Robert S. Duncanson, Race, and Auguste Comte's Positivism in Cincinnati

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On June 29, 1871, African American landscape painter Robert S. Duncanson [Figure 1] wrote a letter in response to his son's accusation that Duncanson had tried to pass for white. By that point in his career, Duncanson, who had begun his career as an artisanal house painter, had achieved renown as an artist, or, as he said, a fame "second to none" in the United States. In his letter, written from Cincinnati, the artist first noted that he had recently received an offer of financial support from one whom he describes as a member of the very race that his son despises—and notes his son's own condition of financial dependence. He went on to say, "my heart has always been with the down-trodden race," but that he had the right to choose his own company. Then, in a clever turn of phrase that both emphasizes the actuality of a black and white racial binary and then rejects it as false, or at least as irrelevant to him, he concluded by saying: "Mark what I say here in black and white: I have no color on the brain, all I have on the brain is paint," and finally, "I care not for color: 'Love is my principle, order is the basis, progress is the end.'"[1]

That final phrase is a direct reference to sociologist Auguste Comte's "*L'Amour pour principe, l'Ordre pour base et le Progress pour but*," a motto that inspired many leaders and thinkers not only in the English-speaking world, but also in Latin America. Comte's philosophy of Positivism, the theory that observable and understandable laws dictate human social behavior, and especially the role he gave to altruism, was influential with a wide spectrum

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of liberal reformers. Love, or feeling for other men—the social sympathies or altruism, a term Comte invented—is the biological "principle" behind Positivism, not individual self-interest. Reason or scientific investigation reveals the stable "order" underlying the historical and present conditions of human life, while imaginative idealizations of the truth, such as art, stimulate progress by cultivating the social sympathies and spurring men and women to modify their environment.[2]

Duncanson's letter was published by art historian James Dallas Parks in 1980, and ever since it has been cited as evidence of Duncanson's attitude toward race politics in the United States. Joseph Ketner, in his invaluable monograph on the artist, finds a parallel between Duncanson's denial of concern with racial issues and his landscapes that conform to mainstream Hudson River School aesthetics. Ketner, for example, suggests that Duncanson's 1852 *Garden of Eden* [Figure 2], which is based on a painting by Thomas Cole, reveals that his apparent adherence to conventional artistic ideals veiled an African American perspective; paradise with its palm trees might also be the promised land of slave songs. David Lubin, in a thoughtful study of the theme of passing in the artist's life and work, also finds a double consciousness operating in Duncanson's paintings, positing that they may have contained hidden allegories on racial themes whose meanings were available only to certain audiences. Margaret Rose Vendryes observes that the painter may have sympathized with slaves but did not see himself as a member of the down-trodden race. She argues that his claim to the right to transcend racial classifications represents his position as an educated freeman in antebellum Cincinnati, where economic, cultural, and social differences would have been respected in African American communities.[3]

What seems contradictory about Duncanson's views and in need of explanation is that the desire to be understood as an artist first, not a colored artist, or even an abolitionist artist, indicates he had assimilated a middle-class ideology of individual achievement that, despite its claims to universality, excluded most African Americans. That ideology defined respectability not on the grounds of birth, occupation, or ostensibly even race, but as a constellation of character traits such as industry, modesty, and self-control.[4] This belief in the determining force of individual character opened middle-class membership to new groups, especially artisans, but no matter how refined or educated, the bar to respectable society remained much higher for anyone not white. Duncanson, perhaps blinkered by his relatively privileged position as a successful artist, thus seems disingenuous when he averred that paint mattered more to him than color.

However, if his claim instead is placed in the context of a transnational postcolonial discourse on Positivism, then his apparent "denial" of color and racial binaries resembles the response chosen by race-conscious liberal reformers in the Americas, particularly those speaking for a mixed-race elite trying to emancipate themselves from European habits and customs imposed during colonization.[5] Comte's philosophy of the basis for, and evolution of, society

Figure 1: William Notman (1826–1891), *Robert S. Duncanson*, 1864, albumen print, 8.5 × 5.6 cm. © McCord Museum I-11979.1.

was so persuasive in Hispano America that Brazil, where the majority of the population was mulatto, adopted as its national motto "Order and Progress" upon gaining independence as a republic in 1889. Porfirio Díaz, mixed-race dictator of Mexico for thirty-five years, justified his monopolization of power on Positivist grounds. In doing so, Díaz followed in the footsteps of the first indigenous president of Mexico, Benito Juárez, whose minister of education had in 1867, shortly after the defeat of forces backed by Emperor Napoleon III of France, proclaimed Liberty, Order, and Progress as the nation's guiding principle.[6]

Indeed, in 1871, the year of his letter to his son on race, Duncanson was writing and painting in the midst of Reconstruction, a legislated reconciliation or imposition of order that occurred in the South after the United States' own Civil War. This was the sort of moment when Positivists in Latin America often saw an opportunity for progress. For example, Gabriel Barreda, a university professor, Juárez's minister of education, and the key figure in introducing Comte's ideas to Mexico, in that 1867 speech pointed out that the sacrifices of those who had just fought in that nation's civil war had thereby cleared the obstacles to reconstruction of the nation. The basis for the reconciliation of the country's warring parties lay in the country's reform laws and constitution. Barreda then concluded, "in the future let our motto be Liberty, Order and Progress; Liberty as a means; Order as a base, and Progress as an end."[7]

That Duncanson too became an admirer of Positivism during his own nation's postwar Reconstruction suggests an alignment not only with reformers in Cincinnati, the city where he spent much of his career, but with parallel Hispano American efforts to find in Comte a positive alternative to, rather than simply a negative attack on, the colonial mind-sets inherited from the era of European domination. Like educated men and women in the new republics in Mexico, Chile, Venezuela, and Brazil, Duncanson may have found that Comte's sociology offered an alternative to the racial hierarchies of most European science, permitting "mixed species" nations to progress toward modernity. In other words, what attracted supporters of "down-trodden" races in the Americas to Positivism was both its rejection of colonial-era privileges and restrictions on the individual (as antimodern) and its vision of racial harmony achieved through a controllable social (not natural or biological) evolution.

To argue that Duncanson occupied a position analogous to mixed-race intellectuals in Hispano America that made him receptive to Positivism (when most Anglo Americans in the United States were not) is not to say Positivism had a uniform reception even within this contingent. When Positivism crossed the Atlantic, in the original French or in translation, it was adapted to the political situations and aspirations of different social groups, who accordingly emphasized one or another tenet of Comte's eclectic philosophy, rather than taking it as a whole or adopting it in the same exact ways.[8] Nevertheless, by studying Duncanson through a comparative, international approach to the position of mixed-race elites in the nineteenth century, he emerges less as an apologist for a universalizing middle-class ideology that in practice excluded men and women of color, and more as a positive advocate for African American progress, as a race equally governed by the universal scientific laws of society.

The evidence for either Duncanson's interest in Positivism or his awareness of political (or artistic) movements in South America is mostly circumstantial. There is no proof that he traveled to Mexico or South America, though he painted a handful of pictures set there, several of which will be considered further. But even without direct contact, ideas held about these places, with their histories of slavery and republican liberation, were important to how nineteenth-century African Americans envisioned their own modernity and equality.[9] Other than the already cited quote from his letter to his son, Duncanson left no written statements of either his opinions of these countries and their leaders or of his intellectual philosophy. However, in Cincinnati, educators and abolitionists with whom he did have connections (including as his patrons) were receptive to a variety of utopian schemes for social reform, including Comte's. Their ideas, even when not directly deriving from Comte, typically incorporated similar components, particularly a moral idealism that ran counter to doctrines of competitive individualism and laissez-faire liberalism.

Duncanson's paintings possess a comparable compositional idealism. This assumes that pictorial composition, the arrangement of forms in spatial depth and on the picture plane, offers insight into an artist's and a community's be-

liefs about proper social hierarchies and the relationship of individuals to a larger whole. While composition is not always or simply a direct or one-to-one expression of social arrangements, the regularity, order, and balance of many of Duncanson's pictures—including some of his largest, like his version of the epic South American landscape *The Heart of the Andes*—as well as their frequently idyllic subjects indicate an insistence akin to Comte's on the primacy of the social order over the individual as the key to social harmony. Although it cannot be known with empirical certainty whether Duncanson was a Positivist, it can be demonstrated that he shared a social and aesthetic structure of belief with Positivist-minded creolized elites in Hispano America and certain Anglo American social reformers in Cincinnati and other parts of the United States.[10]

Comte and Positivism today are mostly associated with a general nineteenth-century language of materialism and empiricism.[11] But the Comte that attracted George Eliot as well as John Stuart Mill, and abolitionists such as his English translator, Harriet Martineau, was as focused on society as on the natural sciences, and his Positivism—his desire to limit investigations of social phenomena to what was actually observable—was based on moral idealism as much as inductive reasoning. Comte argued that human societies and their development are subject to laws, just as the natural world is, and accordingly progress through three stages: the theological, when men believe that supernatural beings account for all phenomena, the metaphysical, when men believe in such abstract essences as natural rights, and finally the positive stage, when men give up on the search for absolutes, now drawing conclusions about the world from observable evidence alone.

Comtean Positivism implied belief in social perfectibility: his third stage of society was a static, peaceful, harmonious, noncompetitive collective, in which unanimity regarding the social order permitted individual progress, because egotism was replaced with altruism. Comte assumed that a cadre of specially trained and gifted leaders, including artists, whom he termed the "speculative classes," would control such social change.[12] When Chile's Academia de Bellas Letras was founded in 1873, the inaugural address—delivered by the country's most important adherent to Comte and a leader of the liberals who composed the Academy's membership—forcefully recommended that works of literature brought to the Academy should "correspond to the true idea of the positive progress of humanity" by their "ability to bring men together.[13] The same author also observed that "there does not exist, there cannot exist, either a Latin or a German race," saying that such ideas were not only pernicious but behind the times; Comtean Positivism and progress in social composition for him was aligned with opposition to fixed racial boundaries.[14]

In the United States Comte's ideas found two different homes. A small circle of freethinkers, almost entirely Anglo American, with unusually liberal ideas usually including abolition, were attracted to the utopian elements in Comte's writings on society. The influence and impact of this group was limited and modified, however, by the widely disseminated reworking of Comte's

ideas first by John Stuart Mill and then Herbert Spencer. Mill rejected Comte's subordination of the individual to the group, arguing that it too easily led to despotism, and instead insisted that the rights of the individual trumped social obligations.[15] In backing a more laissez-faire approach to society and the economy, Mill eliminated Comte's justification for state intervention to help modernize the poor. Spencer, who unlike Comte was writing after the publication of *The Origin of Species*, applied Charles Darwin's theory of biological evolution to human societies and accordingly redefined Comtean "progress" to accommodate Anglo American beliefs about the inherent inferiority and superiority of the races and the survival of the fittest. It is this more explicitly racist version of Positivism that gained ground in much nineteenth-century US and British rhetoric of imperialism and development.[16] But if the strand of moral idealism in Comte was marginalized in the United States, it was much more pervasive (albeit in a frequently more anticlerical context) in Hispano America, where thinkers such as Gabriel Barreda in Mexico and José Lastarria in Chile read him in the original French rather than in the British translations.

Duncanson like many of these Hispano American intellectuals traveled to Europe (and also spent time in French-speaking cities in Canada), but it seems more likely that he encountered Comte's theories of society in Cincinnati, the town in which he spent much of his adult life as an artist. The milieu of Cincinnati's antislavery reformers in some respects resembled liberal circles in Latin America, especially in including local educators. Education was a key component of Positivist reform. Cincinnati's mixed-race elite was also involved with education. "Mulattoes" (the term as used in the census referred to color rather than parentage) held 75 percent of the wealth in Cincinnati's black community, and their marriage and residential patterns reflect intraracial color preferences for light skin. However, the black elite in Cincinnati was often linked politically with the black population as a whole, and despite being able to afford private schools, led the fight for universal education.[17] In Cincinnati Duncanson married an African American woman, and it was their son, Reuben, to whom he wrote the letter citing Comte. As of the 1861 census, Reuben was a clerk living with his father in Cincinnati in a racially mixed downtown neighborhood. When Duncanson's first wife died, he married a mulatto woman from Kentucky with whom he had additional children.[18]

Through his work, Duncanson also met prominent Anglo educators in Ohio who advocated emancipation. He painted portraits of Richard Rust, of Wilberforce College, in 1858; of Robert Bishop, a sociology professor at Miami University in Ohio who had taught black students earlier in Kentucky, in 1855; and Freeman G. Cary, a student of Bishop, a founder of Farmers' College, and as his name implies an abolitionist, also in 1855. Duncanson's early patron Nicholas Longworth, though not an abolitionist, supported black schools in Cincinnati and had feted political economist (and the future translator of Comte) Harriet Martineau on her visit in 1835, when she was already controversial for her antislavery stance.

The Ohio Valley had a long tradition generally of being receptive to reformers who like Comte proposed a utopian reorganization of society. Local sociology professor (and friend of Lyman Beecher) Robert Bishop, in his course on the "Philosophy of Social Relations," taught that man in a social group (the family) was the basic unit of society, not the individual, and social intercourse was accordingly governed by "religious and moral principles" rather akin to Comte's idea of altruism. Like Comte, Bishop's stress on the scientific study of society was tied to moral ideals. He believed that the progressive improvement of society, its historical evolution, must be studied by collecting facts about diverse civilizations from personal observation, which then allow one to infer the causes for such variety and at the same time to "call a man brother wherever found."[19] Intriguingly, Bishop's students became active in liberal Republican politics and served as ambassadors to Ecuador, Bolivia, Brazil, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Argentina, and his former student Benjamin Harrison as president hosted the first Pan-American Congress. That Bishop's teachings encouraged a general mind-set receptive to schemes for perfecting society is also indicated by his students in 1845 inviting Robert Dale Owen, member of Congress and founder of New Harmony, Indiana, an early example of associational living, to speak to them.

Such interest in associational or communal living was not unusual in the region. In what has been called a reaction to "industrial feudalism," a phrase pointing to large-scale manufacturing's production of class distinctions in the region, Ohio developed eight Fourierist "phalanxes" in the 1840s, two of which were organized in Cincinnati, and one of which lasted ten years. Like Comte's mentor Henri de Saint Simon, French philosopher Charles Fourier theorized that the social order has laws parallel to the physical universe, and that civilization advances in stages toward a state of harmony in which individuals will freely express their passions; current problems were the result of alterable social and economic laws. Though Fourierism never became mainstream, antebellum varieties of Whig politics—influential *New York Tribune* editor Horace Greeley notably supported Fourierist ideals—generally stressed positive state interventions and the moral obligations members of a society had to each other, in a model akin to both Fourier and Comte.[20] The abolitionist William Henry Channing, Unitarian minister in Cincinnati just before Duncanson's arrival, would become an adherent initially of Fourier (the organizers of the Cincinnati phalanxes met at a Unitarian church) and then one of the first of Comte's American supporters.[21]

Duncanson was most likely not a Unitarian, but it is a Unitarian minister who provides the most concrete example of someone who both admired Comte and knew the artist.[22] Moncure Conway in many ways typifies the sort of conduit for Comte's ideas available to Duncanson. Conway was a Virginia slaveholder turned Unitarian minister, social reformer, and radical. He served as a minister in Cincinnati from 1856 to 1862, a period when he was an immediate abolitionist.[23] In Cincinnati he introduced Ralph Waldo Emerson to Duncan-

son's patron Nicholas Longworth, joined a sketch club, and wrote art, music, and theater reviews for the Cincinnati *Gazette*, the liberal Republican paper (later it became the *Commercial Gazette*, edited by Farmers' College student Murat Halstead; the anti-Republican Cincinnati *Enquirer* was co-owned by a Miami University student; both papers noticed Duncanson). When Conway left the United States for London, he was welcomed in English reform circles, and in an 1865 letter he tells the *Gazette* of meeting Duncanson there and describes the painter's success in England.[24]

How Conway first encountered Comte's ideas is difficult to document, though his early mentor, the Methodist president of Dickinson College in Pennsylvania, corresponded with Comte and received early copies of Comte's French publications. Conway was also a friend of William H. Channing. But during the period when Conway knew of Duncanson, first in Cincinnati and then in London, Conway also knew, visited, and had read works by almost all the men and women responsible for publicizing Comte's philosophy, from George Eliot, George Lewes, and John Stuart Mill in England to W. H. Channing and others in the United States.[25] Conway was essentially a conservative reformer, no admirer of the working man in his rough state or of popular sovereignty, yet he preached the obligation of the educated to improve the state of humanity and was sympathetic to various idealist systems for doing so, including Comte's. He once observed that "positivist religion is a refined variety of the general democratization of Christianity."[26] The Comte he may have introduced to Duncanson was one for whom the notion of progress was closely aligned with the divine.

By 1871, then, Duncanson certainly had had contacts with at least one and probably more advocates of Comtean views of history and society. It is perhaps not an entire coincidence that in the same month that Duncanson wrote his thoughts on race to his son and cited Comte, he was also painting a scene set in South America: a copy of Frederic Church's *Heart of the Andes* [Figure 3]. Frederic Church was the famous and successful heir to Thomas Cole as the leading artist of the Hudson River School, whose artists specialized in sublime and panoramic landscapes of American wilderness. The critically praised naturalism of Church's *Heart of the Andes* when it was first exhibited in 1859 suggests that viewers saw in it a résumé of Alexander von Humboldt's observation that the Andes contained a microcosm of the earth's climate zones, from the torrid through the frigid, a revelation of the earth's geological history and its still active processes of formation.[27] Church's Andes were inhabited in their lower and warmer regions by men in peasant dress gathered in front of a wayside cross, while a nearby small village is dominated by a church steeple. South America appears as primeval (in its connection to an earlier stage of the earth) and as simple in its civilization too; nature dominates the human. Viewers nevertheless understood the movement from the individuals in the foreground by the cross (reachable by an easy path), to the church and community in the pastoral middle distance, to the background's inaccessible mountain heights as an image of "the progress of humanity," though whether the heights to be attained

were intellectual and scientific, or religious, or both depended on the observer. One admirer compared the pictorial narrative to Milton, Macaulay, and Carlyle, with their lessons of human and historical progress.[28]

Church's picture had been exhibited in Cincinnati in 1860 and had at that time influenced the composition and setting of Duncanson's first major literary painting, *Land of the Lotus Eaters* (1861) [Figure 4], the subject of which was drawn from English poet Alfred Tennyson's "The Lotos-Eaters" (1832; revised 1842). Homer's tale of Odysseus and his men on their voyage home from Troy is transformed into a description in poem and painting of a static, unchanging, but flowering and fertile land, rising from sea to dale to snow-capped mountains, whose "dark" faced inhabitants perform no toil. In Duncanson's *Lotus Eaters*, instead of the devout male peasants who populate Church's Andes, half-naked women swim to shore to bring the Greek warriors the potent plants.

Duncanson became something of a specialist in this type of literary landscape depicting an idyllic retreat; he favored British romantic poets, like Thomas Moore and Sir Walter Scott (the latter also a favorite of Comte, who singled him out as uniquely suited to modern civilization). These poets wrote about societies (the Scottish Highlands, Kashmir) that gained an aspect of paradise in their very remoteness from modern life. The appeal of such visions to reformers is indicated by Moncure Conway's autobiography, in which he recalls while living in Cincinnati avidly reading Tennyson's "The Lotos-Eaters": "I had been sitting with the Lotus Eaters on their yellow sand, had voyaged with Ulysses beyond the sunset, and was held by the vision of the Golden Year."[29] Skill at the poetic was also for abolitionists an indicator of African American intellectual achievement, and Conway in his letters from London to the Cincinnati *Gazette* in 1865 mentions the artist's reception by Tennyson himself.

As David Lubin observes, however, Duncanson does not follow Tennyson in setting the land of the lotus eaters in a European locale amid pine trees, but in a tropical one. Nor are the lotus eaters in Tennyson given gender. Lubin suggests this change of landscape not only takes advantage of the popularity of Church's painting, but contrasts Europeans and equatorial natives in a narrative of New World discovery: the meeting of two cultures amid primeval nature.[30] Other writers on paradise imagery have argued that the conflation of the Americas with Homeric Greece is predicted by nineteenth-century Anglo American nationalism itself. The Americas, in this argument, are equated with the classical era in Europe whenever the underlying proposition is that British or American capitalism is destined to conquer this new terrain. Capitalism's presumably peaceful commercial tactics of conquest are symbolized by a classicizing Golden Age in the tropics, in order to operate in implicit contrast to the methods and results of the Spanish empire in the Americas.[31] In Duncanson's *Land of the Lotus Eaters*, the glorified "American" nature, though glorified in part by association with European antiquity, may have also offered Americans a source of pride, in identification with something apart from Europe. The notion of how essential the mixing of the two civilizations was to American character,

which is emphasized by Duncanson's insertion of women into the tableau, may have also been connected to Duncanson's reliance on the composition of *Heart of the Andes*. Racial mixing was exactly what many writers thought would determine the prospects for progress in South America.

Although Humboldt himself was antislavery and opposed to theories of racial inferiority, scientists and visitors to South America who followed after him were typically pessimistic about the possibility of industrial development or modernization in the tropics among the "dark races."[32] Louis Agassiz, a Harvard polygenist and creationist who traveled to Brazil in 1865–66, historian J.-A. de Gobineau, the French minister in Brazil in 1869–70, and social evolutionist Herbert Spencer, for all their differences represented Latin America as degenerative, due in part to its history of miscegenation.[33] A reluctant partial exception to this was James Orton, a devotee of Darwin and professor at Vassar, who in 1868 returned to Humboldt's route. After rehearsing at some length theories of moral decline from miscegenation, Orton reluctantly admits that "our observations" do not support the opinion that the "result of amalgamation" is "a vague compound, lacking character and expression." Instead, he posits that though the inhabitants of the Amazon and the large towns are "mixed-breeds, Negroes, and whites," they often excel their "progenitors" in "tact and enterprise," and it is considered bad taste to boast of "purity of descent."[34]

But what Orton acknowledges is that the widespread perception of the region itself highlights a reason for Comte's popularity in Latin America. Liberals in hybrid societies in the Americas who embraced European ideals of culture and modernization needed to prove, in the terms of contemporary scientific discourse, the advantages of a racial mixture. Comte's version of historical social progress was unusual in being compatible with a modern and explicitly mixed-race society. In Comte's scheme—which predated Darwin and is not based on biology so much as physiology—there are not really inferior and superior races, so much as the observable or "positive" facts of races whose progress had been either advanced or retarded. In recommending comparative studies of human society, he in fact warned that because "the development of the human mind is uniform in the midst of all diversities of climate, and even of race; such diversities having no effect upon anything more than the rate of progress . . . (in sociological comparisons) between peoples of different races, we are liable to confound the effects of race and of the social period."[35] Latin Americans (or other formerly colonized and enslaved peoples), with sufficient Positivist education, could according to sociological laws catch up. For Positivism, Comte said, "reorganizes opinions, which are next to pass into morals and manners, and lastly into institutions."[36]

This meant that although liberals in Latin America, many of whom like the patrons in Duncanson's circle were associated with government and secondary education, generally did believe in a racial hierarchy and the inferiority of indigenous people, they praised educated mestizos as a dynamic part of society. Some writers even suggested that it was mestizos who would produce

a new truly national race, equivalent to Comte's third and most advanced stage of society. This advocacy of mixing the races might equally be understood as repression or erasure of the colored classes of society, a "whitening" of society, but Latin American Positivism nevertheless gave a privileged position to successful mestizos and at times to mulattos, as symbols of national progress.[37] The Mexican writer on themes of interracial romance, Ignacio Altamirano, pleaded in the pages of the Positivist *El Artista* in the early 1870s for a school of art "essentially national, modern, and in harmony with the undeniable progress of the nineteenth century" that would preserve the colonial past and its legacy of racial mixing as authentically part of the national experience, while reconfiguring the present and its "universals" as equal in modernity to Europe.[38] Anglo American capital would find equal partners within such societies for its exploitation of nature, not mere colonized dependents.

If in 1861 Duncanson turned Church's *Heart of the Andes* into a painting (*Land of the Lotus Eaters*) that fit one fantasy of Hispano America, when he copied the painting ten years later, he transformed it in a different fashion [Figures 5–8]. The composition of Duncanson's version of *Heart of the Andes* is faithful to its predecessor, and again he altered Church's precise naturalist detail into the softened, more lyrical forms he preferred, but he also introduced a distinctively North American population: A man dressed in blue jacket and kepi-like hat, with a US flag and a small group of men, emerge from the forest to the right, where a bird whose red head, white collar, and size suggests an Andean condor, lands on a rock in front of them.[39] The lead soldier, who seems also the lightest skinned, reaches for a gun handed to him by another, while two other men appear to have fallen to the ground. Except for the first soldier, the other men are not clearly uniformed.[40] On the other side of the river, Duncanson added an image of commerce: a mule train carrying packs, led by a man and a boy in knee-length pants, shirts, and sashes. The party bearing the US flag, and these seeming inhabitants both gesture toward the bird and the water.

Duncanson's *Heart of the Andes* was painted for a man the Cincinnati *Enquirer* called a "well known patron of home talent," insurance magnate J. B. Bennett. Joseph Bennett commissioned the painting in connection with the founding of his Andes Insurance Company in 1870, which was almost immediately followed by the creation of the Amazon and Triumph Insurance companies; it was also used in an advertising campaign that involved full-color lithographs [Figure 9].[41] Bennett's 21-acre estate in Clifton, a suburb of Cincinnati, was called Amazon Corner. His Andes Insurance Company prospered until claims came in from the Chicago Fire of 1872 followed by the Boston Fire of 1873.[42] But in 1871, Duncanson's *Heart of the Andes*, with a blue-clad soldier, reminder of a reunified United States, entering Humboldt's premodern utopia, perhaps emblematized for his patron the successful and peaceful postwar conquest of the Republican system of entrepreneurship generally. South America or the Amazon as a vast and rich paradise for the enterprising would be appropriate for such a theme as well as for the patron's equally grand ambitions.

But if it is recalled that Church's original painting was understood during the Civil War era as a "southern" landscape, then Duncanson's addition of a soldier and the US flag in 1871 might equally speak to the business of southern Reconstruction as well as northern business enterprise. The reinventions of the two regions were compatible: Northern Anglo elites saw possibilities in both the US South and South America for capital, while newly independent mixed-race elites saw possibilities for self-invention. Joni Kinsey has identified Church's *Heart of the Andes* as one in a series of landscapes in which he commented on the Civil War. She suggests it represented the volcanic "South" to the *Iceberg*'s (1861) arctic "North."[43] In choosing this tropical terrain as a metaphor of the South, Church's picture perhaps acknowledges the way in which the Latin American republics were understood before the Civil War as a freeman's haven, as well as to the same republics' advocacy of the possibility of a progressive multiracial society. If the two regions—the US South and South America—are indeed being conflated (or a progression between the two inferred), it should be noted that upon gaining independence, the Latin American republics had abolished slavery as part of their colonial past (Brazil, which remained a monarchy, did not abolish slavery until 1889, but did so then more or less in tandem with its establishment of a Positivist republic). To see the US South as South America was to imagine its society following an alternative model of development.

Unlike in the United States, ruling elites in South America pursued a postindependence policy of selective assimilation of members of other races. Racial discrimination continued, but without slavery, there was greater room to imagine progress without theories of racial inferiority necessarily buttressing modern social institutions. US observers were aware of the different ways in which South Americans formulated liberalism. The Democratic Party organ, the *U.S. Magazine and Democratic Review*, for example, in 1844 argued that annexing Texas—thereby creating a geographic link to Mexico and South America—would actually help secure the continued separation of the races in the United States because of the appeal to African Americans of South American racial policies: "Let the emancipated negro find himself on the borders of Mexico and the States beyond, and his fate is no longer doubtful or gloomy. He is near the land of his fellows, where equal rights and equal hopes await him and his offspring." The typically expansionist Democrats in this passage recognize that Hispano America offers opportunities for free African Americans, even as they hope that such opportunities will siphon off the US population of freed slaves. As late as the 1850s the Amazon was still seen as a safety valve for the South's surplus black population, its greater opportunities ensuring the survival of slavery as an institution in the Union.[44]

If before the war South America was seen as a potential freeman's interracial haven and an outlet for preserving racial binarism in the United States, then apparently Duncanson in 1871 has reconstructed it. He literally plants the flag, claiming it and with it all its opportunities for the "emancipated negro" as

now Union territory.[45] Possibly, like Church's earlier picture in its own time, Duncanson's *Heart of the Andes* represented a view of the "South," but now it might be said to be a Positivist-inflected view. Postindependence and post-emancipation nationalists in the Americas (among whom Duncanson might be numbered) adopted Positivism's systematic and scientific critique of the European institutions and doctrines that had subjugated them. Monarchy, legalized racial inequality, slavery, feudalism, and established religion all belonged to Comte's first and most irrational stage of society, the theological. This was the stage that had necessarily been destroyed by revolution and the new scientific age of Positivism. As Francisco Bilbao, a Chilean university professor and a follower of Comte, said: "Slavery, degradation: that is the past. . . . Our past is Spain. Spain is the Middle Ages. The Middle Ages are composed, body and soul, of Catholicism and feudalism." Having written off the recent past as medieval in its feudalism, Bilbao went on to found the modern and idealistic Society of Equality in Chile, which asked its members to swear love and universal brotherhood and vow to pull the people out of their abyss of backwardness and darkness in order to "re-generate" the nation.[46] Duncanson's reworked *Heart of the Andes*, then, keeps the pastoral community, its church, its wayside cross, but it adds—in perfect harmony and compositional balance with a man who is bringing goods out of the mountains—light- and dark-skinned soldiers carrying the flag of a nation that had battled on behalf of one of the "down-trodden" races. The evolution in the painting is not the natural one of Humboldt's climate and geology, but a controllable social one.

Church's original version of the painting relied on picturesque pictorial formulas to hold the composite views of Andean nature together. Duncanson's later version does the same, though he often favored such a mode of landscape composition anyway, one that in the manner of influential French seventeenth-century artist Claude Lorraine eschewed abrupt transitions and dramatic contrasts in favor of framed and ideal vistas. Duncanson's classicism, marked by this construction of a regular and orderly spatial recession and atmospheric unity, has been seen by commentators as expressing variously attenuated liberalism, romantic escapism, or simply an idyllic space suited to his poetic themes. Scholars of nineteenth-century postcolonial literature have also pointed out that in South America claims to be *rigurosamente americana* (strictly American) and praise of the uniqueness of American nature and its riches were often made in the most learned and cultivated European language possible.[47]

But Duncanson's insistence on a controlled progress through a world of perfected forms may equally reflect a "positive" design for a Comtean New Order, a deliberately ideal structure not unlike reformers' creations of Societies of Equality. Such a vision of a not yet fully present society might be articulated in orientalist or other imagined landscapes rather than realist ones; Duncanson called English landscape painter J. M. W. Turner, who chose similar subjects, "a *modern* phenomenon in the art of landscape."[48] His patron Bennett too, though an innovator in insurance methods—as an agent for the Aetna Insurance

Company's Cincinnati office (a headquarters for up-and-coming Whig politicians) he hired William Sanborn to create the first fire insurance maps, and Bennett's successes led to Cincinnati becoming an important insurance center—nonetheless invoked a classical order for the universe. Bennett required his agents to carry a printed placard: "Order is Heaven's First Law."[49] The quote from Augustan poet Alexander Pope's *Essay on Man* contradicts Comte's theory of human society but implies both Bennett's neoclassical tastes and his belief in order as the basis for the progress of modern business.

Well before Church visited South America and presumably before Duncanson would have encountered Comte's ideas, Duncanson was painting landscapes set in Mexico that suggest he already shared certain postcolonial interests with Hispano American intellectuals, albeit from a US nationalist perspective. In 1848, for example, he painted Mayan ruins [Figure 10]. Joseph Ketner points out that in doing so, Duncanson capitalized on a popular travel book by John Stephens and Frederick Catherwood, their two-volume *Incidents of Travel in the Yucatán,* which art historian Jennifer Roberts calls steeped in "positivist rhetoric."[50] Stephens was a Democrat who President Martin Van Buren appointed Special Ambassador to the Federal Republic of Central America and who later joined a partnership to build a railroad across the Panama Isthmus; Catherwood was an architectural draftsman who also painted panoramas and was the superintendant of the first railroad in British Guiana (South America). In 1839 they went in search of Mayan remains, and on that trip and a subsequent one, they confirmed that the ruined cities, sculptures, and murals of the Yucatán were the production of an indigenous school of art—that is, they were built by the ancestors of the present tribes living in the region. This was a controversial claim in its day in according the Indian "race" the capability of achieving what nineteenth-century Europeans understood as a great civilization.

Katherine Manthorne observes that Catherwood's eighty-five illustrations for the travel account testify to Mayan skill and originality in ornament and construction techniques, or to what Stephens called a spectacle equal to the Egyptians or any other Old World people. Though Stephens's travelogue repeatedly notes the modern servility of the Indian, he argues that "teaching might again lift up the Indian, might impart to him the skill to sculpture stone and carve wood; and if restored to freedom" his work might again appear equal to his ancestors.[51] Stephens also regularly called attention to the racial mixing of provincial Mexican society, and perhaps catering to his US audience, to the continuation in Mexico of a racial hierarchy in which whites ride while mixed races walk. In contrast to the prominent and usually positive references to mestizas and mestizos, he only rarely mentions black men or women.

Stephens and Catherwood, then, were believers in progress, US expansion in the Americas, and the equivalence of past indigenous American achievements to those of classical civilizations in Europe. Stephens's and Catherwood's desire to appropriate such a glorious past for the United States led to a

critique of present-day Yucatán society, with its still somewhat feudal relations between Mayan peasants and Hispanic plantation owners, the not too hidden implication being that it would take American investment and supervision to bring economic development and political freedoms to the region. In Catherwood's image of the building Stephens called Casa del Gobernador [Figure 11], which Ketner cites as one source for Duncanson, Catherwood indeed highlights the contrast between the prosaic present-day Mayan farmers and the dramatic ancient ruins. Roberts argues that Stephens and Catherwood thereby show the Mayans as indifferent to their past and call attention instead to their kinship to the primordial character of tropical nature, which makes them incapable of participating in scientific discovery. The United States becomes a better caretaker for their heritage.[52]

In tackling the subject of Mexican ruins in 1848, Duncanson would of course have been aware of the US invasion of and war with that nation. He later, c. 1855, painted a view of *Chapultepec Castle* [Figure 12], whose walls, built upon earlier structures—"the halls of Montezuma"—are still recalled in both the US Marine anthem and in a Mexican memorial to the six "child cadets" who died there during the war rather than surrender to US troops. Duncanson's view of the fort is placid in comparison to the lithographs produced in the United States after the war, which featured the "storming" of the citadel.[53] In the foreground of his painting, a Mexican cavalryman—his position vertically aligned with the cadets' defensive tower—stops for water from a peasant family resting near two roadside crosses. A simple footbridge in the foreground, near a pair of palm trees, parallels the famous aqueduct in the background that ran toward Mexico City, just visible in the distance. At a moment when liberals and reformers had just taken control of the Mexican government—Democratic President James Buchanan would later recommend sending in US troops in support of Benito Juárez—Duncanson implies a progressive, even Positivist, future prospect for modern development: footbridge to aqueduct, colony to republic, clerical and military interests to new order.[54] As with *Heart of the Andes*, Duncanson takes the Humboldtian triad of "pure nature"—forests, plains, and mountains, whether Peruvian or Mexican—and adds a strongly human element; this is American nature with infrastructure.

But in 1848 the selection of Mayan ruins rather than Mexican War battlegrounds such as Chapultepec suggests Duncanson might have also known of the Caste Wars in the Yucatán. Just when the US army was nearing Chapultepec and Mexico City, the seemingly indifferent (in Stephens's portrayal) Mayans rebelled and threatened to exterminate whites and mestizos in the Yucatán—or so it was feared. Stephens himself believed that the Mexican government's centralized administration tended to lead to policies of forced modernization that in feudal provinces such as the Yucatán caused social dislocation and eventually rebellion. The Caste Wars, whose fighters came from a still largely agrarian indigenous population, helped in turn to stimulate a federal campaign to mix the Indian with the Hispanic in order to prevent any such future rebellions.[55]

Mayan ruins were thus an equivocal symbol in 1848. They represented an indigenous American school of art that equaled the artistry of Pompeii and Egypt. They also represented a country (Mexico) of mixed races, where dark-skinned premodern agricultural workers might either rise up in rebellion against plantation owners or be turned into citizens and artists by a policy of education and convergence. Duncanson eliminates the Mayan farmers from his view of the ruins, eliminating Catherwood's equation of the present-day native inhabitants with the natural environment. He sets the viewer in a courtyard of what might be a quadrangle at Uxmal, perhaps combining a portion of the western building there with the side of a temple [Figure 13]. Instead of Mayans, explorers in western dress gesture at the ruins they will reconstruct in their travel accounts (or museums), rather as they do in Duncanson's view of *Pompeii* [Figure 14] painted a few years later. As would be true for the Mexican patriots who constructed a modern version of ancient Mayan ruins for the 1889 Paris World's Fair [Figures 15 and 16], in Duncanson's painting, the Indian past is a source of "American" pride and legitimacy, a means to equality and recognition from Europeans. But the Mayans' present-day condition also justifies mestizos and mulattos joining government efforts to forcibly modernize the indigenous, the down-trodden, as part of their own movement up a hierarchical international scale. The cult of the indigenous past, with its corresponding image of the modern "American" nation as a higher synthesis of Indian and European, was a mestizo construct.[56]

In Duncanson's images of "northerners" in the South—in Mexico or the heart of the Andes—the exhilaration of the discovery of sublime natural or historical grandeur is seemingly tied to the accumulative and imperialist vision of the collector, scientist, investor, or educator. This viewer of ruins or raw nature has a privileged place in the modern nation's class structure, and in Duncanson, a gesturing viewer is often represented within the picture, modeling the act of viewing. Positivists often justified an activist state on the grounds that observable social duties outweighed unprovable abstractions like individual rights, leading to Positivist apologetics for dictatorial governments ranging from Napoleon III to Porfirio Díaz, but also creating a rationale for government to direct social progress.[57] Indeed, Duncanson, like Bilbao, Lastarria, and Barreda, had a stake in reconstructing American "nature," in demonstrating that the observable laws of human society could control and revise that nature into a more perfect form. That Duncanson's social vision should be pastoral, aestheticized (marked by a classical composition) rather than realist, a human-ordered society rather than one random and "natural" in its progress, is not then surprising.

Comte's and other reformers' concept of directed social evolution served the purpose of legitimizing members of mixed-race elites such as Duncanson, even as it found a subordinate place for the majority of African Americans or other subordinated groups within democratic discourse. In Mexico, for example (in addition to privatizing communal lands held by indigenous peoples), Comtean Positivists in the 1870s supported universal obligatory public education.

They argued that extending education to indigenous peoples would cause them to assimilate to Hispanic culture, resulting in a harmonious, mixed-race nation. This scheme assumes that all the races have aptitude for learning, but requires an active state to enforce reforms aimed at leading the nation's citizens toward higher—more homogenous—levels of social development.[58] In Cincinnati and Ohio an intraracial debate in the 1870s over whether separate schools would promote racial advancement or inequality led to a fairly explicit articulation of a related problem.[59] For many African Americans in the North and West, ongoing segregation and separate education were associated with slavery and the South—or as Positivists might say, with feudalism and an earlier stage of society. To reject a strategy of separate development in favor of something akin to assimilation, whether in the schools or as with Duncanson's erasure of color by paint, was a move familiar to Positivists and idealists throughout the Americas.

Indeed, Duncanson's assertion of his faith in Positivism's laws of society in his letter to his son, and of his right to choose his company and patronage, seems to acknowledge the complexity of local and national Reconstruction allegiances. Duncanson was writing in the midst of ongoing disputes over military Reconstruction in the South and the civil one in the North. Both required envisioning African Americans as citizen-subjects of the reformed republic. What this citizenship would mean continued to be contested in the years after the war, not only nationally, but also in Ohio and in Cincinnati, and among Republicans themselves. The Ohio Republican Party had been factionalized to such an extent that in 1867 it abandoned the cause of black suffrage, even though the legislative movement for it had come from their own ranks. In 1868 Democrats in charge of the state legislature went further, passing a "Visible Admixture" bill designed to block exercise of the franchise by those not "pure white." The Ohio Supreme Court, however, declared this measure unconstitutional, and by 1870 there was some new optimism in the state about civil rights. The federal government, however, intervened in the state quarrel over how to limit the African American vote with the Fifteenth Amendment.

Cincinnati Democrats hostile to the federal government's enforcement of political rights via the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments compared this new constitutionalism to the "volcanic" instability of Mexico and the South American republics.[60] The potential for new voters to exercise power and reshape existing parties was quite real. The Fifteenth Amendment, which still gave states the power to disfranchise through qualifications such as poll taxes, was ratified in Ohio in 1870 because of the growth of a "Citizen Reformers" party. In Cincinnati, Citizen Reformers included Democrats trying to regain control of the city government and conservative Republicans similarly struggling for ascendancy. Though not a single Democrat voted for the Fifteenth Amendment's ratification, arguments against it avoided abusing African Americans, in what the Republican Cincinnati *Commercial* called "a discreet appreciation of the fact that the Democracy might stand in need of colored votes before another election." By 1870 Ohio was second only to Pennsylvania of the

northern states in the size of its African American population, and second only to New Jersey in percentage of its total population.[61]

The Cincinnati critic who in an August 1871 review of *Heart of the Andes* described Duncanson as "the representative of widely distinct races, and of three quarters of the globe," as well as "one somewhat allied to the race for which [Senator Charles] Sumner has labored so long and ardently," and "unquestionably [our] most ideal, and yet in some respects most realistic, resident landscape painter," thus neatly summarized the contradictions of Duncanson's position in 1871: local and global, natural and artificial, enslaved and free man of color.[62] The critic's reference to Sumner may partly stem from Duncanson's publicly allying himself with the senator through the gift of a landscape painting, *Ellen's Isle* [Figure 17], that he exhibited with *Heart of the Andes*. Choosing another idyllic poetic subject ("Ellen's Isle" refers to Sir Walter Scott's poem *The Lady of the Lake*) suggests that he believed they shared the goal of reordering "nature" and racial categories; Sumner's postwar attack on segregation as a form of slavery had rested not on an appeal to a natural law of equality, but on the grounds that citizenship was a social concept that demanded equality regardless of physical nature or origins.[63] But by spring 1872, while Duncanson's gift received attention in Washington, DC, Sumner had joined fellow abolitionist Horace Greeley (and Cincinnati *Commercial* editor Murat Halstead) in Cincinnati, to launch the Liberal Republicans, a party that claimed that with the Fifteenth Amendment Reconstruction could end. In response, Reuben Duncanson, Robert Duncanson's son, became secretary of a colored voters' Grant Club, rejecting Sumner and Greeley in favor of President Grant's reelection and the continuation of the military and protective measures of Reconstruction. A month later, Robert Duncanson collapsed, probably from an illness caused by exposure to lead paint, and died not long after.

Art historians have failed, according to one critic, to theorize Duncanson's art with respect to "Americanness," the formation of national identity that is the usual context for understanding his peers in the Hudson River School of landscape painting. This failure, it is argued, springs from an essentialism that takes his work and that of other minority artists as a recapitulation of their racialized identity—and in doing so maintains a normalized "whiteness."[64] Placing Duncanson in a transnational context of authors, educators, and artists who wanted to find within modern scientific discourse a theory of society that permitted mixed-race societies to progress may seem to continue this error of privileging race in explaining his art and practice. Doing so, however, helps explain his attraction to Comte's gradualist scheme of reform. It also offers a way of thinking about his style outside of categories like realism and romanticism, labels that even in the nineteenth century never seemed entirely adequate to his work. In emphasizing the importance of class position and multiraciality, such an approach also helps avoid some of the black and white determinism familiar to students of US history and to Duncanson himself. Finally, it sheds light on the question of landscape and nationalism. His very adoption, and adaptation, of a

variety of cosmopolitan views made a claim to modern subjectivity and self-definition, and thereby a claim to equality, and even national affinity. His aim as an artist after all was a very "American" one: to achieve a name and fame second to none—in the United States.

Notes

1. Letter from R.S. Duncanson to Reuben Duncanson, June 29, 1871, Cincinnati. As published in James Dallas Parks, *Robert S. Duncanson: 19th Century Black Romantic Painter* (Washington, DC: Associated Publishers, 1980), 30, the complete text reads (with original punctuation): "I heard today, not for the first time, of your abusive language toward me. Reuben I have lived to the age of fifty years, I have toiled hard, and have earned and gained a name and fame in my profession second to none in the United States, and now as God decrees on some Angel smiling in the Sun has sent me a friend. A wealthy citizen. I am assured of any amount. My declining years will glide smoothly along. He is of the race that you despise. I despise no being that God has made for he made all good, you have stated that I have all my life tried to pass for white. Shame on you! Shame!! Shame!! Reuben. My heart has always been with the down-trodden race. There are colored persons in this city that I love and respect, true and dear to me. It does not follow that because I am colored that I am bound to kiss every colored or white man I meet. Hog's pick their company, and I have the same right. Reuben you and Mary have lived off your grandmother even Mr. Graham since his death, how have you and Mary paid her for her care and strict watchfulness over you. Shame!! Shame!! Shame!! Reuben Need I point out the abuse that you have given to her who fed, clothed and succored you since infancy? I am here to watch you, and I will pass my arms between right and wrong mark what I say here in black and white I have no color on the brain all I have on the brain is paint. You seem to take a great deal on your puny shoulders. What have the colored people done for me? or what are they going to do to me? please answer? I care not for color: "Love is my principle, order is the basis, progress is the end." Reuben one step more in the course you have pursued and you fall. How often we see the total destruction of disobedient and God forsaken children. You have gone far enough in your abuse. I will write tonight to Mary. She too has lost that respect due me and I will make you both up. MY conscience does not upbraid me a single nite. YOU can understand by what I have wrote that I mean business."

2. Gertrude Lenzer, ed., *Auguste Comte and Positivism: The Essential Writings* (New York: Harper & Row, 1975), 381. In French the phrase is "L'Amour pour principe, l'Ordre pour base et le Progress pour but"; Auguste Comte, *Catechisme Positivist*e (Paris: chez l'auteur, 1852), 36, original text reproduced in an electronic edition by Jean-Marie Tremblay (2002) for the collection "Les classiques des sciences sociales," http://www.uqac.uquebec.ca/zone30/Classiques_des_sciences_sociales/index.html. Richard Congreve, trans., *The Catechism of Positive Religion* (London: John Chapman, 1858), gives the phrase on the frontispiece as "Love as our principle, Order as our basis, Progress as our end." It sometimes was abbreviated to "Love, Order and Progress," as in "A General View of Positivism," *Edinburgh Review* 127, no. 260 (April 1868): 303–57, 354, or in slightly altered form, as on the cover of Henry Edger, *The Positivist Calendar* (author, 1856), "Love for Principle, Order for Basis and Progress for End." By 1872 its most common English form was essentially Congreve's, as in, for example, E. Gryzanovski, "On The International Workingmen's Association," *North American Review* 114 (April 1872): 309–76, 331, "Love as the Principle, Order as the Basis, Progress as the End."

3. Joseph D. Ketner, *Emergence of the African-American Artist* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1993), 43–44, 111; David Lubin, *Picturing a Nation* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1994), 107-157, 143. Margaret Rose Vendryes, "Race Identity/Identifying Race: Robert S. Duncanson and Nineteenth-Century American Painting," *Museum Studies* 27, no. 1 (2001): 82–104. See also Wendy Katz, "Robert S. Duncanson: City and Hinterland," *Prospects* 25 (2000): 311–37.

4. The term "middle class" itself came into use during the period before the Civil War; see Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760–1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 1, on middle-class denial of class, 10, on character traits, 217. See also Paul S. Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820–1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), 60–61, and William T. Oedel and Todd S. Gernes, "*The Painter's Triumph*: William Sidney Mount and the Formation of a Middle-Class Art," *Winterthur Portfolio* 23 (Summer–Autumn 1988): 111–27. For Cincinnati, see especially Steven J. Ross, *Workers on the Edge: Work, Leisure and Politics in Industrializing Cincinnati, 1788–1890* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985).

5. See, for example, C. Reginald Daniel, *Race and Multiraciality in Brazil and the United States: Converging Paths?* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2006), 31–37.

6. The census of 1872 listed 38 percent of the population as "white," 20 percent as "black," and the remainder as mulatto or "pardo"; Thomas E. Skidmore, "Racial Ideas and Social Policy in Brazil, 1870–1940," in Richard Graham, ed., *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 7–36, 8. Gabino Barreda, minister of education and a student of Comte's in Paris (as well as earlier a volunteer against the U.S. forces of General Winfield Scott), in his "Oración Civica" in 1867 (trans. Carlos Gil, *The Age of Porfirio Díaz: Selected Readings* [Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1977]), 33–36, coined "Libertad, Orden y Progreso" (35) as the new motto for Mexico. The freedom of conscience produced by the secular system of public education he advocated would lead to what the principle scholar of Mexican Positivism translates as "scientific emancipation, religious emancipation, political emancipation"; Barreda quoted in Leopoldo Zea, *Positivism in Mexico*, trans. Josephine H. Schulte (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), 51. Barreda later dropped liberty as too metaphysical, leaving order and progress as the motto, not just for Mexico, but (when it became a republic in 1889), as *Ordem y Progresso*, in Brazil. It might be noted that one prominent Positivist in Chile, José Lastarria, urged "Liberty and Progress" instead; Allen Woll, "Positivism and History in Nineteenth-Century Chile: José Victorino Lastarria and Valentín Letelier," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 37, no. 3 (1976): 493–506, 495. On Barreda's influence in transmitting Comte, including to supporters of Díaz, see Leopoldo Zea, *The Latin-American Mind*, trans. James H. Abbott and Lowell Dunham (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 37 ff., 272–79, and Charles Hale, *The Transformation of Liberalism in Late Nineteenth-Century Mexico* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989), 3–6.

7. Barreda, "Civic Oration," quoted in Gil, *Age of Porfirio Díaz*, 35.

8. Comte's *Cours de Philosophie Positive*, in six volumes, was published in French from 1830 to 1842 and translated into a two-volume set in English by Harriet Martineau in 1853. His *Système de Politique Positive*, in four volumes, was published in 1851–54 and translated as *System of Positive Polity* (New York: Ben Franklin, 1875). Between the two, a translation of Comte's *Catéchisme positiviste* (1852) was made in 1858 and was reviewed in the transcendentalist *Christian Examiner* in the same year, and a translation of a French popularizer of Comte, Emile Littré's *De la philosophie positive*, appeared in the *Democratic Review* of 1847. See Charles Cashdollar, "European Positivism and the American Unitarians," *Church History* 45, no. 4 (1976): 490–506.

9. On transnational engagement in this period as taking place without direct physical or conscious contact, see Ifeoma Kiddoe Nwankwo, *Black Cosmopolitanism: Racial Consciousness and Transnational Identity in the Nineteenth-Century Americas* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005), 9–21.

10. Creolized is used here to refer to peoples and cultures created during the period of colonialization and slavery in the Americas by encounters and exchanges between indigenous peoples, Europeans, and Africans. Its use in nineteenth-century Latin America generally referred to people or phenomena of "pure" European stock, but American-born. Simón Bolivar in 1815 writes of the complexities faced by the "Creole" or American-born leaders who seek national autonomy, in this sense, though when he addressed the Venezuelan national congress in 1819 he described the nation as a "mixed species" in which "Spaniards have mixed with Americans and Africans, and Africans with Indians and Spaniards." Bolivar quoted in Marilyn Grace Miller, *The Rise and Fall of the Cosmic Race: The Cult of Mestizaje in Latin America* (Austin: University of Texas, 2004), 8–9. Miller notes that Bolivar was unusual in including the African contribution to the "mixed species," a tactical acknowledgement designed to permit emancipated slaves to fight for their country.

11. Linda Nochlin's influential study *Realism* (New York: Penguin Books, 1972), for example, associates Comte with styles whose objectivity and concrete particulars are often remote from Duncanson's.

12. Auguste Comte, *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte*, trans. and condensed by Harriet Martineau, 2 vols. (3rd ed., London: Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co., 1893; 1st ed. published 1853), 2:400. This class, which contemplates the most abstract and general concepts, covers both scientific-philosophical members and aesthetic-poetic. Comte even endorses "science fictions" as useful to progress.

13. Lenzer, *Auguste Comte and Positivism*, 298–305. Zea, *The Latin-American Mind*, 183–86,145–49; Hale, *Transformation of Liberalism*, 225–34. José Victorino Lastarria, who delivered the Academy's inaugural address, was the first Chilean intellectual to publicly state his adherence to Positivism; the Academy had been founded as a liberal institution to challenge the more conservative views of the University of Chile and was funded by a man who made his fortune in mining. Ivan Jaksic, *Academic Rebels in Chile: The Role of Philosophy in Higher Education and Politics* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), 42; Lastarria quoted in Woll, "Positivism and History in Nineteenth-Century Chile," 496; see also Patricio Silva, *In the Name of Reason: Technocrats and Politics in Chile* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 24–37.

14. Lastarria quoted in Thomas Bader, "Early Positivistic Thought and Ideological Conflict in Chile," *The Americas* 26, no. 4 (1970), 376–93, 382.

15. John Stuart Mill, *Auguste Comte and Positivism* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1968; first published 1865). See also T. R. Wright, *The Religion of Humanity: The Impact of Comtean Positivism on Victorian Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 40–72.

16. Richmond L. Hawkins, *Positivism in the United States, 1853–1861* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1938); and Gillis Harp, *Positivist Republic: Auguste Comte and the Reconstruction of American Liberalism, 1865–1920* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995).

17. See Nikki Taylor, *Frontiers of Freedom: Cincinnati's Black Community, 1802–1868* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2005), 136–37, and on Duncanson's patron Nicholas Longworth's discreet contributions to black schools, 45–46. Duncanson's family as well in his hometown of Monroe, Michigan, intermarried (including Duncanson's brother, Nathaniel) or were at times designated as white (Robert W. Duncanson, the artist's nephew, for example, was counted as a mulatto child in the 1860 census, but both he and his wife were recorded as white in their 1874 marriage application), but despite owning several properties the Duncanson family lived in a ward close to their kin and to working-class African American families who were not identified as white with the same frequency. James E. DeVries, *Race and Kinship in a Midwestern Town: The Black Experience in Monroe, Michigan, 1900–1915* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 11, 21, 149–50.

18. Ketner, *Emergence*, 14, 103. Fourth Street, where Duncanson lived, was part of Cincinnati's business district; Taylor, *Frontiers of Freedom*, 195, notes that the adjacent Fourth Ward had the highest percentage of African Americans in the city. The African Union Baptist Church of Cincinnati was located in the Fourth Ward as well; in Monroe, Duncanson's family had ties to the Baptist church. Some observers thought that the Baptist Church attracted the "better class" of blacks; John Mercer Langston quoted in Taylor, *Frontiers of Freedom*, 89.

19. Bishop quoted in James Rodabaugh, *Robert Hamilton Bishop* (Columbus: Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, 1935), 108, 180, 171; Carl Becker, "Patriarch of Farmers' College: Dr. Robert H. Bishop," *Bulletin of the Cincinnati Historical Society* 23 (April 1965): 104–18. Like his friend Lyman Beecher, Bishop first favored colonization, but refused to suppress abolitionists on campus. See also Thomas Matijasic, "African Colonization Activity at Miami University during the Administration of Robert Hamilton Bishop, 1824–1841," *The Old Northwest* 12, no. 1 (1986): 83–94. See also Harriet Martineau, *Retrospect of Western Travel,* 2 vols. (New York: Charles Lohman, 1838), 2:36–51; by the time of her visit, she had already published *Illustrations in Political Economy* (1832–34) and had been considering Henri de Saint-Simon as she developed her own system of sociology. See Valerie Pichanick, *Harriet Martineau: The Woman and Her Work, 1802–76* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1980).

20. Carl Guarneri, *The Utopian Alternative: Fourierism in Nineteenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 4, 62–67; Brian Berry, *America's Utopian Experiments: Communal Havens from Long-Wave Crises* (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1992), 83–92.

21. William H. Channing was the nephew of a more famous Unitarian minister, William Ellery Channing. The most famous American disciple of Comte, Henry Edger, had lived in a phalanx; Guarneri, *Utopian Alternative*, 363. Charles Cashdollar is the authority on Comte's influence among the Unitarians and suggests it is possible that W. H. Channing became acquainted with Comte's *Cours* in the 1830s, before he arrived in Cincinnati; see Cashdollar, *The Transformation of Theology, 1830–90* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 94, n. 1.

22. The historian of Monroe, Michigan, where the Duncanson family owned land and lived for several generations, observes that the black population was too small to support a separate church. Several of Robert's siblings belonged to or were baptized in the Baptist church; DeVries, *Race and Kinship in a Midwestern Town,* 28. According to Ketner's checklist, Duncanson painted only a few explicitly religious paintings, one in Detroit in 1846, *At the Foot of the Cross* (Detroit Institute of Arts), perhaps for the Jesuits, the 1852 *Garden of Eden* (and a smaller copy), *The Land of Beulah* (location unknown) 1854, based on John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, followed by the 1855 *The Hiding of Moses* (destroyed). Like an earlier experiment with "chemical paintings," views of Hagia Sophia, the Last Supper, the Destruction of Nineveh, and Belshazzar's Feast, created in partnership with a photographer in 1844 and including dramatic lighting effects, these paintings of the 1850s seem intended for public exhibition.

23. Moncure Conway, *The Autobiography, Memories and Experiences of Moncure Daniel Conway,* 2 vols. (London: Cassell and Company, 1904), 2:347.

24. *Cincinnati Weekly Gazette* (November 24, 1865), 2; cited in Ketner, *Emergence*, 221n49.

25. Cashdollar, *The Transformation of Theology*, 132-33. See also Richmond Hawkins, *Auguste Comte and the United States, 1816–1853* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1936).

26. Conway, *Autobiography*, 1:251, 247, 259–60, 227. Conway preached as a guest at Methodist churches in Cincinnati as well as his Unitarian pulpit. Given Duncanson's belief in Spiritualism at the end of his life (Ketner, *Emergence*, 181–82) it is perhaps relevant that Conway hosted various mediums at his home in Cincinnati. Conway also recounts his own stay with Tennyson, including hearing a story about an officer who made a cross-class marriage and leaft the country to found a "positivist" church (2:29–33). Conway's letter to the *Gazette* is discussed in Robert S. Duncanson (1821-1872): The Late Literary Landscape Paintings," *American Art Journal*, vol. 15, no. 1 (Winter 1983), 38-40.

27. Kevin Avery, *Church's Great Picture: The Heart of the Andes* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1993).

28. Critic Henry Tuckerman, quoted in Avery, *Church's Great Picture*, 31–33. The *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* cited in Avery, 37, supplied the comparison to Milton et al.; the married editors of the journal, Orville Victor and Metta Victoria Fuller Victor, were strongly antislavery.

29. Conway, *Autobiography*, 1:247. His 1862 treatise on immediate emancipation was titled *The Golden Hour*. Comte comments on Scott, *The Positive Philosophy of Auguste Comte*, 2:378.

30. Lubin, *Picturing a Nation*, 132–39. Tennyson does mention a distant "yellow down/ Border'd with palm,". Tennyson, *Poems*, (London: Edward Moxon, 1833) p. 109, is on the Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/poemstennalfr00tennrich.

31. See, for example, Sharae Deckard*, Paradise Discourse, Imperialism, and Globalization: Exploiting Eden* (New York: Routledge, 2010), 38–40.

32. Philip Foner, "Alexander Von Humboldt on Slavery in America," *Science and Society* 47 (Fall 1983): 330–42.

33. Richard Graham, "Introduction," in *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940*, ed. Richard Graham (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 1–5; on Agassiz, see Nancy Leys Stepan, *Picturing Tropical Nature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 85–119, 124–28; on Spencer especially in contrast to Comte, see Hale, *The Transformation of Liberalism*, 205–22. On intellectuals' struggle with Gobineau, see Thomas E. Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974), 27–32, 48–56.

34. James Orton, *The Andes and the Amazon*, (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1870), 322-23. Orton's book received notices in Cincinnati newspapers, e.g. March 3, 1870, *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer*, and May 12, 1870, *Cincinnati Daily Gazette*, and it was printed in Cincinnati by Robert Clarke & Co.

35. Comte, *The Positive Philosophy*, 2:86–87. Comte followed Cuvier rather than Lamarck in accepting fixed species (1:343–46), but he disdained the metaphysical/religious view that would separate the study of man from other animals or living organisms, and for similar reasons disdained the search for causes (e.g., 1:360, "discarding all notions about *causes*, and inquiring only into *laws*"), recommending instead only positive biology's study of the reciprocal relationship of existing organisms and their function in their environment (1:301).

36. Comte, *The Positive Philosophy,* 2:407.

37. Lourdes Martinez-Echazabal, "*Mestizaje* and the Discourse of National/Cultural Identity in Latin America, 1845–1959," *Latin American Perspectives* 25, no. 3 (1998): 21–42; Winthrop Wright, *Café con Leche: Race, Class, and National Image in Venezuela* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 43–76; Thomas Bader, "Early Positivistic Thought and Ideological Conflict in Chile," *The Americas* 26, no. 4 (1970): 376–93; Peter Wade, *Blackness and Race Mixture: The Dynamics of Racial Identity in Colombia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 8–24, 295–300; and Skidmore, *Black into White,* 12–24.

38. Ignacio Altamirano quoted in Stacie Widdifield, *The Embodiment of the National in Late Nineteenth-Century Mexican Painting* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), 64–68, 123–45.

39. Robin Goodman, registrar at the Kalamazoo Institute of Arts, helpfully suggested the bird might be an Andean condor. Orton describes the view of Chimborazo, the mountain featured in both Church's and Duncanson's paintings, as if pictured from the condor's viewpoint; *Andes and the Amazon*, 130–31.

40. Joseph D. Ketner II, *Robert S. Duncanson: "The Spiritual Striving of the Freedmen's Sons"* (Catskill, NY: Thomas Cole National Historic Site, 2011), 23, describes it as a "battle scene between an Indian and American soldiers," with great personal significance to the artist who utilized "the Native American as a parallel, or even an alter ego, to his own African-American identity."

41. *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer,* June 25, 1871. Robert Clarke & Co., the Cincinnati publisher of James Orton's account of the Andes, exhibited a 25 in × 34 in chromolithograph of the *Heart of the Andes*, intended as a "show card" for the Andes Insurance Company. The Cincinnati *Daily Gazette* (February 11, 1871) notes that the "well known scenic artist" Duncanson painted the original in oil, and that the chromo would be delightful for the parlor except for the words "Andes Insurance Company, $1,000,000," running in four lines across sky, mountains, river and foliage."

42. Robert S. Critchell, *Recollections of a Fire Insurance Man* (Chicago: Published by the Author, 1909), 8, 12–13; Mike Bennett, "Joseph Bennett," *Ohio Biographies Project, Hamilton County*, ed. Tina Hursh, http://ohiobios.ancestralsites.com/hamilton_co/b00091.html. In an odd reversal of the *Heart of the Andes* as an insurance company promotion, the scientist James Orton in his 1870 account of his trip to the sites Humboldt and Church had earlier described, envisions the alienating vastness of the landscape enlivened by ads: "Even 'Drake's Plantation Bitters' painted on the volcanic cliffs of Chimborazo, would be a relief"; Orton, *Andes and the Amazon*, 51.

43. Joni Kinsey, "History in Natural Sequence," in *Redefining American History Painting*, ed. Patricia Burnham and Lucretia Giese (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 158–73. Avery, *Church's Great Picture*, 46, positions it as part of a triptych or tropical epic: Church's *Cotopaxi* (1862) would hang to the right of the *Heart of the Andes* and embody the sublime, Church's

Chimborazo (1864) on the left would represent the beautiful, and *Heart of the Andes* was their combination, or "power with repose."

44. The *Democratic Review* quoted in Carl Degler, *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (New York: Macmillan, 1971), 16. The *Review* was edited by John L. O'Sullivan, who is credited with popularizing the phrase "manifest destiny" in his editorial "Annexation" on Texas; *Democratic Review* 17, no. 1 (July-August 1845): 5–10. The *Review* reproduced a multipart summary of Comte's system of positive philosophy, from February to May 1847, available online at http://ebooks.library.cornell.edu/u/usde/index.html; Kinsey, "History in Natural Sequence," 164. See also Katherine Manthorne with John W. Coffey, *The Landscapes of Louis Rémy Mignot: A Southern Painter Abroad* (Raleigh: North Carolina Museum of Art, 1996), 69–101. Democrats in the 1840s often favored annexation of Mexico and sometimes of even more of the continent. Unlike the Whigs, that the countries being annexed had sizable Catholic and nonwhite populations did not stand to Democrats as an objection to their joining the United States.

45. In a discussion of how metaphors identifying the US South with the tropics permeated political rhetoric, Eleanor Jones Harvey, *The Civil War in American Art* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian American Art Museum, 2012), 34, cites Cincinnati author Nathan D. Urner's 1861 poem "The Coming of the North" as envisioning the geological supremacy of the North rolling over the tropical South like "a glacier on the move."

46. Francisco Bilbao (1823–65) quoted in German Arciniegas, "The Search for Order and Progress in Latin America," in *Positivism in Latin America, 1850–1900*, ed. Ralph Lee Woodward, Jr. (Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath and Company, 1971), 1–7, 6.

47. Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 172–74.

48. My emphasis. Duncanson quoted in Guy McElroy, *Robert S. Duncanson: A Centennial Exhibition* (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1972), 13. See also Ketner, "The Late Literary Landscape Paintings," 35-47; Linda Hartigan, *Sharing Traditions: Five Black Artists in Nineteenth-Century America* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1985), 51–68, and K. Dian Kriz, "Dido versus the Pirates: Turner's Carthaginian Paintings and the Sublimation of Colonial Desire," *Oxford Art Journal* 18, no. 1 (1995): 116–32. Duncanson's *Light and Shade: Ruins of Carthage* (1845) is at the Ohio Historical Society.

49. Pope's poem reaffirms the social hierarchy as divine: "Order is heaven's first law; and this confessed, some are, and must be, greater than the rest."

50. McElroy, *Robert S. Duncanson,* 42, lists *Mexican Landscape* and *Chapultepec Castle*. Ketner, in addition to *Mayan Ruins*, identifies *Malay, Yucatán* (1848). See also Andrea Barnwell et al., *The Walter O. Evans Collection of African American Art* (Seattle: Walter O. Evans Foundation and University of Washington Press, 1999). The Smithsonian's online Art Inventories Catalog lists three scenes of Mayan Ruins by Duncanson, as well as a *Recollections of the Tropics* exhibited in Montreal in 1865; a color reproduction of Mayan *Ruinas* (1848) is reproduced as no. 37 in Consuelo Fernandez Ruiz et al., *El Paisaje Mexicano en la Pintura del Siglo XIX y Principios del XX* (Banamex, 1991); Jennifer L. Roberts, "Landscapes of Indifference: Robert Smithson and John Lloyd Stephens in the Yucatán," *Art Bulletin* 82, no. 3 (2000), 544–67, 544.

51. Katherine Manthorne, *Tropical Renaissance: North American Artists Exploring Latin America, 1839–1879* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989), 97, 94. John Lloyd Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in the Yucatán,* 2 vols., reprint (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962), 2:293–94. See also R. Tripp Evans, *Romancing the Maya: Mexican Antiquity in the American Imagination* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), 44–87.

52. Roberts, "Landscapes of Indifference," 544–50.

53. William H. Truettner, "*Storming the Teocalli*-Again: Or, Further Thoughts on Reading History Paintings," *American Art* 9, no. 3 (1995): 56–95, suggests that the violence of Emmanuel Leutze's 1848 painting might have recalled to viewers the violent lithographs depicting Mexican War battles, with the temple of Teocalli being conflated with the Aztec ruins the Spanish built their castle atop at Chapultepec; he also notes Leutze's use of Mayan artifacts and temples synthesized from Catherwood, but denies that Leutze's liberalism would have made it possible for him to "disavow nineteenth-century racial hierarchies" and sympathize with indigenous peoples (77). However, Leutze included a freed man in his 1862 mural *Westward the Course of Empire* for the US Capitol, leading an Irish emigrant woman and child on a mule. If Spain of the Teocalli like the Old South of slavery was the cruel colonial empire, then implicitly the new American democratic empire would define itself against and replace it; Maria DeGuzman, *Spain's Long Shadow: The Black Legend, Off-Whiteness, and the Anglo-American Empire* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2005), xii–xiii, 87–90, 334n31.

54. Charles Creighton Hazewell, "Mexico," *Atlantic Monthly* 5 (February 1860): 235–46. Justo Sierra, who adopted Positivism in the mid-1870s and was minister of education under Díaz, divides his *Political Evolution of the Mexican People,* trans. Charles Ramsdell (1900–02; Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969), into three phases, and, 288–89, describes 1858–60 as the triumph of the 1855 leaders' reforms (constitutional government) over a colonial era dominated by the vested interests of the military class and the clergy.

55. Terry Rugeley, *Yucatán's Maya Peasantry and the Origins of the Caste War* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), ix–xix; Charles Hale, *Mexican Liberalism in the Age of Mora, 1821–1853* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1968), 224–47.

56. Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo, *Mexico at the World's Fairs: Crafting a Modern Nation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 64–80. Angela Miller notes that midcentury Whig observers of the Mound Builders in the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys responded "with regrets for lost innocence, for a mythic past that was static, arcadian, and beyond history" and so associated themselves with the dispossessed; "'The Soil of an Unknown America': New World Lost Empires and the Debate over Cultural Origins," *American Art* 8, nos. 3 and 4 (1994): 8–27, 9, 26.

57. Comte consigned individual rights to the past, the second or metaphysical stage of society, when men still believe in abstract forces or essences; Mill, *Auguste Comte and Positivism*, 77–78.

58. Hale, *The Transformation of Liberalism*, 225–34.

59. David Gerber, *Black Ohio and the Color Line, 1860-1915* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976) 199-204.

60. "The Union of Law and Liberty," *Cincinnati Daily Enquirer* (March 13, 1871).

61. Felice Bonadio, *North of Reconstruction: Ohio Politics, 1865–1870* (New York: New York University Press, 1970); the *Commercial* quoted in the *Commercial* quoted in Gerber, *Black Ohio and the Color Line*, 40.

62. A. T. E., "Art Notes," Cincinnati *Daily Times* (August 8, 1871).

63. Kirt Wilson, *The Reconstruction Desegregation Debate: The Politics of Equality and the Rhetoric of Place, 1870–1875* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2002), 61. *Ellen's Isle* (1871; Detroit Institute of Arts), and a third picture (*Paradise and the Peri*, 1871, location unknown, after a poem by Thomas Moore) were exhibited with *Heart of the Andes* in 1871. The Cincinnati *Daily Times* (February 3, 1872) notes *Ellen's Isle's* appearance in a gallery on Pennsylvania Avenue.

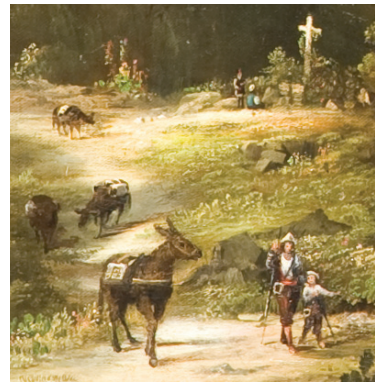
64. Kirsten Buick, *Child of the Fire: Edmonia Lewis and the Problem of Art History's Black and Indian Subject* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 31–48.

Figure 2: Robert S. Duncanson, *The Garden of Eden*, 1852, oil on canvas, 32 ½ in × 48 in. West Foundation, Atlanta/The-Athenaeum.org.

Figure 3: Frederic Edwin Church, *The Heart of the Andes*, 1859, oil on canvas, 66 1/8 in × 119 ¼ in. Image © The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Bequest of Margaret E. Dows, 1909. 09.95.

Figure 4: Robert S. Duncanson, *The Land of the Lotus Eaters*, 1861, oil on canvas, 52 ¾ in × 88 5/8 in. ©The Royal Court, Sweden. Photo: Alexis Daflos.

Figure 5: Robert S. Duncanson, *Heart of the Andes*, 1871, oil on canvas, 40 in × 69 in. Collection of the Kalamazoo Institute of Arts; Gift of Elizabeth Upjohn Mason and Lowell B. Mason, Jr., 2002.9.



Figures 6 , 7, and 8: Details of *Heart of the Andes*.

Figure 9: *Andes Insurance Co*, *Williams' City Directory* (Cincinnati Directory Office, 1872), 121.

Figure 10: Robert S. Duncanson, *Mayan Ruins, Yucatán*, 1848, oil on canvas, 14 in × 20 in. The Dayton Art Institute, Museum purchase with funds provided by the Daniel Blau Endowment, 1984.105.

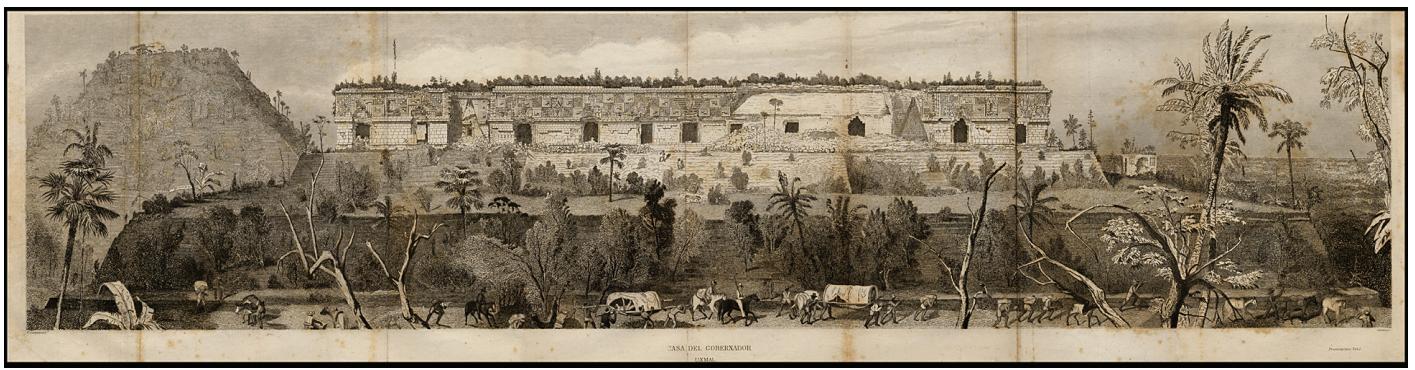


Figure 11: Frederick Catherwood, *Casa del Gobernador*, *Uxmal*, engraving from John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Yucatán,* 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1847), vol. 1: plate 11. Archives and Special Collections, University of Nebraska–Lincoln Libraries.

Figure 12: Robert S. Duncanson, *Chapultepec Castle*, c. 1855, oil on canvas, 24 in × 31 in. Courtesy of the Walter O. Evans Collection of African American Art, Savannah College of Art and Design.

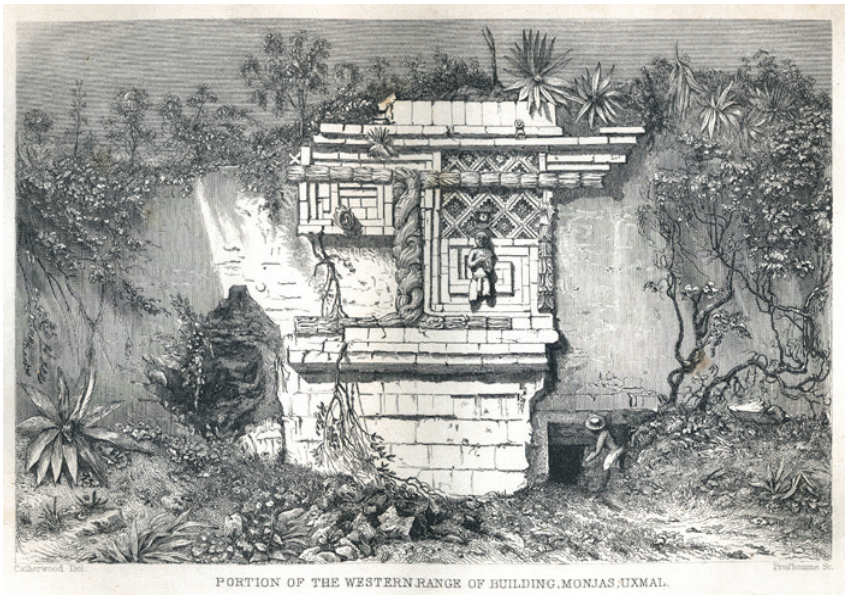
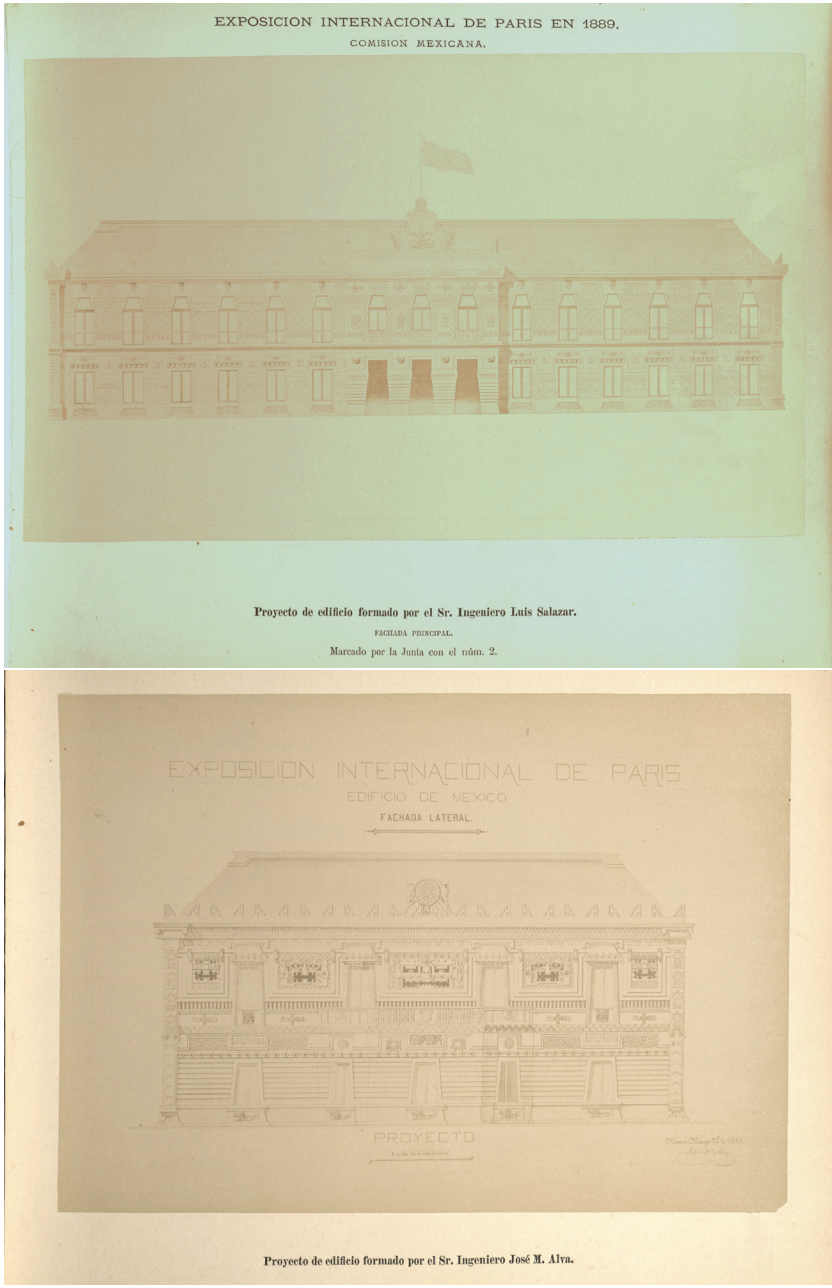


Figure 13: Frederick Catherwood, *Portion of the Western Range of Building, Monjas*, *Uxmal*, engraving from John L. Stephens, *Incidents of Travel in Yucatán,* 2 vols. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1847), vol. 1: plate 9, 303. Archives and Special Collections, University of Nebraska–Lincoln Libraries.

Figure 14: Robert S. Duncanson, *Pompeii*, 1855, oil on canvas, 21 in × 17 in. Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of Dr. Richard Frates. 1983.95.1.58.



Figures 15 and 16: Plans for the facade of the Mexican Palace at the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1889, by Luis Salazar and Jose de Alva. *Proyectos de edificio para la Exposicion Internacional de Paris 1889* (Mexico: Secretaria de Fomento, 1888). The Latin American Library, Tulane University.

Figure 17: Robert S. Duncanson, *Ellen's Isle*, 1871, oil on canvas, 28½ in × 49 in. Detroit Institute of Arts, Gift of the Estate of Ralzemond D. Parker, F80.215.