *The American-Scandinavian Review* in 1921, Leach purchased *The Forum*. Taking over as its editor in 1923, he subtitled the publication "A Magazine of Controversy" and initiated a series that featured two- and three-sided discussions on public issues.²⁸ He edited the magazine for 17 years. Leach donated a substantial collection of Swedish art to the American Swedish Historical Museum in Philadelphia, including *Båstad* and *King Gustav V* by Nils Krueger; *Kyrksund*, 1914, by Karl Nordström; and a large Carl Larsson cartoon, *Catching Crayfish*, 1898, created for a tapestry woven for the World's Fair of 1900 in Paris.

A friend of Leach, and a tireless promoter of ethnic identity in the visual arts, the influential Anglo-American art historian Dr. Christian Brinton, defined ethnic characteristics in

Swedish and Swedish-American art to an American public in the early twentieth century. Labelled “one of the eight New York art critics without whom no artistic ‘movement’ can be launched in New York,” Brinton graduated from Haverford College in 1892, a room mate of the famous early twentieth century painter and illustrator, Maxfield Parrish (1870-1966).²⁹ Although Brinton initially became an actor, he left the stage in 1898 to become a critic for *Century*, *Everybody's*, and *Cosmopolitan* magazines, among others. Over the years, working as a critic and writer, Brinton built a collection of Swedish and Slavic art that he donated to the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1941. Although the majority of the artists were Russian, the Scandinavian group consisted of a portrait of Brinton by Danish artist Henrik Lund, a lithographic self portrait by Edvard Munch, three prints of the Kansas landscape by Birger Sandzen and a painting by Carl Sprinchorn (1887-1971) depicting the famous ballet dancers painted in cubistic, synchronist style, *Nijinsky and Pavlova in Les Syphides*, c. 1914 (see chapter 5, fig. 11) in the last ballet in which the two jointly appeared.³⁰ A review of Brinton's collection, exhibited at the Philadelphia Museum of Art beginning November 17, 1941, in the November 22, 1941, *Christian Science Monitor* noted several Russian artists and only Carl Sprinchorn's work among the Scandinavian artists whose canvases were given as gifts to the museum. Dorothy Grafly traced the inception of the critic's collection, stating that “Brinton's collection was actually begun in 1920, when he acquired Carl Sprinchorn's *Nijinsky and Pavlova* which he tried out over the fireplace of his West Chester home before the builders erected a roof.”³¹

Over the course of his career, Brinton wrote catalogs on the art of numerous ethnic groups, including an exhibition of Russian painting at the Brooklyn Museum in 1923; paintings by Ignacio Zubaga, sponsored by the Hispanic Society of America in 1909; and Contemporary Belgian Painting, Graphic Art and Sculpture in 1929, among others.

Brinton became an articulate apologist for modern art's introduction to American culture in the early twentieth century. To educate his American public, shocked by the wild construction and colors of the European artists, he explained that European modernist movements cubism, fauvism, and futurism had a long evolution in Europe before landing full-blown and developed in the American Armory Show of 1913. He wrote in *The International Studio* of April 1913 that “we take no part in the preliminary struggles that lead up to these achievements. They come to our shores as finished products, appearing suddenly before us in all their salutary freshness and variety.”³³ Ever a supporter of Scandinavian art, Brinton questioned the absence of the early twentieth century modernist group from Stockholm, “The Eight,” in the Armory Show. He was also one of the founders of the Forum Exhibitions of modern art in March 13-25, 1916 at the Anderson Galleries in New York, along with gallery 291 owner and photographer Alfred Steiglitz (1864-1946) and well-known American art teacher and painter Robert Henri (1865-1929). In November 1921 he was a guest speaker at the Worcester Art Museum when the avant-garde Société Antonym, Inc., opened its exhibition of modern and abstract art.

His most important contribution to Swedish art, however, was the role he played in selecting canvases for the large tri-nation Scandinavian Art Exhibition of 1912-1913, sponsored by the American-Scandinavian Society. He wrote the introduction and biographical notes for the catalog of the exhibition, collaborating with Danish National Museum director Karl Madsen, Norwegian National Gallery director Jens Thiis, and Swedish art historian Carl G. Laurin. In addition, he wrote articles for the December 1912 issues of national magazines publicizing the exhibition in articles such as “Scandinavian Painters of Today,” in *Scribner's Magazine*, and “The Progressive Spirit in Scandinavian Painting,” in *The International Studio*.

Brinton again became involved with the exhibition of Swedish art that had been a part of the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915 and was organized into a separate exhibition that traveled to 11 museums nationwide in 1916. Brinton and William Fox, Director of the Brooklyn Art Museum, collaborated on the methodology of publicizing and documenting the exhibition for its first showing at the museum early in 1916. Brinton wrote the catalog for Brooklyn's showing, which attracted over 165,000 visitors during its tenure at the museum.³⁴ As he had done for the 1912-1913 exhibition, Brinton wrote articles publicizing the new exhibition, including "Contemporary Swedish Art" in *The American Magazine of Art* and "Cosmopolitan Carnegie" in *International Studio*, in the June 1916 edition of both publications. Brinton's rhetoric defined Swedish artistic characteristics and he particularly lauded Swedish art for its energetic, ethnic identity. "Art with the Swedes is a potent, living force . . . the general spirit is one of wholesome progression," Brinton wrote.³⁵ Brinton defended the Swedish hesitancy to embrace the more abstract aspects of European modernism, explaining in the catalog that "the art of Sweden is a virile, wholesome manifestation . . . revealing an almost pantheistic absorption in nature and nature phenomena . . . Basing itself frankly upon national interest and appeal, it has not strayed into tortuous bypaths where one is apt to lose contact with actual life."³⁶

Most important to a Swedish-American audience and its immigrant artists, were Brinton's contributions to six catalogs for exhibitions by Swedish-American artists Gustaf Hesselius, Carl Sprinchorn, and Birger Sandzen. An art critic of Brinton's stature brought authenticity to the work of these artists, seeking to enter America's artistic mainstream. Both Sandzen and Sprinchorn opened exhibitions in New York galleries in February 1922 with catalogs featuring Brinton's essays. Sprinchorn's paintings showed at the Marie Sterner Gallery, then toured to the Worcester Art Museum and the Fine Arts Center of Chicago. Brinton wrote a second essay for Sprinchorn when the painter exhibited paintings and drawings at the American Swedish Historical Museum in the summer of 1942. Brinton recalled the artist's earlier work of dancers and romantic Paris scenes in his later catalog. Sprinchorn, who had by that time joined "the modest Swedish American cultural settlement in Monson, Maine," was "by turns painter, by turns lumberjack" wrote the essayist. When Birger Sandzen's exhibition of paintings and prints opened at the Babcock Gallery in New York in February 1922, Brinton labeled him a "son of the restless Goths" but also focused on his ability to portray vast Western landscapes. The exhibition, sponsored by the American-Scandinavian Foundation, traveled to foundation affiliates later that year. Brinton wrote a short essay for Sandzen's second exhibition at the Babcock, January 28-February 9, 1924, and a third for his exhibition at the American Swedish Historical Museum during the summer of 1940, in which the critic emphasized the artist's American contributions. In 1938, Brinton wrote an essay on the sixteen paintings by Gustaf Hesselius, shown at the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1938 during the celebration of the Tercentenary of the first settlement of the Swedes along the Delaware. He was proud of his active role with exhibitions at the American Swedish Historical Museum in Philadelphia in 1941, writing Philadelphia Art Museum curator Henry Clifford about "my new and progressive Swedish Museum, where I am now Director of Exhibitions."³⁷

Middle-class Swedish-American cultural leaders were equally important to the immigrant artists as wealthy collectors and influential Anglo-American critics. Their network was not nationally-based, but their support of the ethnic community's artists added to income and bolstered spirits. Clergy and professors in Augustana-synod supported colleges became supportive patrons to Swedish-American artists from the early twentieth century through the early 1940s. In particular, clergy provided a small but steady support network for the immigrant

artists. Possibly because a majority of the pastors in the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Synod before World War I were immigrants themselves, they looked to others who were immigrants when making a significant purchase.³⁸

A number of the Lutheran ministers purchased or were given paintings by Swedish immigrant artists, many of whom taught in Lutheran colleges. Oscar Nels Olson, for example, ordained as a pastor in the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Church, possibly began collecting paintings of the Swedish-American artists when he served his first parish, St. Paul's Lutheran, in 1903 in Chicago. Charles Hallberg's wife, a parishioner, probably introduced her husband to Olson, according to C. Marcus Olson, Olson's son. On the occasion of Olson's marriage in 1906, Hallberg presented the couple with a marine painting. C. Marcus Olson, wrote that his father acquired additional paintings by Swedish-American artists while in Chicago between 1903 and 1913. When he moved to Sioux City, Iowa, in 1913 to serve a parish there, Olson displayed his collection on parish house walls. "Our home was immediately adjacent to the church and father maintained an office at home . . . accordingly many of our parishioners had occasion to view the interior of our home and to admire the paintings that hung on the walls of entrance hall, parlor, and living room. Having known Grafström from college days [Olson received his bachelor's degree from Augustana College in Rock Island, Illinois, in 1898, the first year that Olof Grafström taught in the art department at Augustana] and [Charles] Hallberg, [Eugene] Jansson (1863-1931), and [Arvid] Nyholm (1866-1927) during his pastorate in Chicago, father was pleased to act as a promoter or sales agent for these artists."³⁹ C. Marcus Olson recalled that his father sold several works by Eugene Jansson to family friends in Sioux City. Olson apparently purchased a painting and several lithographs by Birger Sandzen in the mid- to late twenties. By that time Olson lived in Rock Island, where he was assistant editor of *The Lutheran Companion* from 1926 to 1927 and professor at Augustana Theological Seminary from 1927 to 1931. While there, he probably purchased the Sandzen's painting of *University Peaks, Colorado*. Sandzen had painted this area since the early years of the century, but also taught summers at the Broadmoor Academy of Art in Colorado Springs from 1924 to 1927, following landscapist John F. Carlson's (1824-1945) tenure there in 1920-1922.

Although Grafström retired from Augustana College in 1927 and returned to Sweden in 1928, he sold an untold number of works to seminary and college students based in Rock Island during his tenure. Reverend Ragnar Moline, O.N. Olson's son-in-law, wrote that Grafström had a decided influence on many Augustana Lutheran pastors. "One who influenced the clergy was Dr. [sic.] Olof Grafström, a teacher at Augustana College who influenced many Lutheran pastors. He also painted many altar paintings for church sanctuaries."⁴⁰ Grafström's paintings were often given as gifts to graduates of both Augustana College and Seminary. Gust Sigfrid Swensson, for example, who graduated from Augustana College in 1901 and was ordained in 1904, received a landscape painting of a misty river and forest scene as a gift in 1904 on the occasion of his marriage to Minnie E. Hemborg.⁴¹ Oscar N. Olson also owned a small painting by Grafström of a mountain in Lappland, probably purchased before Grafström retired. Grafström, however, had completed an altar painting for Olson's church in Sioux City, Iowa, a copy of a work in a church in Mølde, Norway

Louis T. Almén, ordained in the Augustana Synod in 1950, an active leader among Swedish-American pastors and former president of Thiel college, commented on the prevalence among Lutheran pastors of owning paintings by Birger Sandzen. He recalled that "owning a Sandzen among Augustana clergy was considered to be something special, an identification with Swedish-American fine arts and culture." Although there were no formal conduits for sales of

any Swedish-American artists by mid-century, Almén noted that “there are so many Augustana clergy who own Sandzen paintings that I know personally, most who have inherited them from parents or parishioners, that some form of promotion must have been at work.”⁴² Sandzen’s work also reached beyond Augustana and Bethany to the Gustavus campus during his first years in Kansas, probably because of his brother, the Reverend Gustaf Sandzen’s friendship with Karl Kilander, professor of Swedish at Gustavus from 1892-1942.⁴³ Kilander, for example, owned two canvases by the artist painted between 1905 to 1910, their impressionist, pastel colors and brushwork indicating their early dates.⁴⁴

The artists themselves also acted as salespersons for each others’ paintings. Midwestern painters Sandzen, Charles Hallbeck, Olof Grafström and Arvid Nyholm developed an informal network of collecting and selling. This sales network, however, had its roots in early art school friendships back in Sweden and Paris as well as professional relationships in New York and Chicago just before and after the turn-of-the-century and included more than the four painters. This web of professional and personal relationships proved invaluable for the early support system that matured into the first Swedish-American exhibitions beginning in 1905. Nyholm and Sandzen, for example, who often traded work, had been classmates in the Opponents school in Sweden under Anders Zorn in 1891. Before he moved to Chicago in 1903, Nyholm, Henry Reuter Dahl, August Franzen, and sculptor Charles Friberg often met to discuss each other’s work while all had studios in New York from the mid-1890s to approximately 1903. Reuter Dahl and Franzen had been friends since 1887, when both had studied in Anders Brolin’s theatrical painting studio in Stockholm. Sandzen, Friberg, and Carl Eric Lindin studied in the Paris studio of Edmond-François Aman-Jean in 1893; while Franzen, Reuter Dahl, and Gus Higgins all illustrated events from the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition for *The Graphic*.

Correspondence between the artists attest to their mutual support. In a letter to Birger Sandzen, Nyholm wrote that he coveted Sandzen’s watercolors, sent for the first Swedish-American art exhibition in Chicago in 1905. “I’m dead sure I’ll swipe one of them (I’ll pay for the frames, of course) and send you some sketches of mine in return. Is it a go?”⁴⁵ When the second exhibition occurred in 1911, Nyholm wrote Sandzen that he admired Sandzen’s three canvases and that he was glad to hear that Sandzen “has had success and recognition at home.”⁴⁶

Sandzen also traded works with Charles Hallberg. As early as March 29, 1908, Charles Hallberg wrote to Sandzen that he would send two of his best canvases to Sandzen, and in another letter dated October 6, 1908, promised to send a third painting to the Kansas artist.⁴⁷

Reverend Richard Hillstrom, a student at Augustana Seminary from 1938 to 1942, recalled Sandzen and Hallberg’s later exchanges. Sandzen, he said, sold scenes of stormy seas to Kansas natives out on the prairie while Hallberg sold Sandzen’s landscapes of Kansas plains to urban Chicago dwellers.⁴⁸ Hillstrom, a discerning collector of American art by the 1960s when he lived in St. Paul and served as chaplain at Bethesda Lutheran Hospital, made his initial purchase of Swedish-American art shortly after he left the seminary and served his first parish in Gary, Indiana. He recalled that he had first seen works by Hallberg and other Swedish-American artists in Oscar N. Olson’s parsonage when Olson served the Lutheran church in Berwyn, Illinois (1931-1944). According to Hillstrom, viewing Olson’s collection inspired him to begin his own collection. Hillstrom first purchased a Hallberg seascape directly from the artist, then added a landscape by Eugene Jansson, and later purchased early works by Birger Sandzen. Sandzen, who had connections to Augustana, was known to Hillstrom when he was a seminary student. Sandzen, he recalled, had painted a portrait of Augustana seminary professor Adolf Holt for the seminary class of 1941. Hillstrom financed his purchases with a pastor’s salary that was seldom

over \$2000 annually during the 1940s. Continuing to collect art, Hillstrom gradually added other American artists to his collection but related that he continued to look for Swedish-American artists. Of the Swedish-American artists in his collection, he said that he considered John F. Carlson to be the best technically of the painters. Hillstrom owns the canvas *Spring Thaw*, c. 1920s, which he purchased directly from the artist for \$65.

Swedish-American museums provided support to immigrant artists at the height of their careers, from the early 1930s to 1950. Located in Minneapolis and Philadelphia, the museums reached an enthusiastic ethnic audience and their exhibitions reached out to members of that community. The American Swedish Institute (formerly the American Institute of Swedish Arts, Literature and Science), founded in 1929, hosted traveling Swedish-American artists exhibitions as early as 1936. These exhibitions originated in Chicago and were also shown at the former mansion on 2600 Park Avenue in Minneapolis in 1941, 1947, 1951, 1958, and 1962.⁴⁹ Swan J. Turnblad, publisher of the *Svenska Amerikanska Tribunen*, had donated his palatial home to the Swedish-American organization, providing ample exhibition space. The Institute officially opening on April 24, 1930, held its first exhibition of paintings by Swedish-American artist Knute Heldner (1877-1952) on August 16, 1930. The columnist for "Konst, Litteratur och Ventenskap" [art, literature, and scholarship], a regular feature of the weekly paper, reported on conversations overheard from the exhibition's viewers which indicated a nostalgic awareness of the countryside they had left, if not the art. One said, "This canvas is [Lake] Siljan." Another said, "And here is something from Ringsjon," while a third said "the *Björkor i Minnesota* reminds me of Dalarna." Both were actually views of Lake Minnetonka, outside of Minneapolis, noted the reporter.⁵⁰ Although records are not extant in the Institute's files, it is still possible to trace art exhibitions through issues of *Svenska Amerikanska Posten* until the paper's demise in 1940. An exhibition of Swedish-influenced crafts was held in the Institute, opening April 12, 1934.⁵¹ In October of that same year, paintings by Helmer Mas-Olle and Gustaf Fjaestad, both purchased from the Swedish traveling exhibition that toured to Minneapolis in 1916, were displayed alongside an exhibition of Swedish crafts. Over 400 people visited an exhibition of Swedish-American paintings by artists from the Midwest, including Chicago and Minneapolis, when it opened May 9, 1936, and was "met with great interest."⁵² The last exhibition recorded in the *Posten's* columns before its demise was a 1937 autumn exhibition of arts and crafts, featuring paintings by Axel Lindahl, C. J. Kranz, Gottfrida Svenson, and Duluth painter Robert J. Robertz.⁵³ As recorded in the newsletters of the Institute, from the *American Swedish Institute Bulletin* in November 1941, to the *American Swedish Institute Happenings*, and the *Posten* in the fall of 2000, the Institute has sponsored over 390 exhibitions (see Appendix A). The museum has also compiled records of Swedish-American holdings in American museums and galleries, although this record has not been updated. In 1982, its then-director, John Z. Lofgren, had his staff send out inquiries to museums and galleries, inquiring about Swedish and/or Swedish-American artists in their collections. Fifty-four institutions answered the section on Swedish-American artists in their collections, listing titles of works.

The American Swedish Historical Museum, founded in 1926 to commemorate the New Sweden colony that settled in the Delaware Valley in 1638, officially dedicated its building in 1938 to celebrate the tercentenary of the settlement. Its building, ready for occupancy eight years earlier, held art exhibitions beginning in 1930. with an exhibition of sculpture by Swedish sculptor Ida Thoresen in 1930, the same year that the American Swedish Institute initiated its exhibition program. A display of 190 oil paintings by Swedish Women Artists from the Academy of Fine Arts in Stockholm followed the Thoresen exhibition later in 1930. To

celebrate the tercentenary, however, the museum held an official opening June 28, 1938, with 16 galleries containing historical objects and archives relating to the settlement of the Swedish colony along the Delaware. Twelve of the rooms in the museum contained "The New Sweden Historic Exhibit" sent under the auspices of the Royal New Sweden Tercentenary Commission of Sweden. These consisted of original account books kept by the settlers at Fort Christina, original Indian deeds, and other records.⁵⁴

Birger Sandzen opened the roster of exhibitions by Swedish immigrant artists with his display at the museum from May 26 to December 1, 1940.⁵⁵ Christian Brinton, then the chair of the exhibitions committee, wrote an essay for the exhibition's catalog, commenting that the artist's "plastic vigour and brilliant chromatic appeal" would always distinguish Sandzen's canvases from those of other Swedish-Americans.⁵⁶ The landscape of Kansas and the Rockies, Brinton commented, "disclose their authentic character" in the hands of the artist. The museum continued to show works by both immigrant and Swedish artists, its total exhibition roster including over 160 exhibitions since 1930 [see appendix B].

Because these exhibitions were held in Philadelphia, a major East Coast city, they had the possibility of being reviewed and visited by both a Swedish-American and an East-coast audience. This not only gave the artists a measure of publicity, but also assured them that they had succeeded as artists within their own ethnic community as well as a broader American constituency. Carl Sprinchorn, for example, was reviewed in *The Philadelphia Inquirer*, May 3, 1942, under the headline, "Sprinchorn's Maine Scenes Make Appearance, Scandinavian Spirit Pervades His Rare Art." The reviewer noted that *Snow Winged Horses* was the "best of all the Maine translations." The *Philadelphia Record* emphasized the romantic quality of Sprinchorn's works and life, writing that "Sprinchorn's art is essentially poetic; with a dreamy quality of paint that best expresses itself in canvas based on the deep Maine woods where, near Moosehead Lake, the painter now lives, often supplementing his income as a lumberjack."⁵⁷ Sprinchorn's canvas *My Winter Curtain* was commented on in both reviews, but Sprinchorn humorously wrote in his notebook beside the clippings from this exhibition that "*My Winter Curtain*, an upright of icicles, was hung horizontally and reviewed as a landscape!"

Holger Lundbergh, writing from New York in *The Swedish American Monthly*, also focused on artists who exhibited in East Coast venues and paid particular attention to the exhibitions at the American Swedish Historical Museum. He publicized John F. Carlson's exhibition in October—November, 1944, writing that Carlson's exhibition filled two rooms, then proceeded to extol the artist's many prizes, and concluded the article by noting that he made "an interesting and comprehensive selection from the enormous output of many active years, which offers an admirable insight into a sensitive, honest, and highly individual talent."⁵⁸

Lundbergh also reviewed the joint exhibitions of B.J.O. Nordfeldt and Gustaf Tenggren, held May—December, 1945. He praised Nordfeldt for his ability to handle textures and colors, writing that Nordfeldt's talent allowed him to "lend as much conviction and skill to a turbulent scene of spiky rocks emerging from a storm-tossed, inky sea, as to a pair of glistening, freshly-caught fish on a kitchen table." He predicted that the artist's recent works "will soon become the talk of the proverbially artistic city and the exhibition will prove one of the most popular ever staged at this place."⁵⁹ Lundbergh described Tenggren's children's book illustrations for *Sing for Christmas*, *Tenggren's Story Book* and *Sing for America* as a series of "delightful and artistic volumes" that are "fanciful and enchanting."⁶⁰

The arts are often the last element of a culture to manifest evidence of support in a hyphenated-American community. Swedish-Americans appeared to take exception to this fact of

American artistic life. The reasons for a supportive group of patrons are many and mainly unrelated. Although the Swedish-American cultural groups gave just a small percentage of financial support to their artists, they used exhibitions as places of sales, promoted their artists through exhibitions, and purchased paintings and sculpture from the best of the artists' works. Wealthy Swedish-American collectors, a relatively small group, nevertheless financed tours of art and built important collections of the immigrant artists' work. Influential Anglo-Americans encouraged the artists by publicizing works in articles and exhibition catalogs, often helping to organize tours of paintings and sculpture. Swedish-American clergy viewed purchasing the art of their national group as a symbol of support for Swedish-American cultural life. Whatever the rationale, Swedish immigrant artists benefited from the support of a variety of diverse constituencies, an unusual but documentable patronage network for early to mid-twentieth century America.

¹ This information is taken from the Otto Robert Landelius' scrapbooks, *Utlandsvenskarna*, Emigrant Institute, Växjö, Sweden. Included in this scrapbook is an article in C.F. Peterson's *Sverige I Amerika*, (Chicago, 1898), 330-331, along with an obituary from *Allsvenskarsamling*, February 9, 1918.

² Birger Sandzen, "En svensk-amerikansk konstsamling," *Prärieblomman* (1906), 127-128. The two Danish artists were the commissioner for the Danish exhibition in Chicago in 1893, Mattisen and Morten-Muller.

³ "The Art Exhibition, Final Statement," *The American Scandinavian Review* (September 1912) 23.

⁴ Anders Schön, "En svensk-amerikansk konstssamlare, några ord om director Fritz Schoultz och hans hem," *Prärieblomman* (1912), 205.

⁵ *Svenska Folkets Tidning*, January 17, 1900, 1. See also Mary Towley Swanson, "Pictures From a New Home, Minnesota's Swedish-American Artists," *Swedes in the Twin Cities, Immigrant Life and Minnesota's Urban Frontier*, Edited by Philip J. Anderson and Dag Blanck, (St. Paul, Minnesota: The Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2001), 141.

⁶ Rolf H. Erickson, "The Chicago Exhibition of Scandinavian-American Artists in 1929," *The Swedish American Genealogist* (get date), 129.

⁷ This information is taken from obituaries in the Gothenburg papers from October, 9, 1943, on file in the Otto Robert Landelius scrapbooks at the Emigrant Institute, Växjö, Sweden. Rolf Erickson in his article on "The Chicago Exhibition of Scandinavian-American Artists in 1929," cites the Regan Printing House and the G.D. Steer Company as Peterson's second companies rather than the Kenfield-Leach Company.

⁸ "Charles S. Peterson," *The American Swedish Monthly* (October 1943), 23.

⁹ "The Century of Progress Exposition, 1933, the Result of a Swedish Man's Energy," *The Swedish Element in America*, Vol. II (Chicago: the Swedish-American Biographical Society, Charles S. Peterson, President, 1931), 385.

¹⁰ Article on C.S. Peterson in *Scandia*, Thursday, June 29, 1939. The Nils William Olsson papers, Swenson Immigration Research Center, Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois.

¹¹ Erik W. Westman, *Successturnén Sverige 1920, The Swedish Club of Chicago* (Chicago: Published by Charles S. Peterson, Peterson Building, Plymouth Court, 1921), 19.

¹² *Ungdomsvänne* (January 1913), 22.

¹³ *Minnesota State Art Society, Annual Art Exhibition, Assembled and shown in St. Paul under the auspices of the St. Paul Insitutte, March 1st to 8th. Given in Minneapolis under the auspices of the Minneaplis Society of Fine Arts, March 21 to 31st. Given in Owatonna under the auspices of the Trustees of the Free Public Library April 12th to 21st, 1913.* Minnesota Historical Society Library.

¹⁴ "Thyra H. Peterson Memorial Exhibition of Works by Swedish-American Artists at the Swedish Club, April 21-29, 1934," catalog in the collections of the Ryerson Library of the Art Institute of Chicago and Smålands Museum, Växjö, Sweden.

¹⁵ This label was on the back of Carlson's painting as it was being prepared for the 1996 touring exhibition, *Konsten och fäderneslandet, Elusive Images of Home*. Mary Towley Swanson.

¹⁶ "Swedish-American Art Association," *First Annual Exhibition of Works by Swedish-American Artists Given Under the Auspices of the Swedish American Art Association*, exhibition catalog, Illinois Women's Athletic Club, March 10-17, 1929, unpaginated.

¹⁷ "Design for the Ericsson Memorial," *The American-Scandinavian Review* (July, August 1919), 286.

¹⁸ Dr. Johannes Hoving, *Sextio År: Mitt Livs Dagbok* (Sweden, 1928).

-
- ²¹ Holger Lundbergh, "The Arts," *The American Swedish Monthly* (June, 1943).
- ²² "United for Democracy," *The American Swedish Monthly* (January 1942), 5.
- ²⁴ Loring Holmes Dodd, "Industrialist and Art Collector," *The American Swedish Monthly* (February 1941), 10.
- ²⁵ *Scandinavian Studies, Essays Presented to Henry Goddard Leach*, Edited by Carl Bayerschmidt and Erik J. Friis (Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 1965), 13.
- ²⁶ James Creese, "Promoter of Friendship Among Nations," *The American Swedish Monthly* (January 1938), 7. Creese took Leach's place as secretary of the Foundation when Leach resigned in 1921.
- ²⁷ Andrew Walker, "Exhibiting Ethnicity: The 1916 Swedish Exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum," 10, unpublished paper given at the Philadelphia Symposium on the History of Art, February 18-March 1, 1997.
- ²⁸ James Creese, "Promoter of Friendship Among Nations, Henry Goddard Leach Plays Eminent Part in Cultural Relations Between America and Scandinavian Countries," *The American Swedish Monthly* (January 1938), 7-10, 33. Note also the tribute to Leach by Hamilton Holt, "Henry Goddard Leach," *The American-Scandinavian Review* (September 1921), 594-597.
- ²⁹ Robert C. Williams, *Russian Art and American Money*, "From Russian Art to Soviet Propaganda, Christian Brinton," (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1980), 88.
- ³⁰ Dr. Christian Brinton Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art, FKR Objects, Series 4, 1942.
- ³¹ Dorothy Grafly, "Brinton Collection on View," *The Christian Science Monitor*, November 22, 1941. Sprinchorn Archives, University of Maine at Orono.
- ³³ Christian Brinton, "Evolution, Not Evolution in Art," *International Studio* XLIX (April 1913), xxvii.
- ³⁴ Andrew Walker, "Exhibiting Ethnicity: The 1916 Swedish Exhibition at the Brooklyn Museum," 1.
- ³⁵ Christian Brinton, "Scandinavian Art at the Panama-Pacific Exposition," *The American-Scandinavian Review* (November, December 1915), 325.
- ³⁶ Christian Brinton, "Contemporary Swedish Art," introduction to the catalog for the exhibition reprinted in *The American Magazine of Art* (June 1916), 310.
- ³⁷ Letter from Christian Brinton to Henry Clifford, May 13, 1941. Dr. Christian Brinton Collection, Philadelphia Museum of Art, FKR Objects, Series 4, 1942.
- ³⁸ Conrad Bergendoff, "The Augustana Pastor," *The Augustana Ministerium: A Study of the Careers of the 2,504 Pastors of the Augustana Evangelical Lutheran Synod/Church, 1850-1962* (Rock Island, Illinois: Augustana Historical Society, 1980), 1.
- ³⁹ Letter to author from C. Marcus Olson, Newark, Delaware, July 16, 1988. A portion of this quotation was first published in my chapter, "Chicago and Swedish-American Artists," *Swedish-American Life in Chicago, Cultural and Urban Aspects of an Immigrant People, 1850-1930*, edited by Philip J. Anderson and Dag Blanck, (Urbana and Chicago, Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 153.
- ⁴⁰ Letter to the author from Reverend Ragnar Moline, Rockford, Illinois, July 9, 1988.
- ⁴¹ Interview with Paul S. Swensson, son of Gust Sigfrid Swensson, October, 2000. The author has had another encounter with a person whose father graduated from Augustana and received a painting by Grafstrom as a graduation gift.
- ⁴² Letter from Louis T. Almén to the author, December 22, 2001. Almén wrote that he "had inquired of many who have had a contact with Sandzen and Bethany College about the existence of a relationship between a group of clergy and Sandzen, a group who might have helped him sell paintings. So far, no one has remembered such a connection." Almén held posts as the Lutheran Church of America executive director of the board of Colleges, Education and Church Vocation; the Lutheran Church of America executive director of the Division of Professional Leadership; and president of Thiel College before his retirement in 1992. He taught at Augustana College from 1953-1967.
- ⁴³ See letter to Gustaf Sandzen from Karl Kilander, December 7, 1892, Sandzen Archives, Lindsborg, Kansas.
- ⁴⁴ The paintings, now in the collection of the American Swedish Institute, were donated by Dr. Alrik and Myrtle (née Mattson) Hertzman in 1985. Dr. Hertzman's first wife, Gertrude, was the daughter of Dr. Karl Kilander. Mrs. Hertzman's father, Dr. P.A. Mattson, was president of Gustavus Adolphus College from 1904-1911.
- ⁴⁵ Letter from Arvid Nyholm, October 22, 1905. Sandzen Archives, Lindsborg, Kansas.
- ⁴⁶ Letter from Arvid Nyholm, catalogued #989. Sandzen Archives, Lindsborg, Kansas.
- ⁴⁷ Letters from Charles Hallberg to Birger Sandzen, dated March 29, 1908, October 6, 1908. Sandzen Archives, Lindsborg, Kansas.
- ⁴⁸ Interviews with Reverend Richard Hillstrom by author, summer 1988 and July 2000.
- ⁴⁹ The dates of these exhibitions at the American Swedish Institute, according to the catalogs are: May 2-9, 1936; 1940 has no extant catalog but the 1955 catalog states that the exhibition traveled to Detroit; May 3-11, 1941; May

3-11, 1947; April 9-22, 1950; December 5-16, 1951; March 10-18, 1956; December 7, 1957-January 5, 1958; February 3-28, 1962.

⁵⁰ "Konst, Litteratur och Vetenskap," *Svenska Amerikanska Tribunen* (August 20, 1930), 18.

⁵¹ "Svensk förenings liv i Minneapolis," *Svenska Amerikanska Posten* (April 7, 1934), 7.

⁵² "Den svensk-amerikanska konstutställningen i Minneapolis öppnades i lördags," *Svenska Amerikanska Posten* (May 6, 1936), 7.

⁵³ "Höstens stora utställning av hemslöjd och konsthandverk," *Svenska Amerikanska Posten* (October 6, 1937), 7.

⁵⁴ Margaretha Talerman, "The ASHM: A Museum for All Seasons," *Welcome Välkommen To The American Swedish Historical Museum* (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: The American Swedish Museum, 2001), 10-17.

⁵⁵ Letter reporting extant files on art exhibitions and their dates from Margaretha Talerman, curator of the American Swedish Historical Museum, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, November 2, 2000. See appendix B. Following Sandzen were Carl Lindborg of Landsdowne, Pennsylvania, November 20—December 31, 1941; Carl Sprinchorn, May 3—September 15, 1942; "Eric" (Carl Ericson, 1891-1958), a Swedish—American fashion illustrator; John F. Carlson (1874-1945), October—December 1944; Gustaf Tenggren (1896-1970), book illustrator, and B.J.O. Nordfeldt, painter, May—September 1945; and woodcarvings by Charles Haag (1867-1933), along with weavings designed by Haag and executed by his wife, Olivia Sofia Olsson Haag (1876-1969), December 1945—May 1946. From May 1946 to April 1947 there was an exhibition of oil paintings by Edward Gustave Jacobsson of New York and water colors by Carl Folke Sahlin of Florida; an exhibition of oils by Ture Bengtz of Boston, in summer 1947; watercolors by Chester J. Tingler (1886--), in summer 1948; weavings by Sara Mattsson Anliot, May 1949; and an architectural exhibition of the work of Sven Markelius, June 1949. The Swedish-American artists exhibition toured to the museum in May—July 1950 and again in May 1952. Lars Hoftrup exhibited watercolors at the museum June 15—September 15, 1949; Thorsten Lindberg (1878-1950), paintings, September 1951; and Yngve Soderberg (1896-1971), paintings January—February 1954.

⁵⁶ Christian Brinton, "Birger Sandzén," *Birger Sandzén Exhibition*, The American Swedish Historical Museum, Philadelphia, May 26-December 1, 1940.

⁵⁷ "Sprinchorn Exhibits at Swedish Museum," *The Philadelphia Record*, Sunday, May 3, 1942. Both reviews are from the Carl Sprinchorn archives, Library of the University of Maine at Orono.

⁵⁸ Holger Lundbergh, "The Arts," *The American Swedish Monthly* (November 1944), 29.

⁵⁹ Holger Lundbergh, "The Arts," *The American Swedish Monthly* (December 1945), 18.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

CHAPTER 7: SWEDISH PATRONAGE NETWORKS ENCOURAGE ARTISTS' CAREERS AND ETHNIC COLLECTIONS

Sweden maintained an almost maternal relationship to its emigrant artists during the period of heaviest emigration to America, 1880—1920. Unlike other Scandinavian countries, who included few of their emigrant artists in dictionaries of national artists, she included them on equal footing with those artists who remained in Sweden. Her cultural leaders inferred that their emigrant artists remained a part of an extended national family. Emigrant artists received supportive publicity through newsletters dedicated to Swedes living abroad, art collections of Swedish-American art maintained by two Swedish museums, and the news and feature stories reported in Swedish newspapers and encyclopedias over many years. By achieving publicity in Sweden, the emigrant artists realized a measure of support in both countries. They had left the Old Country to forge their niche in a new nation's art world, yet their friends and family back in Sweden were kept apprised of their triumphs in America. The artists had come full circle: by emigrating to America, many of the artists achieved their career goals, but their successes in America were more meaningful if recognized by family and the public back in Sweden.

When a Swedish-American artist who had done well in the new world won a prize in a national art exhibition or died, Swedish newspapers quickly reported the news, and although qualifying them as Swedish-Americans, embraced that artist as their own. At the time Woodstock painter Henry Mattson (1887-1971) won the gold medal at the Corcoran in 1943 for *Wings of the Morning*, for example, the Stockholm-based newspaper *Dagens Nyheter* headlined "Pris åt svenskfödd U.S.A. målare" (Prize for Swedish-born American painter). Although the article traced highlights of the artist's American career, it emphasized Mattson's visits home to Sweden in 1935 and 1937.¹ In the same vein, after Woodstock landscape painter John F. Carlson (1874-1945) won the coveted Altman prize for Landscape Painting at the National Academy of Design in 1936 and American art magazines printed his canvas *March Thaw* in most of their photo sections, the Swedish press quickly immediately claimed him. *Göteborgs Morgonpost* called Carlson their "own Smålanning." After he died in 1945, Stockholm papers *Expressen* and *Dagens Nyheter* headlined the artist's success in new world galleries and museums, while in an almost proprietary manner noting his birthplace in Småland.²

Swedish biographical series published during the period of large-scale Swedish emigration to America also laid claim to the Swedish artists. *Svenskarna i Amerika*, 1924, published in Stockholm and edited by Swedish writers Karl Hildebrand and Axel Fredenholm, intimated that Swedish immigrants included in the volume were still considered Swedish because of their birthplaces. Ernst Olson, the author of the section "Svensk Konst i Amerika," listed 29 prominent Swedish-born artists. Among them and in the following order of their importance: Birger Sandzen (1871-1954), John F. Carlson, Henry Mattson, and B.J.O. Nordfeldt (1878-1955). In writing about Carlson, the author indicated that he had achieved assimilation into the American artistic network. Olson described him as "successful and acknowledged as the second most important Swedish-American within the art world [Birger Sandzen was the first]. He has studied exclusively with American masters and now occupies a place among them."³

The artists' paintings can be read as visual substitutes for emigrant letters home, tracing the journey of acculturation to life in a new land and its ensuing hardships related to entering the American artistic mainstream. The majority of their work, as displayed in the Swedish-American art exhibitions from 1905 to the early 1930s, claimed American titles and subject matter, appropriate to an acculturation process as the artists attempted to enter the American

mainstream. Swedish newspaper and periodical reporters, however, often asserted that while the titles alluded to American subjects, they found Swedish elements in the artists' canvases and life. By the very inclusion of stories on these emigrant painters in Swedish newspapers, Swedish critics implied that the artists' work was an inherent extension of their country's cultural environment.

This inclusive fervor can be seen in a number of articles published in Sweden. Journalist Otto Robert Landelius, for example, writing about B.J.O. Nordfeldt in *Skanska Dagbladet*, August 9, 1953, stated that "No doubt about it --- Bror Julius Olsson Nordfeldt is Skåning And still . . . there is scarcely anything Skåning . . . neither in his outward appearance nor his inner personality, and perhaps least of all in his art."⁴ Landelius, however, still emphasized Nordfeldt's Swedish roots. In a letter to the artist in preparation for an article on Nordfeldt's art by Thorsten Jonsson, "En svensk Konstnar i USA," in *Dagens Nyheter*, December 27, 1945, Jonsson told Nordfeldt that "it is too bad that an artist of your great qualities, born in Sweden, should not be more widely known in his own native country than he is at present."⁵ Not only Swedish publications, but the artists themselves held onto their Swedish heritage and memories, often in very personal ways. John F. Carlson, for example, named his Woodstock arts and crafts home Fridhem (home of peace). This was the exact name of the home in Almvik, Småland he left in 1886 as a boy.

Swedish organizations with emigrant ties also laid claim to prominent Swedish-American artists. Riksföreningen för Svenskhetens Bevarande i Utlandet (now called Riksföreningen Sverigekontakt), an organization dedicated to Swedish citizens living abroad, played an important part in keeping Swedish-American artists before both the Swedish and Swedish-American public. Immigrant artists felt that they'd made it back in Sweden when included in their publications. Founded in 1908 for people of Swedish birth living outside of Sweden, and headquartered in Gothenburg, it published a bi-weekly newsletter, *Allsvensk Samling*, and collected works of art from artists living abroad. This organization began to collect art sometime in the late teens. Its official roster lists works by 57 Swedish-American painters, sculptors, and printmakers, along with works by five artists of Swedish descent from Finland, Poland, and Estonia. The majority of works of art, however, are by Swedish-Americans.⁶ Riksföreningen gathered these works from the late teens through the early 1930s, initially to supplement an exhibition planned in the early 1920s and later to initiate a gallery of works from Swedish artists living abroad.

A corollary organization, Föreningen för Svenskhetens Bevarande i Amerika (Organization for the Preservation of Swedishness in America), was founded in 1910 by newspaper publisher, Gustaf N. Swan, the honorary Swedish consul in Sioux City, Iowa, and Dr. Alfred Bergin, president of Bethany College in Lindsborg, Kansas, among others. This organization probably became a conduit for soliciting and collecting works of art from its Swedish-American constituents. The New England landscape painter Carl Ringius, for example, was an officer of its Eastern branch in 1928. This group helped to coordinate activities between the office in Gothenburg and the various branches of the American group, urging its members to help preserve the Swedish language and Swedish ethnicity in America and to read the Swedish organization's newsletter, *Allsvensk Samling*, a "cheerful and pleasant newspaper" published in Swedish.⁷

The "cheerful and pleasant" newsletter helped publicize emigrant artists' work in the home country from its inception May 1, 1914. Its articles related to activities of Swedish-born people in countries ranging from Australia to Estonia, including North and South America. By

far the majority of news items and stories dealt with Swedes living in Finland and America. The newsletter covered a wide spectrum of Swedish-American society, from immigrant clergy to pharmacists, including artists. In one issue dating April 17, 1928, for example, the column on Swedish newsmakers abroad ranged in diversity from the reelection of Dr. P.A. Mattson to the presidency of the Minnesota Conference of the Augustana Synod of the Evangelical Lutheran Church to the obituary of pharmacist, Bruno E. Hockert of Hartford, Connecticut.

News about Swedish-American artists mirrored the general news items. It traversed topics from honors in international and national exhibitions, to artists' exhibitions in various American cities, news of collectors and patrons, birthday celebrations for known artists, and artists' deaths. The thorough coverage contained within a Swedish publication underscored the importance of Swedish-American artists within their ethnic and cultural communities as well as Sweden's sense of its own inclusive cultural community. When *Allsvensk Samling* reported that Swedish painters Carl Larsson (1853-1919) and Bruno Liljefors (1860-1939) had won grand prizes in the Panama Pacific Exposition of 1915 in its September 1915 edition, it also recorded the Swedish-American winners of the silver and bronze medals. The January 3, 1916 newspaper listed Western painter Carl Oscar Borg (1879-1947), Woodstock artist John F. Carlson, and B.J.O. Nordfeldt as silver medal winners. The article added that Florence Lundborg from Berkeley won a bronze medal for her fresco painting and that Henry Reuterdaahl (1870-1925), Louis Kronberg and Anna Kindlund also showed work in the exhibition. Although not noted in *Allsvensk Samling*, Reuterdaahl also won a medal in that exhibition.⁸

The paper featured news items on individual exhibitions and prizes won by Swedish-American artists in other exhibitions, taking pains to present geographically balanced news. It noted that Connecticut landscape painter Henrik Hillbom (1863-1948) had shown 33 canvases in New Haven; that sculptor Karl Skoog (1878-1933) had his first New York showing at the Macdowell Club (February 15, 1917); that Chicago portraitist Arvid Nyholm (1866-1927) had won the highest prize from the Municipal Art League of Chicago (May 15, 1915); and that John F. Carlson had won the Carnegie Prize at the annual exhibition of the National Academy of Design (March 15, 1919). A Boston correspondent noted that Carl Nordell (1885-1957) had exhibited work at the Art Club in Boston and that his work was highly praised by press and public. A correspondent from Minneapolis reported in the October 5, 1917 issue that Dr. Osvold Sirén, art history professor at Stockholm University, had spoken in Minneapolis and suggested that there be a permanent exhibition of Scandinavian art in their new art institute, creating a permanent bond between Minneapolis and the Scandinavian countries.

The paper's correspondents watched for Swedish-Americans in American or foreign museum exhibitions, reporting in one of the first issues, December 15, 1914, that the Swedish-American school had done well at the Art Institute of Chicago's annual exhibition, noting that Birger Sandzen, David Ericson (1869-1946), and Henry Reuterdaahl showed work. Correspondents possibly traveled to London or received publicity from the artists; the April 16, 1917 issue reported that Birger Sandzen exhibited his lithographs at the Senefalder Club in London.

Although only three of the Swedish-American art exhibitions were covered in the newsletter (1915, 1916, and 1918), the stories received detailed coverage. The journalist writing about the 1915 Swedish-American artists exhibition in Chicago added that these artists' work had gained acceptance in American art circles, indicating that a Swedish-American cultural life had achieved a solid foundation. The same reporter highlighted the participation by noted East Coast artists Emil Gelhaar (1861-1934), Henry Reuterdaahl, John F. Carlson, and Carl E. Lindin

(1869-1942) in the fourth exhibition, alluding to the exhibition's national scope. The small story on the fifth exhibition in 1916 reported on the prize winners, sculptor Agnes Fromén (1868--) and watercolorist Ada Enander, although of particular interest to the paper was Enander's relationship to the Augustana Synod lay leader and former publisher of the Swedish language paper *Hemlandet*, Johan Enander. Because the American components of this organization elected leaders who had strong connections to the Augustana Synod or the Mission Covenant church, the information they supplied often had a slant towards news about persons connected in some way with those two religious organizations.

In the 1918 coverage of the exhibition the reporter glowingly wrote that the "Swedish (note not Swedish-American) artist finds his production continually blossoming in America". Every exhibiting artist was mentioned in the article, and the reporter wrote about the expected dedication of six lunettes in the ballroom of the Swedish Club, an act that "documents the powerful achievements of American-Swedish culture." (The six paintings, completed in 1922, were officially dedicated April 1, 1922.)

Allsvensk Samling not only reported on the Chicago exhibitions, but also noted one held by the St. Erik's Society in 1927. Founded in the late teens by Swedish-Finnish leader Johannes Hoving, the society initially focused its programming on Swedish contributions in music and literature but began to include art in the mid-twenties. In a paradoxical twist, the news item from 1927 indicated 175 works were shown at Vasa Castle in New York and that Anglo-American painters Charles Hawthorne and John Sloan had won top prizes indicating that the exhibition committee allowed non-Swedish-Americans to enter competition.

The paper not only publicized news about organizations and their exhibitions, but also covered death notices of prominent Swedish-Americans, artists among them, consistently including the highpoints of their careers. In its March 15, 1918 issue the newspaper reported that pioneer nineteenth century Chicago artist Henry E.C. Peterson (1841-1918), had died. Noting that he had studied in Stockholm and Paris, the paper also mentioned that the artist had witnessed the battle between the Monitor and Merrimac in the Civil War. When Chicago portraitist Arvid Nyholm died, the December 13, 1927 issue outlined his American career, but also mentioned its foundations in Sweden at the Academy for Free Art where he had studied under Anders Zorn. Not limiting their reportage to Chicago, *Allsvensk Samling* also wrote in its May 15, 1916 issue that artist Albinus Hesselgren had died in a sanatorium in Westfield, Connecticut and that he was known for his pencil sketches of Christ in Gethsemane.

Allsvensk Samling occasionally reproduced works by Swedish-American artists, although Chicago portrait painter Arvid Nyholm appeared to be a favorite. The artist's portrait of Minnesota governor A.O. Eberhart was published April 1, 1915; Nyholm's portrait of collector and publisher Charles S. Peterson in the July 15, 1920, issue; and his portrait of a young Swedish girl, entitled *Ripe Fruit* in a 1917 issue.

The editors of *Allsvensk Samling* kept track of the personalities and celebrations of various Swedish-American artists and patrons. It informed its readers in the April 16, 1916 issue that "outstanding" American sculptor Frank W. Berger, who had taught at Minneapolis' Central High School, had celebrated his seventieth birthday; that he had studied in Stockholm, Germany and France; and had first emigrated to New York in 1871. The September 15, 1915 issue reported that European-trained, former Duluth artist David Ericson had just opened an art school in Milton, Wisconsin, a place where students from the school of the Art Institute of Chicago could come, conceivably for summer study.

The newsletter played a prominent role in securing a collection of Swedish-American art for the organization, assembled sometime between 1917 and the early 1930s. This collection and that of Smålands Museum, gathered in 1935, constitute the largest public collections of quality work by Swedish-American artists, allowing the Swedish public to view and become acquainted with the emigrant artists' works. Conservatively realistic in its content and style, they mirrored the stylistic tenor of the Swedish-American exhibitions taking place in Chicago during the 1920s through the early 1930s. These decades were a transitional period in American art, when academically realistic works were still being shown in major museums and private galleries. At the same time, more expressionistic landscapes, still lifes, and portraits were taking prizes in museum annual exhibitions; these more avant garde compositions often echoed the cubist grids and muted colors of Parisian masters. The Swedish emigrant artists in Riksföreningen's collection, on the other hand, created works that fit late nineteenth century models and were more acceptable to the general American public.

As early as July 16, 1917, the editors of *Allsvensk Samling* wrote a small article suggesting that its Swedish-American members scout out and send art by Swedish-American artists for an exhibition to take place in Gothenburg in 1921. The newspaper reported two years later, on February 1, 1919, that the exhibition planned to showcase activities of Swedish people living abroad (utlandssvenska utställningen), had been changed from 1921 to 1923. This call for work, however, probably served as a basis for plans for a collection since works of art were noted to be in the new museum by 1928. Plans for a separate touring exhibition of Swedish-American art, however, were recorded in the June 1, 1919 issue. The article noted that the work would be comprised of the 100 best works that had been completed in the last ten years by Swedish-American artists and that it would open in Stockholm June 6, 1920.

Following this same exhibition of Swedish-American art that toured Stockholm, Malmö, and Gothenburg in 1920, *Allsvensk Samling* began to publicize the proposed Swedish-American art exhibition that was to be a part of the Tercentenary exposition celebrating Gothenburg's 350th anniversary. The Swedish-American exhibition, part of the utlandssvenskarna section, received its share of the several hundred thousand who viewed the entire exposition that summer, but none of the works of art recorded in the catalog remained in Gothenburg after the exhibition's close. By November 1, 1923, *Allsvensk Samling* reported that a committee was being formed to help organize a museum for its parent organization. The museum, a reality by the summer of 1928, opened its first exhibition on aspects of Swedish culture abroad and included Swedish-American art in the Amerikarummet (the America room). John Stenung, who wrote about the museum, noted that "art historians here have the opportunity to make a comparison between the Swedish and American."¹⁰ By April of 1928, Swedish-American organizations were encouraged to send photographs, reports, and programs of their groups' activities. Because of this appeal, photographs of the gallery showing the Swedish Club's Swedish-American art exhibition from 1923 were sent along with photographs of the club's elegant rooms and its exterior, as well as the home on Elm Street of prominent Swedish-American arts patron Charles S. Peterson.¹¹

Riksföreningen Sverigekontakt probably began its collection in 1917 with the call for an art exhibition. Later solicitations for Swedish-American materials, including art, began soon after the 1923 tercentenary celebration. Although there are no extant records in the organization's present headquarters that affirm direct relationships to these events, the bulk of the collection obviously dated from the late 1920s into the 1930s. The 57 Swedish-American artists represented in the collection either resided in Chicago or the Midwest, with the exceptions

of California painters Carl Oscar Borg and Gunnar Widfors (1879-1934), and East Coast painters Carl Ringius (1879-1950) and Henry Reuterdaahl. Borg returned to Sweden in 1938 to care for his ailing father (who died in July 1938), married a Swedish woman, and lived in Gothenburg until World War II ended in 1945. As a part of the Gothenburg community and viewed as "the eminent Swedish American artist who had come home," Borg enjoyed position and respect.¹² He painted a portrait of Vilhelm Lundstrom in 1940, the head of Riksföreningen Sverigekontakt who was one of his friends, and donated five watercolors, two etchings, and two oil paintings, *The Deserted Kiva* (fig. 1) and *Cliff Dwellings (The White House)*, to the organization's museum.

A number of paintings in the collection appear to have come from the 1929 exhibition of "Swedish-American Artists Given Under the Auspices of the Swedish American Art Association" at the Illinois Women's Athletic Club, March 10-17, 1929. Although the catalog does not give measurement, several titles correlate with the collection in Gothenburg. For example, Henry Reuterdaahl's canvas, *Sims Circus* (fig. 2), was in the 1929 exhibition. It was probably a sketch for the work owned by the Smithsonian American Art Museum, and illustrated the American fleet's passage through the Straits of Magellan in 1907. Arvid Nyholm's portrait *Brita*, which is dated 1929 on the canvas, was also in the exhibition and is a cropped view of his painting *Ripe Fruit* illustrated in the *Allsvensk Samling* in 1917. Chicago painter Frederick Remahl's painting, *Sista Akten (The Last Ceremony or Ritual)*, a painting of a sunset, is probably *The Last Sunray* in the 1929 exhibition. Axel Westerlind's watercolor painting *The Bridge*, also in the 1929 exhibition, is titled *State Street Bridge*, in Riksföreningen's collection. Carl E. Wallin's (1871--) painting *Icebound*, listed in the 1929 catalog for the Chicago exhibition, could possibly be the collection's painting *Fjällets Sjal, (Mountain Face)*, a winter mountainous landscape in which a nude, painted in shades of white and grey, is encased in snow on the face of the steep mountain peak. Wallin's painting from the 1928 exhibition, *Fantasy in Frost* has a title that also correlates with the subject matter of the work in the collection. Leon Lundmark's painting, *The Open Sea* from the 1929 exhibition, is probably the untitled seascape in Riksföreningen's collection. Navy blue colored waves dominate two-thirds of the surface of this large canvas, in a composition similar to his other works in oil.

Other paintings in the Riksföreningen's collection probably came from the artists themselves or through other Swedish-American group's donations. In tracing the records of the Swedish-American Artists exhibitions through the 1920s and 1930s, with the exception of the 1929 exhibition, the artists' works and names do not match up with Riksföreningen's collection.¹³ Two paintings by Eben Lawson (1873-1951), who trained at the school of the Art Institute of Chicago and lived in Willmar, Minnesota, are watercolors of Gustavus Adolphus College campus buildings. Lawson never entered the Chicago Swedish-American art exhibitions. The artist instead typically drew humorous, expressionistic cartoons for the Willmar daily paper and Gustavus yearbooks in the 1920s, yet his watercolors of the Gustavus campus were painted in a very academic and conservative style. Minnesota artist Axel Lindahl (1872-1943), who exhibited with the Swedish-American artists at Chicago's Swedish Club in 1921, 1923, 1925, and 1926, often submitted Minnesota themes, but none of the six works in the collection correspond to titles from the Chicago exhibitions. Lindahl or a patron probably sent the works to the Gothenburg-based organization. Although Emil Zoir (1861-1935) lived in Chicago in the early 1930s, he returned to Sweden shortly after. The painting he donated, *På kyrkväg, (On the Way to Church)* resembled the style he used during the time he lived in Chicago. Its dark colors and broad brushstrokes are typical of the artist's expressionistic style, which could be either from the early teens or the 1930s.

A lithographic color print of a poster by Chicago artist , Ben Hallberg, son of seascape painter Charles Hallberg, advertised the Swedish-American art exhibition at the Swedish Club in 1911. Its date could indicate that some works were collected from that first call for artwork issued in *Allsvensk Samling* in 1917. Noticeably absent, however, are paintings by Olof Grafström (1855-1933), who taught at Augustana College in Rock Island, Illinois, seemingly the Midwestern area from which the majority of the collection was acquired. Because Grafström had returned to Sweden in the autumn of 1926 to live out his remaining seven years near Sundsvall, he may have missed a later invitation to send work to Riksföreningen Sverigekontakt. Headquarters of Riksföreningen Sverigekontakt have been located near the University of Gothenburg since the mid-1970s, set in smaller quarters from the location originally built for the organization in 1928. Holding to its original mandate, the organization still serves as a headquarters for Swedish peoples living abroad. Its art collection hangs on the walls throughout the two-story building, but because it is so extensive many works have to be stored.

Unlike the collection in Gothenburg, the collection of Swedish-American art owned by Smålands Museum in Växjö, Sweden, is primarily the collection of one family, the Charles S. Petersons. From the late 1930s through the early 1940s, prize-winning works from the Swedish-American artists' exhibitions were sent to the museum. Thyra (nee Hjertquist) Peterson (fig. 3), Charles S. Peterson's wife, had initiated and organized activities supplementing exhibitions of Swedish-American artists as early as 1911. After she died in 1933, her husband helped to organize a "Thyra H. Peterson Memorial Exhibition of 102 works by Swedish-American Artists" at the Swedish Club, April 21-29, 1934. Four works from this exhibition (*Winter in Woodstock* by Henrik Hillbom; *Old Willows at Naperville* by Chicago artist Torey Ross; *Portrait of Mrs. C.S. Peterson* by California portraitist Christian von Schneidau, and *The Edge of the Forest* by printmaker Anne Anderson) were sent along with 26 from Peterson's private collection to Smålands Museum. Peterson chose the museum because his wife's parents were born in the province and both her uncle and father had been sheriffs of that province for many years.

The Petersons had collected their art with "reverent intention," according to reporter Gunnar Wickman, writing in *Nordstjärnan* on May 31, 1935. Wickman had visited Peterson's collection when it was still installed in his home in Chicago, before it arrived in Sweden to be catalogued on February 2, 1935. In the collection were many artists, "worthy of respect," he wrote, listing John F. Carlson first in his description and noting the artist's position in American art circles and the fact that he had a painting in America's national museum (at that time Carlson was represented in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, among other museums). The reporter described Henry Reuter Dahl's two paintings, *Strange Ships* (also labeled *American Battleship in a Chinese Harbor*) (fig. 4) and *War Ships* (also titled *Destroyer on the High Seas*) as elegant in line, with a blatant coloration. He wrote that Emil Gelhaar's *Parisian Bridge* was radiantly beautiful and that Birger Sandzen was the "leading and fiery central figure in Swedish-American art" whose canvases were filled with "fiery color."¹⁴ Although reporter Wickstrom did not mention Chicago illustrator Hugo von Hofsten's black and white watercolor *Moonlight Over a Marsh*, c. 1910-1915, the painting was listed in museum records as Peterson's gift in 1935.

Charles S. Peterson suggested that artists also donate work to Smålands Museum to supplement art from his private collection. The idea apparently died, since museum holdings do not directly match with donations from the artists themselves after 1934. Archives from Smålands Museum and news items in Swedish-American periodicals indicate that work was donated by the Swedish Club through the early 1940s. Supposedly annual exhibitions of

Swedish-American artists in Chicago were to send prize-winning work through the Swedish Club. In a history of the Swedish Club of Chicago, written in 1977, Robert Hedman, the club historian, wrote that Grace Spångberg's painting, *Washington Square*, had been purchased by the club for the Thyra Peterson collection in Sweden. The magazine *Svenska Standavet* in February 13, 1940, wrote about the collection and noted that Vermont painter Cecil Larson's (1908--) painting *Red Bridge*, had been sent from the Swedish Club of Chicago. Holger Lundbergh in his column "The Arts" from *The American Swedish Monthly*, April 1942, reported that Edvard Johnson, commercial artist in Chicago, was awarded \$100 for his oil painting *Landmark* at the Swedish-American art exhibition in Chicago and that it would be sent to join the collection in Växjö. In March 1942, Lundbergh wrote that Thomas Hall's painting, *Back of the Farm*, had been purchased for the museum in Småland, listing others who had been "so honored" as Grace Spångberg, Carl E. Lindin, Carl Redin, Cecil Larson, and Edward Johnson. Hedman, Swedish Club historian, also apparently sent Arvid Nyholm's portrait of Charles S. Peterson to the museum in 1950, according to museum records.

Charles S. Peterson, sensitive to the plight of the artists he collected, wrote in the 1934 exhibition catalog that "in the great museums of Stockholm and Gothenburg a collection of Swedish-American art would necessarily be overshadowed by . . . works of great European artists of the centuries, making it difficult to find and exposing it to comparisons not entirely fair." Växjö, he wrote, would provide an excellent place for the works to be seen with "respect and serious consideration." He added "that in so judging them Sweden will remember that Swedish-American artists have no centuries of tradition behind them; have had no support from the state or private institutions, and have at all times had to struggle against adverse circumstances."¹⁵

Paintings and sculpture in Peterson's original collection sent to the museum mirror the highpoints of the immigrant artists' careers in the late teens and twenties. They also point to a particular collector's point of view, in contrast to the more diverse works in the Gothenburg collection. Peterson appeared to favor works that were done in an impressionist into Tonalist and/or expressionistic manner, styles that were seen in advanced American museum and galleries' exhibitions and collection in the early twentieth century. Birger Sandzen's canvas, *Kansas Prairie*, 1911 (fig. 5), is a case in point. It emits a warm glow of ochres and olive greens, backed by a sky that simultaneously turns from blue into light pink. Janet Knowles Seitz, in her essay on Sandzen for the 1988 exhibition *Härute*, at Augustana College in Rock Island, Illinois, described this phase of Sandzen's career as his "Mature American Style."¹⁶ This painting, however, still shows evidence of Sandzen's attempt to translate the flecked brushstroke of Impressionism, which he had studied during his six-month stay in France, to the blond sunlight of Kansas skies. Sandzen's second painting in the museum's collection, *Four Populars*, 1912 (fig. 6), contains the same fresh Impressionist colors, but follows a tendency seen later in his career to design canvases with larger, undulating shapes. At the time the works were done, they were commensurate with the acceptable, advanced American paintings then shown in prominent New York private galleries. This style was gradually replaced by the more avant garde cubist and fauvist canvases which colored the works of many young Americans who had studied in Paris in the early twentieth century.

Approximately half of the private collection Peterson donated to Smålands Museum came from artists on the East Coast. Traditionally in American art, artists living on the East Coast had access to the better galleries for promoting both their reputations and their work. Many of the artists in the collection won acceptance in the competitive artistic milieus of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, establishing evidence of the acculturation of these artists into

mainstream American artistic circles. If the publisher purchased works from the early years of the Swedish-American art exhibitions, 1905 through the early 1920s, he was able to buy works from the artists' mature and often most important periods. It was also during these years that the technically highest quality works were shown and the exhibitions drew from artists who were then showing in recognized New York galleries.

Judging from Peterson's collection in Smålands Museum, Peterson appeared to choose works for his collection because of their rich and unusual color effects. John F. Carlson's painting *The Deep Woods*, for example, has an almost ethereal bluish and peach-colored sheen to the snow and trees. Its rich coloration is the painter's hallmark, seen in Carlson's many winter scenes exhibited throughout the teens and twenties. According to Smålands Museum records, is actually *Sylvan Acres*, a painting that toured to Sweden in 1920 as part of the exhibition "American Painters of Swedish Descent." Because Peterson was the guarantor of the tour, he probably purchased the painting after it returned to Chicago, when it was shown in the tour's homecoming exhibition at the Art Institute of Chicago.

Emil Gelhaar's painting *Parisian Bridge*, bears out collector Peterson's colorist taste. The golden color of the bridge, painted against the lavender of Paris' buildings from the Left Bank, show Gelhaar's ability to use then-contemporary color experiments with color complements structured by abstract architectural shapes. With the exception of the work by Raymond Jonson, it is the most modern work for its time in the collection. A description from the article on the Swedish-American art exhibition of 1913 in *Ungdomsvännan* described Gelhaar's painting as being bathed in a golden light. Matching it with the catalog from the 1913 Swedish-American artists' exhibition, it is probably Gelhaar's painting *Pont Neuf*.

Raymond Jonson's 1918 painting, *Windswept* (fig. 7), evolved from his symbolist period, according to the artist's own classification of his styles. Its color displays rich golds against warm, dark blues and shows the influence of Jonson's designs for the stage of Chicago's Little Theater in the late teens. Jonson, who had studied at the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts under B.J.O. Nordfeldt, another artist in Peterson's collection, employed broad curvilinear shapes outlined by dark lines in his landscapes during the teens. Jonson's painting shows the influences of Japanese woodblock prints, which at that time influenced the more advanced artists. This work could possibly have been the painting *Peak* from the "Eighth Exhibition by Swedish-American Artists" in 1919. Jonson entered work in these exhibitions through 1923, allowing Peterson ample time to view his work, and had won first prize for his canvas *The Night* in the Swedish-American artists' exhibition of 1921.

Although B.J.O. Nordfeldt's print (the article does not indicate whether it is an etching or a woodcut) is now lost, it was described by Wickman as a street motif. It possibly dates from Nordfeldt's excursions to Europe in 1908-1910 when he created etchings of Swedish architectural sites or from 1912, when he exhibited a series of etchings depicting Chicago's streets and skyscrapers. Nordfeldt exhibited with the Swedish-American exhibitions only in 1911 and 1912, showing paintings but not prints. He became well known in Provincetown, Massachusetts by 1916 as the creator of a one-block woodcut print that drew its influences from the design of Japanese woodblock prints the artist had studied in London in 1901.

Massachusetts painter Carl Ringius' (1879-1950) *Autumn Landscape* and Chicago painter Alfred Jansson's *Birches and Snow* are realistic landscapes, with a slightly Impressionistic color and brushstroke. Typical of academically acceptable paintings from the decade of the twenties into the early thirties, they would be more in line with works Peterson collected in the early 1930s.

Henry Reuterdahl's paintings *War Ships*, 1912, and *American Battleship in a Chinese Harbor*, c. 1912-1913, both in the Smålands Museum collection, were painted at the height of Reuterdahl's career. At that time his paintings of ships and sea were colorfully brushed in a hurried manner onto large canvases. Although the artist exhibited with the Swedish-American artists beginning in 1905, these works are not listed in the catalogs of subsequent Swedish-American art exhibitions. It can be assumed that Peterson viewed and purchased the works through some other venue. Reuterdahl, whose illustrations for New York magazines were nationally known, made the painting of war ships his specialty. By 1912-1913, when these works were completed, Reuterdahl was still illustrating for American magazines such as *Scribner's* and *Collier's Weekly*, but made his living primarily as a painter.

Charles S. Peterson's tendency to collect works with unusual coloristic effects is borne out again in the painting he owned by Chicago-based Charles Hallberg. Dating from 1933 and thus is a late work in the artist's career, *Sunset* (fig. 8) is atypical of Hallberg's *oeuvre*. The artist usually wielded a dark, expressionistic brush, using rich Prussian and cobalt blues to depict stormy or wavy seas. This canvas has a pastel-like glow over placid water and sky. It is more akin to the golden, atmospheric painting of Emil Gelhaar and the luminous pinkish tonality in John F. Carlson's woodscape.

Charles S. Peterson's portrait, painted by Arvid Nyholm in 1913 (fig. 3 in the chapter on Swedish-American patronage), shows the publisher in the typical pose of a successful businessman. Two paintings from his art collection are behind him and his hand rests on the Swedish language paper *Hemlandet*, which Peterson purchased in 1914 when the paper was having financial problems. Although the colors are muted, an overall grey tonality predominates. Just prior to Peterson's portrait, Nyholm had painted a portrait of the Swedish-born inventor John Ericsson, by that time in the National Portrait Gallery in Washington D.C. Thus Peterson chose the most important Swedish-American portraitist at that time. The portrait was transferred to Smålands Museum from the Swedish Club in 1950.

The largest private collector in Sweden today, Bengt Jareteg, began collecting works by Swedish-American artists in the early 1970s. Born in Edsvära, outside Falköping, Jareteg was one of thirteen children of a farmworker. He joined his older siblings who moved to Borås to work with the textile business, then built up a company that sold blinds and window treatments. After selling the company, he began to deal in paintings, buying his first Swedish-American works by Birger Sandzen in 1972.¹⁷ Jareteg, who now owns approximately 146 paintings by 25 Swedish-American artists whose careers peaked within the 1880-1920 time frame, helped to curate an exhibition of Swedish-American art in Örebro castle from June 15 to August 19, 2001. Comprised of work from Jareteg's collection and selected works from Riksföreningen Sverigekontakt and Smålandsmuseum, the exhibition entitled "Biggest in the World" displayed pristine work of artists from Carl Oscar Borg, Birger Sandzen, Gerda Ahlm, B.J.O. Nordfeldt and Gustaf Tenggren to Gunnar Widforss (1879-1934). Jareteg's collection also contains works rarely found in American and Swedish collections, such as an early B.J.O. Nordfeldt Whistler-like portrait of a young woman from approximately 1905, and two academic portraits by Carl Fredrik von Saltza (1858-1905) as well as a competently painted portrait by little known painter Herman Soderstrom (1871-1897). Jareteg buys most of his paintings from auctions within the Scandinavian countries and considers his collection of Swedish-American works to be a labor of love bringing little monetary compensation in contrast to his more lucrative business with the work of other European artists.

Swedish people were extremely interested in the success of their fellow countrymen abroad. This is indicated not only in collections of art, which in the case of Bengt Jareteg are still being added to today, but also in an extensive collection of newspaper and periodical clippings gathered over 50 years by journalist Otto Robert Landelius (1897-1977). While this collection reveals the taste of a collector, it also manifests the sustained and intense interest of Swedes from all parts of the country, because clippings were taken not only from Stockholm and Gothenburg papers, but also from other smaller cities and towns in Sweden as well as America. Landelius was a journalist on staff at the Swedish Information Service in New York from the late 1930s through the 1940s. He collected Swedish and American newspaper and magazine clippings about people of Swedish birth or derivation who had emigrated from Sweden, eventually filling 30 bound scrapbooks on Swedish-American cultural leaders, *Utlandssvenska Klippsamling*, (collected clippings about Swedish people living abroad). His clipping files on artists, community leaders, and other persons with cultural interests were given to the Emigrant Institute in Växjö, Sweden in 1976. Landelius gave the largest donation of archival material and literature the Emigrant Institute had received to date, including letters, maps, and material collected for his manuscript on Swedish place names in North America. In addition to American immigrants, Landelius had also maintained a clipping files on persons of Swedish derivation living in Sweden, Finland, the Baltic countries, Canada, Latin America, and Australia.

When he left New York in the late 1940s to retire to his home in Gråbo, in Skåne, Landelius was aware of the numerous gallery exhibitions of Swedish-American artists during that decade and the previous one. His clipping file on B.J.O. Nordfeldt, for example, records the artist's annual exhibitions at the respected Passedoit Gallery in New York from the mid-1940s on. His file on Carl Sprinchorn included exhibition reviews in American newspapers and magazines and the journalist also saved clippings from Henry Mattson's annual exhibitions at the Rehn Gallery, which at that time carried the best selection of American artists of the period of the 1930s into 1940s.

Landelius used the clipping file on artists to write articles for magazines and newspapers as well as the approximately 300 entries on artists for the *Svenskkonstnärers Lexikon*, a five-volume encyclopedia of artists of Swedish birth published by Allhems Förlag, Malmö, in 1953 through 1960. When he had the address of the artist, he would write to that person, asking them for a photograph, full name, parents', place of birth, date of immigration, "education, especially with reference to your studies; your special branches of art. . . other details of interest of your art production; partaken of exhibitions; in which museums or other collections represented; prizes and other distinctions awarded; positions, lecturing (where and subject of lectures); marriage." Artists wrote back, often with detailed résumés and sent pictures of their work, which are now in the Landelius archives at the Emigrant Institute. Landelius used the answers to these questionnaires and the clipping files to write the entries as well as multiple articles in Swedish magazines and newspapers on several of the artists. For example, he wrote an article on Arthur Lindquist for the January 1959 issue of *Utlandssvenskarna*; one on Henry Reuterdahl, "Malmöpojken som blev en av USA's främste marinmålare," (The young man from Malmö who became one of America's foremost seascape painters") for the July 5, 1953 issue of the newspaper *Skånska Dagbladet*. He later used the same article but retitled it "Henry Reuterdahl – ett ovanligt konstnärsliv" ("Henry Reuterdahl – an artist's unusual life") for the November 1960 issue of *Utlandssvenskarna*, a periodical founded in 1938 and dedicated for Swedish people living abroad.

Landelius performed a similar feat with articles on Carl Sprinchorn, publishing one manuscript on the Maine painter of land- and snowscapes under three separate titles. He also intended to use it a chapter in his unpublished manuscript "Eight Artists from Skåne," which was to have been published in 1962 by the Swedish publishing house Scania in Malmö. In his article titled "Mystikan från Maines vildmark" in *Skansk Dagbladet* January 17, 1954, in an article in *Byahornet* in 1962, and in the chapter for the unpublished manuscript, Landelius labeled Sprinchorn a "skåningen." Although Landelius proceeded to trace Sprinchorn's American triumphs, listing exhibitions in noted museums and museums which owned his work, the author noted that while the artist painted Maine's wilderness or New York skyscrapers, he still hoped to paint scenes from his Swedish childhood.¹⁸ Clearly, an artist's success in America provided appropriate accolades to add to story of their lives as Swedes in Swedish publications. The essays on Reuter Dahl and Sprinchorn were included in the Landelius archives now at the Emigrant Institute, to be included in the book on artists from Skåne, along with essays on Cecil Larson, Carl Gustaf Nelson, Enfred Anderson, Lars Hoftrup, Bror Julius Olsson Nordfeldt, and Anton Pearson.

In his unpublished forward to the manuscript, Landelius pondered the percentage of artists in America who had emigrated from Sweden. "It is really quite remarkable that so many in Amerika during the last six or seven decades are active Swedish artists, both originally from Skåne and others, even within art historical and arts' interests circles here at home in Sweden are so good and who are wholly unknown." He added that "still some of them, for example, the Skåning Carl Sprinchorn and the painter from Gothenburg Henry Mattson, are at the forefront of contemporary American artistic life."¹⁹

Although there are résumés and letters in each of the artists' files, Landelius developed a lengthy correspondence with Carl Sprinchorn, who send a number of letters and pictures to the writer over a 15-year period and answered his questions in great detail. Unlike other artists' files, both in quantity and span of time, the correspondence continued long after Landelius had written his two articles on the painter. In Sprinchorn's 1967 Christmas letter, the painter inveighed against contemporary prices assigned to works of art. He wrote Landelius that "my adverse criticisms . . . hinge entirely on the 'powers that be,' that set the absurd, outrageously inflated prices on works of art, prices which a gullible public is therefore forced to pay. . . ." He continued that "I do find very serious fault with some of those artists still living. They can have no justification whatever to accept such absurd and, I might add, unearned honorariums . . . on the contrary, I would even go so far out on the (dangerously swaying) limb as to suggest an application of the old adage of 'a fair price for a fair day's work.'" ²⁰ Sprinchorn sent the writer several essays enumerating his opinions on the art world, on his life as a painter, and his memories of other Swedish-American artists. During the last two decades of his life, Sprinchorn, who had lived alone in the Maine woods near Patton, and who had enjoyed a sophisticated artistic circle of friends in New York during the twenties, was living in Selkirk, New York, with his sister's family. Although he still continued to paint, he considered Landelius as a friend, interested in his opinions as well as his art. Landelius, ever the true archivist, kept the painter's letters and photographs in an orderly file for future use.

To an unusual extent, Swedish immigrant artists remained under the umbrella of Swedish cultural life through the mid-twentieth century, revealing Sweden's perception that these artists were still essentially Swedish. *Svenska Konstnärers Lexikon*, the five volume encyclopedia of Swedish painters published through 1960, to which Landelius contributed, included several hundred Swedish-American artists in its contents, unlike those artists' dictionaries and lexicons

of other Scandinavian countries which included only a few. Newsletters and organizations dedicated to Swedish people living abroad celebrated the immigrant artists and collections of Swedish-American art and clippings focusing on Swedish-American cultural leaders and artists indicated the ongoing interest of Swedish people in their American counterparts. For the immigrant artists, this kind of attention, although neither constant nor intense, provided a measure of psychological support. Their careers had come full circle, from the hardscrabble period of acculturation to the American art world to Swedish museums and publications. The records left on both sides of the Atlantic help us to better understand these artists and the network of patronage that supported them. One hundred artists are profiled in the second section of this book, their stories compiled from archives in both America and Sweden.

¹ T.J. (probably Thorsten Jonsson), "Pris åt svenskfödd U.S.A. målare," *Dagens Nyheter*, 27 September, 1943. *Dagens Nyheter* Klipparkiv.

² "Känd svensk-amerikansk konstnär har avlidit" (Well known Swedish-American painter has died), *Dagens Nyheter*, 23 March, 1945. "USA-svensk målare död," *Expressen*, 24 March, 1945. Both from *Dagens Nyheter* Klipparkiv.

³ Ernst Olson, "Svensk Konst I Amerika," *Svenskarna I Amerika*, ed. Karl Hildebrand, Axel Fredenholm (Stockholm: Historiska Förlaget, 1924), 231. Besides Sandzen and Carlson, listed as the first two artists in Olson's essay, the others are in order: Carl Eric Lindin, Arvid Nyholm, Olof Grafstrom, Charles Hallberg, G.N. Malm, Emil Gelhaar, Henrik Hillbom, Knute Heldner, Alfred Jansson, Hugo von Hofsten, Henry Reuterdahl, Ava Lagerkrantz, Henry Mattson, B.J.O. Nordfeldt, Carl Wallin, Aksel Daniel Westerlind, David Erickson, Ben Hallberg, Herm Soderstrom, Greta Nyholm, A.V. Anderson, Carl Oscar Borg, Oscar Jacobson, Thure Thulstrup, Oscar Cezare, and August Franzen.

⁴ Otto Robert Landelius, "Kosmopolit från Södra Sallerup," *Skanska Dagbladet*, August 9, 1953, Malmö, Sweden.

⁵ Letter from Thorsten Jonsson to B.J.O. Nordfeldt, November 5, 1945. Jonsson wrote back on November 16, "I have written the story and sent it to Sweden. Archives of American Art.

⁶ Files in the organization's present headquarters at Dicksonsgatan 6, S-400 14 Gothenburg.

⁷ Letter from Axel Anderson and F.O. Gustafson from the Minneapolis headquarters of "Nordvästernafdelningen af Föreningen Svenskhetens Bevarande, July 1, 1922. The letter is written in Swedish and the segment quoted notes that the newspaper is "pigga och trevliga." State archives, Gothenburg, Sweden.

⁸ Ernst Olson, "Henry Reuterdahl, Ett par ord om honom och hans konst," *Ungdomsvännen* (December 1916), 368. Reuterdahl won his medal for *Winter in Weehawken*.

⁹ *Allsvensk Samling*, September 16, 1918, 3.

¹⁰ "Första utställningen I Utlandssvenska museet," *Allsvensk Samling*, August 28, 1928.

¹¹ In going through the picture files of the organization during the summers of 1994 and 1995, the author had the opportunity to view numerous good black and white photographs sent by organizations ranging from the Swedish Club to the Augustana Synod. For example, a picture of Dr. P.A. Mattson, noted in the text, was part of the files, along with annual dinners of the St. Erik's Society.

¹² Helen Laird, *Carl Oscar Borg and the Magic Region* (Layton, Utah: Gibbs M. Smith, Inc., 1985), 180.

¹³ The author has the complete list of catalogs, with the exception of 1938, which were produced by the Swedish-American artists organization. The exhibition from 1938, entitled "Eleventh Annual Art Exhibition, Swedish Artists of Chicago, Inc." was mounted at the Edgewater Beach Hotel in Chicago in 1938 and probably was a separate organization. See also Rolf H. Erickson, "Swedish-American Artists' Exhibitions in Chicago Described in Checklists and Catalogs," *Swedish-American Genealogist*, 90-11.

¹⁴ The article listing works in Peterson's collection donated to the museum listed artists in a random order, given here in the order of the article: John F. Carlson, Henrik Hillbom, Torry Ross, Henry Reuterdahl, Carl Ringius, Emil Gelhaar, T.W.C. Walenkamfs, Alex Linus, Charles Hallberg, Leon Lundmark, Alfred Jansson, Raymond Jonson, Hugo von Hofsten, Birger Sandzen, Christian von Scheidau, Christian Olsen, Gustaf Dahlstrom Bror Nordfeldt, Anne Anderson, P. Anderson, Frank Gustafsson, Charles Haag, Aksel Westerlid, and Carl Hallsthammar. Although many of these works are in storage in the museum today (2000), several of them are placed in municipal or commercial buildings in Växjö. Two of Sandzen's paintings, for example, are in the Emigrant Institute, Carlson's landscape is in Hypoteksförening, a local bank, and Alfred Jansson's winter landscape is in the local police headquarters.

¹⁵ Charles S. Peterson, "The Thyra Peterson Memorial Collection," *Thyra H. Peterson Memorial Exhibition of Works by Swedish-American Artists*, exhibition catalog, Swedish Club, 1258 LaSalle Street, April 21-29, 1934. Nationalmuseum Library, Stockholm, Sweden. This same catalog is also found in the archives of Småland Museum, Växjö, Sweden.

¹⁶ Janet Knowles Seitz, "Birger Sandzen, A Painter in His Paradise," *Härute --- Out Here: Swedish Immigrant Artists in Midwest America*

¹⁷ Interview with Bengt Jareteg, Borås, Sweden, October 25-26, 2002.

¹⁸ Otto Robert Landelius, "Mystiken Från Maines Vildmark," *Skanska Dagbladet*, January 17, 1954; "Carl Sprinchorn, En Skånsk Konstnar I Amerika" for *Utlandsvenskarna*, March 1957; in *Byahornet*, 1962; and in his unpublished manuscript entitled "Eight Artists From Skåne," that is in the Emigrant Institute archives, Växjö.

¹⁹ Unpublished manuscript, "Eight Artists from Skåne," Otto Robert Landelius collection, Emigrant Institute, Växjö, Sweden. The forward is translated from the Swedish by the author. "Det är egentligen ganska märkligt att de många I Amerika under de senaste sex [eller] sju decennierna verksamma svenska konstnärerna, både skåningar och andra, även inom konstitresserade och konsthistoriska kretsar här hemma I Sverige äro så gott som helt okända. Ändå räknas några av dem, såsom exempel vis skåningen Carl Sprinchorn och göteborgaren Henry Mattson, till de allra främsta inom nutida amerikanskt konstliv."

²⁰ Carl Sprinchorn letters, Otto Robert Landelius files, Emigrant Institute.

APPENDIX A: ART EXHIBITIONS: AMERICAN SWEDISH INSTITUTE*

*Art Exhibitions documented in the *ASI Bulletin*

<i>Dr. Oscar B. Hanson, Art Collection</i>	November 1941
<i>Sweden in World War II</i>	April 1943
<i>Pioneer life</i>	May 1943
<i>Sweden's Defense</i>	May 1943
<i>Swedish Modern</i>	October 1944
<i>Sweden--In One Hundred Pictures</i>	April-September 1945
<i>K.W. Gullers, Swedish photographer</i>	January-March 1946
<i>Sweden: A Workshop of Democracy, Photographic Exhibit</i>	January-March 1946
<i>Swedish Wartime Cartoons</i>	January-April 1948
<i>Elof Wedin, Landscapes and Portraits</i>	January-April 1948
<i>Swedish American Art Exhibition</i>	January-April 1948
<i>Sweden Today</i>	June 1948
<i>Orrefors, Modern Swedish Glass</i>	March-June 1949
<i>Strindberg Manuscripts and Writings</i>	June 1949
<i>B.J.O. Nordfeldt Paintings</i>	March 1950
<i>Swedish Graphic Arts</i>	December 1949-March 1950
<i>Woodcarvings</i>	March 1950
<i>Swedish American Art Exhibition</i>	June 1950
<i>Gustaf Teuggren: Dalecarlia Art Works</i>	June 1950
<i>"The ABC of Sweden,"</i>	September 1950
<i>Knute Heidner, Paintings</i>	June 1951
<i>Oscar Lang, Clock and Watch Collection</i>	June 1951
<i>Eva Peterson Memorial Exhibit</i>	March-June 1951
<i>Sculpture by Scandinavians in the Midwest</i>	March-June 1951
<i>Swedish Handicraft</i>	March-June 1951

<i>Swedish American Art Exhibition</i>	Winter 1951
<i>Christmas Card History</i>	Spring 1952
<i>Harry Jonsson, Paintings</i>	Autumn 1952
<i>Minnesota Artists Association</i>	Spring 1952-Autumn 1952)
<i>Exhibit of Maps</i> (sponsored by the: Swedish American Line)	Winter 1952
<i>International Photography</i>	Spring 1953
<i>Minnesota Sculpture</i>	Spring 1953
<i>Minnesota Artists Association</i>	Spring-Summer 1953
<i>Rorstrand Ceramics</i>	Autumn 1952, Summer 1953
<i>Model of John Ericsson's home in Filipstad, part of Värmiand Gift</i>	Spring 1954
<i>Einar Jolin, Swedish Painter</i>	Spring 1954
<i>Alfred Wahlberg, Landscape Painter</i>	Spring 1954
Prince Eugen, Exhibition of Paintings	Summer 1954
<i>Ivar Glemming, Weaver</i>	Autumn 1954
<i>Charles Haag, Wood Sculptures</i>	January 1956
<i>B.J.O. Nordfeldt, Exhibition of Paintings</i>	January 1956
<i>29th Annual Swedish American Art Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture</i>	January 1956
<i>Children's Paintings from 45 Countries</i>	Summer 1956
<i>Cecile Ryden Johnson, Watercolors</i>	Summer 1956
<i>National Museum, Stockholm, Historical Paintings</i>	Summer 1956
<i>Gustavus Adoiphus College Art</i>	Winter 1956-57
<i>Swedish Rock Carvings</i>	Winter 1956-57
<i>Bibles and Devotional Books</i>	Summer 1957
<i>June Peterson Dille, Ink Drawings</i>	Summer 1957
<i>Art from Lappland</i>	Summer 1957
<i>Modem Furnishings: Pioneer and Immigrant Items from ASI Collections</i>	Summer 1957

<i>Peter Wedin, Woodcarvings of Swedish Scenes</i>	Summer 1957
<i>Anders Zorn, Paintings and Etchings</i>	Summer 1957
<i>Scandinavian Roots</i>	Summer 1958
<i>Models and Paintings of Transportation</i>	Summer 1958
<i>Swedish Graphic Arts</i> (sponsored the Association Graphic Arts, Stockholm)	Summer 1958
<i>Gustavus Adoiphus College Art</i>	Spring 1959
<i>Ulrich Steiner, the Last of the Institutes Carvers</i>	Summer 1959
<i>Albin and George Beyer, Paintings</i>	Summer 1959
<i>Centennial Craft Exhibition: 100 Years, 100 Items</i>	Summer 1959
<i>Early Minnesota Scenes: Photographs and Paintings</i>	Summer 1959
<i>Third Annual Membership Art Exhibition</i>	Summer 1959
<i>Minnesota Artists Association Exhibition</i>	Summer 1959
<i>Minnesota Rural Art</i>	Summer 1959
<i>Scandinavian Holiday Foods</i>	Summer 1959
<i>30th Swedish American Art Exhibition</i>	Summer 1959
<i>Yesterday's Motoring</i> (sponsored by Antique Automobile Club)	Summer 1959
<i>Eric Austen Erickson, Paintings</i>	Winter 1959-Spring 1960
<i>Floyd and Margreth Brewer, Minnesota Artists</i>	Winter 1959-Spring 1960
<i>Gustavus Adoiphus College Art</i>	Winter 1959-Spring 1960
<i>5th Annual Membership Art Exhibition</i>	Winter 1959-Spring 1960
<i>SigneLarson, Exhibition</i>	Winter 1959-Spring 1960
<i>Sylvia Leito, Swedish Artist</i>	Winter 1959-Spring 1960
<i>Minnesota Weavers' Guild</i>	Winter 1959-Spring 1960
<i>Martin Peterson, Danish American Artist</i>	Winter 1959-Spring 1960
<i>Scandinavian Roots of Our State</i>	Winter 1959-Spring 1960
<i>Peter Wedin, Woodcarver</i>	Winter 1959-Spring 1960

<i>Minnesota Rural Art</i>	Winter 1962-1963
<i>Bern Thorson, Paintings</i>	Winter 1962-1963
<i>Swedish Painters</i>	Winter-Autumn 1963

***Art Exhibitions documented in ASI Happenings**

<i>Maria Ruth, Swedish Artist</i>	January 1969
<i>Eight Million Swedes, Photographs</i>	February 1969
<i>Alfred Nobel, Swedish Inventor</i>	March 1969
<i>Swedish Peasant Paintings Donated by James B. L. Orme</i>	April 1969
<i>Town & Country Art Show</i>	April 1969
<i>Baron Owe von Echardt, Swedish Weaver/Designer</i>	May 1969
<i>Lorence F. Bjorklund, Illustrator</i>	May-August 1969
<i>Axel Bengtsson, Swedish Artist</i>	September-October 1969
<i>Hjordis Lindblad, Swedish Artist</i>	September-October 1969
<i>American Swedish Institute History</i>	November 1969
<i>Members Art Show</i>	January-March 1970
<i>Scandinavian and American Maps</i>	January 1970
<i>Swedish Drinking Vessels</i>	January 1970
<i>Town & Country Art Show</i>	April 1970
<i>Ancient Scandinavian and American Maps</i>	May 1970
<i>"Reflections in Glass," Swedish Glassworks</i>	June-November 1970
<i>Swedish Antique Copper</i>	December 1970-January 1971
<i>Swedish Antique Copper</i>	December 1970-January 1971
<i>Tapio Wirkkala, Finnish Craftsman</i>	January-March 1971
<i>Danish Posters</i>	March-April 1971
<i>Town & Country Art Show</i>	April-May 1971
<i>Bishop Hill</i>	March-August 1971

<i>Huddinge Hospital, Sweden, Architectural Design</i>	September 1973-February 1974
<i>Danish Museum Posters</i>	February-March 1974
<i>Vilhelm Moberg, Photographs of His Life and Work</i>	March 1974
<i>Members Art Show</i>	March-April 1974
<i>Swedish Handcraft</i>	May-August 1974
<i>Folk paintings from Dalarna</i>	June-September 1974
<i>Wendell Borgium, Western Bronze Sculptures</i>	October 1974
<i>Swedish Graphic Artists, 1887-1957</i>	October 1974
<i>Danish Royal Copenhagen Porcelain, Smithsonian Exhibition</i>	March-April 1975
<i>Members Art Show</i>	May 1975
<i>Swedish Design Today</i>	June-September 1975
<i>Classic Car Club, Upper Midwest Region Cars, 1925-1948</i>	September 1975
<i>Richard L.Hilistrom's Private Collection of Swedish-American Artists</i>	December 1975-February 1976
<i>Orrefors and Ekenas Art Glass</i>	January 1976
<i>Birger Sandzen, Swedish-American Artist</i>	November 1975-February 1976
<i>Gustav III, Portrait</i>	April 1976
<i>"The Dream of America," Smithsonian Exhibition</i>	December 1975-August 1976
<i>Neta and Inga Friberg, Swedish Woodcarvers</i>	June-August 1976
<i>Rorstrand and Gustavsberg Ceramics</i>	June-August 1976
<i>Members Art Show</i>	October 1976
<i>Axel Lindahi, Paintings</i>	November 1976
<i>Danish Textiles and Weavings, Smithsonian Exhibition</i>	January-March 1976
<i>Ethnic Christmas Trees</i>	December 1976-January 1977
<i>Dewey Albinson, Works of Art</i>	April-May 1977
<i>Kaare Espolin Johnson, Norwegian Artist</i>	October 1977
<i>Ragnar Person, Swedish Artist</i>	October-November 1977
<i>Members Art Show</i>	November-December 1977

<i>Members Art Show</i>	November 1979
<i>Tumblad Family and Mansion</i>	November 1979
<i>Swedish Rock Carvings, Photo Exhibit</i>	February 1980
<i>Marianne Grunditz, Swedish Artist</i>	March-April 1980
<i>Nancy Ekholm Burkert, Children's Book Illustrator</i>	May 1980
<i>Second Annual Miniature and Dollhouse Show</i>	May 1980
<i>Sig Erickson, Latch Hook Wall Hangings</i>	June-December 1980
<i>Ove Johannesson, Swedish Artist</i>	June-October 1980
<i>Doris Wolter, Landscape Paintings of Sweden</i>	June-August 1980
<i>Ove Johannesson, Swedish Painter</i>	September 1980
<i>Anders Zorn</i>	October 1980
<i>Knute Heldner, Swedish-American Artist</i>	January-February 1981
<i>Lilly Lorenzen, Memorabilia Collection</i>	January 1981
<i>Bev Ullsrud Van Berkom</i>	February-April 1981
<i>Henry Holmstrom, Swedish American Artist</i>	March-May 1981
<i>Third Annual Miniature and Doll House Show</i>	April-August 1981
<i>Karin Olsson, Swedish Landscape Artist</i>	May –August 1981
<i>Gunvor Johdet, Swedish Textile Artist</i>	June-August 1981
<i>New Homes: The Immigrant Experience, Photographs</i>	June-August 1981
<i>Objects from the Permanent Collection</i>	June-August 1981
<i>Gunnar Svensson, Swedish Artist/Woodcarver</i>	September-November 1981
<i>Bengt Lindstrom, Swedish Artist</i>	October-December 1981
<i>Portraits of Swedish Personalities</i>	November 1981
<i>Members' Favorite Treasures</i>	December 1981
<u>*Art Exhibitions Documented in the ASI Posten</u>	
<i>ASI Recent Collections' Acquisitions</i>	January 1982
<i>Members' Swedish Family Treasures</i>	January-February 1982

<i>Antique Toy Collection</i>	January 1984
<i>Constance Swenson, Artist</i>	February 1984
<i>ASI Rare Books from the Archives</i>	March 1984
<i>Kerstin Soderlund, Swedish Textile Artist</i>	March 1984
<i>Lorraine Nyvall, Doll Collection</i>	April 1984
<i>Joan Sandin, Author/Illustrator</i>	April-August 1984
<i>Anton Bloomberg, Swedish Photographic Journalist</i>	Summer 1984
<i>Scandinavian Immigrant Artists, 1850-1950</i>	Summer 1984
<i>Immigrant Children, 1890-1930, Photographs</i>	September 1984
<i>Immigrants and Ellis Island, Photographs</i>	September 1984
<i>Ragnar and Stina Hasselberg, Swedish Artists</i>	October 1984
<i>Howard E. Lindberg, Artist</i>	January 1985
<i>Douglas L. Johnson, Potter</i>	February-March 1985
<i>Swedish Fashions Today</i>	March-August 1985
<i>Raoul Wallenberg, Swedish Diplomat</i>	April-May 1985
<i>"Blueprint of-the Past," A History of the Turnblad Mansion</i>	Summer 1985
<i>Immigrants from Dalarna, "To the New World-North America"</i>	June-October 1985
<i>Swedish Immigrant Artists</i>	October-November 1985
<i>Swedish Fine Crafts</i>	January 1986
<i>Claus and Barbro Folcker, Swedish Artists</i>	February-April 1986
<i>Kerstin Carlsson, Swedish artist, "Flowers of Sweden"</i>	March-May 1986
<i>ASI Museum Collections</i>	May-August 1986
<i>Kathleen Berntson, Artist</i>	Summer 1986
<i>Lars Lerin, Swedish Artist</i>	September 1986
<i>Axel Lilliehook, Swedish Artist</i>	October-November 1986
<i>Yrjo Mustonen, Finnish artist, "Mystique of Finland"</i>	January 1987
<i>Kerstin Carlsson, Swedish Landscape Artist</i>	April 1987

<i>Ian Dudley, Sculptor</i>	February 1989
<i>Stuart Klipper, Artist/Photographer</i>	February 1989
<i>Leon Lundmark, Swedish Marine Artist</i>	February-March 1989
<i>Ethnic Weddings in America, Photographs and Artifacts</i>	April 1989
<i>Frederick Somers, Aris</i>	May 1989
<i>Nancy Carison, Author/Illustrator</i>	July-September 1989
<i>Jews in Sweden, Photographs</i>	November 1989
<i>Sten Gustafsson, Swedish Artist, "View of Two Worlds"</i>	January-February 1990
<i>Henry Nyberg, Automobile Designer</i>	February 1990
<i>Rodger Brodin, Sculptor</i>	March-April 1990
<i>Anna Toresdotter, Swedish Artist, "Lights and Shadows"</i>	May 1990
<i>Midsummer Celebration: Arts and Craft Show</i>	June 1990
<i>Karen Jenson, Dala Artist, "Dalmålning in the New World"</i>	September 1990
<i>Yvonne Karisson, Swedish Designer, "Kimonos: Tradition Origins"</i>	September 1990
<i>Lucia "Illumination of a Saint"</i>	December 1990
<i>Sven Bjork, Swedish Artist, "Landscapes and Seascapes"</i>	January 1991
<i>Birger Sandzen, "Landscapes of America"</i>	April 1991
<i>Lasse Ostman, Swedish Potter</i>	May 1991
<i>Bernadotte Family, Photographs</i>	July-August 1991
<i>Hot Glass from Swedish Forests</i>	September 1991-February 1992
<i>Scrolls of Emigrants, from Emigrant Institute, Växjö</i>	February 1992
<i>Henry Holmstrom, Paintings</i>	March 1992
<i>Tommy Berglund, Swedish sculptor, Works in Bronze</i>	May 1992
<i>Bo Hansson, Swedish WoodWork Artist</i>	May 1992
<i>Ingegard Salmose, Swedish Batik Artist</i>	May 1992
<i>Jorgen Salmose, Swedish Artist</i>	May 1992
<i>Pelle Engman, Swedish Lithographer/Artist</i>	September 1992

A Tangled Web: Swedish Immigrant Artists' Patronage Systems, 1880-1940
© Mary Towley Swanson, 2004

<i>Albin and Kurt Seaberg, Artists</i>	February-March 1996
<i>Tommy Carisson, Swedish artist, "Still Life Reflections"</i>	May-June 1996
<i>Children's Art Depicts Immigration Experience</i>	January 1997
<i>Karen Benson, Photographs of "Midsummer's Children"</i>	February 1997
<i>Swedish Life in the Twin Cities</i>	July 1996-February 1997
<i>Turnblad Collection</i>	March 1997
<i>Värmland Gift, Donated in 1952</i>	June 1997
<i>Scandinavian Masters</i>	July-September 1997
<i>Veronica Galle-Wahrme, Swedish Straw Weaver</i>	November 1997
<i>August Leon, Photographer</i>	January-February 1998
<i>ASI Museum Collections</i>	May 1998
<i>Swedish Glass from ASI Collections, "Dwellings for Light"</i>	June 1998
<i>Howard Sivertson, Paintings of Fishing Life on Isle Royale</i>	September- October 1998
<i>Hilda Lothner Sell, Swedish American Artist</i>	February-April 1999
<i>Erik Høglund, Swedish Glass Artist</i>	May 1999
<i>Nikolas Werngren, Swedish Photographer of Swedish Towns</i>	July-August 1999
<i>Erki Kannus, Swedish Artist</i>	January 2000
<i>Carl Milles, Swedish Artist/Sculptor</i>	January-February 2000
<i>Småland Exhibit</i>	February-April 2000

APPENDIX B: ART EXHIBITIONS, AMERICAN SWEDISH HISTORICAL MUSEUM

<i>Ida C. Thoresen, Swedish Sculptor</i>	1930
<i>Society of Swedish Women Artists</i>	1931
<i>The Hildebrand Jenny Lind Collection</i> (from New York)	Opened June 5, 1932
<i>The Memorial Historic Exhibition of the Colony of New Sweden</i> (from Sweden)	June-July, 1938
<i>Birger Sandzén Exhibition</i>	May-December 1940
<i>Carl Lindborg, Oils; Fingal Rosenquist, Sculpture; and Illustrations</i> <i>And Manuscript of "Elm's Amerika" by Marguerite de Angeli</i>	Winter 1941-1942
<i>Stockholm Builds</i> , a photographic record of modern Swedish Architecture, organized by the Museum of Modern Art, New York	Fall 1941
<i>Carl Sprinchorn Exhibition</i>	Summer 1942
<i>Wartime Cartoons by O.E. Cesare</i>	November 1942
<i>Sweden's Defense in Pictures</i>	January-February 1943
<i>Anders Zorn's Etchings</i> (local loan exhibition) and <i>A Collection of Contemporary Swedish China</i>	May-September 1943
<i>Lithographs by Swedish Artist Ernst Norlind and</i> <i>Photographs of Swedish Castles, Manor Houses, Log Houses</i>	January-April 1944
<i>"Eric" (Carl Ericson), Swedish American Fashion Illustrator</i>	May-July 1944
<i>Thornton Oakley Watercolors for "National Geographic"</i>	July-September 1944
<i>John F. Carlson Landscapes Exhibition</i>	October-December 1944
<i>Paintings from the Museum Collection</i>	Early 1945
<i>Gustaf Tenggren Book Illustrations and B.J.O. Nordfeldt Paintings</i>	May-September 1945
<i>Christian Brinton Memorial Collection, Paintings of Birger Sandzén</i>	Fall 1945
<i>Sweden, a Workshop of Democracy</i> , Photographs by K.W. Gullers	January-February 1946
<i>Woodcarvings by Charles Haag, Weavings by Sofia Haag</i>	December-May 1946
<u>Undated Exhibitions: May 1946 through April 1947:</u>	
<i>Oil Paintings by Einar Palme</i> (first Swedish artist to exhibit in America since the war)	
<i>Books and Manuscripts by Hans Christian Andersen</i> (lent by Jean Hersholt)	
<i>Fine Book Bindings by Edith Welinder and</i> <i>Photographic Portraits by Edvard Welinder</i> (president of Svenska Fotografernas Förbund)	

Photographs of Contemporary Swedish Architecture and Industrial Art

Oil Paintings by Edward Gustave Jacobsson (New York)

Original Cartoons Drawn for Publication in Sweden During the War
(courtesy of the American Scandinavian Foundation)

Modern Swedish Poster Art (courtesy of the American Swedish News Exchange)

Photographic Studies of the Principal Works of Carl Milles

Norwegian and Finnish Arts and Crafts (arranged by Y.A. Paloheimo and Thornton Oakley)

Watercolors of South and Central America by Carl Folke Sahlin

Ture Bengtz Oils, Watercolors and Graphic Art Summer 1947

*"How They Came Here," the history of immigration from Scandinavia
during the last thousand years* (traveling exhibition made possible by the
Swedish American Line) Fall 1947

Ernst Josephson, Drawings (Lindeberg Collection, Stockholm) January-February 1948

Children's Art from Sweden (arranged by Folket I Bild, circulated by
The Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts) Spring 1948

Kurt Jungstedt, Oils of Stockholm and the Swedish West Coast
(Opening coincided with the maiden voyage of MIS *Stockholm*) Spring 1948

"Period Furniture" from Jamestown, New York Spring 1948

Watercolors of Vaxholm by Charles J. Tingler Summer 1948

Orrefors Glass (in cooperation with Wanamakers, Philadelphia) Fall 1948

Sweden Today (for the Pioneer Centennial by the Swedish Institute) Early 1949

Museums of Sweden (traveling exhibition from Sweden) Spring 1949

Weavings by Sara Mattsson Anliot May 1949

Sven Markelius (architect) June 1949

Scandinavian Stamp Exhibition (sponsored by the National
Philatelic Museum of Philadelphia) February-March 1950

Norwegian Paintings, Arts and Crafts May 1950

26th Annual Swedish American Art Exhibition (sponsored by the
Swedish Club of Chicago) June-July 1950

"De Garden Dårhemma" Swedish Map Exhibit
(sponsored by the Swedish American Line) July-August 1950

Christine Deichmann, Watercolors from Greenland (Danish artist) November-December 1950

<i>Rörstrand Ceramics</i> (Lent by Rörstrand, Incorporated, New York)	Early 1951
<i>Modern Swedish Book Designers</i>	Spring 1951
<i>Thorsten Lindberg Exhibition of Paintings</i>	September 1951
<i>Orrefors Glass</i> (in cooperation with Wanamakers, Philadelphia)	November 1951
<i>Phoebe Erickson, Illustrations for Children's Books and Roger Tory Peterson, Paintings from "Birds of America"</i>	March 1952
<i>27th Annual Swedish American Art Exhibition</i> (sponsored by the Swedish Club of Chicago)	May 1952
<i>Modern Swedish Bookbinding</i> (sponsored by the Swedish Institute)	November 1953
<i>Yngve Sederberg, Swedish American Painter</i>	January-February 1954
<i>Prince Eugen, 50 Paintings in Gouache</i> (sponsored by the American Scandinavian Foundation)	April 1954
<i>Swedish Map Collection of Thorsten Hanson, Chicago</i> (sponsored by the Swedish American Line)	Summer 1954
<i>Arts and Crafts by Schoolchildren in Sweden</i> (assembled by Selma Jacobson, Chicago)	November-January 1955
<i>Swedish American Art from the Collection</i>	February-March 1955
<i>Rosa Lie Johansson</i> (from the collection of Mrs. Albin Werngren)	Spring 1955
<i>Tapestries Depicting Great Moments in American History</i> (created by Mrs. Wendell Holmes, Indianapolis, Indiana)	May 1958
<i>Paintings by John Hultberg and Enamels by Paul Hultberg</i> (in participation with the Philadelphia Arts Festival)	January 21-February 15, 1959
<i>Robert Rydell Chapman, Oils and Watercolors</i>	March 7-31, 1959
<i>Marc C. Schoettle, Portraits and Still Lifes</i>	March 1960
<i>Zorn Etchings</i> (loan exhibition)	November-December 1960
<i>The Church in Sweden</i> (photographic essay sponsored by The Swedish Institute)	February 1962
<i>Sweden in Color by K.W. Gullers</i>	March 1963
<i>Technical and Engineering Skills in Form and Color</i>	March 1963
<i>Alfred Nobel and the Nobel Prizes</i> (panel exhibition)	1963-1964
<i>Carl Lindborg, Recent Paintings and Sculpture</i>	Spring 1964
<i>Rosa Lie Johansson, Oils, Lithographs and Works on Amate</i> (papyrus)	Spring 1965

<i>Swedish Artist Arvid Knoppel, Sculpture and Lithographs of Animal Life</i>	Spring 1966
<i>Sven Ohrvel Carlson, Oils, Watercolors and Drawings and Carol Carlson, Photographs</i>	April 1967
<i>Carl Sandburg Exhibit</i> (in cooperation with Mrs. Carl Sandburg And her brother photographer Edward Steichen)	March 1968
<i>Sweden Today</i> (sponsored by the Swedish Information Service)	March-April 1969
<i>Prints in Progress, 40 Silkscreens</i> (sponsored by the Print Club, Philadelphia)	November 1969
<i>100 Years of Swedish Prints</i> (arranged by the Swedish Graphic Society in cooperation with the National Museum, Stockholm, and the Swedish National Committee for Contemporary Art Exhibitions Abroad)	November 1969
<i>Swedish Drinking Vessels</i> (assembled by the Nordic Museum)	Spring 1970
<i>Etchings by Anders Zorn</i> (83 etchings donated by Mrs. De Brun)	Spring 1970
<i>The First Swedes, Depicting Sweden's History from Pre-historic Times To the Viking Era</i> (sponsored by the Swedish Information Service)	Spring 1971
<i>An Exhibition of Swedish Copper from the Alva Graaf Harris Collection</i>	November 1972
<i>Lapp Exhibition</i> (assembled by the Swedish Institute)	Opened June 10, 1973
<i>Wanda Norstrom Memorial Exhibition</i>	Spring 1975
<i>Dalmålningar</i>	February 7-March 7, 1976
<i>Carl Linnaeus, 1707-1778</i>	Opened November 1978
<i>Brit I. Haglid, Paintings</i>	Opened November 1979
<i>Seventeen Icelandic Graphic Artists</i>	Opened May 21, 1981
<i>Karin Olsson, Contemporary Swedish Artist</i>	July 10-August 31, 1981
<i>Mona Starfelt Exhibition</i>	November 1981
<i>Lima, 1880-1938: A Photographic Exhibition</i>	January 25-March 15, 1982
<i>Swedish Crystal, Orrefors and Kosta Boda</i>	May 2-June 26, 1982
<i>New Dimensions in Swedish Architecture</i>	October 27-December 1, 1982
<i>1000 A.D.: Vikings in America (L'Anse Aux Meadow)</i>	December 28, 1982-February 12, 1983
<i>Swedish Graphics</i> (sponsored by Scandinavia Today)	March 15-April 15, 1983
<i>Tradition in Textiles, from the Collection</i>	July-September 1983
<i>Paintings and Sculpture by Finnish Artist Antero Kare</i> (sponsored by Scandinavia Today)	October 1983-January 1984

<i>Treasures from the Fine Arts Collection</i>	March-May 1984
<i>Photographs from Sweden, 1893-1914, by Anton Blomberg</i>	July-August 1984
<i>Life in the Country, Paintings by Per-Olof Olsson</i>	September 4-October 31, 1984
<i>Peter Dahl, "Fredman's Epistel"</i>	January 8-March 2, 1985
<i>B.J.O. Nordfeldt: An American Expressionist</i>	March-May 1985
<i>Hans Hedberg, Ceramic Sculpture</i>	May 17-September 14, 1985
<i>Sin Berg, Black and White, 1976-1981</i>	March 7-May 31, 1986
<i>Stockholm 1897, Photographic Exhibit</i>	Summer 1986
<i>Sweden by Hand, Textiles from the Museum's Collection</i>	October-December 1986
<i>From Swedish Fairy Tales to American Fantasy: Gustaf Tenggren's Illustrations, 1920-1970</i> (touring exhibition, University of Minnesota)	May 21-June 30, 1987
<i>The Sculpture and Drawings of Carl Milles</i>	February 4-March 17, 1988
<i>The Fabric of a Friendship</i>	March 11-April 9, 1988
<i>Inside the Human Body: Photographs by Lennart Nilsson</i>	March 30-September 15, 1988
<i>"In the Scent of the Rose," Paintings by Gun-Britt Lawurn</i>	February 26-April 17, 1988
<i>The Life and Work of Emanuel Swedenborg</i>	Summer 1988
<i>Philip von Schantz</i>	September 23-October 27, 1988
<i>A Woman Alone, Images of Garbo, Paintings by Thomas Dellert</i>	1988
<i>Panel Exhibit on the WASA</i>	Fall 1988
<i>Sweden and America 1638-1988: A History Celebrated</i>	November 18-December 23, 1988
<i>Three Delaware Valley Artists</i>	January 26-April 22, 1989
<i>The Art of Lennart Jirlow</i>	May 21-September 1, 1989
<i>Raoul Wallenberg: One Can Make a Difference and We Celebrate Our Past: Fifty Years of Photographs of the Swedish American Historical Museum</i>	October 4, 1989-May 23, 1990
<i>Helena Hernmarck: Tapestries</i>	November 7, 1990-February 3, 1991
<i>The Swedish Textile Tradition</i>	March 14-September 2, 1991
<i>Selections from the Art Collection</i>	September 22-October 20, 1991
<i>"Me Photographer! Works by Gus Peterson</i>	November 3, 1991-January 19, 1992
<i>Etchings by Anders Zorn</i>	February 6-May 3, 1992

<i>Ulla Wachtmeister: A Retrospective</i>	September 19-October 17, 1993
<i>Cecile Johnson: Sports Illustrator</i>	October 28, 1993-February 27, 1994
<i>Royal Artists of Sweden</i>	March 12-May 15, 1994
<i>Engravings: Swedish Royalty</i>	November 13, 1994-March 31, 1995
<i>Elof Olofsson: Local Photographer</i>	April 20-August 27, 1995
<i>The Vikings: Master Mariners, Traders, Colonists and Artisans</i>	September 18-December 31, 1995
<i>The Saami: People of the Sun and Wind</i>	January 18-April 28, 1996
<i>Books are Bridges, Swedish Children's Book Exhibit</i> (Jubilee Emigrants and Immigrants, 1846-1996)	May 1-31, 1996
<i>Stockholm, Midsummer Light, Photographs by Kent Bailey</i>	June 9-August 18, 1996
<i>Voices from Our Swedish Past, Memories and Mementos</i>	September 29-December 1, 1996
<i>Traditions: from Easter Witches to Christmas Tomte</i>	December 20, 1996-August 24, 1997
<i>Alfred J. Pfaff, Photographer: A Retrospective</i>	September 17, 1997-January 4, 1998
<i>Swedish Organizations in America: Then and Now</i>	February 19-August 23, 1998
<i>With Hired Car and Camera: Through Dalarna in 1910</i>	September 20, 1998-January 31, 1999
<i>Dag Hammarskjöld</i>	September 25-October 25, 1998
<i>Textile Awakenings</i> (Philadelphia Guild of Handweavers 45 th Annual Exhibition)	February 21-April 3, 1999
<i>Three Delaware Valley Artists: Britt Haglid, Barbro Jernberg</i> <i>And Adelaide Sundin</i>	April 22-August 29, 1999
<i>Sin Berg, Paintings and Collages</i>	September 19, 1999-January 9, 2000
<i>Gloria Dei, 300 Years</i>	February 6-April 30, 2000
<i>Printed Identity, Printmaker Svenrobert Lundquist and Printmakers</i> <i>From the Crossing Over Consortium</i> (sponsored by the Lower East Side Printshop, New York; Pyramid Atlantic, Riverdale, Maryland and The Rutgers Cnter for Innovative Print and Paper)	May 14-August 27, 2000
<i>Scandinavian Roots/American Lives and the Land, the Path, the</i> <i>Stitches Back</i>	September 17, 2000-January 14, 2001
<i>Memories and Visions: The American Swedish Historical</i> <i>Museum at 75 Years</i>	March 3-October 28, 2001

APPENDIX C: SWEDISH –AMERICAN ARTISTS' INDEX

Gerda Ahlm (1869-1956). Born in Västerås, Västmanland, Ahlm studied at the Free Art Academy in Stockholm from 1889-1891 and later studied etching with A. Tallberg in 1896. She made numerous study trips to France, Germany, Italy, England and Belgium before immigrating to Chicago in 1903. She showed her paintings in the annual exhibitions of the Art Institute of Chicago from 1905-1906, and was one of the first women to show in the Swedish-American art exhibitions of 1905, 1911, 1912. She exhibited work sporadically after that period until 1953. Her work is in the collection of Riksföreningen Sverigekontakt, Gothenburg.

Dewey Albinson (1898-1871). The son of Swedish immigrants to Minneapolis, Albinson studied at the Minneapolis School of Art from 1915-1919, in Woodstock, New York in 1919, and the Art Students League from 1919-1921. Views of the St. Croix River valley, the landscape in the Grand Portage area of Lake Superior, and Swede Hollow in St. Paul filled canvases in the twenties and thirties. After study trips to Italy and Canada, Albinson returned to Minnesota in the 1940s, but left to paint for the remainder of his life in New Jersey, then Florida, and finally Mexico. His work is in the collections of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts and the American Swedish Institute in Minneapolis, among others.

Peter Magnus (Adamsson) Almini (1825-1890). Born in Rossmark, Mellangård, Jönköpingslän, Almini worked for six years as a decorative painter in Stockholm where he worked on the royal palace before immigrating in 1852 to Chicago. There he set up a decorative painting business firm, Jevne and Almini in 1855 which existed until 1917, and also opened a small art gallery while serving as one of the directors of the newspaper *Svenska Amerikanaren*.

Anders Aldrin (1889-1970). Born in Stjernfors, Värmland, Aldrin immigrated to Chicago in 1911, continuing to work as a laborer in Chicago and Minneapolis until World War I, where he served in France. Recuperating in army hospitals after contracting tuberculosis, he attended the Otis Art Institute (1923-1927), Los Angeles, the Santa Barbara School of the Arts from 1927-1930; and the California School of Fine Arts in San Francisco in 1929. His color-ridden canvases and watercolors were shown in galleries in California, with the high point of his career an entry in the "American Painting Today" exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in 1950, and an exhibition in Hagfors, Sweden, in 1952.

Carl Oscar Anderson (1873- 1953). Born in Gotland, Anderson immigrated to America in 1891, studying at the Connecticut League of Art Students under Charles Noel Flagg. He settled in Gloucester, Massachusetts, where he painted seascapes for private collectors and murals in Gloucester's Hovey School and the town hall of Manchester, Connecticut. He was a member of the Connecticut Academy of Fine Arts, and exhibited work at the Wadsworth Atheneum in 1912 and 1914, among other galleries and museums.

Ture (Eric Algot) Bengtz (1907--1983). A native of the Åland Islands in Finland, Bengtz immigrated to America in 1927 and attended the school of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. A printmaker and painter, he made study trips to Europe, including Sweden and Finland, during the 1930s and headed the drawing and graphic arts departments at the school of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. His work is in the collections of the Boston Public Library, the Berkshire Museum in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Frank (Frans) Wilhelm Berger (1831-1916). Born in Stockholm, Berger studied in Hamburg, Berlin, Vienna, and Paris before immigrating to America in 1871. Initially settling in New York, then Philadelphia, he moved to Chicago in 1881, to Minneapolis in 1883, and St. Paul in 1901. Berger taught drawing and sculpture at Central High School in Minneapolis.

Adolf Viktor Bernström (1845-1907). A native of Stockholm, Bernström was trained as an illustrator and painter at the Royal Academy. After working in London from 1868-1871, he immigrated to New York where he worked for Harper and Brothers until 1881, then moved to Buffalo, and finally Chicago. He exhibited an American landscape at the Swedish Art Academy exhibition in 1873, and at the 1893 Worlds Columbian Exposition, and the Universal Exposition in St. Louis in 1904.

Fredrik B. Blombergson (1826-1900). Born in Söderhamn or in Bergsjö, Blombergson was a landscape painter in his native Sweden before he immigrated to settle in Chicago from 1868-1873. He returned to Söderhamn in 1873 because his detailed, almost photographically-realistic canvases did not sell in Chicago, according to Ernst W. Olson in a *History of the Swedes of Illinois* (1908).

Lars Axel Blombergson (1841-1879). A cousin of Fredrik B. Blombergson, Lars Blombergson was also born in Söderhamn, where his father trained him to be a painter. He immigrated to Moline, Illinois in 1868, where he worked as an interior decorator on many Swedish-American churches until his death.

Carl Oscar Borg (1879-1947). Born in Grinstad parish, Älvsborg County, Borg was apprenticed to a decorative painter and lived in Stockholm and London before immigrating to California. In San Francisco his patrons were wealthy cultural leaders, among them Phoebe Hearst who encouraged him to document the lives of the Hopi and Navajo and to paint the scenery of the Southwest. Working on Hollywood scene designs from 1925-1930, Borg moved back to Sweden in 1939, living in Gothenburg as a part of its academic and cultural circle. He exhibited work in Gothenburg and Stockholm before returning to Santa Barbara in 1945. His work is in the collection of Riksföreningen Sverigekontakt, Gothenburg, among others.

John F. Carlson (1874-1945). Carlson, who was born in Kolvebro, Småland, immigrated first to Brooklyn, then Buffalo, New York with his family in 1887. Winning a scholarship to the Art Students League of New York, he later studied at Woodstock, headed the Woodstock summer program of the Art Students League from 1911-1918,

the Broadmoor School of Art in Colorado Springs from 1921-1922, and the John F. Carlson School of Landscape Painting, in Woodstock from 1923 through the early 1940s. Carlson won first prizes at the Swedish American artists exhibitions of 1911 and 1913, continuing to exhibit regularly with the group through 1929. His work is in the collections of the National Museum of American Art in Washington, D.C. and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, among others. He published *Elementary Principles of Landscape Painting*, 1929, which was reprinted through 1973 as *Carlson's Guide to Landscape Painting*.

Oscar Edward Cesare (1883-1948). The cartoonist, born in Linköping, studied in Paris, then immigrated first to Chicago where he worked as an illustrator for newspapers, then to New York where he drew cartoons and illustrations for *The World*, *The Sun*, *The Evening Post*, and *The New York Times*. His sketch of and interview with Lenin in 1922, appearing in *The New York Times Magazine*, was a highpoint of his career.

Fritiof Colling (Fritiof Gabriel Carlson) (1863-1944). Colling changed his name shortly after immigrating to Minneapolis in 1880 from Kollinge in Småland. Primarily self-trained, the artist financed eight trips back to Sweden between 1885 and 1902 by advertising that he painted childhood homes of Minnesota's Swedish immigrants for five dollars per image, the Minnesota version of the Swedish farmstead painters. He wrote humorous essays in *Mister Colesons Sverigeresor* (1896, 1908); *Der Igen* (1899), and *I Sverige och Amerika* (1906). Reimmigrating to Sweden in 1904, he edited the *Hjö Tidning*.

Gustaf Oscar Johannes Dalstrom (1893-1971). Born in Roma, Gotland, Dalstrom immigrated to America with an older sister. After fighting in World War I, he returned to Chicago to study at the Art Institute of Chicago under American painter George Bellows and made study trips to Europe in the late 1920s. His landscapes, shown in the Swedish-American exhibition in the Gothenburg Jubilee of 1923, are in the collection of the Smålandsmuseum in Växjö.

David Edström (1873-1938). Born in Dalsheda, Småland, Edström immigrated with his family to Paxton, Illinois, then to Ottumawa, Iowa. He returned to Sweden to study at a technical school, then the Royal Academy in 1896. A protégé of Swedish collector Ernst Thiel, he sculpted expressionistic portraits of the human condition. He exhibited with the Swedish section of the Scandinavian Art Exhibition that toured America in 1912-1913 but returned to America in 1915, finally settling in Los Angeles after 1920. He published the autobiographical *The Testament of Caliban* in 1937. His work is in the collection of the Thielska Gallery, Stockholm, as well as the Art Museum of the University of Iowa, among others.

(Axel) David Eriksson (1869-1946). The painter David Eriksson was born in Motala, in Östergötland, immigrating with his parents to Duluth in 1873. He left in 1887 to study at the Art Students League in New York, working under the American landscape and portrait painter William Merritt Chase. In 1900 he moved to England to study with James McNeill Whistler, then established studios in Paris, New York, and Provincetown

during the 1920s through 1940s. He returned to Duluth in 1946 where he taught at the Duluth Art Institute. His paintings are in the collections of the Tweed Museum, Duluth, and the American Swedish Institute, Minneapolis.

Elmer A. Forsberg (1883--). Born in Gamlakarleby, Forsberg immigrated to Chicago, where he studied and later became a professor at the Art Institute of Chicago in the area of illustration and drawing. His work is in the collection of the Art Institute of Chicago.

August Franzén (1863-1938). Born in Drothem parish, outside of Söderköping, Franzén immigrated to Portland, Oregon in 1881, then intermittently settled in New York, San Francisco, New Orleans and Chicago, where he studied at the Art Institute of Chicago. He left for Sweden in 1885, where he probably studied with the Swedish painter Carl Larsson at the Valand School of Art in Gothenburg, then studied in Paris with academic master Dagnan Bouveret. After immigrating to New York in 1890, he secured a studio in Carnegie Hall where he painted numerous portrait commissions, among them former President William Howard Taft (1913), and successfully entered works in National Academy exhibitions. His work is in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the City of New York Historical Museum.

Charles Vilhelm Friberg (Fribert) (1868--). A sculptor, Friberg was born in Malmö, studied at the art academy in Gothenburg from 1886-1890, then at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris before immigrating to America in 1895. While he lived in Chicago in the late 1890s, he exhibited work at the Art Institute of Chicago and the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and created a silver statue given to King Oscar II to celebrate the anniversary of his reign. While in New York, he was part of a circle that included Henry Reuterdaahl, August Franzén, and Arvid Nyholm. Returning to Paris in 1904, he completed commissions for the Wennerberg monument in Uppsala and the Nya Bank in Stockholm.

Frederick Trap Friis (1865-1909). Friis, born in Malmö, studied at the Art Academy in Copenhagen, then later in Munich, Vienna, and Paris. Influenced by Impressionist art, Friis immigrated to New York, where he studied at the Art Students League in 1890-91. He settled in New Bedford, Massachusetts where he made a living as an illustrator for the Taber-Prang company, although he did not show work in recognized galleries or exhibitions. He lived and painted in Italy and Paris from 1906-1909.

Agnes Valborg Fromen (1868--). Born in Ringarum, Valdemarsvik, Östergötland, Fromen studied sculpture in Austria and Paris, then at the Art Institute of Chicago, where she studied with sculptor Lorado Taft. She exhibited in the Panama-Pacific exhibition in San Francisco and won a prize from the Chicago Municipal League for a marble fountain purchased by the Art Institute of Chicago. Her work is in the collection of Hyde Park Church, Chicago and Forest Lawn Cemetery, Omaha.

Emil Gelhaar (1861-1934). Gelhaar, born in Gävle, studied in Stockholm and Paris before immigrating to America in 1890. He taught art in the Moravian Seminary and

Academy and at Lehigh University in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania while actively exhibiting work in the Swedish-American art exhibitions through 1924. His work is owned by North Park College, by Smålandsmuseum in Växjö, and by Lehigh University.

Jonas Olof Grafström (1855-1933). Born in Attmar, Medelpad, Grafström studied at the Royal Academy of Art along with Anders Zorn, Bruno Liljefors and Richard Bergh. He became known as the painter of landscapes from Norrland and Dalarna before he immigrated to Portland, Oregon in 1886. After moving to Spokane, he settled in Lindsborg, Kansas, heading the art department at Bethany College. From 1897-1927 he taught at Augustana College in Rock Island, Illinois, while operating an altarpainting business on the side for numerous Swedish-Lutheran churches throughout the country. He returned to his home parish in 1927. His work is in the collections of Sundsvall Museum, Sundsvall, Sweden, and Augustana College.

Karl (Charles) Oskar Haag (1867-1933). A sculptor who often depicted working people, Haag, born in Norrköpping, worked as a laborer, then an apprentice to a potter before studying at the technical arts school in Gothenburg. Traveling to Stockholm, then Switzerland, Haag settled in Paris to study before he immigrated to New York in 1903. Besides a fountain in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, his work is in the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the American Swedish Historical Museum, Philadelphia, and Augustana College, Rock Island, Illinois.

Thomas Hall (1883--). Hall, born in Kyrkhult, Blekinge, immigrated to America in 1901. He studied at the Art Institute of Chicago, became a member of the Society of Independent Artists, and painted landscapes of the Illinois area and the New England states, exhibiting them in the Swedish-American art exhibitions, and the annual exhibitions of the Art Institute of Chicago.

Carl Svante Hallbeck (1826-1897). Born in Gothenburg, Hallbeck studied at the Art Academy in Copenhagen from 1846-1851, then in Stockholm before immigrating to New York in 1888, then Boston in 1890, where he worked as an illustrator for several publications.

Charles Hallberg (1855-1940). A native of Gothenburg, Hallberg worked fourteen years as a sailor before immigrating to America in 1883. There he worked as a sailor on the Great Lakes, and finally settling in Chicago in 1887. Self taught as a painter of seascapes, he made a living as a janitor. Encouraged by the painters Anders Zorn and Alexander Harrison, he gave up his jobs to work on his paintings from 1904. A founding member of the Swedish-American Artists exhibitions, he also exhibited work at the Art Institute of Chicago's annual exhibitions 33 times through 1927.

Carl Emil Hallsthammar (1894--). Studying summers with Anders Zorn in Mora, the native of Berg, Västmanland, immigrated to Chicago in 1923 where he studied at the Art Institute of Chicago. His sculpture is in the genre of the Döderhultaren. He taught privately at his own studio, the Hallsthammar Academy in Hartford.

Fritz Emanuel Hammargren (1892--). Born in Örebro, Hammargren studied in Gothenburg, then traveled to study in Italy and France. He immigrated to Hartford, Connecticut in 1923, and exhibited his sculpture at the Brooklyn Museum, the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, and the National Academy of Design among others.

Sven August Knut (Knut) Heldner (1877-1952). A native of Vederslöv parish, Heldner immigrated to Duluth 1906 where he worked as a stone cutter, a logger, and a shoemaker. Studying for a short time at the Minneapolis School of Art, Heldner won a gold medal at the 1914 Minnesota State Fair, as well as a prize for a work in the 1924 Swedish-American art exhibition. Although he returned to Sweden in 1929 and exhibited work at Gummesons art gallery in Stockholm, he went back to live and paint in New Orleans and occasionally returned to Duluth to teach until his death.

Bessie Maria Regina Helström (1874--). Born in Vist, Västergötland, Helström studied art in Sweden before immigrating to America in 1896, where she studied at both the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn and the Fine Arts Academy in Chicago. Settling in Chicago, she exhibited in the Swedish-American art exhibitions in Chicago as well as the annual exhibitions of the Art Institute in 1910, 1912, and 1925.

Gustavus Hesselius (1682-1755). Descended from a family of clergy and theologians, Hesselius was born in Falun, Dalarna. Although no records exist, he probably studied painting in Stockholm before immigrating to the Swedish colony established at Christiana, now Wilmington, Delaware, with his brother in 1712. Possibly the earliest professionally trained painter in the American colonies, Hesselius painted portraits of leaders of the Middle Colonies and a *Last Supper* for St. Barnabas parish church in St. George's County, Maryland in 1721, probably the earliest commissioned work in the colonies. His work is in the collection of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Gus Higgins (Gustaf Henning Lindström) (1863-1909). Higgins, who was born in Stockholm, studied at the Art Academy there before he immigrated to America in 1879. He settled in Chicago in 1885 and worked as a cartoonist and illustrator for *The Chicago Tribune*, among other publications, participating in a lively group of Swedish-American writers and artists in the 1880s and 1890s. He claimed to be the only Swedish-American to exhibit a work in the Swedish pavilion in the 1904 world's fair in St. Louis. Higgins moved to McKeesport, Pennsylvania shortly after the turn of the century.

Henrik Ferdinand Hillbom (1863-1948). Born in Ekolsund, Uppland, Hillbom studied with goldsmith Otto Lindeberg at the technical school in Stockholm, then immigrated to New York where he worked for the Whitney Manufacturing Company. He left to study painting with Benjamin Constant in Paris, but returned to New York to do illustrations for *Harper's Weekly*, and later to work as a designer of silver for the Wallace Manufacturing Company in Wallingford, Connecticut. A painting is in the collection of Smålandsmuseum in Växjö.

J. Lars Hoftrup (1874-1954). Hoftrup in Skåne was the birthplace of J. Lars Hoftrup. Hoftrup immigrated to a farm in New York in 1881 but left to study at Cooper

Union Art School and later made study journeys to paint landscapes in Canada, France, and North Africa. His work has been shown in exhibitions at the Phillips Collection, Washington, D.C. and at the Brooklyn Museum.

Oscar Brousse Jacobson (1882-1966). Born in Västra Eknö, near Västervik, Kalmarlän, Jacobson immigrated with his family to Kansas in 1890. He graduated from Bethany College where he was a pupil of Birger Sandzen, then completed graduate work at Yale. He taught at Minnesota College, Minneapolis, and Washington State at Pullman before he made a study trip to Paris in 1914. In 1915 he joined the faculty at the University of Oklahoma in Norman, where he became director of the School of Art and the Museum of Art until his retirement in 1945. During the summer of 1924 he served as the director of the Broadmoor Art Academy in Colorado Springs (a position held by John F. Carlson in 1921-1922 and Birger Sandzen in 1923), and directed the Federal Arts Projects in Oklahoma during the Depression.

Alfred Jansson (1863-1931). Snow scenes from Värmland were Jansson's forte. Born in Kil, Värmland, Jansson studied art in both Stockholm and Oslo before immigrating to America in 1889. Working on fresco decorations for the official Swedish pavilion at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition, he settled in Chicago to paint scenes of Illinois and Swedish landscapes which were shown in exhibitions at the Art Institute of Chicago, the National Academy of Design in New York, and the Panama-Pacific Exposition, among others. Active in exhibitions of Swedish-American artists until his death, Jansson was a charter member of the Swedish-American Art Association.

Raymond Jonson (Johnson) (1891-1982). Although a second generation Swedish-American and born in Chariton, Iowa, Jonson exhibited with the Swedish-American artists and was a student and colleague of painter B.J.O. Nordfeldt, with whom he studied at the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts. Along with Nordfeldt, he designed sets for the experimental Chicago Little Theater but settled in Santa Fe, then Albuquerque, New Mexico where he painted expressionistic views of the countryside and later color abstractions. He taught at the University of New Mexico and headed the Jonson Gallery there which owns a collection of his paintings.

Charles Anton Kaeselau (1889--). Born in Stockholm, Kaeselau worked as an illustrator for *Idun* before studying in London at the Kensington School of Art. He later traveled to Germany, Switzerland, and Algiers before studying at the Academie Julian in Paris. He immigrated to America in 1908, then studied at the Art Institute of Chicago (1911-1915) and in Provincetown (1915-1916) under the American painter Charles Hawthorne. He settled permanently in Provincetown in 1922, establishing his own school. His work was shown in exhibitions at the Art Institute of Chicago, the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C., and the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, among others.

Olof Krans (1838-1916). Krans, born on a farm in Nora Parish, Uppland, immigrated with his parents in 1850 to follow the religious leader Erik Jansson who traveled from Biskopskulla to establish the colony of Bishop Hill in Galva, Illinois. After fighting in the Civil War, he settled in Galva where he painted signs, colored photographs, and did

decorative marbelling. Krans completed canvases recalling Bishop Hill's early days for the Bishop Hill jubilee in 1896. His works are in the museum at Bishop Hill.

Ava Hedvig Gustava Lagercrantz (1862-1938). The daughter of naval vice-admiral Jakob Reinhold Lagercrantz, Ava Lagercrantz was born in Karlskrona. From 1885-1889 she studied in Paris under Jule Lefebvre and Benjamin Constant, then left Paris in 1903 to establish a studio in New York, where she specialized in portrait miniatures. In 1908 she was invited back to Sweden to paint a miniature of Oscar II but after completing the commission returned to New York, where she set up her studio in Carnegie Hall. She worked in New York for over twenty years before she settled in Paris.

Jean Le Veau (1849-). A sculptor, Le Veau was born in Malmö, and helped his parents who manufactured kakelugns before he left to study with Danish sculptor Ferdinand Ring. He immigrated to San Francisco in 1894, then established his own ceramic workshop in Chicago from 1905 where he specialized in portraiture.

Carl Olof Eric Lindin (1869-1942). Born in Åsbro, Västmanland, Lindin immigrated to Chicago in 1887 where he worked as a sign painter. From approximately 1893-1897 he studied in Paris with academic masters Jean Paul Laurens, Edmond-François Aman-Jean, and Benjamin Constant, but returned to Chicago in 1898 and mounted a traveling exhibition of his tonalist landscapes in 1899 which toured to the Art Institute of Chicago, the St. Louis Museum of Art, and the Detroit Museum of Fine Arts. In 1902 he joined the Brydcliffe arts and crafts colony in Woodstock, New York. Although he traveled back to Chicago in 1911, where he exhibited work at the Art Institute, he resided in Woodstock for the rest of his life, helping to found and headed the Woodstock Art Association. His work is in the collections of the Woodstock Historical Society, Bard College, Annandale, New York, and the Springville Museum, Springville, Utah.

Thorsten Harold Lindberg (1878-1950). Born in Stockholm, Lindberg studied art at a technical school in Stockholm before he immigrated to Chicago in 1901, then moved to Minneapolis in 1909 where he taught at the University of Minnesota until he moved to Omaha, then finally Milwaukee.

Axel J.G. Lindahl (1872-1943). Lindahl, born in Stockholm, trained at a technical school of art in Stockholm from 1892-1895 before he immigrated to America in 1902 where he worked as a theatrical backdrop painter and newspaper illustrator in Minneapolis. His work is in collections at the American Swedish Institute, Minneapolis, and Riksföreningen Sverigekontakt, Gothenburg.

Axel Linus (1885--1980). Born in Norrbyås, Närke, Linus initially studied at the Örebro technical school, then at the Royal Academy in Stockholm from 1905-1910. He studied in Paris at the Academie Colarossi then returned to Sweden where he painted portraits and landscapes. In 1920 he immigrated to Chicago, where he worked as a commercial artist, portraitist, and altarpainter. He exhibited work in the Swedish-American art exhibitions in the 1920s, eventually settling in Palm Springs, California.

Arvid Löfgren (1880-1932). A pupil at the Free art academy in Stockholm, Löfgren immigrated to America in 1901, settling in Altoona, Pennsylvania where he worked as a decorative painter and designer of silver.

Carl Theofil Gustafson Lotave (1872-1924). A native of Jönköping, Lotave studied first in Jönköping, then in Stockholm at the school of the Opponents under Anders Zorn and Richard Bergh in 1891. He immigrated to Lindsborg, Kansas in 1897 where he taught at Bethany college, then moved to Colorado springs, and to New York where he painted portraits and illustrated magazines.

Martin Lundgren (1871-). Born in Hörup, Skåne, into an artistic family, Lundgren initially apprenticed as a decorative painter. He immigrated to Chicago in 1891, enrolling at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1904-1908. He worked as a mural painter, designing works for the state capitol at Columbus, Ohio, among other commissions. He also exhibited at the Art Institute of Chicago and with the Swedish-American artists' exhibitions.

Leon Lundmark (1875- 1942). A marine painter, Lundmark was born in Mörlunda, Kalmarlän. He studied decorative painting at a technical school in Stockholm, and immigrated to Chicago in 1906. His paintings of the Great Lakes and the sea were shown in the J.W. Young Gallery in Chicago, among others, and his work is in the collections of Smålandsmuseum, Växjö, and Riksföreningen Sverigekontakt, Gothenburg.

Fernand Lungren (1859-1932). A descendent of 17th century Swedish settlers to Maryland, Lungren studied under Thomas Eakins at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and at the Academie Julie. He worked as an illustrator for *Scribners' Monthly* and *Harpers*. His work is in the Collection of the Art Institute of Chicago.

Gustav Natanael Malm (1869-1928). Born in Svarttorp, Jönköping, Malm immigrated to Omaha, Nebraska in 1889 where he worked as a journalist. He studied art from 1894-1896 at Bethany College, and established a decorative painting business with his brother in Lindsborg. Along with Birger Sandzen, he exhibited landscapes with the Smoky Hill River Valley area motif. He wrote plays *Härute* (1919) and *Charli Johnson, svensk-amerikan* (1909) which examined the cultural environment of early immigrants.

Henry Mattson (1887-1971). A native of Gothenburg, Mattson immigrated to Boston in 1905, then settled in Worcester, Massachusetts, drawn by its large Scandinavian population. Studying at the Worcester School of Art evenings, Mattson worked at a factory job during the day. After an unsuccessful bid to enter the Valand School of Art in Gothenburg, he settled in Chicago in 1915, then studied with John F. Carlson at Woodstock where he settled permanently. Although primarily self-trained, Mattson's work was carried by the Frank M. Rehn Gallelry in New York and was elected a member of the National Academy of Design. Mattson entered paintings successfully in Corcoran Biennials and Whitney Museum of American Art annual exhibitions.

Carl Gustaf Nelson (1898-1988). A painter whose focus was color and content landscapes, Nelson immigrated with his family to Sioux City, Iowa in 1903. He studied at the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts from 1920-1921, then at the Art Students League from 1923-1927. He taught at the American Peoples School of New York, and finally at the Boston YWCA until 1968. His work was exhibited at the Carnegie International, the Whitney Museum Biennials, and the Art Institute of Chicago, among others. In 1968 his art and studio on Cranberry Island, Maine, were the subjects for a short film, *Of Endless Wonder*.

Carl Johan Nilsson (1867-1940). Born in Uppsala, Nilsson studied with the sculptor Oscar Berg, then at the Academy of Free Art in Stockholm from 1891-1896. After making study tours of France, Italy, Russia, and England, Nilsson immigrated to Boston in 1899, exhibited work in Boston and St. Louis before settling in Chicago in 1905. One of the founders and first exhibitors in the Swedish-American Art Association's 1905 exhibition in Chicago, he sculpted portraits of Oscar II August Strindberg, and fellow emigres Ernst Skarstedt, and John Enander, among others.

Gustaf Nordblom (1869-1927) The portrait artist Gustaf Nordblom, born in Varberg, studied art in Paris, married Swedish artist Ebba Stoopendaal and moved with her to the Alaskan Klondike region during its gold rush in the 1890s in order to sketch the lives of the miners. Returning to Sweden, where he attempted unsuccessfully to head a factory, he reimmigrated to America, residing in New York where he made a living as a portraitist.

Olle Nordmark (1890---). Born in Mockfjärds parish in Dalarna, Nordmark studied first with his father, then with Gustav Ankarcrone, a carriage painter, and finally at a technical school in Stockholm where he trained in fresco painting. While painting murals and doing decorative painting for private homes and churches in Sweden, Nordmark also studied theatrical painting and stage design in Moscow. He returned to Stockholm to work on murals for private homes and set designs for theater and ballet companies. Immigrating to America in 1924, he painted murals in fresco for private commissions in New York. During the Depression, he taught mural painting to various Native American artists under the government's Bureau of Indian Affairs from 1938-1943. Among other commissions, his decorative work is in the American Swedish Historical Museum in Philadelphia. He wrote *Modern Methods and Techniques for Painting in Fresco and Secco* (1947).

Carl Nordell (1885-1957). Although born in Copenhagen, Nordell was of Swedish background. Settling in Gloucester, his paintings of people and landscapes were exhibited at the National Academy of Design, the Corcoran Biennials, the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, and numerous galleries in New York. He won a medal in the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915.

B.J.O. Nordfeldt (1878-1955). Nordfeldt, born in Tullstorp, Skåne, immigrated to Chicago with his parents in 1891. While studying at the Art Institute of Chicago, he worked on the weekly newspaper *Hemlandet*. In 1900, he helped paint murals for the

World's Fair in Paris, then studied woodblock printing in Oxford, and in 1902 moved to his grandmother's home village in Jonstorp where he worked on woodblock prints. He returned to Chicago in 1908, taught at the Chicago Fine Arts Academy, then moved to Provincetown, Massachusetts where he invented a famous one-block system for multi-colored woodcuts. He moved to Santa Fe, New Mexico, then to Lambertville, New Jersey, painting views of landscape and sea. His work is in the collection of the National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C. and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, among others.

Arvid Nyholm (1866-1927). Born in Stockholm, Nyholm studied theatrical painting in Andreas Brolin's theatrical painting studio in Stockholm in 1887 along with Henry Reuterdahl, then as a colleague of Birger Sandzen studied at the Royal Academy from 1889-1891, and with Anders Zorn at the school of the Opponents in 1892. Birger Sandzen was a fellow student. He immigrated to New York in 1892, becoming a part of the circle of Swedish-American artists August Franzen, Charles Friberg, and Henry Reuterdahl. Settling in Chicago in 1903, he helped found the Swedish-American Artists Association and participated in their exhibitions through the 1920s, exhibiting primarily portraits. He showed work in the annual exhibitions of the Art Institute of Chicago and the National Academy of Design, among others.

Signe Rydin Palmblad (). Palmblad, who immigrated to America in 1896 from her native Stockholm, began to paint in middle age. She studied with Elmer Forsberg at the Art Institute of Chicago, then with Finnish visiting painter Akseli Gallen-Kallela. She exhibited work with Swedish-American artists exhibitions.

Erik Christopher (Henry) Peterson (1841-1918). Educated at the handicraft school in Brunkebergstorg, Sweden, then at the Royal Academy in Stockholm, Peterson immigrated to Chicago and served in the American Navy during the Civil War. He went on to study at the Académie Julian in Paris, returned to paint portraits in Chicago, then to teach at the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts. He left Chicago in 1886 to work in New York and Boston, but returned to live in Chicago in 1908.

Lydia Dorothea Pohl (1881-1946). Pohl immigrated to Brockton, Massachusetts, from Västergötland, Sweden with her family in 1881. She studied art at the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts and at the Art Institute of Chicago before becoming an art supervisor for the Chicago public schools in 1910. She exhibited watercolors at the Illinois Society of Fine Arts exhibitions, and studied at the Art Students League in New York during a sabbatical from teaching.

Frederick Remahl (1901-). Born in Hamburgsund, Bohuslän, Remdahl immigrated to Chicago in 1916. He studied at the Minneapolis School of Art, then in Paris from 1922-1923. He returned to Chicago and showed work nationally at the Corcoran Biennials and the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, among others.

Henry Reuterdahl (1870-1925). Reuterdahl, born in Malmö, studied in Andreas Brolin's theatrical painting studio in 1887 in Stockholm, along with Arvid Nyholm.

Hired by the Swedish newspaper *Svea*, he traveled to Chicago to do illustrations for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. He worked with August Franzen and Hugo von Hofsten on *The Chicago Graphic*, then settled in New York in 1896 to illustrate for *Harper's Weekly*, among other publications. During World War I he designed recruitment posters and painted naval battle scenes for the Department of the Navy. His work is in the collection of the National Museum of American Art, the United States Naval Academy, Riksföreningen Sverigekontakt, and Smålandsmuseum.

Carl Sigfrid Ringius (1879-1950). Ringius, born in Båstad, studied art and weaving at the school of arts and crafts in Lund. He immigrated to America in 1902, made a study tour to Europe in 1906, and settled in Hartford, Connecticut to paint the landscape of New England. He was one of the founders of the Connecticut Academy of Fine Arts in Hartford. His work is in the collection of Smålandsmuseum.

Peter Roos (1850-1919). A native of Lyngby, Skåne, Roos studied decorative painting in Kristianstad before immigrating to America in 1871. He studied art at the Massachusetts Normal School, then at the school of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Roos taught at the Boston Art Academy, the University of Illinois at Urbana from 1880-1889, then directed the art program in the Cambridge, Massachusetts' public schools until the time of his death.

Tory Ross (1875--). Ross, born in Gothenburg, immigrated to Chicago in 1891. After studying at the Art Institute of Chicago, he was active as a painter and member of various Chicago artists' clubs, including the Palette and Chisel Club. He exhibited work at the Art Institute of Chicago and with the Swedish-American art exhibitions. His work is in the collection of Smålandsmuseum.

Henning Rydén (1869-1938). An engraver in medal and a sculptor, Rydén, born in Blekinge, studied in Stockholm and Copenhagen before immigrating to America in 1891. He continued studies at the Art Institute of Chicago, in Paris, London, and Berlin. He settled in Chicago where he worked in sculpture and painted landscapes and exhibited work in the Swedish-American art exhibitions and at the Panama-Pacific Exposition of 1915 in San Francisco.

Sigrid Sallander (). Born in Styrösö, Sallander studied art at the Academy of Arts and Handicraft at Gothenburg. Immigrating in 1907 to Portland, Oregon, she opened an art studio and headed the art department of Pacific University in Portland for two years. She painted miniatures and religious works for area Lutheran churches.

Warner E. Sallman (1892-1968). Of Swedish and Finnish descent, Sallman, born in Chicago, studied commercial art at the Art Institute of Chicago. His portrait of Christ, completed for a February 1924 cover of *The Covenant Companion* was the basis for numerous depictions of Christ in Protestant churches and institutions.

Birger Sandzén (1871-1954). Born in Blidsberg, Västergötland, Sandzén studied at the University of Lund; then at the school of the Artists Federation in Stockholm under

Anders Zorn and Richard Bergh, and in Paris under Edmond-François Aman Jean before immigrating to Lindsborg, Kansas in 1894 to teach at Bethany College. He set up the first unofficial exhibition of Swedish-American art at Bethany in 1899, and participated in most of the Swedish-American exhibitions until his death. Writing extensively about both Swedish and American art in *Prärieblomman* in the early twentieth century, Sandzén taught not only at Bethany, but also in seminars in Kansas and directed the Broadmoor Art Academy from 1923-1924. His work is in collections in Sweden including Riksföreningen Sverigekontakt and Smålandsmuseum and in the Birger Sandzén Memorial Gallery in Lindsborg, Kansas.

Alfred A. Sederberg (1830-1977). Probably born in Värmland, Sederberg studied for some time in Dusseldorf, then immigrated to Redwing, Minnesota where he painted portraits and landscapes. His work is in the collection of the Minnesota Historical Society.

Lars Gustaf Sellstedt (1819-1911). The first of his ethnic group to be elected to the National Academy of Design in 1875, Sellstedt was born in Sundsvall and immigrated to America in 1834 where he worked as a sailor on the Great Lakes. He settled in Buffalo, New York in 1842, and although primarily self-taught, was the founder, director, and later president of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy. He published two books, *From Forecastle to Academy, Sailor and Artist* (1904), and *Art in Buffalo* (1910). His landscapes are in the collection of the Albright-Knox Gallery in Buffalo.

Carl Skoog (1878-1933). Born in Väse, Värmland, Skoog first studied at the Academy of Arts and Handicraft in Gothenburg, then after immigrating to Boston in 1902, at the school of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. A sculptor, he created a monument for soldiers slain in World War I in Cambridge, Massachusetts and figures for the John Morton Memorial Museum, predecessor to the American Swedish Historical Museum, in Philadelphia.

Bengt Söderman (1871-1897) Born in Stockholm into an artistic family, Söderman studied with Anders Zorn before moving to New York where he worked as a portrait artist. He died shortly after he returned to Sweden.

Carl Sprinchorn (1887-1971). Sprinchorn returned to his home in Broby, Skåne, three times during his life. He had immigrated to New York in 1903 to join a sister, and immediately entered the New York School of Art, studying under Robert Henri. After serving as Henri's school manager through 1910, Sprinchorn eventually settled in Monson, Maine to paint Swedish-speaking lumberjacks and the Maine forests. He later worked in New York, then returned to Maine to paint landscapes and figure paintings. Sprinchorn exhibited work in the Armory Show of 1913, in New York's Macbeth Gallery, among others, and in Swedish-American art exhibitions in 1920 and 1923 which traveled to Sweden. His work is in the collection of the Phillips Gallery, Washington, D.C., the Weisman Art Museum, University of Minnesota, the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and the Emigrant Institute, Växjö.

Axel Herman Staf (1868-) Staf, who trained at a technical school in Stockholm in ornamental sculpture, was born in Ransäter, Värmland. After studying in Germany, he immigrated to America in 1893, initially to visit the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. He worked for the Howard Sterling Company in Providence, Rhode Island, then for the Gorham Manufacturing Company in Providence, designing silver vessels. He later taught at the Rhode Island School of Design in Providence.

Wilhelm Johan Henrik Stoopendaal (1846-1906). Born in Mariestad, Stoopendaal immigrated to America in 1861 where he fought in the Civil War. After the war he returned to Sweden, but reimmigrated to live and paint in Connecticut in 1889. He was the brother-in-law of Swedish painter/illustrator Jenny Nyström Stoopendaal and the Swedish-American portraitist Carl Fredrik von Saltza.

Anna Alfrida Storm (1896- 1967). Storm studied painting under Arthur Wesley Dow at Columbia University after immigrating from Sweden. In the 1920s she lived in Evanston, Illinois, becoming active in the Chicago Society of Artists. She taught summer classes in art at the State Teachers College in Greeley, Colorado.

Carl E. Stromberg (1871--). Stromberg, born in Holmby, Skåne, studied decorative painting at the Malmö Technical School, where he later taught drawing and modelling. He immigrated to Rockford, Illinois, where he continued his work as a decorative painter.

Per Ersson Svedin (1830-1911). A painter in the tradition of the farmstead painters in Sweden, Svedin immigrated to Hallock, Minnesota in 1884. He was born in Härjedalen.

Anders Herman Södersten (1862-1926). Born in Filipstad, Värmland, Södersten studied at the Royal Academy in Stockholm, then in Paris before immigrating to New Haven, Connecticut in 1889. He set up a studio, where he painted portraits of Connecticut businessman and altarpieces.

John Einar Fabian Söderwall (1869-1954). Söderwall, born in Väsby, Skåne, studied at the University of Lund, taking his Ph.D. examination in 1901. He immigrated to Urbana where he continued his studies at the University of Illinois, then became a librarian at Northwestern University in Evanston. His seascapes were shown in Swedish-American art exhibitions in Chicago. He returned to Sweden, settling in Hälsingborg in 1935.

Carl Focke Sählín (1885-). In 1905 Sählín immigrated from his native Stockholm to New York to study at the Art Students League and worked as an illustrator. He eventually settled in Miami, but exhibited work at the Corcoran Gallery, Washington, D.C. and at the American Swedish Historical Museum in Philadelphia.

Bror Thure Thulstrup (1848-1930). Born in Stockholm to a military family, Thulstrup became a lieutenant in the Svea Artillery Regiment, but left Sweden to serve in the French Foreign Regiment (later Legion) in 1868. He served in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, then immigrated to Canada in 1872 where he worked as a civil

engineer and topographical engraver. In 1874 he moved to New York to do illustrations for *The Graphic* and *Harper's Weekly*, among others. He published *Drawings by Thulstrup and Others* (1898) and *Outdoor Pictures* (1899). Later in his career he painted several battlefield murals, "the Second Battle of Winchester" for the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Hall, Pittsburgh, and a series for the state capitol building in Atlanta, Georgia. Together with Henry Reuterdaahl he published a series of illustrations on the Spanish-American war titled *Lest We Forget*.

Hugo Olof von Hofsten (1865-1947). A successful illustrator in America, von Hofsten was born to an aristocratic family in Karlskoga, Värmland. Trained at the Royal Academy in Stockholm, he immigrated to New York in 1885 where he worked as an illustrator on *The Graphic*. He moved to Chicago in 1893 to do illustrations for *The Evening Post*, *The Journal*, and *The Tribune*. In 1895 he headed the illustration department for *The Times Herald*. After 1906 he illustrated childrens' books and painted landscapes.

Carl Fredrik von Saltza (1858-1905). Born in Sörby, von Saltza was the son of a count. He studied painting at the Royal Academy in Stockholm from 1878-1882, then at art academies in Brussels and in Paris. When he returned to Sweden in 1885, he became a part of the Opponents circle and was a friend and colleague of Anders Zorn, Bruno Liljefors, and Karl Nordström. He immigrated to St. Louis in 1891, where he headed the painting department at the school of the Museum of Fine Arts. From 1898-1899 he taught at the Art Institute of Chicago, and from there headed the painting department at Columbia University. He showed paintings at the Swedish pavilion in the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago as well as in the annual exhibitions of the Art Institute of Chicago and the National Academy of Design.

Christian von Schneidau (Bror Herman Christian Waldemar) (1891- 1976). Primarily a portrait painter, von Schneidau was born in Ljungby, Småland and immigrated to Chicago in 1906. He studied at the Art Institute of Chicago from 1911-1916, then in Provincetown, Massachusetts with portraitist Charles Hawthorne. He painted two murals for the Swedish Club of Chicago in 1920: *The Landing of the Swedes in Delaware* and *John Morton Signing the Declaration of Independence*, which subjects were later painted for the American Swedish Historical Museum in Philadelphia. He settled in Los Angeles where he painted portraits of movie stars such as Betty Grable and Mary Pickford and taught privately. Besides the museum in Philadelphia, his work is in the collection of the American Swedish Institute in Minneapolis and Smålandsmuseum.

Carl E. Wallin (1879-). Wallin immigrated to Denver, Colorado in 1902 from his native Östra Husby in Östergötland. He studied at an art school in Denver for two years, then moved in 1904 to Chicago where he studied at the Art Institute of Chicago. His mystical landscapes were shown in several Swedish-American art exhibitions during the 1920s and his work is in the collection of Riksföreningen Sverigekontakt.

Elof Wedin (1901-1983). Wedin was born in Hornosend, Ångermanland and immigrated to Chicago in 1919. He studied first at the Art Institute of Chicago, then at

the Minneapolis School of Art. He completed murals for post offices in Mobridge, South Dakota and Litchfield, Minnesota, while working days as a steamfitter. In 1949 he abruptly changed his Cezannesque landscape style to work with more abstract landscape compositions. His work is in the collection of the American Swedish Institute in Minneapolis, and the Weisman Art Museum, University of Minnesota.

Peter Wedin (1894-1980). Born in Nordingrå, Ångermanland, Wedin studied portrait and landscape painting at the Hermods Correspondence Institute in Sweden. He immigrated to Minneapolis in 1923 where he worked as a woodcarver in a furniture factory. His wood reliefs of Swedish and Swedish-American life are in the collection of the Minnesota Historical Society and the American Swedish Institute in Minneapolis.

Adolph Ulrich Wertmüller (1751-1811). The son of an apothecary in Stockholm, Wertmüller studied in Paris at the French Academy under J. M. Vien. Under the patronage of Gustavus III, he painted a portrait of Queen Marie Antoinette and her children, now in the Nationalmuseum, Stockholm. In 1794 he traveled to America where he painted a portrait of George Washington, but returned to Sweden in 1796. Immigrating to America in 1800, he married a granddaughter of Gustavus Hesselius. He continued to paint portraits and farmed near Philadelphia until his death.

Gunnar Widforss (1879-1934). Widforss, born in Stockholm, studied art at a technical school in Stockholm. He immigrated to America in 1905 but returned to Sweden, then studied in Paris where his work was shown in the salon of 1912. He settled in California in 1921, becoming known as the painter of the California redwoods and the Grand Canyon. He exhibited work with the Scandinavian Artists Exhibition of 1928 at the Brooklyn Museum.

Bror Anders Wikström (1854-1909). Born in Stora Lassåna, Närke, Wikström initially worked as a sailor on ships that went to South America and Africa. In 1877 he studied landscape painting in Stockholm, but immigrated to New York in 1881, moved to Florida in 1882, and settled in New Orleans in 1883. He helped to organize the artists' association of New Orleans, teaching privately in their school from 1885. His landscapes and seascapes are in private collections in New Orleans and in the Louisiana State Museum, New Orleans. He died in New York while working on the design for the celebration of the founding of New York and the hundredth anniversary of Robert Fulton's steamboat on the Hudson River.

Henry Vitalis Zanton (1901). Zanton immigrated to Minneapolis from his native Stockholm in 1920. He studied at the Minneapolis School of Art and returned to Sweden in 1923 where he studied with Carl Wilhelmson in Stockholm. After study journeys to France, Holland, Italy and Germany, he returned to paint in Sweden.

Carl Emil Zoir (1861-1936). Born in Gothenburg, Zoir studied at the technical school there before he immigrated to America in 1880. A pupil at the school of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, he left in 1890 to study in Paris at the École des Beaux-Arts until 1894. He returned to America for a few years, then left to travel and paint in France,

Italy and Germany, settling in Sweden in 1907. He returned to Chicago in the early 1930s to teach at the Wilmette School of Modern Art in Chicago and to paint an altarpiece for Albany Park Lutheran Church in Chicago.