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Performing National Identity

Anglo-Italian Cultural Transactions

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'Made in Italy': Sculpture and the Staging of National Identities at the International Exhibition of 1862

> Uplift a thousand voices full and sweet,
> In this wide hall with earth's inventions stored,
> And praise th' invisible universal Lord,
> Who lets once more in peace the nations meet,
> Where Science, Art, and Labour have outpour'd
> Their myriad horns of plenty at our feet [...]
> And, lo! The long laborious miles
> Of Palace; lo! The giant aisles,
> Rich in model and design:
> Harvest-tool and husbandry, [...]
> Of wonder, out of West and East,
> And shapes and hues of Art divine!
> All of beauty, all of use, [...][1]

Tennyson's 'Ode', written to mark the International Exhibition that opened in London in 1862, suggests the scale, the intent, and the range of this hugely popular, public spectacle. The exhibition housed on the site now occupied by the South Kensington Museums covered an area of 16.5 acres adjacent to the Horticultural Society's Gardens, the latter space also being utilised as a sculpture 'court' for large-scale works.[2] Between May and October 1862 six and a quarter million visitors toiled along its interminable avenues viewing and interacting with the cacophonous mixture of exhibits that stood for the cul-

1. Alfred Tennyson, *Ode for the Opening of the International Exhibition* (London: E. Moxon, 1862), l. 6; ll. 14, 21-23. This *Ode* is presumably that set to music by Sterndale Bennett for the opening of the exhibition, as noted by Hermione Hobhouse, *The Crystal Palace and the Great Exhibition: The Royal Commission for the Exhibition of 1851* (London: Athlone, 2002), p. 131. She also states that Verdi, substituting for Rossini, had been asked to provide music for the opening ceremony of the exhibition but that 'changes by the composer' meant it was not ready in time (p. 131, p. 419 fn. 38). What is not mentioned here is that during that year the music was in fact circulated widely as published sheet music for piano-and singer. The words to Verdi's music 'Inno delle Nazioni' were composed by the young poet Arrigo Boito. It is interesting to note that John Rosselli claims that this work 'committed neither man deeply'; see John Rosselli, *The Life of Verdi* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 123.
2. For an account of how the 1862 exhibition was conceived and built, and its relationship with the preceding international exhibitions in London (1851) and Paris (1855) see Hobhouse, pp. 118-40.

tural and economic strength of participating nations.[3] It had been intentionally conceived on a grander scale than the previous embodiment of Britain's place in the modern world, the 1851 Great Exhibition housed in Paxton's Crystal Palace. But unlike its innovative predecessor the exhibition building, described by one trenchant critic as 'the national disgrace of the wretched shed that was the Fowke version of the Crystal Palace', failed to capture the popular imagination.[4] It is this second, vast theatre of display that is the primary subject of this paper, as a site where national identities were performed, paraded, confused, and inevitably judged one against the other.[5]

My focus is upon a single category of exhibit, the 'grand art' of sculpture, one that at this time was materially and historically imbued with a sense of permanence and cultural significance as well as being linked by its materials and processes to contemporary industrial production. My intention is to examine how sculpture that was identifiably 'made in Italy' was understood to embody nationhood, interrogating what constituted Italianness on this supposedly international stage, during the early stages of unification and at the time of the American Civil War. The perspective on this construction of Italian identity is taken from a British viewpoint, measured in the main through critical responses to works by the 'Roman-American' Harriet Hosmer, the 'Anglo-Roman' John Gibson, and to two Milanese sculptors, Raffaele Monti and Pietro Magni.

Sculpture was --and is – an international business. Viewed from a British perspective arguably the key site for its production at the mid-century was Italy, and specifically, Rome. Joseph Beavington Atkinson writing his review of the 'foreign' sculpture at the exhibition for the *Art Journal* summed this up nicely:

3. Hobhouse, pp. 134–35. She cites one estimate that there were 6,211,103 visitors between the opening of the exhibition on 1 May 1862 and its closure on 15 November. The prizes were distributed at a ceremony held on 11 July.
4. The idea of national identity was embedded in the Crystal Palace, having been designed using the structure of the South American Victoria Regia lily, a potent emblem of Queen Victoria's reign and Empire, that had been propagated successfully for the first time in England at Chatsworth by Paxton. For Emma Peachey, wax modeller to Queen Victoria, as for many others, the lily was 'a symbol of strength and power', that was to become a symbol of the exhibition itself. See Emma Peachey, *Peachey's Royal Guide to Wax Flower Modelling* (London: Published and Sold by Mrs Peachey, Artiste to Her Majesty, 1851), p. 58. On the other hand, the utilitarian architecture of 1862 designed by Captain Francis Fowke that 'roofed' 988,000 square feet of exhibition space was not well regarded and was demolished (with the help of Fowke) in 1863; see Hobhouse, p. 140.
5. Joseph Beavington Atkinson, 'Introduction', in *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue of the International Exhibition* (London: James S. Virtue, 1863), p. xii.

> Freedom there has been [...] for the talent of all lands; freedom from conventional restraint, immunity from the partial and passing fashions of the vain, vaunting capitals of Europe: so that sculptors of all nations, dwelling among temples and sepulchres of gods and heroes, and sleeping, it may be, in garrets, and eating oftimes the bread of penury, have founded in Rome, as the most fitting abode, the world's school of sculpture.[6]

Sculptors operating in this international milieu may therefore be seen to have the freedom to dance across national boundaries, and consequently there was a degree of confusion about their national identities: they could be as easily classified by the location of their studio workshop, as their sculptural style or actual nationality. An obvious example of this hybridity is Baron Carlo Marochetti, 'an Italian by birth, a Frenchman by parentage, and an Englishman by adoption'.[7] He settled in London in 1849 and from this base gained many commissions for public art, his equestrian statue of Carlo Alberto of Savoy (1861, bronze, Turin) being an example of the sculptor's response to Piedmont's –and Turin's– central role in the new unified Italy. Philip Ward-Jackson has discussed the sculptor's 'supposed patriotic delinquency', seeing him as a 'product of the cultural cosmopolitanism of the [Napoleonic] First Empire'.[8]

At the 1862 exhibition, national identity may be seen to be based upon a variety of factors within this cosmopolitan range. For example, the American Harriet Hosmer's work was physically placed in the British section alongside that of the Welsh sculptor John Gibson, in whose Roman studio she trained and where she then worked. Work by another 'Roman-American', William Wetmore Story, was to be found in the Roman section of the exhibition, although when Beavington Atkinson reviewed the sculpture displays for the *Art Journal* in two articles headed 'England' and 'Foreign', Story and Hosmer were defined as 'Anglo-Saxon' regardless of their chosen professional location: 'English [....] and American sculpture, is free from the sickly sentiment of the Italian; is delivered from the extravagance of the French', standing pre-eminently 'for simplicity, for balanced moderation...'.[9] And yet by contrast, Francis Turner Palgrave, the author of the *Official Catalogue* to the Exhibition and Tennyson's (self-styled) close friend, saw Hosmer's work as infected by Italian artifice, describing her treatment of drapery as 'conventional' and

6. Joseph Beavington Atkinson, 'The International Exhibition', *The Art Journal*, NS 1 (1862), 213–15 (p. 214).
7. Atkinson, 'The International Exhibition', p. 214.
8. Philip Ward-Jackson, 'Carlo Marochetti and the Glasgow Wellington Memorial', *The Burlington Magazine*, 132 (1990), 851–62 (p. 852).
9. Atkinson, 'The International Exhibition', p. 215.

'so little like nature' with a 'display of polished ornament in the tasteless Italian style'.[10] This tension between the material permanency of sculpture in the context of the fluctuating and unstable political nationalism(s) of modern Italy, Britain, and America in the early 1860s permeates the viewing of these works, the imprint of which is found in these critical discourses.

In his articles on the International Exhibition's sculpture, Beavington Atkinson conjured many vivid images redolent of the endemic decay, death, and disease of modern Italy to convey the dangers that threatened its contemporary sculpture. Many of these would be familiar to a wide range of readers and literate exhibition visitors. Like Niobe, Italian sculpture was seen to be in the process of being ossified. For this critic the items of sculpture on display at the exhibition represented 'the dying embers' of a long and noble tradition that was in danger of being corrupted by the false values of the present. 'Thus Italy, dowered with the fatal gift of beauty, has held her loveliness even in death: the languor of the placid cheek still conserves the lines where grace lingers.' So Italy's school of modern sculpture, at the head of which stands Antonio Canova, whose work was well represented at the exhibition, displays a similar 'nerveless languor'. But it is an art that still survives: Italy, 'the Niobe of nations, gathers to her sorrow a world of sympathy, as year by year thousands throng to gaze on the agonising hues wherein the dolphin dies. Hence in many ways has been kept alive, even to this day, a school of Art, especially in sculpture, which neither malaria can kill, the stiletto stab, nor tyranny extinguish.'[11]

Beavington Atkinson's readership would have recognised these allusions. The stiletto would evoke the popular fear of brigands that was a staple of traveller's tales and popular novels. The reference to tyranny was also one that had particular resonance given the recent Italian wars of independence. But those images taken from the natural world— malaria and the dolphin — were equally redolent of current concerns with the state of Italy. That of the dying dolphin would conjure the idea of Venice (then still under Austro-Hungarian rule) in the mind of the reader, through a range of cultural references: from Byron's *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*, Canto the Fourth, (also present in Beavington Atkinson's earlier use of the phrase 'fatal gift of beauty') XXIX, with its musings on Venice's chequered past ('Dies like the

10. Francis Turner Palgrave, *Descriptive Handbook to the Fine Art Collections in the International Exhibition of 1862* (London: Macmillan, 1862), p. 96. He also published *International Exhibition 1862 Official Catalogue Fine Art Department* (London: Truscott and Simmons, 1862). Palgrave was assistant private secretary to William Ewart Gladstone in 1846, and then became involved in the Education Department, 1855–84. He was Professor of Poetry at Oxford 1885–95.

11. Atkinson, 'The International Exhibition', p. 213.

dolphin, whom each pang imbues/ With a new colour as it gasps away,/ The last still loveliest, till— 'tis gone—and all is grey'), to the physical shape of the city as it appeared in maps, appearing in and out of the waves; and— for a few—the more abstruse iconography found in Marin Sanudo's description of Venice in 1493:

> According to what wise men say the Venetian Republic will last for ever, as appears in this epigram: So long as the sea contains dolphins,/ So long as clear skies contain stars,/ So long as the moist ground yields her pleasant fruits. So long as the human race survives on earth,/ The splendour of the Venetians will be celebrated for all eternity.[12]

Beavington Atkinson's references to Canova's great skill as a sculptor but also to his pervasive influence over modern Italian sculpture that appear later in the essay are linked to this evocation of the sculptor's homeland. It was here that the Venetian Canova 'among the most gifted of modern sculptors' derived his early talent which was then nurtured in Rome 'the eternal city of the Arts [...] the earth's capital for sculpture'.[13]

Italian sculpture can therefore be seen to be both blessed and cursed by its resistance to the present and its adherence to a tradition that can be traced back to the ancient classical past. Whilst maintaining these healthy artistic 'roots', its growth among native practitioners was seen to be threatened by an over-dependency upon the fashion for 'Romance' rather than fusing antique precedent with natural form to produce works of vigour and truth. It is here that the reference to malaria has most meaning, with its vivid images and memories of prolonged illness and death among the Italian people. Whilst cholera raged across Europe defying any national boundaries, the miasma that was thought to emanate from stagnant pools and marshland to produce malaria, the scourge of modern Italy, was understood to be particularly endemic to the campagna around Rome. As Daniel Pick has argued in his detailed study of nineteenth-century responses to malaria-ridden Rome, this was physically evident to travellers who saw the devastation wreaked by the disease on the inhabitants of the region and its prevalence in certain areas of the

12. Cited in Deborah Howard, 'Venice as Dolphin: Further Investigations into Jacopo de' Barbari's View', *Artibus et historiae*, 18 (1997), 101–11 (p. 108; p. 111 fn. 84). The prevalence of this imagery is evident elsewhere in contemporary poetry, for example in Anne C. Lynch's, 'Mediterranean [A school composition]': '[...] The paradise of earth, sweet Italy;/ Stript of her queenly robes, in dust she lies. Enchained by—slaves,- nor struggling to be free./ There hath she fallen, as the dolphin dies,/ More brightly beautiful in her last agonies', published in 1852.

13. Atkinson, 'The International Exhibition', p. 213.

city itself.[14] In 1858, having received an important commission for a monument to Judith Palezieux Falconnet, Hosmer longed to stay in her Roman studio 'all summer if I dared'. Although she planned to stay 'rather late, into July' she would not return until the 1st October 'punctually', having spent the summer in the healthier climes of Siena, and away from possible infection.[15]

In his summation of the sculpture at the exhibition for the commemorative volume *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue of the International Exhibition* in 1863, Beavington Atkinson suggested a 'cure' for this Italianate 'nerveless languor'. By a 'simple return to nature [....] health and vigour are thus once more imparted to enervate limbs, and renovated life lays hold of forms long sunken with decay'.[16] The 'Italian' works that received most praise from Beavington Atkinson and Palgrave were quite different in their rhetoric as will be discussed later.

In the critical literature that emanated from the 1862 International Exhibition, Americans working in Rome were categorised as honorary 'English' men and women, linked by their colonial past, Anglo-Saxon roots, and a common tongue. Yet at the same time, their works were also sometimes seen to exemplify un-natural artifice, infected by the *mal' aria* of contemporary Italian art, signifying the sickness, death, and corruption of an ancient artistic heritage. But what of Italian sculptors who worked in the 'natural' and uncontaminated artistic milieu of Britain? Raffaele Monti, a political exile who had set up his studio in London in 1848, was to produce many works for the British establishment during the years up to the opening of the 1862 exhibition.[17]

14. Daniel Pick, *Rome or Death: The obsessions of General Garibaldi* (London: Jonathan Cape, 2005), pp. 25–55, provides the context for Garibaldi's project to eradicate malaria with a history of its incidence in nineteenth-century Italy. See also pp. 33–34 where Pick cites Charlotte Eaton, *Rome in the Nineteenth Century*, 5th edn, 2 vols (London: Bohn, 1852), II, p. 386; I, p. 63, to exemplify the visitor's approach to the city through apparently fertile countryside that is, nevertheless, 'pestilent with disease and death [...] like a devouring grave, it annually engulfs all of humankind that toil upon its surface'.
15. Hosmer to Wayman Crow, Rome, 11 March 1858, in *Harriet Hosmer, Letters and Memories*, ed. by Cornelia Carr, (New York: Moffat, 1912; London: John Lane and Bodley Head, 1913), p. 124. The monument to Falconnet (marble, 1857–58) is in the Capella di San Francesco di Sales e di Sta. Giovanna di Valois, S. Andrea delle Fratte, Rome.
16. Joseph Beavington Atkinson, 'Modern Sculpture of all nations in the International Exhibition of 1862', in *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue of the International Exhibition* (London: James S. Virtue, 1863), pp. 313–24 (p. 316).
17. Philip Ward-Jackson in his entry on the sculptor in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* has pointed out how Monti was very much in the public eye in Britain when his work was staged at the 1862 Exhibition. The sculptor had, according to this author, produced decorative work for the Crystal Palace when it was removed to Sydenham, Kent, in 1853, notably the coloured plaster casts of the Parthenon sculptures. By 1858, his relief for the proscenium arch at the Covent Garden Opera House was in place and during

Nevertheless, he was still classified as Italian and 'foreign' by Beavington Atkinson and, presumably, by many of his readers. For him Monti was bound inextricably to his artistic heritage, but there is an inference that his art had improved by removing himself from the stagnant pools of contemporary Italian art to the healthier artistic climes of Britain. Beavington Atkinson therefore praises the fusion of an Italianate 'lusciousness of sentiment', 'rapt reverie' and 'unreal idealism' with a Milanese attention to 'small detail' married to a close study of nature in Monti's work that brought his work into close association with Pre-Raphaelitism.[18]

At the exhibition, Monti was to be reunited with his compatriots, the fellow Milanese Pietro Magni and the Florentine Cesare Fantacciotti, within the boundary of the Italian sculpture courts. In the neighbouring Roman Court, works by sculptors such as Giovanni Maria Benzoni were on view, representing 'the eternal city of the Arts [....] the earth's capital for sculpture'.[19] In such settings sculptural works by Italians were viewed variously as products of the Risorgimento and indicative of specific, current political affiliation. It was also the case that on the international stage of a universal exhibition devoted to trade and industry, Italy's sculpture would inevitably be seen to perform both as a product of its rich cultural heritage, its mineral resources, and its place in the commercial market as well as of its recent political shaping.[20] Garibaldi's spectacular part in the conquests of Sicily and Naples was very much in the public mind in 1862. So too was the coronation of Victor Emmanuele II as King of Italy on 1 May 1861 that had taken place precisely a year prior to the opening of the London International Exhibition, marking the birth of a new nation. However, the occupation of distinct national territories by a nascent Italy and the papal states of Rome at the exhibition indicated that this was still unfinished business.

The decade that had elapsed since the last London international exhibition had brought with it political and global problems that threatened the viability of the second venture. Lord Granville wrote to Canning, then Governor General of India, in January 1861, urging him to 'stir up' his 'people' to send some good items for show. He then comments upon the difficulties in staging a successful exhibition: 'There are some fearful contingencies. War—in Europe -another bad season -failure of cotton crop—What is going on in America is wonder-

that decade he had also worked for the influential Rothschild family at Mentmore. He also designed the bronze equestrian statue of the Marquis of Londonderry, unveiled in 1861 in the market square at Durham.
18. Atkinson, 'The International Exhibition', p. 213.
19. Atkinson, 'The International Exhibition', p. 214.
20. In the vicinity of the Italian sculpture courts was a 'wonderful collection of minerals' and also a model of Milan Cathedral.

fully interesting.'[21] Tennyson's lines '[...] once more in peace the nations meet,/ Where Science, Art, and Labour have outpour'd/ Their myriad horns of plenty at our feet' can therefore be seen to have particular resonance in these troubled times. For American sculptors living and working in Rome there must have been a double sense of displacement and uncertainty, presenting threats to their livelihoods at every turn. With Garibaldi's recent victories at the battle of Milazzo and on the Volturno River in 1860 presaging the declaration of the Kingdom of Italy the following year, the civil war that was breaking out in their native homeland could perhaps be said to be a little more than 'wonderfully interesting', presenting a potentially cataclysmic outcome. Whilst as a group of expatriates sitting on the outskirts of Italian society and therefore able to adopt a certain level of detachment from the escalating conflict, the immediate threat to their economic viability and the constant reminder of the state of their own nation could not have been easy.

Harriet Hosmer had particular reason to be deeply concerned over events at home and abroad if her familial networks are examined. Raised in Watertown, Massachusetts, she had been sent to a 'progressive' girls' school in Lenox, where she became firm friends with Cornelia Crow (later Carr), her biographer.[22] This schoolgirl friendship brought her into contact with Wayman Crow, a member of the Missouri Senate and founder of the Eliot Seminary in 1853 that in 1857 became Washington University in St Louis. It was through Wayman Crow that Hosmer was able to study anatomy at the medical school in St Louis, Missouri, between 1850–51, an essential part of realising her ambition to become a sculptor and difficult for a woman to access in her hometown.[23] She lodged with the Crow family during this period of study and it was with Wayman Crow's financial support that she made the important professional move to Rome in 1852 to work in John Gibson's studio. It was also through his influence that she received two early commissions, for *Oenone* (1854–55, marble, Mildred Lane Kemper Art Museum) and *Beatrice Cenci* (1856, marble, St Louis Mercantile Library).[24] Her contact with Crow would continue from this point predominantly by correspondence. The 1820 so-called 'Missouri Compromise', that had extended the Union territory west

21. Granville to Canning, 24.1.1861, cited by Hobhouse, pp. 124, 418 fn. 24.
22. See fn. 15 above.
23. For an account of this see Dolly Sherwood, *Harriet Hosmer, American Sculptor, 1830–1908* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), pp. 22–33. Hosmer's bust of Wayman Crow (marble, 1866), in the Mildred Lane Kemper Museum, Washington University, was her gift to mark the commencement ceremonies of 1868.
24. *Oenone* was a direct commission from Crow and that for *Beatrice Cenci* came, at Wayman Crow's suggestion, from Alfred Vinton, chairman of the board of directors of the St Louis Mercantile Library.

of the Mississippi, made slavery an issue of which she would have been all too aware and one that would also have been very current in the Hosmer family household given their friendship with Lydia Maria Child. But it is clear from correspondence between the two women that they did not share the same views regarding the abolition of slavery. In a good-humoured letter from Child to Hosmer, written before the outbreak of war in September 1860, there is a direct reference to Hosmer's earlier support for the anti-abolitionist 'Missouri Ruffians' who in 1855 had crossed into Kansas Territory in order to vote (illegally) to ensure a pro-slavery territorial legislature.[25] She writes, 'if you had had your will, little "Missouri Ruffian" that you are! And had exterminated the abolitionists, let me tell you, you would have destroyed the wheat of the country and left nothing but the chaff'. She concludes the letter hoping that Hosmer will not 'get into a fight' with any of her 'rivals and settle the question with Bowie knives and revolvers, Missouri fashion. I can send you a Bowie knife bearing the motto, "Death to Abolitionists," if you want it, but Bowie knives won't kill us. God bless you, dear little Ruffian!'[26] Whilst her most recent biographer Dolly Sherwood sees this as a momentary episode in Hosmer's life, influenced by her stay with the Crows, the tone of the letter suggests that this is still current thinking for the sculptor.[27] To be called a 'Missouri Ruffian' was no term of endearment: from a freestater's perspective it was a construct that implied a 'violent, savage other', a long way from Southern chivalry.[28]

Hosmer had arrived in Italy at a time of great political uncertainty, and Sherwood has suggested that she with other 'Roman-Americans' shared a certain 'ambivalence' at the impulse towards unification.[29] It is certainly the case that her statements in surviving letters are difficult to construe. Her friendship with Elizabeth Barrett Browning that had blossomed since their first meeting in 1853 meant direct contact with an enthusiastic supporter of Italian liberty and freedom from Austrian rule.[30] Just as a previous generation of British sculptors working in Rome during the French campaign of 1796–97 and under Napoleon's Empire had found, war disrupted trade, not least because it stemmed the flow of rich patrons from abroad. This was equally

25. Kristen Tegmeier Oertel, '"The Free Sons of the North" versus "The Myrmidons of Border-Ruffiansism": What Makes a Man in Bleeding Kansas?', *Kansas History: A Journal of the Central Plains*, 25 (2002), 174–89.
26. Child to Hosmer, Wayland, 16 September, 1861, in Carr, p. 162.
27. Sherwood, p. 37.
28. Oertel, p. 182.
29. Sherwood, pp. 43–44. Sherwood also lays out the context for the production of *Zenobia*, pp. 181–82 and 202–4.
30. Sherwood, p. 44.

true for Hosmer working from Italy over half a century later, whatever political sympathies she might have held personally. In 1862, Garibaldi was to attempt an ill-judged march on Rome that gave rise to his famous catchphrase, 'Roma o morte' [Rome or Death].[31] Five years later, at the time of his thwarted plans to invade Rome once more, she would write from England of the hero becoming 'a regular nuisance'. This was hardly surprising given that she was receiving news at this time of the work of her Roman studio being disrupted by the activities of his supporters, worst of all, as Sherwood has pointed out, with injuries incurred by some of her studio assistants.[32] But it is also true that in divided America, as the hero of the Italian revolution of 1859–61, Garibaldi held a privileged status as 'the only man of integrity, one who refused mendacious treaties and stayed true to his vision of a united Italy'.[33] In June 1861, Abraham Lincoln offered him the rank of major-general in the Union army. In Britain he also attained hero status, demonstrated by the huge crowds that turned out to see him when he visited London in the spring of 1864.[34]

In 1861, Hosmer was completing work on her statue of the defeated Queen Zenobia of Palmyra who reigned 267- 272 A.D., travelling to America and working in Rome during its period of gestation.[35] Her choice of subject, researched and discussed often with friends and associates such as Anna Jameson, was that of a ruler who had unsuccessfully fought for the independence of her country against the Roman Emperor Aurelian. It was a choice that raises many questions about what is exactly being said, when viewed from a British perspective, about monarchical rule, women's rights, and slavery.[36]

31. Pick, pp. xx–xxi.
32. Sherwood, p. 267.
33. Dennis Berthold, 'Melville, Garibaldi, and the Medusa of Revolution', *American Literary History*, 9, 3 (1997), 425–59 (p. 431). He investigates the 'Cult of Garibaldi' in America demonstrating how American newspapers reported in detail upon the Italian wars and Garibaldi's part in them (p. 430).
34. Berthold, p. 432. Accounts of this visit were circulated widely, not least through the illustrated papers, see for example the wood engraving, 'Garibaldi in London: The arrival of the General at Stafford House', that appeared in the *Illustrated Times*, April 16, 1864, p. 249.
35. For a history of the statue and its sources see Susan Waller, 'The Artist, the Writer, and the Queen: Hosmer, Jameson, and Zenobia', *The Woman's Art Journal*, 4, 1 (1983), 21–28. The whereabouts of the eight-feet high statue shown at the 1862 Exhibition is unknown, but a half-size version is at the Wadsworth Atheneum.
36. Deborah Cherry, *Beyond the Frame: Feminism and Visual Culture Britain 1850–1900* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 101–41 provides a rich and persuasive argument concerning the reception of Hosmer in Britain in 1862. She points to the issue of monarchical authority in the context of Queen Victoria's withdrawal from sight of the public during a long period of mourning for Prince Albert. She also explores the work in the contexts of women's rights and Hosmer's defence of her working practices set out in Hosmer's essay, 'The Process of Sculpture', *The Atlantic Monthly: A Magazine of Literature, Art and Politics*, 14 (1864), 734–737.
37. 'Harriet Hosmer's Zenobia', *The Atlantic Monthly: A Magazine of Literature, Art and Politics*, 15 (1865), 248–50 (p. 249).
38. Cherry, p. 127.

The significance of it being conceived and made at a time when Hosmer was closely involved with a group of women artists, writers, and historians is also crucial and often discussed. But I wish to raise a further level of interpretation to contribute to this debate, one that is not necessarily in tune with these other viewpoints: that of enslavement in the light of Hosmer's pro-slavery views. An often-cited review of the work published in *The Atlantic Monthly* in February 1865, had stated that Zenobia was a great Queen, with 'a hundred slaves at her beck, and a devoted people within reach of her couriers. She does not tremble or swerve' in defeat.[37] Given the approval by Congress of the Thirteenth Amendment in January 1865 and Hosmer's political sympathies, is it not most logical to read this imprisoned Zenobia when viewed in America in that same year as representing those 'honourable' supporters of a lost cause? (In this context it would be useful to take into account Hosmer's unsuccessful proposal for a monument to Lincoln circulating through Conalghi's *The Art Journal* and the *Illustrated London News* immediately after the President's assassination in 1865.) Deborah Cherry has suggested that the statue 'may have been read as an allegory of captive Italy, her chains signifying the yoke of the Austrian empire', given the years in which *Zenobia* was being made, and it is surely right to do so in terms of reception. But intention is more difficult to place.[38] Hosmer's views about unification and its effects are not clear, although from comments in her correspondence she obviously did not share the high levels of enthusiasm for Garibaldi, and she was not happy at the prospect of Rome being disrupted by war. In 1861, Hosmer was physically in Rome, experiencing day-to-day uncertainties in her place of business and adopted home and at a distance, in her mind concerned about the situation in her native land.

She was to write a revealing letter to Crow only nine days after the King of Italy's coronation, and a month after the attack on Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbour, and shortly before Lincoln's offer of a commission to Garibaldi, revealing her worries:

> Our glorious republic seems to be in an uncommonly bad way, but we at a distance hope and feel that matters will yet be arranged, and that our dear old country (dear, if not old) will still hang together. I suppose clever statesmen foresaw all this when Lincoln was elected, but I am not of that category, and cannot say that I was quite

prepared for such a storm. [....] Removed from the centre of action and excitement, the arguments of sense and humanity prevail in the minds of patriotic Roman-Americans, and we try to think that we are not to be reduced to Duchies instead of glorying in the boundless Republic.

She finishes by saying, 'Lincoln may be shot, Davis may be hung, but I pray God to watch tenderly over *you*'.[39]

The question of *Zenobia's* site at the 1862 exhibition is therefore of significance. Firstly, I want to say a little more about the viewing public encountering sculpture in the spaces of the exhibition which is crucial for an understanding of the statue's reception in Britain, as distinct from its early sightings in her Roman studio and its later showing in America. It should be noted from the outset that the cacophonous mass audience for Universal Exhibitions was different to those that sought only high art or dramatic performance in the hushed halls of an art gallery or the stalls and boxes of a theatre. The interweaving of critical responses to these 'fairs' with their mixture of objects needs to be recognised as distinct from the 'pure' fine art shows of national exhibitions such as the Paris Salon or the Royal Academy annual exhibition. The latter were in the main selected by 'peer review', by juries of artists, from works submitted for inclusion in exhibitions that represented state institutions. In such a rarefied environment, sculptors' works were viewed, interpreted, and disseminated at different stages of development to different audiences: a performative role that maintained sculpture's classical hauteur as 'le grand art'. It was also understood by many as the last bastion of high art with its indissoluble links to its ancestry in classical antiquity and in its apparently immutable rules. This viewpoint coupled with the re-presentation of works at successive exhibitions often left those eager for signs of artistic innovation with the impression that the art was becoming moribund.[40]

At the Universal Exhibitions, sculpture's status, amidst the burlesque of lesser genres and commodified art, was unstable, both distinguished and uneasy in its role as high art and industrial product: for example, bronze editions or sculptural works associated with natural history were judged outside the fine arts class. The burgeoning market for public commemorative and monumental sculpture was well represented at these exhibitions, redolent with national and civic identities and allegiances as well as artistic merit and technical skill.

39. Harriet Hosmer to Wayman Crow, Rome, 10 May 1861, in Carr, p. 176.
40. In part this was due to the lengthy processes involved in making sculpture, from the sketch model through to the finished work. This meant that often works would be exhibited at different stages of evolution and/or in different media in successive exhibitions.

Illustration 1: Harriet Goodhue Hosmer, *Zenobia in Chains* (1859, marble. Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, Hatford, CT, Gift of Mrs Josephine M. J. [Arthur F.] Dodge).

How was sculpture displayed in these 'Universal' exhibitions? In the 1862 exhibition, large pieces of sculpture were placed along the main avenue, with national sections devoted entirely to the fine arts including smaller works. At the 1851 Great Exhibition, Hiram Powers' *Greek Slave* was firmly in place in the American section jostling for attention amidst the displays of canoes, bearskins, and machinery. However, she managed to maintain her dignity in this mixed company, set apart on a small platform and placed against red velvet

that echoed the display of the *Medici Venus* in the Uffizi, Florence at that time. This stage served the dual purpose of lending a roseate hue to the marble, making it appear more 'fleshy' and at the same time keeping the viewer 'at bay' as was the case with the red-coloured niche housing *Zenobia* in 1862.[41] Powers had stated that his statue represented a Greek Christian woman captured by the Turks in the 1820s, being sold into slavery. So as a representative sample of Americanness, what did the statue, the sculptural 'hit' of the Great Exhibition, convey to its viewers in this location? Was it seen simply as an indicator of national excellence in this art form? Was it interpreted as a covert, or not so covert, reference to the conflict between Christian and Islamic faith? Or to current issues of slavery – the Missouri Compromise––and the divisions that it caused in America? Was the woman here seen as a 'product' of America, a commodity to be bought and sold? Was it a record of historical events in the conflict between Greece and Turkey? Was it American or Tuscan?

Of course, it may be all or none of these things and unrelated to the original intentions of the sculptor depending upon the standpoint of the viewer. But it is worth noting, as will be the case with several of the works that I shall be considering here, even with its designation as an American product in the context of the 1851 exhibition, the *Greek Slave* had an ambivalent status as an object: designed by an American but 'made' in Florence out of Italian Seravezza marble, largely by an Italian workforce, as were the six full-size replicas that Powers was to circulate in Europe and America.[42]

In the 1862 exhibition, Hosmer's *Zenobia* together with Gibson's *Tinted Venus* were isolated from the hubbub of the exhibition by being placed in a temple that celebrated Gibson's innovative sculptural polychromy.[43]

Hosmer wrote to Wayman Crow from Rome in March 1862:

> You don't know what a grand place they have assigned the Zenobia in the English exhibition. A small octagonal temple is to be erected, with niches of Pompeian red. Into three of these go Mr. Gibson's coloured statues, and into the fourth my own unworthy one. This structure is to be just in the centre of the Exhibition Hall, with an admirable light. This is owing to Mr Layard, principally.[44]

41. The first version of the *Greek Slave* was completed by 1844 and sold to John Grant, an English army captain.
42. Powers, originally from Woodstock, Vermont, had maintained a studio in Florence since 1839.
43. J. B. Waring, *Masterpieces of Industrial Art and Sculpture at the International Exhibition 1862*, 3 vols (London: Day and Son, 1863), II, plate 101. Waring mentions the 'room specially fitted up to bring out the effect' of the statue in Gibson's Roman studio, implying that its setting at the exhibition funded by Mrs Preston was meant to achieve a similar resonance.
44. Carr, p. 184.

Progress on *Zenobia* was detailed in letters accompanied by photographs sent to influential friends, such as Anna Jameson.[45] In response to Hosmer's correspondence, Sir Henry Layard wrote enquiring about the progress of *Zenobia*, 'is she turned into a pillar of marble, for the admiration of posterity, or does she still stand in her frail mortal clay? The photographs you sent Mrs. M. have been greatly admired and I hope ere long the statue itself will be placed in some place worthy to receive it.' He then goes on to mention Powers's *Greek Slave*, suggesting that she too should send 'something' to the forthcoming universal exhibition.[46] This invitation suggesting that she could be of a similar standing to Powers, and that she should follow his example, was to bear spectacular fruit in the promotion of her career. With Gibson's and Layard's support she sent the completed tinted marble *Zenobia* to the exhibition certain of a setting that would enhance both the work and her reputation. At this point Hosmer's unequivocal statement made to Wayman Crow in a letter of 1857, 'my principle is to seize opportunities' may be seen to be paying real dividends.[47]

Zenobia's place in Owen Jones's temple designed to house the *Tinted Venus* and Gibson's other sculptures was much more than a physical niche to house sculpture. It symbolised Hosmer's place within the protective domain of his Roman studio as a favoured pupil and his artistic heir. It also placed her work centre stage at the most important public exhibition of the decade to be held in London. And yet responses to Gibson's and Hosmer's use of colour were not positive, many couched in terms of an infection taking root, as was the case with Palgrave who writes of Gibson being 'misled by too much learning into the attempt to tint and varnish into life the faces to which even his practised hands could give no vitality'.[48] A few were more receptive to Gibson's evocation of ancient Greek practices: 'The object of the tinting– which was effected by the application of wax, slightly coloured with yellow ochre, and rubbed in with a warm cloth—was to give the appearance of ivory. [....] The idea of imitating the colour of life never entered into the mind of the sculptor.'[49]

The Italian and Roman sections at the '62 exhibition were of course designed to demonstrate the continuing strengths of the modern Italian school, from Canova to Ignazio Villa, and its commercial dominance. But there were

45. Letter from Anna Jameson to Harriet Hosmer, 10 October, 1859, in Carr, pp. 149–51.
46. Letter to Harriet Hosmer from Sir Henry Layard, 27 June, 1860, in Carr, pp. 159–61.
47. Letter from Harriet Hosmer to Wayman Crow, 25 July, 1857, in Carr, pp. 82–83.
48. Palgrave, *Descriptive Handbook*, p. 90.
49. Waring, II, plate 101. The Preston *Venus*, a replica of the first statue of 1849, shown at the 1862 exhibition (c. 1851–56) is now in the Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool. The statue's colouring is the result of restoration.

other references implicit and overt within the displays. What, for example, should we make of the inclusion in the Italian section of Pandiani's marble *Statue of Garibaldi*, mentioned in most reviews of the exhibition?[50] Interestingly, in the context of this Anglo/American-Roman/Italian display, and as already mentioned, Garibaldi had been offered a Union command in the American Civil War in 1861 and was to be wounded in his attempt to march on Rome during July-August 1862. There was also the wave of sectarian violence in Wakefield and Leeds in September and London in October provoked by sympathy for the plight of this working man's hero.[51] Therefore, to view Garibaldi's statue in the Italian Court, adjacent to the Roman Court, over the period of the exhibition was a nuanced encounter, an interaction between memory, experience, and place. What subtexts should we read therefore between *Zenobia* and William Wetmore Story's *Cleopatra* (1858, marble, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), the latter a major success with French and British commentators? In this setting of nationalities and nations, how should we read Marochetti's equestrian monument to *Carlo Alberto* sited in the gardens of the exhibition, ostensibly celebrating the Piedmontese as liberating force, relieving Lombardy from Austrian rule, a figure whom Daniel Pick has described as 'no staunch ally of the Risorgimento'? How many of the visitors to the exhibition that stood in front of Gibson's *Tinted Venus* would realise that elements of the work had been designed and made by a political exile from Rome? This modern *Venus de' Medici* wore earrings 'modelled [....] from antiques found in an Etruscan tomb', designed and made by the goldsmith Castellani, who had been expelled from his native city following his gift of a sword 'made by him for the people of Rome' presented to Victor Emmanuele II in 1859.[52]

Whilst these remain open questions, there were other works in the Italian section that were seen to directly refer to the recent conflicts and the newly unified nation, notably Monti's *The Sleep of Sorrow and the Dream of Joy* (1861, marble, Victoria and Albert Museum, London), and Pietro Magni's *Reading Girl* (1861, marble, National Gallery of Art, Washington).[53]

50. *Official Catalogue*, pp. 258–62; p. 261, no. 2432: Adelaide Pandiani marble bust Mary Magdalene; no. 2433: Giovanni Pandiani marble statue of Garibaldi. The statue remains untraced.
51. Sheridan Gilley, 'The Garibaldi Riots of 1862', *The Historical Journal*, 16 (1973), 697–732 (p. 703).
52. Waring, II, plate 101; III, plate 245.
53. Magni's work had been in circulation before the exhibition, the plaster having been completed in 1856. Waring, III, plate 253. Waring also provides the information that the plaster model had been exhibited at Milan in 1856 and the marble shown at the Florence International Exhibition in 1861 when it was purchased by the Italian government. For confirmation of the latter, see *Esposizione Italiana Agraria, Industriale e Artistica Tenuta in Firenze nel 1861 Catalogo Officiale* (Firenze: Tipographia Barbera, 1861). Magni's statue is listed as exhibit no. 5917. The marble was purchased from the 1862 exhibition by the London Stereoscopic company. It was then shown at the International Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures held in Dublin in 1865, 'sculptures' no. 16.

Illustration 2: Pietro Magni, *The Reading Girl (La Leggitrice)*, National Gallery of Art, Washington.

The Reading Girl is often cited as a clear example of the *scuola Lombarda*, but it too is a tribute to Garibaldi, although in a more multi-faceted way than Pandiani's portrait statue. When viewed closely it shows that the girl has a tear rolling down her cheek as she reads. Around her neck is a portrait medallion of

Garibaldi. The book she reads contains lines by the patriot, poet, and dramatist Giovanni Battista Niccolini, who died on 20 September 1861. This suggests a further role for the sculpture at the 1862 exhibition as a memorial to Niccolini. The conjunction of these elements indicates that this is more than an exercise in sentimental 'verism' and more like the complex interiority found in works by the sculptor's teacher at the Brera Academy, Milan, Vincenzo Vela; most clearly visible in Vela's *The Last Days of Napoleon* (1866, marble, Musée National du Château de Versailles). The fact is that Niccolini's writings were and are associated with the uprisings against the Austrians in 1848 and, as its current display in the National Gallery, Washington, makes clear, with 'themes of Lombard freedom'.[54] At the 1862 exhibition, all commentators, even a grudging Palgrave, saw the work as conveying political meaning. For him its 'appeal to national sympathies and the reality of its aim, gained a reputation in Italy [that was] perhaps due less to Art than to Politics'.[55] This was certainly the case in the description of the work found in the magnificent three-volume, *Masterpieces of Industrial Art and Sculpture at the International Exhibition 1862*, with its dedication to Queen Victoria. The author, the architect J. B. Waring, wrote of the statue as 'always surrounded' by crowds at the exhibition. He provides an account of Magni's involvement in the national movement as well as quoting the words that the young girl is reading that prompt in her 'ardent and patriotic thoughts, prophetic in their inspiration':

> Mi fa profeto iddio! veggo concordi
> Fede giurarsi i popoli Lombardi,
> E di venti cittadi al ciel s'inalza
> Tra le ceneri e il sangue, un sol vessillo.
> Tra le stragi de'suoi, veggo i Tedeschi
> Oltr'Alpe fuggir, tratta nel fango
> L'Aquila ingorda, e un popolo redento
> Farsi ludibrio della cor corona.[56]

The Sleep of Sorrow and the Dream of Joy is a more complex allegory of the Risorgimento as Anthony Radcliffe's article of 1975 has shown.[57] A virtuoso performance of marble carving, this strange figure shrouded in a suffocating veil rises above a sleeping figure resting on a richly detailed, verdant and flowery bank. For Beavington Atkinson, Monti's work, like Magni's, was about the artistry used to convey narrative. In its facture he sees it as pre-eminently Pre-Raphaelite, the 'roses [...] are, in their feigned illusion what apple-blossoms and white lustrous satin gowns are in the wonder-working hands of Millais and others of his fraternity'.[58] The 'trickery' of Italian carving here is admired for its skill in replicating nature and its nearness to contemporary British art.

Unsurprisingly, the national perspectives from which the reviewers assessed these sculptures found the means of preferring their own 'product'

54. http://www.nga.gov/cgi-bin/pinfo?Object=124598+0+none (accessed 18 April 2007). This entry cites Waring's and Atkinson's responses to the work and its associations with Vela's veristic works.
55. Palgrave, *Descriptive Handbook*, p. 104.
56. Waring, III, plate 253.
57. Anthony Radcliffe, 'Monti's Allegory of the Risorgimento', *Victoria and Albert Museum Bulletin*, 1 (1965), 25–38. See also Diane Bilbey (with Marjorie Trusted), *British Sculpture 1470 to 2000: A Concise Catalogue of the Collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2002), pp. 341–342, that gives the provenance of the work and mentions Waring's comments upon the work's political significance and its subsequent popularity as a Parian ware figure.
58. Atkinson, 'The International Exhibition', p. 214.

Illustration 3: Raffaele Monti, *The Sleep of Sorrow and the Dream of Joy* (1861, marble, Victoria and Albert Museum, London).

over those of others. Anna Jameson's 1853 *Handbook* to the collection of modern sculpture from the 1851 Great Exhibition at Sydenham, is a text that seems to have provided a source for Palgrave's and Beavington Atkinson's critical writings on sculpture.[59] Attributing distinctive national characteristics to contemporary sculpture, she seems to take moral health as a means for defining true excellence. She describes English (British) sculpture as having 'purity and depth of feeling', but notes that it lacked 'largeness of style'. Its deficiencies could be measured against the advanced nature of French sculpture, but whilst she praises the 'elegant fancy' of French ornamental bronzes, she also points to the 'predominance of the voluptuous and ferocious sentiment in some of the finest designs' where 'the appetite for sensation is obvious'. The inference being that this emotional laxity was the greater failure of the two. In similar vein she praises the 'power and poetical feeling' and 'largeness of style' of German sculpture, but also its frequent 'exaggeration and want of grace and repose'.[60] Italian sculpture had 'much fire and poetry of conception and delicacy in the treatment', but there were nevertheless faults with the Florentine and Roman school where 'feebleness and mannerism' was too often displayed. Milanese sculpture showed a 'high in point of originality and talent' but there was also evidence that it had taken 'a decided turn to the romantic and picturesque style of art'.[61]

Palgrave's assessment of the sculpture at the 1862 exhibition, although in similar vein, was more antagonistic and extreme in tone, quite contrary to the lines from Tennyson's 'Ode' that this was 'Art divine!/ All of beauty, all of use'. For him it demonstrated vice, artifice, and a sickness that was not confined solely to Italy, although this was its main centre: 'Meanwhile, no longer tested by Truth and Nature, even the technical qualities of the art begin to fail; blunt cutting (as in England), or smart cutting (as in France), or hard cutting (as in Italy), takes the place of tenderness and finish.'[62]

He rails against the use of polychromy evident in the *Tinted Venus*, placing Canova at the heart of the corruption:

> Has Canova, with his waxen work and frivolous sentiment, –his Parisian airs, and ballet-girl Graces? Has Gibson, his too faithful follower, in these fair forms, in which ninety-nine of every hundred spectators will only find—and in the writer's judgement, must find only, masterpieces of lifeless labour and careful coldness?[63]

59. Anna Jameson, *A Handbook to the Courts of Modern Sculpture* (London: Bradbury and Evans, 1854), p. 3.
60. Jameson, p. 12.
61. Jameson, p. 13.
62. Palgrave, *Descriptive Handbook*, p. 92.
63. Palgrave, *Descriptive Handbook*, pp. 89–90.

It is, inevitably, the consummate skill of the marble cutting that he cannot stomach:

> The execution generally corresponds with this: by its sharpness and dexterity it has been witness to the long traditional practise of carving in the south; but it is almost uniformly and coldly monotonous; clear, hard and smooth, –qualities which may suffice for ornamentalism, but cannot express the varied play of natural surface.

In this view the magic of illusionism becomes an art of deception 'with portions polished, and others deadened in surface' and the 'lavish display of elaborate and personal decoration'.[64]

Beavington Atkinson, also in Jamesonean mode, took a similar view in his essay in *The Art Journal Illustrated Catalogue of the International Exhibition*, published in 1863. In his summary of the national schools of sculpture on show, he also makes much of the pernicious effects of Canova's legacy upon contemporary Italian sculpture: 'his figures have the air of a dancing master, and seem as if draped by the hand of a milliner; and so the school of Canova, which now reigns through Italy, forsaking the severity of the antique, is surrendered to the soft fascination of romance.' There was, however, evidence that this pervasive Italianate tendency that 'corrupts the ancient Greek and emasculates the vigour of the old Roman style', was in the process of being cured. The *Reading Girl* and the *Sleep of Sorrow and the Dream of Joy* undoubtedly indicated the efficacy of a 'simple return to nature'.[65]

What in sculpture would therefore show this natural health and simple return to nature? To exemplify this, I want for a moment to step outside the 1862 sculpture halls to look at a contemporary work that has been shown as a plaster model at the Royal Academy Exhibition of 1857, in order to explore Palgrave's and Beavington Atkinson's references to dancing and exercise. Thornycroft's *The Skipping Girl* had received positive critical responses in 1857 and again when the marble version exhibited at the RA in 1867. It was a familiar work with the public having also been copied in Parian ware by Minton, 'one of the largest works ever executed in that material'.[66] Its popularity with art critics was due not least to its representation of healthy womanhood, a 'natural' work far removed in British critics' minds from the affec-

64. Palgrave, *Descriptive Handbook*, pp. 102–3.
65. Atkinson, 'Modern Sculpture', p. 315.
66. 'Sculpture at the Royal Academy Exhibition: The Blind Girl Reading', *Illustrated London News*, 10 August (1867), 153. The original plaster model dated 1854 was given to Salford Museum in 1861 and was subsequently lost, according to Fiona Darling-Gilinski in 'The Privilege of Patronage: Mary Thornycroft and the sculptural aesthetic', *Sculpture Journal*, 11 (2004), 55–68 (p. 66).

tation of previous examples of similar subjects, notably Canova's *Danzatrice*, which despite its 'consummate delicacy of finish' was to remind Anna Jameson 'too much of ballet dancers', suggesting questionable artifice.[67] *The Illustrated London News* made the contrast clear:

> From a familiar, homely, healthy, salutary exercise, in which our wives and daughters have at some time indulged, the artist [Thornycroft] has derived an attitude as elegant as that of most 'dancing girls', and less affected than some —as, for example, the well known figure by Canova.[68]

For Palgrave, Canova was the 'evil genius' that had 'palsied Sculpture'. The *Zephyr and Flora* by Benzoni shown in the Roman Court therefore represented for many British critics the Canova effect: technically brilliant but essentially flawed.[69]

The competition for a part in this international theatre of display was highly prized and hotly contested. But such spectacles, although interpreted as a means of assessing national achievements, could never be truly representative where the art of sculpture was concerned for very mundane reasons: full scale sculptures executed in marble, such as those exhibited by Hosmer, Gibson, Story, Monti, and Magni at the 1862 Exhibition, were large, heavy, costly to move and difficult to accommodate. It was therefore inevitable that at every international exhibition sculptors working outside the host country were at a disadvantage, particularly when theirs was an art form not actively supported by the state. This state of affairs was further exacerbated by the fact that sculpture was also contending for funding and space with other cultural, scientific, and industrial products that also stood as indicators of a nation's economic and political health. Sculptors were often forced to sell or raffle their works rather than bear the cost of bringing them back to the studio.

It is not surprising, therefore, that a persistent theme that emerges in the history of these exhibitions was sculptors' dissatisfaction given that if their

67. Jameson, p. 13.

68. *Illustrated London News* (1867), 161.

69. For a full discussion of the evolution of Benzoni's group and its several versions see Antonia Boström, 'Giovanni Maria Benzoni, Randolph Rogers and the Collecting of Sculpture in Nineteenth-Century Detroit', *The Sculpture Journal*, 4 (2000), 151–59. The Detroit Institute of Arts *Zephyr dancing with Flora*, signed and dated 1870, is a later version of that shown at the 1862 exhibition which Boström notes was bought by 'an Englishman, G. Wynne Holford of London'. This remains untraced although she speculates that the version sold at Sotheby's, London, 7 November 1985, signed and dated 1861, may well be that shown in 1862; see p. 158 fn.13. Boström also mentions Beavington Atkinson's jaded view of Canova's 'emasculating' influence on contemporary Italian sculpture at the 1862 Exhibition (p. 153).

work were selected, they would have to pay high insurance and shipping tariffs. There was also the possibility that their works might be exhibited without their knowledge, lent by owners in the vicinity at the request of the national committees in order to lessen overall transportation costs. Under such circumstances the commercial and professional opportunities that were seemingly proffered by inclusion in universal exhibitions were just as quickly rendered void. So although sculpture appeared initially to be advantaged over the other fine arts by its complementariness to industry and manufacturing in these 'universal' exhibitions, it was inevitably an unrepresentative showing.

But perhaps more difficult for the construction of national identity were the very processes involved in bringing any sculpture to the floor of an exhibition. Hosmer's professional reputation established by *Zenobia* did not go unchallenged. Claims were made against her in the press in 1863–64 and fermented by the sculptor Joseph Mozier, suggesting that she fraudulently took credit for work executed by Italian workmen.[70] She had, in fact, as was normal practise, left the completed clay model to be translated into a plaster model and cut in marble by her Italian workmen.[71] Therefore, Palgrave's criticism of the 'tasteless' Italian finish can be seen not just as a value judgement, but as an acute, connoisseurial, assessment of the techniques used by these Roman marble cutters. So what does 'made in Italy' mean in the context of sculpture presented on the national theatre of the 1862 exhibition? Perhaps the conclusion can only be that it was a hybrid species, and that its performance was largely dependent upon its stage and the viewing public.

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70. See fn. 36 above.

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