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STUDIES IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN SCULPTURE: AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS (1848-1907) (VOLUMES I AND II)

City University of New York PH.D. 1979

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STUDIES IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN SCULPTURE: AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS (1848-1907)

by

LOIS GOLDREICH MARCUS

Volume I.

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York.

1979

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STUDIES IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN SCULPTURE: AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS

BY

Lois Goldreich Marucs

Adviser: Professor William H. Gerdts

The eight major monuments of the American sculptor Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1848-1907) are discussed in separate essays chronologically arranged. Each monument has been carefully photographed and described. The history of each work has been extensively documented and its relationship to the monuments of the past and those which it affected are noted and illustrated, some for the first time.

Chapter 1 introduces the reader to the sculptor, his background, education and early work. Chapter 2 discusses the Farragut Monument for New York City, the sculptor's first public commission. The details of its execution in Paris are carefully noted for the documents relating to this work are the most complete of all the major monuments. This information is, therefore, vital to our understanding of Saint-Gaudens' method of executing his work. With the completion of the Farragut Monument, Saint-Gaudens returned to America in 1880. Here for the next seventeen years he spent one of the most productive periods of his career.

The Lincoln Monument for Chicago was commissioned in 1884 and unveiled in October 1887, a relatively brief period for Saint-Gaudens who was known for the extremely long time he often took to execute commissions. The Puritan for Springfield, Massachusetts, probably commissioned in 1882 was unveil-

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ed on Thanksgiving Day in 1887. Its subject, seen as thoroughly American, appears to have dominated depictions of Puritans after 1887. Diana, first unveiled in 1891 was Saint-Gaudens' only major female nude. After the first shock of public reaction to a gilded nude figure in Victorian America, she was gradually adopted by the public. From her lofty perch above Madison Square Garden she reigned until 1925 when the original Madison Square Garden was demolished. Eventually given to the City of Brotherly Love, she gracefully adorns the main staircase of the Philadelphia Museum of Art.

The Adams Memorial has undoubtedly been the center of more interest and comment than any of Saint-Gaudens' other works. Its enigmatic nature has probably aroused more discussion and speculation than any other nineteenth-century work of American sculpture. Dedicated to the memory of the wife of Henry Adams, but also intended as his own final resting place, this important work is probably the first Symbolist work in American sculpture. It is also the chef-d'oeuvre of the most important American sculptor of the nineteenth century.

The Shaw Memorial commissioned in 1884 and dedicated on Boston Common May 31, 1897 is unique in the history of sculpture. This history painting in bronze is a fusion of traditional equestrian sculpture and the reliefs usually decorating the bases of such monuments. This unique format was dictated by the necessities of the commission. The family of

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Colonel Robert Gould Shaw felt that an equestrian statue to honor such a young man would have been "pretentious." The monument to Shaw commemorates a young Boston colonel who was killed leading his black troops in an assault on Fort Wagner, South Carolina during the Civil War. It was felt that his heroism and that of his men lead to the active recruitment of black men into the Union army and consequently hastened the day of Union victory.

The Monument to John A. Logan was Saint-Gaudens' first traditional equestrian work. Unveiled on July 22, 1897, it provided a dramatic point of interest on the Chicago skyline. Although the relationship between the sculptor and the committee which commissioned the work was fraught with tension, the final result was thoroughly admired by an appreciative public and ultimately the committee. The Sherman Monument, the second equestrian work and the last major monument by the artist was also an unusual format as it combined the Greek goddess of Victory with the victorious general who marched through Georgia. Although there are precedents in French painting for the group and a contemporary German rendition of a similar subject, Saint-Gaudens' fusion of the ideal and the real is the most successful equestrian group in nineteenth-century sculpture. The first major American sculptor to be trained at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, Saint-Gaudens was not only one of its most successful practitioners, but the American sculptor who influenced succeeding generations more than any other. He was the sculptor of the American Renaissance.

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June 5, 1979
date

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PREFACE

In the summer of 1973 my interest in Augustus Saint-Gaudens was aroused by a small exhibition of his works arranged by Lewis Sharp, Curator of American sculpture at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. "Sculpture by Augustus Saint-Gaudens from the Metropolitan's Collection," held at the museum from July 18, 1973 to September 23, 1973 showed Saint-Gaudens to have been a sculptor of rare delicacy and consummate ability. Coincidentally, I was seeking a dissertation topic and moved by the beauty of his work, I began my studies. After some time and research it became apparent that most lacking in the literature were thorough studies of the sculptor's works. Since a catalogue of the reliefs had been written in 1969, and a catalogue raisonné was in process, it seemed evident that such studies, accompanied by interpretative commentary would add much to a voluminous, yet limited, literature.

Saint-Gaudens' first major public monument, the Farragut (1881) was a natural place to begin. His other Civil War subjects followed: the Lincoln (1887), the Shaw Memorial (1897), the Logan (1897) and the Sherman (1903). His most important tomb sculpture, the Adams Memorial (1891) was another obvious choice. The Diana (1891 and 1893), his only major female nude and the Puritan (1887), his most typically American subject completed the list. The one characteristic which all these monuments had in common was

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their artistic excellence. In addition to artistic excellence, the basic criteria for the major monuments was their influence on or contribution to the evolution of American art.

When the selection of the monuments was complete, it became apparent that they were all created approximately within a twenty-year time span, 1880-1900. This time span also coincided roughly with that period in American art sometimes referred to as the American Renaissance. The definition of Saint-Gaudens' most creative period reinforced my observation that after his return from Paris in 1900, his continually deteriorating health caused a parallel deterioration in his production.

In the process of working upon the major monuments of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, photography played an important part. Each monument and some of the related monuments were photographed in detail. It is to be hoped that this documentation coupled with the essays with which they are presented will provide a foundation for future study of the sculptor. It is also intended that this dissertation will provide the nucleus of original material from which a true picture of the contribution of Augustus Saint-Gaudens will emerge.

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Acknowledgments

I am primarily indebted to three art historians for their support and encouragement in the completion of my studies and the writing of my dissertation. First, Professor William H. Gerdts, my sponsor, to whom I owe the greatest debt both for knowledge imparted and for judicious help when needed. Secondly, I wish to thank Professor H.W. Janson, through whom I was first introduced to the study of nineteenth-century sculpture, a field in which he has pioneered. I am also most grateful to him for his generosity, intellectual and photographic, and for the impetus which he gave to my own first attempts at photography. And to Professor Milton Brown, until February the chairman of the Department of Art History at the Graduate Center, my thanks for continuing his supervisory role despite his retirement.

Special thanks are also due to two foundations which supported my dissertation with grants. I received funds from the Rockefeller Foundation in 1977 which enabled me to spend the summer at Dartmouth reading the Saint-Gaudens archives. Again in 1978 they awarded me a grant. The major share of my considerable dissertation expenses for 1978 were subsidized by the Wyeth Endowment for American Art. To both of these funds I am exceedingly grateful.

I would also like to thank Mr. Ian M.G. Quimby, the editor of Winterthur Portfolio. His expertise in helping me prepare for publication the first chapter which I wrote, "The Shaw Memorial: A History Painting in Bronze," was invaluable. I believe that the rest of my dissertation was improved in countless ways by his guidance with this first chapter. Thanks are also due to Mr. Philip Evola, the photographer who developed and printed my negatives and considerably enhanced their appearance. It was also due to his advice that my photographic ability has improved since I began to use a camera in 1974.

Of the many libraries and museums and individuals who were most gracious and helpful in answering questions and providing services, two must be singled out for special thanks. The Saint-Gaudens Collection at Dartmouth College Library, the director of special collections, Mr. Walter Wright, Mr. Cramer and the staff of the library were particularly helpful in my eight week stay in Hanover, New Hampshire and continue to be so. Mr. John Dryfhout, Supervisor of the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site in Cornish, New Hampshire has also been most helpful in providing me with information not available elsewhere. Additionally, I would like to thank Professor Barbara Weinberg of the Graduate Center for her helpful suggestions as I began to write my dissertation.

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Other institutions which provided help and information were the incomparable resources of the New York Public Library and the following institutions and individuals which are listed alphabetically.

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THE EDUCATION OF AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS

Augustus Saint-Gaudens was born in Dublin on the first of March, 1848.[1] He was the third son of Mary McGuiness and Bernard Paul Ernest Saint-Gaudens.[2] However, he was the only surviving child in the fall of 1848 when his Irish mother and French father brought him to America to escape the famine in Ireland.[3] The family sailed from Liverpool on the Desdemona and landed at Boston six weeks later.[4] The Saint-Gaudens family then proceeded to New York and the Lower East Side, where Augustus attended the North Moore Street School.[5] He described this experience as "one long misery, one long imprisonment."[6]

About May of 1860, Bernard Saint-Gaudens (fig. 1) moved his shoe-making shop to 268 Fourth Avenue near Twenty-first Street and the young Saint-Gaudens transferred to the Twentieth Street School for a brief period.[7] At about the age of thirteen, Bernard Saint-Gaudens apprenticed Augustus to a Frenchman named Louis Avet, who was the earliest stone cameo cutter in America according to Saint-Gaudens.[8] During his approximately three years of apprenticeship, Augustus would prepare stone cameos for Avet to finish.[9] However, Avet's mercurial temperament finally led Saint-Gaudens to leave his first master. The young Augustus was then employed by Jules LeBrethon, a shell cameo cutter, who gave Saint-Gaudens instruction in modelling and allowed him to use an otherwise idle lathe in his shop (fig. 2).[10] A portrait of

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John Tuffs (fig. 3), executed from a photograph after Tuffs death in 1859,[11] shows Saint-Gaudens to have been a skilled artisan with the ability to translate a photograph into a delicate relief.

During Saint-Gaudens' apprenticeship to Avet he attended the Cooper Institute every evening and developed an absolute belief in his own exceptional talent.[12] The Cooper Institute, formally known as the Cooper Union for the Advancement of Science and Art,was founded in 1859 to provide working-class people with a free education.[13] Of the two thousand students enrolled in the school, two hundred were art students and of that number one hundred and fifty were women.[14] During Saint-Gaudens' studentship from about 1861 to 1864,the Cooper Union provided art students with instruction in drawing.[15]

In the fall of 1864, Saint-Gaudens was listed as a student in the antique class of the National Academy of Design, then located on Thirteenth Street and Broadway.[16] In 1865 the National Academy moved to its new Venetian palace on the corner of Twenty-third Street and Fourth Avenue and Saint-Gaudens stated that he continued drawing at night from the antique and the nude "with the advice of Mr. Huntington and Mr. Leutze."[17] However, this information provided by the sculptor conflicts with that supplied by the National Academy of Design where Saint-Gaudens was listed as a student only in the antique class.[18] Furthermore, it conflicts with information in Fink and Taylor's important exhibition catalogue, Academy, where Daniel Huntington (1816-1906) and Emanuel

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Leutze (1816-1868) are noted as visitors in the academic year 1867-1868,[19] years when Saint-Gaudens was in Paris. Therefore, it may be concluded that these erroneous statements in Reminiscences were caused by a forty year time lapse. It might also be suggested that while it was, of course, possible for Saint-Gaudens to have known Huntington and Leutze at first hand, it is more probable that his knowledge of them as instructors came second hand through his brother, Louis (1854-1913),who was registered at the National Academy of Design in the academic year 1867-1868.[20]

Equally interesting in the sculptor's comments about his early art education was his failure to mention William Rimmer (1816-1879). Rimmer came to New York in the year 1866 to head the School of Design for Women at the Cooper Institute and also taught anatomy at the National Academy in the year 1866-1867.[21] This is an especially tantalizing bit of information for Fink and Taylor indicate that in 1866-1867 there were "no instructors and no lecturers," (p.114). Since the National Academy of Design records that Saint-Gaudens and others were enrolled in the academic year 1866-1867, there are two interesting possibilities. Either the NAD had students and no instructors in that year or William Rimmer did, in fact, teach anatomy in the year 1866-1867. The latter seems a more plausible conclusion.

Whether or not Saint-Gaudens studied anatomy with William Rimmer in the academic year 1866-67, he undoubtedly saw Rimmer's Falling Gladiator (bronze cast, Boston Museum

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of Fine Arts) and his St. Stephen (stone, Chicago Art Institute) which were exhibited at the National Academy of Design in 1866.[22] Although his reaction to the sculpture of Rimmer is unknown, it is an interesting coincidence that Saint-Gaudens lived in Truman Bartlett's studio near the Arc de Triomphe during his first Parisian stay (1867-1870).[23] Truman Bartlett is, of course, known not only as the father of Paul Wayland Bartlett, the nineteenth century American sculptor, but as a minor sculptor in his own right and the author of an important monograph on William Rimmer.

1867 was an important year not only in the education of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, but also in the annals of art history, for that was the year of the second great international exposition of art in Paris. It was presumably that fact which impelled Saint-Gaudens' father to offer his son sufficient funds to enable him to make a trip to Paris to study its art and to see the international exposition. The sculptor sailed for Europe in steerage on the City of Boston in February of 1867 and reported that he was "sicker than a regiment of dogs."[24] He arrived in Liverpool and then proceeded to Paris and to the home of his uncle, François Saint-Gaudens.[25] One of his first undertakings was to apply to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, which he found "a formidable business."[26]

> But after much running around, I saw at last M. Guillaume, the Director of the School of Fine Arts.. . .I recall his smile as I told him that I expected to learn sculpture during the nine months I proposed to remain in Paris, the limit to which I had expected my fortune of $100

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> would extend. From him I gathered that I could enter only through the formal application of the American Minister. I thereupon called on Mr. Washburn, then occupying the post.. . . /My/ notification/of acceptance was/ received exactly nine months after handing it in.
>
> Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 68.

Saint-Gaudens' next undertaking was to find himself a job. This he did with an Italian cameo-cutter, named Lupi, who lived in Montmartre.[27] While waiting for admission to the Ecole and earning a living as a cameo cutter, Augustus entered the Petite Ecole on the Rue de Médecine and began his Parisian studies.[28] He attended a modelling school in the mornings and nights and supported himself on what he earned from the cameos cut in the afternoon.[29] He moved from his uncle's home to Truman Bartlett's studio and later roomed with a friend from the Cooper Union, who lived opposite the Collège de France.[30] A cameo from the year 1869 exemplifies Saint-Gaudens' work in miniature during this first Parisian period. The shell cameo of William Root Bliss (fig. 4), although somewhat stylized, takes advantage of the dramatic qualities of the profile view. A later cameo executed in Rome in 1872 of Mrs. John Tuffs (fig. 5) shows that Saint-Gaudens placed less emphasis on unimportant details such as wisps of hair and has concentrated on outline. This cameo executed in Rome looks forward to Saint-Gaudens' later achievements in low relief portraiture and the artistry of its execution seems a remarkable contrast to his earlier productions in miniature.

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Returning to the years 1867 to 1870, Saint-Gaudens reminisced about the conditions at the Petite Ecole.

> We worked in a stuffy, overcrowded, absolutely unventilated theater, with two rows of students, perhaps twenty-five in each row, seated in a semi-circle before the model who stood against the wall. Behind those who drew were about fifteen sculptors and I look back with admiration upon the powers of youth to live, work, and be joyful in an atmosphere that must have been almost asphyxiating. Here I modeled my first figures from the nude, and laid an excellent foundation for the future.
>
> Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 69.

The sculptor then described the criticism of two instructors, whom for lack of specific names he dubbed Jacquot and Laemelin. These instructors with half-remembered names demanded that each student's work look like the professor in question.[31] Perhaps in these half-remembered or imaginary names the name of the actual director of the Petite Ecole during the years 1866-1869 may be found, Horace Lecoq de Boisbaudran (1802-1897).[32] Lecoq de Boisbaudran, a painter who had been a pupil of Jean François Pierre Peyron (1744-1814) and Lethière (Guillaume Guillon, 1760-1832), exhibited at the Salon frum 1831 to 1859.[33] He began teaching in 1841 and had a remarkable series of pupils including Auguste Rodin, Alphonse Legros, Fantin-Latour and others.[34] His unique method of training a student to work from memory in conjunction with a thorough program in all aspects of art was one which seems to have been notable even in his own day.[35] Apparently his methods were radical enough to force his resignation from the Petite Ecole in the year 1869.[36]

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He was, however, the director during Saint-Gaudens' nine month period of study.

Saint-Gaudens' recollection of the conditions at the Petite Ecole seems in accord with Phebe D. Natt's account of March 1881 in which the writer indicated that drawing from plants, animals, ornament and life as well as sculpture were practised.[37] What Saint-Gaudens probably missed were the classes in designing for tapestries, bronzes, ceramics and decorative panels which were held during the afternoon hours while the sculptor was earning his living as a cameo cutter.[38] Since he attended school in the evenings he would probably have listened to lectures on architecture, descriptive geometry and the history of ornament, if the course described in 1881 followed that of 1867-1868.[39]

At the end of nine months at the Petite Ecole, Saint-Gaudens was at last awarded a first prize and was also notified of his admission to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.[40] Part of the process of matriculation at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts was to find a professor who would accept the student to work and study within his atelier. This was generally accomplished by the submission of a drawing or sketch by the young applicant which was then accepted or rejected by the professor in question. Saint-Gaudens was advised to choose François Jouffroy (1806-1882) by his friend, Albert Danmouse.

> Albert Danmouse, since then one of the leading ceramicists of France...whose friendship I had made in the little École de Médecine [sic]; [advised choosing Jouffroy as the Master to whom

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> I should apply] because Danmouse had a friend with that master and because at that time Jouffroy's atelier was the triumphant one of the Beaux-Arts, his class capturing, as a rule, most of the prizes. From there Barrias had received his Prix de Rome three years before I arrived, Falguière two years before,and Mercié the year after.
>
> Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I,73-4.

Saint-Gaudens described his master at the Ecole.

> Jouffroy was tall, thin,dark,wiry,with little, intelligent black eyes and a queer face in profile,his head and nose descending in a straight line from the roots of his hair to within an inch of the end of the nose,which suddenly became round and red and pimply-though the ball was discreet in size; it would have been in bad taste had it been larger. ...He made his criticism in a low,drawling tone,nine-tenths of the time in a perfunctory way, looking in an entirely different direction from the model and from the study. Occasionally he worked on the figures in a strange fashion, his right hand pawing the clay,while in his left he held a little wad of bread which he constantly rolled. He was much in vogue at the Tuilleries at that time, although he had achieved his distinction some ten or fifteen years before my arrival by one of the masterpieces of French sculpture,-and that is saying a good deal, - called "The Secret of Venus." [Actually exhibited at the Salon of 1839, almost thirty years before (fig. 6)]. It is the figure of a young girl standing on tiptoe, whispering into the ear of a Hermes. This remarkably beautiful nude he modeled in the classical direction then prevailing, but with such distinction,reserve,and personality that the affectation added to its charm...I know nothing of his other sculpture, except the large decorative groups on each side of the Place du Carrousel, as approached from the river Seine, and one of the four groups in front of the Grand Opera. They are neither one thing nor the other.
>
> Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I,74,77.

Jouffroy's Lyric Poetry (c. 1869, also referred to as L'Harmonie) is one of four groups commissioned for the exterior of Charles Garnier's Opera (Paris). Jean-Baptiste

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Carpeaux's Le Danse, the most remarkable group of the four, is the jewel of the facade of the Opera and a notable example of the baroque exhuberance of the Second Empire style. The other works by Jouffroy mentioned by Saint-Gaudens, with no apparent enthusiasm, are the decorative groups on the arches of the Place du Carrousel (1861-4, fig. 7).[41] These groups, Commerce and Navigation, dismissed so casually by Saint-Gaudens, can be seen to bear a stylistic relationship to the striding Victory of Saint-Gaudens' later Sherman Monument (1903, Grand Army Plaza, New York).

Saint-Gaudens continued the description of his early Beaux-Arts experience in the atelier of François Jouffroy indicating that he was the only American there, although he was followed within six months by Olin Warner (1844-1896).[42] He also wrote that "he was by no means a brilliant pupil," and that any doubts as to his ability were only to come later in life "and in such full measure that I have abundantly atoned for my youthful presumption and vanity."[43] Saint-Gaudens wrote at length of the friendships formed while at the Ecole.

> While I was at Jouffroy's I formed three of my greatest friendships; one was for Alfred Garnier, another for Paul Bion [with whom he corresponded until Bion's death early in 1897] and a third . . .with Soares dos Reis.
>
> Reminiscences I, 78-9.

These friendships were undoubtedly an important factor in the development of the artist and man, and they will be met with from time to time in the discussion of individual works. However, an event which occurred just three years

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prior to Saint-Gaudens' trip to Paris, not only effected his future training, but was undoubtedly among the primary factors which caused him to travel to Paris to seek his education. This event was the reorganization of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in the year 1863.

First, the administration of the Ecole was taken from the Institut and given to a director nominated by imperial decree for a period of five years.[44] This in effect put the Ecole directly under the control of Napoleon III. Article 9 called for the establishment of three ateliers of painting, three of sculpture, three of architecture, one of copper-plate engraving and one of carving medallions and fine stones.[45] The decree made attendance of all students at courses in history, aesthetics and archaeology obligatory.[46] Additionally, painters, sculptors and engravers were required to attend the courses of anatomy and perspective, while architects had to take all the courses except anatomy.[47] Frenchmen between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five were to be admitted, while foreigners were only exceptionally and with the authorization of their Minister admitted to follow the course.[48] The decree, which became effective on the first of January, 1864, also announced the appointment of M. Robert-Fleury, member of the Institut as director of the Ecole for five years.[49]

A letter to Napoleon III from Comte de Nieuwerkerke, superintendant of the Beaux-Arts, suggests that it was his criticism which was responsible for the changes at the Ecole.[50] His letter, published in Le Moniteur, the official journal

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of the Second Empire, condemned the system of art education which consisted only of a course of drawing after a plaster cast or living model.[51] However, Count Nieuwerkerke was merely reflecting the views of Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) who was designated Professor of History and Aesthetics at the Ecole under the reorganization.[52] Although Viollet-le-Duc was soon replaced by the famous historian, Hippolyte Taine (1828-1893), and despite modifications of the decree which rescinded obligatory attendance at lectures, the changes at the Ecole were of a very comprehensive nature. These changes not only broadened the training of the students, but painting and sculpture were placed under the direct auspices of the Ecole, where formerly drawing alone had carried its imprimatur. In 1863, as before, education at the Beaux-Arts was free both for Frenchmen and foreigners. However, there were no additional expenses at the ateliers attached to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.

It may also be assumed that Saint-Gaudens' ability with the French language stood him in good stead and undoubtedly facilitated his acceptance at the Beaux-Arts. There seem to have been three levels at the Beaux-Arts, beginning, second grade and first class (which was often referred to as Senior).[53] Augustus appears to have passed rapidly to the second grade and was later referred to as a Senior.[54] His reputation among other artists and students during this period appears to have been considerable.[55]

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Saint-Gaudens began his career as an artisan, but this early training was supplemented by instruction in modelling from his first employer, Le Brethon, and also by drawing instruction in the free schools of New York. With three years of professional training in the schools of Paris, plus the exposure to the art and sculpture of Paris itself, its museums, its public sculpture and the sculpture of its cemeteries, Saint-Gaudens was ready to earn his living as an artist.

Undoubtedly propelled by the political and military events surrounding the Franco-Prussian War, as well as his mother's entreaty from America, Augustus left Paris on the fourth of September 1870 and joined his brother, Louis, in Limoges.[56] After spending a few months in Limoges, Saint-Gaudens proceeded to Rome. There he shared a studio in the Palazzo Barberini with his Portuguese friend from the Ecole, Antonio Soares dos Reis (1847-1889).[57] Working on opposite sides of a studio divided by a sheet and sharing the same model, the two young sculptors created their first important works: Saint-Gaudens' Hiawatha (cast in plaster 1872, marble 1874-5, present location unknown, fig. 8) and Soares dos Reis' O Desterrado (s&d 1872, marble Soares dos Reis Museum, Porto, Portugal, fig. 9).[58] Both works were based upon literary sources. For Saint-Gaudens, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's "Hiawatha," served as inspiration, while Soares dos Reis selected a poem by the famous Portuguese writer and historian, Alexandre Herculano (1819-1877) for his subject

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matter.[59] The similarity of the poses has been noted, as well as the introverted, introspective character of the two male nudes,[60] but the source of the poses was not explained. A work by Howard Roberts (1843-1900), however, may afford a clue to the genesis of the poses of the works by Saint-Gaudens and Soares dos Reis. Roberts had preceded Saint-Gaudens at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and had studied in the ateliers of Augustin-Alexandre Dumont and Charles-Alphonse Gumery.[61] His Le Premiere Pose, exhibited at the Philadelphia Centennial in 1876 (marble s&d 1876, Philadelphia Museum of Art, fig. 10) and modelled in Paris in 1873-4,[62] is strikingly like the Hiawatha and Exile both in mood and pose. Its title suggests that the work of his two fellow-students may have been based upon a conventional studio pose, but with literary subject matter superimposed. The subject of Roberts' statue is a model posing nude for the first time.[63] Thus Roberts used the pose of his model as the subject of his sculpture. Saint-Gaudens and Soares on the other hand have taken a pose not uncommon in nineteenth century sculpture and transformed it into monumental ideal works based upon American and Portuguese epic poetry.

Although Saint-Gaudens' formal training had ended with his migration to Italy, his real training had not. That is to say, the sculptor continued to earn his living making cameos and additionally began to make busts as well as to copy antique sculpture on commission for foreigners, most of whom were American. It was through his work as an artisan

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and his skill as a cameo carver that he met his most influential early patrons, those who enabled him to execute his first ideal work, the Hiawathe.[64] It was also through such early enthusiasts as Montgomery Gibbs that Saint-Gaudens was provided with the funds to make a brief trip home in the fall of 1872.[65] While in America he received one of his most important early commissions, the Silence for the Masonic Temple in New York (s&d 1874, marble, Utica, New York, fig. 11).[66] Mr. Levi H. Willard, an admirer of Saint-Gaudens' first employer, Le Brethon, engaged Augustus to execute a figure of Silence for the Masonic Hall which originally stood at the corner of Twenty-third Street and Sixth Avenue in New York.[67] Possibly because of the intimate involvement of Willard with the specifics of the development of the monument, Saint-Gaudens was never truly satisfied with the end result, but he worked on making adjustments and trying to please.[68]

In May of 1874, Augustus made a brief trip to Paris to visit his fiancée, Augusta Homer.[69] In a letter to her parents, Augusta specifically mentioned a visit to Père Lachaise Cemetery, a tourist attraction in the nineteenth century.[70] This tends to confirm what seems evident from photographs, the dependence of Augustus Saint-Gaudens in his statue of Silence upon the Jacob Robles Monument executed by Auguste Préault (1809-1879) about 1843 and also entitled Silence (fig. 12).[71] As if the visual evidence were insufficient, Augusta Homer wrote to her mother from London on the 12th of June, 1874, "[Saint-Gaudens] has stayed in

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Paris longer than he intended. . .he thinks his visit to Paris has done him much good art wise. . . ."[72]

The Préault work with its heavily draped head and half-closed eyes was adopted almost intact by Saint-Gaudens with the exception that he has raised the index finger rather than the third finger to the mouth in a gesture of silence. The sculptor also lowered the eyelids so that they appear closed. Originally Saint-Gaudens had placed the thumb at the mouth, but his patron, Mr. L.H. Willard,criticised that error.[73] Criticism from Willard was also the reason for removal of a rose originally placed upon the plinth. Saint-Gaudens moved the rose from the plinth to the waist of the figure when Mr. Willard requested it.[74] Although the artist succeeded in creating a monumental figure which suggests tranquility as well as withdrawal, Saint-Gaudens was never totally pleased with this first ideal effort.[75]

On the 27th of February 1875, Saint-Gaudens sailed from Le Havre to return to America.[76] His precipitous departure was occasioned by news of the death of his mother.[77] Although he had planned to return home to secure additional commissions, so that he might marry, financial complications as well as the unexpected death of his mother caused him to depart before the completion of the Silence.[78]

When Saint-Gaudens returned to America on the eighth of March 1875, it was hardly as a returning hero. He was ill with Roman fever, he was in debt, his landlord had impounded some of his sculpture and he was in mourning. Less

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than a week after his arrival, however, he wrote to his future mother-in-law that he would soon begin to seek commissions and that he would execute a sketch for the Charles Sumner Monument.[79] Even though this commission did not materialize, within two years Saint-Gaudens would be awarded the commissions for a copy of Rinehart's Bust of Chief Justice Taney (1876, marble, Old Supreme Court Chamber, Washington, D.C.), the King Monument (1878, stone, Newport, Rhode Island), the Angels Adoring the Cross for St. Thomas' Church in New York (destroyed 1905), the Morgan Tomb (destroyed in 1884), the Randall Monument (1884,bronze, Sailors' Snug Harbor, Staten Island) and the Farragut (1881, bronze, Madison Square Park, New York) among others. All of these works except the Taney, would be created in Europe.

The monuments of Augustus Saint-Gaudens which will be dealt with in this dissertation, of which the Farragut was the first, changed the course of public monuments in America for decades, as well as serving as images by which we understand nineteenth century America. Saint-Gaudens was the first major American sculptor to be trained at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris, the preeminent artistic center of the second half of the nineteenth century.[80] His development will be traced through the eight major monuments which he created during the last two decades of the nineteenth century. Of these works, five were Civil War subjects. Although other American sculptors, such as Randolph Rogers, executed more Civil War monuments, the lack of variation in

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Rogers' work makes it possible to say that Saint-Gaudens was the unparalleled sculptor of the Civil War. His are the eyes through which the twentieth century sees Ferragut, Lincoln, Robert Gould Shaw, Logan and Sherman.

The maturation of American public opinion in artistic matters in the last quarter of the nineteenth century, brought about by broad exposure to European art at the international expositions both here and abroad, provided a framework within which Saint-Gaudens' sculpture could be appreciated. Saint-Gaudens, for his part, not only absorbed the best in sculptural training available in the nineteenth century, but was able to create from this experience an idiom which combined the naturalism evident in mid-nineteenth century American sculpture with all that was to be learned in Italy and Second Empire France. When these various strains were combined with American subject matter by an artist of exceptional gifts, a new era in American sculpture had arrived. The evolution of American sculpture from its birth in the late eighteenth century to its efflorescence in the late nineteenth century was a remarkable development in which Augustus Saint-Gaudens played a most important part.

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FOOTNOTES - Chapter 1.

[1]Homer Saint-Gaudens (editor), "The Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens," The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine (a series of six articles written by the sculptor's son, Homer,based upon his father's "reminiscences [begun] in the early spring of 1906, while recovering from a surgical operation in the Corey Hill Hospital of Brookline, Massachusetts."[v.77 #3 (Jan. 1909), p. 395.] These articles appeared in the years 1907-9 and formed what might be considered the first draft of Homer Saint-Gaudens' 1913 book. They appeared in volumes 75, 77 and 78), v. 77 #3 (Jan.1909),p.396.

The Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, edited and amplified by Homer Saint-Gaudens (New York: Century Co., 1913, 2 vols.), I, 9.

[2]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 77 #3 (Jan.1909), p. 396-7.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 5-6, 9.

[3]Letter from Louis Saint-Gaudens to his nephew Homer in Saint-Gaudens archives, Dartmouth College Library (n.d.,but probably in conjunction with Homer's editing of Reminiscences).

Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v.77 #3, 397.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 6.

[4]Letter from Louis Saint-Gaudens to Homer, n.d., Saint-Gaudens archives, Dartmouth College Library.

Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v.77 #3, 397, says they probably landed in September 1848 which is repeated in Reminiscences I, 11.

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[5]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine,v.77 #3 (Jan.1909),405.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 11-20.

[6]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v.77 #3, 40.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 22.

[7]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v.77 #3, 406-7.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 37.

[8]"though stone seal-engravers there were already in New York, as well as shell cameo engravers, of which Palmer and Launt Thompson were adepts in the early periods of their careers." (Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v.77 #3, 407).

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 38.

"Gems and Glyptics," Encyclopedia of World Art (N.Y., Toronto and London: McGraw Hill Book Co., Inc.), v. 6 © 1962, p. 44-80 with an extensive bibliography at the end.

[9]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 77 #3, 407.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 38.

[10]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 77 #3, 411.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 44.

[11]The Smithsonian Institution, AVGVSTVS SAINT-GAVDENS/ The Portrait Reliefs, The National Portrait Gallery, 1969, (n.p.) #1.

[12]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 45.

[13]Lois Marie Fink and Joshua C. Taylor, Academy, The Academic tradition in American Art, An Exhibition Organized on the Occasion of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the National Academy of Design: 1825-1975, National Collection of Fine Arts Smithsonian Institution, June 6-September

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1, 1975 (Smithsonian Institution Press, D.C., 1975), p. 52.

[14]Fink and Taylor, Academy, p. 52.

[15]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 45.

Mr. John McHaskell, Librarian of the Cooper Union, informs me that record volumes II (1860-1) and V (1863-4) are the only remaining volumes for the years when Saint-Gaudens attended the Cooper Union. In 1860-1 Constantin Herzberg taught drawing and continued to do so until 1875. In 1863-4 Herzberg, Fritz Meyer (b. 1817 Germany?) and Moses Morse were the instructors and Morse taught only that year.

[16]Correspondence with Ms. Allice Melrose, Director, National Academy of Design, October 31, 1977.

William C. Brownell, "The Art-Schools of New York," Scribner's Monthly, v. XVI #6 (October 1878), p. 766 for the location of the Academy before 1865.

[17]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 49-50.

[18]Letter and telephone correspondence with Ms. Melrose. The implication was that Saint-Gaudens did not pass into the life class.

[19]Fink and Taylor, Academy, p. 114.

[20]Alice G. Melrose indicated that the information which she gave me came from the student roster, however, she died in December of 1977. Miss Julia Cohen kindly rechecked the Register on February 22, 1978 and verified Saint-Gaudens' enrollment in the years 1864-7 under the names"Augustus Gaudens" (1864-5) and "A. Saint Gaudens" (1865-6, 1866-7). "L.Saint Gaudens," probably Louis,was registered in 1867-8.

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[21]Truman H. Bartlett, The Art Life of William Rimmer/ Sculptor, Painter, and Physician (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., The Riverside Press, Cambridge: Boston and New York 1890, original copyright 1881, reprint by Da Capo Press, N.Y., 1970), p. 44, 51-6.

Fink, Academy, p. 114 lists Rimmer as a lecturer in anatomy in the academic year 1865-66, but Bartlett indicated that Rimmer did not come to New York until the spring of 1866 and began teaching at the Cooper Union in the academic year 1866-7.

[22]The National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1861-1900, Compiled and Edited by Maria Naylor (N.Y.: Kennedy Galleries, 1973, 2 vols.), v.2, 794.

Illustrated in Bartlett, opposite pages 30, 37, 37.

[23]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 64.

[24]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 61-2.

[25]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 62.

[26]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 68.

[27]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v.77 #4 (Feb. 1909), p. 576. In this serialized first version of the Reminiscences, the sculptor indicated that he sought a job first, then applied to the Ecole.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 63.

[28]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 77, p. 576. The sculptor stated that he entered the Petite Ecole "probably in March or April, 1867."

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, p. 68-9 dates

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Augustus' entrance into the Petite Ecole as March or April 1868. However, I believe that Homer was incorrect in making this change in the revised (1913) version of the Reminiscences.

[29]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 63.

[30]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 64.

[31]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 69-73.

[32]Pierre Larousse, Grand Dictionnaire Universel/Français, Historique, Geographique, Bibliographique, Mythologique, Littéraire, Artistique, Scientifique, Etc. (Administration du Grand Dictionnaire Universel: Paris) Tome Dix-Septième/ Deuxième Supplément, 1890 (? 1st Supplement published, date on spine of entire series 1864-90), p. 1508.

[33]Ibid., p. 1508. Lethière is his assumed name.

[34]Horace Lecoq de Boisbaudran, The Training of the Memory in Art and the Education of the Artist, translated from the French by L.D. Luard with an introduction by Selwyn Image,M.A. (London: MacMillan & Co., Ltd., 1911), p. xii.

Albert E. Elsen, Rodin (N.Y.: MOMA, 1967), p. 160-3.

E. Bénézit, Dictionnaire critique et documentaire des Peintres, Sculpteurs, Dessinateurs et Graveurs de tous les temps et de tous les pays/par un groupe de'écrivains spécialistes français et étrangers, Nouvelle Edition (Jacobs-Loyer: Librarie Grönd, 1976),v. 6, p. 522 for Lecoq de Boisbaudran as a teacher of Legros, Ignace-Henri-Jean Théodore Fantin-Latour (1836-1904) and others.

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[35]Lecoq de Boisbaudran, The Training of the Memory in Art, "Letters to a Young Professor," (1st published in 1877), p. 131 indicates that study of the antique, the old masters, the living model, anatomy, etc. were also taught.

[36]Jonathan M. Tracy, Recollections of Parisian Art Schools, A Talk before the Rembrandt Club, February 5, 1883 (Brooklyn: Published by the Club, 1883), p. 9-11.

Lecoq de Boisbaudran, The Training of the Memory in Art, p. xii.

[37]Phebe D. Natt, "Paris Art Schools, " Lippincott's Magazine, XXVII (March, 1881), p. 270-1.

[38]Ibid., p. 270.

Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 77, p. 578, 584.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 63.

[39]Phebe D. Natt, Lippincott's Magazine, XXVII, p. 271.

[40]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 77, p. 579.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 73.

[41]Marvin Trachtenberg, The Statue of Liberty (N.Y.: Viking Press, 1976), reproduced p. 78, fig. 36. Professor Trachtenberg who took the photograph was kind enough to inform me that these groups decorate the Place du Carrousel as approached from the river Seine.

[42]Wayne Craven, Sculpture in America (N.Y.: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1968), p. 406.

Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 77, p. 580.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 77.

[43]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 77, p. 580.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 77.

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[44]Le Moniteur Universelle/Journal officiel de l'Empire Français, 15 Novembre 1863, p. 1.

[45]Le Moniteur, 15 Novembre, 1863, p. 1.

[46]Article 13, Le Moniteur, 15 Novembre 1863, p. 1.

[47]Article 13, Le Moniteur, 15 Novembre 1863, p. 1.

Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 77, p. 580, Saint-Gaudens recounts attending lectures in anatomy "given in the amphitheater over bodies dissected in the presence of the students; and at times lecturers were men of the highest distinction in the medical profession." (This account was apparently omitted from Reminiscences, published in 1913).

[48]Le Moniteur, 15 Novembre 1863, p. 1, Chapitre III, Article 14.

[49]Article 23, Le Moniteur, 15 Novembre 1863, p. 1.

Column 3, the announcement of the appointment of M. Robert-Fleury by Napoleon on 13 Novembre 1863 was placed after the official announcement of changes.

[50]Columns 3-6, Le Moniteur, 15 Novembre 1863, p. 1.

[51]Column 4, Le Moniteur, 15 Novembre 1863, p. 1.

[52]The Museum of Modern Art, New York, The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, edited by Arthur Drexler (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1977), exhibition October 29, 1975-January 4, 1976. Richard Chafee, "The Teaching of Architecture at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts," p. 101-4.

[53]Chafee, The Architecture of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, p. 82 "Admitted into the Ecole itself, the student entered

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the second class."

Henry O. Avery, "The Paris School of Fine Arts," Scribner's Magazine, vol. II (July-December 1887), p. 402, "The sculptors are subjected to the same severe training as the painters, only working in modelling clay instead of pigments. . .advancement to the grades of second and, later, first class; finally [architects] appear for the diploma of capacity, to reach which takes an attendance of about six years."

[54]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 77, p. 581, Homer quotes Augustus' friend, Alfred Garnier, "In Jouffroy's class, when Augustus became a senior, he was one of the most turbulent of the lot. . .".

[55]Will H. Low, A Chronicle of Friendships 1873-1900, (Charles Scribner's Sons: N.Y., 1908), p. 216.

[56]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 77, p. 588.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 94-100, both sources quote a letter from Augustus to Alfred Garnier of September 21, 1870 (original in the Saint-Gaudens collection, Dartmouth College Library), which indicated that Saint-Gaudens returned to Paris again intending to enlist in the French army, but was apparently persuaded to return to Limoges, where his brother was employed. Although Saint-Gaudens did not specify what he did in Limoges, the implication was that he was able to live on the $100.00 which he made or was about to make from a commission for a Canadian lady.

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[57]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 77, p. 593.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 109.

[58]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 77, p. 593.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 109.

[59]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 77, p. 593, "I began the statue of 'Hiawatha, pondering, musing in the forest, on the welfare of his people,' and so on."

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 109.

The Poems of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (N.Y.: The Modern Library, n.d.), "The Song of Hiawatha [1855]," p.117-266. "V. Hiawatha's Fasting, (p. 148)

> You shall hear how Hiawatha
> Prayed and fasted in the forest,
> Not for greater skill in hunting,
> Not for greater craft in fishing,
> Not for triumphs in the battle,
> And renown among the warriors,
> But for profit of the people,
> For advantage of the nations."

Information on Soares dos Reis kindly furnished by Maria Emilia Amaral Teixeira, Museu Nacional de Soares dos Reis, Porto.

[60]John Dryfhout, "Portrait Bust of Belle Gibbs," Bulletin, The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, Summer 1973, p. 33.

[61]David Sellin," The Centennial," Sculpture of a City: Philadelphia's Treasures in Bronze and Stone, Fairmount Park Art Association (N.Y.: Walker Publishing Co., 1974), p. 83.

Stanisles Lami, Dictionnaire des Sculpteurs de L'École Française au Dix-Neuvième Siècle (Paris, 1914-21, 4 vols., Kraus Reprint: Nendeln/Liechtenstein, 1970), II: 239 Augustin-Alexandre Dumont (1801-1884).

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Lami III: 134. Charles-Alphonse Gumery (1827-71).

[62]Edward Strahan [Earl Shinn], The Masterpieces of the Centennial International Exhibition/Illustrated. (Philadelphia: Gebbie & Barrie, 1876, 3 vols.), Vol. I "Fine Arts," p. 127. Shinn suggests that Roberts' work is an académie with the alternate title, "The Model's First Sitting," p.126.

Sellin, Sculpture of a City, p. 83.

Saint-Gaudens undoubtedly saw The First Pose at the Philadelphia Centennial in 1876, however, the Hiawatha was by then in New York. Since the plaster of the Hiawatha was cast in 1872, there could not have been any dependence upon Roberts' work which was modelled in Paris in 1873-4 (Sellin, p.83). I am merely suggesting a possible common source in their Ecole des Beaux-Arts training.

[63]Strahan, Masterpieces of the Centennial, I, 126.

David Sellin, "1876: Turning Point in American Art," The First Pose (N.Y.: Norton & Co., Inc., 1976), p. 14. Both Strahan (Shinn) and Sellin note the subject of Roberts' work and its relationship to the academic study of the nude. Sellin also notes that Saint-Gaudens was working on his version of the académie in Rome, Hiawatha.

[64]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 77, p. 595, quotes a letter from Saint-Gaudens to Alfred Garnier from Rome, dated March 21, 1871, "I am beginning to get into relations with rich Americans, and the cameos I cut for them are extraordinarily well paid." In this same letter Augustus says, "I shall be able to make my statue, which I begin next week."

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Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 112-122.

[65]Receipt for 200 francs for passage to New York, received as a loan from Montgomery Gibbs, 1 September [1872] in the Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

Montgomery Gibbs, a New York lawyer, was travelling in Europe in 1872 preparing a guidebook for Appleton, the publishers. He provided Saint-Gaudens not only with the funds to return home but also with sufficient monies to cast his Hiawatha in plaster. (See Dryfhout, Bulletin,p.33-4). In return Gibbs received not only a cameo but also busts of his daughters Belle and Florence. Gibbs also introduced Augustus to William Maxwell Evarts, for whom the sculptor executed a marble bust and copies after the antique and in turn introduced him to other clients (Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 77 #6, April 1909, p. 824-7; Reminiscences I,113-24).

[66]The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Catalogue of a Memorial Exhibition of the Works of Augustus Saint Gaudens, New York: MDCCCCVII, Second Issue, p. 1 #2.

> "SILENCE
> Marble statue, signed and dated 1874. Heroic size. . .Signature (in script)
> AUG. ST. GAUDENS FECIT, ROMA 1874.
>
> Lent by the President and Trustees of the Grand Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons of the State of New York."

[67]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 77, p. 827.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, p. 130.

The Empire State Mason, April, 1971, p. 9, "The first Masonic Hall built to support a Masonic Home was completed

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and dedicated in 1875." The Silence was unveiled May 15, 1876 and Mr. Willard who commissioned the monument died on the 23 March 1883 (information from Dr. Allan Boudreau, the Librarian of the Grand Lodge of New York).

[68]Letter from L.H. Willard to Saint-Gaudens Jan.7.1874.

". . .1st the veil appears too heavy. . .
2d I should prefer a less classical arrangement of the waist.. . .
3d and this I wish to impress upon you strongly, the pose appears from the photograph to have the fatal defect. . .of leaning backward. . ."
(Saint-Gaudens Collection,Dartmouth College Library).

[69]Letter from Augusta to her mother from "Paris, May 23d 74 It's Sunday again dear Mother. . .I expect Mr. St. Gaudens on Tuesday or Wednesday and the first day of June we leave here and on the 30th of the same month expect to sail for home." (Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

Louise Hall Tharp, Saint-Gaudens and the Gilded Era, (Boston, Toronto: Little, Brown and Company), p. 90. Tharp is in error when she states that he arrived on the "26th of May 1875" for at that time Saint-Gaudens was in America. The letter undoubtedly said that Saint-Gaudens arrived on the 26th of May and Mrs. Tharp erroneously assumed 1875.

[70]Tharp, p. 91.

[71]Lami IV: 116, "Demi-ronde bosse en marbre. Diam.0m 50."

[72]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

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However, Saint-Gaudens undoubtedly knew the Préault work before May 1874.

[73]Letter from Willard to Saint-Gaudens Jan. 7, 1874 (Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[74]Letter of October 25th, 1874 from Saint-Gaudens to Willard ". . .the rose shall be placed at the waist."(Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[75]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 141.

Letter to John Quincy Adams Ward, July 5th, 1876. ". . .I regret though that you have not seen the figure at Gov. Morgan's [Hiawatha], for I don't think that the 'Silence' does me justice." (Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 142).

[76]Letter from Saint-Gaudens to Mrs. Homer March 14th, 1875, dateline New York (Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[77]Ibid. "I learned the dreadful news in Paris my brother having telegraphed to me from Rome. . ."

[78]Letter from Saint-Gaudens to Willard of October 25th 1874 states ". . .The figure [of Silence] is finished and commenced in the marble. . .."

Letter from Saint-Gaudens to Willard from Rome, November 23rd. 1874 ". . .It is my intention to return to New York in January and in that case it would be necessary that I should have the rest of the funds here so that the marble carvers may be paid regularly as the payments are made them in weekly portions."

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Letter from Saint-Gaudens to his future mother-in-law, Mrs. Homer from Rome, December 12, 1874. ". . .My figure of Silence is now finished and expect the marble will be commenced tomorrow."

Saint-Gaudens next letter to Mrs. Homer was from New York on the 14th of March, 1875 in which he responded to her letter of January 11, 1875. Therefore, we may conclude that probably due to difficulties with the plaster casters, the Silence was not 'commenced' in marble until at least the middle of December 1874. Also it was Saint-Gaudens' plan to come home to seek commissions while the Silence was being carved in marble, but that he left precipitously because of the death of his mother. The date on the statue, itself, then records when it was completed in the clay and probably also when it was cast in plaster.

On May31, 1875, Louis wrote to Augustus from Rome that he was having financial difficulties and that the creditors had taken a lien on the Silence. On July 17, 1875 he again wrote that Lowe had requested the date of the seizure of the Silence. He suggested that Lowe, who had acted as a banker for Augustus, must have intended to "clear it from the warrants and send it to New York when finished, which will be in the first week of August. . .." On August 17, 1875 Louis wrote that the Silence was packed and would be sent right on. A note postmarked 25 August 75 records that the Silence "leaves by steamer from Leghorn 4 September."

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The marble was not received in New York until sometime in 1876. On January 16th, 1876 Saint-Gaudens wrote to Mr. Homer that he hoped to "get the 'Silence' out" in three or four days and also mentioned his displeasure with the carving. This was undoubtedly due to the fact that Saint-Gaudens was not in Rome to supervise its completion. In any event it was seen in New York by July 5th by J.Q.A. Ward - see note 75. (All letters in the Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[79]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 77 # 6, 833.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 174.

Since the above references and the letter of 14 March 1875 in the preceding footnote refer to the seated sketch of Charles Sumner as having been executed in Boston, it might be inferred that the competition for which Saint-Gaudens executed this sketch was for Boston. Thomas Ball won the commission and his statue is dated 1877.

[80]Lorado Taft, The History of American Sculpture (N.Y.: Arno Press, 1969 reprint), p. 257. Taft recorded that "at least three young American sculptors had been enrolled in the Ecole des Beaux-Arts before the Franco-Prussian War. One of this number, Howard Roberts of Philadelphia, made his début at the Centennial Exposition, with a figure, 'La Première Pose,'. . .."

In addition to Roberts and Saint-Gaudens there was Olin Warner (see above p. 9 and note 42) and Pierce Connelly (1841-1932) who studied briefly at the Ecole before 1865.

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Chapter 2: THE MONUMENT TO ADMIRAL FARRAGUT

Admiral Farragut gazes serenely over Madison Square Park in New York City (fig. 13). Standing boldly astride the pedestal designed by Saint-Gaudens and Stanford White (1853-1906), the Admiral seems to embody all of the remarkable characteristics detailed in the inscription. On the left surrounding the figure of Loyalty, the reasons for his commemoration are inscribed.

THAT·THE MEMORY·OF·A
DARING·AND·SAGACIOVS·COMMANDER·AND·
GENTLE·GREAT·SOVLED·MAN·WHOSE·LIFE·FROM·CHILD-
HOOD·WAS·GIVEN·TO·HIS·COVNTRY·BVT·WHO
SERVED·HER·SVPREMELY·IN·THE·WAR·
FOR·THE·VNION·M·D·C·C·C·LXI· M·D-
C·C·C·LXV· MAY·BE·PRESERVED·AND·
HONORED·AND·THAT·THEY·WHO·COME·AFTER·
HIM·AND·WHO·WILL·OWE·HIM·SO·MVCH·MAY
SEE·HIM·AS·HE·WAS·SEEN·BY·FRIEND·AND·
FOE·HIS·COVNTRYMEN·HAVE·SET·VP·
THIS·MONVMENT·A·D·M·D·C-
C·C·L·XXXI:

On the right side of the pedestal under a banner inscribed "COVRAGE," the female personification of that trait is surrounded by details of the life of the Admiral.

BORN·NEAR·KNOXVILLE·
TENNESSEE·IVLY·V·M·D·C·C·C·I· MID-
SHIPMAN·M·D·C·C·C·X·BATTLE·OF·ESSEX·
AND·PHOEBE·MARCH·XXVIII·M·D·C·C·C·XIV-
LIEVTENANT·M·D·C·C·C·XXV·COMMAND-
ER·M·D·C·C·C·XLI·CAPTAIN·M·D·C·C·C·LV·
BATTLE·OF·NEW·ORLEANS·APRIL·
-XXV·M·D·C·C·C·LXII·REAR·ADMIRAL·M-
-D·C·C·C·LXII·BATTLE·OF·MOBILE·BAY·AVGVST·
V·M·D·C·C·C·LXIV·VICE·ADMIRAL·DECEMBER·XX-
-III·M·D·C·C·C·LXIV·FIRST·ADMIRAL·OF·THE·
VNITED·STATES·OF·AMERICA·IV-
-LY·XXVI·M·D·C·C·C·LXVI·DIED·AT·
PORTSMOVTH·NEW·HAMPSHIRE·
AVGVST·XIV·M·D·C·C·C·LXX:

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Admiral Farragut is cast in bronze which has weathered a pale green. Inscribed on the plinth are the names of the sculptor, the founder and the date of casting.

MODELLED·BY·AVGVSTVS·SAINT-GAVDENS· (left)
PARIS·MDCCCLXXIX-MDCCCLXXX·CAST·BY·ADOLPHE·GRUET·

Beneath the plinth the inscription "DAVID·GLASGOW·FARRAGVT·" is carved into the granite pedestal. Below this inscription a sword which emphasizes the vertical axis of the central pier is superimposed over a decorative simulation of the sea. The pedestal is slightly arched and is terminated at either end by a representation of a dolphin in its underwater environment. Beneath the inscriptions and the symbolic figures of Loyalty and Courage is a ledge for seating. A bronze crab inscribed with the names of the sculptor and architect is set in a ground of pebbles fronted by three steps which were intended to give access to the monument.

The Farragut Monument is one of the most impressive monuments of the nineteenth century. It evokes Renaissance prototypes while anticipating Art Nouveau styles. It remains an arresting work despite the fact that its ambience has changed from an elegant and fashionable area to the center of a drug culture surrounded by twentieth century buildings devoted to commerce.

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II. David Glasgow Farragut (1801-1870, fig. 14).

> David Glasgow Farragut, the first Admiral of the United States Navy, was born at Campbell's Station, near Knoxville, East Tennessee, on the 5th of July, 1801. . ..(1)

Farragut's biography as written by his only son, is the history of a man of intelligence, imagination and courage. From Loyall Farragut's account, the reader might imagine he had come across a naval Don Quixote. Perhaps a more apt comparison might be to Lord Nelson, a point made not only by his son, but also by critics of the nineteenth century when his monument was unveiled in New York.[2]

After the death of David Farragut's mother in 1808, he was adopted by Commodore David Porter. Porter's father had been nursed by the young man's mother before his death, and his son obviously felt indebted to the Farragut family.[3] Commodore Porter was transferred from New Orleans to Washington, D.C. where he and his wife undertook young Farragut's education.[4] Before he was ten years old, Farragut was appointed to the Navy and in August 1811 he accompanied Porter who commanded the Essex.[5] He began "the arduous duties of the naval service" at the age of ten.[6] His education, as well as that of other young midshipmen, continued, however, during this service.[7]

Farragut served under Porter aboard the Essex during the War of 1812.[8] He saw action and in 1813 took command of a captured ship when less than twelve years old.[9] Despite his apparent precocity, the Battle of the Essex and

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Phoebe of March 1814 inscribed upon the pedestal of the Farragut Monument, seems less a heroic battle described by Loyall Farragut than a war of words.[10] The ignominious surrender of the Essex which was undone by the forces of nature and outflanked by the Phoebe and sloop of war, Cherub, as recorded by David Glasgow Farragut, hardly seems the same battle as that described by his son.[11]

> One of the most sanguinary and gallantly contested battles in maritime warfare,. . .was the splendid defense made by Porter and his brave officers and crew in the Essex, against the combined attack of the British frigate Phoebe and sloop of war Cherub.
>
> The Life of David Glasgow Farragut, p. 32.

Although the Essex was captured, capture in the sense of the naval etiquette of the period hardly meant any inconvenience. Farragut was returned to New York with his crew July 7, 1814 and "was put in school" while on parole and awaiting regular exchange or the conclusion of the war.[12] At the end of November 1814, Farragut was exchanged and immediately received orders.[13] However, the War of 1812 was concluded before the squadron was ready for sea in the spring of 1815.[14]

After several years in the Mediterranean, Farragut received his first promotion to Acting Lieutenant in the spring of 1819.[15] In August of 1825 he was promoted to Lieutenant and was aboard the frigate Brandywine when it returned the Marquis de Lafayette to France.[16] In 1853 he requested service as a naval observer in the Crimean

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War and was sent forthwith to Vallejo, California to establish a navy-yard on the Pacific coast.[17] He went to California with his wife and son, where he served for four years.[18]

With the Secession of Virginia on the 17th of April 1861, Farragut and his family moved from Norfolk to New York.[19] Although a Southerner by birth, he felt above all an allegiance to the Union and to the Navy which had nurtured and educated him. On January 9, 1862, Captain David Glasgow Farragut was appointed to command the Western Gulf Blockading Squadron and was charged with the "'reduction of the defenses guarding the approaches to New Orleans, and the taking possession of that city.'"[20] The rest is history. Without going into the details of his efforts and achievements, which cannot be done justice in short, it is possible to say that David Glasgow Farragut by knowing his craft, taking advantage of every possible factor and with consummate courage captured New Orleans on the 25th of April 1862.[21] He thereby brought to the Union cause one of its earliest successes. He also created a decisive psychological advantage for his own future efforts.

This psychological advantage and Farragut's true courage were the key factors in his success during the Battle of Mobile Bay in 1864. The federal government had made a prior determination that it needed all available ironclads to defend the nation's capital.[22] However, on July 31st monitors did arrive to reinforce Farragut's wooden ships, but

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they were not ready for duty until August 5th, the day of the battle.[23] The Confederates also had the advantage of defending themselves on their own territory. Farragut took considerable precautions to avoid the defensive torpedoes of the rebels, but even his most careful calculations did not forestall tragedy. As the Tecumseh sank and the lead ship, Brooklyn faltered, Farragut in his flagship, Hartford, shouted:

> 'What's the trouble?. . .'
> 'Torpedoes!' was shouted back in reply.
> 'Damn the torpedoes!' said Farragut 'Four bells! Captain Drayton, go ahead! Jouett, full speed!' And the Hartford. . .assumed the head of the line, and led the fleet to victory. (24)

Later, as the Confederate ironclad ram, Tennessee, was about to demolish the Hartford, Farragut ordered the Union forces to attack.[25] Despite heavy damage inflicted on the Union forces, the Tennessee surrendered and Farragut was able to turn defeat into victory.[26]

The Battle of Mobile Bay resulted in the division of the Confederate forces and the complete control of its Mississippi lifeline and principal ports by the Union Navy. When this success was coupled with those of Generals Grant and Sherman, the Union was finally enabled to prevail. No small part in the Union victory was played by Admiral Farragut. Characteristically modest in his formal report of August 12, 1864, Farragut attributed major importance in the success of his efforts to his pilot, Martin Freeman, a civilian whom the Admiral commended to the Department of the Navy.[27]

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When Farragut returned to the north it was as a conquering hero. The citizens of New York raised $50,000.00 by public subscription and presented it to the Vice-Admiral so that he might live among them.[28] Honored by the populace and offered the position of candidate for the Presidency, which he declined, Congress created the rank of Admiral for its greatest naval hero in 1866.[29]

Farragut was finally sent to the European theater in 1867, only fourteen years after his request, but truly as an emissary and an international hero. Feted from Scandinavia to the Mediterranean and as far East as Moscow and Leningrad, this truly remarkable man finally returned to America to spend his remaining years. He died at Portsmouth, New Hampshire on 14 August 1870 and after a public funeral in New York on September 30th, 1870 he was buried at Woodlawn Cemetery.[30] Congress appropriated $20,000.00 for the erection of a colossal bronze statue for Washington, D.C., but that commission was awarded to Vinnie Ream Hoxie (unveiled April 25, 1881, bronze, fig. 15).[31] However, it would be Augustus Saint-Gaudens who would give posterity a fitting image with which the first admiral of the United States Navy might be commemorated.

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III. The History of the Monument.

In almost a century since the unveiling of Saint-Gaudens' Farragut Monument on the 25th of May, 1881 (fig. 16) it has had a remarkably varied history. In 1881 it was hailed as the precursor of a new American art by a new Donatello.[32] This stunningly naturalistic bronze image of Admiral Farragut was originally installed upon its bluestone pedestal at the northwest corner of Madison Square Park. It literally does not exist as it was when given to the City of New York. The blue pebbles surrounding the bronze crab which commemorated the combined efforts of Stanford White, architect, and Saint-Gaudens, sculptor, have been replaced by those of a more pedestrian color.[33] Undoubtedly, the replacement of the pebbles was necessitated by the more fundamental replacement of the entire pedestal which had begun to erode. Furthermore, the pedestal as originally placed intruded upon a planned expansion of Fifth Avenue.[34]

The splendid, deep, rich patina of the original bronze highlighted as in works of the Renaissance by "light gilding of all that is gold or gilt in the ornamentation of the uniform, sword and belt"[35] must have provided an impressive contrast to the dark, blue-gray of the original pedestal within its park setting. Today, Admiral Farragut is located at the northern end of Madison Square Park atop its new pedestal of durable Cooperstown black granite (fig. 13).[36] It is covered with the graffiti of those who do not know about or care for their artistic heritage.

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Aside from its importance as the first public commission awarded to Augustus Saint-Gaudens, the Farragut Monument has further significance. Many of the artist's documents, drawings and other archival material were destroyed during two fires at the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site in Cornish, New Hampshire in 1904 and 1944.[37] For that reason, the unusually detailed documentation of the progress of the Farragut is doubly important. Not only can we trace the history of this work through the preserved letters of Augusta Homer Saint-Gaudens (1848-1926, fig. 17)[38] and others, but because of this complete information we can understand the sculptor's methods more fully. Furthermore, the methods used by Saint-Gaudens in this, his first public commission, were undoubtedly a reflection of those learned at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts just a decade before.

The history of the monument began with the Congressional appropriation of $20,000.00 for the erection of a colossal monument to the Admiral in Washington, D.C. This commission was also inextricably interwoven in the relationship of Saint-Gaudens and Augusta Homer who had met in Rome in December of 1873. By March 1, 1874 Saint-Gaudens had written to Augusta's father asking for her hand in marriage.[39] His request was contingent upon his receiving an important commission with which he might support his intended bride. However, just before leaving Rome, Augustus learned that Vinnie Ream had secured the award for the Farragut Monument at Washington, D.C. (fig. 15).[40] Nevertheless, on March 17,

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1875, having precipitously returned to America after the unexpected death of his mother, Saint-Gaudens wrote Augusta that he would take a studio in New York in order to model a Columbus "or the Farragut and on that sketch try and get a commission so as to have it presented to the Central Park."[41] The studio taken by Saint-Gaudens was in the German Savings Bank Building on Fourteenth Street.[42] It was there that he met Stanford White, one of his closest friends and collaborators and the future architect of the Farragut pedestal.[43] Here, too, he would later meet Charles Follen McKim (1847-1909) who had studied architecture at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts during the years 1867-1870 and who was the architectural stalwart of the firm of McKim, Mead and White.[44]

Through Governor Edwin D. Morgan, who had purchased Saint-Gaudens' Hiawatha, the young sculptor sought and received a letter of introduction to William H. Appleton, the publisher and a member of the Farragut Monument Commission.[45] Morgan asked Appleton to do what he could in securing the Farragut commission for Saint-Gaudens.[46] This was, of course, the committee for the erection of a monument to the Admiral in New York. Augustus then proceeded to meet with every member of the committee and with Mrs. Farragut, herself, to insure his selection. All did not go smoothly, and he soon found that one member of the committee was "using every effort to obtain the statue for. . .his cousin."[47]

By May 11th, 1876 Saint-Gaudens had made a second clay sketch of the Farragut, put the first in plaster, and also

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had a bust to show the Farragut Monument Committee.[48] To further insure his receiving the commission, on June 26,1876 Saint-Gaudens wrote to John Quincy Adams Ward (1830-1910) asking his written endorsement for the Farragut commission.[49] Ward endorsed the young sculptor after having seen his recently installed Silence at the Masonic Hall in New York City.[50] Further, Ward declined the commission in favor of Saint-Gaudens.[51]

During the period when Saint-Gaudens was exerting every effort to secure the Farragut commission, John La Farge (1835-1910) invited him to come to Newport to work on models for the King Monument.[52] While Saint-Gaudens never specified how he met La Farge, it was probably in New York and possibly at the National Academy of Design where both men exhibited in 1875.[53] At first the Newport arrangements were postponed because of Auguste Bartholdi's presence in La Farge's studio and the illness of both men.[54] However, sometime between August 9 and October 5, 1876 Saint-Gaudens was in Newport with his sculptor's tools.[55] The commission for the King Tomb finally came through on June 4, 1877, Saint-Gaudens' wedding day.[56]

Before December 31, 1876 Saint-Gaudens again worked with La Farge on the wall paintings of Trinity Church in Boston. On December 7, 1876 La Farge wired Saint-Gaudens from Boston, "Come on as you say."[57] And on December 31, 1876 La Farge wrote ". . .The St. Paul is very successful in many ways. . .."[58] On March 21, 1893 Saint-Gaudens

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confirmed his authorship of the St. Paul in Trinity Church in a letter to the Reverend E. Winchester Donald.

> Dear Donald. . .Yes I painted the St. Paul in Trinity, from La Farge's design and entirely under his direction, he of course going over it afterwards and giving it the 'coup de Maitre'
>
> Yours faithfully,
>
> Augustus St. Gaudens (59)

It was undoubtedly at the time when Saint-Gaudens worked on the Trinity paintings that he met Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-1886), the architect of Trinity Church, Boston.[60] It was probably also through Richardson that Saint-Gaudens received the commission for the Montgomery Memorial (s&d 1876, bronze, unveiled November 25, 1877, Church of the Incarnation, New York) for which Richardson was the architect.[61]

The actual contract for the Farragut Monument was signed by John A. Dix and Saint-Gaudens on 23 May 1877.[62] It specified that the work was to be completed within two years for the sum of 9,000.00.[63] It further stipulated that any remaining funds collected by the committee were to be used for a pedestal to be designed and executed by the sculptor.[64] Saint-Gaudens married Augusta Homer on June 4, 1877 in Roxbury, Massachusetts.[65] On the sixth of June 1877 Augustus and Augusta Saint-Gaudens sailed for France via Liverpool.[66] Augustus had in hand not only the commission for the Farragut, but also the commission for the Robert Richard Randall (s&d 1883, bronze, Sailors' Snug Harbor, Staten Island, fig. 18) and, as has been mentioned, the commission for the King Monument and the Angels Adoring

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the Cross for St. Thomas Church, New York among others.[67]

By July 17, 1877, Saint-Gaudens and his bride were ensconced at 233 Faubourg St. Honoré, having seen the Royal Academy exhibition in London and the Salon in Paris. In a letter written to John La Farge, Saint-Gaudens specifically commented upon a figure by "Dallou" which he had seen and admired in London and one by Frederick Leighton which he described as "tres 'pompier'."[68] The former, Une Boulonnaise allaitant son enfant, a terracotta statuette by Jules Dalou (1838-1902) was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1877.[69] The latter was probably Leighton's bronze Athlete Wrestling with a Python, purchased by the Chantrey Bequest for the National Collection (Tate Gallery).[70]

The balance of the month of July 1877 and the month of August were undoubtedly devoted almost exclusively to the execution of the reliefs for St. Thomas Church. By August 22, Saint-Gaudens had begun the King Tomb, and the first of the Angels for St. Thomas had been cast in a reinforced plaster by August 24, 1877.[71] On September 6, 1877 Will Low (1853-1932) who had been invited to share Saint-Gaudens' studio, was painting the reliefs under the sculptor's guidance.[72] On September 20th the reliefs were packed and sent off for shipment, and before November 12, 1877 Wyatt Eaton reported to Saint-Gaudens that they were in place in St. Thomas Church.[73] Their virtuousity can only be partially understood within the context of their having being executed within six weeks. They are seen here, in situ, surrounded

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by the paintings of John La Farge (fig. 19).[74]

Saint-Gaudens had begun working on a bust or head of Farragut in Rome in 1875 and had two sketches of the entire figure as well as the bust to show the Farragut Monument Committee in New York in May 1876.[75] It was, however, not until the fall of 1877 in Paris, after the completion of the St. Thomas Angels Adoring the Cross (1877) that he began working in earnest on the Farragut Monument.[76] On September 26,1877 he wrote his father-in-law that he would exhibit his Bust of Farragut at the Exposition of 1878.[77] On December 20th, 1877 Augusta wrote to her father that Augustus was going to send a terracotta bust of Farragut to the Spring Exhibition of the Society of Artists in New York in 1878. She continued:

> He has had two made which he does not consider successful. He will make one more attempt which will keep us here [in Paris] until January first.(78)

In January 1878, Augusta and Augustus were in Rome planning to stay permanently.[79] Augusta wrote to her father that Augustus had written to the War Department for photographs, and that he also needed Admiral Farragut's sword. Perhaps Mathew Brady's photograph of Admiral Farragut (fig. 20) acquired by the government in 1875 or an engraving of the Admiral such as that reproduced in Loyall Farragut's biography (fig. 21) might have been used by Saint-Gaudens.[80] The Bust of Farragut (fig. 22), a reduction of a cast of the bronze taken in late 1907, shows that Saint-Gaudens has not only placed the Admiral's hat on his head, but has also removed a few years as well as a few pounds. However, despite their

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intention to stay in Rome so that Augustus might complete the Farragut, plans were changed and Saint-Gaudens wrote in March 1878 to Stanford White that he would soon return to Paris because of the summer and fever in Rome. He continued:

> I've been pegging away at my Farragut but it's a hard "tug" with our infernal modern dress - I only have the cap, sword,belt and the buttons - and the resource of trying to strike away from the stuff we have in America - When you come over I want to talk with you about the pedestal, perhaps something might be done with that_____. . .. (81)

Saint-Gaudens' return to Paris was not only precipitated by his illness and fear of the fever, but also by his invitation to be a member of the American jury for the International Exposition in Paris in 1878. His friend, David Maitland Armstrong (1836-1918) who headed the jury, had also appointed Christian E. Detmold, a civil engineer, writer and collector of art, as the third member.[82] Saint-Gaudens, however, exhibited no work at this Exposition.[83]

On their return from Rome, Augusta wrote her parents that Augustus was anxious to get to work on his statue again as his illness and moving back to Paris had been "a detention."[84] She also wrote in the same letter that he would have his hands full with the Exposition. And so it was. However, the opening of the Exposition on the Champ de Mars in 1878 found Saint-Gaudens living at 3 Rue Herschel and by May 29th busily at work again on the Farragut. Augusta wrote to her father:

> Dear Father. . .[Augustus] is modelling a nude figure about two feet high. In a few days he will put the clothes on that and in the course

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> of a week or two he will begin on this figure five feet high. He is going to model the Statue that height and then have it 'pointed up' to just twice the height to finish in the big statue but of course that is a long way ahead - He will write to Mrs. Farragut to send the Admiral's sword to you and we want Lizzie to bring it.
>
> Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library

On June 7, 1878 Augusta again wrote to her father that Augustus had been having his small, nude Farragut cast and would begin putting his clothes on the next day.[85] On September 2, 1878 she wrote to her parents of Saint-Gaudens' progress on the Farragut Monument.

> Augustus is very hard at work on the Farragut He has got him up life size [five feet or half final size] and has a model every day. He is still at work on the nude but will commence on the clothes before a great while.
>
> Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

December 2, 1878 Augusta wrote to her cousin, Lizzie, that she was still hunting for some brass buttons for Admiral Farragut's coat which was being made to fit the model.[86] She then explained to her cousin that Saint-Gaudens first modelled the statue in the nude and then had it cast and finally dressed the cast in Farragut's clothes.[87]

Meanwhile, Stanford White had arrived in Paris with McKim before the 16th of July, 1878 and McKim, White and Saint-Gaudens left August 2nd for a trip through the south of France.[88] August 5th Gussie wrote that the King Tomb had been shipped while Augustus was away.[89] After the three redheads, Saint-Gaudens, White and McKim absorbed impressions of the art treasures of the French country-side, Saint-

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Gaudens commemorated the excursion with a caricatural relief which firmly established the self-images of the three friends (fig. 23).[90] Early in December of 1878 Saint-Gaudens and White took another excursion to Reims where they visited the cathedral.[91] After their return to Paris, work on the Farragut pedestal resumed with renewed vigor.

February 12, 1879 Gussie wrote to her mother that Stanford White was in the studio with Augustus working on the pedestal. The plan of the monument which she sketched for Mrs. Homer showed a thirty foot semi-circular exedra, surmounted by a statue of the Admiral.[92] Her letter also indicated that while White was working on the pedestal, a model had arrived at the studio and was dressing himself in Farragut's coat "and fixings" and would shortly mount the stand so that Augustus could go to work.[93] On that same day Saint-Gaudens wrote to his friend on the Farragut Monument Committee, former Governor John A. Dix, that he expected to have completed the monument in the clay within two or three months.[94] Saint-Gaudens also stated that although the contract provided for a granite base,he proposed blue-stone and the statue itself would be nine feet three or four inches high.[95] The actual contract specifies that the sculptor will "execute a full length Statue in bronze of Admiral Farragut not less than nine and a half feet in height."[96] However, as was noted in Augusta's letter to her father of May 29, 1878, Saint-Gaudens' original plan was that the statue would be ten feet high.[97] Nevertheless,

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it may be concluded that in February 1879 Saint-Gaudens was working on the five-foot clay statue of Farragut, which would ultimately be nine feet three or four inches in bronze, and that the pedestal was well underway.

On February 28, 1879 Augusta wrote that Mr. White had not started for Italy yet, but that they had "fully decided on the pedestal."[98] That is to say, they had fully decided upon the form of the pedestal. By March 6th they were to have the pedestal photographed, but Augusta indicated that Augustus was having some trouble with Farragut's legs.[99] May 16th the sculptor wrote to the Honorable John J. Cisco of the Farragut Monument Committee apologizing for not writing sooner because of illness.[100] On April 21, 1879 former Governor John A. Dix, the first chairman of the Committee and Saint-Gaudens' good friend died.[101] Therefore, Saint-Gaudens reiterated to Cisco his proposal that he would use blue-stone for the pedestal, which would be just as durable as granite and would also be "much more harmonious with bronze. . . ."[102] The tone of the sculptor's letter was urgent and it seems apparent that he wished to order the stone for the pedestal. Saint-Gaudens concluded the letter with the information that he had made a final decision about the disposition of the figures of Loyalty and Courage on the base of the pedestal.[103] From the correspondence it was also apparent that Saint-Gaudens had intended to send the Farragut to the Salon of 1879 but was prevented from doing so by illness.[104]

An early sketch of the Farragut Monument (fig. 24) which

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is recorded in a photograph gives some idea of the original conception of the monument. It should be noted that in this early drawing much prominence was given to the central portion of the pedestal, which somewhat resembles the forecastle of a ship. A clay sketch for the figures of Loyalty and Courage, preserved in photograph at the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, suggests that the central pier may originally have been intended to hold these figures with decorative lettering on either side (fig. 25).

June 13, 1879 Augusta reported that Augustus was almost ready to enlarge, but that the pedestal that they had planned would"cost much more than they have for it so they are modelling another similar but shorter -. . ..."[105] During the summer of 1879 Gussie travelled with her sister, Eugenia, joined by Saint-Gaudens for brief periods. In the late summer Saint-Gaudens travelled through Italy with Stanford White. A sketchbook at the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters in New York records this excursion. The sketchbook includes a drawing of the Farragut Monument with a modified, shorter base (fig. 26). A letter from Gussie to her parents dated August 6, 1879 and the drawing of the Farragut with a reduced pedestal confirm Saint-Gaudens and White's trip through Italy during the late summer of 1879 while Gussie was travelling elsewhere with her sister.[106] By August 23, 1879 Saint-Gaudens had returned to Paris and Stanford White finally left for home. Saint-Gaudens wrote to Cisco requesting park space for the Farragut and indicated that he expected to

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be finished with the "life-size" clay within a month.[107] At the same time he wrote to Mrs. Farragut that he expected to be finished within a month and that all that needed to be done additionally was the enlarging and casting in bronze.[108] He added that Richard Grant White, Stanford's father would write the inscription.[109] However, it must be evident to even the most ardent admirer of Augustus Saint-Gaudens that expectations do not always accurately indicate performance.

Stanford White, having returned to New York on September 6,1879 was busily arranging a site for the Farragut.[110] He was also measuring Bartholdi's statue of Lafayette in Union Square Park, New York (fig. 27) in order to compare its size with the proposed height of the Farragut.[111] He repeated his suggestion that Saint-Gaudens should reduce the size of the Farragut to eight feet two inches or two and one-half inches or three inches "whatever would make an even equation with your 65 inches."[112] Thus the life-size clay was actually five feet five inches. It was also implied that one of the reasons for the reduction in size was to reduce the cost.[113]

By October 8th, 1879 the sixty-five inch Farragut was cast in plaster and Augustus was working on the Morgan Tomb.[114] White wrote to Cisco that the pedestal design had been finalized and that the hemicycle would be decorated on each side with figures of Loyalty and Courage in low relief with an emblem of the sea under the Farragut.[115] On the 15th of October White wrote that he had taken the plan for the pedes-

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tal to La Farge and that La Farge had liked the dolphins which flanked the exedra though he preferred a more conventional sketch also shown him by White.[116] October 21st White continued that he asked La Farge for suggestions to improve the large exedra and that La Farge had suggested that he did not like the vertical thrust of the central portion as it was "very antagonistic with the circular plan of the seat and destroyed the perspective almost entirely."[117] As White agreed in general with La Farge's criticism he suggested that since Saint-Gaudens had lowered the figure by three inches, he, White, should lower the central rise by at least that much.[118]

Meanwhile in Paris, Saint-Gaudens was having some difficulties with the enlarging of the Farragut. So on October 14, Augusta reported that he was going to enlarge the head in wax himself.[119] By November 6th Saint-Gaudens reported to White that the statue was now eight feet three inches and the plinth four and one-half inches and that it was "more than half finished in the big."[120] Saint-Gaudens also formally selected the Madison Square site - that is the northeast corner of Madison Square Park facing Fifth Avenue.[121] On November 14th Gussie reported that they had visited Fontainebleau and the Renaissance Gallery at the Louvre where they had seen many beautiful things, especially works by Jean Goujon and Germain Pilon and some bas-reliefs in "bluestone that Augustus' Farragut pedestal is to be made of."[122]

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On November 21, Gussie wrote again to her parents.

> I have come to the conclusion that I am as big a sculptress as Vinnie Ream for I am making the braid on the sleeves of our Farragut. . .It's a purely mechanical thing doing it but takes ever so much time. . ..

Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

December 5th, 1879 Gussie wrote to her mother.

> [Farragut] looks pretty nearly finished, I suppose Aug. will work on it until the middle or end of next month. . .until the last minute. . .. (123)

And on December 12 she wrote of fifteen inches of snow in Paris and the lack of coal for heating and their fear that the clay might freeze.[124]

The contract with Fisher and Bird of New York for $2510.00 for the pedestal was signed on the 13th of December, 1879.[125] It specifies excavation and preparatory work and specifically excludes "the cutting of the bas-reliefs of 'Loyalty' and 'Courage'" and the lettering.[126] White wrote on the 17th of specific changes he had made in the pedestal for which he enclosed plans.

> You will see, however,what changes have been made by comparing the plans I send you and those I left with you.
>
> The plan of the pedestal has a flatter curve, and the whole pedestal is broader and lower. [Charles] Babb approves, everybody approves, and I am consequently happy.
>
> After a heavy consultation, I have kept the rise in the back of the seat in a modified and more subtle. . .form so you'll be satisfied. (127)

On the 26th of December, 1879 Augusta was redoing Farragut's sword in wax as her first enlargement was too

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small.[128] Saint-Gaudens took time to write to LaFarge on December 29th that the Farragut would soon be finished and that he would return to America as soon as the bronze was cast.[129]

January 23d 1880 Gussie wrote to her parents.

> . . .One of Farragut's legs has always bothered [Augustus]. . .but yesterday for the first time he got the legs and trousers to suit him . . .he was singing. . .I think he will have Barbedienne cast the statue. . .Aug. is having his feet cast tonight. . .finishing of Farragut's shoes he wants done from them.. . .(130)

February 6th,1880 she wrote:

> . . .On Sunday [February 8, Augustus] will let a few people see the statue and on Monday they will commence casting it in plaster. There are nine great bags of plaster here and any quantity of bars of iron and they will all go into the statue. They will be four days making the mould and then it will be taken to the other studio and the plaster statue will be cast. That will have to be finished off and after that it will go to the bronze foundry. No one has any idea of the great quantity of time, brains & money that go into making a statue. (131)

On February 11th the mould was being taken and Saint-Gaudens was "still fussing over the head of the statue. . . " as that was to be cast last.[132] Ten days later the moulders were still working and Saint-Gaudens had moved to his new studio.[133] March 10th Augusta reported an accident while the plaster mould was being taken down.[134] This caused a delay and further work. All this occurred while the sculptor was under the most intense pressure to leave his studio for the building was to be demolished.[135] White, adding to the confusion wrote on February 24th.

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> Beloved. . .I suppose you are much obliged to me for the life of Farragut. - now that you have sent the statue to the casters I send the life. . .. (136)

March 14 or 15 Saint-Gaudens wrote to "Bianco" [White] that he was working on the plaster of the Farragut and "improving it seriously."[137] On April 9th Augusta reported that the Farragut was nearly cast in plaster and would be sent to the Salon on the 14th.[138] Apparently two plaster casts were made, one for the Salon and one for the foundry.[139] Meanwhile the Salon jury had sent Saint-Gaudens its compliments on April 9th for the five medallions which he had already submitted.[140]

After the Farragut was sent to the Salon, Saint-Gaudens had additional problems having it properly placed. He had specified that it was to be placed "at a height of ten feet as it was modelled," but found it at two feet on the side under the gallery.[141] Eventually a compromise was reached and Admiral Farragut was placed at a height of five feet.[142] Augustus Saint-Gaudens was awarded Honorable Mention and was favorably reviewed in the French press.

> La ville de New-York peut s'applaudir du choix qu'elle a fait d'un de ses enfants, M. Saint-Gaudens, pour la statue qu'elle voulait élever à l'amiral Farragut. . .C'est bien là le marin, avec son costume simple et correct. . ..Mais ici il y a plus encore, et dans cet homme de mer et cet amiral vous découvrez le caractère particulier d'un race. . .cette initiative et cette hardiesse de conceptions qui est propre aux Américains et dont Farragut a été un vivant exemple. L'execution simple et large manifeste tous ces traits, et atteste que M. Saint-Gaudens était digne de cette oeuvre. . .il a su, dans l'exercice d'un art assez nouveau pour sa nation, conserver des qualités natives de force et de spontanéité qui ne pouvaient trouver un meilleur emploi. (143)

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At the close of the French Salon the plaster Farragut and the medallions were sent to Florence where they were exhibited in the first annual Exposition de la Société Donatello.[144] Here they were seen and reviewed by the French critic, Paul Leroi, for the winter issue of L'Art.[145] M. Leroi not only mentioned the Portrait of Bastien-Lepage (bronze, 1880, Boston Museum of Fine Arts, fig. 28) whose finesse of modelling he admired, but he noted that it was unfortunate that the Farragut had not been given more attention, perhaps as it had been erroneously assumed that it was merely a government commission.[146]

All of this was transpiring while it was expected that the monument would be unveiled in New York in May, 1880.[147] However, on May 12th Augusta wrote that the body of Farragut was to be cast in bronze on the 13th and the first payment to the founder was to be made.[148] Augustus had written to his father-in-law that he wished to borrow $1000.00 so that he might pay the founder the $1200.00 due him before the sculptor's departure from Paris on the 26th of June.[149] He explained to Mr. Homer that he expected to be paid $2000.00 within three weeks of the casting according to his contract.[150] However, the sculpture business is not a predictable business and although the first cast of the body was a success, the casting of the legs of the statue on June 5, 1880 was a disaster and the mould was destroyed.[151] The legs were successfully cast on Saturday morning, June 26th, 1880 and Augustus and his pregnant wife left for

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America.[152]

Augusta continued on to Boston and to the home of her parents in Roxbury while Saint-Gaudens set up shop in New York. By August 6, 1880 the bronze had arrived from Adolphe Gruet, the French founder (fig. 29).[153] Homer Saint-Gaudens was born on September 28, 1880 and on September 23rd there was still discussion about the inscription on the pedestal.[154] In October 1880, Saint-Gaudens wrote from his studio in the Sherwood Building on 57th Street and Sixth Avenue that he was still working on the pedestal and contemplating arrangements for the unveiling.[155] October 27, Augusta wrote that she still hoped that the Farragut would be"inaugurated this autumn for I think it will do you an immense amount of good to have the statue up now it is done. . . ."[156] However, on November 28th, 1880 the Farragut was being stored in Saint-Gaudens' 123rd Street studio and the sculptor still had not been paid.[157] Saint-Gaudens was not idle, however, and was hard at work on the Morgan Angels and the Robert Richard Randall (fig. 18) which he had commenced in earnest in April in Paris after sending his Farragut off to the Salon.

The figures of Lovelty and Courage were carved in the bluestone pedestal by the firm of Pfister and Davis (fig. 30) and the monument was unveiled on May 25, 1881.[158] Mr. Joseph H. Choate delivered a nineteen page address which devoted one paragraph to "the creative genius of the young and brilliant artist, who produced this noble statue of Farragut."[159] Ten thousand citizens were in attendance

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and the monument was fully treated in The New-York Times, Herald and the Evening Post. On June 2nd, The Nation noted the American character and admirable portraiture of this nine foot bronze statue with its nine foot high pedestal.[160] In a lengthy article in The New York Herald of May 26, 1881 it was noted that finishing touches were being put on the pedestal by the stone cutters early on the morning of the 25th.[161] The Farragut Monument was noted as "one of the most noble and thoroughly artistic productions of American art, worthy of the fame of one of the grandest figures of our history. . .the American Nelson."[162]

> He stands thoroughly dominating the magnificent bluestone pedestal. . .on board his ship in time of action. The pose is remarkable for its naturalness, its supreme quality of just arrested motion.. . .The modelling of the living figure, the folds of the costume, careful in detail. . .are worthy of the highest praise. A highly commendable piece of realism in the treatment, we believe seen in modern art for the first time in this statue, though used in the works of the Renaissance, is the light gilding of all that is gold or gilt in the ornamentation of the uniform, sword, and belt - the broad bands of gold lace and the stars with ships in their central circles on the sleeves, the shoulder straps, the coat buttons, the lace and eagle on the cap, the buckle of the belt, the tassel of the sword and its bands, buckles and hooks. . .. This realism is remarkably effective and by no means obtrusive, the slight gold coloring telling finely in its picturesque contrast to the deep rich natural tone of the bronze.. . . The statue and its pedestal are in thorough harmony of proportion, and it is highly gratifying that so original a work should prove, as a whole and in all its details, such a brilliant success. . ..
>
> The New York Herald, Thursday, May 26, 1881, p.5.

Were it not for this explicit description of the coloration and detailing of the Farragut Monument, it might have been

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impossible to fully visualize the original monument at its unveiling.

Although more detailed than many discussions of this work, the article in the Herald sets the general tone of comment on the Farragut. In the New York Evening Post, Saint-Gaudens' work was compared to Vinnie Ream's recently unveiled statue of Admiral Farragut in Washington, D.C. (fig. 15), but the critic noted that "bad as is her work" there is worse to be found in Central Park.[163] The same critic suggested that perhaps Saint-Gaudens thought of Donatello.[164] Certainly, there is in the Farragut a general similarity both in the stance and the pose of the arms to Donatello's St. George (c. 1415-17, Or San Michele, Florence).[165]

The New-York Times was less gentle in its comparison of the work of Saint-Gaudens and Miss Ream, "We need not go to Washington to see what we have escaped."[166] The Times also noted that blue pebbles surround the bronze crab imbedded in the pavement in front of the statue.[166] The article concluded with the statement that the Farragut Monument "is incontestably the handsomest in or about New-York City, and the one in which art has reached the highest level."[167]

> With the Farragut of SAINT-GAUDENS begins the era when criticism of sculpture for civic decorations will be as sharp and exacting as it now is in painting. We can never afford to put up public statues hereafter which are inferior to the Farragut.
>
> The New-York Times, Wednesday, May 25, 1881, p.4.

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Probably the most ofted quoted article on the Farragut Monument was that written by Richard Watson Gilder for Scribner's Monthly.[168] Gilder, the editor of Scribner's, and his wife, Helena de Kay Gilder had been friends of Saint-Gaudens and the three had been instrumental in the formation of the Society of American Artists in 1877. Gilder described the young Saint-Gaudens as a modern Donatello and likened his work to that of the Florentine Renaissance.[169] Commentary in The New-York Times, the Philadelphia Times, the Springfield Republican, the Philadelphia News and other papers all referred to the article in Scribner's.[170] Most have excerpted ideas from the article, but in the case of the Philadelphia Times, the critic took issue with Gilder's comments about the lettering which, according to the Philadelphia writer, could not be read.[171] Legibility aside, the inscription on the Farragut Monument was based in part upon that of the "magnificent seat in [the] court at Pistoja" of which Saint-Gaudens made several sketches in the summer of 1879 (fig. 31). Saint-Gaudens noted on this sketch:

> Take care to cut letter[s] very deep in Farragut and au besoin put dirt in at. . ..

Not only did the sculptor use this form for the lettering of the Farragut, but it would become the hallmark of all future inscriptions on the monuments of Augustus Saint-Gaudens.

On September 10, 1881, a review of the Farragut Monument by Mariana Griswold Van Rensselaer (1851-1934) appeared in The American Architect and Building News.[172] Mrs.

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Van Rensselaer described the Farragut as the best monument of its kind in New York City.[173] She noted the favorable reception of the Farragut at the Salon of 1880 in Paris, and cited it not only as American in flavor, but as an example of the beginning of a truly national portraiture which was not merely derivative of European influences.[174] An unsigned article which followed Mrs. Van Rensselaer's in The American Architect and Building News compared the Farragut (fig. 29) to Bartholdi's Lafayette (s&d 1873, bronze, fig. 27) in Union Square, New York and indicated that these were the two most successful portrait statues in New York.[175] This critic also suggested that in the case of the lettering, legibility was "sacrificed to pictorial suggestiveness."[176]

Undoubtedly the most moving eulogy on the subject of the Farragut Monument came from Saint-Gaudens' friend, David Maitland Armstrong on the day following the unveiling.[177] He wrote:

> [The Farragut] fairly took my breath away. . . It is perfectly magnificent-. . . You have gone beyond art, and reached out & touched the universal heart of man, you have preached a small sermon on truth, honor, courage & loyalty that will do more good than all the reasonings of philosophers - You have brought great truths close to the hearts of men. . .forever. . .. (178)

Even the Farragut Monument Association was pleased and on June 10, 1881, at a meeting at the office of the Treasurer, Mr. John J. Cisco, they passed a resolution expressing their appreciation of Saint-Gaudens' work as well as their appreciation of the work of his collaborator, the architect,

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Stanford White.[179]

The history of the monument did not conclude with its unveiling on May 25, 1881, however. In 1907 the Art Commission of the City of New York authorized a plaster cast of the Farragut for the Memorial Exhibition of the Works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, held in 1908 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art.[180] In 1912 permission for a second cast was given Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, who was trying to establish a permanent memorial to her husband at their home in Cornish, New Hampshire, but this cast was lost in the fire of June 6,1944.[181] Then it was found that the original bronze monument had to be moved because of a planned widening of Fifth Avenue.[182] The writer of the article which noted the proposed widening of Fifth Avenue also observed:

> The height of the buildings about Madison Square has so increased that what in reality was one of the finest pieces of heroic statuary has become dwarfed by its environment. (183)

A photograph of Diana atop Madison Square Garden which can be seen over Admiral Farragut's right shoulder gives some idea of the Madison Square Park area, possibly around the turn of the century (fig. 32).

Before November 19, 1935 the bluestone pedestal was in horrendous condition (fig. 33) and the Art Commission of the City of New York gave final approval to its replacement with Coopersburg Black Granite from Maine.[184]

> A very accurate mechanical copy of the present bluestone pedestal is to be made.. . .The present bluestone pedestal is to be preserved and presented to some city Museum. (185)

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The recarving of the Farragut pedestal was directed by Karl H. Gruppe, who had been a student-assistant to the sculptor Karl Bitter (1867-1915) for three years.[186] Gruppe, the supervising engineer of the Department of Parks during the depression, had completed the Pulitzer Fountain after the untimely death of Bitter.[187] Gruppe was in charge of cleaning and repairing monuments for the City of New York.[188] He was assisted by the sculptor Herbert Adams (1858-1945) who served as advisor for the recarving while the firm of McKim, Mead and White served as consultants for the project.[189] The assistance of Adams and the firm of McKim, Mead and White coupled with the support of Park Commissioner Robert Moses seems to account for the skill with which the reproduction of the base was carried out.[190] A list of the workers involved indicates that three of the workers chosen were registered with the State Reemployment Service and two were listed as on Home Relief.[191]

A photograph of the monument in 1935 when the pedestal was boxed in for the intended replacement was kindly furnished by the Art Commission of the City of New York (fig.34). The stones for the new pedestal were received at Madison Square Park on June 1, 1936 and the foundations were in place by June 3, 1936 at the new location at the north end of the park.[192] In 1936 the bronze statue of Admiral Farragut was removed from its original pedestal and taken to the Parks Department Yard in Central Park.[193] The bluestone

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pedestal was dismanteled in October of 1936 and eventually found its way to the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site in Cornish, New Hampshire where it may still be seen (fig. 30). Stanford White's son, Lawrence, inspected the Farragut in Mr. Gruppe's office accompanied by Herbert Adams and they were apparently shocked to find that the statue had been painted "a muddy black" and that the tassels and sword were missing.[194] Lawrence White suggested that the Farragut be given the permanent soft green patina of Anna Hyatt Huntington's Jeanne d'Arc (unveiled 1915, bronze, Riverside Drive, New York).[195] Robert Moses replied that their suggestions would be followed.[196]

On August 22, 1939 Lawrence Grant White wrote to Herbert Adams that he had seen the newly installed Farragut and indicated that he was pleased with both the patina and the recutting of the pedestal.[197] Although he did not specify what the actual patina was, Margaret Bauton in 1946 indicated that the "patina is a dark bronze [probably meaning dark brown] with some blackish parts" possibly the residue of the black paint .[198] An inspection of the records of the present New York City preserver of monuments, Mr. Joseph Bresnan, indicates that the monument was allowed to weather naturally and is being preserved in that state. Nothing has been done to remove the iron fence which prevents access to the monument as planned by Saint-Gaudens and White.[199]

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IV. Saint-Gaudens' Working Methods

The unusually detailed description of Saint-Gaudens' progress in the execution of the Farragut Monument was documented in order to understand his working methods from the most complete set of documents available for a major monument. Not only is this one of the few monuments for which relatively complete documentation is possible, but also because it was commenced just seven years after the sculptor finished his education at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, it may fairly be assumed that it represented the methods taught at this academy.

The sculptor first executed a nude model of the subject being portrayed. He then cast the original clay in plaster. Then a fully dressed clay model of the subject was executed in the same two-foot high dimensions. This was cast and the statue was enlarged to approximately half the intended final size, in the case of the Farragut, sixty-five inches. When the life or half final size was completed in the clay it, too, was cast in plaster and was then pointed up to full size. During every stage of the procedure, the sculptor would make adjustments and corrections. However, there would always be the plaster cast of the previous stage for comparison and/or reference. Finally, when the full-scale statue was complete in the clay it would be cast in plaster and final adjustments would be made in the plaster before sending it to the foundry.

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As Saint-Gaudens' fame increased, he placed greater reliance upon assistants in the enlarging process. Even in the Farragut, however, he turned to his wife and others for the mechanical aspects of this phase of his work. It should also be noted that even at this early point in his career, several commissions were being executed simultaneously, although at this time they were generally at different stages of development.

Other aids used by Saint-Gaudens in the execution of his work were photographs and casts. The photographs of Admiral Farragut which Saint-Gaudens requested from the War Department have already been mentioned. The casts of his own feet and/or shoes have also been referred to, but the artist probably made use of casts of the arms of Grace Sorens in completing the figures of Loyalty and Courage for the pedestal of the Farragut. A letter to his wife, Augusta, who was in Boston, speaks of taking a cast of Grace Sorens arm. Saint-Gaudens wrote:

> [It is the arm] which all the artists now use. Miss Sorens arm has got to be a standard now. (200)

Whether Miss Sorens also served as a model for either of the figures is not known, but it is altogether probable, since Saint-Gaudens normally used a model for his work. Other props such as Farragut's sword, buttons, etc. have also been noted. It should also be reiterated that in the execution of the Farragut Monument, as in his subsequent major monuments, Saint-Gaudens actively worked with an

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architect. This, too, may be seen as a reflection of his Beaux-Arts training.

Because of the two disastrous fires which destroyed his Cornish studio in 1904 and 1944, documentation for the subsequent major monuments of Augustus Saint-Gaudens is far from complete. Despite this fact, it will be possible in some instances to see how this method, demonstrated in the execution of the Farragut, would continue to be used by the artist. Even when models and documentation are missing, there is sufficient evidence to demonstrate that these were the methods which Saint-Gaudens followed throughout his career.

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V. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE FARRAGUT MONUMENT.

Despite the change in its location from the west to the north end of Madison Square Park and the changing complexion of the surrounding area, the Farragut Monument (fig. 35) remains a dramatic memorial to the first admiral of the United States Navy. Its proto-Art Nouveau pedestal was a unique sculptural harbinger of future trends in Europe and America. The decorative use of the female form in low relief would also foreshadow such later work of Augustus Saint-Gaudens as the Stewart Monument (1883, bronze, Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, fig. 36). The physical types of Loyalty (Left) and Courage (right) used on the pedestal would be the types consistently portrayed by Saint-Gaudens in later ideal works.[201] One of the most attractive features of the Farragut Monument is the manner in which the undulating contours of the figures of Loyalty and Courage follow the outlines of the pedestal. In comparing the original pedestal (fig. 30) with the mechanically reproduced relief of Cooperstown black granite (fig. 35), it is apparent that however faithfully executed, the copy has lost some of the depth and voluptuous quality of the original bluestone carving.

The figures of the pedestal symbolize the personal attributes of Admiral Farragut. The pedestal as a whole with the dolphins which frame its arched form and the emblematic representation of the sea in the center, form an exedra which is suggestive of Farragut's environment. It provides

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a fitting foil and substructure for the Admiral. Critics noted that the Admiral was represented naturalistically,[202] but it was a somewhat idealized naturalism. The stance of the Admiral and his general relationship to Donatello's St. George has already been noted. This relationship is particularly interesting when it is known that Saint-Gaudens owned a cast of the St. George.[203] There are certainly similarities in the disposition of the arms and the stance of the legs has merely been reversed. Then, too, Saint-Gaudens openly acknowledged his debt to the masters of the Renaissance.[204]

Equally suggestive is the comparison of Daniel Chester French's Minute Man (unveiled 1875, bronze, Concord, Massachusetts, fig. 37)[205] with Saint-Gaudens' Admiral Farragut. The activated naturalism of the Minute Man and its dependence upon an antique prototype, the Apollo Belvedere,[206] are precisely the same characteristics that are to be found in Saint-Gaudens' Farragut. However, if Saint-Gaudens' Farragut owed anything to French's Minute Man, it would not be long before Daniel Chester French (1850-1931) would be obligated to Saint-Gaudens. Although it is not known when the two sculptors met, it was sometime before June 1888 when Saint-Gaudens offered the younger sculptor his advice on the proportions of the Gallaudet Memorial for Washington, D.C.[207] French willingly made the changes suggested by Saint-Gaudens and postponed his wedding so that these

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modifications might be made immediately.[208]

An equally valid comparison can be made with Saint-Gaudens' own Robert Richerd Randall (s&d 1883, unveiled 1884, bronze, Sailors' Snug Harbor, Staten Island, fig. 18). Since there were no photographs or representations of Randall, a seaman, merchant and philanthropist, Saint-Gaudens created a purely imaginary figure.[209] Nevertheless, the statue appears to be a naturalistic representation upon a traditional pedestal. The necessity for creating a simple pedestal such as those in Central Park was dictated by the wishes of the committee which commissioned the monument.[210] In comparing the Randall (fig. 18) with the Farragut (fig. 13), it can be seen that the Randall pedestal reduced an otherwise competent statue into an unremarkable monument. However, the comparison also reveals that these statues have more in common than would at first seem apparent.

Earlier depictions of Admiral Farragut which Saint-Gaudens might have known include Randolph Rogers' bozzetto for the proposed Monument to Farragut in Washington, D.C. (1872, plaster, Collection of the University of Michigan Museum of Art, fig. 38).[211] This representation of the Admiral was executed by Rogers in Rome during the period when Saint-Gaudens also resided there (1870-1875). It portrays the Admiral lashed to the mast of his ship and was intended for the government commission eventually awarded to Vinnie Ream (fig. 15).[212] It must also have had some rela-

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tionship to William Page's famed painting of Admiral Farragut in the Shrouds of the Hartford at Mobile Bay (1867-8, oil on canvas, presented to the Czar of Russia in 1871 by General Dix, fig. 39).[213] Most assuredly, Saint-Gaudens knew Launt Thompson's Admiral Farragut (1873, marble tablet, Church of the Incarnation, New York, fig. 40). Saint-Gaudens had executed the Montgomery Memorial (1876, bronze relief, unveiled 1877) for the same church during his American residence of 1875-1877. However, Launt Thompson's profile relief probably had little influence on Saint-Gaudens' later conception of the Admiral.

More notable are the representations of Admiral Farragut which followed that of Saint-Gaudens and their close resemblance to his work. Franklin Simmons (1839-1913) although nine years older than Saint-Gaudens appears to have adopted the younger sculptor's figure of the Admiral for one of his most impressive works, The Navy (1891, bronze group, Civil War Memorial, Portland, Maine, fig. 41).[214] Charles Henry Niehaus (1855-1935) created his bronze variation of Saint-Gaudens' Farragut for Muskegon, Michigan in the late 1890's (fig. 42).[215] Its dependence upon the earlier work of Saint-Gaudens is self-evident (see figure 29). Niehaus, like Simmons, merely changed the position of Farragut's arms and reversed the stance of the legs. Henry Kitson (1860 - 1947) was equally dependent upon the elder sculptor in his representation of Farragut for Vicksburg National

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Military Park (bronze, fig. 43).[216]

The consensus of informed opinion after the unveiling of Vinnie Ream Hoxie's Farragut on April 25, 1881 was that it left much to be desired. Therefore, the public was still searching for an image of the Admiral which would be adequate for posterity. Americans were also searching for a cultural image which would fulfill the artistic aspirations of a new world democracy which had embarked upon its second century. Just one month later, May 25, 1881, Saint-Gaudens' Farragut was unveiled in Madison Square Park, New York. Having been acclaimed in Paris and Florence, Saint-Gaudens' work was perceived to have filled a void in American sculpture. Its Renaissance allusions were not lost on such critics as Mrs. van Rensselaer, Richard Watson Gilder and Saint-Gaudens' circle of artists and friends who chose to see this monument as the indicator of a self-conscious renescence in the arts of America. The Farragut not only made obeisance to the past, but gave America something so creative and new that sculpture in the future would have to be judged by its standards. The Farragut was the first of Saint-Gaudens' attempts to create a physical environment for his sculpture with the aid of an architect. Although he alone designed the sculptural decor of the pedestal,[217] it was, nevertheless, the combined inspiration of Saint-Gaudens and Stanford White which gave it birth. It was also the first of Saint-Gaudens' Civil War monuments, and as a commemoration of the

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past and an anticipation of the future was singularly successful in creating an atmosphere in which it was felt that American sculpture had come of age.

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FOOTNOTES - CHAPTER 2.

[1]Loyall Farragut, The Life of David Glasgow Farragut, First Admiral of the United States Navy, Embodying His Journal and Letters (N.Y.: D. Appleton & Co., 1879), p. 8.

[2]The Life of David Glasgow Farragut, p. 550.

Mr. [Joseph H.] Choate's Address, Farragut, Made at the Request of The Farragut Monument Association on the Occasion of the Unveiling of the St. Gaudens Statue, May 25, 1881 (N.Y.: Evening Post Steam Presses, 1881), Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library, p. 1, 15. Choate also compared Farragut to Napoleon (p.16) and noted that while he was a hero, he was "not of the Anglo-Saxon stock for which we are wont to assert a monopoly of the manly virtues,. . .."(p. 2-3).

[3]The Life of David Glasgow Farragut, p. 10-11.

[4]Ibid., p.11.

[5]Ibid., p.12.

[6]Ibid., p.12.

[7]Ibid., p.13.

[8]Ibid., p.13.

[9]Ibid., p.25.

[10]Ibid., p.32-3, 35.

[11]Ibid., p. 35.

[12]Ibid., p. 48-9.

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[13]The Life of David Glasgow Farragut, p. 50.

[14]Ibid., p. 50.

[15]Ibid., p. 81.

[16]Ibid., p. 103.

[17]Ibid., p. 166-8.

[18]Ibid., After the death of his first wife, Susan C. Marchant on the 27th of December 1840 (p. 136), Farragut married Miss Virginia Loyall on 26 December 1843 (p. 155). Their son Loyall was the author of this biography.

[19]Ibid., p. 203-5.

[20]Ibid., p. 208-9.

[21]Ibid., p. 210-237. The Confederacy's largest port.

[22]Ibid., p. 400. Farragut to his son May 21, 1864.

[23]Ibid., p. 404. Farragut to his son July 31, 1864.

[24]Ibid., p. 416-7.

[25]Ibid., p. 419-20.

[26]Ibid., p. 419-20.

[27]Ibid., p. 428-37.

[28]Ibid., p. 476.

[29]Ibid., p. 471, 485.

[30]Ibid., p. 541-2.

[31]Ibid., p. 542.

James M. Goode, The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D.C., (D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1974), p. 100-1. Vinnie Ream Hoxie (1847-1914).

[32][Richard Watson Gilder], "The Farragut Monument," Scribner's Monthly, v. XXII #2 (June, 1881), p. 164.

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M[ariana] G. van Rensselaer, "Mr. St. Gaudens's Statue of Admiral Farragut in New York," The American Architect and Building News, v. 10 (September 10, 1881), p. 119. This article was kindly brought to my attention by Lois Dinnerstein who has written her dissertation of the critical writings of Mariana Griswold van Rensselaer (1851-1934).

[33]The New-York Times, Wednesday, May 25, 1881, p. 4.

[34]Undated clipping from file in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library. The article was dated July 24, but the year was obscured. However, the article mentions Park Commissioner Smith and a check of Park Commission records shows that he was Commissioner in 1909. The article is entitled, "Statue to be Moved./ Widening of Fifth Avenue Affects Farragut Monument."

[35]New York Herald, Thursday, May 26, 1881, p. 5.

My own feeling is that these portions were burnished rather than gilded.

[36]Letter to McKim, Mead & White from Allyn R. Jennings, of the City of New York Department of Parks, June 11, 1936 with the enclosure of specifications (S. White Papers, The New-York Historical Society).

[37]H. Aspet [Homer Saint-Gaudens], "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," AVGVSTVS SAINT-GAVDENS MEMORIAL EXHIBITION, The Art Institute of Chicago, August, September 1909, p. 20. October 11, 1904.

Letter from John H. Dryfhout, curator of the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, New Hampshire.

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[38]Augusta Homer Saint- Gaudens died "July 7th, 1926. . . of Diabetes Militis" at age 78 years. 1 month. 20 days." (Death certificate, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[39]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[40]On 28 January 1875 Stephen Weston Healy wrote from Florence to Saint-Gaudens that he had learned "with unutterable disgust that Vinnie Ream" had finally secured the commission for the Farragut Monument (in D.C.), so that prospect was eliminated. Letter in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[41]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[42]"I took a studio on the corner of Fourteenth Street and Fourth Avenue, in the German Savings Bank Building, which still stands as I write." (Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 154).

[43]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 159.

[44]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 159.

Leland Roth, "McKim, Mead & White Reappraised," A Monograph of the Works of McKim Mead & White 1879-1915 (New Edition, 4 vols. in one, with an Essay by Leland Roth N.Y.: Benjamin Blom, 1973, Arno Press, 1977), p. 13-14.

McKim was the only member of the firm to have formal Beaux-Arts architectural training followed by employment as a draftsman by Henry Hobson Richardson. White, on the

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other hand, was apprenticed to Richardson from 1872-1874 when he went into private practice, sharing an office with William Rutherford Mead (1846-1928). Mead was a student of the New York architect Russell Sturgis from 1868-1871 when he went to Italy to join his brother Larkin Mead (1835-1910) the sculptor, in Florence. In Florence he studied at the Academia della Belle Arti before returning to America in the fall of 1872. McKim had met White in the office of Richardson and the firm of McKim, Mead and White was formed in September of 1879 (Roth, p. 13-16).

It should also be noted that McKim attended the Ecole during the years 1867-1870 at the same time Saint-Gaudens was in Paris attending the Petite Ecole and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.

[45]Letter of July 15, 1875 in the Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[46]Ibid.

[47]James Eglinton Montgomery (c.1824-1909), Secretary to Farragut in 1867-8 and of the Farragut Monument Association. Saint-Gaudens visited Montgomery in New Haven and found that Montgomery was seeking the commission for his cousin, Mr. Palmer. (N.D. Letter in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library). Since no first name is given for "Palmer" it is not possible to determine who he was at this time.

[48]Saint-Gaudens to Augusta, Thursday, May 11, 1876, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

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[49]Letter in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library. Quoted in Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 171.

[50]Undated letter from Ward to Saint-Gaudens in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library (but probably June 1876). Quoted in Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I,171-2.

51 Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 170. Homer states: "When the time for the final decision arrived, in December 1876, I understand that, upon the committee first voting six for Ward and five for Saint-Gaudens, Ward declined to accept the offer and most generously used all his influence towards having the work given to his rival."

[52]Letter of July 4, 1876 from La Farge to Saint-Gaudens giving Saint-Gaudens instructions on coming to Newport (Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[53]The National Academy of Design Exhibition Record 1861-1900, Vol. I, 535.

LA FARGE, John (1835-1910). . .
1875. . .403. From the Story of Cupid and Psyche. [owned by] H.H. Richardson.

Vol.II,819 SAINT-GAUDENS, Augustus (1848-1907)

1875 Address: Fourth Avenue.
513. Bust of the Hon. W.M. Evarts. Hon.W.M.Evarts.
515. Bust of the Hon.E.W.Stoughton. Hon.E.W. Stoughton.

[54]La Farge to Saint-Gaudens August 2, 1876 (Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

Bartholdi (1834-1904) was in America executing the four bas-reliefs for Richardson's Brattle Street Church, Boston: Baptism, Communion, Marriage, Death (Lami I, 66).

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[55] August 1, 1876 letter from Saint-Gaudens to La Farge. Saint-Gaudens wonders whether there is a possibility that the commission for the King Monument might fall through.

August 2, 1876 La Farge letter to Saint-Gaudens stating that he had delayed writing as he "didn't wish to interfere with [Saint-Gaudens'] projects of the Farragut." He continues that the studio has been occupied by Bartholdi who has been ill and that he, as well, has been ill.

"Newport R.I. August 9, 1876

My dear Mr St Gaudens,
In answer to your fear of disturbing Bartholdi I shall say that I can make arrangements for you in another home. . .And if the worst comes to the worst we will arrange for quarters for [Bartholdi.]
Do you know anyone at Herter's, the decorator, who can help me. . .Yours truly/Jn La Farge."

October 3, 1876 La Farge from Newport to Saint-Gaudens.

". . .I go to Boston tomorrow morning. I shall get photographs and drawings as soon as possible. I think the big figures will do, I only fear their being theatrical. you will have to say something about it.
I consider myself indebted to you for your kind services about the painting of the church and wish you to think so.
Yours hurriedly,
John La Farge."

October 5, 1876 Saint-Gaudens in New York to Mrs. La Farge asking her to send his modelling tools from Newport (he must have forgotten them when he left). All letters in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[56] June 4, 1877 "Memorandum of agreement between Mr Aug St. Gaudens and Mr. John La Farge, acting for Mrs. Edward King of Newport." Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

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[57]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[58]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

A long, undated letter in the Saint-Gaudens Collection from Eugenia Homer Emerson, Augusta's sister, to Homer Saint-Gaudens probably written when Homer was writing the serialized "Reminiscences" for Century Magazine gives details of Saint-Gaudens life.

> [Trinity Church] painted the seated figure with an open book in a lunette in the half of the Church toward Boylston St. not far from the main entrance which is called St. James, I think, and part of the figure of St. Paul, the large figure at the side of the Chancel arch. (p.2)

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 164-5.

Although these secondary sources say that "if I remember rightly," Saint-Gaudens painted the St. James, Saint-Gaudens does not say so, but only claims St. Paul. However, La Farge's letter to Saint-Gaudens of October 3 (note 55) thanks Saint-Gaudens for his "kind services about the painting of the church". Whether this means that Saint-Gaudens also painted for him at this time or merely got others to do so is not clear. Neither Saint-Gaudens nor La Farge mention St. James. Whether this is a matter of the less said the better or whether Saint-Gaudens did not do this figure is also not clear.

[59]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

Dr. Donald was at the time of writing this letter, March 21, 1893 the rector of Trinity Church, Boston. Previously he had been the rector of the Church of the Ascension

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in New York when La Farge had painted the Ascension for that church (see H. Barbara Weinberg, The Decorative Work of John La Farge,(Garland Publishing, Inc.:N.Y. & LONdon, 1977), p. 174-7).

[60]A clipping in the file of the Saint-Gaudens Collection from the New York Times (probably Feb.10 or 11, 1877) details the technique used.

> The method used for these decorations is not fresco. Fresco would not be able to render such vivid colors,. . .It is a painting in wax by a kind of encaustic method, with this difference,that heat is applied to the medium which carries the paint. The medium is composed of wax,(either white or yellow,) Venetian turpentine, and common turpentine, together with a little resin, and is warmed at least once a day. Paints are mixed with this as required and applied to a rather roughly finished wall.. . ..

This article also states that Saint-Gaudens painted the St. Paul and does not mention St. James.

Weinberg, p. 101 also notes that the painting of the ceiling and "of almost all the decorative painting in the church was durable, water resistant encaustic, consisting of wax melted with turpentine, alcohol, and Venice turpentine, and applied directly to the walls."

[61]Letter from Arthur Brooks, rector of Church of the Incarnation dated November 26, 1877 "unveiled yesterday."

Margaret Innes Bouton, "The Early Works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens," unpublished dissertation, Radcliffe College, April, 1946, p.206-7, signed and dated 1876.

[62]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

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[63]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[64]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[65]Marriage Certificate, Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL.

[66]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 77 #6 (April 1909), p. 834.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 163.

[67]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 77, p. 834.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 163-172.

[68]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

Quoted in Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 191-2.

[69]Algernon Graves, The Royal Academy of Arts, A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from its Foundation in 1769 to 1904 (N.Y.: Burt Franklin, originally published 1905-6, 1972 reprint), v. 1, p. 234 #1465.

[70]Graves, v. 5-6, p. 32 #1466 purchased for £2000.

Frederick Leighton (1830-1896).

[71]Letter from Saint-Gaudens to La Farge,"Sept 6th/77

(p. 4) I have not found any ciment that answered my purpose but the reliefs are made in plaster with some hardening substance in them besides being made unbreakable by having coarse wedding cast in with them. . .They will certainly have the strength & durability of the Renaissance...."

(Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[72]Letter from Saint-Gaudens to La Farge, "Sept 6th/77

(p. 3). . .Two more reliefs will be finished tomorrow. I have another modeler with me & two boys beside Low the painter who follows my direction but who nevertheless has found some very subtle colors that I am sure you will like. . .."

(Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

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Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 194-6.

Low, p. 222-3. Although Low states that the work was "to be cast in cement," it was not (see above note 71).

[73]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

Eaton (1849-1896) wrote to Saint-Gaudens on November 12, 1877 that he had seen the Angels twice and suggested,"I am sure that you don't know. . .how good your things are. . .". (Saint-Gaudens Collection,Dartmouth College Library).

[74]Reproduced in H. Barbara Weinberg, The Decorative Work of John La Farge (N.Y. & London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977), fig. 112. See chapter 3, p. 146ff. for a full discussion of the decoration of St. Thomas Church. The negative for my figure 19 was kindly loaned to me by Professor Weinberg who obtained it from Everard Upjohn, a descendant of Richard Upjohn, the architect of St. Thomas Church.

These reliefs (reredos) were destroyed by a fire which gutted St. Thomas Church on August 8, 1905 (St. Thomas Church, N.Y., 1965, p. xi). A recent visit to the church disclosed that what was left after the fire was thrown away "about fifteen years ago."

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 210, "A cast of a Cherub's head owned by Mr. Francis Allen of Boston, is now all that remains."

[75]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 166-9. Nothing remains.

Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library. Letters of December 8, 1875 and May 11, 1876 to Augusta.

[76]Letter Sept.26/77, Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL.

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[77]Letter September 26, 1877, Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL.

Presumably the Exposition universelle of 1878, where Saint-Gaudens was a member of the American jury. However, it was apparently not exhibited as it is not in the catalogue.

[78]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

Catalogue of the First Exhibition of Society of American Artists, Kurtz Gallery, New York, March 6-April 5, 1878 lists no work by Saint-Gaudens.

[79]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[80]Roy Meredith, Mr. Lincoln's Camera Man/Mathew B. Brady, (N.Y.: Dover Publications, Inc., 2nd revised ed., 1974), fig. No. 125 from "Brady's Lecture Book." Negatives in the collection of the Library of Congress (p. 364).

The Life of David Glasgow Farragut, reproduced opposite p. 202.

[81]Letter to "Whyte," March 78, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

Quoted in Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 255-6.

[82]Augusta to her parents from Albano, March 12, 1878, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

Christian E. Detmold (1810-1887).

[83]The only American sculptor to have exhibited was F. Montague Handley whose three statuettes belonged to the "duc de Leuchtemberg." (Exposition Universelle Internationale, Catalogue Officiel, v. I "Oeuvres D'Art," Paris, 1878, p.209.

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[84]Nice March 25th, 1878, Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL.

[85]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[86]Cousin Lizzie is Elizabeth Ellis Rice, letter in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[87]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[88]Letter July 20,'78 in Charles C. Baldwin, Stanford White (N.Y.: Da Capo paperback, 1976 reprint of 1931 ed.), p. 71-3.

White to his mother, Sept. 1, '78, S. White Papers, New-York Historical Society (quoted in Baldwin, p. 76-82).

[89]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[90]Bronze in the collection of the Century Association, New York City. The friends frequently used the caricature either to sign or address letters to one another.

Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 77, p. 834.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 245-8.

[91]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 260-1.

[92]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[93]Ibid.

[94]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[95]Ibid.

[96]Contract in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

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[97]See above, p. 47-8.

A letter from Augusta to her parents dated Rome, Feb. 3d, 1878 states specifically:

> The statue is to be ten feet and he will model it first five feet and then afterwards ten.

On April 4th, 1879, the five-foot clay is referred to as "life-size." (Letters, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[98]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[99]Letters of March 6th and 13, 1879, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[100]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[101]Dictionary of American Biography, ed. Allen Johnson & Dumas Malone (N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929,30,57,58), V. 3, p. 325.

[102]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[103]Ibid.

[104]Augusta to her parents, "May 23rd [1879]. . .Aug. intended to have sent a statue to the Salon but was prevented by his illness. . .he did intend to send the Farragut." (Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[105]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[106]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

Sketchbook, American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters, New York.

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[107]Letter August 23, 1879, Saint-Gaudens Collection,DCL.

[108]Undated letter, but also August 23, 1879, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[109]Ibid.

Richard Grant White (1821-85) "man of letters," DAB, v. 10, p. 113-4.

[110]"Intimate Letters of Stanford White," edited by Homer Saint-Gaudens, The Architectural Record, v. XXX #III (September, 1911), p. 291.

Baldwin, Stanford White, p. 132.

[111]Original letter from White to Saint-Gaudens, Tuesday, September 9, 1879 in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library (quoted by Saint-Gaudens, The Architectural Record, v. XXX #III, p. 287; Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I 230-1; and Baldwin, Stanford White, p. 127-8).

[112]Letter from White to Saint-Gaudens, September 9, 1879 in which White suggested that Saint-Gaudens reduce the size of the figure and base to 8'6". Saint-Gaudens noted on the margin of the letter that this was to be translated into a figure 8'2" with a 4" plinth.

[113]October 17th, 187[9], White to Saint-Gaudens.

> (p.7)"There will be above the contract for the pedestal about 600.00 extra for the cutting of the reliefs. - Toward this at a pinch the difference in the cost of casting a figure 8.3 instead of 9. ft. might legitimately go -. . .."

(Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library). Quoted by Saint-Gaudens, The Architectural Record, v. XXX # III, p. 293; Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 233-8; Baldwin, Stanford White, p. 136 and cited by Bouton, p. 384.

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[114]Letter from Augusta to her father, October 8th [1879]. Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[115]Draft of letter from White to Cisco of October 4,1879 in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library. Quoted by Saint-Gaudens, The Architectural Record, v. XXX # III, p. 294.

[116]Letter from White to Saint-Gaudens, Oct. 15th 187[9] in the Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library. Quoted by Saint-Gaudens, The Architectural Record,v.XXX#III, p. 290-1 and Reminiscences I, 232-3 and Baldwin, p. 130-1.

[117]Ibid. (this is a continuation of the same letter).

[118]Ibid.

[119]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[120]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library. Quoted by Homer Saint-Gaudens, The Architectural Record,v. XXX#III, p. 295 and Reminiscences I, 238-40.

[121]Ibid.

[122]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[123]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[124]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[125]Copy of contract in Stanford White Papers, The New-York Historical Society.

[126]Ibid.

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[127]Most of original (14 pages) including the quotation is in the Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library. A sketch by White in this letter showing the disposition of the figures of Loyalty and Courage indicate that this is not the final disposition of the figures. Portions of the letter are quoted by Saint-Gaudens in The Architectural Record, V. XXX, p. 296 and in Reminiscences I, 240-1 (where the letter is incorrectly dated Dec. 17 1899 instead of 1879). Baldwin apparently quoting from the Architectural Record omits the cited passage without benefit of . . . (p.141-3).

[128]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[129]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[130]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[131]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[132]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[133]February 20, 1880 Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[134]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[135]Postcard February 2, [1880], Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[136]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library. Quoted by Saint-Gaudens, The Architectural Record, V. XXX, p. 297-8 and Baldwin, p.144-7.

[137]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library. Quoted by Saint-Gaudens in Reminiscences I, 241-2.

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[138]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[139]Augusta to her mother, April 2d, 1880 Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL. Augusta noted in this letter that it "will cost him $100. to send [the Farragut to the Salon] but he wants to see it by others' works." Presumably the $100. was for the extra cast in plaster (neither of which survive).

[140]Although Saint-Gaudens states in Reminiscences I, 214-5 (and earlier in Century Magazine, v. 77 #6, April 1909, p. 840) that the medallions of Maynard, Millet, Picknell, Shiff and Bunce were sent to the Salon of 1879 with the Farragut, the Salon catalogues of those years clearly indicated that Saint-Gaudens did not exhibit in 1879, but did exhibit the above in 1880.

Paris: Salon de 1880 Exposition Officielle Depuis l'Année 1673, Explication des Ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture, Architecture, Gravure et Lithographie des artists Vivants, Exposés au Palais des Champs-Elysées le 1er Mai 1880. . .

(p.622) "SAINT-GAUDENS (Augustus), né à New-York, élève de M. Jouffroy.-Impasse du Maine,11.
6661 - L'amiral Farragut; - statue plâtre Pour la ville de New York. H. 2m,68.-L. 1m20.-P.0m,80.
6662. -Cinq médaillons en bronze. . .."

Letter April 9, 1880 from Augusta in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library states that the jury sent Saint-Gaudens its compliments on the medallions (the Farragut was in the process of being cast).

[141]Augusta to her mother April 30th, 1880, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[142]Ibid.

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[143] Revue des Deux Mondes, v. XXXIX (15 June, 1880), p. 927.

> The city of New York may congratulate itself on its choice of one of its young (sculptors), Mr. Saint-Gaudens, for the statue which it wishes to erect to Admiral Farragut. . .. It is certainly the sailor with his simple and correct costume . . .But here there is more, and in this man of the sea and this Admiral you discover the particular character of a race. . .that initiative and boldness of conception which are peculiar to Americans and, of which Farragut has been a living example. The broad and simple execution manifest all those traits, and show that Saint-Gaudens was worthy of this task. . .he has the knowledge, in the exercise of an art which is very new for his country to preserve the native qualities of strength and spontaneity which could not find better employment.

[144] M. Paul Leroi, "Les Expositions de la Société Donatello de Florence," L'Art/Revue Hebdomadaire Illustré, Paris, London, 1880, 6th year, v. IV (vol. 23 of the Collection), p. 265-272. Leroi wrote that the exhibition was held in the month of September (p. 266).

[145] Leroi, L'Art (v. IV, 1880), p. 272.

[146] Ibid., p. 272.

[147] Augusta to her mother Jan. 2d, 1880, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[148] Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[149] April 16th, 1880, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[150] Ibid.

[151] May 21, 1880 and June 11, 1880, letters in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[152] Postcard, Friday June 25th [1880], Saint-Gaudens

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Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[153]Letter from Augusta in Boston to Augustus in New York, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[154]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[155]Letter in collection of Pennsylvania Historical Society.

[156]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[157]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[158]New York Herald, May 25, 1881, p. 4.
The article also notes that Louis Saint-Gaudens was his brother's principal assistant.

[159]Joseph Hodges Choate (1832-1917) in 1856 entered the law office of Butler, Evarts & Southmayd in which he later became a principal partner (DAB, V. II, p.83).

A copy of the pamphlet, published in 1881 by the Evening Post Steam Presses, can be found in the Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[160]The Nation, V. XXII #831 (Jan.-June 1881), p. 389-90.

Actual scale plans in the New York City Department of Parks show that the pedestal is 17'4" across and 8'8" high including the three steps. Therefore, it can be seen that although the statue and pedestal went through a series of transformations, the essential one to one relationship of the statue and pedestal was kept intact (the statue was 8'2" with a 4" plinth). The Nation, p. 389 gave the approximate size.

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[161]The New York Herald, Thursday, May 26, 1881, p. 5.

[162]Ibid., p. 5.

[163]The Evening Post, Wednesday, May 25, 1881, p.3, col.8.

[164]Ibid., p.3.

[165]Key Monuments of the History of Art, A Visual Survey, Ed. by H.W. Janson (N.Y.: Abrams, 1959), reproduced p. 618.

Bouton, p. 474, note 69. In an interview with Frances Grimes (1869-1965), who worked in Saint-Gaudens studio from 1901-1908, Bouton reported that Saint-Gaudens had a cast of the 'St. George' in his Cornish studio. Bouton also stated that Louis Saint-Gaudens said that Augustus' Ferragut was "influenced by the Renaissance statue." (p. 473, note 68). The cast no longer exists and was presumably destroyed in the fire of June 6, 1944.

John W. Bond, Augustus Saint Gaudens--The Man and His Art, Department of the Interior/Division of History (Distributed by the National Technical Information Service of the U.S. Department of Commerce, 1967, p. 336 gives information about Frances Grimes and dates when she worked for Saint-Gaudens.

[166]The New-York Times, Wednesday, May 25, 1881, p.4,col.4.

[167]Ibid., p.4.

[168]Scribner's Monthly, v. XXII #2 (June, 1881), p. 161-7.

[169]Scribner's Monthly, v. XXII #2, p. 164.

[170]clipping file, Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL.

[171]Ibid.

[172]The American Architect and Building News, v. 10, Sept.

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10, 1881, p. 119-20.

[173] The American Architect and Building News, v. 10, p.119.

[174] Ibid., p. 119.

An article in The New York Herald of Friday, May 20, 1881 (p.9) entitled "The Farragut Statue-History of the Work and Some Details of Previous Critical Notice," published before the unveiling of the monument stated that the Farragut Monument presaged "a new school of American sculpture." Clearly this is what critics of the period hoped for and the Farragut fulfilled these hopes and expectations for a new era in American art.

[175] The American Architect and Building News, v. 10, p.120.

[176] Ibid., p. 120.

An article in The New-York Times, Wednesday, May 25,1881, p.5, column 1 notes the similarity of the decorative lettering "on old Roman monuments," which is precisely their source as has been noted above (actually Pistojan-see p. 61).

[177] Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

Quoted in Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 265-6.

[178] Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[179] Letter in the Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[180] New York City Art Commission files on the Farragut Monument indicate that "Permission for cast for exhibition of St. Gaudens' work given by Art Commission Nov.12,1907."

Metropolitan Museum of Art files indicate that the cast was made for the Memorial Exhibition at the museum.

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"It was damaged in 1920 when shipped to the Carnegie Institute and never returned." (It was plaster.)

An article in the clipping file, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library of November 17, 1907 (New York Herald?) is entitled "Admiral Farragut in Conning Tower/ Wooden Structure Around Statue of Hero. . ./Soon to Make A Replica. . .".

> . . .The bronze statue of the Admiral is to be surrounded by a mold, from which a replica will be made for exhibition in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in February, when as many of the works of the late Augustus St. Gaudens as can be collected will be shown. ...and casts are to be made of many of his larger statues and memorials.
>
> It will take about two weeks to prepare the mold for the statue of Admiral Farragut. The work is under the general direction of Mr. Karl Bitter, a sculptor. ....

[181] New York City Art Commission files on the Farragut Monument. "Permission for cast for Mrs. St. Gaudens given by Art Commission in 1912." (It, too, was plaster.)

[181] The Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site was not made a part of the United States Park system until October 1965, but it had been incorporated as a Memorial by the state of New Hampshire on February 6, 1919. The corporation and its endowment arose out of Mrs. Saint-Gaudens' efforts to enshrine her husbands memory by assembling casts, etc. at his home in Cornish, Aspet. (See Bond, p.283-293). The list of works lost in the fire of June 6, 1944 includes the plaster of the Farragut (Bond, p.343).

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[182]Undated article in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library - clipping file. Attached note says July 24 and date of 1909 can be assumed from the article's mention of Park Commissioner Smith (Park Commission records indicate that he was commissioner in 1909).

[183]Ibid., July 24, 1909 (?).

[184]Document in files of Art Commission of the City of New York, dated November 12, 1935 with attached approval from the Department of Parks.

[185]Ibid.

[186]The New-York Historical Society Print Room, S. White Papers, Farragut file.

James M. Dennis, Karl Bitter/Architectural Sculptor/ 1867-1915 (Madison, Milwaukee, & London: Univ. of Wisconsin Press, 1967), p.169, 241.

[187]The New-York Historical Society Print Room, S. White Papers, Farragut file.

Dennis, p. 241.

[188]Pencil note 11/9/35 The New-York Historical Society Print Room, S. White Papers, Farragut file.

[189]Ibid.

[190]An article in the Gramercy Graphic (N.Y. June 1966), p. 10 indicated that the work was so well executed that it received an award from the National Sculpture Society.

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[191]McKim, Mead and White Papers, New-York Historical Society.

[192]Memorandum June 3, 1896, McKim, Mead and White Papers, New-York Historical Society.

[193]Clipping dated 10/16/36, McKim, Mead and White Papers, New-York Historical Society.

[194]Copy of letter from Lawrence Grant White to Commissioner Robert Moses, McKim, Mead and White Papers, New-York Historical Society.

[195]Ibid.

Reproduced in Lewis I. Sharp, New York City Public Sculpture by 19th-Century American Artists, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, June 18, 1974, fig. 22, p. 64.

[196]Moses to White February 6, 1937, McKim, Mead and White Papers, New-York Historical Society.

[197]McKim, Mead and White Papers, New-York Historical Society.

[198]Bouton, p. 371.

[199]This fence does little more than protect dogs and vandals while restricting the monument from its admirers.

[200]Letter dated on the envelope, October 21 [1880] in the Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[201]They were, interestingly, also the type preferred by the Pre-Raphaelites (see Dante Gabriel Rossetti's Beata

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Beatrix, 1872, Art Institute of Chicago and Edward Burne-Jones', The Madness of Sir Tristram, 1862, Leger Galleries, London, both illustrated in Jeremy Maas, Victorian Painters, New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1969, p. 138 and 158).

[202]The New York Herald, Thursday, May 26, 1881, p. 5.

[203]See above, p. 60 and note 165.

C. Lewis Hind, Augustus Saint-Gaudens (The International Studio, John Lane Co., 1908), p. xxxi. Hind reported seeing the cast of Donatello's St. George on a visit to Saint-Gaudens' Cornish studio in 1908.

Although there is no information which indicates that Saint-Gaudens owned a cast of the St. George during the years when he was executing the Farragut (1877-80) he did live in Italy in 1870-5 and in 1878. He also travelled through Italy with Stanford White late in the summer of 1879. However, he most probably knew the St. George before he went to Italy from his studies at the Petite Ecole and the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.

[204]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 78 #4 (August, 1909), p. 613.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II, 18.

[205]Reproduced in Michael Richman, Daniel Chester French: An American Sculptor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976, p. 5. This is not a comparison suggested by Richman.

[206]Richman, p. 43.

[207]Richman, p. 65.

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[208]Richman, p. 65.

[209]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 172-3.

[210]Letter from Stanford White to Saint-Gaudens, May 8th dated 79 on letter, but possibly in another hand as it is quoted both in The Architectural Record, v. XXX #3 (Sept., 1911), p. 284-5 and in Reminiscences I, 225-9 by Homer Saint-Gaudens as being dated May 8th, 1880. Baldwin, p. 146-152. , Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[211]Millard F. Rogers, Jr., Randolph Rogers/American Sculptor in Rome (The University of Massachusetts Press, 1971), fig. 74, p. 133. This is one of only four remaining casts of the extensive bequest to the University of Michigan (p. 160).

Randolph Rogers (1825-1892).

[212]Rogers, p. 130. However, Rogers does not note who won the final commission.

[213]Joshua C. Taylor, William Page/The American Titian (University of Chicago Press, c. 1957), p. 183, fig. 46. Although Taylor dates the painting 1867-8, it is mentioned in Henry T. Tuckerman, Book of the Artists (N.Y.: James F. Carr, 1967 reprint of edition first published in 1867), p. 299. Tuckerman calls it "recent."

William Page (1811-1885).

This is the same General Dix (also referred to as Governor Dix) who was Saint-Gaudens friend and the first

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chairman of the Farragut Monument Association until his death on April 21, 1879.

[214]Craven, Sculpture in America, p. 295-9, reproduced, fig. 8.21.

[215]Craven, p. 450-454.

Reproduced in International Studio, October 1906, p. 104 (New York Public Library,Artists' File).

[216]New York Public Library,Artists' File.

Walter Muir Whitehill, Boston Statues (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishers, 1970), p. 55 illustrates a Farragut by Kitson unveiled in Marine Park, Boston on June 28, 1893.

[217]Letter from Saint-Gaudens to White, November 6,1879, The Architectural Record, v. XXX #3 (Sept., 1911), p. 295 ". . . As soon as I receive the dimensions from you, I will commence on the bas-reliefs."

"Sunday or Monday, March 14th or 15th, 1880.

Dear Bianco:

Just received your long telegram. I don't fully understand about the sea, but that's of little importance. I think you will be pleased with what I do."

(Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 241).

"Monday evening [November 1, 1880 (on envelope)]

I expect in about two weeks to have both Loyalty and Courage finished - they have commenced cutting the fishes and they look very fine. . .."

(Saint-Gaudens to Augusts, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

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Chapter 3: THE MONUMENT TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN

Saint-Gaudens' Standing Lincoln (s&d 1887, bronze with granite exedra, Lincoln Park, Chicago, fig. 44) is one of the most successful of all of the sculptor's works. It captures the essence and spirit of one of America's most beloved presidents and memorializes him for all times. The Standing Lincoln represents one of those rare moments in the history of Western sculpture when art and subject are fused in a unity of form and spirit. The viewer is invited into the vast audience chamber which is suggested by the sixty by thirty foot elliptical exedra, symbolically suggesting Lincoln's accessibility to the people (fig. 45). Despite its height of approximately eleven feet six inches,[1] the towering bronze figure of the martyred sixteenth president of the United States is not at all overpowering, but seems the ideal size for the man in that place. The architecture of the Lincoln Monument was designed by Stanford White. It may be seen as a true architectural environment which through fortunate placement has not been altered in scale. We see it in Lincoln Park essentially as it was seen at its unveiling on October 22, 1887. Although Saint-Gaudens' first embodiment of Lincoln has been called "Abraham Lincoln, The Man,"[2] it is more clearly, Abraham Lincoln, the legend, the man of the people and of the Union.

An article on the front page of The Chicago Tribune, Thursday, October 20, 1887 detailed the significance of the

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monument both as a work of art and also as a monument in the city of Chicago.

> The finest product of American sculpture yet achieved has become an ornament of Chicago. The colossal statue of Abraham Lincoln, by Augustus Saint-Gaudens, the foremost of American sculptors, was placed upon its pedestal at the head of Dearborn Avenue, just inside Lincoln Park, yesterday afternoon. It will be unveiled Saturday afternoon at 2:30. Mr. Thomas Withrow will make the presentation on behalf of the trustees. The veil will be drawn by Abraham Lincoln,son of Robert T. Lincoln, and the oration will be delivered by Leonard Swett...
>
> The story of the statue is now historical. To Mr. James C. Brooks, whose guest Mr. Saint-Gaudens is. . .Mr. Eli Bates, long a law partner of Mr. Brooks, intrusted $40,000. associating with him Mr. Thomas F. Withrow and Mr. George Payson, for the erection of a statue of the Emancipator in Chicago.. . .Mr. Brooks and Mr. Withrow visited New York and were deeply impressed by the merits of the Farragut statue in Madison Square.
>
> It has hitherto been acknowledged that the Farragut was the highest example of American sculpture, and it aroused enthusiasm in Paris, where it was exhibited, ...in the Salon. ...
>
> The trustees discarded all the designs submitted to them,and,determining upon Mr. Saint-Gaudens as the artist. . ..
>
> (p.2)Chicago may have other reasons to be proud as generations shall succeed each other upon her plains. Commerce may continue to carry her name to the farthest corners of the globe. Art may yet find within her confines a hospitable home. ... But neither commerce,letters,society,nor art itself shall make her prouder than she is and shall be of her title to Abraham Lincoln.. . .

Although Lincoln (1809-1865) lived in and around Springfield, Illinois much of his life, Chicago claimed him as her own since he had been nominated for the presidency at the Republican national convention in Chicago in May 1860. Augustus Saint-Gaudens as the foremost sculptor

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of America was the logical choice to embody this son of Illinois. And Saint-Gaudens, having been acclaimed both here and abroad, was the obvious choice to make of Chicago a center of the arts as well as the commercial center it was. It was also apparent that the success of the Farragut Monument (1881, fig. 13) had played an important role in the committee's choice of Saint-Gaudens as sculptor for the Abraham Lincoln specified in the will of Eli Bates.

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II. The History of the Standing Lincoln.

The history of the Lincoln Monument began a few weeks after the unveiling of the Farragut Monument on the 25th of May, 1881. Eli Bates, whose will provided $40,000. for the erection of a monument to Lincoln, was born on November 29, 1806 in Springfield, Massachusetts.[3] He was a teacher, merchant and lawyer who went west to seek his fortune.[4] Lincoln Park in Chicago was one of his favorite resorts, and a few days before his death on June 13, 1881, he prepared his will which provided funds for a monument to the Emancipator as well as $15,000. for the erection of a fountain in the same park.[5]

Before March 8, 1882 the executors of the will were soliciting ideas and sketches for the monument.[6] Designs for the Lincoln were to be viewed by the committee on October 27, 1882 and on December 18th, 1882 Thomas Withrow wrote to Mr. Payson that he and Mr. Brooks had had a "very satisfactory interview with St. Gaudens."[7] Withrow also reported that Saint-Gaudens would soon visit Chicago to examine the site and confer "with those who knew Mr. Lincoln well."[8] Therefore, Mssrs. Brooks and Withrow had met with Saint-Gaudens in New York sometime in 1882, at which time they would have seen the Farragut Monument at Madison Square. Ultimately, because Saint-Gaudens refused to enter a competition and probably because of the inadequacy of models submitted, the committee decided to award the commission to Saint-Gaudens.[9]

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Saint-Gaudens summarized the history of the Standing Lincoln with his usual pithy commentary.

> In the midst of [my superintendence of the wood-carving for the Vanderbilt Mansion (1882-3)], the early part of my career in Thirty-sixth Street, a committee in Chicago wrote me asking if I would compete for a monument to Lincoln for that city to be erected from a fund provided under the will of Mr. Eli Bates. I refused. Some time later they inquired again if I would not undertake the work directly, as well as a fountain. Of course I accepted, naming a day for finishing it, which still further decreased the chance of completing the Shaw in the time I hoped. I began work on the platform behind the relief, and again asked Mr. White to design the surroundings. The monument was duly unveiled in 1887, ... (10)

On January 3, 1883, Saint-Gaudens wrote to Mr. Brooks that he would be able to come to Chicago for a week during the month of February 1883.[11] However, it was not until later in the year that Saint-Gaudens actually went to Chicago.[12] A letter from Saint-Gaudens in New York to Mr. Brooks of July 17, 1883 indicated that the sculptor estimated that he could execute the pedestal for $10,000. if the Park Department would put in the foundation,[13] the usual arrangement in the erection of such monuments. Saint-Gaudens indicated in this letter that he had sought estimates for an exedra one hundred feet in diameter, purposefully overestimating the size so as to be sure to come within the proposed financial limitations.[14] It is also to be noted that in Saint-Gaudens' early negotiations for the monument a circular exedra was contemplated.

A letter from Augusta in Halifax, Nova Scotia to Saint-Gaudens dated July 30th [1883] reported:

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> ...I see by all the papers that Aug. St. Gaudens has the $40,000. Lincoln Statue - It's so easy to make a mistake about such a trifle as $10,000. (15)

Augusta had undoubtedly read an article in The [New York] World of July 18, 1883 which with tongue-in-cheek had characterized the Bates bequest of $40,000. as a "trifle."[16] The article also reminded New Yorkers that the "Farragut statue . . .will forever mark the beginning of the application of art to sculpture" while reproaching them for their lack of public spirit, especially when compared to their counterparts in the [mid-] West.[17]

On August 4th [1883] Augusta again wrote to Augustus.

> I think the photos of the Lincoln are stunning. It made one think at once of the equestrian statue at the Capitol in Rome. (18)

The equestrian statue at Rome referred to by Augusta was undoubtedly the Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius (160-180 A.D., bronze, over-lifesize, Piazza del Campidoglio, Rome).[19] The fact that an equestrian Lincoln was even contemplated is an unexceptional idea, but was not previously known. It was inevitable that an aspiring young sculptor, having proved himself with a successful portrait commission such as the Farragut would wish to test his mettle with a more difficult sculptural problem - an equestrian statue. And this was not the only commission for which Saint-Gaudens was at that time negotiating which afforded an equestrian solution. The Shaw Memorial in Boston, seemed in its early stages, a promising subject for equestrian treatment.[20] However, a true equestrian portrait was not to be achieved until

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much later in Saint-Gaudens' career with the Logan Monument of 1897 and the Sherman Monument of 1903.[21] It is unfortunate that so much of the Saint-Gaudens material has been destroyed or it might be possible to demonstrate that a discarded model for the Equestrian Lincoln might eventually have been used for the Equestrian General Sherman some twenty years later. Certainly, there is in the pedestal of the Marcus Aurelius, alluded to by Augusta, a distinct similarity to that eventually adopted for the Sherman.

Although the formal contract between Augustus Saint-Gaudens and the trustees of the will of Eli Bates was not signed until 11 November 1884,[22] it is apparent that there was an informal agreement by mid-1883 among the principals.[23] Apparently secure in the arrangements, Saint-Gaudens took a trip west in mid-August 1883 with Stanford White and returned to New York via Chicago toward the end of September.[24]

While negotiations were going on for the Lincoln Monument, the committee proceeded with parallel arrangements for a decorative fountain to be erected in Lincoln Park which was also to be funded by the Eli Bates Bequest.[25] The original appearance of Storks at Play (1887, bronze figures, Lincoln Park, Chicago) is preserved in a photograph at the Chicago Historical Society (fig. 46). Although having its own beauty, the three bronze boys with dolphins and swans no longer have the central focus of tall bronze reeds. Furthermore, the early rim contrasts markedly with its present appearance (fig. 47) and the granite basin no longer has a rounded protrusion

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below a flat upper rim. Flowers encircled by an iron fence obscure the architectural design of Stanford White, which has in any event been replaced.

Since it was apparent that the volume of work undertaken by Augustus Saint-Gaudens was rapidly increasing, additional assistance became necessary. During the first half of the 1880's Frederick MacMonnies (1863-1937) served as a student/apprentice in the studio of Saint-Gaudens.[26] About 1886 MacMonnies returned from study in Paris to assist Saint-Gaudens in the completion of Storks at Play.[27] Saint-Gaudens characterized his contribution to the fountain as follows.

> I was much behind in my work and, since I needed somebody who could aid me with skill and rapidity, I could think of no one better. He modeled the boys that are in that fountain, and though he created them under my direction, whatever charm there may be in them is entirely due to his remarkably artistic ability,. . .. (28)

A letter from Saint-Gaudens to Thomas Withrow of July 4, 1884 reported that he had done nothing about the fountain and asked the committee to decide on a seat for the Lincoln.[29] September 1, 1884 Saint-Gaudens wired Mr. Withrow that he had returned the wrong drawing to Stanford White and that what was wanted was "a set of cloth tracings of seat and all drawings and specifications of seat and fountain. . .."[30] Saint-Gaudens continued that it was absolutely imperative that these be returned so that working drawings could be prepared to quarry the stone.[31] The requested cloth tracings and specifications for the substructure of the Lincoln Monument might well be those at the Print Room of the New-York Historical Society,

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where an architectural rendering of the elaborate substructure is preserved.

On October 17, 1884 Saint-Gaudens sent Mr. James C. Brooks his contract suggestions for the Lincoln, reporting that he had been advised by William Evarts. And as has been noted, the contract was signed November 11, 1884.[32] The agreement specified that a full-length statue in bronze should be executed of "not less than eleven feet in height," upon a granite pedestal for the sum of $30,000.[33] The contract further allowed $10,000. for a circular seat of stone, all of which was to be completed within two years from the signing of the document.[34]

January 6, 1885 Stanford White acknowledged Saint-Gaudens' letter reporting that the committee would build the necessary foundation for the Lincoln seat as well as the fountain.[35] On January 21, 1885 George Peyson wrote to Mr. Withrow that Saint-Gaudens had sent some drawings for the seat of the Lincoln Monument and noted that he had "changed the circular form to an oval, thus saving some 17 feet of seat."[36] Mr. Peyson also noted that one of the drawings showed an approach to the oval composed of "broad low steps," to which Mr. Peyson had some objections.[37] By March 23, 1885 Saint-Gaudens had sent to the committee a design of the general appearance of the monument.[38] On May 31, 1885 Saint-Gaudens wrote to the committee that a Mr. Grannis, a Chicago builder, would supervise the erection of the seat.[39] However, as late as June 4, 1885 Saint-Gaudens wrote to Mr. Withrow of proposed changes and

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noted, "I have been making some experiments with the round and oval models of the seat. . .."[40] It may, therefore, be concluded that as late as June of 1885 the design and form of the exedra for the Lincoln Monument were still in a state of development.

There is little correspondence between the committee and Saint-Gaudens over the summer months of 1885. That is because that summer, for the first time, Augustus Saint-Gaudens and his family went to Cornish, New Hampshire to escape New York's summer heat. Charles C. Beaman, a law partner and son-in-law of William M. Everts, originally offered the Cornish house, which is now the site of the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, to the sculptor for the price he had paid for it.[41] And it was not long before Saint-Gaudens had found Langdon Morse, a lanky six-foot four inch Vermonter, to serve as his model.[42] Saint-Gaudens described that first summer in Cornish.

> To persuade me to come, Mr. Beaman had said that there were "plenty of Lincoln-shaped men up there." He was right. So during the summer of my arrival, and in the one-hundred-year-old barn of the house, I made my sketch for the standing Lincoln, and for a seated Lincoln which was my original idea, as well as another sketch, the study for the mural monument to Dr. Bellows in All Souls' Church, New York, and completed my relief of the children of Mr. Jacob H. Schiff. I had several assistants with me, Mr. Frederick MacMonnies and Mr. Philip Martiny, besides my brother Mr. Louis Saint-Gaudens, and we worked on until November.
>
> Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 312.

The Seated Lincoln (bronze, s&d 1907, fig. 48) one of the last works to be executed by Saint-Gaudens before his death,

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otherwise known as Lincoln, the Head of State, was the final resolution of what Saint-Gaudens described as his 'original idea.' However, since the Standing Lincoln (fig. 45) was one of at least three early ideas, of which the Equestrian Lincoln was another, that statement must now be modified to 'one of his original ideas.' The Seated Lincoln was ultimately erected in Grant Park, Chicago on May 31, 1926 where it stands just south of the Art Institute.

On December 2, 1885 Saint-Gaudens, having returned to New York, wrote to Messrs. Withrow, Brooks and Payson, trustees of the Lincoln Monument Fund, that he had concluded an agreement with the Rhode Island Granite Company for the execution of the stone work for the Lincoln Monument.[43] However, as late as December 26, 1885 Stanford White wrote to Saint-Gaudens suggesting a change in the substructure of the exedra from the original arch to lintel construction.[44] This change was made not only to save money, but apperently in the interest of strengthening the foundation.[45] By December 31, 1885 Saint-Gaudens had changed from the Rhode Island Granite Company to the New England Granite Company.[46] And on January 25,1886 it was suggested that a conference of the Bates' Monument Trustees be called immediately so that the contractor might proceed with the foundations for both the fountain and monument.[47] The implication of the letter was that it was expected that the Lincoln Monument would be in place by the end of 1886, which was the date specified in the contract.

The stonework for the Bates Fountain in Lincoln Park

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(fig. 46) seems to have been executed in Quincy granite by the Mitchell Granite Company,[48] indicating another change in plans. The bronze figures for the fountain were ready for shipment to Chicago by October 18, 1886, but the figures were not installed until the following year because of their completion so late in the season.[49] There is little correspondence relating to the Lincoln Monument during the year of 1886, perhaps because Saint-Gaudens was absorbed in other matters or because he and Augusta were now spending their summers together and there was no necessity for correspondence.

One of the matters with which Saint-Gaudens was occupied early in 1886 was the reproduction of the Life Mask of Abraham Lincoln which was believed at the time to have been executed by Leonard Volk (1828-1895) just sixty days before Lincoln's assassination and death on April 15, 1865.[50] The mask (fig. 49) was actually taken in April 1860 and the hands, which were also reproduced, were cast in June 1860.[51] On February 1, 1886 Saint-Gaudens, Thomas B. Clarke and Richard Watson Gilder sent a letter to potential subscribers of the reproductions listing the terms of the arrangement.[52] They reported that the original casts and duplicates in bronze had been given to the National Museum.[53] The agreement stipulated that no additional casts would be taken for at least ten years.[54] There were thirty-three subscribers and Saint-Gaudens ordered the plaster casts for himself.[55] The sculptor was evidently in charge of the castings.[56]

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Saint-Gaudens' Bust of Lincoln (fig. 50), a reduction of the plaster cast from the Standing Lincoln (fig. 45) bears an unmistakable resemblance to the Volk Lincoln Life Mask (fig.49). The features have not been at all idealized, and interpretation has been relegated to hair and beard which Saint-Gaudens added. It should also be noted that a photograph of Langdon Morse, Saint-Gaudens' model for the Lincoln shows that he wore a beard.[57] However, Morse's beard did not resemble that worn by Abraham Lincoln. Undoubtedly Saint-Gaudens was aided by photographs of Lincoln in his depiction of the president. A June 1860 photograph of Abraham Lincoln by Alexander Hesler (fig. 51) in the collection of the Chicago Historical Society or one of the many Brady photographs of Lincoln might have been used. The most famous Mathew Brady photograph of Abraham Lincoln (fig. 52) shows Lincoln seated and bearded.[58] When viewed in conjunction with the supportive props used by Saint-Gaudens in the Standing Lincoln, his monument may be seen not only as an impressive sculptural representation, but as a compelling likeness of our sixteenth president.

Other known influences on Saint-Gaudens' depiction of Abraham Lincoln were recounted by James Earle Fraser (1876-1953), Saint-Gaudens' assistant from about 1898-1901, Richard Watson Gilder and Saint-Gaudens himself. Fraser stated:

> [Saint-Gaudens] told me that the germ of his conception derived from the long-past day when the adolescent Augustus left his cameo lathe, ran down the stairs and into lower Fifth Avenue for a sight of the great president. Lincoln stood tall in the carriage; his dark, uncovered head bent in contemplative acknowledgment of the

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> waiting people; and the broadcloth of his black coat shone rich and silken in the sunlight. (59)

Although Saint-Gaudens' recollection as told to Fraser some forty years later has the flavor of myth, it is undoubtedly true that this glimpse of Lincoln when Saint-Gaudens was still an adolescent, must have made a profound impression.

Gilder's recollection of Saint-Gaudens' portrayal of Lincoln was recounted to Saint-Gaudens' son, Homer, on March 25, 1909. This was undoubtedly in conjunction with Homer's editing of Saint-Gaudens' Reminiscences. Gilder recalled:

> Your father was, of course,greatly helped by the Volk life-mask in his modeling of the head of Lincoln. He sent for me to look at the small model of the first Chicago statue in his studio, and asked me what I thought of it. I said to him, "What do you think of Lincoln?" He replied, "I take him to be a good man, a benevolent, kind man, called upon to take great executive office." "But, I said, "how about a prophet, a poet, a dreamer, called upon to take great executive office?"..I loaded him up with more of Lincoln's writings and later he sent for me again. A change had come over the statuette. The only thing I was sure of was that he had thrown the head down a little, giving that contemplative look which is so fine, and so characteristic of Lincoln.
>
> Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

Of the five sketches of the Standing Lincoln which have been preserved in photographs, only one has the introspective look of the final figure at Lincoln Park. The left-hand figure reproduced by Homer in Reminiscences (II, 27, fig.53) has the slightly lowered glance of the final Lincoln, but this figure stands with arms crossed in front of the body. However, none of these sketches represent Lincoln in the final position evolved by Saint-Gaudens with the right hand

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behind the back and the left grasping the lapel of the frock coat. Three other sketches of the Standing Lincoln which were recorded in photographs and are preserved in the Saint-Gaudens Collection at Dartmouth show other poses contemplated by the sculptor (figs. 54, 55). The relationship of the sketch in figure 54 to the ladder in the background suggests that these are the two-foot sketches of the preliminary stage of development. As Gilder recorded his role in Saint-Gaudens' development of the figure of Lincoln, the only small model which might correspond to his recollection and of which there is a photograph is figure 53.

Saint-Gaudens recorded his own reaction to seeing Lincoln on two separate occasions. The first occasion would have been when Saint-Gaudens was apprenticed to Avet. He wrote:

> Above all, what remains in my mind is seeing in a procession the figure of a tall and very dark man, seeming entirely out of proportion in his height with the carriage in which he was driven, bowing to the crowds on each side. This was on the corner of Twentieth or Twenty-first Street and Fifth Avenue, and the man was Abraham Lincoln on his way to Washington. (60)

In 1865, when the sculptor would have been seventeen years old, he again saw Lincoln as he lay in state at City Hall in New York.[61] These were undoubtedly impressions which were vivid in his mind twenty years later when he created the Standing Lincoln as well as forty years later when he recorded these impressions for posterity in the Reminiscences.

In any event, it seems plausible to suggest that the two-foot sketches were developed during the summer of 1865

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at Cornish, that one was selected for enlargement and that it was completed in half-size by the summer of 1886.[62] A letter from George Payson to Mr. Withrow of March 15, 1887 recorded that Saint-Gaudens had notified the committee of the completion of the monument in clay.[63] The letter continued:

> "the Lincoln statue will be completed in clay, ready for us to see,within ten days; that [Saint-Gaudens] proposes to have it cast in plaster as soon as the clay is finished; that he wishes to put it into the hands of the best bronze founders in this country [that it will be completed...] sometime in July, the date he will deliver in Chicago;" and then inquires whether he will make his arrangements for unveiling it at that time....
>
> Abraham Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society

On April 5, 1887 Saint-Gaudens wrote to Withrow offering suggestions about the setting of the seat.[64] And on May 17 the sculptor suggested that pebbles should be placed in the pavement, as in the Farragut rather than stone.[65] May 20th Withrow wrote to Saint-Gaudens that he regretted missing the sculptor when he had been in Chicago around the 17th to the 20th of May, apparently for the unveiling of Storks at Play.[66] Withrow also indicated in his letter that he preferred a granite pavement as that would have a unifying effect and be more permanent than the pebbles.[67] July 21, 1887 Saint-Gaudens wrote to the committee that the last piece of the model of the Lincoln had been sent to the bronze foundry and that it would be cast in time for an October 15 unveiling.[68] In this same letter the sculptor indicated that he had shipped three fig leaves for the "three little 'fellers' in the fountain."[69] It may therefore be concluded that the

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full-size clay of the Standing Lincoln was complete by the end of March 1887 and that the plaster casting was not concluded until July 21, 1887, almost four months later.

On August 27, 1887 Saint-Gaudens again wrote of his concern about the pavement which had not yet been decided upon.[70] He also added his objections to the use of "granolithic," a less expensive substitute, in which objection Stanford White concurred.[71] September 18, 1887 Saint-Gaudens wrote to Withrow reporting that the larger part of the Lincoln Statue had been successfully cast.[72] Undoubtedly this can be interpreted to mean the figure of Lincoln. Saint-Gaudens also indicated that the finishing of the bronze would be completed and ready for shipment on the 8th of October.[73] Nowhere in the correspondence or archives is the name of the founder mentioned. Fortunately, however, it is recorded on the monument itself.

CAST BY THE HENRY-BONNARD BRONZE CO. [NEW YORK]

September 24th, Withrow suggested in a letter to George Payson that because of the lateness of shipment, the unveiling should be postponed until October 22, 1887.[74] Later in September, Saint-Gaudens wrote to Mr. Withrow that he felt that it was too late to install the granite pavement and that that should be delayed until the following spring.[75] In the same letter the sculptor indicated that gravel should be used in the interim for the pavement.[76] Although the bronze balls flanking the steps of the monument (figs. 56 and 44) were not in place until December of 1887 when they were still being worked upon by the letterer, the history of the monument was

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essentially completed with its unveiling on October 22,1887.[77]

In 1902 Saint-Gaudens petitioned the Commissioners of Lincoln Park for permission to have a cast of the Standing Lincoln made so that modified replicas might be created for the White House and for Lincoln, Nebraska.[78] On November 13, 1902 the Commissioners responded that they were willing.[79] McKim, Mead and White were then renovating the White House and envisioned reduced marble replicas of Houdon's Washington and Saint-Gaudens' Lincoln placed in front of the mirrors occupying the East and West walls of the entrance hall.[80] However, the commission was apparently never executed.[81]

January 28, 1907 Mr. Norman Hapgood asked Saint-Gaudens whether he would execute a replica of the Standing Lincoln for Lincoln's birthplace in Hodgenville, Kentucky instead of a previously agreed upon statue of Lincoln as a Boy.[82] After Saint-Gaudens agreed, the Chicago Commissioners refused to allow such a replica to be made, apparently on political grounds.[83] Eventually, this commission was awarded to Adolph A. Weinman (1870-1952), a former pupil of Saint-Gaudens. Weinman's Seated Lincoln (1909, bronze, Hodgenville, Kentucky, fig. 57) appears to be a variant of Saint-Gaudens' Seated Lincoln (s&d 1907, bronze, fig. 48) for Chicago. Weinman's replica of his Seated Lincoln for the University of Wisconsin at Madison incorporates the idea of an exedra from Saint-Gaudens' Standing Lincoln (fig. 44).

After Saint-Gaudens' death on August 3, 1907, permission

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was finally granted for a plaster cast of the Standing Lincoln. This cast was made and exhibited in the Memorial Exhibition of the Works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens which opened in March of 1908 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (#49). As in the case of the Farragut, the plaster cast of the Standing Lincoln toured the country in Memorial Exhibitions at the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D.C., the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh, the Art Institute of Chicago and the Art Association of Indianapolis, John Herron Art Institute. Also included in the Memorial Exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art was the finished bronze cast of the Seated Lincoln (#102).[84] The Seated Lincoln (fig.48) was later exhibited at the Art Institute of Chicago and the San Francisco World's Fair of 1915 before its installation in Grant Park, Chicago on May 31, 1926.[85]

In August 1908 the Lincoln Park Commissioners granted permission for the production of small replicas of the Standing Lincoln "to aid the widow."[86] As late as July 27, 1916 the idea of a reduced replica of the Standing Lincoln for the White House was still being pursued by a Colonel Hart (?), but that idea seems never to have come to fruition.[87]

July 28, 1920 a bronze replica of the Standing Lincoln was unveiled in Canning Enclosure, facing Westminster Abbey in London.[88] It was presented by Elihu Root, former Secretary of State, as a gift to the British people from America to mark a century of peace between Great Britain and the

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United States.[89] The arrangements for the bronze casting were made through Augusta Saint-Gaudens and the founder was probably the Gorham Company.[90] The replica was mounted upon a pedestal designed to compliment Sir Richard Westmacott's Statue of George Canning (bronze, 1832) for whom the square was named.[91] A second replica was executed by the artist, Felix de Weldon, and was installed in Lincoln Park, Colonia Polanco, Mexico City on April 15, 1966 by Lady Bird Johnson.[92] It is three meters high and is placed upon a gray marble base which is two meters high.[93] It is inscribed on the base in both English and Spanish, " A gift of the people of the United States of America to the people of Mexico."[94]

In 1967 the steps leading to the Standing Lincoln in Chicago collapsed after a se.ies of severe winters and the Chicago Park District repaired them at a cost of $11,162.[95] As recently as 1972 the seat of the architecture was removed and the existing foundation was replaced by a foundation of concrete at a cost of $49,401.[96] Despite the care given to the Lincoln Monument, it, like the Farragut, has become a target for vandals (fig. 58). Nevertheless, it is still possible to see that the pale, pink granite provides a stunning foil for the weathered bronze which has turned a pale green. The colossal figure of Lincoln, poised in front of his Grecian seat, steps forward and, though deep in thought, seems ready to share his ideas with his people.

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The moving words of the final sentence of Lincoln's Cooper Union speech are carved behind the winged right end of the exedra.

LET·VS·HAVE·FAITH·THAT·RIGHT·MAKES·MIGHT·
AND·IN·THAT·FAITH·LET·VS·TO·THE·END·
DARE·TO·DO.OVR·DVTY·AS·WE·VNDERSTAND·IT·

And on the left the opening phrases of the final paragraph of Lincoln's Second Inaugural are inscribed.

WITH·MALICE·TOWARDS·NONE·WITH·CHARITY·FOR·
ALL·WITH·FIRMNESS·IN·THE·RIGHT·AS·GOD·GIVES·
VS·TO·SEE·THE·RIGHT·LET·VS·STRIVE·ON·

Thirty-two stars surmount the granite pedestal upon which the bronze statue is mounted and just above the bottom step is the simple inscription:

THE GIFT OF ELI BATES.

The bronze chair upon whose arched back the American eagle is emblazoned, is reputed to be based upon a Greek seat from the Athens theatre in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.[97] Around the seat of the chair the fasces are bent. The fasces and the lion's feet are not only decorative elements, but were probably intended to represent Lincoln's authority and strength. Strength was probably also the characteristic intended to be represented by the stylized white oak leaf which encircles the granite base of the pedestal (fig. 58).

The unique quality of Saint-Gaudens' Lincoln was immediately recognized by contemporary critics. Following the laudatory reviews in the daily press came reviews in periodicals. Probably the first, or at least the most im-

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portant early review, was published in the November 1887 issue of Century Magazine by Mariana G. van Rensselaer.[98] She began her article:

> The Lincoln monument for Chicago is the most important commemorative work that Mr. St. Gaudens has yet produced and may well remain the most important of his life. (99)

She noted the qualities of poet/philosopher implicit in Saint-Gaudens' depiction of Lincoln - exactly those qualities which Richard Watson Gilder wrote that he had suggested to Saint-Gaudens in the early stages of the development of the statue.[100] Mrs. van Rensselaer concluded with the comment that the eleven foot six-inch Statue of Lincoln "shows a union of perfect repose with strong dramatic significance, and this union is characteristic of classic art when at its best.. . . it is not only our best likeness of Abraham Lincoln, but our finest work of monumental art."[101] This is a most interesting commentary, for in the preceding article in the Century Magazine, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," Kenyon Cox made the point that the sculptor's portraiture reflected two dominant qualities of the Renaissance, "individuality of conception and delicate suavity of modeling."[102] Cox concluded his article by suggesting that although Saint-Gaudens exact place in the lexicon of "sculptors of our second Renaissance" was not yet known, "he is an artist of intelligence, learning, and imagination, with a great and distinguished talent. . ..."[103] Although Cox's article was ostensibly written before the execution of Saint-Gaudens'

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Lincoln, the evidence for a self-conscious renascence of the arts in which Saint-Gaudens was to play a conspicuous position was again reaffirmed.[104]

It was the quality of poet/philosopher in the pose and spirit of Saint-Gaudens' depiction of Lincoln which Lorado Taft noted in 1903. In fact, Taft not only used the Lincoln as the frontispiece for his volume on The History of American Sculpture, but quoted a long passage from Mrs. van Rensselaer's discussion of the Lincoln Monument.[105] Taft's conclusion as to the importance of the Lincoln in the history of art was characteristic in terms of how the work was perceived sixteen years after its unveiling. He stated:

> The value of so high an example of the monumental art can scarcely be overestimated. Its workmanship will be a canon and a guide for generations of sculptors to come, and the serene dignity of the conception has already had its marked influence on the side of gravity and distinction in public works. . .. (106)

Royal Cortissoz in an article in The North American Review of 1903 also described the Lincoln in eulogistic terms.

> The Lincoln has always seemed to me one of the salient statues in the world, a portrait and a work of art of truly heroic mould. Simplicity is its predominating characteristic. Precisely in this attitude does one prefer to see Lincoln portrayed, with no hint of dramatic movement, with nothing of the orator, but with everything of the quiet, self-contained genius that was the same under all circumstances, in all crises. There is more eloquence in the grip of the left hand on the edge of the coat than in any gesture which an artist of melodramatic tendencies might possibly have invented.
>
> Invention has no place here. It is as if St. Gaudens had divined Lincoln's very soul and had

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> imaged him forth as men saw him under the stress of war, and as he lives in the imagination of millions who never beheld him in the flesh. . . Here, in the tall and intensely human figure, American to the core, with its magnificent head - that has, to my mind, more of living grandeur than belongs to the marble of any antique hero - we have. . .Lincoln. . . (107)

It is certainly true that Saint-Gaudens' portrait was not idealized in the formal sense of that word, but as Cox noted Saint-Gaudens captured the myth with which posterity has surrounded its vision of Abraham Lincoln.

In one of the earliest summaries of the oeuvre of Saint-Gaudens, written shortly after his death, Talcott Williams suggested that Saint-Gaudens' Lincoln was reminiscent of Gilbert Stuart's George Washington (1797, New York Public Library), standing before the seat from which he has just risen.[108] The suggestion that an important painting might have played its part in the overall conception of a monument is one which will be found to be a perceptive observation of a continuing characteristic of this artist who was extremely sensitive to all of the artistic stimuli with which he was surrounded. It was also apparent from this article that twenty-one years after its unveiling, Saint-Gaudens' Lincoln (fig. 44) was still considered the most important monument of our sixteenth president. In the eighty-two years since its unveiling the Standing Lincoln has never been surpassed as an expression of the way in which Americans have viewed one of their most beloved public figures.

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III. Historical Precedents and Later Reflections.

The representations of the sixteenth president of the United States are legion.[109] Five of the most important images of the standing Lincoln which preceded that of Saint-Gaudens' were those by Lot Flannery (1868, marble, Washington, D.C., fig. 59), Henry Kirke Brown (1868, bronze, Union Square, bronze 1869 Prospect Park, Brooklyn, fig. 60), Vinnie Ream Hoxie (1871, marble, Rotunda, Washington, D.C., fig. 61), Larkin Mead's Lincoln Monument (unveiled October 15, 1874, bronze figure, Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois, fig. 62) and Thomas Ball's Emancipation Group (1879, bronze, Boston and Washington, fig. 63).[110] While Saint-Gaudens might have adopted Brown's motif of stars encircling the pedestal (Union Square, New York) there is absolutely nothing in these preceding examples which prepares us for his stunningly simple evocation of Abraham Lincoln (figs. 44 and 45). Despite the elaborate architecture of the obelisk and four bronze groups which support the central standing figure of Mead's Lincoln Memorial, it can best be described as a work which continues sculptural modes of the two prior decades.

The standing Lincolns which followed that of Saint-Gaudens can be divided roughly into two groups: genre figures which depict Lincoln as a child, a railsplitter, a young lawyer or soldier and those which resemble Saint-Gaudens' portrayal in some degree. Of the first group a good example is Charles J. Mulligan's Lincoln the Railsplitter (photo of

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plaster cast dated 1909, Chicago Historical Society, fig.64).[111] Another example is Leonard Crunelle's Lincoln -1832.[112] Unveiled Wednesday, September 24, 1930 at Dixon, Illinois, this bronze representation of Lincoln as a frontier soldier by a Chicago sculptor has little relationship to what we think of as Lincoln's image. The facial characteristics have no relationship to the Volk Life Mask (fig. 49). Crunelle's Lincoln-1832 does exemplify how long the cult of Lincoln image making persisted.

In a category falling somewhere between the two types of Lincoln images is Lorado Taft's Lincoln the Advocate (plaster completed 1917, bronze unveiled July 3, 1927,Urbana, Illinois, fig. 65).[113] Lorado Taft (1860-1936) portrayed a young Lincoln, an optimistic and far-sighted man of vision. However, the viewer is reminded that in 1903 Taft said of Saint-Gaudens' Lincoln:

> Its workmanship will be a canon and a guide for generations of sculptors to come,. . .. (114)

Leonard Volk's Standing Lincoln (1891, plaster statuette, Chicago Historical Society) is little more than the placement of a Lincoln head upon a body which has no relationship to the head in either scale or feeling.

Following Saint-Gaudens' Lincoln both in time as well as in style is the Standing Lincoln by Daniel Chester French commissioned in 1909 and unveiled in Lincoln, Nebraska on September 2, 1912 (fig. 66, bronze replica, Chesterwood,1966).[115] The history of this monument began with the passage of a bill

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on April 14, 1903 in the Nebraska State Legislature which called for the formation of the Abraham Lincoln Centennial Memorial Association.[116] The committee originally intended to commission a replica of Saint-Gaudens' Standing Lincoln.[117] However, due to the procrastination of the Chicago Park Commissioners in allowing a cast of the bronze in Lincoln Park and Saint-Gaudens' failing health this commission was never executed. After Saint-Gaudens' death on August 3, 1907 it must have become apparent that new arrangements would have to be made. On September 16, 1908 it was reported that Frank M. Hall had recently returned from the east where as chairman of the committee he had interviewed "some of the most famous sculptors of America."[118] French's Abraham Lincoln follows most closely Saint-Gaudens' early sketch with bowed head and clasped arms (fig. 53). However, French has lowered not only the arms but the head as well, portraying a totally introspective Lincoln. The stele upon which the Gettysburg address is carved serves as a backdrop for Abraham Lincoln.[119] It is flanked by two rampant eagles, precisely the same motif adopted by Saint-Gaudens in the Shaw Memorial (1897, fig. 155).[120] The original architecture envisioned for French's monument was a combination of the designs for the exedras of Saint-Gaudens' standing and seated Lincolns.[121] It is also interesting to note that French used Volk's Life Mask of Lincoln as well as Mathew Brady photographs in the development of his Standing Lincoln.[122] Dan-

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iel Chester French's Lincoln for Lincoln, Nebraska (fig. 67) while indebted to Saint-Gaudens' Standing Lincoln (fig. 44 and 45) is, nonetheless, a splendid variation which stands upon its own merits as a fine work of art.

French's Seated Lincoln (1915, plaster, Chesterwood, fig. 68) for the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. seems, if anything, to have improved upon Saint-Gaudens' Seated Lincoln (fig. 48) for Grant Park, Chicago. Saint-Gaudens' Seated Lincoln was originally intended to be placed in front of the Field Museum near the site of the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition and its architecture was designed with that setting in mind.[123] Despite Saint-Gaudens' failing health after 1900 and his increasing reliance upon assistants after his return to America, there were other impediments to the fulfillment of this early conception of Abraham Lincoln. Most severe was the loss of the completed model for the Lincoln in the fire at Cornish of October 11, 1904.[124] This, of course, necessitated his complete reconstruction of the full-scale model. Even considering his large studio at that time, it would have been a monumental task for a well man. The second final model was completed shortly before Saint-Gaudens' death and the bronze was being cast at that final moment. Saint-Gaudens' depiction of the seated president suffers from an overabundance of details and the lack of supervision of its environment by the master. These are exactly the details which are corrected in French's impressive Lincoln Memorial

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(fig. 69, marble, 1922, Washington, D.C.). French has simplified the form of the chair and used bundles of fasces for the arms. The posture of Lincoln is more relaxed than in Saint-Gaudens' version, and while we are shown an introspective president, it is a president with whom we can communicate. It is altogether an imposing monument and is justly one of those which we hold in our minds when envisioning our sixteenth president.

There are few other representations of Lincoln which deserve more than passing reference. It is most probable that both Saint-Gaudens and French knew John Rogers, Council of War (patented 1868, Albany Institute of Art and History, plaster)[125] and Randolph Rogers' seated Abraham Lincoln Monument (bronze, unveiled 22 September 1871, Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, fig. 70).[126] Saint-Gaudens might also have known Randolph Rogers' Standing Lincoln with an emancipated slave (c.1866, plaster, University of Michigan Museum of Art, fig. 71),[127] which he might have seen in Rome when he lived there from 1870-1875.

Of the seated Lincolns executed by the pupils of Saint-Gaudens, Adolph Weinman's Seated Lincoln (1909, bronze, fig. 57) for Hodgenville, Kentucky has already been discussed.[128] Henry Hering (1874-1949) who assisted Saint-Gaudens in the completion of the seated Crerar Lincoln (fig. 48) executed a bronze statue, The President (unveiled April 6, 1935, University Park, Indianapolis)[129] which though heavily de-

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pendent upon Saint-Gaudens' earlier work is a creditable work of art.

Although images of Lincoln were being created late into the first half of the twentieth century, it is Saint-Gaudens' Standing Lincoln (1887, figs. 44 and 45) and French's Seated Lincoln (1922, fig. 69) which we retain for our image of the Great Emancipator. These two great sculptors, the second heavily indebted to the first, have created images of Lincoln for all times. However, it was Saint-Gaudens' Standing Lincoln which most truly represented what was perceived as an American Renaissance in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

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Chapter 3: FOOTNOTES.

[1]Working drawings of the figure of Lincoln in the Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library indicate that the bronze figure is slightly more than eleven feet six inches.

M. G. van Rensselaer, "Saint-Gaudens's Lincoln," The Century Magazine, v. XXXV #1 (November 1887), p. 39 states the fact that the figure is 11'6".

[2]Saint-Gaudens, The Century Magazine, v. 78 #4 (Aug. 1909), p. 625.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 356.

[3]The Chicago Tribune, Sunday, October 23, 1887, p. 10, col. 1.

[4]Ibid., p. 10, col. 1.

[5]Ibid., p. 10, col. 2.

[6]George Payson to Thomas Withrow, March 8, 1882, Abraham Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society. Payson mentioned that Thomas Ball was willing to compete if his fellow competitors were to be American.

[7]Payson to Withrow, October 26, 1882, A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society. Also December 18, 1882.

[8]Payson to Withrow, December 18, 1882, A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[9]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 350, 353.

[10]Ibid., I, 350, 353.

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[11]Letter from Saint-Gaudens to Brooks, Jan. 3, 1883, A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[12]A letter from Augusta to Saint-Gaudens dated Halifax, Nova Scotia, June 22./83 in the Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library concludes, "I suppose this will either reach you in Chicago or on your return from there."

[13]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[14]Ibid.

[15]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[16]The World: New York, July 18, 1883, p.4, col. 5.

[17]Ibid., p. 4, col. 5.

[18]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[19]Reproduced in Key Monuments of the History of Art, ed. H.W. Janson (N.Y.: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1959), fig. 203.

[20]See Chapter 7.

[21]See Chapters 8 and 9.

[22]Copies of the contract in the Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library and A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[23]The World: New York, Wednesday, July 18, 1883, p.4, col.5.

[24]Letter from Augustus to Augusta from Tacoma, Washington "Friday, Sept. 14th/1883. . .We will be. . .at Chicago on the 24th or 25th. . .." (Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL).

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 294-305.

[25]The Chicago Tribune, Sunday, October 23, 1887, p.10, col.2.

See also correspondence in A. Lincoln Collection, CHS.

[26]Taft, p. 334. Probably 1880 through 1884.

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Craven, Sculpture in America, p. 420-1.

[27]Since the casting of the bronze figures was completed before October 18th, 1886 (see letter from George Payson to Thomas Withrow of that date in the A. Lincoln Collection,CHS) the execution must have begun at least by mid-1886 and possibly earlier.

[28]Saint-Gaudens,Century Magazine,v.78 #2 (June 1909),p.227.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II, 6.

[29]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[30]A. Lincoln Collection,Chicago Historical Society.

[31]Ibid., wire September 1, 1884.

[32]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[33]Contract in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library and Chicago Historical Society.

[34]Ibid.

[35]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[36]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

Although an exedra is usually semi-circular in form, it will be seen that Saint-Gaudens generally varied the shape. Sometimes, as in the case of the Lincoln and Farragut it was changed for reasons of economy.

[37]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[38]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[39]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[40]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[41]Saint-Gaudens,Century Magazine,v.78 #4 (Aug.1909),p.611.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 311-2.

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[42]Frank E. Stevens, "The Story of a Statue," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, v. 24 # 1-4 (April 1931-January 1932), p. 21.

[43]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[44]George Payson to Withrow, Nov. 9th, 1887, p.2, A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society gives chronology of changes in the substructure of the Lincoln Monument.

[45]Ibid.

[46]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[47]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[48]Wire from A. G. Gardner to Mr. Withrow, 2/16/1886, A. Lincoln Collection Chicago Historical Society.

[49]Letter from George Payson to Mr. Withrow, October 18, 1886, A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[50]Saint-Gaudens to Gilder, N.D., Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

> "Hay has just written me that it is positive that this mask was taken sixty days before Lincoln was shot - I think then you ought to reproduce it. I think when cast in fresh clean plaster it will possess great interest.
> Yours/ St Gaudens."

[51]Leonard Volk, "The Lincoln Life Mask and How it was Made," The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine, v. XXIII, n.s. V. 1 (Nov. 1881-April 1882), p. 223-8.

[52]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society. The

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casts were obtained from Leonard Volk's son, Douglas, and casts were offered in bronze and plaster. The letter indicates that by this time the committee were aware that the cast of the face was taken in 1860, but states that the hands were cast in May 1860 (Volk said June).

[53]Ibid.

[54]Ibid.

[55]March 19/86 Saint-Gaudens enclosed $50.00 for Lincoln Mask subscription, indicating that he had ordered the plaster casts [bronze face with plaster hands $75., bronze face and hands $85. (see letter of February 1, 1886 in A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society)]. March 19/86 letter in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[56]R.W. Gilder to Homer Saint-Gaudens, March 25, 1909, ". . .Your father took charge of the casting. . ." (Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[57]Frank E. Stevens, Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, v. 24 #1-4, photo of Langdon Morse opp. p. 23.

[58]Roy Meredith, Mr. Lincoln's Camera Man/Mathew B. Brady, Second Revised Edition (N.Y.: Dover Publications,Inc.,1974), #50.

[59]Fraser Autobiography, typescript, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[60]Saint-Gaudens,Century Magazine,v.77#3 (Jan.1909),p.410.
Saint-Gaudens,Reminiscences I, 42.

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[61]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v.77 #3 (Jan.1909), p.412.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 51.

[62]Frank E. Stevens, Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, v.24 #1-4, p.22. Stevens states, "In the summer of 1886 the plaster cast was finished and sent to New York to be cast." However, he does not document his statement and it is not specified what size plaster was sent.

The suggested timetable here is made on the basis of the documents which follow.

[63]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[64]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[65]Saint-Gaudens to Withrow May 17/1887, A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[66]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[67]Ibid.

[68]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[69]Ibid.

[70]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[71]Ibid.

[72]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[73]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[74]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[75]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

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[76]A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[77]Thomas Withrow to Saint-Gaudens, December (?), 1887, A. Lincoln Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[78]Letter from R.H. Warder to Saint-Gaudens, September 16, 1902, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[79]C.C. Tracy to Daniel Burnham, Nov. 13, 1902, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[80]Saint-Gaudens to McKim, Mead and White, February 4, 1904, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library. March 28, 1904 Saint-Gaudens wrote to McKim, Mead and White that he would execute the "replica of my statue of Lincoln. . .for the sum of $6000. . .." which he agreed to complete within a year. (Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[81]Communication from Rebecca Keim, Curatorial Assistant, Office of the Curator, The White House, February 24, 1978.

[82]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[83]Bryan Lathrop to Saint-Gaudens, July 5, 1907.

Richard Lloyd Jones to Saint-Gaudens, July 26, 1907. (Both letters in Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL).

[84]The bronze seated Lincoln or Crerar Lincoln was commissioned by the executors of the will of John Crerar, a Chicago philanthropist who died in 1889 and bequeathed $100,000.00 "to be expended by them in the erection of a colossal statue of Abraham Lincoln." (Crerar Will, p. 15, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

However, it was a plaster cast of the Seated Lincoln loaned by Mrs. Saint-Gaudens which toured the country with

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the Memorial Exhibitions.

[85]Clipping from Chicago Tribune, April 26, 1972 (Markers and Monuments, Abraham Lincoln, Chicago Historical Society).

[86]Letters of August 14 and 17, 1908 in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[87]Colonel Hart (?) to Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[88]Clipping file, Chicago Historical Society. The article dated London, July 30 [1920] states, "The statue, which is in bronze, is a replica of the one which stands in Lincoln Park, Chicago."

[89]Ibid.

There was a tremendous controversy over a proposed substitution of a variant of George Gray Barnard's Abraham Lincoln (1917, bronze, Cincinnati) for the Saint-Gaudens replica authorized by the American Peace Centenary Committee. The gift of the Saint-Gaudens Lincoln "met with universal approval both in England and in America." However, after the interruption of the First World War and the intervention of the Executive Chairman of the committee, the Barnard "variant" was commissioned by Mr. and Mrs. Charles P. Taft. The Saint-Gaudens Lincoln was finally given and Barnard's variant went to Manchester, England. ("The Proposed Gift to Great Britain of a Statue of Lincoln," The American Magazine of Art, v.9 #9 (July 1918),p.374-7; Craven, p.449, fig. 12.15).

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[90]A letter from Robert Todd Lincoln, the president's son, dated February 16, 1918 in the collection of the Chicago Historical Society states that, "the proposed contractor is the lady herself [Augusta Saint-Gaudens]." Another letter from McKim, Mead and White to Mrs. Violet K. Libby, dated December 9, 1955 in the New-York Historical Society Print Room suggests that the Gorham Company may have been the founder.

[91]February 7, 1919, scale and comparative drawing of George Canning, McKim, Mead and White Papers, New-York Historical Society Print Room.

Margaret Whinney, Sculpture in Britain, 1530-1830 (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1964), p. 211, Sir Richard Westmacott (1775-1856), p. 216 and plate 165A.

[92]I am exceptionally grateful to Leland W. Cross, Cultural Attaché at the American Embassy in Mexico City for promptly searching out all relevant information for me. He indicated that the bronze had weathered a dark gray, which may indicate a higher zinc or lead content in the bronze. Felix de Weldon (American b. 1907).

[93]Ibid.

[94]Ibid.

[95]Chicago Daily News, September 13, 1967, Clipping file, Chicago Historical Society.

[96]Chicago Daily News, April 6, 1972, Clipping file, Chicago Historical Society.

[97]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 331-2.

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[98]M.G. van Rensselaer, "Saint Gaudens's Lincoln," The Century Magazine, v. XXXV #1 (Nov. 1887), p. 37-9.

[99]Ibid., p. 37.

[100]Gilder to Homer Saint-Gaudens,March 25,1909, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[101]M.G. van Rensselaer,"Saint Gaudens's Lincoln," p. 39.

[102]Kenyon Cox, "Augustus Saint Gaudens," Century Magazine, v.XXXV #1 (Nov. 1887), p. 28-37, p. 34.

[103]Ibid., p. 37.

[104]Ibid., p. 37.

Although Cox said that the article was written before the completion of the Lincoln, it is more probable that he did not write about the Lincoln so that Mrs. van Rensselaer might do so, since he wrote about the Puritan which was unveiled one month after the Lincoln.

[105]Taft, The History of American Sculpture, p. 292.

[106]Ibid., p. 293.

[107]Royal Cortissoz, "Augustus St. Gaudens," The North American Review, v. 177 #564 (July-Dec. 1903), p. 734-5.

[108]Talcott Williams, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," The International Studio, v. XXXIII #132 (February 1908), p.CXXIX. Although Williams does not specify which of the standing figures of George Washington by Stuart he meant there are several. Another is at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.

Saint-Gaudens would probably also have been aware of Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres' (1780-1867) painting, Bonaparte as First Consul (s&d 1804,Musée des Beaux-Arts,Liège).

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[109]See Donald C. Durman, He Belongs to the Ages/The Statues of Abraham Lincoln (Ann Arbor: Edwards Bros.,1951). Durman illustrates 140 examples of which approximately 108 are full length representations (including statuettes).

[110]Lott Flannery (d. Dec.19,1923), Abraham Lincoln, illustrated in James M. Goode, The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D.C. (Smithsonian Institution Press, 1974), p. 229.

Henry Kirke Brown (1814-1886) Abraham Lincoln, Prospect Park, Brooklyn. Photo courtesy of Professor H.W. Janson.

Vinnie Ream Hoxie (1847-1914) Abraham Lincoln reproduced in Compilation of Works of Art and Other Objects in the United States Capitol (U.S.Printing Office,Washington,1965),p.275.

Larkin Mead (1835-1910) Abraham Lincoln, reproduced in Durman, He Belongs to the Ages, p. 42 and 43.

Thomas Ball (1819-1911) Emancipation Group, photograph courtesy of Professor H.W. Janson.

[111]Charles J. Mulligan (1866-1916), bronze unveiled in Garfield Park, Chicago in 1911, reproduced in Durman, p.100.

[112]Leonard Crunelle (1872-1944), pamphlet of unveiling at Chicago Historical Society.

[113]Photo of photograph at Chicago Historical Society.

Daily News, 2/6/37, clipping Chicago Historical Society.

[114]Taft, The History of American Sculpture, p. 293.

[115]Richman, Daniel Chester French: An American Sculptor (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1976), p. 121.

Photograph courtesy of Professor H.W. Janson.

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[116]Richman, Daniel Chester French, p. 121.

[117]See above, p. 120 and notes 78 and 79.

[118]Addison S. Wait, Nebraska State Journal (typed extract), Nebraska State Historical Society, 16 September 1908 (cited by Richman, p. 121 and note 2, p. 129).

[119]Reproduced in Richman, Daniel Chester French, p.121.

[120]See chapter 7.

[121]Reproduced in Richman, p. 123, fig. 3.

[122]Richman, Daniel Chester French, p. 124.

[123]McKim, Mead and White to W.J. Louderback, Dec.31, 1918, McKim, Mead and White Papers, New-York Historical Society.

[124]Copy of letter from Saint-Gaudens to Crerar Monument Committee, October 18, 1904, Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL.

> ". . .The Lincoln was destroyed, but you are fully protected for your advance to me by the Fire Insurance. . .The statue within a few months would have been cast in bronze.. . ."

[125]Reproduced in David H. Wallace, John Rogers/The People's Sculptor (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1967), p. 218-9.

[126]Reproduced in Millard F. Rogers, Jr., Randolph Rogers/ American Sculptor in Rome (The University of Massachusetts Press, 1971), p. 113, figs. 58 and 59.

[127]Rogers, Randolph Rogers, p. 103, fig. 49, #39, plaster, Ht. 20½", p. 211 suggests that this might have been a sketch for the Lincoln Monument in Philadelphia.

[128]See above, p. 120 and fig. 57.

[129]Reproduced in Durman, He Belongs to the Ages, p. 235.

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Chapter 4: THE PURITAN: DEACON SAMUEL CHAPIN (1595-1675).

The Puritan (1887, bronze, Merrick Park, Springfield, Massachusetts, fig. 72) is one of the most dramatic works by Augustus Saint-Gaudens. The heroic bronze figure strides confidently toward the viewer from a knoll next to the Springfield City Library. He is represented going to church with his Bible clutched firmly in his left arm and with a stout walking stick in his right hand. His cloak is whipped back as if taken by a wind created by his determined and energetic gait.

The round, pink, granite pedestal is inscribed:

1595 ANNO DOMINI 1675
DEACON SAMVEL CHAPIN
ONE OF THE FOVNDERS OF SPRINGFIELD

and on the verso:

GIVEN·TO·THE·CITY·OF·SPRINGFIELD·BY·
CHESTER W. CHAPIN
1882

Above the inscription is a stylized oak leaf design, similar to that used in the Lincoln Memorial (fig. 58). Beneath the inscription is a decorative, geometric design which appears to be a stylized treatment of the lily in proto-Art Nouveau form.

The monument erected in honor of Deacon Samuel Chapin, one of the founders of Springfield, Massachusetts, was commissioned by his great-great-great grandson, Chester Williams Chapin (1798-1883).[1] It was unveiled appropriately on Thanksgiving Day, November 24, 1887, that "peculiar Chris-

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tian holiday instituted by the Puritans of New England, now made a national festival."[2] Chester W. Chapin, Jr., who gave the preliminary address at the unveiling of the monument, described its intent as well as giving a brief history of the family.

> The noblest and best features of our nation were derived from its Puritan founders. Deacon Samuel Chapin was one of them. He fled from tyranny and persecution with those heroic souls who came to make in the wilderness for themselves and their children a home of liberty and virtue and a hearty faith in God.. . .
>
> After a brief sojourn by the sea-coast Deacon Chapin, with his family joined the pilgrim band which had. . .begun a settlement on the banks of the Connecticut. Thus identified with the founders of Springfield, he stood for more than thirty years as one of the. . .pillars of that rising community.. . .(3)

Another descendent, the Reverend Aaron Lucius Chapin of Beloit, Wisconsin, who gave the principal address at the unveiling related the following geneological facts and suppositions:

> [Samuel Chapin was probably of French Huguenot descent and migrated to England via Holland. After arriving in Boston he took] the 'freeman's oath' of fidelity to God and the common weal. . . in the town of Roxbury, where the oath was taken which entitled him to the privileges of citizenship. His name. . .appears with that of his wife, in the list of John Eliot's church in Roxbury. There, on the fifteenth day of the eighth month in 1642, his son Japhet was baptized. This took place just before he joined a company of immigrants on a perilous journey through the wilderness to the valley of the Connecticut. (4)

The primary theme of all the speakers was not only the God-fearing, upright character of their primogenitor and his descendants, but their fecundity, longevity and contribution

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to the building of America as hard-working, middle-class citizens. The underlying message of the various addresses was that righteousness will be rewarded. The secondary theme was that, since the family had been rewarded by material success, they would in turn reward the community by giving it a magnificent statue by the foremost American sculptor of the nineteenth century, Augustus Saint-Gaudens.

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II. The History of the Monument.

Saint-Gaudens described the genesis of the monument.

> After the "Lincoln," on the scaffolding behind the "Shaw," came the statue of Deacon Samuel Chapin, for Mr. Chester W. Chapin, at that time President of the Boston and Albany Railroad. The elder Mr. Chapin was the father of my friend Chester Chapin, Jr., and I assume that this work was intrusted to me at his suggestion. It formed part of a scheme some gentlemen of Springfield, Massachusetts, had in mind for erecting three statues of the three founders of that city:. . .
>
> The statue, as I have said, was to represent Deacon Samuel Chapin, but I developed it into an embodiment, such as it is, of the "Puritan.". . . For the head in the original statue, I used as a model the head of Mr. Chapin himself, assuming that there would be some family resemblance with the Deacon, who was his direct ancestor.
>
> Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 353-4.

The term "after" must be taken with some reservation, for the Lincoln (unveiled October 22, 1887) and the Puritan (unveiled November 24, 1887) must have been worked upon concurrently. Chester Chapin, Jr. reported that the Puritan was commissioned about two years prior to his father's death in 1883.[5] Therefore, we can assume that it was probably commissioned in 1881, at about the same time that negotiations were underway for the Lincoln and Shaw commissions.[6] Perhaps the date 1882 recorded on the verso of the monument, indicates the date of the actual contract, in which it was probably specified that the monument was to be created for the City of Springfield.

In a letter to Augustus from Augusta who was in Halifax, Nova Scotia, dated July 28th [1883], Gussie inquired about the Randall, asking if it were finished yet.[7] She continued:

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> What did Mr. Chapin have to say about his statue & how did he like the bust.. . .
>
> Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

She was referring, of course, to Chester Chapin, Jr., as his father, who had commissioned the monument died on June 10, 1883.[8] Furthermore, the bust of the elder Chester Chapin (plaster 1881, marble 1883 (?), both destroyed, fig. 73) was executed in marble by Louis Saint-Gaudens, the brother of Augustus.[9] It might also be inferred from the letter that the two-foot models of the figure of The Puritan were also by then complete. Two sketches of The Puritan, one seated (fig. 74) and one standing and holding his cloak in his right arm and his hat in his left (fig. 75) are reproduced in Reminiscences (II, 6). These sketches are reproduced with two more finished models in one of which Deacon Chapin holds a walking stick in his left hand and his cloak under his right arm (fig. 76). Perhaps these are the models to which Augusta referred on July 28th.

Saint-Gaudens again referred to the development of the figure of The Puritan.

> . . .during the superintendence of the wood-cutting in the Vanderbilt house [1882-3],which, after a while, became a terrible bore, I had noticed that one of my carvers reproduced models with an artistic felicity so markedly superior to any of the others that I had asked him to come and help me in my studio. This was Philip Martiny, and the principal assistance he gave me, during his stay of about a year or so, was on the figure of the Puritan.
>
> Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II, 6.

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It is probable that it was Philip Martiny (1858-1927) who helped with the enlargement of the model to half-size.

Saint-Gaudens also referred to Van Oertzen, "who had been posing for the 'Puritan.'"[10] In a letter to Augusta of August 2, 1884, Saint-Gaudens wrote of his plans for his Thirty-sixth Street studio.

> [In section five of the diagram (drawn in the letter)] I propose enlarging the skylight in order to make the Shaw down there for the back in the studio. . .the top place scaffolding I mean to use for enlarging the Chapin.
>
> Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

In the same letter he wrote that if he were not finished on time with the Schiff Medallion he would have to give up doing the Chapin in the country and would do the Bellows instead.[11] It may, therefore, be concluded that when Saint-Gaudens returned from visiting Gussie in Halifax, Nova Scotia in the fall of 1884, he planned to commence working on the enlargement of The Puritan. Somewhat later in August of 1884 he wrote again to Gussie:

> I'm not going to do the Chapin at Halifax as the model can't be away from N.Y. after September 1st. (12)

Since he was already working with a model, it may probably also be assumed that by 1884 Saint-Gaudens was working on the half-size clay.

On August 12 [1883] Gussie wrote a letter to Augustus in which she asked if he had decided upon the "position of the Chapin statue."[13] She was undoubtedly referring to the

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elaborate architectural environment eventually developed by Stanford White of the firm of McKim, Mead and White (fig. 77).[14] Saint-Gaudens also described this original environment for The Puritan.

> Although my statue is now placed close to the Public Library, it was originally erected near the station lower down in the city, at one end of a long square rearranged and laid out to harmonize with the statue. This design, also one of Mr. White's was admirable in every respect. At the opposite end of the little park from the statue, and balancing it, stood a fountain, and between the two, in the center, a stone bench. Along each side of the open space we planted white birches, and the whole we enclosed by a pine hedge. If this could have remained, and the buildings around the square have been carried out as Mr. Chapin expected, the result would have been unusually effective. At the time we placed it there, however, the quarter of the city was poor,and in a few weeks the boys had destroyed everything in the way of vegetation.
>
> Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 354.

Certainly, the entire park area designed for the setting of The Puritan must have been an impressive sight. The trees which formed a low backdrop for The Puritan had the effect of a stele. They were also an interesting counterpart to the low granite exedra of the Lincoln Monument (fig. 44) which is a comparable environment. Unlike the Lincoln Monument in Chicago's Lincoln Park, however, the fountain designed for The Puritan in Stearns Park was an integral part of the whole. The seat in Stearns Park, too, had its counterpart in the Lincoln Monument, but in the plan for Stearns Park it served as a low divider from which the entire park might be enjoyed.

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Although no documents appear to have survived recording the progress of The Puritan in the years 1885-6,[15] certain assumptions may be made based upon knowledge of the progress of other monuments. First, the summers of 1885 and 1886 seem to have been devoted primarily to the execution of the Standing Lincoln. Secondly, there was a version of The Puritan prior to the bronze version at Springfield which was recorded in an article by Kenyon Cox in The Century Magazine of November 1887 (v.XXV #1, p. 33) and later by Homer Saint-Gaudens in the Reminiscences (II, 14, fig. 78). This first version of The Puritan in which the legs are placed close together and in which the staff is held vertically can best be understood by a photograph of the completed clay (? or plaster) in which supports are shown (fig. 79). Figure 79 demonstrates that the first version with the vertical staff was evidently a compromise between the original outward splayed staff and the support which was placed at about a 45° angle. The final cast bronze at Springfield (fig. 72) shows the staff tilted slightly in toward the feet with the left leg of the figure moved back and out. This move of the left leg also necessitated moving the pine branch further to the right (facing the monument) and it eventually served in the bronze as a substitute for the support on the right. A letter to Richard Watson Gilder, editor of Scribner's Magazine dated May 22, 1886 from Saint-Gaudens dates this first version of The Puritan to that year. Saint-Gaudens wrote,

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"I show my Puritan on Monday afternoon."[16]

Two inscriptions on the bronze of the monument establish the date of its completion and the founder.

AVGVSTVS·ST·GAVDENS·SCVLPTOR
NEW-YORK·MDCCCLXXXVII

and

BUREAU BROS.
FOUNDERS. PHILA.

Therefore, it is known that the bronze was cast in Philadelphia by Bureau Brothers in 1887.

It might also be hypothesized that during the early summer and fall of 1884 when Saint-Gaudens was reportedly working with a model, Van Oertzen, presumably on the half-size model, studio assistants were probably attending to mechanical aspects of the Lincoln, Shaw and other commissions. Saint-Gaudens, himself, was also involved with the creative aspects of not only The Puritan, but also with other major and minor works. Undoubtedly, the details of the elaborate landscape and architectural elements of the park setting for the monument were also fraught with delays. The completion of The Puritan involved not only the sculptor, Saint-Gaudens, and the architect, Stanford White, but also the myriad of city officials from whom permissions must have been sought and the many artisans and contractors who would have been involved in the completion and unveiling of the monument on November 24, 1887.

A "Special to the World," of Friday, November 25, 1887

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reported that a "row of arbor-vitae in the rear of the monument heighten the general effect."[17] This article in The World was one of the few contemporary accounts which even mentioned the unique architectural setting for The Puritan. Unique as it was, but probably due to the changing and deteriorating neighborhood, The Puritan was removed to its present location in Merrick Park next to the Springfield Public Library in 1899. However, it is likely that if political considerations are resolved, the monument may soon be reinstalled in its original location with the bench and fountain and landscape restored.[18]

The treatment of an entire area as an environment, an important twentieth century sculptural preoccupation, can be seen as having roots in the nineteenth century as evidenced in this collaborative work of Augustus Saint-Gaudens and Stanford White. The fact that so few contemporary critics discussed the importance of this collaboration and chose instead to deal with the fact that the donor was a millionaire and that the sculptor was pre-eminent tends to confirm that public opinion in general was not attuned to the niceties of environmental design. Furthermore, the very brief mention of The Puritan in the press neglects any mention at all of the architect, Stanford White. It seems that the rather meagre discussion of The Puritan in the press, compared to the full coverage given the Lincoln just a month before, might have been a reflection of the perceived limited public

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appeal of a monument to an individual person, no matter his importance in his community, as compared to a great national and international figure, the President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln. Nevertheless, The Puritan occupied one of the most important spaces developed in the nineteenth century by two men who successfully sought to create a total environment. It may be an ironic twist of fate that twentieth century developments of sculptural environments may be one of the precipitating factors in restoring this important nineteenth-century precedent.

A third variant of this first version of The Puritan may be seen in a plaster preserved at the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site at Cornish, New Hampshire (fig. 80). In this heroic plaster the support and staff shown in figure 79 have evidently been interchanged. The collar of the cape stands straight up and there is no fold as in the bronze at Springfield (fig. 72). Furthermore, the pine bough on the right is larger and does not seem to have the same supporting function that it does in the bronze. The base of the plaster, a variation of the quatrefoil form, also differs from the round form of the bronze at Springfield. One final difference between the Cornish plaster and the Springfield bronze is the slightly parted lips of the former and the resultant more relaxed countenance of the Cornish Puritan. The Cornish Puritan appears to be similar to the version for the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (now at the Dresden, Staatliche

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Kunstsammlungen) except that in the latter, the collar is like the bronze at Springfield and the lips are tightly drawn.[19] A letter of February 17, 1897 from Saint-Gaudens to his niece, Rose Standish Nichols, dates the Boston plaster to 1897.

> . . .The studio is once more in a fearful condition with the casting of the Logan, and the getting of the Puritan ready to photograph and cast for the Boston Museum and to send abroad to have reductions made. . .. (20)

The cast of The Puritan of which Saint-Gaudens spoke was until January 19, 1933 at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts at which time it was sold along with many other plaster casts from the Museum's collection.[21] Another cast was apparently sent to Paris in 1897 in order to have a reduction made for the purpose of creating small bronze reproductions.

In the fall of 1897, after the unveiling of the Shaw and Logan, Saint-Gaudens went abroad to test his artistic ability in Paris, the center of the nineteenth-century art world.[22] Having arrived in Paris around the beginning of November 1897, he apparently contacted the founder, Barbedienne, to seek estimates for the proposed reduction of the plaster.[23] Barbedienne replied on the fifteenth of November 1897 that it would cost three hundred francs for a reduction to seventy-five centimeters.[24] Apparently nothing was done about the matter at that time for the correspondence about the reduction did not resume until July of 1898. One of the reasons for the delay was undoubtedly Saint-Gaudens' decision to exhibit The Puritan at the Champ de Mars in 1898

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along with the Shaw and other works. At the exhibition of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, Saint-Gaudens exhibited fifteen works of which ten were medallions plus seven photographs of monuments such as the Adams Memorial and the Lincoln.[25] The sculptor reported to his niece, Rose, that "it seems as if I were having what they call a 'success' here."[26]

Never content to exhibit a work created previously, Saint-Gaudens again modified The Puritan in 1898 (fig. 81). To the front of the plinth of this second version, Saint-Gaudens added the inscription, "THE PVRITAN." To the left of the staff he added another and smaller pine branch. He also returned the collar of the cloak to the original form of the bronze in which a longer, rolled collar was used. Most importantly, the face of The Puritan was changed from the square-jawed model of Chester Chapin (figs. 73 and 72) to the more ascetic face which is identical to that of a small plaster head now at Cornish (fig. 82). The Cornish head with its slightly tilted nose, fuller lips, cleft chin and dolichocephalic shape was referred to by Saint-Gaudens as the "New-England type."[27] It is the same face that is to be found on all the reduced replicas which the sculptor produced in 1899 and thereafter (fig. 83). It is fortunate that this 1898 plaster version of The Puritan was illustrated in a review of the works of Saint-Gaudens at the Salon of 1898.[28] Gaston Migeon in discussing the career of the sculptor which

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had become, "de plus en plus brillante," took care to distinguish his contribution to the Salon of 1898 from the general run of irritating or simply banal works.[29] He wrote of The Puritan:

> C'est aussi le statue que ses descendents élèverent à leur ancêtre Chapin dans la ville de Springfield (Massachussets [sic]) qu'il avait fondée. Il marche vêtu d'un grand manteau que le vent enfle autour de lui; sa tête est couverte d'un chapeau à larges bords qui couvre d'ombre une figure austère et têtue; il serre sous son bras, d'un geste ardent et concentré, un gros livre qui, même fermé, doit limiter son horizon mental. Et c'est le puritain, avec toute l'étroitesse de ses idées, l'autorité de sa parole, le despotisme qui lui inspire ce gros livre, la Bible, devant laquelle il doit faire plier toute pensée et tout acte. En dehors du côté amusant et pittoresque qu'offre cette statue, quelle signification elle prend aussitôt par la volonté réfléchie d'un artiste intelligent! (30)

Perhaps the most provocative point made by the French critic was his perception that the closed Bible carried by The Puritan reflected his closed mental horizon. However, I do not believe that that was the intent of the sculptor. The opinion expressed by Gaston Migeon seems rather to be a personal impression of a late nineteenth-century critic of the character of those men who fled the religious tyranny of sixteenth century France and sought asylum elsewhere. Certainly, the descendants of Samuel Chapin did not find that Saint-Gaudens' representation reflected adversely upon the character of their ancestor, but rather demonstrated his positive qualities of strength and determination. Paul Leprieur, writing earlier, confined his criticism of The Puritan to entertaining and picturesque.[31]

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After a trip to Holland with his son, Homer, in August of 1898, Saint-Gaudens returned to Paris and wrote to Augusta.

> Dear Gussie. . .
> I have settled down to work again. I have sent the Puritan to be reduced and I have persuaded Helen Benedict to buy one of the reductions of the Joan of Arc of Dubois. . ..
>
> Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

By September 14 [1898] Augustus had written to his niece that the reduction of The Puritan had been completed and that he would send her some to put on the American market.[32] Correspondence with the founder, Barbedienne, in the Dartmouth archives seems to indicate that this firm executed the reduction as well as the first casts.[33] These reductions cast from 1899 on (fig. 83) were, however, executed by at least three French founders and possibly others.[34]

Saint-Gaudens again exhibited the plaster of The Puritan at the Paris Exposition of 1900 (#55) at which time the sculptor received the Grand Prix.[35] It was exhibited again in Buffalo at the Pan-American Exposition of 1901, although it was not listed.[36] Another cast was created for the St. Louis Centennial of 1904 which celebrated the Louisiana Purchase. Here, The Puritan was awarded The Grand Prize (fig. 84). Gussie wrote to Augustus from Albuquerque, New Mexico on December 1, 1904, after she had gone to St. Louis to see The Puritan at the exposition.

> French simply pervades and dominates the sculpture. So much of it and so big but your Puritan is a jewel and never looked better.. . .
>
> Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

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The cast of The Puritan had been tinted a yellowish color to avoid the white plaster which Saint-Gaudens found so offensive.[37] For many years this cast was exhibited in the Sculpture Hall of the St. Louis Art Museum, but it was never a part of their permanent collection.[38] It was destroyed some time ago.[39]

The Puritan was also exhibited at the Memorial Exhibitions of the works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens which took place in the years 1908-1910 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., The Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh and the Art Association of Indianapolis/John Herron Art Institute. The illustration of The Puritan in the exhibition catalogue of the Memorial Exhibition at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1909 (p. 28) and the description of the monument on page 52, indicate that the plaster figure exhibited was a plaster cast of the bronze at Springfield, Massachusetts (fig. 72).[40]

Meanwhile on August 12, 1902, Mr. James Beck, Assistant Attorney General of the United States, wrote to Saint-Gaudens on behalf of the New England Society of Pennsylvania requesting that a replica of The Puritan be erected in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia.[41] The formal contract dated 18 April 1903 called for a bronze variant of 'The Puritan' at a cost of $10,000.[42] The bronze statue was to be eight feet four inches from hat to shoe.[43]

On March 10, 1904 Saint-Gaudens acknowledged receipt

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of a check for $2000.00 as first payment on account for the completion of The Puritan in clay.[44] By March 20th, 1904 the plaster was complete and was shipped to Aubry Brothers in New York for casting in bronze.[45] It was originally agreed that the casting would take four months, but due to difficulties at the foundry it was not cast until September 1, 1904.[46] The patination was not complete until late in October 1904.[47] However, with the inevitable unforseen difficulties, the pedestal was not ready and the committee suggested that The Puritan be installed on a temporary pedestal in the center of Philadelphia so that many people might see it.[48]

After the statue had been cast, Mr. Frothingham, President of the New England Society of Pennsylvania, wrote to Saint-Gaudens on January 26, 1905 that the statue should be called The Pilgrim instead of The Puritan even though "The Puritan" had already been inscribed on the base.[49] He indicated the rationale for the change in the same letter.

> The feeling of the Society is that the name of "The Puritan" has a religious significance, while "The Pilgrim" is historical, and as the New England Society holds its annual festivals "to honor worthy ancestry" on Forefathers Day, the date of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, it would be more appropriate to call this gift "The Pilgrim".
>
> Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

The monument was unveiled on April 29, 1905 at Broad and Market Streets, Philadelphia.[50] Charles Platt designed the temporary pedestal and Saint-Gaudens agreed to the

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change in name.[51] On May 4, 1905 Saint-Gaudens wrote to Charles Platt that he was going to cut the pedestal down two feet as it was too high and that he would have "The Pilgrim" inscribed on the base.[52] This second variant of the second version of The Puritan, now renamed The Pilgrim was illustrated in C. Lewis Hind's 1907 book, Augustus Saint-Gaudens (fig. 85). The reduced pedestal supported a rough stone base in which the bronze plinth was embedded. The Bible held by The Pilgrim was reversed so that "Holy Bible" is visible on the spine.

In 1920, minus the base designed by Platt, The Pilgrim was installed on a grassy knoll facing Boat House Row on the East River Drive in Fairmount Park.[53] This final variant of the final version of the Pilgrim/Puritan (fig. 86) can be seen to have no descriptive inscriptions. There is only the small notation of the sculptor on the right of the monument, "AVGVSTVS SAINT GAVDENS·ASPET MCMIV." There are other minor modifications of which the most noticeable are the four folds in the drapery on the right and the longer hair of The Pilgrim. The entire monument was set upon a rocky outcropping surrounded by trees and facing the Schuykill River. It is an interesting mini-environment which will invite comparison to the original setting of The Puritan in Stearns Park, Springfield when that is reassembled.

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III. Art Historical Precedents and Later Reflections.

In one of the few contemporary criticisms of The Puritan at the time of its unveiling, Kenyon Cox described it as "ideal portraiture."[54] He continued:

> the "Deacon Chapin," is perhaps the finest embodiment of Puritanism in our art. Surely those old searchers for a "liberty of conscience" that should not differ from themselves could not fail to recognize in this swift-striding, stern-looking old man...a man after their own hearts. But he is not merely a Puritan of the Puritans, he is a man also, a rough-hewn piece of humanity enough, with plenty of the old Adam about him; and one feels that so and not otherwise must some veritable old Puritan deacon have looked. (55)

Cox, while not yet ready to acknowledge Saint-Gaudens' preeminence as the most important American sculptor of the nineteenth century, called him in 1887 "one of the most successful of modern sculptors," in low-relief and likened him to the masters of the Renaissance. However, in 1905 in Old Masters and New which reprinted the article from The Century Magazine and added a chapter on the recently unveiled Sherman (1903, Central Park, New York), Cox compared Saint-Gaudens not only to the Greeks but to Verrocchio and Donatello (p. 284) indicating that Saint-Gaudens was a modern master of similar stature. In 1887 Cox discerned Saint-Gaudens' ability to embody an idea in sculpture successfully. That was the difference between his Puritan and earlier depictions.

Saint-Gaudens undoubtedly knew Franklin Simmons' marble statue of Roger Williams (1871, fig. 87), the pastor

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of the Puritan Church of Salem, Massachusetts. This work executed and completed in Rome for Statuary Hall, Washington, D.C. and a later version for Providence, Rhode Island might conceivably been seen by Saint-Gaudens during his stay in Rome (1870-1875).[56] However, the only thing which Saint-Gaudens' Puritan (fig. 72) and Simmons' Roger Williams (fig. have in common is that both figures are depicted wearing knee breeches and both carry a book in their left arm. The passivity of Simmons' statue contrasts markedly with Saint-Gaudens' highly dramatic version in which a cape has been used to further energize the figure. Even without its original park-like environment, it can be seen that Saint-Gaudens' Puritan makes use of a decorated pedestal fully integrated with the bronze statue. Simmons' Roger Williams seems to have been placed upon a pedestal designed to harmonize with other pedestals in Statuary Hall. Simmons' pedestal neither adds to nor detracts from the marble figure placed upon it. The comparison of these two works by Saint-Gaudens and Simmons demonstrates the major changes which had taken place in sculptural practise in less than two decades.

Saint-Gaudens also probably knew The Puritan by Thomas Gould of Boston (1818-1881) on Cambridge Common (fig. 88).[57] This Puritan, erected in 1882, is intended as a representation of John Bridge (1578-1665). It was given to the city by a sixth generation descendant in honor of his forbear, one of the founders of the community. Although the bronze

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figure appears to be a Civil War soldier set upon a traditional base of the period, upon close inspection he is found to wear the knee breeches and collar associated with Puritan dress.

Saint-Gaudens also knew the statue of Miles Morgan erected in 1884 at Court and Main Streets in Springfield, Massachusetts (fig. 89), to which he referred in his Reminiscences.[58] This militant figure with his gun cocked upon his left shoulder and his walking stick in his right hand has also been referred to as a Puritan. It, too, was commissioned by "one of his descendants of the fifth generation," to commemorate another early settler in Springfield and was executed by Jonathan Scott Hartley (1845-1912).

Probably the most significant precedent for Saint-Gaudens' Puritan was the Pilgrim by John Quincy Adams Ward (1830-1910) unveiled in Central Park, New York in 1885 (fig. 90). It was erected by the New England Society to commemorate "the landing of the Pilgrim fathers." Although Ward's figure holds a staff in his right hand and wears the hat with which we associate our Pilgrim fathers, Ward's figure stands rather than strides. Furthermore, Ward's Pilgrim is placed upon a prosaic pedestal on a rise in the park which has little relation to the space around it. Installed just two years later, Saint-Gaudens' Puritan (figs. 72,77) was an environment which looked forward to twentieth century developments. Later Pilgrim imagery, such as the

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Ideal Statue of Roger Conant by Henry H. Kitson (1860-1947) shows how thoroughly Saint-Gaudens' representation dominated American sculpture.[59] The representations of Gould, Hartley and Saint-Gaudens can also be seen as a manifestation of an American desire to create a democratic form of dynasty.

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FOOTNOTES - Chapter 4.

[1]Unveiling of the Chapin Monument at Springfield, Mass. prepared by Rev. A. L. Chapin, D.D., Beloit, Wis. (Press of Louis H. Orr), N.D., p.7. A Xerox of this apparently privately printed pamphlet was kindly furnished by Ms. Anne Williamson, Supervisor of the Local History and Genealogy Collection of the Springfield City Library. I am most indebted to her for this and other help.

[2]Unveiling of the Chapin Monument, p. 10.

[3]Ibid., p. 6-7.

[4]Ibid., p. 13-14, 24-6.

[5]Ibid., p. 10.

[6]An inscription on the ball of the dismantled fountain, preserved in photograph at the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site at Cornish, New Hampshire is dated 1881.

[7]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[8]Unveiling of the Chapin Monument, p. 9.

[9]Photo of the marble (?) furnished by Mr. John Dryfhout, Curator of the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish. Mr. Dryfhout also provided the dating and information that the bust was executed by Louis Saint-Gaudens.

[10]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II, 10.

[11]Work was begun on the Schiff Medallion in 1884 and completed in 1888 (AVGVSTVS SAINT-GAVDENS/THE PORTRAIT RELIEFS

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#38). The Bellows relief portrait (s&d 1885, bronze) was installed in All Souls Church in New York in June 1886.

[12]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[13]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[14]Although Benjamin Blom in his introduction to the reprint of A Monograph of the Works of McKim Mead & White 1879-1915 (New York: Arno Press, 1977), p. 22 dates the sketch from L.G. White, Sketches and Designs by Stanford White (New York: Architectural Book Publishing Co., 1920), plate 28, "1884", it is not dated in White's book.

[15]Conversations with Chapin family descendants confirm an absence of documents which may have been lost when the family home in Springfield, Massachusetts burned. There are no primary documents relating to the Chapin monument at Dartmouth.

[16]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library. Although the reading of the date 1886 is problematical because of the careless rendition of ℓ, Tharp has also read it as 1886 (p. 201).

[17]The World, New York, Friday, Nov. 25, 1887, p.1, col.2.

[18]Information from Ms. Anne Williamson.

[19]Photograph Album #1, Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

Correspondence with Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden.

[20]"Familiar Letters of Augustus Saint-Gaudens," Edited by Rose Standish Nichols, McClure's Magazine/Illustrated Published Monthly, v. XXXI #6 (October 1908), p. 608.

Saint-Gaudens to Gaeton Ardisson, his chief plaster moulder, "3 Rue Bagneux 18 November/97. . .

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> le Puritain de Boston qui était abominablement moulé, affreux, et même. . .."
>
> (Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

Therefore, the cast sent to Paris for reduction had been received prior to 18 November 1897.

[21]"Register of Plaster Casts," #5, p. 266, "#4748 (Boston Museum of Fine Arts).

> "The Puritan by Augustus St-Gaudens (97.521). . . [red pencil] Disposed of by V [ote of]/T [rustees] of Jan. 19, 1933"

[22]Saint-Gaudens went to Paris to "profit by foreign criticism," Nichols, McClure's Magazine, v.XXXI #6 (Oct. 1908), p. 611.

[23]Response from Barbedienne of 15 November 1897 indicates that Saint-Gaudens had arrived sometime before that date. (Correspondence in Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL).

[24]Ibid.

[25]Société nationale des beaux-arts, Catalogue des ouvrages de peinture, sculpture et gravure exposés au Champ-de-Mars. . .1898, p. LI #155. (See numbers 154-175).

[26]Nichols, McClure's Magazine, v.XXXI #6 (Oct.1908),p.613.

[27]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 354.

[28]Gaston Migeon, "Le Sculpteur Augustin Saint-Gaudens," Art et Décoration/Revue Mensuelle d'Art Moderne, v.5 #2 (February 1899), p. 47.

[29]Migeon, Art et Décoration, v. 5 #2, p. 43.

[30]Migeon, Art et Décoration, v. 5 #2, p. 46.

> There is also the statue which the descendants erected to their ancestor, Chepin, in the city of Springfield (Massachusetts), which he found-

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> ed. He marches dressed in a great cloak which the wind inflates around him; his head is covered with a hat with a large brim which shadows an austere and obstinate face; he clasps under his arm, with an ardent and concentrated gesture, a great book which, even closed, serves to limit his mental horizon. And it is the puriten , with all the narrowness of his ideas, the authority of his word, the despotism which this great book, the Bible inspires in him, before which it is necessary that every thought and act must bend. Aside from the amusing and picturesque aspect which this statue presents, what significance it takes as soon as considered by an intelligent artist.

[31]Paul Leprieur, "La Sculpture Décorative aux Salons," Art et Décoration, v.3 (January-June 1898), p. 182.

[32]"Familiar Letters of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Edited by Rose Standish Nichols, McClure's Magazine, v.XXXII #1 (Nov. 1908), p.2.

[33]5 July 1898 Barbedienne wrote Saint-Gaudens reconfirming the price of 300 francs to reduce the Puritan to 78 cm. (the original estimate of 15 November 1897 was for a figure 75 cm.

12 August 1898 Barbedienne wrote Saint-Gaudens that the casts would probably be ready the first of December. (Letters in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

The actual date of copyright of the Puritan reductions was December 13, 1898, but according to a letter from Lucius E. Varney, a New York lawyer dated August 30, 1916, the copyright was invalid because the statue had been publicly exhibited and was therefore in the public domain. (Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[34]Barbedienne, Chartier, Grust.

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[35]Paris: Exposition of 1900, Official Illustrated Catalogue Fine Arts Exhibit/United States of America (Boston: Noyes, Platt & Co./Press of George H. Ellis), p. 97 #55.

Société des Artistes Français, Exposition Annuelle des Beaux-Arts, Salon de 1901,"Distribution des récompenses aux Artistes Exposants au Salon de 1900. . .Sculpteurs Etrangers . . ., p.cxxxi

> "SAINT-GAUDENS (Augustus), né à New-York, MH. 1880, Gr. Prix 1900 (E.U.)."

[36]In a letter to Ardisson of 3 September 1901, Saint-Gaudens speaks of a cast of The Puritan to be done after the model which is at Buffalo.

9 December 1901 Saint-Gaudens writes of purchase of Shaw and shipping of Sherman to Cornish. On the back of the letter he pencils in that he wants the Puritan back but doesn't know to whom to apply. It had been exhibited at the Pan-American Exposition. (Letters in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[37]March 28, 1904 letter to Mr. Halsey C. Ives, Chief of the Department of Art, World's Fair, St. Louis, Mo.

> The men are casting the Puritan and it will be done in about two weeks. . .I shall stain it some kind of a yellowish color which will make it less offensive than the usual white cast.

[38]Letter from the St. Louis Art Museum. This was, however, probably due to the wishes of Saint-Gaudens.

[39]Ibid.

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[40]The Art Institute of Chicago, AVGVSTVS SAINT-GAVDENS MEMORIAL EXHIBITION, 1909, p. 28, p. 52.

"47a DEACON SAMUEL CHAPIN ("THE PURITAN")
Plaster cast from bronze statue at
Springfield, Mass."

[41]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[42]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[43]An estimate from the Gorham Company gives the dimensions as 8'5½" high with 15" plinth 4'6"x4' (SGC,DCL).

The height of the plaster cast at Cornish is 8'7½" (Information from John Dryfhout).

In a copy of the actual contract at Dartmouth, the size of 8 feet 5½" is crossed out and "about" 8 feet 4" is written in, "from top of hat to shoe."

Fairmount Park Art Association, Sculpture of a City: Philadelphia's Treasures in Bronze and Stone, p.214 gives the dimensions as bronze, 109" (fieldstone base 19").

[44]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[45]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[46]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[47]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[48]Letter December 23, 1904, Saint-Gaudens Collection,DCL.

[49]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[50]Announcement of unveiling in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

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[51]Letter from William Walton to Homer Saint-Gaudens in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library, dated October 8, 1907.

> ". . .For the replica of the Puritan in Fairmount Park, Chas. A. Platt did the pedestal (and Flanagan says your father declared he would do no more for him)."

[52]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library. Also letter of May 30, 1905 (copy on same sheet).

[53]Sculpture of a City, p. 214.

[54]Kenyon Cox, "Augustus Saint Gaudens," The Century Magazine. V. XXXV #1 (Nov. 1887), p. 30.

[55]Ibid., p. 30.

[56]Reproduced in Compilation of Works of Art and Other Objects in the United States Capitol (U.S. Govt. Printing Office: D.C., 1965), p. 268.

Information on replica in NYPL Artist's File.

[57]Inscribed on the base of the bronze, "THOMAS R. & M.S. GOULD/ Florence 1882." This monument was completed by Gould's son after his death in 1881.

[58]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I, 353.

[59]Reproduced in the New York Times Book Review Section, February 25, 1945 (New York Public Library Artists' File).

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Chapter 5: THE ADAMS MEMORIAL

The Adams Memorial (1891, bronze, fig. 91) in Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, D.C. is the chef d'oeuvre of the most important American sculptor of the nineteenth century. It is a work which not only transcends the artistic conventions of its time, but seems to reflect the most advanced philosophical speculation of the period. It was commissioned by Henry Brooks Adams (1838-1918) in memory of his wife, Marian Hooper Adams (1843-1885) who ended her life on 6 December 1885.[1] The monument is the result of the combined effort of the sculptor, Saint-Gaudens, the architect, Stanford White, the painter and designer, John La Farge and the historian and descendant of two presidents, Henry Adams. The Adams Memorial is a total environment, which through careful maintenance has retained much of its original beauty. It is a monument that is unique in the oeuvre of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, and an early and unusual example of Symbolist art in America.

As in the Farragut, Lincoln and Puritan, the architect for the Adams Memorial was Stanford White. White not only was responsible for the architecture, but also played an advisory role in the evolution of the design.[2] John La Farge, with whom Saint-Gaudens had been associated in the execution of the King Tomb, The Angels Adoring the Cross (fig. 19) and in the decoration of Trinity Church in Boston was not only an advisor in the execution of the Adams Memorial, but also

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the conduit through whom flowed the ideas of Henry Adams. Saint-Gaudens characterized his various collaborations with La Farge in the following manner.

> . . .There is no doubt that my association with Mr. La Farge has been a spur to higher endeavor, equal to, if not greater than, any other I have ever received from outside sources (3)

Saint-Gaudens looked to La Farge as one of the most important artists of the period, an elder statesman of the world of art. His manner of addressing him as "Cher maître" serves to illustrate the esteem in which he held La Farge.[4]

The Adams Memorial, in contrast to all of the other draped female figures created by Augustus Saint-Gaudens bears no allegorical reference to traditional Western iconography, nor is it iconographically related to other tomb sculpture by Saint-Gaudens. It has at times been related to the Japanese "'Kwannon,' the compassionate Virgin of the East, merciful guardian of the human race."[5] Perhaps Henry Adams, who commissioned the memorial, expressed it best in a letter to Mr. Gilder dated October 14, 1896.

> . . .The whole meaning and feeling of the figure is in its universality and anonymity. My own name for it is 'The Peace of God.' La Farge would call it 'Kwannon.' Petrarch would say: 'Siccome eterna vita è veder Dio,' and a real artist would be very careful to give it no name that the public could turn into a limitation of its nature. With the understanding that there shall be no such attempt at making it intelligible to the average mind, and no hint at ownership or personal relation, I hand it over to St.-Gaudens. (6)

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II. Henry Adams

> Henry Adams was born in the shadow of Boston's State House, February 16, 1838, the fourth child of Charles Francis Adams. From his mother, who had been Abigail Brown Brooks, daughter of the city's richest merchant, Peter Chardon Brooks, Henry inherited wealth. From his father he inherited the greatest political tradition that any American boy could claim. His great-grandfather was John Adams, the Patriot who helped draft the Declaration of Independence and the Treaty of Peace that ended the American Revolution and who finished his career by becoming the nation's second President. Henry's grandfather was John Quincy Adams, who had been a diplomat at the age of twenty-seven, later Secretary of State, and finally the sixth President of the United States. (7)

Henry Adams felt "handicapped" by his impressive background and constantly felt the need to apologize for some real or imagined inadequacy.[8] However, despite these handicaps he was able to produce what were, until recently, the definitive volumes on the period of American history dating from 1801-1817, The History of the United States During the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison.[9] This Harvard educated young man and his equally brilliant wife, whom Adams married on June 27, 1872 "entered a social and intellectual life such as few marriages know."[10] In their circle of friends were Henry Hobson Richardson, the architect, John La Farge, the painter, and Saint-Gaudens, all of whom had been brought together at the time of the building of Trinity Church in Boston.[11] In this protected environment, the death of Adams' wife, Marian Hooper Adams (Clover), was a fatal blow to which Adams adjusted, but from which he never fully recovered.

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The Adams Memorial was intended as a monument to Adams' wife, Marian (b. September 13, 1885).[12] Her death by suicide on December 6, 1885 initiated a period of restless wandering and travel for Henry Adams.[13] Although many sources deny her suicide, she apparently swallowed potassium cyanide, a compound used in her hobby, photography.[14] The causes of her death were undoubtedly many and complex. Certainly never mentioned by Marian or Henry in their letters was their inability to have children. Another contributing factor was undoubtedly the death of Marian's mother when she was but five years old, and her consequent over-dependence upon her father, Dr. Robert William Hooper. Dr. Hooper died on April 13, 1885 of heart disease after a lingering illness.[15] He had been nursed during his last months by his daughter, Marian. A neighbor and friend wrote that after Dr. Hooper's death, Marian was no longer able to cope and that "by autumn she was not herself."[16] On November 4, 1885 the friend reported that she was depressed and seemed to have suffered what was probably a nervous breakdown.[17] Henry Adams in letters to close personal friends wrote that Marian, "has been out of sorts for some time past," and that she was "a good deal off her feed this summer," indicating that he probably did not realize the depth of her depression.[18] One week later she was dead.

It took Henry Adams approximately six months to set his affairs and new house in order after his wife's death.[19]

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Then while friends read and/or edited a volume of The History of the United States, Adams "took John La Farge on a five-month trip to Japan."[20] Cater evaluated the apparent effect of the trip on Adams.

> His letters to Theodore Frelinghuysen Dwight and to John Hay about this experience would seem to show that Adams got little out of it other than a change of scene. But we know that during that brief contact with Eastern religious atmosphere, especially from his new understanding of the Japanese Kwannon, Adams was inspired with a more finished idea for the memorial that he wanted over his wife's grave in Rock Creek Cemetery. He wanted it to be something entirely original: a bronze statue, more of the West than of the East. . .. (21)

However, it should be noted that Buddhist philosophy was well known to Adams long before his first trip to the Orient.[22] William Sturgis Bigelow,a favorite cousin of Marian Adams, had converted to Buddhism soon after his departure for Japan in 1882.[23] And Buddhist philosophy seems to have undergone what might be considered a certain vogue in western, intellectual circles during the second half of the nineteenth century. An example of this interest in Buddhism might be seen in Henry Adams' novel, Esther, published in 1884 in which references were made to Oriental philosophy.[24] Ironically, the heroine, who was apparently based upon Marian Adams, not only espoused Oriental philosophy along with agnosticism, but in the end committed suicide after the death of her father as Marian Adams was later to do.[25]

Despite Adams' longevity and his apparently well-documented life through published letters and commentary, there

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seems to be a concerted omission of reference to his wife after her death and to the circumstances of the memorial. Fortunately, however, Saint-Gaudens' correspondence with Adams has been preserved at the Massachusetts Historical Society. Nevertheless, no contract for the monument has been found, although Adams in a moment of annoyance with Saint-Gaudens indicated that there were several, "one more binding than another."[26] Despite the fact that more has been written about the Adams Memorial than many of the other monuments by Saint-Gaudens, the most important document relating to it is maddeningly missing. Whether this lacuna can be directly attributed to the wishes of Henry Adams or to its being buried among uncatalogued documents at the Massachusetts Historical Society is not known at this time.

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III. The History of the Adams Memorial

Saint-Gaudens, with his customary summary ability gave the following brief history of the Adams Memorial.

> Following the Chapin on the scaffolding [behind the Shaw] came the figure in Rock Creek Cemetery which I modeled for Mr. Henry Adams. (27)

To this Saint-Gaudens added simply, "amplify."

Homer Saint-Gaudens in editing and amplifying the reminiscences of his father wrote:

> At the date Mr. Adams gave the commission he felt in sympathy with the religious attitudes of the East. Yet he did not cast his desires for the figure in any definite mold. Rather, when he first discussed the matter with Saint-Gaudens, he explained that Mr. La Farge understood his ideas on this subject and that accordingly Saint-Gaudens, in his work, would do well to talk with the painter and to have about him such objects as photographs of Michelangelo's frescoes in the Sistine Chapel. (28)

The Delphic Sibyl (1508-12, fig. 92) is an example of a Michelangelesque prototype in the Sistine Chapel to which Saint-Gaudens might have referred.[29] However, the figures of Lorenzo de' Medici (1520-26 San Lorenzo, Florence, fig. 93) and the Pietà (1498-99 St. Peter's, Rome, fig. 94)[30] may also have been sources of Michelangelesque inspiration to Saint-Gaudens in the execution of the Adams Memorial.

John La Farge in an interview which appeared in the New York Herald, Sunday, the 16th of January 1910, related the circumstances surrounding the genesis of the Adams Memorial in an interview with Gustav Kobbe, some twenty-four years after the fact.

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> Mr. Adams described to [Saint-Gaudens] in a general way what he wanted, going, however, into no details, and really giving him no distinct clew [sic], save the explanation that he wished the figure to symbolize "the acceptance, intellectually, of the inevitable." Saint-Gaudens immediately became interested, and made a gesture indicating the pose which Mr. Adams words had suggested to his mind. "No," said Mr. Adams, "the way you're doing that is a 'Penseroso.'"
>
> Thereupon the sculptor made several other gestures until one of them struck Mr. Adams as corresponding with his idea. As good luck would have it, he would not wait for a woman model to be brought in and posed in accordance with the gesture indicated by the sculptor, so Saint-Gaudens grabbed the Italian boy who was mixing clay, put him into the pose and draped a blanket over him. That very blanket, it may be stated here, is on the statue, and forms the drapery of the figure.
>
> "Now that's done," said Mr. Adams, "the pose is settled. Go to La Farge about any original ideas of Kwannon. I don't want to see the statue till it's finished."
>
> All Mr. La Farge did was to read stories of Kwannon to Saint-Gaudens.. . . (31)

Less than a week after publication of the Kobbe report, La Farge offered a partial retraction and explanation of the genesis of the Adams Memorial. La Farge stated that he "did not go with Mr. Adams to Saint-Gaudens' studio [and that] Mr. Adams alone suggested to Saint-Gaudens the meaning and the pose. My share was to approve and explain and not to interfere in such a fortunate union."[32] To that may be added the fact that the Kobbe report telescopes the events of three years, the natural result of a twenty-four year time lapse.

While there are certain vague and some inaccurate details in the newspaper account, it may be assumed that

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although La Farge was intimately involved with the commissioning of the memorial, he did not attend the initial meeting between Adams and Saint-Gaudens. A document which precisely indicates the meeting between Adams and Saint-Gaudens in 1886 is a letter which Adams wrote to John Hay from San Francisco on June 11, 1886 as Adams was about to sail for the Orient.

> Our journey was a glorious success. As I got into my train at Boston on Thursday the 3rd, to start for New York, my brother Charles came down to tell me that his directors' car had unexpectedly arrived at Boston that morning, and would return to Omaha the next day. So I went to New York rejoicing; passed a delightful day with King,St. Gaudens, etc., and at six P.M. dragged poor La Farge, in a dishevelled and desperate, but still determined mind, on board the Albany express.. . .La Farge's delight with the landscape was the pleasantest thing on the journey. While I read Buddhism and slept,he tried to sketch from the moving car. (33)

Therefore, the Adams Memorial may have been informally commissioned by Henry Adams as early as June 4, 1886 when he passed through New York on his way to the Far East with John La Farge. There is, of course, the possibility that the memorial was commissioned after Adams and La Farge returned from the Orient early in November 1886, but it seems more likely that the earlier date inaugurated discussions which continued after their return.[34]

Since Adams did visit Saint-Gaudens in 1886 he would have seen the relief for the Smith Tomb, then in progress in the sculptor's studio. Saint-Gaudens wrote of the Smith Tomb:

> At about this time, 1886, I also began the figure for the tomb of Mrs. Anna Marie Smith, to go in the cemetery at Newport, Rhode Island. This, except for minor modifications was the original of the bronze figure of "Amor Caritas" in the Museum of the Luxembourg, in Paris. (35)

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Perhaps it was the vision of this winged angel with its specifically religious connotations and inscription which helped Henry Adams evolve his own complex ideas for the Adams Memorial. It is known that when H.H. Richardson was designing Adams' Washington house in 1885, Adams advised Theodore Dwight, his major domo, not to allow the workmen to carve any Christian emblem on the front of his house.[36] Adams' letter to Dwight of 26 September 1885, reacting to the news that the workmen had acted against his deepest wishes speaks for itself.

> Your account of the cross and carving fills my heart with sadness. . .. (37)

The incident described would be consistent with Adams' views regarding the Adams Memorial in which he evaluated the intent as universal and anonymous.[38]

Possibly related to a discussion with Saint-Gaudens about the development of the monument after his return from the Far East is a leaf from the sculptor's scrap-book. Above the "faint ink sketch" (fig. 95) are written the words:

> Adams
> Buhda [sic]
> Mental Repose
> Calm reflection in contrast with the violence or force of Nature. (39)

At the bottom of the page is the notation "medallion with two people looking at something with back of one figure showing only." Accompanying this notation is a sketch of what appears to be two figures in a rectangular relief. The first sketch shows a rather awkward seated nude of indeter-

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minate sex with hands in lap. There seems also to have been a trial of a hand under the chin (Penseroso?). The second sketch indicates consideration of a relief with two figures. In any event, the sketches may be understood as a preliminary notation after an early conference about the monument.

In 1886 and 1887 there was little time for the development of ideas related to the Adams Memorial. Aside from the Smith Tomb underway in Saint-Gaudens studio in 1886, the fountain for Lincoln Park, Chicago, Storks at Play (fig. 46) was nearing completion, and the Lincoln (figs. 44, 45) for the same site and the Puritan (fig. 72) were in the final stages, with commissioners clamouring for their completion. Other projects were underway, the most notable of which was the Shaw Memorial (see chapter 7). Also intimately connected with this period was Saint-Gaudens probable meeting with Davida Clark , his model and then mistress (fig. 96) and the mother of their child, Novy, born about 1890.[40] Needless to say, the many small commissions, plus the difficulty of the Adams Memorial project itself, served to postpone the sculptor's dealing with it in depth during these two years.

September 11, 1887, having completed the Lincoln and Puritan and while casting was being completed, Saint-Gaudens wrote to Adams thanking him for some photographs which he had sent and indicating that he had some time while at Aspet "to make some sketches."[41] Saint-Gaudens continued:

> what you have sent me is pretty good food for the purpose I will be in New York after October 1st with an absence in that month of three or four days about the 15th to go to Chicago

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> [for the unveiling of the Lincoln]. If you catch me in I will show you the result of Michael Angelo Budha (Buddha) and St. Gaudens. I think that what I will do may not be quite as idiotic as if I had not had all these months to "chew the cud" (42)

On January 9, 1888 Stanford White wrote to Adams:

> I wrote a fierce letter to St. Gaudens the other day, telling him that as I was very proud of the design for your monument, I was anxious to have it put under contract before I died; I should, therefore, be very much obliged to him if he would hurry up his sketches. He replied in a not altogether polite note, telling me the sketches had been ready for some time: I saw them the other day. They are very small and rough, but two of them seem to me to be very stunning.
>
> If you are coming to New York, I beg that you will let me know ahead, as I should like to be here when you come, to see if we can get the thing started. (43)

Therefore, it may be concluded that during the fall of 1887, Augustus Saint-Gaudens completed three small sketches for the Adams Memorial, two of which Stanford White approved when he saw them in January of 1888. These are undoubtedly the three sketches pictured in Reminiscences (I: 358, fig. 97). Homer Saint-Gaudens in amplifying his father's account wrote:

> As a first step he modeled a high-relief sketch of "Socrates," a photograph of which still exists. Immediately Stanford White, and indeed all Saint-Gaudens's friends, took exception to the idea until he gave up the scheme and turned his attention to a number of large photographs and drawings of Buddhas. Of course he himself could not model a Buddha. But from the conception of "Nirvana" so produced, he attempted the present figure, which he occasionally explained as both sexless and passionless - a figure for which sometimes a male model posed, sometimes a female one. And thenceforward his thought rapidly broadened into the more inclusive and universal. (44)

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It can now be seen that along with a consideration of Eastern and Western philosophic systems, Michelangelo, Buddha and reliefs (or the stele form) played a part in the formulation of the ideas from which the Adams Memorial developed. Furthermore, Stanford White was specifically noted as "taking exception to" the early high-relief sketch of Socrates, in the belief that among other objections, such a reference to an historical figure who had committed suicide could only be painful to Henry Adams.[45] It is also apparent from the above that Stanford White was involved not only in the creation of the exedra for the monument, but in its genesis.

Apparently Adams did come to New York in January 1888 in response to Stanford White's request, for on the 25th of January Saint-Gaudens wrote to Adams and referred to his visit.

> The reason I have not sent you the photographs sooner is the idiot who posed so finely as Budha before you not getting the negatives printed &c. I could give you four pages of good La Fargean excuses but I am charitable I send them to you now they are not worth much in my opinion. The question now with me is rock or no rock which when I have another sketch indicated I will show La Farge.
>
> White holds that the rock requires a different treatment of the seat and to prove it has made a stunning scheme. I'm half inclined to give into him but that also La Farge must pass on [it]. I send it to you to take in then send it back please.. . . (46)

It is also apparent from this letter that the posing of the studio boy referred to by La Farge took place not at the initial visit in June 1886, but nineteen months later in January 1888. It also seems as though the discussion now

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refers to a three-dimensional figure rather than the high-relief referred to earlier. Perhaps the design by Stanford White referred to by Saint-Gaudens on the twenty-fifth of January 1888 may be seen in the drawing preserved at the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site in Cornish, New Hampshire (fig. 98). The drawing shows a figure backed by a huge boulder and surrounded by a rectangular architecture.

On Sunday, April 29, 1888 Henry Adams wrote in his diary that he had been in New York the previous Sunday (22nd).

> At New York I saw La Farge and St. Gaudens,and made another step in advance towards my Buddha grave. Nothing now remains but to begin work, and St. Gaudens hopes to play with it as a pleasure while he labors over the coats and trousers of statesmen and warriors.
>
> The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Therefore, the statement that he turned it over to Saint-Gaudens and La Farge after his initial visit is in error. It can be seen that almost two years after their initial talk, Adams was still visiting and consulting with Saint-Gaudens and La Farge on the plans for the memorial. It is also important to note that the memorial was intended as Adams own final resting place.

During the summer and fall of 1888 letters passed back and forth between Saint-Gaudens and Stanford White and Adams in which it is apparent that they were negotiating a contract and trying to decide upon a fee.[47] On October 11, 1888 Saint-Gaudens wrote to Adams enclosing a contract in duplicate which indicated that the monument would be completed in "the Autumn of /89" but that he hoped to have it finished before then.[48]

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Finally, on November 5, 1888 Saint-Gaudens wrote to Adams that he had "commenced on" the Adams Memorial.[49] The sculptor also asked Adams to return the photographs which he had taken of his studio boy posed for the memorial.[50] On November 27, 1888 Saint-Gaudens wrote Adams that he had received the photographs and that Adams and his friend might visit and would "be welcome when you appear next week."[51] That visit was made Saturday, December 9, 1888. Adams recorded it in his diary as follows:

> Sunday. 10 December
>
> . . .On returning to New York I went yesterday to see St Gaudens who has begun the Buddha. We discussed the scale, and I came away telling him that I did not think it wise for me to see it again, in which he acquiesed. (52)

Therefore, it can now be said that along with philosophical considerations, Adams was also intimately involved with aesthetic considerations of scale in the development of the monument. It may further be noted that two and one-half years after initial discussions with Saint-Gaudens about the monument, and not until the monument began to assume a third dimension, did Adams detach himself from active involvement.

December 11th, 1888 Saint-Gaudens wrote to Adams enclosing a signed contract and a "memoranda", which was probably a bill customarily rendered for preliminary work and upon execution of a formal contract.[53] Probably at about this time Saint-Gaudens executed the small model in clay for the Adams Memorial which is preserved in a photograph at the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site (fig. 99).

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On January 3, 1889 Saint-Gaudens wrote to Adams.

> I received the photographs this morning in good condition they are exactly right. . . Do you remember setting aside some photographs of Chinese statues Budha &c for me to take away from Washington? I forgot them. I should like to have them now. Is there any book not long that you think might assist me in grasping the situation any. If so please let me know so that I might get it. I propose soon to talk with La Farge on the subject although I dread it a little. (54)

By March 21, 1889 Saint-Gaudens wrote to Adams that he had spoken to La Farge "apropos of our work and in an hour I got all I wished from him as you predicted."[55] The letter continued:

> I have not worked at your figure for some time. Having been occupied on something of a much different character I.E. Dr. McCosh. . .I will be through with it Saturday next (?) and then I will go at yours again. (56)

True to his word, Saint-Gaudens was apparently working upon the full-size model by May 1889. Stanford White wrote to Adams on May 31st, 1889 about its progress and his impression that it was "impressive and simple and mysterious," while indicating that Saint-Gaudens would not actually allow anyone to see it (including Stanford White) until it got to a certain stage.[57] Stanford White's letter also indicated that the original exedra was to be of marble and that the Georgia quarry with which they had made a contract had had "difficulty in getting blocks of the required size."[58]

After the installation of the James McCosh Memorial Relief at the Princeton University Chapel on June 18, 1889 and anxious to see the international exposition then under-

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way in Paris, Stanford White and Saint-Gaudens left in August for a two-week trip to Europe.[59] Homer Saint-Gaudens characterized his father's trip as an effort to "widen his artistic horizons."[60] Augustus wrote of his two week trip to London and Paris:

> I. . .was desirous of returning in what measure I could to my student life and environment, and, for that reason, occupied a little box of a room that MacMonnies offered to me, fronting on a charming court where he had his studio.
>
> Reminiscences I, 324.

Undoubtedly, Saint-Gaudens was propelled to London and Paris in 1889 not only by the international exhibition, but also in a search for new ideas or sources of inspiration, particularly with relation to the Adams Memorial.

At the International Exposition of 1889 Saint-Gaudens would have seen seven works by Auguste Rodin (1840-1917). Among the seven works were a plaster model of one of the Burghers of Calais, The Age of Bronze, Luxembourg Garden), and St. John the Baptist (bronze, Luxembourg Museum).[61] At this time Rodin was also working on the Gates of Hell of which The Thinker (1880, bronze Musée Rodin, Paris,fig. 100) was a part.[62] Whether Saint-Gaudens visited Rodin at this time is unknown, although Saint-Gaudens did know Rodin and visited him during his later (1897-1900) sojourn in Paris.[63] In any event he was certainly aware of the work of Rodin, whose Age of Bronze had caused such a stir at the Salon de 1877,[64] and which is mentioned in the Reminiscences along with the St. John.[65] Both Rodin's The Thinker and Saint-

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Gaudens' Adams Memorial (fig. 91) represent seated figures involved in their own thoughts. However, it seems more significant that both figures bear a strong relationship to Michelangelo's figure of Lorenzo de' Medici in San Lorenzo, Florence (fig. 93). All three figures are related to the theme of "Penseroso" which Henry Adams wished to avoid. But there is an element of mystery and inexplicability in Saint-Gaudens' figure which makes Rodin's The Thinker appear straightforward by comparison.

Antonin Mercié (1845-1916), Saint-Gaudens' fellow student in the atelier of Jouffroy in Beaux-Arts days, and an artist held in high esteem by his American colleague, exhibited six works at the International Exposition of 1889. Of these, Le Souvenir (1885, marble figure for a tomb, fig. 101) was destined for the tomb of Madame Charles Ferry and was designated as Mercié's "chef d'oeuvre."[66] Le Souvenir bears interesting parallels to the Adams Memorial. As in the Saint-Gaudens work, the monument by Mercié was intended to commemorate the death of the wife of the commissioner. Le Souvenir represents a veiled female with closed eyes who is seated against a backdrop which is in the form of a stele. Two birds and seven stars form the only decoration on the stele. This female figure gives the illusion of being remote and uninvolved with worldly matters. However, there is no doubt of her allegorical significance. Although there is no suggestion of any specific reference in this work by Mercié to the work of Michelangelo it is

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known that Mercié was more than peripherally related to the works of the great Renaissance master.[67]

Charles-René de Paul de Saint-Marceaux (1845-1915), another pupil of Jouffroy, exhibited six works at the 1889 International Exposition, among which was Génie gardant le secret de la tombe (1879, marble statue, Luxembourg Museum, fig. 102).[68] Génie gardant le secret de la tombe had been executed in Florence about 1874 and had won a medal of honor at the Salon de 1879.[69] Saint-Marceaux's work bears some relationship to Saint-Gaudens' Adams Memorial for it is a seated, veiled figure intended for tomb sculpture. However, it seems to bear a much stronger artistic relationship to Michelangelo's Delphic Sibyl (fig. 92) as well as to the Ignudo (fig. 103) which frames one of the corners of The Separation of Light from Darkness in the Sistine ceiling. Saint-Marceaux's work appears to be a three-dimensional realization of Michelangelo's early sixteenth century fresco, and a manifestation of the Renaissance revival which took place in the 1870's. The strong twisting motion of both the Sibyl and Ignudo are the most notable characteristics incorporated by Saint-Marceaux in his work and are certainly characteristics absent in the Adams Memorial, which is notable for its lack of movement.

Saint-Gaudens stated that "the best modern sculpture is French."[70] Of French sculptors Paul Dubois (1827-1905) was held in highest esteem by his American colleague.[71] He,

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too, exhibited in 1889 in Paris at the Exposition Centennale de l'Art Français (1789-1889) his figures for the Tomb of General Lamoricière (1879, marble Nantes Cathedral).[72] Dubois had exhibited the model for the monument at the Exposition universelle of 1878 at which time he received the medal of honor.[73] Saint-Gaudens would have seen it in 1878 as well as in 1889 for he made an engraving of one of the figures, La Foi, a photograph of which is preserved at the Dartmouth College Library. The figure of Charity from the Lamoricière Monument (fig. 104) bears some relationship to the Adams Memorial as Royal Cortissoz noted in 1903.[74] However, in this case, the similarity is in general configuration rather than in specifics or intent.

Saint-Gaudens returned from his brief trip to Europe full of self-confidence and ready to give full attention to the completion of the Adams Memorial.[75] He also began his first year teaching sculpture at the Art Students' League.[76] By October 29, 1889 Stanford White wrote to Adams that the sculptor and architect had decided to use red granite for the exedra rather than green marble.[77] Their decision seems to have been made on the basis of the difficulty of procuring green marble as well as their lack of experience with the weathering processes of green marble in the Washington climate.[78] By December, Saint-Gaudens was also involved with the Logan Monument negotiations and preliminary sketches which detained him temporarily from a meeting with Adams.[79]

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During the period after Saint-Gaudens' return from Paris in September of 1889 and August 16, 1890 when Adams left New York with John La Farge for the South Seas, the memorial rapidly developed after its three year term of gestation. Although Saint-Gaudens was reported by White to have been working upon the full-size clay in May of 1889, it was not until February 21, 1890 that he was working upon the final version. The sculptor's letter to Adams of that date indicated the progress of the monument.

> I meant that my first communication to you would be a word asking you to come and see the figure. I have however to give that up. You asked that whatever were placed back of the figure the architecture should have nothing to say and above all that it should not be classic. White and I have mulled over this a great deal, with the enclosed results. I do not object to the architecture or its classicism as indicated in Number One, whereas Number Two would, we both fear, be rather unpleasant. This matter must be settled immediately, and I cannot do that without asking you. I do not think the small classical cornice and base can affect the figure and to my thinking the monument would be better as a whole.
>
> In about ten days you will hear from me asking you to run on Ive demolished the figure several times and its all going at once
>
> Yours sincerely
>
> Augustus St Gaudens
>
> If however the plain stone at the back of No 2 marked FRONT is much preferable to you we will carry it out. (80)

Two other plans submitted to Henry Adams preserved at the New-York Historical Society Print Room show that Saint-Gaudens and White also submitted plans with a Greek key motif around the inscription "IN MEMORIAM. . .MD. . .,"

--

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and another with concentric circles upon a stele. These would appear to be designs for the verso of the stele and a variation of the latter with interlocking wreaths was ultimately used (fig. 105). Adams acceded to the artistic judgment of Saint-Gaudens and White in choosing an architectural backdrop with "egg and dart pattern at the cornice and a ribboned laurel wreath at the base."[81]

Although the letter of February 21st indicated that the clay would be completed at the beginning of March, it was not actually completed until May 1, 1890. At that time Saint-Gaudens renewed his invitation to Adams to view the figure.[82] On May 6 the sculptor again wrote to Adams posing two solutions for the problem of casting the figure in bronze.

> My dear Adams
>
> If the figure is cast in bronze in several pieces it can be set up in Washington about July 1st. This I consider inadvisable as the statue can be cast in virtually one piece which is seldom done in these days; for this however two weeks are necessary. Should this be decided on and you be away when the figure is cast I propose to bronze the plaster cast and set it up at once in the place that the bronze will occupy in the monument in Washington so that you can judge of its effect in metal. In any event I should like to have you see the face of the figure in the clay. If it were not for that part of the work I would not trouble you but the face is an instrument on which different strains can be played and I may have struck a key in a direction quite different from your feeling in the matter
>
> With a word from you I could strike another tune with as much interest and fervor as I have had with the present one.
>
> My relations with you in this matter have been so unusually agreeable that you can appreciate how much I am troubled at the prospect of not having the bronze itself in place on July 1st. (83)

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On May 16, 1890 Saint-Gaudens again wrote to Adams that he had "gone as far as" he could and would now have the figure cast in plaster.[84] In this letter he enclosed a bill for the payment due.[85] By July, Henry Adams was in the process of completing final arrangements for his departure and sent Stanford White checks to be issued upon the completion of the monument. Stanford White's acknowledgment of this letter on July 7, 1890 not only helps to supply some of the information which would have been stated in the contract, but informs us that the contractor for the stonework was Norcross Brothers who would shortly serve in a similar capacity for the Shaw Memorial.[86]

Despite two invitations tendered Adams to view the monument and approve what had been done, Adams did not "run on" to see the completed figure before he left for the South Seas. Homer Saint-Gaudens elaborated upon the circumstances.

> Upon learning that Mr. Adams and Mr. La Farge were soon to take a trip around the world together, Saint-Gaudens worked hard to complete the figure in the clay for Mr. Adams to see before his departure. Therefore, when an hour previous to the sailing of his ship /train for the West Coast/, Mr. Adams called at the studio, but refused to look at the work, Saint-Gaudens naturally expressed his surprise, and Mr. Adams explained: "If I should not like it, I should carry the disappointment through my trip, whereas now I shall have only pleasure to anticipate." (87)

December 30th, 1890 the bronze was complete and Saint-Gaudens submitted a bill for $3000.00 for the fourth payment and acknowledged receipt of that payment.[88] On March 13, 1891 the final bill was submitted for $3500.00 which

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indicated that the bronze had finally been installed in Rock Creek Cemetery in Washington, D.C.[89] During the seven months between Adams' departure and the monument's final installation, agonizing letters had passed between Adams and his close friend, Elizabeth Cameron, and between Adams and Dwight about the progress of the work.

March 9th, 1891 Elizabeth Cameron began a letter to Henry Adams which continued on March 14th.

> Dear Mr Adams, the work at Rock Creek is now quite finished, and I think that you will be satisfied and pleased with it. To me it is inexpressibly noble and beautiful. But I am going to try to photograph it for you from various sides to give you a more just idea of it than anything I can say. I shall ask Mr. Dwight to have the interior sodded, as it now looks a little dogged (?). Many people come to it,and do not understand it. They make no criticisms, but it seems to awe them.
>
> It is most beautiful I assure you. The figure is something more than life size, and the bronze is most beautiful in color - You know how fine the figure is from the plaster. The whole pose is strong and calm, full of repose. I was disposed to criticize a little the background of the figure, but I think that no judgement would be fair until the grass,hedges and general green background. . .is there. The stone work - the bench is beautiful.. . . (90)

Mrs. Cameron continued in the same letter indicating that Dwight, Saint-Gaudens and White would go to Rock Creek on the 17th of March to see about the planting.[91] She also enclosed photographs of the monument, indicating that they did not do the monument justice.[92] A recent photograph of the arm of the exedra gives some idea of the beauty of the stonework (fig. 106). It should also be noted that Elizabeth Cameron said that Adams had seen the plaster.

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John Hay, Adams' neighbor and close friend wrote on March 25 that he, Dwight, Mrs. Cameron and Mrs. Lodge had gone to the cemetery to see the monument. He continued:

> The work is indescribably noble and imposing. It is to my mind St Gaudens masterpiece. It is full of poetry and suggestion. Infinite wisdom, a past without beginning and a future without end, a repose after limitless experience, a peace to which nothing matters - all are embodied in this austere and beautiful face and form. The architectural portion is also splendid in dignity and simplicity. You have done a great work twice over in this last year. You have published the finest history we have, and have caused to be set up the finest monument in America.(93)

Saint-Gaudens reported to Adams on the 6th of April that, "all that remains to be done is the grading and the planting of some trees in the rear of the seat," as well as rubbing the rock on which the figure is seated to darken it.[94] The sculptor also registered his disapproval of the photos which Dwight had sent him of the monument.[95] However, it was not until June first that Adams received the letters about the monument's installation from America. He wrote to Elizabeth Cameron that Dwight and Hay had also written, "but none of them gave me so much as you, though Hay's little description of it gave me a regular old-fashioned fit of tears."[96] Adams continued:

> If the statue is half what you describe it, I can be quite contented to lie down under it,and sleep quietly with her. At the end of all philosophy, silence is the only true God.
>
> Meanwhile. . .you are now in England. . .we sail for Fiji on the 5th.. . .we ought to be able to. . .reach London in October. . .I could get a month to be with you at least. . ..(97)

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Among other things which might be said of this letter to Elizabeth Cameron is that it reveals Henry Adams' deepest philosophical beliefs. It should also be noted that the Adams Memorial was not only conceived as a monument to his wife, but as his own final resting place.

On the 21st of June, 1891 Henry Adams wrote to John Hay from Fiji in response to Hay's letter.

> My dear John
>
> Your letter of March 25 reached me through Samoa. . .about June 1, just as we were leaving Tahiti. A thousand thanks! That you like St Gaudens' figure is a great relief to me; even greater than to know that at last the work is done. I cannot tell my own feeling about it until I see it, but the photographs relieve me of my worst fears. If it is not exactly my ideal, it is at least not hostile. St Gaudens is not in the least oriental and is not even familiar with oriental conceptions. Stanford White is still less so. Between them the risk of going painfully wrong was great. . . .I know of very few people whose judgment on such a work would carry much weight with me. . .but after having your approval I am satisfied.. . . (98)

Finally Henry Adams wrote to Saint-Gaudens.

> My dear Saint-Gaudens Siwa,Fiji,June 23,1891
>
> . . .As far as the photographs go, they are satisfactory, but I trust much more to the impression produced on John Hay, who writes me that he has been to Rock Creek to see the figure. "The work is indescribably noble and imposing. . ."
>
> Certainly I could not have expressed my own wishes so exactly, and if your work approaches Hay's description, you cannot fear criticism from me.
>
> Ever truly yours.
> Henry Adams. (99)

Here Henry Adams has expressed his satisfaction that Saint-

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Gaudens had successfully carried out Adams' wishes if the sculptor's work approached Hay's description. This also implies that Saint-Gaudens and Stanford White were not only the artistic creators of the Adams Memorial, but that they had successfully transcribed the philosophical and aesthetic wishes of Henry Adams and John La Farge, or Henry Adams through John La Farge.

Despite lack of a formal contract or contracts it has been established that the initial contract was probably written on October 11, 1888 and that the monument was to have been completed within one year by the autumn of 1889.[100] Furthermore, the probable cost of the Adams Memorial must have been about $20,000. since it was based loosely upon the contract for the Fish Memorial which was commissioned for $20,000.[101] Additionally, Adams wrote in his diary on Sunday, September 30, 1888 that he had "sold at a sacrifice of two thirds all the railroad stock I still own, and am beginning to provide twenty thousand dollars for St Gaudens and Stanford White."[102] Since Saint-Gaudens estimated that the bronze casting would cost about two to three thousand dollars and the stone work executed by Norcross Brothers did cost $10,730. plus approximately ten percent or eleven hundred dollars for the architect, the sculptor would have realized approximately five thousand dollars for the Adams Memorial.[103] It might then be concluded that while few have doubted the artistic ability of Saint-Gaudens,his financial acumen seems to have left a great deal to be desired.

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The bronze figure measures approximately five feet, six and one-half inches,[104] which means that if the figure were standing it would be about seven and one-half feet or larger than life size. The stele behind the figure is about seven feet in height by five feet in width.[105] The hexagonal architecture designed by Stanford White is approximately twenty-eight feet by twenty feet.[106]

Correspondence with Dwight about the landscaping continued from the spring of 1891 through the winter. Planting was still being attended to by Henry Adams after his return to Washington in February 1892.[107]

Commentary, analysis and explanations of the meaning of Saint-Gaudens' figure in Rock Creek Cemetery have continued almost unabated for the past ninety years. In the Education of Henry Adams, Adams recounted his first reaction to the memorial upon his return to America in mid-February.

> His first step, on returning to Washington, took him out to the cemetery known as Rock Creek, to see the bronze figure which St. Gaudens had made for him in his absence. Naturally every detail interested him; every line; every touch of the artist; every change of light and shade; every point of relation; every possible doubt of St. Gaudens's correctness of taste or feeling; so that, as the spring approached, he was apt to stop there often to see what the figure had to tell him that was new; but, in all that it had to say, he never once thought of questioning what it meant. He supposed its meaning to be the one commonplace about it - the oldest idea known to human thought. . .art had wrought on this eternal figure almost as though it had nothing else to say. The interest of the figure was not in its meaning, but in the response of the observer. . .Like all great artists, St. Gaudens held up the mirror and no more. . ..(108)

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The idea that art could evoke an emotional response, that it could be a mirror of human thought or emotion is precisely the same idea that was expressed by Symbolist writers and historians. In March of 1891, Albert Aurier had proclaimed the Symbolist doctrine in the Mercure de France.[109] Among his criteria for a Symbolist work of art was that it not be considered so much an object as a sign or symbol of an idea perceived by the subject(artist/viewer) and which would arouse similar feelings in the viewer.[110] Symbolism had been proclaimed as a literary manifestation by Jean Moréas in 1886 and was an ideology which sought to give new importance to the artist as creator and seer. It was a philosophy which fed upon the intellectual dissatisfaction with religion and the sciences in providing answers to the problems of nineteenth century society. Henry Adams may be seen as symbolic of the educated man of the late nineteenth century who found little satisfaction in traditional Christian beliefs and wandered the world in a vain effort to find answers for his perplexing questions. It was undoubtedly through Henry Adams, and possibly John La Farge as well, that Augustus Saint-Gaudens was exposed to the ideas of Symbolism. There is no doubt that Saint-Gaudens did not espouse these ideas, but merely acted as the agent for them in transcribing them into sculpture. But it must also be said that the ideas of Symbolism permeated the intellectual atmosphere of the 1890's. Whether Saint-Gaudens absorbed them by osmosis rather than consciously adopting them, they are none the

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less significant. The curious parallel in the dates of the commissioning of the Adams Memorial in 1886 and its completion in 1891 with the precise dates of formal French Symbolism are a remarkable coincidence. The Adams Memorial is probably the earliest manifestation of Symbolist sculpture in America.

In 1899, Gaston Migeon wrote an article about Saint-Gaudens in the French periodical, Art et Décoration in which he described the Adams Memorial.

> Silent, dead to life, totally absorbed in her dream, it is the Figure of Eternity and Meditation. A profound peace emanates from her; she speaks of the nothingness from which life comes and into which it resolves on this earth of multifarious life /and/ frantic activity. . . . /The Adams Memorial/ was for me, personally, one of the great emotions of art that a modern work had given me. (111)

Loredo Taft in 1903 expressed some of the enigma posed by the great, silent figure in Rock Creek Cemetery.

> The unknown dreamer, with head half hidden in drapery and listless hands, sits like one of the oldtime fateful Three - a sibyl peering through closed eyes into futurity. Or shall we call her rather the modern expression of Nirvana- a soul returned upon itself, "petrified by the sentiment of the infinite," reposing in measureless peace?
>
> Just what he has meant the great artist has carefully abstained from telling us. . .It is as perplexing as the look of Leonardo's "Mona Lisa." (112)

In 1908, after the death of Saint-Gaudens and the exhibition of a plaster cast of the Adams Memorial in memorial exhibitions which toured the country, there was renewed commentary.[113] Kenyon Cox wrote in the March (1908) issue of The Atlantic Monthly.

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> And in such a figure as that of the Adams Memorial, . . .[Saint-Gaudens'] power reaches to a degree of impressiveness almost unequaled in modern art. One knows of nothing since the tombs of the Medici that fills one with the same hushed awe as this shrouded, hooded, deeply-brooding figure, rigid with contemplation, still with an eternal stillness, her soul rapt from her body on some distant quest. Is she Nirvana? Is she The Peace of God? She has been given many names - her maker would give her none. Her meaning is mystery; she is the everlasting enigma.
>
> Not the greatest artist could twice sound so deep a note as this. The figure remains unique in the work of the sculptor as it is unique in the art of the century. (114)

However, it remained for a twentieth century critic, Hamilton Bell, to note that it was one of the great symbolic statues of the world.[115]

After such wide publicity, it was inevitable that someone would wish to duplicate the Adams Memorial for his own purposes. This copying did not, however, wait until the death of the sculptor, but occurred in 1906. A letter of July 19, 1967 from Mrs. Felix Agnus Leser of Maryland to Dr. Richard Wunder details the circumstances.

> General Agnus bought the cemetery lot [at Druid Ridge Cemetery, Baltimore] in 1905. In 1906 J. Frank Salter who was engaged in business in Groton, Conn. under the firm name of John Salter & Son, called on Gen'l Agnus at his office and sought a commission to erect a monument. He showed him sketches and photos and among them was that of the Adams memorial which Agnus recognized and ordered for $3,900. Salter avowed he had authority to reproduce the monument. After the statue was in place Agnus learned the reproduction was not authorized, so since Agnus had been assured that Salter had St. Gaudens full permission, Agnus entered suit. (116)

Sometime in 1908 Augusta Saint-Gaudens, the sculptor's widow, was informed of the copy by a friend. She apperently

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consulted her lawyer, Charles Brewster, about the unauthorized version. He responded on December 11th, 1908.

> Dear Augusta
>
> Your account of the Agnus piracy is interesting. I have started an investigation to find out just how Salter came to make the copy and how he did it. -. . .. (117)

Charles Brewster wrote to Augusta again on the 17th of December, 1908 that he had seen General Agnus and that Agnus had been informed by Salter that he had purchased the right "to sell one copy of the Adams Memorial to each of the principal cities of the country."[118]

> With this understanding the monument was ordered and erected a year later in 1907. Gen. A.. . . is a Frenchman - born near Lyons - then went to Paris where he worked in Barbedienne's place - came to this country about 1860 - served in the war - went into the newspaper business - has made a fortune - . . .. (119)

By 1909 the newspapers had picked up the story and the following facts came out.

> . . .The copy of the Adams monument is the property of General Felix Agnus, of Baltimore,the proprietor of "The American," published in that city. General Agnus has himself had some experience as a sculptor, having years ago spent some time in the establishment of Barbedienne,. . .In the autumn of 1906 he accepted a proposal to supply the copy in question made by John Salter & Son. . .
>
> The copy of the monument purchased by General Agnus was put in place in his lot. . .in October 1907, about three or four months [two months] after the death of Saint-Gaudens.. . .Mrs. Saint-Gaudens,with the concurrence of Mr. Adams,offered to substitute, at cost,for the bronze at present at Baltimore, a true replica of the monument at Rock Creek Cemetery, made under the powers assigned to her as executrix. The purpose of this offer was also to assure the destruction of the unauthorized copy.
>
> . . .[John Salter & Son], however, had not itself

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> cast the bronze,that work was done by Bureau Brothers, the well known founders, in Philadelphia. The model sent to them for the purpose was made, it seems, by Mr. Eduard L.A. Pausch, a "figure and architectural sculptor and designer" who has his studio in Buffalo. (120)

Mr. Pausch had apparently made "drawings, sketches and measurements of the monument at Washington."[121] The article concluded with the comment that General Agnus had declined to "surrender the copy in his possession," and so Mrs. Saint-Gaudens withdrew her offer to replace it with a true copy and the pirated version remained at Druid Ridge Cemetery (figs. 107, 108).[122] The commentary in the New York Tribune on the following day from sculptors interviewed reflected universal outrage. Ultimately, the copy was given to the National Collection of Fine Arts at Washington, D.C. in 1967 by Mrs. Leser, an Agnus descendant. At this time there was a concerted effort to find the facts in the case and the Agnus Memorial was eventually relegated to storage outside of Washington. In June of 1967 a cast of the original Adams Memorial was made by Cesare Contini for the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site at Cornish to replace the cast lost in the fire of 1944. And in 1969 another authorized copy of the Adams Memorial was created for the National Collection of Fine Arts where it is now on view in the garden (fig.109).[123]

A comparison of the photographs of the original monument at Rock Creek Cemetery (fig. 91),the copy at the National Collection of Fine Arts (fig. 109) and the pirated Agnus version (fig. 108) reveal the following differences. The

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most obvious difference is that the Agnus Memorial (fig.108) is an inferior copy with none of the delicacy or finesse of the original. Beginning with the stele behind the figure, the cornice of the Agnus copy is crudely executed and lacks the graded nuances of the original. Specifically the band of leaves above the egg and dart pattern is flat and two-dimensional. Secondly, the entire proportion of the stele in the Agnus copy differs from the original and the cornice seems to dwarf the stele and makes it appear insignificant.

In comparing the bronze figures of the Adams Memorial and the Agnus copy, the drapery of the copy is more splayed on the left than in the original and narrower on the right. In comparing a detail of the face of the original (fig. 110) with that of the Agnus copy (fig. 111) it can be seen that the face of the copy is coarser with fuller lips and a broader and flatter nose. The right hand of the figure in the Agnus copy seems to have no supporting function and little articulation, whereas the right arm of the figure in the Adams Memorial supports a fully articulated hand and wrist. Details of the drapery are fuller on the right in the original than in the copy. There is a roll in the drapery on the right of the neck in the copy which does not exist in the original. The stone under the feet of the figure is smaller and shorter in the copy than in the original. Finally, the difference in quality and texture between the original pink granite and the indifferent stone used in the Agnus copy betray the absence of the hand of the master. It is almost as though a small

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model were pointed up mechanically and in reverse or as if it were enlarged free hand with some misinterpretation.

The variations in the authorized copy at the National Collection (fig. 109) seem to be caused more by the variation in the angle at which the monument was photographed rather then in actual variations in the monuments. However, a very slight indentation in the drapery on the left of the original (fig. 91) has been accentuated in the copies at the National Collection (fig. 109) and at Cornish (fig. 112) so that in the authorized copies they appear to be gouges. Additionally, the rock on which the figure rests varies in minor details from the original. Another dissimilarity is that there is no stele behind the figure at the National Collection and the brick wall of the building serves the function of backdrop. At Cornish, a plain stele with no ornament provides a third variant. This plain stele with no ornament is precisely what Saint-Gaudens would have termed "unpleasant" but would have pleased Henry Adams.

Although the unauthorized Agnus copy was cast by Bureau Brothers, the Philadelphia founder who cast the Puritan in 1887, it cannot be concluded at this time that the original was also cast by them. What seems more likely is that in sending a small model and/or photographs to Bureau Brothers for an estimate in 1889-1890, Saint-Gaudens probably awarded the contract for the Adams Memorial to another foundry who charged less - his customary procedure. Bureau Brothers, however, probably retained the photographs and/or models, as

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well as some resentment at not having been awarded the contract. The Agnus Memorial may then be seen, if speculation is correct, as the possible outcome of time plus accumulated resentment.

One further variant of the Adams Memorial is a head of the figure which differs from the original in details of drapery and in the omission of the arm (fig. 113). A plaster of this head was given to Saint-Gaudens friend, Daniel H. Burnham, the Chicago architect in the 1890's. Burnham had two bronze casts of the head made, one of which he sent to Saint-Gaudens in 1903.[124] The bronze was subsequently lost in the fire which engulfed Saint-Gaudens' studio in 1904.[125] Burnham's second bronze was shipped to Mrs. Saint-Gaudens in October 1908, with the request that it not be copied.[126] Since bronze copies of the head do exist at Cornish and the Brooklyn Museum (fig. 114) and presumably elsewhere, these heads may have been created from Burnham's bronze or the plaster cast reputed to have been saved from the fire of 1904.

In 1913 there was correspondence between Augusta Homer Saint-Gaudens and others which indicated that a copy of the Rock Creek figure without exedra was contemplated for a Mr. Frewen of England, but it appears that nothing came of that inquiry.[127] Therefore, the history of the Adams Memorial rests with the original at Rock Creek Cemetery in Washington, D.C. (fig. 91) and the two authorized copies at the National

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Collection (fig. 109) and the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site (fig. 112) and with the unauthorized and poorly executed version known as the Agnus Memorial (fig. 108). In this context, the unique quality of the original at Rock Creek Cemetery is notable, not only because of the setting which augments and surrounds it, but because it shows the touch of the master in a manner which defies reproduction.

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IV. Historical Precedents and Later Reflections

There are male and female secular and religious precedents for the Adams Memorial in Western art which date from the Greek and Roman period and which may have sources in prehistory. During the Renaissance and even earlier these forms were incorporated within Christian iconography. There are also Eastern influences which came through Henry Adams and John La Farge. The mourning female, perhaps the most important of these sources in Western art, played an important part in the history of nineteenth century tomb sculpture.

The pleurant, which originated in the ancient custom of hiring professional mourners for funerals, is an example of a secular, mourning figure of which there are many examples from antiquity.[128] A mourning or resting female (Pleureuse, Prefica or Themis) illustrated in Johann Winckelmann's Monumenti antichi inediti (Rome, 1767, fig. 115.) demonstrates not only the physical similarity of the themes of pleureuse and the goddess Themis, but also the relationship of secular and religious types.[129] An illustration of the Magna Mater (fig. 116) from Montfaucon portrays a seated, draped female and illustrates the relationship of themes of death and renewal, Mother Earth (Cybele) and the covered or draped head.[130] It can also be seen as a source for later secular as well as religious depictions of the mourning female.

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The stele, originally a Greek road marker and traditionally a Greek form of tomb designation was widely adopted in the nineteenth century in conjunction with the mourning female. Most importantly, the stele form provided the backdrop for the bronze figure of the Adams Memorial. Therefore, it is not surprising to learn that a plaster copy of the Grave Stele of Hegeso remains in a place of honor in Augustus Saint-Gaudens' studio in Cornish, New Hampshire.

Aside from the many examples of ancient mourning females known to artists of the nineteenth century through eighteenth and ninsteenth century publications, excavations of ancient sites provided a small but attentive public with many examples of the art of antiquity. At the important international exposition of 1878 in Paris, visited by Saint-Gaudens, were many examples of sculpture from Tanagra in Boeotia which had been excavated as recently as 1872. Femme assise sur un roche ("Déméter douloureuse," fig. 117 Louvre, collection of E. Bellon), a painted terracotta of the third to second century B.C., is one example with which Saint-Gaudens might have been familiar.[131] In antiquity the draped and veiled female was also depicted in scenes of marriage and birth as well as death. From this it may be concluded that the covering of the head in Western art whether for birth, marriage or death implied a form of isolation, protection and/or withdrawal.

For painters and sculptors of the nineteenth century pre-Renaissance art played a considerable role as a source

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of inspiration. The theme of pleurer or pleureuse was used most notably in the late fourteenth century by Claus Sluter (and others) in the Tomb of Philip the Bold (Chartreuse de Champmol, Dijon, fig. 118).[132] John Flanagan, who was Saint-Gaudens' studio assistant when the sculptor created the Adams Memorial, denied that Sluter's Pleurants were the source of inspiration for the figure.[133] However, that is merely speculation at second hand. Certainly, Sluter's Pleurants were the common artistic heritage of all western artists of the nineteenth century and most particularly part of the vocabulary of all artists trained at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. Similarly, Michelangelo's Pietà (fig.94) which will serve as emblematic of all such mourning Virgins, was a resource for all artists of the generations which followed. The Pietà and the Virgin of Pity, which may be a fusion of the themes of Pietà and secular pleureuse, appear to be major sources of inspiration to Saint-Gaudens in the Adams Memorial.

A sixteenth century example of the Virgin of Pity,which was probably known to Saint-Gaudens,was Germain Pilon's painted terracotta in the Louvre (1580-5, fig.119).[134] A comparison of the work of Pilon with Saint-Gaudens' Adams Memorial (fig. 91) finds many points of similarity,most notably in the total isolation and self-containedness of the two heavily draped, seated figures and in their triangular configuration. However, when compared to an early sketch for the Adams Memorial (fig. 99) the similarity is striking. There are also notable dif-

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ferences. The head of Pilon's Virgin of Pity is lowered in a gesture of resignation and acceptance as well as withdrawal. She is a religious icon who synthesizes ideas embodied in the Virgin of the Pietà and the secular pleureuse, as well as being related to the Madonna of Humility. Saint-Gaudens' figure on the other hand looks not down and within, but beyond. The figure of the Adams Memorial seems totally unconcerned with worldly or religious matters, but contemplates the infinite. Or as Henry Adams suggested, it "symbolizes the acceptance, intellectually of the inevitable."[135] It also ought to be noted that Saint-Gaudens' concern with color, as opposed to Pilon's, was unrelated to considerations of naturalness or realism. The nineteenth century sculptor was concerned with the subtle aesthetic considerations of the counterplay of pink and bronze, the textural contrasts of polished and unpolished granite and the relationship of all to the total environment in which the landscape setting of varied greens played a prominent role.

One of the most important examples of a mourning female of the late eighteenth century which played such an important role in tomb sculpture of the nineteenth century was Antonio Canova's Tomb of Clement XIV (1784-7, SS Apostoli, Rome, fig. 120). The relationship of Saint-Gaudens to the art of Canova (1757-1822) is not known, but the very fact that Saint-Gaudens never mentioned this giant of modern sculpture would seem to indicate that he not only knew the work of the Italian sculptor, but found it antipathetic. However, Canova's early

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study for the Tomb of Clement XIV, the terracotta figure Mansuetudine (Meekness, 1783, fig. 121) is remarkably like the Saint-Gaudens' sketch for the Adams Memorial (fig. 99). While it is probable that Saint-Gaudens knew Canova's Tomb of Clement XIV in Rome, it is more than likely that he did not know this early study for it which is housed in the great collection of Canova's works at Possagno. Nevertheless, their remarkable similarity of feeling should be noted.

The contemporary sculpture which Saint-Gaudens viewed at the international exposition of 1889 which may have been of importance in the development of the Adams Memorial has been discussed. However, draped female figures in the sculptor's own work are important in understanding the Adams Memorial for the Adams Memorial alone eschews traditional iconography. The Silence (s&d 1874, marble Utica, New York, fig. 11) was Saint-Gaudens' earliest draped female figure. It has been shown to have been based upon the earlier French precedent of Préault's Jacob Robles Monument (1848, Père Lachaise Cemetery, Paris, fig. 12). The St. Thomas' Angels Adoring the Cross (1877, fig. 19) are notable not only within the context of Saint-Gaudens' draped female figures, but also because they were probably the first modern painted sculpture in America and underscore the artist's early interest in color. The Caryatids for the Vanderbilt mantlepiece (installed 1883, now Metropolitan Museum, fig. 122) had sources in antiquity as well as in French sculpture.

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The Morgan Angels (destroyed by fire 1884, fig. 123), the Stewart Angels (1883/4, fig. 36) and the Amor Caritas (1886-7, bronze cast for Metropolitan Museum of Art 1918, fig. 124) are all variations on a traditional theme.[136] Immediately following the installation of the Adams Memorial, Saint-Gaudens executed the Diana (1891) for Madison Square Garden.[137] Although not a draped female, it demonstrates that after executing a work devoid of traditional iconography, a work unique in his oeuvre, the sculptor returned to prior modes. This is further illustrated in the angel for the Shaw Memorial (1897) and the Victory for the Sherman Monument (1903).

The last important influence in the development of the Adams Memorial was the Japanese Kwannon, "a god who gradually passes from the abstract male to the actual female and becomes the goddess of mercy."[138] The idea for relating the memorial to the Japanese Kwannon undoubtedly became clarified in the mind of Henry Adams during his trip to Japan with John La Farge in 1886. La Farge's interpretation of the Japanese Kwannon, pictured in the Kobbe report, discloses a seated, draped female figure with a halo. Undoubtedly a major factor in Saint-Gaudens' use of both male and female models in the execution of the Adams Memorial was his knowledge, through La Farge, of the dual nature of the Japanese divinity.

Precedents for the Adams Memorial have been seen in Western art from the Greek and Roman period, possibly em-

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anating from religious beliefs of pre-history. The mourning female, one of the most important sources for this work not only has precedents in antiquity, but was a major motif of nineteenth century tomb sculpture throughout Europe. After the installation of the Adams Memorial in 1891, major American artists seem to have become involved in the execution of tomb sculpture. It is difficult to view works of this sort after 1891 without thinking of the Saint-Gaudens precedent. The inference that Saint-Gaudens played some role in Daniel Chester French's Milmore Memorial (1889-93 bronze and granite, fig. 125) is unavoidable on several grounds. First, Saint-Gaudens had been an advisor to French in his execution of the Gallaudet Memorial in 1886.[139] Secondly, French created his monumental Republic for the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition under the elder sculptor's supervision and spent the summers of 1892 and 1893 at Saint-Gaudens' summer home in Cornish, New Hampshire.[140] Thirdly, the figure of Death seems formally to be a synthesis of Saint-Gaudens' Amor Caritas and the figure from the Adams Memorial. Finally, the arched top of the Milmore Memorial which was not a feature of French's 1889 clay maquette for the monument, may be seen as the same device used earlier by Saint-Gaudens in his Shaw Memorial.[141] The fact that French went abroad "in the late fall of 1891" after completing the plaster cast and in order to have it cast by a Parisian foundry, no longer seems inexplicable.[142] It is possible that Saint-Gaudens

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might have suggested Gruet, the founder of Saint-Gaudens' Farragut (fig. 29) to French.

Another monument which seems more specifically dependent upon Saint-Gaudens' Rock Creek figure is The Kauffmann Memorial - Memory (fig. 126) by William Ordway Partridge (1861-1930). The Kauffmann Memorial installed just six years after the Adams Memorial (fig. 91) in the same Washington, D.C. cemetery affirms the involvement of major American sculptors in funerary art. Partridge's Memory, however, is a traditional allegorical representation. Memory is a bronze female figure seated upon a semi-circular granite exedra which forms the architectural frame for the figure and on which are placed seven bronze reliefs depicting the seven ages of man. Memory is "tying a wreath of ivy for the urn in front of her."[143] The entire memorial is framed by trees and shrubs behind and lawn in front. The bronze has acquired the green patina of time and exposure. The monument is to be seen as part of the Rock Creek Cemetery park setting. It is separate, yet a part of the whole.

A second memorial by Partridge, the Pulitzer Monument (1915, Woodlawn Cemetery, Bronx, fig. 127) can also be seen to be indebted to the Saint-Gaudens precedent in terms of its material and setting. Karl Bitter (1867-1915) was also indebted to the precedent of the Adams Memorial in his figure for the Hubbard Memorial (1902, Green Mountain Cemetery, Montpelier, Vermont, fig. 128).[144] Bitter's figure of in-

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determinate sex conveys a feeling of a state beyond mortal experience and it is clearly dependent upon the Saint-Gaudens monument.[145]

The influence of the Adams Memorial was not confined to sculpture. The Study of "Wisdom" a drawing by John La Farge (s&d 1900, Toledo Museum of Art, fig. 129) for the Oakes-Ames Window, Unity Church, North Easton, Massachusetts shows the direct influence of Saint-Gaudens' work upon an artist considered a mentor by the sculptor. However, the primary import of the Adams Memorial was as a source of inspiration to American sculptors of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It not only inspired an interest in funerary monuments, but appears to have heralded a true flowering of tomb sculpture in America in which bronze was employed decoratively.

The Adams Memorial may also be seen as another example of Saint-Gaudens', Stanford White's and La Farge's interest in painted sculpture which began with the St. Thomas' Angels Adoring the Cross. It must also be seen within the context of Saint-Gaudens' other draped female figures of which the Silence was the first. The Adams Memorial, unlike all his other draped female figures bears no relationship to traditional iconography and is much simplified both in form and in its drapery. The fact that Saint-Gaudens immediately returned to traditional modes after the completion of the Adams Memorial demonstrates its uniqueness. This special

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quality was produced by the creative interaction of four minds - Henry Adams, John La Farge, Stanford White and Augustus Saint-Gaudens. It is a work which not only synthesizes Western and Oriental traditions, but which appears to have touched upon a nerve so vital and responsive to the currents of thought in the 1890's that it became a focal point of international interest and speculation.

Although it has been demonstrated that the Adams Memorial conformed in every respect to the formal tenets of French Symbolism and particularly to Mallarmé's admonition that "to name an object is to suppress three-fourths of the enjoyment. . .,"[146] it may still be debated whether a work of Symbolist art can be created by anything other than the conscious intent of the artist. Rodin, for one, declared that he had remained a realistic sculptor, but he did in fact reflect the Symbolist ideas of his time.[147] This Symbolism is especially visible in the interiorization of his figures and the "gesture which involves the whole human body and, therefore, expresses its psychology through the body," as in Rodin's Age of Bronze.[148] It is also apparent in the Adams Memorial.

However well the facts about the Adams Memorial are assembled, unless seen it cannot be properly understood for it is impossible to photograph it in its entirety. It cannot be seen, it must be experienced. It is practically hidden from view by the trees and shrubbery which surround the hexa-

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gon which defines it. Access can be achieved only from one side where one or two low steps lead to the pink granite enclosure. Although the monument itself is separate from the semi-circular exedra which fronts it, the exedra is as much a part of the monument as the simple, polished, pink granite rectangle which forms the architectural backdrop for the bronze figure. The exedra was intended not only as an architectural compliment to the figure, but as a place where the viewer might sit at a comfortable distance and experience a feeling of isolation, tranquility and/or aesthetic pleasure. Certainly, Adams was aware of the imperishable quality of bronze which must have seemed to him an ironic contrast to the temporal quality of human existence. Not only was the trip to Japan critical in Adams' understanding of Kwannon, but that thing which seemed to interest him most about Japanese material culture was the quality of the bronzes which he sought and purchased. Therefore, his trip to Japan was also instrumental in the decision to have the figure for the Adams Memorial cast in bronze.

Time seems to have softened the coloration of the pink granite, while the bronze has acquired a green patination. Nevertheless, it is not difficult to imagine the rich, dark bronze of the original monument contrasted with the polished, pink granite, the whole surrounded by the deep, dark green of trees and shrubbery. Whatever Adams' inward views toward the permanence of bronze versus the perishability of

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life, this monument was intended not only as his own final resting place, but also as a personal statement of Adams' philosophy. This is substantiated by Adams' words of June 2, 1891.

> . . .Of course I cannot hope that my own thoughts passing through another man's mind, and hands, will come out in a shape familiar to me; my only anxiety is to know that the execution is better than the ideal. (149)

The Adams Memorial is a work of art which was a source of much satisfaction to Saint-Gaudens. It is a work of art which creates an environment of which it may truly be said that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts.

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FOOTNOTES - Chapter 5

[1]Henry Adams and His Friends/ A Collection of His Unpublished Letters, Compiled, with a biographical introduction by Harold Dean Cater (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947), p. l-li, note 116 (p.cxiv), p. 157 note 1.

Ernest Samuels, Henry Adams/ The Middle Years (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1965), p. 273. This is the second volume of a three-volume series on the life of Henry Adams by Samuels.

[2]Homer Saint-Gaudens, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens Established," The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine, v. 78 #2 (June 1909), p. 220.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 356-9.

[3]Homer Saint-Gaudens, "The Early Recognition of Augustus Saint-Gaudens," Century Magazine,v.77 #6 (April 1909),p.833.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 161.

[4]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[5]Henry Adams, Letters to a Niece and Prayer to the Virgin of Chartres/ with a Niece's Memories by Mabel La Farge (Boston and N.Y.: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1920), p. 14 (Cited by Ernst Scheyer, "The Adams Memorial by Augustus Saint-Gaudens," The Art Quarterly, v. XIX, 1956, Detroit Institute of Arts, p. 193, notes 39 and 40).

[6]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

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[7]Cater, p. xvi.

[8]The Education of Henry Adams/ An Autobiography (Boston & N.Y.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918), p. 3.

[9]Henry Adams, The History of the United States During the Administrations of Jefferson and Madison (N.Y.:Charles Scribner's Sons, 9 vols., 1889-91).

[10]Letters of Henry Adams, Edited by Worthington C. Ford (Boston and N.Y.: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2 vols.[1858-1891], 1930;[1892-1918], 1938), v.I, p. 228.

Cater, p. xl (information from Mrs. Ward Thoron).

[11]Scheyer, Art Quarterly, v. XIX (1956), p. 180.

Richardson and Adams were contemporaries at Harvard, "although the college relation had little to do with the later friendship." (The Letters of Mrs. Henry Adams/ 1865-1883, Edited by Ward Thoron [Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1936], p. 295, note 1).

[12]The Letters of Mrs. Henry Adams, p. xiii "born in Boston."

[13]Ibid., p. xv.

Cater, p. l-li.

[14]A six-page article given to visitors to Rock Creek Cemetery entitled, "The Adams Memorial," quotes a report of the death of Marian Adams in the Evening Star (Washington, D.C.) of December 7, 1885 in which the cause was given as "paralysis of the heart." (p. 2) The article concludes:

> From all the facts available except the "friendly gossip of neighbors" there would

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> seem to be no ground for the stories as to the manner of her death. . . (p. 3).

However, as has been noted (note 1) Cater cites her death from potassium cyanide. Samuels II: 273 cites the coroner's report which confirms Cater's statement.

[15]Adams to John Hay April 20, 1885 Massachusetts Historical Society (cited by Samuels II: 267).

[16]Letters and Journals of General Nicholas Longworth Anderson: Harvard, Civil War, Washington; 1854-1892, edited by Isabel Anderson (N.Y.: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1942),p.250 (cited by Cater, p.1).

[17]Ibid., p. 250.

[18]Adams to Charles Milnes Gaskell 30 August 1885 and Adams to Robert Cunliffe 29 November 1885, The Adams Papers, The Massachusetts Historical Society. Alternately, Adams may have been trying to protect his friends from news of a situation which he hoped would pass.

[19]The house was designed for Hay and Adams by Henry Hobson Richardson.

[20]Cater, p. liii.

[21]Cater, p. liii.

[22]Scheyer, Art Quarterly, v. XIX (1956), p. 183.

Letters of Henry Adams I: 372, Adams noted, with tongue in cheek, that he had been a Buddhist when he left America, but that Fenollosa, who was attempting to prevent Adams from collecting Hokusai's books, was a kind of St. Dominic, who had converted him "to Calvanism with leanings towards the

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Methodists."

[23]Samuels II: 246.

[24]Samuels II: 221, 245-6.

[25]Samuels II: 248-50.

[26]Adams to Dwight from Papeete 10 February, 1891, Henry Adams Letters, Massachusetts Historical Society (quoted in The Letters of Mrs. Henry Adams, p. 455-6.).

[27]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine,v.78 #2 (June 1909),220.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 354.

[28]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 356, 9.

[29]Charles de Tolnay and others, The Complete Work of Michelangelo,(Reynal and Co.,N.Y., n.d.),pl.XVI, opp. p.208, p. 205, fig. 77.

[30]de Tolnay, Michelangelo, p. 107, figs. 65,66 dates,p. 122 for Lorenzo de' Medici. Pietà, p.82, fig.18, date, p.91.

[31]Gustav Kobbe, "Mystery of Saint-Gaudens' Masterpiece Revealed by John La Farge/The Adams Memorial at Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, Embodies the Western Conception of the Japanese Divinity Kwannon, Whom Mr. La Farge has Painted from Sketches Made Twenty Years Ago," The New York Herald, Sunday, January 16, 1910, Magazine Section, p. 11.

This article was repeated on the following day in the (Washington, D.C.) Evening Star, p. 13 and was quoted by Cater, note 212, p. cxviii-cxix).

[32]John La Farge to the Editor of the Herald, January 21, 1910, published in the New York Herald, Wednesday, Jan. 26,

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1910, p. 10.

[33]The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. The letter is quoted in Letters of Henry Adams I: 365-6.

This letter confirms the fact that La Farge was not present at the meeting of Adams and Saint-Gaudens, but joined Adams late in the day as they left for the Orient. La Farge was apparently busy trying to raise cash and dodge creditors during the day (Samuels II: 298-9).

[34]Letters of Henry Adams I: 382.

[35]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 350.

[36]Adams to Dwight 26 July 1885, Cater, p. 152.

[37]Cater, p. 154.

[38]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 363.

[39]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v.78#2 (June 1909),p.221.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 362.

Adams Memorial, an unpaged pamphlet published by the Eastern National Park and Monument Associaciation reproduced the sketches as well as the notations, as in figure 95.

[40]Photograph from Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

AVGVSTVS SAINT-GAVDENS/THE PORTRAIT RELIEFS #45, "NGVY" (Louis P. Clark)/New York, 1892. The little boy appears to be about two years old or about the same age as his half-brother, Homer Saint-Gaudens at the time when his father sculpted him in 1882 (#25).

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[41]Saint-Gaudens to Adams, Sept 11, 1887, The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[42]Ibid., Sept. 11/1887.

[43]White to Adams, January 9, 1888, The Adams Papers, The Massachusetts Historical Society.

[44]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 78 #2 (June 1909),p. 220.

[45]Saint-Gaudens, first draft of Reminiscences (original Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library, Xerox National Collection of Fine Arts), p. 17.

[46]The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[47]Saint-Gaudens to Adams, July 8/88,

White to Adams, August 9, 1888,

White to Adams, August 13, 1888, August 28, 1888,

White to Adams, October 2nd, 1888,

Saint-Gaudens to Adams, Oct. 9th/88 (All- The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[48]The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[49]The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society (copy, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[50]Ibid.

A copy of a letter from John Flanagan to Richard Watson Gilder of March 1908 in the Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library indicates that Flanagan was the studio

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boy on whom Saint-Gaudens draped the "russian crash" for the Adams Memorial when the pictures were taken. This would appear to conflict with the term "Italian boy" used by La Farge in the Kobbe report (quoted above), but is probably accurate as Flanagan was there and La Farge was remembering twenty years after the fact.

[51]The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[52]The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[53]The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[54]The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Most of the above is quoted in Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 78 #2 (June 1909), p. 220 and in Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 359, without benefit of date.

[55]The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[56]Ibid., March 21, 1889.

[57]The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[58]Ibid., May 31st, 1889 (They are still dealing with the American Marble Co.).

[59]Adams to Hay, 18 August 1889, The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 323-4.

[60]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 323.

[61]Paris, Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1889 A Paris, Catalogue Général Officiel, Tome Premier, Groupe 1. Oeuvres d'Art, Lille 1889, p. 94.

[62]Albert E. Elsen, Rodin (N.Y.: MOMA, 2nd ed.,1967),p.54.

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[63]Saint-Gaudens to Rose Standish Nichols, April 12, 1899, "Familiar Letters of Augustus Saint-Gaudens," Ed. by Rose S. Nichols, McClure's Magazine, v.XXXII #1 (November 1908), p. 10-11. Saint-Gaudens notes that he is "deeply impressed with Rodin's doors (quoted in part in Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 194-5).

[64]Elsen, Rodin, p. 207.

Low, Chronicle of Friendships, p. 205-7.

[65]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 50.

[66]Louis Gonse, La Sculpture Française depuis le XIVe Siècle, Paris, 1895, p. 315, reproduced opposite p. 314. Repetition in marble given by M. Ferry to the Luxembourg Mus.

[67]Henry Jouin, "La Sculpture dans les Cimetières de Paris," Archives de l'Art Français (nouvelle series), Tome III, 1897, p. 261.

> "OSIRIS (Sépulture).-Moïse assis, statue en marbre, de grande dimension. . .Sur la base du siège, à gauche, on lit: "D'après Michel-Ange." Cette copie a été exécutée par les soins de A. Mercié. [Montmartre]"

[68]Lami IV: 221-2.

Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1889, p. 95.

Photograph for fig. 102 from slide of Chicago replica.

[69]Lami IV: 221.

Louis Gonse, Les Chefs-d'Oeuvre de l'Art au XIXe Siècle, n.d., Paris, p. 128.

[70]Saint-Gaudens, "The Early Recognition of Augustus Saint-Gaudens," Century Magazine, v.77 #6 (April 1909), p. 835.

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Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 29.

[71]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 183.

[72]Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1889 A Paris, Exposition Centennale de l'Art Français (1789-1889), p. 42. "Modèles en plâtre des figures décoratives. . .du monument funéraire du général Lamoricière" in Nantes Cathedral.

[73]Lami II: 218.

[74]Royal Cortissoz, "Augustus St. Gaudens," The North American Review,v. 177 #564 (July-Dec.1903),p.731. Although Cortissoz did not specify which of the four figures he meant it could not have been La Foi or L'Etude (Méditation), the latter being a seated elderly male, and was probably not Le Courage militaire. Cortissoz termed the Adams Memorial a "landmark in American sculpture."

[75]Saint-Gaudens to Mrs. van Rensselaer, September 21, 1889, Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 326.

[76]I am grateful to Mr. Stewart Klonis of the Art Students' League who kindly searched the records to give me the specific dates when Saint-Gaudens taught at the League: Fall 1889-May 1890, Fall 1891-May 1892, Fall 1893-May 1898. However, Saint-Gaudens could not have taught in the academic year 1897-8 as he was in Paris. He was probably listed, but did not teach. Therefore, he taught a total of six years.

[77]White to Adams, October 29, 1889, The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

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[78]Ibid., October 29, 1889.

[79]Saint-Gaudens to Adams 3 December 1889, The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[80]Henry Adams Microfilm, Massachusetts Historical Society. This is quoted in Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 360-1 with minor editorial variations.

[81]Scheyer, Art Quarterly, v. XIX (1956), p.187.

[82]Saint-Gaudens to Adams, April 23, 1890 and 1 May 1890, Henry Adams Microfilm, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[83]Henry Adams Microfilm, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 360 without benefit of date.

[84]Henry Adams Microfilm, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[85]Ibid., May 16/90.

[86]White to Adams July 7, 1890, Henry Adams Microfilm, Massachusetts Historical Society.

See chapter 7.

[87]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine, v. 78#2 (June 1909),p. 221-2.

[88]Saint-Gaudens to Adams, December 30, 1890, Henry Adams Microfilm, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[89]Saint-Gaudens to Adams, March 13-1891, Henry Adams Microfilm, Massachusetts Historical Society. The note is signed, "Received Payment/Augustus St. Gaudens/March 18/91."

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[90]Henry Adams Microfilm, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[91]Ibid., Elizabeth Cameron to Adams, March 9-25, 1891.

[92]Ibid., Elizabeth Cameron to Adams, March 9-25, 1891.

[93]Henry Adams Microfilm, Massachusetts Historical Society. This letter is not included either in the Letters of Henry Adams (1858-1891) or in Cater's collection of Adams' unpublished letters. A portion is quoted in Adams letter to St. Gaudens from Siwa, Fiji, June 23, 1891 (Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 365).

[94]Henry Adams Microfilm, Massachusetts Historical Society.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 361, without date.

[95]Saint-Gaudens to Adams, 6 April 1891, Henry Adams Microfilm, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[96]Henry Adams Microfilm, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[97]Ibid., Adams to Elizabeth Cameron 17 May-1 June, 1891.

These portions of the letter are not quoted in Letters of Henry Adams (1858-1891), p. 486-88.

[98]Henry Adams Microfilm, Massachusetts Historical Society. Not quoted in Letters of Henry Adams, Cater or elsewhere.

[99]Saint-Gaudens, Century Magazine,v.78 #2 (June 1909),p. 222.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 365.

[100]Saint-Gaudens to Adams October 11, 1888, The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. See above, p. 187.

[101]Ibid., October 11, 1888.

Contract for Fish Memorial, 2 May 1887 in Saint-Gaudens

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Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[102]The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[103]Saint-Gaudens to Adams July 8, 1888, The Adams Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. In this letter Saint-Gaudens estimated the total cost of the stonework at $7000.00 and, therefore, probably expected to realize a profit of $10,000.

White to Adams July 7, 1890, Henry Adams Microfilm, Massachusetts Historical Society - Norcross $10,730.

[104]This suggests that the sculptor probably went directly from the two-foot model to the full-size clay rather than to the half-size model. It should be recalled that the half-size model for the Farragut was 65 inches or five feet five inches, as the full-size statue was originally intended to be ten feet tall.

The plans (scale) for the Adams Memorial in The New-York Historical Society Print Room shows that the flat area of the stele between egg and dart pattern of the cornice and the ribboned laurel wreath at the base measures 5'6½". This is the exact area into which the bronze figure fits.

An approximate timetable for the Adams Memorial would be: sketches (Fall 1887), two-foot model begun November 5, 1888, contract signed December 11, 1888, work on full-sized clay begun May 31, 1889, final version February-May 1890, cast in plaster May 16, 1890, bronze cast completed December 30, 1890 and installed March 13, 1891 in Rock Creek Cemetery.

[105]Stanford White Papers, New-York Historical Society Print Room.

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[106]Stanford White Papers, The New-York Historical Society Print Room.

[107]Library of Congress, Augustus Saint-Gaudens Correspondence, 1891-1913, letters March or April 1891-November 1891. The letter of May 25/91 from Saint-Gaudens to Dwight indicated that the intention of the planting was "to hide the rest of the cemetery from those seated in the memorial."

Letters of Henry Adams (1892-1918), p.6. Adams to Elizabeth Cameron 5 June 1892 indicates that Adams was still attending to the planting at Rock Creek Cemetery.

[108]The Education of Henry Adams, p. 329. The Education was privately printed in 1905, and was,therefore, quoted by Homer Saint-Gaudens in the Reminiscences I: 364-5.

[109]Albert Aurier, "Le Symbolisme en peinture: Paul Gauguin," Mercure de France II #15 (March 1891), p. 162-3.

> Donc, pour enfin se résumer et conclure, l'oeuvre d'art telle qu'il m'a plu la logiquement évoquer sera:
>
> 1° Idéiste, puisque son idéal unique sera l'expression de l'Idée;
>
> 2° Symboliste, puisqu'elle exprimera cette Idée par des formes;
>
> 3° Synthétique, puisqu'elle écrira ces formes, ces signes, selon un mode de compréhension générale;
>
> 4° Subjective, puisque l'objet n'y sera jamais considéré en tant qu'objet, mais en tant que signe d'idée perçu par le sujet;
>
> 5° (C'est une conséquence) décorative - car la peinture décorative proprement dite, telle que l'ont comprise les Egyptiens, très probablement les Grecs et les Primitifs, n'est rien autre chose qu'une manifestation d'art à la fois subjectif, synthétique, symboliste et idéiste.. . .
>
> 9 février 1891.

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[110]See above, note 109 #4.

[111]Gaston Migeon, "Le Sculpteur Augustin Saint-Gaudens, Art et Décoration/ Revue Mensuelle d'Art Moderne, v.5 #2 (Feb.1899), Emile Lévy: Librarie Centrale des Beaux-Arts: Paris, p. 47-8.

> . . .Silencieuse, morte à la vie, toute entière absorbée en son rêve, c'est la figure de l'Eternité et de la Méditation. D'elle émane un profond apaisement; elle dit le Néant où vient se résoudre la Vie, sur cette terre de vie multipliée, à ce peuple d'activité forcenée. . . .ce fut pour moi personnellement une des plus grandes émotions d'art qu'une oeuvre moderne m'ait donnée.

[112]Loredo Taft, The History of American Sculpture (N.Y.:Arno Press, 1969, originally published by The MacMillan Co., 1903, 1924), p. 298.

[113]New York City: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Catalogue of a Memorial Exhibition of the Works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens (N.Y.:MDCCCCVIII), 2nd Issue, p. 35 #64. The exhibition opened early in March 1908 (probably on March 1, Saint-Gaudens birthday) and after closing May 31,1908 proceeded to the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., The Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, The Art Institute of Chicago and the Art Association of Indianapolis, John Herron Art Institute, where it closed March 30, 1910.

[114]Kenyon Cox, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," The Atlantic Monthly, v.CI (March 1908), p.308.

[115]Hamilton Bell, "Un Sculpteur Américain de Déscendance Française/ Auguste Saint-Gaudens (1848-1907)," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, V.I (1920), p.371.

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[116]Mrs. Felix Agnus Leser to Dr. Richard Wunder, Curator of Painting and Sculpture, National Collection of Fine Arts, July 19, 1967. Copies of correspondence relating to the Adams Memorial and the Agnus copy were kindly furnished to me by the National Collection.

[117]The Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[118]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[119]Ibid., December 17, 1908.

[120]New-York Tribune, Friday, February 5, 1909, p.1 (NCFA).

[121]Ibid., p.1.

[122]Undoubtedly, one of the reasons why General Agnus declined to replace the pirated version with a "true copy" was because of the cost of the latter. On January 15, 1909 Norcross Brothers sent an estimate of $14,400. to reproduce the monument in Stony Creek granite and $15,500. to reproduce the monument in Milford granite "not including the bronze statue." On January 16, 1909, the estimate for the replica of the "pedestal only" was $4000. for Stony Creek Granite and $4400. for Milford Granite (Letters in Stanford White Papers, New-York Historical Society Print Room).

[123]The cast used in the Memorial Exhibitions had been presented by the Metropolitan Museum of Art "to the Saint-Gaudens Memorial for a permanent loan exhibit", but was destroyed in the fire of 1944 (Dryfhout to Wunder, March 23, 1967, NCFA file). Michael Richman wrote to Dryfhout that

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he had met Caesare Contini, the plaster carver,at Rock Creek Cemetery in June of 1967. Contini was making a piece-mold of the Adams Memorial for the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site. The Adams family had earlier in the year granted the National Historic Site permission to reproduce the figure in bronze for their collection (August 18,1967 letter,NCFA file).

National Collection of Fine Arts (Accession #1970.11).

[124]Daniel H. Burnham to Homer Saint-Gaudens, February 1, 1908 (Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library, Copy of letter at Library of Congress).

[125]Ibid., February 1, 1908.

Saint-Gaudens acknowledged receipt of the bronze cast sent by Burnham on August 27, 1903 (copy of letter in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[126]Burnham to Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, October 23, 1908 (Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[127]McKim, Mead and White Papers, New-York Historical Society.

128 Bernard de Montfaucon, L'Antiquité Expliquée, 5 vols. and supplement, Paris (1719-24), v.5, part 1, Chapter VII, p. 116.

For examples from antiquity see Montfaucon, v. 5, part I, plate I, p. 5, Mourning for a Person who is Dying. Also see Johann Joachim Winckelmann, Monumenti antichi inediti, 2 vols. (Rome: 1767), v.II, plates 129, 130, 138, 145.

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[129]A legend associated with the triple-goddess, Themis, calls to mind the Biblical story of Noah and provides additional linkage to the theme of death and renewal, the shrouded head associated with death and mourning, and the relationship of all of these themes to Mother Earth. (See Robert Graves, The Greek Myths, Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1955, 2 vols., v.1; 139 Apollodorus: i.7.2; Ovid: Metamorphoses i. 260-415).

[130]The Magna Mater may be synonymous with Robert Graves' hypothesized "Great Goddess" of ancient Europe, that is before the invasion of "the patriarchal Hellenes" in the second millenium B.C. (Graves I: 11-17) and, therefore, may bring the sources for the mourning female back into the religious beliefs of pre-history.

[131]L'Art Ancien à L'Exposition de 1878, sous la direction de M. Louis Gonse, Rédacteur en chef de la Gazette des Beaux-Arts, Paris, 1879, p.86. Gonse also relates the pose of the Déméter douloureuse to the Madonnes of Cimabue (p.92). Finally, the relationship of Déméter (Ceres), the daughter of Rhea (Cybele) brings together many of the elements present in the Pietà - birth, death, rebirth, compassion, grief, etc.

[132]Erwin Panofsky, Tomb Sculpture, ed. H.W. Janson (N.Y.: Abrams, n.d.), p. 62, fig. 248.

[133]John Flanagan to Richard Watson Gilder, March 1908, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[134]Gonse, La Sculpture Française depuis le XIV[e] Siècle, p. 131. Dating from Anthony Blunt, Art and Architecture in France

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1500 to 1700 (Pelican, 1973), p. 149.

[135]Kobbe Report, The New York Herald, Sunday, January 16, 1910, Magazine Section, p. 11 (see above, note 31).

[136]The Smith Tomb (1886, Newport, Rhode Island) is the first version of the Amor Caritas.

[137]See chapter 6, fig. 130.

[138]Kobbe Report, The New York Herald, Sunday, January 16, 1910, Magazine Section, p. 11.

[139]Richman, Daniel Chester French, p. 65.

[140]Tharp, p. 250-252.

[141]Richman, p. 72, fig.2, 1889 clay maquette with flat top.

[142]"What prompted French to go to France in the late fall of 1891 is no longer known, but his plans evidently revolved about his decision to have a Parisian foundry cast the relief in bronze - the only instance of French's using a foreign foundry to cast a public monument." (Richman, p. 73-4).

[143]William Chauncy Langdon, "William Ordway Partridge, Sculptor," The New England Magazine, v.XXII #4 (June 1900), p. 391-2.

[144]Bronze figure with granite architecture. Dennis, Karl Bitter, p. 93, fig. 38 (Photo: Robert Lizzari).

[145]Although Dennis (p. 92) says that Bitter's monument is "similar to the interpretation of grief achieved by Saint-Gaudens for the well-known Adams Memorial. . ."the expression

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"dependent upon" would seem to be a more accurate representation.

[146]Mallarmé, answer to: Enquéte de Jules Muret, Echo de Paris: reprinted in L'Art Moderne, Aug. 9, 1891. (Cited by John Rewald, Post-Impressionism from Van Gogh to Gauguin (N.Y.: MOMA, 1962, 2nd ed.), p. 483).

[147]Robert Goldwater, "Symbolism," Lecture, November 9, 1971, New York University - Institute of Fine Arts.

[148]Ibid., November 9, 1971.

[149]Cater, p. 247.

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Chapter 6: DIANA OF THE TOWER

Saint-Gaudens' Diana stands regally in a niche at the top of the main staircase of the Philadelphia Museum of Art (fig. 130). Originally the weathervane atop Madison Square Garden in New York from 1893 until 1925, the homeless huntress was adopted by the City of Brotherly Love in 1932. She was given to the Philadelphia Museum by the New York Life Insurance Company when that firm tore down Madison Square Garden to make way for its new home office.[1]

Diana, with bow drawn, stands on tiptoe upon a sphere, dramatically flanked by two massive columns. The shadow thrown by the thirteen foot figure on the blank wall behind seems to add another dimension to her graceful curves. Diana as the only full-scale female nude ever executed by Augustus Saint-Gaudens and as one of his few ideal figures was also a "labor of love," as his son, Homer, confirmed.

> The Diana for the Tower of the Madison Square Garden in New York, was purely a labor of love. Stanford White originally suggested to him that he consent to give his work upon it, provided White pay the expenses; and Saint-Gaudens eagerly grasped the opportunity, since, as I have said, all his life he was anxious to create ideal figures, with scarcely an occasion to gratify his desires, this indeed being the only nude he ever completed. Unwittingly, however, the two men drew upon themselves a more expensive effort than they were prepared to bear. The Diana was first modeled eighteen feet high, according to White's estimate, and finished in hammered sheet copper, only to be found too large when hoisted into place. So, in order to replace her with the present figure, thirteen feet high, both sculptor and architect were forced to empty their pocket-books, calling heaven to witness all the while that

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> they would never undertake another commission without beginning their task by erecting a dummy, a resolve which they kept. (2)

The Diana was probably also the only major enterprise undertaken by Saint-Gaudens in which no contract was ever drawn. Conceived as a collaborative enterprise between Saint-Gaudens and Stanford White, it was in every sense of the word a gentleman's agreement. White commissioned the work and provided the financing and Saint-Gaudens donated his time and work. I am certain that Saint-Gaudens thought of the Diana as a gift to his friend, Stanford White, a finial to decorate the architect's American Giralda.

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II. The History of the Diana

Madison Square Garden was designed by Stanford White in 1887 and constructed in 1889-1891.[3] An early scale drawing of the first Diana, presumably of about 1887, shows that the first figure without the ball or bow measured a bit less than seventeen feet.[4] This discarded sketch shows a trial of a large crescent moon on a staff above the head of Diana.[5]

It has been suggested that Saint-Gaudens began working on the first version of the Diana in 1886 with his "ideal image" of his model and mistress, Davida Clark (fig. 131).[6] The facial characteristics of this marble Study for a Head show a strong similarity to those of the bronze Head of Diana copyrighted by Augusta Homer Saint-Gaudens in 1908 (fig. 132). There is also a general similarity in facial type to the photograph of Davida (fig. 96). A plaster cast of the Ideal Head owned by Davida and later by her son Louis confirms the relationship of the head to Davida's image. However, it is unlikely that Davida posed for the figure of Diana since their son, Louis (Novy) was born about 1890, which suggests that Davida would have been pregnant about 1889/1890.

Probably due to the fact that the Lincoln and Puritan statues, as well as the fountain for Lincoln Park in Chicago were in their final stages in 1887, and also because of Saint-Gaudens' preliminary work on the Adams Memorial in November of 1887, work on the Diana may not have begun until 1888 or

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1889-90.[7] A bronze statuette of Diana of the Tower, possibly a unique cast of the "original model in bronze, for the statue surmounting the tower of Madison Square Garden," was sold to John Gellatly at the Stanford White Estate Sale, Wednesday, November 27, 1907 (fig. 133).[8] Its height of twenty-four and seven-eighths inches (63.4 cm.) probably indicates that it was a cast of the original two-foot model for the statue. A photograph of an early plaster model for the first figure of Diana, taken by Lionel Moses (fig. 134) depicts essentially the same figure with drapery and bow.[9] The only variation is in the placement of the foot of the figure upon the ball. In the Gellatly figure the ball of the foot is set upon the sphere, while in the Moses photo the entire foot rolls along the ball.

Julia (Dudie) Baird, an artist's model, claimed to have posed for the Diana.[10] She elaborated.

> For the first Diana I simply posed, just as I would for a painter, and Mr. St. Gaudens made a small model from my figure. This model was then sent to the foundry and enlarged to the requisite size. He did not take a plaster cast from me for this first Diana because the finished statue was to be so large that it wasn't necessary to execute it in such detail. (11)

Although Julia Baird's report differs slightly from that reported a few years earlier in Scientific American it varies only in one detail, that the eighteen foot "model was supplied from the artist's studio,"[12] hardly a significant variation and one which the artist's model might not have known first hand if she were only used for the prelim-

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inary model.

The statue was then reproduced in metal from the eighteen-foot model by the W. H. Mullins Company of Salem, Ohio.[13] Twenty-two ounce copper sheets were used to mould the Diana.[14] These were struck between zinc dies and the sections were then riveted together and "brazed, so as to produce a water-tight structure."[15] The final first version of Diana (fig. 135) seems to show a disposition of the ball of the foot and sphere at a slightly different angle than in either the Gellatly version (fig. 133) or the early plaster sketch with drapery photographed by Moses (fig. 134). Apparently, however, this solution was one devised by the foundry and not what Saint-Gaudens wished.[16]

Diana was unveiled on Sunday afternoon, November 1,1891 (fig. 136).[17] The gilded huntress was intended as a weathervane and it was reported that a wind pressure of one-fourth of a pound to the square foot was sufficient to move the statue.[18] A great crescent which held sixty-six incandescent lamps was placed between the two spheres of the shaft and above this crescent were ten reflecting lamps, all of which were intended to illuminate the figure.[19] For the unveiling Stanford White "made the first spectacular use in the city of Edison's new incandescent lights, stringing sixty-six hundred of them around the Garden's outer walls, and lavishing fourteen hundred more on what the newspapers called his 'pillar of fire.'"[20] Additionally ten giant search-

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lights were trained upon the figure of Diana.[21] As the sun set shortly after five o'clock and the lights arose, the effect on New Yorkers of the nineteenth century must have been truly memorable.

Saint-Gaudens' first Diana (fig. 135) was distinguished by hair piled high upon her head and a crescent moon upon her brow. Her rounded bow was tautly pulled and poised for release. Her drapery ballooned out behind in a single large loop and was caught in a band under her breasts. Her torso was twisted, her arms and head faced right while her body faced the viewer. The left leg was straight and attached to the ball below at an improbable angle while the right leg jutted sharply back, exactly as in the Gellatly figure (fig. 133) and the photo of the early sketch (fig. 134).

It was immediately apparent to both Saint-Gaudens and White that the figure for the tower was too large and would have to be replaced with a smaller figure.[22] However,since plans were underway for the firm of McKim, Mead and White to construct the Agricultural Building at the Chicago World's Fair, it was decided to use the original figure atop the Columbian Exposition building. In June of 1892, Charles F. McKim sent constructional drawings for the Diana to Frank D. Millett at the Columbian Exposition in Chicago.[23] By the eighth of September 1892, the Diana had been taken down and about ten days later was shipped back to Mullins in Salem, Ohio for adjustments prior to being placed atop the Agricul-

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tural Building.[24] A terse letter from Stanford White to the foundry of 22 September 1892 indicated in part the nature of the problem: "I don't wish Diana same as New York. Can't you shorten drapery and balance?"[25] A final note to Mullins from Stanford White of 5 October 1892 advised him to use the "old drapery if absolutely necessary," but suggested that White could not understand why the original drapery could not be shortened.[26] Apparently, the original drapery was used and the Diana minus the crescent underfoot was mounted atop the dome of the White City building (fig. 137).

Initially Chicago reacted to the Diana in much the same fashion as the startled New York public.[27] The shock of having a gilded nude female above the Agricultural Building was not ameliorated when Mrs. Potter Palmer suggested that it be placed upon the Womens'Building at her expense.[28] By others, Diana was regarded as a New York discard - hardly a popular thought in the Second City.[29]

Ground was broken for the Agricultural Building on September 9, 1891 and the building sheathed in staff was completed before the World's Fair opened on May 1, 1893.[30] "The Final Official Report of the Director of Works of the Worlds Columbian Exposition," reported the following:

> The most conspicuous piece of statuary on this building is the revolving figure of
> DIANA, the HUNTRESS
> It is placed on the highest point of the building, illustrative of the Goddess of the hunt, in the act of striking down her prey. Her bow and arrow outstretched, and a slight sash, the sole drapery upon her, cause her to turn in the direction of

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> the prevailing wind. Diana was designed by Augustus St. Gaudens, and enlarged in copper by W.H.Mullins, of Salem, Ohio. This formerly stood on Madison Square Garden, New York. (31)

After the close of the World's Fair on October 30, 1893 a series of fires demolished much of the fabulous White City.[32] On July 5, 1894 a fire consumed the Agricultural Building,but the fate of Diana remained a mystery.[33] Diana was assuredly not an important consideration in the midst of the Pullman riots and civil insurrection with which Chicago was coping at that moment.[34] It was even suggested that the burning of the Agricultural Building was the work of arsonists.[35] The implication, of course, was that the Pullman rioters had set the fire. Considering the nature of their grievances and the method employed to quell the rioters, the act may not have been totally without justification. On Friday, July 6 Governor Altgelt called out the Militia and on Saturday,July 7,1894 the troops were ordered to fire at the mobs.[36] The newspapers,totally unsympathetic to the strikers,reported on July 7th that six had been shot down by the soldiers.[37] The headline read "Troops Obey Orders and Fire Upon a Mob. . . Six People are Severely Wounded/Regulars make an Awful Charge Upon the Strikers and Blood Flows Freely. . .."[38] Considering the editorial bias of the paper, it may probably be assumed that "six" was a euphemism for many more. On July 8th more troops were ordered to Chicago and bloodshed was reported at nearby Hammond, Indiana.[39] Evidently it was feared that the strikes or insurrection would spread and Congress

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contemplated increasing the standing army to 30,000 men.[40] On July 10 Eugene Debs, the leader of the strike was arrested and on July 17 an "Extra" proclaimed that he had been taken to jail.[41]

Although we may mourn the passing of the White City and Diana, some Chicagoans of the nineteenth century thought it a fitting climax to the fabulous fair.[42] It was even suggested that the fiery finish was a more appropriate finale than the slow, undramatic deterioration of a more gradual disintegration.[43] In any event, the first Diana was lost to view until the twentieth century when Augusta Saint-Gaudens reported that it had initially been stored in the basement of the Field Museum in Chicago and was then exhibited in front of the Art Institute in 1909 in conjunction with the travelling Memorial Exhibition of Saint-Gaudens' works.[44] What was exhibited was a fragment of the original eighteen-foot Diana, the upper half, and it was not listed in the catalogue.[45] Nothing further is known about this enormous fragment and I was not allowed to examine the Registrar's files at the Art Institute when I was in Chicago.

In the meantime, Saint-Gaudens was faced with the necessity of creating a new Diana to surmount Madison Square Garden. In the fall of 1892, with an unfinished Shaw Memorial scheduled for completion the following year and under the pressure of other commissions, I believe that the sculptor took his original two-foot plaster model, cut the torso in

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half and realigned it, removed the head and revised it and the new Diana was "en train" (fig. 138). This suggested solution might account for the absence of a two-foot plaster model for the original figure of Diana.[46]

For the full-sized model of the second Diana Julia Baird stated that plaster casts were taken directly from her body in sections and the plaster cast was then pointed up to the thirteen foot size.[47] Although it may seem preposterous that Saint-Gaudens would have executed this figure in such a manner despite the rush nature of the commission, it is not at all improbable. In the Shaw Memorial then in full progress, casts were taken of the gray horse which posed for the monument.[48] Secondly, it has been suggested that Julia Baird was only five feet six inches tall and, therefore, could not have been stretched to the approximate six-foot height of the full-sized plaster.[49] But that is apparently just what happened. A model five feet six inches tall would be approximately six feet tall when standing on tiptoe. Furthermore, knowing Saint-Gaudens' tendency to lengthen a figure to compensate for the distortions caused by distance and allowing for some intervention of the artist, the six or six and one-half foot full-scale model would then have been completed and cast in plaster. The full-sized model would then have been ready for enlargement to the final thirteen-foot figure for the second Diana.

On March 21, 1893 Saint-Gaudens wrote to his friend, the Reverend E. Winchester Donald of Trinity Church in Boston of

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the "whirl" he was in with trying to finish the angel of the Shaw Memorial and of "the indescribable confusion and haste of the completion of the 'Diana' and 'Columbus' by ten assistants. . . ."[50] The Columbus was the statue executed by his assistant, Mary Tonnetti, under his supervision for the Chicago Worlds Fair.[51] The fair would open just five weeks later, hence the general chaos, as well as Saint-Gaudens' apology to Donald for not giving the Phillips Brooks commission any thought. The Diana would have been enlarged to its thirteen foot dimensions by his assistants during this period. A photograph of what appears to be the gilded Diana with the plaster Diana in the background has been preserved at Dartmouth and elsewhere (fig. 139). Although sometimes labelled the Mullins Foundry, this scene with ten studio assistants in the foreground and the Columbus and probably Saint-Gaudens and his brother, Louis, in the background seems more logically the sculptor's studio as described by Saint-Gaudens in his letter to the Reverend Donald.

In any event, the second Diana was again sent to the Mullins Foundry in Salem, Ohio for re-creation in copper sheeting. In the photograph of the second Diana (fig. 139) it can be seen that the shape of the bow and drapery has been substantially altered, and Diana now steps gingerly upon her left toes instead of the arch of her foot. The right leg, while it still extends back, does so at a much more graceful angle. Her hair has been braided and secured

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in a bun at the back of her head. The figure has been changed from the twisting torso of the first version to a figure essentially within a single plane. The net effect of the altered Diana is toward simplicity and grace. It is as if the second Diana were conceived as a relief to be seen against the background of the sky.

On Saturday, November 18, 1893 an article appeared in the New-York Daily Tribune announcing the probability of Diana's installation at six A.M. if the wind would cooperate.[52] Finally installed, Diana reigned from her aerial post for more than one quarter of a century (fig. 140). Of course, she was not immune to criticism, but after the initial shock of public reaction to a nude figure, Diana was gradually adopted by a receptive public.[53] This public ultimately thought of her and the building upon which she was perched as a city landmark.[54] About 1905, Diana's drapery was blown away by a strong gale (fig. 141).[55] So she remained until the financially ailing Madison Square Garden was acquired by the New York Life Insurance Company. Diana was removed on May 6, 1925 at 2:56 P.M. as the first step in the process of demolition of Madison Square Garden (fig. 142).[56] Diana was then placed in storage until final disposition of the statue was decided upon. It was offered to New York University, which was then in the process of having McKim, Mead and White construct their University Heights campus. The plan was to reconstruct the Madison Square tower on the

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new Heights campus and place Diana on her original pedestal, but that plan did not materialize, probably due to the Crash of 1929.[57] A variety of alternate plans were suggested, but Diana was finally given to the Philadelphia Museum of Art in 1932.[58] After a brief trip to the Roman Bronze Company for refurbishing, Diana was sent to her present home, minus her original gilding and train. She has remained in her Philadelphia home for nearly half a century, poised and graceful as ever (fig. 130).

On May 23, 1894 Saint-Gaudens had a cast made of the "original model" of the half-size Diana in Portland cement for his friend, Stanford White.[59] Walthausen, a New York plaster-casting firm, executed the cast and may have retained the molds or original cast as they were not in the inventory of Saint-Gaudens' works compiled on November 28, 1907, shortly after the sculptor's death.[60] This cement cast of Diana was used at White's Long Island home (fig. 143). In 1927 a bronze cast of the six and one-half foot cement Diana was made by Osterkamp-Mead Company in Munich, Germany for Lawrence Grant White, Stanford White's son.[61] A second gilded cast was made by the same company in 1928 for the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 144).[62] The cement cast was then loaned to the Museum of the City of New York in 1936 by Mrs. Stanford White.[63] At some point between 1894 and 1936 the cement legs were damaged and then repaired with plaster by Saint-Gaudens' former pupil and assistant, James Earle

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Fraser.[64] The cement cast with plaster repairs remained at the Museum of the City of New York until recently when it went to the Peter Davidson Gallery in New York.

On March 30, 1942 Lawrence White stated in a letter to John Walden Myer of the Museum of the City of New York:

> the concrete Diana in your Museum is not a reduction of the large figure, but a cast of Saint-Gaudens' original model from which the larger figure was pointed up mechanically [and that] those in the Saint Gaudens Museum, the Metropolitan Museum and at my place. . .are casts from the concrete figure. (65)

The letter part of that statement has been disputed. The curator of the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site gave the following provenance for the plaster model at Cornish.

> This plaster half-size model has been exhibited in the Cornish studios since 1916. A mold for it (and the one formerly in the Stanford White estate, St. James, Long Island, New York) was retained by the plaster molder Contini in New York and had been in the Contini studio as early as 1929 (Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Trustees of the Saint-Gaudens Memorial, August 31, 1929). This mold was used to make a bronze for the Saint-Gaudens Memorial in Cornish. The bronze was cast in the Duprato Foundry, Pietrasanta, Italy, in 1973, and the mold has since been destroyed. (66)

Therefore, what Lawrence Grant White should have said was that the concrete model at White's estate, the plaster and bronze (fig. 145) at Cornish were casts from the original mold now destroyed. The bronze now owned by Peter White and the gilded bronze at the Metropolitan Museum were made from a cast of the cement cast given to Stanford White by Saint-Gaudens.

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Since the original mold for the half-size Diana was in Gaeton Ardisson's possession in 1916, it is probable that after the cement model was cast by Walthausen in 1894, he eventually returned the mold to Ardisson.[67] Ardisson then kept the mold until 1916 when Ida Metz Reed, Saint-Gaudens' secretary, requested that he return it "and the box containing the plaster cast of the Diana" to Mrs. Saint-Gaudens at Cornish.[68] Whether Ardisson or Contini cast the plaster model for Cornish is unclear. However, it does seem evident that in this third metamorphosis of Diana (figs. 144, 145) Saint-Gaudens again changed the shape of Diana's bow.

It was this third or 1894 version upon which Saint-Gaudens based the twenty-four and thirty-six inch bronze casts of the Diana, first copyrighted in 1895 (fig. 146).[69]

Even while the cement cast was being created, Saint-Gaudens and White were toiling over a revised drapery for the figure. Saint-Gaudens reacted to White's drawing by stating:

> You must know that the drapery that I have designed cannot make me any more sick than the design you sent me for the drapery. . .. (70)

It can only be assumed that ultimately no satisfactory solution for the problem of the drapery was found since it was finally omitted. This would certainly seem to be true as evidenced by the bronze casts of 1894 and 1895 and in all later casts of the small Dianas in none of which is there drapery.

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In 1899 Saint-Gaudens again revised the small Diana.[71] The essential difference between this figure and the 1895 figure is in the substitution of a tripod base for the earlier, simpler bases. The tripod base is decorated with griffins at each of the corners. Although Saint-Gaudens wrote that he again changed the hair and bow in 1899, these changes while adding to the aesthetic quality seem not to have been substantive.[72] It is also probable that these small Dianas were based upon a cast of the two-foot plaster model (fig. 138) on which changes were made in 1894/5 and 1899.

The history of the Diana then rests with the Gellatly bronze of the first model for the original Diana (fig. 133), the second version in Philadelphia (fig. 130), the plaster and bronze (fig. 145) casts of the half-size model of the second Diana at Cornish, the cement cast on the New York art market (fig. 143), and the bronze and gilded bronze casts of the cement model, the latter owned by the Metropolitan Museum (fig. 144). Perhaps one day the enormous fragment of the original eighteen-foot Diana will be found in some Chicago basement or storehouse, but until that time it must be designated as lost. In the interim, photographs will have to suffice (figs. 135, 136 and 137).

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III. Historical Precedents and Later Reflections

Diana (Artemis), the Moon Goddess, Goddess of the Hunt, and sister of Apollo has been celebrated in literature and sculpture from antiquity.[73] While traditionally clothed in antiquity, depictions of Diana in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries appear to be a foil for the nude female form. One of the most celebrated statues of the ancient goddess in the eighteenth century and the first nude Diana was created by Jean Antoine Houdon (1741-1828).[74] His Diana (1776, plaster, Gotha, Schlossmuseum, fig. 147) was clearly an important precedent for Saint-Gaudens and other nineteenth century sculptors.

In 1882 Jean-Alexandre-Joseph Falguière (1831-1900) exhibited a plaster Diana at the Salon (#4353, bronze cast, fig. 148).[75] Falguière's Diana and Hunting Nymph (fig.149 bronze reduction of full-scale figure at Laon) exhibited at the Salon of 1884 were undoubtedly precedents for his pupil Frederick MacMonnies (1863-1937). MacMonnies, after returning to America in 1886 to help Saint-Gaudens with his Storks at Play (figs. 46,47) returned to France and submitted his first Salon entry in 1889, Diana (fig. 150) for which he received honorable mention.[76] Since Saint-Gaudens stayed with MacMonnies when he visited the Salon in 1889, he would have seen MacMonnies' Diana.[77] It was a source of annoyance to Saint-Gaudens who felt that MacMonnies had taken his idea, if not his design, but this information was suppressed by

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his son,Homer,when he edited and amplified the Reminiscences.[78] Certainly MacMonnies' Diana owes much to Houdon as well as to Falguière and is a graceful figure in the Beaux-Arts tradition. Whether it was a case of one-upmanship is not vital, but adds some personal dimension to the history.

An earlier American Diana which Saint-Gaudens would also have known was Olin Warner's 1887 seated Diana (fig. 151). It will be recalled that Warner followed Saint-Gaudens to Jouffroy's studio six months after Augustus' arrival.[79] A bronze reduction of the figure is now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, but the plaster was exhibited at the World's Columbian Exposition for which Saint-Gaudens was the sculptural advisor.[80] After Warner, MacMonnies and Saint-Gaudens' successful Dianas, American Dianas were sure to follow. John Massey Rhind (1860-1936), a Scotch sculptor who came to America and exhibited at the National Academy of Design in the 1890's, created a massive eighteen-foot figure of Progress Lighting the Way of Commerce (1900, fig. 152), which served as a weathervane for the Montgomery-Ward tower in Chicago.[81] It was often confused with Saint-Gaudens' Diana. Even in the Catalogue of a Memorial Exhibition of the Works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Diana was erroneously listed as the weathervane atop the Montgomery-Ward tower.[82] A reduced version of the figure in bronze without drapery is in the collection of a descendent of one of the founders of the Montgomery-Ward firm (fig. 153). Rhind's

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figure shows a certain debt to the Saint-Gaudens' precedent.

Janet Scudder (1873-1940) who studied at the Cincinnati Art Academy and then with Lorado Taft and MacMonnies created a Young Diana which "was given honourable mention at the Paris Salon of 1911."[83] Karl Bitter, whose work bears more than a casual relationship to the work of Saint-Gaudens, executed a small bronze Diana in 1909 (fig. 154).[84] But days of Diana and the Beaux-Arts tradition would soon end with the outbreak of World War I. For the Gilded Age, the last decade of the nineteenth century, Saint-Gaudens' Diana stood as a beacon and light and a reminder to the twentieth century of the elegance of the nineteenth.

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Chapter 6: DIANA OF THE TOWER - FOOTNOTES

[1]Fiske Kimball, Director of the Pennsylvania Museum of Art (now the Philadelphia Museum of Art) to Darwin P. Kingsley, President of the New York Life Insurance Company, June 13, 1932, New York Life Archives. Mr. Kimball noted in the letter that the Fairmont Park Art Association "paid the expense of having the figure put again in perfect condition, and of bringing it [to Philadelphia]." The official receipt for Diana was also enclosed.

[2]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 393.

[3]A Monograph of the Works of McKim Mead & White 1879-1915, New Edition, 4 vols. in one with an Essay by Leland Roth (New York: Benjamin Blom, Arno Press, 1977), p. 63.

[4]McKim, Mead and White Papers, The New-York Historical Society.

[5]Ibid.

[6]John Dryfhout, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," Metamorphoses in Nineteenth-Century Sculpture, ed. by Jeanne L. Wasserman, Fogg Art Museum (Harvard University Press, 1975), catalogue prepared in conjunction with exhibition of November 19, 1975-January 7, 1976, p. 201.

[7]The financial crash of 1888 may also have been a factor.

[8]House Sale-Illustrated Catalogue of the Artistic Furnishings and Interior Decorations of the Residence. . .Estate of Stanford White. . .Conducted by Thomas E. Kirby of the

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American Art Association, Managers, New York: 1907. . . Second Sale - Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday - November 25,26,27 and Friday Evening, November 29, 1907. . .Wednesday, November 27, 1907 #364. An annotated copy of this catalogue with names of purchasers and amounts paid is in the Stanford White Correspondence, New-York Historical Society.

[9]Metamorphoses, p. 202, fig. 27.

This plaster was also reproduced in The Graphic, An Illustrated Weekly Newspaper, v.9 #19 (Nov.4, 1893), p. 374. Published in Chicago in conjunction with the Chicago Worlds Fair (Chicago Historical Society).

[10]"The Real 'Diana of the Garden'", The New York Herald, Sunday, December 5, 1897, New Jersey Supplement, p. 1. This full page article with illustrations was also included in the Connecticut Supplement.

[11]Ibid., p.1.

[12]Scientific American, v. LXV #26 (Dec.26, 1891), p. 407, repeated in Scientific American, Architects and Builders Edition, v. 13 #2 (Feb. 1892), p. 31.

[13]Ibid., p. 31.

[14]Ibid., p. 31.

[15]Ibid., p. 31.

[16]New-York Daily Tribune, Saturday,November 18,1893, p.7.

Royal Cortissoz, "The Metamorphosis of Diana," Harper's Weekly, v. XXXVII #1927 (Saturday,November 25,1893),p.1124.

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[17]New York Herald, Monday, November 2, 1891, p. 9.

[18]Scientific American, V. 13 #2, p. 31.

[19]Ibid., p. 31.

[20]Andy Logan,"That Was New York/The Palace of Delight," New Yorker, v.XLI (February 27, 1965), p. 63. (New York Life Insurance Archives). Cited by Dryfhout in Metamorphoses,p.203.

[21]Ibid., p. 63.

[22]Cortissoz, Harper's Weekly, v.XXXVII #1927, p. 1124.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 393.

[23]Copy of letter from McKim to F.D. Millet, Esq., Columbian Exposition. . .June 29, 1892, New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Papers.

[24]Copy of letter from McKim, Mead and White to D. H. Burnham, 8 September 1892.

> Diana being taken down, will be shipped in about ten days. (New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Papers).

New York Life Files indicate that it was taken down September 7, 1892.

[25]Copy of letter from White to Mullins 22 Sept. 1892, New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Papers.

[26]Copy of letter from White to Mullins 5 October [1892], New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Papers.

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[27]Tharp, p. 257-8.

However, Scientific American v. LXV #26, p. 407 and the reprint in February 1892 referred to Diana's "high artistic character."

Edward Cary, "The Diana of the Tower," Century Magazine, v. XLVII #3 (Jan. 1894), p. 477 said that Diana was "the first generous tribute to pure beauty erected within the careless sight of busy New York."

[28]Baldwin, Stanford White, p. 211.

[29]Ibid., p. 210.

[30]"THE FINAL OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF WORKS OF THE WORLDS COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION." June 1894 by D.H. Burnham, Chief of Construction and Director of Works, October 3, 1894. 7 Volumes, unpublished typescript in the Burnham Library of Architecture, Art Institute of Chicago, v. IV, p. 29.

Jackson's Famous Pictures of the World's Fair/ Educational Fine Arts Series, v. IV Serial No. 7, May, 1895 (Chicago: The White City Art Co.), n.p.

> "The World's Columbian Exposition was created by act of Congress, April 25, 1890. . .
>
> PRINCIPAL BUILDINGS. . .
>
> Agriculture. - Chief, W. I. Buchanan. Dimensions 800 feet by 500 feet. Height of cornice 65 feet. Height of dome 130 feet. Floor area, 15½ acres. Annex, 550 by 300 feet. Floor area 3.9 acres. Cost of both $699,316.75. Architects, McKim, Mead & White of New York. . .The rotunda was 100 feet in diameter, and was surmounted by a great glass dome. . ..
>
> MISCELLANEOUS
>
> Staff. - A composition of plaster, cement and hemp, or similar fiber. All Exposition buildings and many of the state buildings were covered with staff. It is lighter than wood, is fireproof, water-proof, and if kept painted will

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last many years.. . ."

[31]"THE FINAL OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF WORKS OF THE WORLDS COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION," v. IV, p. 36.

[32]Rossiter Johnson, A History of the World's Columbian Exposition, 4 vols. (N.Y.: D.Appleton,1897),v.1, p.486.

The Graphic, v.X #2 (Chicago Jan.13, 1894), p. 44-5, "The Fire at Jackson Park," tells of the destruction of the peristyle and the escape of the Agricultural and Manufacturer's Building,suggesting that it was the work of arsonists.

[33]"FINAL REPORT OF THE GENERAL MANAGER OF THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION COVERING THE POST-EXPOSITION PERIOD, October 31st, 1893 to September 1st, 1894 (original typescript in the Burnham Library of Architecture, Art Institute, Chicago), p. 172.

> "At 6:15 o'clock on July 5th and since the completion of the Final Report of the Fire and Guard Departments, a fire originated in the Terminal Station, and resulted in the complete destruction of that building,together with the following other structures: Administration, Mines and Mining, Electricity, Manufacturers, Machinery and Agriculture; also several thousand feet of docking, two bridges, the Grand Fountain, Philadelphia Cafe, and numerous small booths.
>
> The fire was undoubtedly of an incendiary origin."

The Chicago Daily News - Thursday, July 5, 1894, "EXTRA" 9:00 O'clock P.M.,"World's Fair in Flames," p.1.

[34]The Chicago Daily News - Thursday, July 5,1894, 6:30 P.M. "EXTRA" - "BIG RIOT AT THE YARDS. . .Stock Yards Crowd Offers Resistance to the movement of Meat," p.1.

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[35]See above, note 33.

[36]The Chicago Daily News - Saturday, July 7, 1894, p.1,col.1.

[37]The Chicago Daily News, "Extra" at 5 O'Clock, Saturday, July 7, 1894, p.1.

[38]Ibid., p.1.

[39]The Chicago Daily News - Sunday, July 8, 1894, "Extra," 6 P.M., p.1, "BLOODSHED AT HAMMOND. . .MORE TROOPS ARE ORDERED TO THIS CITY."

[40]The Chicago Daily News, Tuesday, July 10, 1894, p.2, "SAYS ARMY IS TOO SMALL / Military Authorities in Congress Contemplate Increase in Standing Forces to 30,000 Men/ VIEW IS NOT CAUSED BY STRIKE." Although denying the relationship to the strike taking place in Chicago, Hammond and Cleveland and the necessity for additional troops, the connection is none the less evident.

[41]The Chicago Daily News, Tuesday, July 10, 1894,"Extra," p.1 (6:00 P.M.) and Tuesday, July 17, 1894, "Extra," p.1.

[42]The Chicago Daily Tribune, Friday, July 6, 1894, p.7. "WHITE CITY BURNED./ FLAMES SWEEP AWAY THE WORLD'S FAIR BUILDINGS. . . A grand, a glorious ending was the expressed sentiment of the great crowd that witnessed the forest of fire."

[43]Ibid., p.7.

[44]Augusta Homer Saint-Gaudens to H.W. Kent, Secretary of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, September 9, 1909 (Metropolitan Museum Archives).

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[45] Ibid.

Royal Cortissoz to Homer Saint-Gaudens, critical comments on Homer's rough draft of the Reminiscences, Ch.14, p.30.

> "The Diana is not and never was on top of the Montgomery Ward tower. The mistake which was first made in the Metropolitan Museum catalogue, and copied in the others was not discovered until I went to Chicago in 1909 and saw the one on the Montgomery Ward tower and the one by your father in front of the Museum during the exhibition."

(Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[46] It is, of course, possible that the original cast was destroyed in the two fires which ravaged Saint-Gaudens' studio in 1904 and 1944. However, looking closely at the small statue and observing the cut below the rib cage and the triangular incisions above the neck, I believe that the suggested solution of reused and adjusted models fits more accurately the probabilities of the situation. It is also typical of the sculptor's practise to constantly revise his works.

[47] "The Real 'Diana of the Garden,'" The New York Herald, Sunday, December 5, 1897, Fifth Section (New Jersey Supplement), p. 1.

[48] Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 333.

[49] Metamorphoses, p. 209.

Furthermore, Dryfhout implies that Julia Baird's account is not to be taken seriously. However, the fact that she was the model for Diana is confirmed in a letter from W.M.Kendall of the firm of McKim, Mead and White to Mrs. Lida R. McCabe of December 16, 1924 in the McKim, Mead and White collection, New-York Historical Society Print Room.

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[50]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 98.

[51]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 73.

[52]"Diana Waits for a Calm," New-York Daily Tribune, Saturday, November 18, 1893, p.7.

[53]Clipping from New York Times of March 25,1932 (New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead & White Papers).

> . . .Popular as Diana became, she did not immediately win public favor when first raised to public view, about forty years ago. There was sharp discussion about the scantiness of her drapery from a city which then had not dreamed of the vogue of knee skirts that was to come.

[54]Clipping from the Evening Telegram Mail, Friday, June 27, 1924 (New York Life Insurance Archives) refers to the fact that Diana "Represents New York."

[55]Time Magazine, September 1, 1967, p. 45 (Philadelphia Museum of Art, Diana file).

[56]John D. Devlin, President of Joslin Construction Company to Lawrence White May 5, 1925 (New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Papers). The Joslin Company was the firm who removed Diana from the tower.

[57]Between 1925 and 1932, Diana was kept in storage awaiting final disposition of her fate. She had been promised to New York University who tried to raise the requisite funds, but they were unable to do so, undoubtedly due to the Crash. (Letters and clippings in the New York Life Insurance Archives).

[58]See above, p. 242 and note 1.

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[59]Saint-Gaudens to White May 23, 1894 (Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[60]Inventory, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[61]Osterkamp-Mead Corporation to Lawrence G. White, May 10, 1927 (New-York Historical Society, S. White Papers).

Osterkamp-Mead to Mr. Edward Robinson of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, December 1, 1927 quotes price for Met cast based on "the experience had in making the first cast for Mr. White. . ." (Metropolitan Museum Archives).

May 23, 1927 Lawrence White accepts estimate (New-York Historical Society, S. White Papers).

[62]Osterkamp-Mead to Edward Robinson, December 1, 1927 (Metropolitan Museum Archives).

Dudley T. Easby, Jr., Secretary of the Metropolitan Museum of Art to Roland L. Redmond, 5 August 1948 (Metropolitan Museum Archives).

[63]Loan Receipt, May 28, 1936, Museum of the City of New York.

[64]Osterkamp-Mead (New York) to Lawrence G. White, May 10, 1927 notes that restored concrete model is in Fraser's studio. (New-York Historical Society, S. White Papers).

[65]Letter in files of the Museum of the City of New York.

[66]Metamorphoses, p. 211.

[67]Gaeton Ardisson was Saint-Gaudens' chief plaster mold-

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er for twenty or twenty-three years (Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 232 and Bond, p. 334).

Ida Metz Reed to Ardisson, March 23, 1916 (Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library). Ida Metz Reed was Saint-Gaudens' secretary in 1906-7 and then became Mrs. Saint-Gaudens' secretary when the sculptor died. In 1919 she became Assistant Director of the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site (Bond, p. 288-9).

[68] Ibid.

[69] An earlier version of the Diana signed and dated 1894 is reproduced in Metamorphoses (p.208, fig. 38). It has the bow of the second Diana (my figs. 139, 140), was cast by Gruet and measures 50.35 cm. without base. The Brooklyn cast (my fig. 146) was probably based upon the plaster sold in the Stanford White sale of 1907 (#365) to Anne Cheney which was thirty-five inches in height. No record was kept of the number of casts or the founders used.

[70] Saint-Gaudens to White, May 23, 1894, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[71] Saint-Gaudens to Augusta, August 3, 1899,"now that I have arranged the new pedestal on the smaller Dianas and remodelled the bow and hair carefully. . ." (Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[72] Ibid.

Saint-Gaudens is also reputed to have "sold a large replica of his Madison Square Diana for $1200."but to whom

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or in what material is not now known (Tharp, p. 298 does not give the source for this information and I was not able to corroborate it). It would have been of the half-size model if it was, in fact, executed.

[73]Gisela M. A. Richter, The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, revised ed., 1967), figs. 518-21 and 686, p. 265.

See also Thomas Bulfinch, The Age of Fable (N.Y.,London & Toronto: A Mentor Classic,1962), p. 65-7, "Diana and Actaeon." Also Robert Graves, The Greek Myths (Baltimore: Penguin Books,1968), 2 vols. See list of Artemis references, v.2:382.

[74]H. H. Arnason, The Sculptures of Houdon (N.Y.: Oxford University Press), 1975, figs. 99, 100, 101, 103, p. 43.

[75]Société des Artistes Français, Exposition Annuelle des Beaux-Arts/ Salon de 1882/. . .Exposes au Palais des Champs-Elysees, Le 1er Mai 1882 (Paris: Charles de Mourgues Frères, 1882), p. 385 #4353 (Copy of Salon catalogue in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

Lami II: 324-7, 330.

[76]Craven, Sculpture in America, p. 421.

Salon de 1890, "Distribution des Récompenses aux Artistes Exposants du Salon de 1889," p. clxx, "MAC MONNIES (Frédérick) (Etats-Unis d'Amérique), M.H. 1889."

Information on the location of full-scale figures of MacMonnies' Diana (Baltimore: Walters Art Gallery) and Falguière's Hunting Nymph (Laon) from Professor H.W. Janson.

[77]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 324.

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[78]Saint-Gaudens to Paul Bion, 3 December 1892,p.2-3.

> "I do not say that my treasures have been stolen from me but unconsciously they have deprived me of their luster, but rest assured I am not harboring any resentment. That is one of the reasons I had for not showing the Sherman nor the Columbus to Mac. the other reason was that I have a very clear idea of what I want to do and a criticism from him would distract me seriously.. . .You know the high opinion I have of his genius.

(Unsent letter in Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL).

Royal Cortissoz to Homer Saint-Gaudens, critical comments on Homer's rough draft of the Reminiscences, ch. 14.

> "Of course omit the matter about the plagiarists. MacMonnies and the Diana, if included at all, should be included only in passing and very skillfully."

(Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[79]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 77.

[80]Albert TenEyck Gardner, American Sculpture (The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1965), p. 42.

"THE FINAL OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE. . .WORLDS COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION, June 1894, v. IV, p. 72, "AUGUSTUS St. Gaudens, 148 W. 36th St. N.York $6000.00 [date of contract] July 11-91"

[81]The National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1861-1900, v. II: 782.

"The Spirit of Progress Statue," information sheet from Mr. Charles H. Thorne II, Public Relations, Montgomery Ward, Chicago. Information from Mr. Thorne has led me to believe that William Thorne, one of the founders of Montgomery Ward, "who is said to have bought the [Saint-Gaudens, Diana]" exhibited in 1893 at the Chicago World's Fair,may,in fact,have

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intended to do so. When the Diana was destroyed in the fire which consumed the Agricultural Building on July 5, 1894, Thorne, if speculation is correct, commissioned a new eighteen foot weathervane of copper from J. Massey Rhind.

[82]The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Catalogue of a Memorial Exhibition of the Works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, 2nd issue (Boston: D.B. Updike, The Merrymount Press,1908),p.37 #67A.

[83]Beatrice Gilman Proske, Brookgreen Gardens Sculpture, (Brookgreen, S.C., 1943), p. 101-2.

[84]Dennis, Karl Bitter, fig. 107, p. 243-4.

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Chapter 7: THE SHAW MEMORIAL: A HISTORY PAINTING IN BRONZE

The Shaw Memorial, considered by some the masterpiece of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, is situated on the edge of Boston Common facing the State House (fig. 155).[1] Unveiled during Memorial Day celebrations, May 31, 1897, it commemorates Robert Gould Shaw (fig. 156), a young colonel from Boston who was killed leading the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, a black regiment, in an unsuccessful assault on Fort Wagner in Charleston Harbor.[2] The monument is unique in nineteenth-century sculpture. Its singularity derives not only from its Civil War subject matter, but also from its format, a fusion of traditional equestrian and relief sculpture. The format evolved from such pragmatic considerations as the wishes of the family of Colonel Shaw. They felt that an equestrian statue to honor such a young man, who was not a great commander, would have been "pretentious."[3]

The monument itself is composed of a bronze relief with an arched top, set into a Knoxville marble frame on a granite base (fig. 157).[4] Saint-Gaudens portrayed young Colonel Shaw seated erectly upon his horse. Shaw points his unsheathed sword down and looks resolutely ahead while leading the first northern, black regiment into battle. The twenty-three black soldiers depicted vary sculpturally from low-relief almost to sculpture-in-the-round.[5] The individuality of the portrayals of these black soldiers adds to rather than detracts from the overall unity of the composi-

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tion. The angel of peace and death floats overhead beckoning to the men with her left hand and holding in her right an olive branch and poppies.[6] The angel is sculpted alternately in high and low relief and has become so darkened with time that it blends inconspicuously into the otherwise undifferentiated background (fig. 158). Undifferentiated, that is, except for the inscription "OMNIA·RELINQVIT/ SERVARE·REMPVBLICAM," the motto of the Society of the Cincinnati.[7] Above the head of the angel and following the contour of the arch are a series of stripes and above the stripes thirty-four stars, representing the number of states in the Union at the time of the death of Colonel Shaw,[8] now also all but indistinguishable. Fortunately, the patina of time has blended the ideal and the real which the sculptor himself seemed unable to accomplish.

Immediately below the bronze, Colonel Shaw's full name is carved into the stone. Beneath his name is an inscription identifying his regiment, giving the date and place of his birth, and briefly describing the circumstances of his death. Lower still are the lines of verse by James Russell Lowell.

RIGHT·IN·THE·VAN·ON·THE·RED·RAMPARTS·SLIPPERY·SWELL.
WITH·HEART·THAT·BEAT·A·CHARGE·HE·FELL.
FOEWARD·AS·FITS·A·MAN·
BUT·THE·HIGH·SOUL·BURNS·ON·TO·LIGHT·MEN'S·FEET.
WHERE·DEATH·FOR·NOBLE·ENDS·MAKES·DYING·SWEET·

Two wreaths of bay leaves are carved on each side of the inscription. An eagle with raised wings stands on a ball and

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faces outward from each end of the monument. The eagles seem to brace the pilasters of the frame while alluding to their symbolic role as national emblem.

Charles Follen McKim (1847-1909), who designed the architectural setting, deliberately placed the monument between two elm trees which, fortunately, still survive. The trees are within the quadrangular terrace which is bordered on three sides by a carved stone fence with urns atop each of the four corners.[9] The terrace defines the space around the monument and provides an impressive setting for this history painting in bronze.[10]

A tribute to the officers and men of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts written by Charles W. Eliot covers a large portion of the rear of the monument (fig. 159). The inscription is flanked by fasces and partially fluted pilasters and topped by a large spread-winged eagle. Each of the five base blocks is inscribed with the name of one of the other officers killed in the assault lead by Shaw.[11]

With the unveiling of the Shaw Memorial Augustus Saint-Gaudens became not only the dean of nineteenth-century American sculptors but also the example, par excellence, of the Civil War sculptor, the sculptor of history. Since history painting had lost its preeminent position as an art form in Europe after the revolutions of 1848, and belatedly in America by the end of the 1850's, the necessities of the Civil War gave it the coup de grâce.[12] When hostilities ceased and

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metals again became available, America turned to public sculpture in bronze to immortalize its heroes. During the golden age of public sculpture in America, between the Civil War and World War I, Saint-Gaudens created six monumental bronze sculptures commemorating Civil War heroes or events: the Farragut Monument (1881, Madison Square Park, New York, fig. 16), the standing Abraham Lincoln (1887, Chicago, fig. 44), the seated Abraham Lincoln (1907, Chicago, fig. 48), the Shaw Memorial (May 31, 1897, Boston, fig. 155), the equestrian General Logan (June 22, 1897, Chicago, fig. 182) and the Sherman Monument (1903, New York, fig. 197). Of these, the Shaw Memorial is undoubtedly the most unusual in format, as it most closely approaches historical painting and is less related to traditional methods of representing such events. A unique and elegant Civil War monument, it celebrates America as exemplified by a courageous, young Bostonian and his equally brave regiment of black volunteers, who influenced the course of American history perhaps more than anyone dreamed.

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II. Robert Gould Shaw (1837-1863)

Robert Gould Shaw, the son of Francis George and Sarah Blake (Sturgis)Shaw, was born in Boston on October 10, 1837 and was killed during the Civil War in the assault on Fort Wagner, South Carolina, July 18, 1863.[13] Shaw's privileged background enabled him to study abroad and to enter Harvard in 1856.[14] During his junior year, he left Harvard to take a position in New York with his uncle, Henry P. Sturgis.[15] Office life did not seem to suit him, however, and at approximately the same time that he cast his only presidential ballot for Abraham Lincoln, Shaw enlisted in New York's famed Seventh Regiment.[16] On April 19, 1861, responding to a presidential call to defend the national capital, Shaw marched with the Seventh Regiment to Washington, D.C.[17] He served with the Seventh the obligatory thirty days, and then, on May 28, 1861, obtained a commission as second lieutenant in the "fighting second" Massachusetts regiment.[18] On July 8, 1861, he was made a first lieutenant, and, on August 10, 1862, he was advanced to captain.[19] While attached to the Second Massachusetts as an aide to General George H. Gordon, Shaw served in the battles of Cedar Mountain and Antietam.[20]

All accounts of Shaw seem to stress his humanitarian qualities, and his letters emphasize his consciousness of the suffering and horrors inseparable from war. At this point in Shaw's military career, political consideretions seemed to intrude. The governor of Massachusetts, John A. Andrew, se-

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lected Shaw to head the first regiment of blacks to be recruited in the North.[21] Although Shaw's was not the first black regiment, recruiting blacks had many political overtones, and the federal government vacillated in its decision to recruit them.

The first black regiment was actually raised on May 9, 1862, by Major General David Hunter.[22] Called the First South Carolina, it was disavowed by the government, although one company remained to form the nucleus of a reorganized regiment under the same name.[23] Two days before the unveiling of the Shaw Memorial, Colonel N.P. Hallowell, whose brother, Edward N. Hallowell, had served under Shaw, recounted that General Hunter had impressed freed blacks into his Civil War regiment at Hilton Head, "an example of how not to do it."[24] The first black regiment authorized by the federal government in August 1862 was the First Kansas Colored.[25]

Governor Andrew, an ardent abolitionist, and others petitioned President Lincoln for permission to recruit black soldiers.[26] The federal government"at first demurred" fearing that the recruitment of black soldiers would prejudice the recruitment of white soldiers and ultimately have a negative effect upon the Union cause.[27] Finally, however, the government decided to try Governor Andrew's plan as an experiment. In January 1863, Edwin Stanton, secretary of war, authorized the governor to organize the first black regiment to be raised in the North, the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts.[28]

Governor Andrew wrote to Robert Shaw's father offering a colonelcy to Robert to head the volunteers of the Fifty-

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fourth Massachusetts, indicating that it was so offered because Shaw was a "young man of military experience" and "of firm anti-slavery principles."[29] Francis G. Shaw brought the proposed commission to his son in Stafford Court House, Virginia, and, after refusing initially, Robert wired his father on February 6, 1863, to inform the governor that he would accept.[30] Robert Shaw then wrote his fiancée.

> I shall feel that what I have to do is to prove that a negro can be made a good soldier. I am inclined to think that the undertaking will not meet with so much opposition as was at first supposed. There is a great prejudice against it, but now that it has become a government matter, that will probably wear away. At any rate, I shan't be frightened out of it by its unpopularity. I feel convinced I shall never regret having taken this step,as far as I myself am concerned. (31)

An advertisement from the Boston Journal of 1863, quoted in 1897, indicated that troops of "African descent" were being recruited with the promise of equal pay at the rate of $13 per month, "state aid for families," and a bounty of $100 at the expiration of three years service.[32] Later, when the government reneged on its commitment, Shaw demanded that his troops receive the $13 per month and insisted as well that they be given the light blue uniforms of the regular army, as opposed to the dark blue usually given to orderlies.[33] Shaw was successful in pursuing these claims on behalf of his men.[34]

Hardly more than two weeks after Shaw's acceptance of command, twenty-seven recruits were ordered to Camp Meigs at Readville to begin training.[35] On March 31, Shaw was commissioned major and then, on April 17, colonel of the Fifty-fourth

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Massachusetts.[36] On May 2, he was married to Anna Kneeland Haggerty in New York.[37]

Meanwhile, the Confederate Congress, reacting strongly to the recruitment of black troops in the North, passed the following act on May 1, 1863, which in effect made traitors of officers such as Shaw.

> Section IV: That every white person being a commissioned officer, or acting as such, who, during the present war shall command negroes or mulattoes in arms against the confederate states, or who shall arm, train, organize or prepare negroes or mulattoes for military service against the confederate states, or who shall voluntarily aid negroes or mulattoes in any military enterprise, attack or conflict in such service, shall be deemed as inciting servile insurrection, and shall if captured be put to death or be otherwise punished at the discretion of the court. (38)

Although there were approximately four-hundred recruits in camp by March, it was not until May 14, 1863, that the ranks were full.[39] On May 18, amid much ceremony, the regiment was officially activated and presented with four flags.[40] The regiment was charged with the honor of the State of Massachusetts and of Governor Andrew.[41] On May 28, the regiment broke camp and started for South Carolina and the command of General Hunter in the department of the South, marching past the very site which was later to receive the Shaw Memorial.[42] It also seems worth noting that for more than half of these men there was not much more than six or eight weeks of basic training before the Fifty-fourth made its way south to the field of battle.

On June 14, 1863, Colonel Shaw wrote to Governor Andrew

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to protest having had to take part in the sacking of Darien, Georgia, a nonmilitary target, under Colonel James Montgomery's orders.[43] Shaw further requested that the Fifty-fourth be allowed to transfer to another command, as well as demanding that they be allowed to fight alongside white soldiers.[44] The protest was followed by another letter on July 2, informing the governor of the federal government's decision to reimburse his troops at a lesser rate.[45] He wrote that either the soldiers in his command should be mustered out of the service or that they should receive the full amount to which they were entitled.[46] Shaw concluded by saying that he would refuse to have the regiment paid at the lesser rate.[47] Approximately eighteen months later his troops received their full back pay.[48]

On July 16, the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts under Colonel Shaw acquitted itself well in a skirmish on James Island, South Carolina.[49] On the basis of this success Shaw asked that his regiment be brigaded with white troops under General George C. Strong.[50] The request was granted, and Shaw's regiment set out on July 16 from James Island to Cole's Island and from there by steamer to Folly and Morris Islands.[51] The Fifty-fourth was almost without food or shelter during two days of travel in hard rain.[52] The black regiment reached General Strong's headquarters at about 5:00 P.M. on July 18 and immediately took its position to the right of a brigade containing five white regiments.[53]

> The assault [on Fort Wagner] was finally made about midnight, under cover of a bombardment,

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> and the regiment actually gained the parapet of the fort; but, being left for some reason without proper support, it was ultimately driven out, having suffered fearfully. More than half the officers were killed or wounded, and nearly one half the men were killed, wounded or missing. (54)

Although Colonel Shaw had been given a choice of whether or not he wished to lead the Fifty-fourth in the assault on Fort Wagner, the offer itself and the original charge of the governor of Massachusetts to the regiment made it almost imperative that Shaw accept, despite the fatigue of his troops. Many accounts suggest that Shaw understood he was the sacrificial lamb to be offered up on that night of July 18, 1863 in order to prove the valor of his black troops.[55]

Fort Wagner was one of two earthworks on Morris Island (the other was Fort Gregg) which, with Fort Sumter and other fortifications, guarded Charleston, South Carolina, the principal port for the Confederacy.[56] The assault on Fort Wagner was preceded by a shelling on July 11 and 12 and by an unsuccessful land assault with white troops under the command of Brigadier General Quincy Adams Gilmore.[57] As a Confederate officer at Fort Sumter later reported, however, the whole expedition was a needless waste of life.[58] The Confederates had broken the Union code and knew of the impending attack.[59] Shaw failed primarily because of lack of support, for the third brigade never appeared.[60]

> Strategically considered, the assault on battery Wagner was as useless as the battle of New Orleans in 1815 fought after peace was made.. . .
>
> If there was need of Morris island, the taking of it was for the navy, not for the army. Surely,the

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> most natural way to operate against an island is by water. . ..
>
> Had there been a Farragut off Charleston, how differently would history need to be written! (61)

Why then celebrate a colonel who led black troops in an unsuccessful attack? Certainly, the deliberate attempt to desecrate the body of Colonel Shaw was unparalleled in American military history. The story of how his body was stripped and thrown into a common grave with his troops, as ordered by Brigadier General Johnson Hagood, commander of the Confederate forces at Fort Wagner, was widely reported and possibly even exaggerated. However, the basic reason Colonel Shaw's act of bravery was accorded so much publicity, verging upon canonization, was incisively summed up in 1865 in words attributed to Horace Greeley.

> But the true reason why Massachusetts singled out this regiment for peculiar honor is because this was the first colored regiment organized in the North, and was that one on whose good conduct depended for a long time the success of the whole experiment of arming black citizens in defense of the republic. It is not too much to say that if this Massachusetts 54th had faltered when its trial came, 200,000 colored troops for whom it was a pioneer, would never have been put in for another year,which would have been equivalent to protracting the war into 1866. But it did not falter. It made Fort Wagner such a name to the colored race as Bunker Hill had been for 90 years to the white Yankees - albeit black men fought side by side with white ones in the trenches on that 17th of June. (62)

President Lincoln indicated that it was possible that these black troops had tipped the balance that made Union Victory possible.[63] Since black soldiers comprised about ten percent of the Union armies by the end of the Civil War;[64]

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there is additional evidence not only of the military significance of their effort, but specifically of the importance of the battle of Fort Wagner on July 18, 1863 in recruiting black Americans into the Union army.

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III. The Commission and Evolution of the Shaw Memorial

The first move to erect a monument to Shaw was made by survivors of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts, veterans of Higginson's regiment, and the black community of Beaufort, South Carolina.[65] They planned to build a memorial on Morris Island near the site of Fort Wagner, but they were prevented from doing so by unstable ground conditions and the resentment of the white populace.[66] The funds raised were later used to found the first free school for black children in Charleston.[67] It was named in honor of Shaw.[68]

A second attempt to create a monument to honor Shaw was headed by Governor Andrew of Massachusetts.[69] Late in 1865, the governor, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, Senator Charles Sumner, Henry Lee, and others met in the council chamber and appointed a committee of twenty-one members to secure an equestrian statue of the late Colonel Shaw.[70] William Wetmore Story (1819-95), a friend of Senator Sumner's was asked to undertake the commission.[71] This effort did not succeed either, possibly due to the deaths of Governor Andrew, who was chairman of the committee and Senator Sumner.[72] The committee continued, however, and the fund of $3161.it had collected was entrusted to Edward Atkinson, treasurer, for investment.[73] By 1876 the fund had grown to approximately $7,000.[74] A working committee was then constituted to raise additional money, and by 1883 the fund amounted to $16,656.21.[75]

The recorded involvement of Saint-Gaudens with the

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Shaw Memorial began on February 24, 1881, with a letter from architect Henry Hobson Richardson (1838-1886) who wrote: "My dear St. Gaudens [,] I have arranged about the Shaw Monument. when can you come on to see the Committee. Mssrs: Atkinson, Lee and Forbes."[76] Richardson, a friend and neighbor of Atkinson, suggested that Saint-Gaudens undertake the work and that he, Richardson, would render the architectural framework.[77] The architect offered as evidence of Saint-Gaudens' skill a photograph of the Farragut Monument, which had been unveiled to enthusiastic, critical acclaim in Madison Square Park, New York, on May 25, 1881.[78]

In 1882, Saint-Gaudens was in correspondence with the Shaw Monument Committee. In a letter to Atkinson, he wrote: "I would be happy to make a model for the committee, precedent to signing the contract, as I understand that I am the sculptor selected to execute the Shaw Memorial."[79] On that same day, June 10, 1882 Saint-Gaudens reemphasized his point in another letter to Atkinson indicating that he would create a model only if he had been selected.[80] On December 15, 1882 Saint-Gaudens wrote again to Atkinson: "Your note of Dec 9th received I have one small artistic clay model made now and in a few days, will have two others."[81] It may therefore be concluded that by the end of 1882 Saint-Gaudens had unofficially been designated sculptor of the Shaw Memorial and that he had made three clay sketches.[82]

On March 19, 1883 Saint-Gaudens again wrote to Atkinson.

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> . . .I have been hard at work on the model for some time and will have it finished in the clay in about ten days. The casting and accessories will take a few days longer and then I will take it to Boston.. . . (83)

The clay model for the Shaw Memorial was, therefore, completed by the end of March 1883. It was then cast in plaster and brought to Boston the first week in April 1883.[84] The plaster model of the Shaw Memorial (fig. 160) now at the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site is probably the same model to which Saint-Gaudens alluded in his letters. Although Shaw and his troops are directed to the left, the general format of the model is exactly the same as the final version with its arched top and floating figure (fig. 157). The extrusion on the right front of the model might be seen as a fragment of a seated mourning female figure, designed in-the-round to compliment the relief above. The arched top had apparently been decided upon before September 2, 1883, when Augusta Saint-Gaudens wrote to her husband about a grandfather clock which she had just purchased: "The top is shaped precisely as you propose making the top of the Shaw bas relief."[85]

Ultimately, the committee approved the model, and the contract with Saint-Gaudens was drawn on February 23, 1884.[86] The contract called for a bronze relief of at least ten feet by eleven feet with life-size figures and appropriate architecture.[87] The sculptor was to be paid $15,000. and the work was to be executed within two years.[88] The contract also stated that its approval was contingent upon a sketch submitted by Augustus Saint-Gaudens in April 1883.[89] As has

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been suggested, this was probably the model preserved at the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site (fig. 160). Therefore, before February 23, 1884, the plans for the memorial had been changed from the original equestrian figure desired by the committee to a relief with life-size figures. It was also noted earlier that this change in concept was a direct result of the wishes of the Shaw family.

In 1881, when Saint-Gaudens sought the Shaw commission, it was as a young sculptor, who, having received wide acclaim for his monument to Admiral David Farragut, wished to prove himself with an equestrian monument. It was perhaps a felicitous twist of fate that the intended equestrian monument turned into a monumental bas-relief, for Saint-Gaudens was one of the great masters of portrait reliefs in the nineteenth century.

Saint-Gaudens commented on the evolution of the design for the Shaw Memorial.

> In justice to myself I must say here that from the low-relief I proposed making when I undertook the Shaw commission, a relief that reasonably could be finished for the limited sum at the command of the committee, I, through my extreme interest in it and its opportunity, increased the conception until the rider grew almost to a statue in the round and the negroes assumed far more importance than I had originally intended. Hence the monument, developing in this way infinitely beyond what could be paid for,became a labor of love, and lessened my hesitation in setting it aside at times to make way for more lucrative commissions, commissions that would reimburse me for the pleasure and time I was devoting to this. (90)

Aside from the "more lucrative commissions" which undoubtedly included such monuments as the standing Abraham

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Lincoln (1887) and the Bates fountain, Storks at Play(1887) for Chicago and the Puritan for Springfield, Massachusetts (1887) there were other factors which delayed the completion of the commission. The death of Henry Hobson Richardson in 1886 and Charles F. McKim's assumption of Richardson's duties as architectural advisor for the monument certainly caused delay. The formation of the Art Commission of the City of Boston in 1890 was undoubtedly another factor which delayed the final installation of the monument. The problems of multiple rifles and their treatment posed artistic obstacles.[91] However, it was probably the slow evolution of the artist's concept that caused the greatest delay with economic considerations a close second.

The site plans developed by Charles F. McKim and submitted by Saint-Gaudens to the Boston Art Commission were approved on February 4,1892.[92] By 1892 the sculptor was working on the greater than life-size clay, the equestrian portion of which had already been cast in plaster.[93] Furthermore, at that point it was fully expected that the Shaw Memorial would be installed in 1893, and the granite work was in fact completed by August 25,1893.[94] As late as 1893, however, Saint-Gaudens was still seeking models for the heads of the black soldiers of Shaw's regiment.[95] In March 1893 he was also still working on the angel of death.[96] It was the

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angel and its various metamorphoses which extended the evolution of the design of the monument until the turn of the century, well after installation of the version on the Boston Common. Homer Saint-Gaudens described his father's preoccupation with the angel.

> But most of all, the flying figure drove my father nearly frantic in his efforts to combine the ideal with the real. For the face he tried first the beautiful head of Miss Annie Page. But that, like the features of any model, always became much too personal. So he relied wholly upon his imagination to produce a result which his friends and pupils have said somewhat recalled his mother and somewhat an old model in Paris;. . .. (97)

The first version of the Shaw Memorial (fig. 161), completed by August 3, 1896, was recorded in a series of photographs taken by the Century Company and preserved at the American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters in New York.[98] These photographs show that the original concept of the angel of death differs from the version installed on Boston Common in 1897 (fig. 157). In the first version, the angel faces outward with lowered eyes and holds the palms of glory or victory (fig. 162). Two of the photographs of the original version of the Shaw Memorial were reproduced in a series of articles published in the Century Magazine of June 1897 in conjunction with the unveiling of the monument in Boston.[99] William A. Coffin described the first angel in detail, indicating that she holds the palms of glory and poppies, the symbol of death.[100] These photographs were undoubtedly taken from the plaster model in

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Saint-Gaudens' studio in October 1896 when Coffin interviewed the sculptor for an article about his life and work.[101] Since it is now possible to distinguish between the first and second versions of the Shaw Memorial, it is also possible to designate the Study for the Angel from the Robert Gould Shaw Memorial in the Brooklyn Museum of Art (fig. 163) as a posthumous cast of an early sketch for this first version of the angel in the Shaw Memorial.

Although the original plaster was completed before Coffin's visit in the autumn of 1896, Saint-Gaudens began reworking the head of the flying figure while awaiting the bronze founders. On February 17, 1897 he wrote to his niece, Rose Nichols.

> . . .To-day, however, I have had a kind of sad feeling of companionship with [Paul Bion, who had recently died] that seems to bring him to me, in working over the head of the flying figure of the "Shaw." The bronze-founders are not ready for it yet. I have had a stamp made of the figure, and I am sure you will think I have helped it a great deal. You know that [Abbott] Thayer told me he thought an idea I once had of turning the head more in profile was a better one than I had evolved, and I've always wished to do it. It is done, and it's the feeling of death and mystery and love, in the making of it, that brought my friend back to me so much to-day.. . .
>
> I shall be all the week at the figure. I've made an olive branch instead of the palm, - it looks less "Christian martyr-like," - and I have lightened and simplified the drapery a great deal. I had not seen it for two or three months and I had a fresh impression.. . . (102)

Century Magazine then had the revised monument rephotographed in situ before the June (1897) issue went to press.

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This photograph (fig. 157) of the second (Boston) version was then reproduced along with details of the first version.

Between March and May 1897, the Shaw Memorial was cast in bronze by the Gorham Manufacturing Company of New York for $7,000.[103] In the fall, after the unveiling of the monument on Boston Common on May 31, 1897, Saint-Gaudens went to Paris. While there and before the exhibition of the plaster in 1898 at the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, the sculptor again revised the flying figure, as well as making other minor changes. The changes were recorded in a photograph included in Léonce Benedite's review of the sculpture of the Salons of 1898 in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts (fig. 164).[104] In this reproduction, it is apparent that Saint-Gaudens reversed the direction of the horse's mane so that it flows backward, reinforcing the forward motion of the soldiers and their colonel. He also simplified and straightened the upper folds of the drapery in this third version of the angel of death.

The plaster exhibited in 1898 at the Salon of the Champ de Mars was again exhibited in Paris at the international exposition of 1900 where the sculptor was awarded a grand prize.[105] From the reproduction in The Chefs-d'Oeuvre of the Exposition Universelle (fig. 165),[106] it can be seen that the sculptor varied the flying figure for a fourth time, straightening the slightly flexed knee and flipping over the top of the drapery. Saint-Gaudens also lowered the entire figure so that the drapery extended down behind the rifles of the soldiers.

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It was a cast of this fourth and final version of the Shaw Memorial which was exhibited at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York in 1901 (fig. 166) and which was purchased by the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy on February 22, 1902 for $2000.[107] The Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, also known as the Albright Art Gallery and subsequently as the Albright-Knox Art Gallery, exhibited the Shaw Memorial in its permanent galleries until 1919 when additional exhibition space was needed and a wall was erected in front of the memorial.[108] It remained hidden from view for thirty years until it was given to the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site in Cornish, New Hampshire in 1949 where it is now permanently installed (fig. 167).[109]

Since the "stamp" of the Angel of Peace and Death (fig. 168) in the collection of the Brooklyn Museum appears close to the final version of the monument, it is probable that it was based upon a cast of the flying figure ordered by Saint-Gaudens from Casteras Brothers in 1904 or a later "piece mold" taken by Joseph Balk of Buffalo in 1905.[110] Saint-Gaudens seems to have ordered this late plaster cast of the final version of the angel for an intended recast in bronze which was to have been inserted in the Boston relief, but this plan was not carried out.[111]

The list of problems encountered, sculptors hired to assist Saint-Gaudens, and letters back and forth about a variety of issues is endless in this nineteen-year project which spanned two continents. But, when the monument was

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unveiled in Boston on May 31, 1897, the result of his efforts was extensively applauded. The Boston Daily Globe, the Boston Herald, the Boston Evening Transcript and the Boston Post were filled with accounts of the ceremonies, the battle of Fort Wagner on July 18, 1863, Colonel Robert Gould Shaw and his family, the speakers at the unveiling and their speeches, and the sculptor, Saint-Gaudens. Details of the festivities were published days before the unveiling and continued afterward and the event was reported in New York and London as well.[112]

The critics, too, were delighted with the Shaw Memorial, all except Saint-Gaudens' Parisian friend, Paul Bion (1845-97), whose opinion the sculptor deeply respected. Bion wrote:

> I had no need of your 'nom de Dieu' allegory on the ceiling. Your negroes marching in step and your Colonel leading them told me enough. Your priestess merely bores me as she tries to impress upon me the beauty of their action. (113)

Bion's negative response to the angel in the Shaw Memorial could only have been based upon a photograph of the first version of the monument (fig. 161), for Bion died before February 17, 1897 when Saint-Gaudens discussed his death and the proposed changes he was making in the angel in a letter to his niece, Rose Nichols.[114] Therefore, the angel of peace and death in the second (Boston) version of the Shaw Memorial (fig. 157) may be seen as a direct response to Bion's criticism as well as to his earlier conversation with the painter Abbott Thayer about turning the head more in profile.[115]

As late as 1904, Saint-Gaudens considered having plaster replicas of the Shaw Memorial executed for the Carnegie In-

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stitute in Pittsburgh and the universal exposition in St. Louis, Missouri. He expressed reservations in a letter of March 31, 1904 to John M. Beatty of the Carnegie Institute.

> I have a horror of the exhibition of my work in Plaster, particularly, if it is to be permanent and unless the Shaw is colored, as is the replica at Buffalo, I could not consent to its reproduction. (116)

Therefore, Saint-Gaudens declined to have additional replicas made, and the history of the monument rests with the second version in bronze at Boston (figs. 155, 158) and the fourth version in plaster at Cornish, New Hampshire (fig. 167).[117]

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IV. Historical Precedents and Later Reflections

Sculptural precedents for the Shaw Memorial are practically nonexistent, but a precise pictorial precedent is the historical painting, Compagne de France, 1814 (fig. 169) by Jean-Louis-Ernest Meissonier (1815-91). Not only is there a letter from Saint-Gaudens to his niece, Eugenie Nichols asking her to purchase a photograph of the painting for him, but the letter contains a sketch of the painting (fig. 170). A pencil drawing by Saint-Gaudens records his rendering of the Shaw Memorial based upon the Meissonier painting (fig. 171). In the drawing the sculptor shows the equestrian Shaw emerging from the background of foot soldiers at a 45-degree angle, and the sketch is enclosed in the arched framework adopted for the finished work. In the final version, Saint-Gaudens portrayed Shaw and his horse parallel to the picture plane, but his indebtedness to Meissonier remains crucial to his conception of the monument.

The closest sculptural precedent for the Shaw Memorial, in terms of intent, may be the equestrian relief Henri IV (fig. 172) completed by the French sculptor, Philippe-Joseph-Henri Lemaire (1789-1880) in 1838 for the Hôtel de Ville, Paris.[118] It was one of many such works commissioned during the restoration of l'ancien regime and, although removed during the Commune, May 21, 1871, it may be seen today in the Musée Carnavalet.[119] The Lemaire monument, executed in bronze high relief, was probably known to Saint-Gaudens who

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studied sculpture in Paris from 1867 to 1870. The monument of Henri IV bears some artistic relationship to the central equestrian figure of Colonel Shaw (fig. 158). Henri IV boldly faces the viewer, and presumably his subjects, holding his laurel palms, while Colonel Shaw looks resolutely ahead and holds his sword down at his side, or did until it was broken off. Additionally, the arched frame was employed in both monuments.

Closer precedents may be found in traditional equestrian statues such as Henri IV (fig. 173) by François Lemot (1771-1827) or the Tomb of General Gobert (fig. 174) by David d' Angers (1788-1855). Both have historical reliefs on their pedestals. The mounted General Gobert is depicted at the exact moment of death, and four carved reliefs on the sides of the tomb, stylistically related to Roman sarcophagi of the second century A.D., depict the major battles in which he participated.[120] The Shaw Monument may be seen, then, as a fusion of an equestrian statue and the historical reliefs commonly found on the bases of such statues. As noted previously, Saint-Gaudens was anxious to secure the commission because it would have been his first equestrian statue, but the necessities of the commission dictated otherwise. The result is a highly unusual form for historical sculpture, a history painting in bronze relief, evolving from the special needs of the commission and its commissioners.

There are few examples in the nineteenth century of

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monumental relief sculpture of historical subjects in bronze before the Shaw Memorial. Most historical reliefs of the nineteenth century perform a subsidiary role in relation to the monuments they adorn. A notable exception is The Victims of Labor (fig. 175) by Vincenzo Vela (1820-91), a monumental relief commemorating workers killed during the construction of St. Gotthards tunnel in the Alps. Vela's relief sympathetically portrays the death of the working man.[121] Concern with the working man had been an important theme in French art since the revolution of 1848 and Vela, although Swiss, had exhibited in Paris and knew the French art scene. Conversely, it may be assumed that Saint-Gaudens was aware of the work of the Swiss sculptor since Vela had won a first-class medal for sculpture at the Exposition Universelle of 1867, the first year of Saint-Gaudens' residence in Paris.[122]

François Rude (1784-1855) created his monumental and moving La Marseillaise (fig. 176) on the Arc de Triomphe in Paris in 1833-36.[123] It successfully fuses allegory and patriotism into a dynamic sculptural work which is midway between sculpture-in-the-round and bas-relief. Rude's La Marseillaise spawned many generations of monuments, not the least of which was the dramatic bronze sculptural program by Frederick MacMonnies for the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Arch (fig. 177) in Brooklyn which included the bronze quadriga atop the arch and the two bronze sculptural reliefs on either side of the monument.[124] The Army (fig.178), exhibited

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at the Salon de 1900,[125] bears an unmistakable resemblance to Rude's La Marseillaise. The Navy (fig. 179) owes much to Saint-Gaudens' Farragut Monument (1881, fig. 16) as well as to Franklin Simmons' bronze navy group in the Civil War Memorial (1891, Portland, Maine, fig. 41), which in turn is indebted to Saint-Gaudens' Farragut.[126]

Works specifically dependent upon the Shaw Memorial and therefore much closer stylistically are the Lafayette Monument by Daniel Chester French (fig. 180) and the Signing of the Louisiana Purchase Treaty by Karl Bitter (fig. 181). French's Lafayette Monument, unveiled May 10, 1917 in Prospect Park, Brooklyn, is composed of a bronze relief set in a granite architectural frame designed by French's friend and associate, Henry Bacon.[127] Although the shapes of the relief and the frame echo the Shaw Memorial, French's monument is far simpler. The figure of Lafayette stands before his horse and the single figure of the groom provides the supporting cast. As in the Shaw Memorial, the primary figure is nearly sculpture-in-the-round. Although the Lafayette Monument may be seen as monumental, historical painting in bronze relief, when compared to the Shaw Memorial (figs. 155, 157, 158), it has an almost anecdotal quality much like that found in historical genre painting.[128]

Karl Bitter, born and trained in Vienna, came to America on November 22,1889.[129] He was employed by Richard Morris Hunt and began his career by doing interior decorations for

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Hunt's architectural firm.[130] In 1893 he executed high relief panels for the porch of the Vanderbilt mansion on Fifth Avenue which was being enlarged by George B. Post.[131] Saint-Gaudens had executed many commissions for the mansion, including the Caryatids for the elaborate mantelpiece (1883, Metropolitan Museum of Art, fig. 122). This is but one of many parallels in the work of Saint-Gaudens and Bitter, and about which our interest centers because of Bitter's continued stylistic dependence on the work of the elder sculptor. The Signing of the Louisiana Purchase Treaty was executed in conjunction with the Jefferson Memorial (1912-13, marble, Missouri Historical Society, Forest Park, St. Louis).[132] The relief is a variation of the panel created for the 1904 World's Fair in St. Louis and celebrates the acquisition of the largest single tract of land in the history of the United States.[133] The Signing of the Louisiana Purchase Treaty is set in a frame with an arched top. Unlike the Shaw Memorial (fig. 157) or the Lafayette Monument (fig. 180), it is vertical rather than horizontal in format. The inscription above the figures quotes Livingston's official statement at the moment of signing and is a decorative element evoking the portrait reliefs of Saint-Gaudens. Bitter's Treaty like French's Lafayette Monument relates not only to historical sculpture in bronze relief but also to historical genre painting.

The Shaw Memorial added to the prestige of an already internationally recognized American sculptor, the first major

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American sculptor trained at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris. Exhibited in Boston and at international expositions in Paris and Buffalo, the Shaw Memorial was widely seen, admired and discussed as well as being reproduced in many international art journals. Furthermore, the variation in relief from low to virtual sculpture-in-the-round was considered eminently successful by critics both here and abroad.[134]

The development of the memorial spanned nineteen years and four distinct variations. Although the sculptural impact of the Shaw Memorial lasted only two decades, its historical impact may be counted as a legacy for all times. Saint-Gaudens captured the history and meaning of individual and collective gallantry during a particular moment of the Civil War, and in that sense his monument is incomparable.

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Chapter 7: THE SHAW MEMORIAL - FOOTNOTES

[1]Kenyon Cox as quoted by Mrs. Saint-Gaudens in Homer Saint-Gaudens, ed., The Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, 2 vols. (New York: Century Co., 1913), II: 94.

Kenyon Cox, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," The Atlantic Monthly, vol. CI (March 1908), p. 306. Cox calls the Shaw "unsurpassed." Later on p. 308 Cox classifies the Shaw and Sherman as Saint-Gaudens' greatest works.

Lorado Taft, The History of American Sculpture (1903, 1924; reprint ed. New York: Arno Press, 1969), p. 302.

Lincoln Kirstein, Lay This Laurel (New York: Eakins Press, 1973), unpaged but p.1, section I.

[2]The Boston Post, Tuesday, June 1, 1897, p.1.

[3]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I: 332.

[4]McKim, Mead and White Collection, Print Room, New-York Historical Society.

[5]Of the forty original studies executed by Saint-Gaudens, five plaster heads (and five bronzes cast from them) remain at the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site in Cornish, New Hampshire. A careful count of the black soldiers in the relief indicates that there are twenty-three, with more implied by the number of rifles.

[6]Despite the fact that the branch has been called laurel (by Homer Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I: 343 and by Kirstein), the sculptor himself referred to it as an olive

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branch (Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II:120) and the branch definitely corresponds to botanical drawings of the olive branch and leaf. Therefore, the flying figure has been renamed "the angel of peace and death" as that seems to correspond with the intent of the artist.

[7]Shaw was a hereditary member of the society. Although the Latin is incorrect, it was never changed, undoubtedly because it was the form used by the founding members of the society. William A. Coffin, "II. The Sculptor St. Gaudens," The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine, v. LIV (May-October 1897, London and New York), p. 182. This is the second of three consecutive articles in the Century Magazine with the composite title of "The Shaw Memorial and the Sculptor St. Gaudens," which occurred in the same volume in conjunction with the unveiling of the monument in Boston.

[8]Coffin, "The Sculptor St. Gaudens," p. 182. Although it may have been the intention of Saint-Gaudens to use thirty-four stars to represent the number of states in the Union at the time of the death of Colonel Shaw, there were actually thirty-five states in the Union on July 18, 1863. West Virginia became the thirty-fifth state of the Union on June 20, 1863, almost a month before the Battle of Fort Wagner.

[9]The overall dimensions of the monument are 19' x 66' (Boston Art Commission, "Minutes,"handwritten transcription of the minutes of meetings held from the first meeting in 1890 to 1897, in one unpaged volume, February 4, 1892). Unfortunately, the left front urn was recently destroyed by

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vandals and has not been replaced.

See also drawing for proposed site in McKim, Mead and White Collection, New-York Historical Society Print Room.

[10]The terrace was built by Norcross Brothers at a cost to the city of Boston of $19,920. (Norcross to Saint-Gaudens, May 12, 1897, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[11]Coffin, "Sculptor, St. Gaudens," p. 186.

[12]William H. Gerdts, "Mid-Nineteenth Century American History Painting and Its German and American Antecedents," lecture, January 13, 1976, Graduate Center, City University of New York.

[13]The Sunday Herald, (Boston), May 30, 1897, p. 25.

[14]The Sunday Herald, (Boston), May 30, 1897, p. 25.

[15]The Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897, unpaged section after p. 32, n.p.

[16]The Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897, n.p.

[17]The Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897, n.p.

[18]The Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897, n.p.

[19]The Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897, n.p.

[20]The Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897, n.p.

[21]Memorial: R[obert] G[ould] S[haw] (Cambridge, [Mass.]: University [Harvard] Press, 1864), p. 2. John A. Andrew to Francis G. Shaw, Jan. 30, 1863 ". . .it occurs to me to offer the Colonelcy of such a Regiment to your son, Captain Shaw. . .it will be the first Coloured Regiment to be raised

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in the Free States."

[22]Thomas Wentworth Higginson, "III. Colored Troops Under Fire," Century Magazine, v. 54 (June 1897), p. 194. This is the third article about Saint-Gaudens and the Shaw Memorial published in conjunction with its unveiling. Higginson was a military historian and colonel of the reorganized First South Caroline. He had been a Unitarian minister and active in the abolition movement before the war. His account seems to offer a balanced and objective view of the circumstances surrounding this highly complex affair.

[23]Ibid., p. 194.

[24]Boston Evening Transcript, May 29, 1897, p. 24.

Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897, n.p., reported that Colonel Hallowell was formerly a major under Colonel Shaw in the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts.

"Colonel Hallowell said that while it was true that he held a commission in the Fifty-fourth under Colonel Shaw, it was his fortune to be detailed by Secretary Stanton to remain at home and raise the Fifty-fifth. He must therefore leave the honors of the Fifty-fourth to his brother Edward (cheers)." (Boston Post, June 1, 1897, p. 1.).

[25]Higginson, "Colored Troops Under Fire," p. 194.

[26]Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897, n.p.

[27]Ibid.

[28]Ibid.

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[29]The Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897, n.p.

[30]Ibid.

The Monument to Robert Gould Shaw/Its Inception, Completion and Unveiling 1865-1897 (Boston & N.Y.: Houghton Mifflin & Co. (The Riverside Press, Cambridge,[Mass.],1897), p. 30.

Memorial: RGS, p. 5.

[31]The Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897, n.p.

[32]Ibid.

[33]Ibid.

[34]Ibid.

Memorial: RGS, p. 195, "On the 30th of April, 1864,the Congress of the United States passed an Act recognizing the absolute equality of all soldiers of the United States,without distinction of colour, and, by the same Act, rendered to the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment, and others similarly enlisted, the justice which had been so long withheld. . .."

[35]The Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897, n.p.

[36]Ibid.

[37]Ibid.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Kirstein, section II.

[40]Memorial: RGS, p. 9.

In an address to his men, Shaw stated: "To these men of Massachusetts, and of the surrounding States, who have now

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made themselves citizens of Massachusetts, I have no word to utter fit to express the emotions of my heart." (Memorial:RGS, p.11). This was, of course, an additional incentive for black men to enlist in the Fifty-fourth regiment - citizenship.

[41] The Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897, n.p.

[42] Memorial RGS, p. 19, 20.

The Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897, n.p.

Kirstein, section II.

[43] The Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897, n.p.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Memorial:RGS. p. 33.

[46] Ibid., p. 33.

The Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897, n.p.

[47] Memorial:RGS, p. 33.

Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897, n.p.

[48] Memorial:RGS, p. 195

The Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897, n.p.

[49] Higginson, "Colored Troops Under Fire," p. 196.

[50] Ibid., p. 196.

[51] Ibid., p. 196.

[53] Ibid., p. 196.

[54] Ibid., p. 196. Higginson cites casualty figures from "Official Army Register," VIII, 314."

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The Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897 (second page of unpaged section after p. 32) states that 640 men went into battle and that of that number 256 were killed, wounded or missing. Another account on p. 32 gives the figure of 600 enlisted men.

[55]"Col[?] Shaw's Presentiment," The Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897 (p.2 of unpaged section after p. 32) cites a letter written by Colonel Hallowell after the battle in which he described Shaw's sense of foreboding on the night before the assault.

[56]The Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897 (p. 2 of unpaged section after p. 32).

[57]The Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897. p. 32.

Memorial:RGS, p. 63 spells the general's name "Gillmore."

[58][?] Niemand, "A Confederate's Story," The Boston Sunday Globe, May 30, 1897, p. 32.

[59]Ibid., p. 32.

[60]Ibid., p. 32.

[61]Ibid., p. 32.

[62]The Sunday Herald (Boston), May 30, 1897, p. 25.

[63]Abraham Lincoln to James C. Conkling, August 31, 1863.

> . . .I know as fully as one can know the opinions of others, that some of the commanders of our armies in the field who have given us our most important successes, believe the emancipation policy, and the use of colored troops, constitute the heaviest blow yet dealt to the rebellion; and that, at least

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> one of those important successes, could not have been achieved when it was, but for the aid of black soldiers.. . .

(The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln/ The Abraham Lincoln Association, Springfield, Illinois, Roy P. Basler, Editor [New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 8 vols. plus index] , 1953-5, VI: 423).

Kirstein, section III.

[64]Kirstein, section III.

[65]Memorial:RGS, p. 111.

Kirstein, section IV.

[66]Kirstein, section IV.

[67]Kirstein, section IV.

[68]Kirstein, section IV.

[69]Edward Atkinson, "I. The History of the Monument," The Century Magazine, v. 54 (June 1897), p. 176. This is the first of three articles that appeared in volume 54 in conjunction with the unveiling of the Shaw Memorial. The author was the treasurer of the committee set up to raise funds for the memorial.

Kirstein, section IV.

[70]Atkinson, "The History of the Monument," p. 176.

[71]Kirstein, section IV.

[72]Atkinson, "The History of the Monument," p. 176.

[73]Ibid., p. 176.

[74]The Monument to Robert Gould Shaw, p. 8.

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Atkinson, "The History of the Monument," p. 176.

[75]Ibid., p. 176.

[76]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[77]Atkinson, "The History of the Monument," p. 176.

[78]See chapter 2 and figure 15.

[79]Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston).

[80]Massachusetts Historical Society.

[81]Massachusetts Historical Society.

These letters indicate that Richardson played a crucial role in securing the commission for Saint-Gaudens.

[82]Early clay sketches for the Shaw Memorial are reproduced in Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 340 and drawings are reproduced on p. 329 of volume I.

[83]Massachusetts Historical Society.

[84]Massachusetts Historical Society. Saint-Gaudens to Atkinson, March 19, 1883, and April 2, 1883.

On Sunday, April 15, 1883, Marian Adams wrote to her father in Boston that she had visited Saint-Gaudens studio in New York with her friend, Miss Anne Palmer, to see his Shaw relief. She continued:

> . . .unhappily he was out and we had no time to get there again. His great bas-relief monument to Bob Shaw is very fine, they say - Anne Palmer has seen the cast or plan. It's to be inserted in the wall by the sidewalk in front of the State House and a seat under it; in low relief an infinite body of soldiers with bayonets pointing up, and in front, in much higher relief, Bob Shaw on horseback. . ..

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(The Letters of Mrs. Henry Adams/1865-1881, Edited by Ward Thoron [Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1936], p. 438.)

Marian Hooper Adams (1843-85), the wife of Henry Adams who was commemorated in the Adams Memorial, was a distant cousin of Robert Gould Shaw. Marian Adams' grandparents and Shaw's grandparents were first cousins on the Sturgis side of both families. (See The Letters of Mrs. Henry Adams, p.465.)

[85]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[86]Contract, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[87]Ibid.

[88]Ibid.

[89]Ibid.

[90]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 333.

[91]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 342.

[92]Boston Art Commission, "Minutes," February 4, 1892.

[93]Mariana Griswold van Rensselaer, "The Week in Art/ The Shaw Monument for Boston Common," Boston Evening Transcript, July 2, 1892, p.6, makes clear that it is the full-scale version upon which Saint-Gaudens is working. While the equestrian figure of Colonel Shaw had already been cast in plaster (or completed), the figures of the soldiers were "half-size independent figures from which the low relief group [would] be modelled." This article was kindly brought to my attention by Lois Dinnerstein who has just completed

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her dissertation on the critical writings of Mrs. van Rensselaer.

[94]M.G. van Rensselaer, Boston Evening Transcript, July 2, 1892, p.6.

August 25, 1893 letter from Norcross Brothers to McKim, Mead and White (McKim, Mead and White collection, The New-York Historical Society Print Room).

[95]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 337-8.

The original letter in the Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library had the phrase "their livers out," written on a piece of tape over a more apparent part of the anatomy.

[96]Copy of March 21, 1893 letter from Saint-Gaudens to his friend, the Reverend E. Winchester Donald of Trinity Church, Boston (Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[97]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 343.

[98]The date October 10, 1896 (Shaw's birthday) could not have been the date of the monument's completion in 1896 as recounted by Coffin, "Sculptor St. Gaudens," p. 179. Saint-Gaudens' appointment calendar records that on August 3, 1896 the Shaw monument committee was due to visit at 11:00 A.M. to see the completed monument (Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

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[99]"The Shaw Memorial and the Sculptor St. Gaudens," Century Magazine, v.54 (June 1897), p. 178 and 179.

[100]Coffin, "The Sculptor St. Gaudens," p. 182.

[101]Ibid., p. 179.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 93.

[102]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 120.

[103]Gorham Mfg. Co., New York to Saint-Gaudens dated 10/7/1896 and marked by the sculptor "Accepted/Augustus St. Gaudens." (The Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

The inscription at the base (left) of the bronze reads:

AVGVSTVS SAINT GAVDENS

beneath which in smeller letters is the inscription

SAINT GAVDENS CAST BY THE GORHAM CO.

[104]Léonce Benedite, "Les Salons de 1898, La Sculpture," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, V. 20 (August 1898), p. 139.

[105]Société des Artistes Français, Exposition Annuelle des Beaux-Arts/Salon de 1901 (Paris: P. Dupont, 1901), "Distribution des Récompenses aux Artistes Exposants au Salon de 1900," Sculpteurs Etrangers, p. CXXXI:

"SAINT-GAUDENS (Augustus), né à N-Y, M.H. 1880, Gr. Prix 1900 (E.U.)."

[106]Exposition Universelle/1900/The Chefs-D'Oeuvre of the Exposition Universelle by W. Walton, A Saglio, V. Champier, (Phila.: George Barrie & Son, 1900, 10 Vols.), V.3,opp.p.44.

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[107]Saint-Gaudens to his long-time assistant, Gaeton Ardisson, December 24, 1901, confirms that the version exhibited in Paris in 1900 was the final one (Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

John W. Bond, Augustus Saint-Gaudens: The Man and His Art (Springfield, Va.: National Technical Information Service, U.S. Department of Commerce, October 18, 1967, kindly loaned to me by John Dryfhout), p. 319.

Art Handbook: Official Handbook of Architecture and Sculpture and Art Catalogue of the Pan-American Exposition (Buffalo, N.Y.: David Gray, 1901), p. 123 #1648.

[108]Buffalo Fine Arts Academy/Albright Art Gallery, Academy Notes, Vol.III #5 (Oct. 1907), p. 88 notes that "for this and other exhibits, the sculptor was awarded a Special Medal of Honor - a recognition higher than any received by any other exhibitor at the [Pan-American] Exposition," of 1901.

The monument was installed in the art gallery building of the Pan-American Exposition in 1901 by Joseph Balk of Buffalo. It was dismantled by him and sent to Cornish, New Hampshire in January 1949. (Buffalo Evening News, February 26, 1949 [clipping kindly furnished by Miss Alba Priore, assistant registrar, Albright-Knox Gallery]).

[109]Buffalo Evening News, February 26, 1949 (clipping).

The plaster relief of the memorial was exhibited by the Century Association of New York in "An Exhibition of Work by

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Augustus Saint-Gaudens on the Hundredth Anniversary of his Birth, " March through April, 1948. Since, according to John Dryfhout, the plaster was not received in Cornish until 1952, it may have been exhibited elsewhere as well.

The inscription on the base of the plaster at Cornish reads: "ROBERT GOVLD SHAW KILLED WHILE LEADING THE ASSAVLT ON FORT WAGNER JVLY TWENTY-THIRD EIGHTEEN HVNDRED AND SIXTY-THREE," and is incorrect, for the battle of Fort Wagner occurred on July 18, 1863 (See Boston Sunday Herald, May 30, 1897, p. 25).

[110]Bill from Casteras Bros. for the casting of the "flying figure" of the Shaw Memorial (then in Buffalo), December 20, 1904. Joseph Balk to Augustus Saint-Gaudens, December 18, 1905 requesting shipping information for a "piece mold" of the angel ordered by Saint-Gaudens (both in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

It was probably this plaster cast of 1904-5 which served as a basis for the posthumous cast (1923) in the Brooklyn Museum.

[111]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 344.

[112]The Century Magazine was published both in New York and London.

"Review of Books and Art," The New York Times, v. XLVI #14 (May 29, 1897), p. 4 "The Shaw Memorial. . .to be unveiled Monday next. . .."

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Harper's Weekly. v. XLI #2110 (May 29, 1897), ran an article on the Shaw Memorial, p. 546, and a two-page reproduction, pp. 540-41.

[113]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 344.

[114]Saint-Gaudens to Rose Nichols, January 26, 1897:

> I meant to write you at length tonight but I started with a letter to Bion which has kept me busy till now, 11 P.M. It is in reply to the one from him that I enclose, in which at the end he says a word of you.
>
> I am not disturbed by his dislike of my figure. It is because it does not look well in the photograph. If the figure in itself looked well,he would have liked it, I know. . .I still think that a figure if well done in that relation to the rest of the scheme, is a fine thing to do.. . .

(Rose Standish Nichols, ed. "Familiar Letters of Augustus Saint-Gaudens," McClure's Magazine Illustrated Published Monthly, v. XXXI #6 (October 1908), p. 605, quoted in part in Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 344 without date).

Therefore, to Saint-Gaudens' knowledge, Bion was still alive at the time. Without additional photographic and archival material, it is difficult to make a connection between that letter and another, Saint-Gaudens to Rose Nichols, February 17, 1897, in which the sculptor wrote of Bion's death (Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 120). Bion's dates are given as 1845-97 in Lami I: 116. No other dictionary of artists consulted gives a more specific date, although exact dates were given for Bion's father.

[115]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 344, II: 120.

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[116]Copy of letter, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[117]The original plaster cast of the Shaw Memorial was exhibited in the small studio at Cornish for a short time during Saint-Gaudens' lifetime, while the plaster cast of the final version was at Buffalo. Saint-Gaudens eventually had the original plaster cast taken down and buried near the big studio, where it may presumably still be found if it has not disintegrated completely (James Earle Fraser to Frances Grimes, copy, George Arents Research Library, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y. A photocopy of the letter was kindly furnished to me by Carolyn A. Davis, manuscript librarian, Syracuse University). Fraser was an assistant to Saint-Gaudens from 1898-1902, while Frances Grimes was his assistant from 1901-1907 (Bond, Augustus Saint Gaudens, p. 334-6). The burial of the plaster cast was noted by John Dryfhout in Metamorphoses, p. 182.

[118]Lami III: 299-301, 303. Photo courtesy H.W. Janson.

[119]Lami III: 303.

[120]H.W. Janson, "19th Century Sculpture from Canova to Rodin," lecture, December 3, 1973, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University. Photos courtesy Professor H.W. Janson.

[121]H.W. Janson, "19th Century Sculpture from Canova to Rodin," lecture, January 7, 1974, Institute of Fine Arts, NYU.

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[122]"Distribution des Récompenses aux Artistes Exposants du Salon de 1889," Salon de 1890, p. CLXXII. He won the first-class medal in 1867 for his Dying Napoleon (information courtesy Professor H.W. Janson). Earlier catalogues also list his awards. Furthermore, Vela exhibited The Victims of Labor at the same Exposition universelle of 1900 in which Saint-Gaudens exhibited the fourth (and final) version of the Shaw Memorial.

[123]La depart des volontaires en 1792 (Lami IV: 211). Photo courtesy of Professor H.W. Janson.

[124]MacMonnies executed the commission for the Brooklyn Memorial Arch in his Paris studio near the Arc de Triomphe (Craven, Sculpture in America, p. 426). The quadriga was purchased for $100,000. by the City of New York and unveiled December 3, 1898. The two reliefs were purchased by the city in 1901 for $50,000. each. (Information and photographs furnished by Donald Gormley, director, New York City Art Commission).

[125]Société des Artistes Français, Exposition Annuelle des Beaux-Arts Salon de 1900 (Paris: P. Dupont, 1900), p. 269 # 2048. MacMonnies is listed as a pupil of Alexandre Falguière, Antonin Mercié and Saint-Gaudens.

[126]Craven, Sculpture in America, p. 426.

Taft, The History of American Sculpture, pp. 351-4.

The Simmons monument is illustrated in Craven, Sculpture in America, fig. 8.21.

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[127]Sharp, New York City Public Sculpture, p. 21. Photo courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art.

[128]W.H. Gerdts, "Mid-Nineteenth Century American History Painting," lecture, January 6, 1976, Graduate Center, City University of New York.

[129]Dennis, Karl Bitter, p. 19.

[130]Ibid., p. 20-3.

[131]Ibid., p. 23.

[132]Ibid., fig. 82, p. 181-4.

[133]Ibid., p. 184.

[134]Edward Robinson (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) to Saint-Gaudens, March 16, 1897, "My dear St. Gaudens: The photographs have come and I must write at once to tell you how entirely overcome I am by the beauty of the work -. . .it is a truly great work, and well worth the time we have waited for it." (Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

Paul Leprieur, "La Sculpture Décorative aux Salons," Art et Décoration Revue Mensuelle d'Art Moderne, v. 3 (June 1898), p. 182, "[Saint-Gaudens'] exposition est une des surprises et des joies du Champ de Mars. . .".

Royal Cortissoz, "Augustus St. Gaudens," North American Review, v. 177 #564 (July-Dec.1903), p. 737, "The composition is a perfect unit."

Taft, The History of American Sculpture, p. 302-4.

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> To many the greatest and most original of all of Mr. Saint Gaudens's works is the Shaw Memorial in Boston. . .The relief, when inaugurated on Decoration Day, 1897, and when shown in plaster at the French Exposition of 1900, received the plaudits of those best capable of appreciating noble work. it is one of the most impressive monuments of modern times - one of the masterpieces of the nineteenth century. While it speaks an unusual language, the Shaw Memorial is notable for being distinctively American. It would be difficult to trace its ancestry outside of our country. There is nothing like it, or even suggestive of it, in the annals of art. . .the fit and adequate expression of America's new-born patriotism." /1903/

One discordant note did appear in an unsigned article in The American Architect and Building News, v.LVII #1133 (September 11, 1897), p. 88-90. The author in discussing the monument suggests that the monument is not successful and finds the angel of peace and death "a discordant element in the composition." Furthermore, the author suggests that Saint-Gaudens has "committed the solecism of placing Colonel Shaw on the right of the line instead of the left." He concludes by suggesting that Saint-Gaudens must have learned of equine anatomy from books rather than from direct knowledge of the animal. Of course, he is quite wrong in this last as has been demonstrated, since Saint-Gaudens owned and rode the gray horse which he had cast in plaster to use as a model for the horse. In any event this is just a sampling of the criticism dealing with the Shaw Memorial and was included to give greater depth to our understanding. It is one of the few negative notes in criticism of an overwhelmingly positive nature.

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Chapter 8: THE EQUESTRIAN LOGAN

Saint-Gaudens' first equestrian statue, the Logan Monument stands majestically upon a rise overlooking Michigan Boulevard at Ninth Street in Chicago's Grant Park (fig. 182). The bare-headed Logan is represented moments after receiving the news of the death of General McPherson, his commanding officer during the Battle before Atlanta.[1] At that moment on July 22, 1864 Logan grabbed the standard and rallied his faltering troops to save the day for the Union forces.[2] He is depicted as he reins in his mount to issue orders and the sculptor has successfuly captured the sense of anticipated motion inherent in the event.

The figure of the Equestrian Logan has weathered a pale, green bronze and the pedestal is a pale, pink granite. The pedestal, designed by Stanford White, is oval and the sculpted ground under the general and his horse rises gently at the front, enhancing the sense of arrested motion. On the front of the pedestal an inscription is written in bronze letters:

ERECTED BY THE STATE OF ILLINOIS
IN HONOR OF
MAJOR GENERAL JOHN A. LOGAN

On either side of the base the battles in which Logan participated, Fort Donelson, Belmont, Atlanta, Ezra Church, Resaca, Bentonville, etc. are grouped in twos and threes surrounded by bronze wreaths which flank the dates 1861 and 1864 (fig. 183).[3]

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At the back of the monument is the inscription:

BORN IN ILLINOIS FEBRUARY IX
MDCCCXXVI DIED IN WASHINGTON
DECEMBER XXVI MDCCCLXXXVI
WHILE SENATOR OF THE VNITED STATES
FROM ILLINOIS

This colossal monument to General Logan was unveiled in 1897, less than two months after the unveiling of the Shaw Memorial in Boston. It dominates its place on the Chicago horizon, much as the General did in his long and active life in local and national politics. It is a fitting tribute to a patriot and citizen of Illinois.

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II. John Alexander Logan (1826-1886)

John Alexander Logan (fig. 184) was born February 9, 1826 near Brownsville, Illinois, the eldest of eleven children of Dr. John Logan and Elizabeth Jenkins.[4] At the age of sixteen he entered Shiloh College and after graduating he studied law with his uncle.[5] In 1846 Logan enlisted in the First Illinois Volunteer Infantry.[6] He was promoted to Lieutenant and marched with his command to Mexico City.[7] In 1850 he went to Louisville to the law school of the University.[8] "Graduating with honors, he returned. . .to Murphysboro [Illinois] and entered into partnership with his uncle, Lieutenant-Governor Jenkins, a Jacksonian Democrat."[9] In 1852 he ran for the State Legislature and was elected by a large majority.[10] Seeming to find his vocation as a representative of the people, in 1858 at the age of thirty-two, he was nominated for Congress as a Democrat.[11] He won the contest by an overwhelming majority and took his seat in the Thirty-Sixth Congress.[12] In 1860 he was sent as a delegate to the Democratic Convention at Charleston, North Carolina and his primary impression of that experience was of the injustices of slavery.[13] He again ran for Congress, but while Douglas was defeated by Lincoln in 1860, Logan was elected.[14] In Congress he opposed secession.[15] With the firing upon Fort Sumter, he joined a Michigan regiment and fought at the first Battle of Bull Run in July of 1861.[16]

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However, the people of Southern Illinois were growing increasingly restive and Logan returned to Illinois to try to prevent Southern Illinois from seceding.[17] Shortly thereafter, Logan resigned from Congress to raise the Thirty-first Illinois Volunteers and of which he was made a Colonel.[18] General Grant attributed the fact that Southern Illinois had not gone to the Confederacy to Logan's efforts.[19]

One of the goals of the Union army was to open the Mississippi River and to that end Grant sent Logan "up the Mississippi to strike Fort Henry," Kentucky.[20] Logan was the first to enter Fort Henry only to discover that the Confederate forces had fled to Fort Donelson, twelve miles away in Tennessee.[21] At the battle of Fort Donelson, the "first important Union triumph," Colonel Logan was instrumental in checking the Rebel forces.[22] On the basis of his efforts he was recommended for promotion by General Grant, and was subsequently promoted to the rank of Brigadier-General of Volunteers.[23]

On March 13, 1863, Logan was made a Major-General and on the fourteenth of May he was with McPherson at the capture of Jackson, Mississippi.[24] The capture of Jackson was part of a long-range drive on Vicksburg, Mississippi.[25] On May 19, the first assault on Vicksburg was unsuccessful and a second assault was undertaken on the twenty-second "in conjunction with a bombardment by Porter's fleet in front."[26] Union casualties were enormous and the second assault did

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not succeed either.[27] Finally, Vicksburg surrendered on July 5, 1863.[28] Admiral Farragut had noted that out of pride, Vicksburg waited until after the Fourth of July to surrender.[29] General Logan was made Military Governor of the captured city.[30] And then President Lincoln asked Logan to come North and make a few speeches to bolster sagging morale in Illinois.[31] It may be difficult for us in the twentieth century to realize the lack of unanimity and the opposition to the war on many fronts, both civilian and military. With the outcome by no means certain, the hardships and length of the struggle were exacerbated by lack of success on the military fronts. Those who stayed behind and were not committed to the philosophical rightness of the Union cause and others who sought to gain politically or economically did their best to nullify any Union successes. Thus Lincoln, a clever and thoughtful politician, knew the political efficacy of having successful Union generals bolster the Union resolve. And Logan was not only a strong and successful military commander, but a man of strong and devoted Union principles. He was also able to sway others with his words and passion. He came north and addressed mass meetings all over Illinois.[32] In August 1863 he spoke at Chicago.

> If every man in this country is called an Abolitionist that is willing to fight for and sustain his Government, let him be called so. If belonging to the United States and being true and valiant soldiers,meeting the steel of Southern revolutionists, marching to the music

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> of this Union,loving the flag of our country and standing by it in its severest struggles-if that makes us Abolitionists, let all of us be Abolitionists. If it makes a man an Abolitionist to love his country,then I love my country,am willing to live for it,and willing to die for it. If it makes a man an Abolitionist to love and revere that flag,then,I say,be it so. . .and I wish to high Heaven that we had a million more; then our rebellion would be at an end,and peace would again fold her gentle wings over a united people,and the old Union, the old friendship,again make happy the land where now the rebel flag flaunts dismally in the sultry Southern air. (33)

Lincoln had judged astutely and Logan's speechmaking had the desired effect of giving moral support to the Union cause.[34]

In November 1863, Logan was placed in command of the Fifteenth Corps which Grant and Sherman had previously commanded.[35] "When General Grant was raised to the rank of Lieutenant-General, Sherman was given the Military Division of the Mississippi, embracing the Armies of the Tennessee, the Cumberland, and the Ohio."[36] In early May 1864, the Army of the Tennessee, "composed of Logan's, Dodge's and Blair's corps, under McPherson, began its co-operation with Sherman's advance movement, which was aimed at Atlanta.[37] On the 13th of May, the advance against Resaca, Georgia was begun with Logan's corps leading the assault.[38] On the 22nd of July, McPherson was killed and Logan took command of the Army of the Tennessee.[39] He was successful in the Battle before Atlanta and was promised regular command by General Sherman.[40] However, on July 27 he was relieved of command by the appointment of General O.O. Howard and Logan returned to lead the Fifteenth Corps.[41] He was active in the cam-

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paign through the Carolinas and on July 13, 1865 after the cessation of hostilities, he resigned his commission and mustered out his troops.[42]

Returning to civilian life, Logan was nominated Congressman-at-large by the Republican State Convention.[43] He again became a United States Congressman, but this time on the other side of the aisle.[44] In 1868 he helped to found the Order of the Grand Army of the Republic of which he was elected Commander-in-chief.[45] On May 5, 1868 "he issued the order which he has since characterized as the proudest act of his life, setting apart the 30th of May for the decoration of the graves of those who fell in the defense of the Union."[46] Memorial Day was subsequently made a national holiday by act of Congress.[47] Logan placed General Grant in nomination for the Presidency at the Republican National Convention of 1868.[48]

General Logan was instrumental in the passage of the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution which provided that the right to vote be extended to all citizens regardless of race, creed or previous servitude.[49] He opposed the military and General Sherman and was successful in reducing the army, staff and budget by three million dollars,[50] a feat no less remarkable in 1870 than it would be today. In the winter of 1871, Logan was chosen to succeed Senator Yates and in 1879 was reelected to the Senate.[51] In 1880 he campaigned for General Grant as the Republican nominee for the

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presidency and later supported James Garfield when he became the candidate.[52] He was a strong proponent of public education,[53] realizing that the future of the nation depended upon the full utilization of its principal natural resource, the minds of its citizenry. July 19, 1884 Logan accepted the nomination of Vice-President of the United States on the Republican ticket to run with James G. Blaine.[54] The Republican ticket was defeated by Grover Cleveland and Logan died on December 26, 1886.

"Black Jack" Logan, affectionately so-called by his troops for his skill and valor in battle as well as the fact that he rode a black stallion, was one of the unsung heroes of the Civil War. Strong in peace and war, an articulate proponent of all that is best in our democracy, his amazing and selfless performance as a citizen and soldier was undoubtedly that quality which inspired Saint-Gaudens to memorialize his exploits in the dramatic equestrian figure which dominates the skyline of lower Michigan Boulevard in Chicago.

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III. The History of the Logan Monument

The history of the Logan Monument began shortly after the death of the general on December 26, 1886. In January of 1887, a group of his friends and colleagues lead by William H. Harper of Chicago decided that the state of Illinois "should erect a statue of the third hero whom she had presented to the country, and thus enroll permanently along with the names of Lincoln and of Grant that of their worthy comrade, John A. Logan."[55] On February 10, 1887 the legislature of the state of Illinois passed an act appropriating $50,000. to erect a monument to General Logan in Chicago.[56] A committee of twelve members was formed and the South Park Commissioners offered a site in Jackson Park and in addition offered $14,000. for the construction of a foundation for the monument.[57] In September 1888, Saint-Gaudens was chosen to be the sculptor of the monument.[58] This choice was undoubtedly facilitated by the wide acclaim Saint-Gaudens had received for his monument to Abraham Lincoln (fig. 44) erected the year before in Chicago.

On June 5, 1890 the formal contract with Saint-Gaudens was signed and approved.[59] It provided for a bronze equestrian statue of General John A. Logan of "heroic proportions," with a granite pedestal and "a tomb within the same for the reception of the bodies of General John A. Logan and his wife, Mary S. Logan, upon her decease."[60] The contract further stipulated that the monument would be completed

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"within two years."[61] However, on June 15, 1893 that provision was amended to give the sculptor an additional two years for the completion of the work.[62]

Saint-Gaudens characterized the period as follows.

> Meanwhile,I was fast moving through my fifteen years in the Thirty-sixth Street studio,progressing with the ups and downs,misgivings and enthusiasms,which follow all work or production of that kind,be they masterpieces or be they inanities. By now the statue of Peter Cooper had followed the Rock Creek Cemetery figure upon the memorable scaffolding,and consequently,as with this and the "Shaw" and the other commissions, the studio became crowded,I hired a loft in Twentieth Street,wherein I could model the equestrian statue of General Logan for Chicago and the Memorial monument to President Garfield in Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. (63)

However, the arrangements for and the execution of the work were somewhat more complex than outlined by Saint-Gaudens. Undoubtedly, after being chosen the sculptor for the Logan, Saint-Gaudens executed a small model for the committee. The only indication of the appearance of the first model for the Logan may be inferred from a comment later made by Alexander Phimister Proctor (1860-1950), the animalier hired by Saint-Gaudens to assist him with the execution of the horses for the Logan and Sherman. Proctor returned from Europe in the autumn of 1894 and went to Saint-Gaudens' studio in Cornish, New Hampshire to model the Logan horse from a stallion loaned by General Logan's son.[64] Proctor wrote of this period.

> Every few weeks Saint-Gaudens came up from New York to check on my progress. In the original sketch of the statue he had drawn the angle of the horse's head similar to that of the head in the General Sherman equestrian statue, on which he was also working. I suggested modeling Logan's horse with the head down and the neck curved,and

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> he agreed. I made the original model two feet high, and in New York we pointed it up. Saint-Gaudens often criticized my work,and I learned a good deal during that period. When the large working model of the horse was finished, I did the saddle and saddle covering, and then he modeled the figure of Logan astride the horse. (65)

Therefore, it can now be seen that the first model for the Logan horse, although it no longer exists, would have been similar to the horse in the Sherman Monument.[66] The second two-foot model was executed by Proctor in the fall of 1894 (fig. 185).[67] However, that was not the whole of the story for there were other sculptors involved before Proctor's advent, none of whom satisfied Saint-Gaudens.[68] An undated letter from Saint-Gaudens to Stanford White discussed one of those assistants. Saint-Gaudens wrote, "Mr. Jack is going to help me model the Logan horse. . . ."[69]

Two other letters from Saint-Gaudens to his future sister-in-law, Annetta Johnson, who also worked with Saint-Gaudens on the execution of the Logan, detail more specifically the progress of the monument in 1894. The first,dated September 8, 1894 from Windsor, Vermont, the Cornish post-office, reported that the sculptor did not expect to be in New York before the fifteenth of September. He continued:

> Mr. Proctor is getting on very well with the horse and by that time I think he will have the two-third size model finished. (71)

In the second letter dated September 10, 1894, Saint-Gaudens wrote:

> . . .Of course you must do as you see fit. If you wish to stay until Thursday the fifteenth, I shall be glad to have you do so,and work on the stirrups and straps as you suggest. (72)

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A letter from Saint-Gaudens to Judge Henry W. Blodgett of the Logan Monument Committee dated April 9, 1894 in response to a probable angry letter from the Judge throws further illumination on the progress of the monument in 1894.

> You will remember that you had the Lincoln contract to refer to when the Logan one was drawn up. Under no other conditions would I have undertaken the work. The exception made in your case is that, outside of the agreement I made a year or two ago, a small model giving the general disposition of the work,embodying its spirit,composition and character, was seen by some of your committee,and by Mrs. Logan, and by them approved. This study although small,had been seriously considered in every leading point in such a work, and on that I have proceeded. After the adoption of this model,and its development into the larger work,it goes through various stages,and judgement should not be passed upon it, any more than on a building,while in the process of laying foundations,walls etc.,and the confusion and disorder arising therefrom. . .The horse is now in the clay life size, and General Logan is half life size, and of course cannot be seen as a whole. It will be another six months before that can be done viz: - the horse and rider finished together life size. From that,the work will be enlarged mechanically to the colossal size. Criticisms on minor points will then be advantageous,and I shall value highly suggestions given by those who have seen Gen. Logan in action.. . . were it not that I have spent so much time,money, energy and work, I should ask to be relieved from proceeding with /the Logan commission/. (73)

Since the amended contract called for the completion of the monument in 1894, Judge Blodgett's annoyance can probably be understood. It can be particularly appreciated since it is known that even though the sculptor stated that the horse was life-size in April of 1894, he would soon give up that version and with Proctor's arrival proceed with a new horse, which Saint-Gaudens expected in September to be completed in half (or two-thirds) size by October first.[74]

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The entire scene was further complicated by an incident reported many years later by the sculptor's son, Homer.

> one mishap in which I figured as a boy/was/. . . typical. It came about through my pet goat. The "Logan" horse had been modeled for my father in Cornish; and,after its completion,stood in modeling wax in the studio barn,waiting to be cast in plaster previous to enlargement. During that summer I had brought to delightful perfection a new game with my goat. First I would induce him to butt and then, stepping aside, take joy in his bewildered plunge past me. . .one noon hour, while the studio was deserted, I /played/ this trick directly before the stand on which was mounted the Logan model.. . .When the goat made his dive and I dodged, he drove his horns with a crash against the pedestal. For a second of horror the horse rocked to and fro. But as it did not fall, I never imagined future consequences and, boy-like, soon forgot the incident. The horse was cast and the pointing up carried on by hand for over two months, until at last both my father and Mr. Proctor, who was directing the work, began to notice that the rear of the animal appeared strangely askew.. . .The large model had to be torn down and the small model remade in clay at the loss of a summer's work. By that time of year I was away in school, and far too frightened to volunteer the incriminating information. . .. (75)

Just before this incident Saint-Gaudens again wrote to Judge Blodgett asking for a third payment of $5,000., due when the sculptor should have devoted a second six-month period to the completion of the monument.[76] Not realizing that he would again have to begin from scratch with the horse, because of his son's mischief, Saint-Gaudens explained to Blodgett the significance of the half-size or "working model."

> A misapprehension has no doubt arisen from my not having made it sufficiently clear that the small model is the <u>working model</u> and that it is on it that all the time,thought,energy and expense necessary for the artistic conception and development of the monument is expended; that it is,in sum,the vital part of the work,

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> and that when it is done the statue is essentially completed. This working model is about half the size that the bronze will be, and the enlarging from it to the colossal model necessary for the bronze founder is a mechanical operation done by assistants. . ./which/ requires the work of four or five men for from three to four months after the completion of the working model.. . . This final working model will be completed and ready for the enlargement at the end of November.(77)

By 1895 the Logan Monument would have been fully underway. Saint-Gaudens was in correspondence with a descendant of General Mitchell from whom he borrowed holsters for his statue of Logan.[78] This would have been the life-size (half-size working model) to which Saint-Gaudens referred in his letter to Judge Blodgett. Annetta Johnson, who had been his pupil at the Art Students' League was attending to details of accessories, much as Augusta Homer Saint-Gaudens had done in the 70's for Saint-Gaudens' first major monument, the Farragut (fig. 35).[79] In any event, John R. Walsh, another member of the committee, not knowing of the delay occasioned by Homer's prank, wrote a stinging letter to the sculptor on May 21, 1895 suggesting that it had "required some effort to prevent this matter being brought up in the Legislature. . . still in session."[80] Saint-Gaudens responded to Mr. Walsh that when the horse "was far advanced in life-size," he thought another action better.[81] He continued:

> The rider was finished also,but in my opinion it would be better three inches larger. Either was acceptable,but I preferred to spend a large extra amount of time and money to make it as I thought best. This causes the delay, and both models life-size can be seen at my studio which is always open to any of your committee. . .. (82)

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Mrs. Logan visited Saint-Gaudens' studio on June 1,1895 to see the progress of the statue and on the 15th of June the Logan Committee visited accompanied by Mrs. Logan.[83] Apparently all was then well and the committee satisfied, for the final enlargement of the Logan had been partially completed by March 1, 1896 when Saint-Gaudens wrote to Proctor.

> Your letter of February first is in front of me,and I feel a little guilty at not replying to it before this,. . .I have had the concert in my studio to-day that I have once a year in honor of Mr. Wells. The crowd has gone,the place is quiet,and I have a few moments to spare before the dinner hour. Paine has finished pointing the big horse and has started on the figure of Logan. He has also started enlarging the flag on the same scaffold with the same kind of machinery,and the confusion that you saw up there is placid order compared to the intricate mess of planks,ropes,pulleys,strings,&c.,&c.,that he is reveling in now. I have still half the studio down in Twentieth Street. . . . (84)

On the sixteenth of June, 1896 Saint-Gaudens went to Chicago to settle the Logan site.[85] Preliminary plans for the location of the Logan Monument in Jackson Park were drawn by the landscape architects Olmstead, Olmstead and Eliot of Brookline, Massachusetts on July 28, 1896 and marked "approved" by Saint-Gaudens.[86] However, the site was changed to Michigan Boulevard at Eldridge Court (now Ninth Street) because Olmstead objected to having anyone buried in a public park.[87] Another factor that necessitated an alternate site was the greater cost of building a foundation in Jackson Park because of an adjacent lagoon.[88] However, the reason given publicly for the change was attributed to the presence of the World's Fair in Jackson Park from 1893-4.[89]

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During this period letters, unfortunately undated, passed between Stanford White and Saint-Gaudens regarding the pedestal, the vault under the statue for the reception of the bodies of General and Mrs. Logan, the steps, a projected bronze or iron fence and a pair of eagles to be mounted on balls flanking the entrance. The last two projects were never executed, undoubtedly as funds ran out.[90]

January 7, 1897 Saint-Gaudens wrote to Judge Tuthill that the monument was finished in clay and that he would ask Mrs. Logan to come to see it on Wednesday, January 13th.[91] On January 27, 1897 Saint-Gaudens wrote to his niece, Rose Nichols.

> All of the Shaw is out of the studio. They cast the Logan on Monday and I am working like the devil on the Sherman. (92)

On February 3, 1897 the Henry-Bonnard Bronze Company wrote to Saint-Gaudens estimating that the bronze casting would be $7275. and that it could be set in place by July 15, 1897.[93] March 11, 1897 Norcross Brothers acknowledged the awarding of the contract for the stonework which was to be executed at a cost of approximately $15,000.[94] Norcross wrote to White on April 3, 1897 that the name of the quarry from which the Logan pedestal would come was the "Blood Ledge Green Granite quarry, Lanesville, Mass."[95] Daniel Burnham of Chicago apparently supervised the Chicago operations in the absence of Saint-Gaudens and White for which he was paid a three percent commission.[96] And on June 8, 1897 Norcross wrote that the granite work was completed and that they expected to have

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it in place July 1.[97]

The equestrian bronze was set in place on the Chicago lakefront on July 16, 1897 and the details of its erection were dutifully recorded in the press.[98] The unveiling took place amid much ceremony on Thursday afternoon, July 22nd, the anniversary of Logan's victory before Atlanta, July 22, 1864.[99] Saint-Gaudens was cheered by the assembled throngs and considered the entire event eminently successful.[100]

The Chicago papers treated the unveiling as the most important historical event since the unveiling of the Lincoln ten years before. From July 16 to July 25 the papers were filled with voluminous accounts of the history of the monument, the history of Logan, Saint-Gaudens and the significance of this great monument for Chicago. Probably the most gratifying response to his monument came from Mrs. Logan. She wrote to Saint-Gaudens on August 14, 1897.

> It is with sincere pleasure that I write to express my appreciation of the great work you have done in your statue of Genl Logan. Its wonderful conception, marvelous imagery and artistic execution delights me beyond measure. I am gratified that you should have done your greatest work on General Logan's statue and trust it may immortalize you as it has him. In consideration of my great satisfaction I hope you have forgiven all my impatience and criticisms and let me feel that in trying to gratify me you attained your eminent success.(101)

Saint-Gaudens noted at the top of the letter,"What do you think of this."[102] Even Judges Tuthill and Blodgett of the memorial committee described the statue as "magnificent" and "perfect."[103]

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Many of the Chicago newspapers referred to the fact that the Logan Monument was "the largest equestrian monument in the country," and gave dimensions and details.[104]

> From the base to the top of the horse's withers is 11'3"; to the top of General Logan's head, 15'11"; and to the top of the flag 26'5". The entire statue weighs 14,000 pounds. . .The bronze alloy is 90 percent copper, 7 tin and 3 zinc.. . . The pedestal is of Massachusetts granite, highly polished, oval, and measures thirty-one feet on the east and west axis and twenty-seven feet on the north and south axis.. . .The approach to the monument is an incline of steps and terraces ninety-six feet in length.. . .In the center of either side of the base is the emblem, American eagle in bronze, measuring two feet in size. (105)

A letter from the bronze founder, John Williams of New York, gives an estimate of $1193.00 for "6 wreaths and the eagle and ribbon ornament in connection with same, and about four hundred letters."[106] The two-foot decorative eagles which were placed between the wreaths on the base of the monument no longer remain.[107] Whether they were removed by the sculptor or by vandals is not known. However, the letter from John Williams to Saint-Gaudens contains one additional fact which is of extreme interest, that all of the bronze decoration and letters for the base were to be "finished a green bronze."[108] Ironically, the nature of criticism in the nineteenth century is such that none of the descriptions of the monument, no matter how detailed, discuss the color of equestrian figure. A hint as to the color of the base was given in one of the articles published on the day of the unveiling.

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> The location of the monument is perfect. It could not be better situated to be seen from Michigan avenue with this great sweep of sky behind it.. . .The base, too, is admirable. The greenish tint of the granite harmonizes well with the bronze. . .. (109)

Therefore, it may probably be concluded that the original patina of the bronze decor on the base was green and that the Blood Ledge Green Granite quarry produced a pale pink granite with a green fleck.

As late as August 31, Saint-Gaudens was in correspondence with Judge Tuthill, trying to arrange for bronze eagles on granite balls to flank the steps.[110] However, Judge Blodgett's letter to Saint-Gaudens of August 18, indicated that although he concurred with the sculptor's wish to execute the accessories for the monument, the costs of the ceremonies for the unveiling were so great that additional expenditures were unlikely.[111] Blodgett stated that the additional work could only be done if the Park Commission would appropriate the money.[112] With Saint-Gaudens' departure for Europe in the fall of 1897 the projected bronze eagles on granite balls were never executed.

On the day of the unveiling, The Chicago Tribune devoted most of the first six pages to articles and illustrations of the monument. It summed up the impact of the monument for Chicago.

> IT IS A MASTER'S ART
> St. Gaudens' Logan Among
> the Nation's Best Works
> . . .Its Dominant Idea,Courage,
> Carried Out with Precision.

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> As a work of art the statue of General John A. Logan is a masterpiece of which Chicago and Illinois may well be proud to possess. Apart from the fact that it is the portrait of a man who was beloved by the people for the many qualities that were his, the art with which it is conceived and executed must appeal to all. . .
>
> The power of any great work of art depends chiefly upon the force with which a single idea is expressed,even though the artist who produces it may not possess the equipment of surpassing technical ability.
>
> But when an artist is gifted as St. Gaudens is,with unusual power to conceive,and the mastery of the science of his art, there is but one word with which to qualify his product,and that is "masterpiece."
>
> Courage the Chief Idea. . .(113)

Lorado Taft in his article in the Logan Monument Memorial compared Saint-Gaudens to Paul Dubois as the respective leaders of the American and Parisien sculptural communities.[114] Taft described his initial reaction to the Equestrian Logan.

> as I climbed last summer the steps which lead up to the gallant Logan I felt the emotion which comes to one in the presence of a masterpiece - a great idea triumphantly voiced. The effect of the statue as a whole is superb; a marvelous harmonizing of the dash and impetuosity of the subject with the inexorable limitations of monumental art. Vitality and containment are here united in perfect balance.. . .
>
> Chicago has been most fortunate in obtaining two of St. Gaudens' greatest works. . ..(115)

Later Taft quoted Saint-Gaudens in writing of the Logan.

> The motive of the work is thoroughly martial. "To that end I concentrated my energies,and everything else was subordinated to that idea. I wished to present a figure that would embody the highest type of the warrior - one of fierce,indomitable energy and fiery patriotism, such as General Logan is known to have been. If I have achieved that end, it is that I have produced those characteristics of General Logan which were brought out in striking effect in the incident before Atlanta which is illustrated in the subject." (116)

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All who looked at the Logan Monument then and who look at it now can not only recognize the man (figs. 182, 184), but can see how superbly Saint-Gaudens has characterized him as a man of action and accomplishment. Judge Tuthill said, "It is Logan as I remember him [on that July day thirty-three years ago]."[117] And that is one of Saint-Gaudens' greatest contributions to portrait sculpture, his ability to capture the exterior and inward essence of the person portrayed.

Royal Cortissoz referred to the Equestrian Logan as "ebulliently alive, and. . .a wonderfully intimate interpretation of a moving personality."[118] Kenyon Cox, however, characterized the Logan as one of the "least satisfactory" of Saint-Gaudens' works.[119] A review of the Memorial Exhibition of the sculpture of Saint-Gaudens in 1908 at the Metropolitan Museum of Art suggested to the reviewer that the Logan "fails" to impress.[120] One of the reasons that so few of the discussions of the works of Saint-Gaudens mention the Logan is because nothing relating to the monument was included in this major retrospective which toured the country after the sculptor's death. It may also be that the Logan "fails" to impress when the history of the man is not known. To those who knew Logan, the monument was eminently successful. To those who understood what Saint-Gaudens was trying to express, the Equestrian Logan seemed to have captured "spirited action and impressiveness" with boldness which lacks exaggeration.[121]

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In 1905 correspondence between the Chicago Parks Department, Saint-Gaudens and the Henry-Bonnard Bronze Company disclosed the fact that the protective coating had worn off the statue in spots and the bronze had corroded seriously.[122] This was probably due to the smoke from the Illinois Central tracks immediately below and behind the monument. Various suggestions were made to restore the monument to its original "brownish black coating."[123] Saint-Gaudens must have suggested "surfacing the statue with gold," as the South Park Commissioners wrote to him on September 8, 1905 that it was "a little bit too expensive for us at this time."[124] The Chicago Tribune of April 5, 1962 wrote that $7275. was appropriated in that year to restore the monument which had apparently been in need of repairs since 1940.[125]

The pale gray/green patina of time provides a subtle color contrast to the pale pink of the pedestal, the brilliant green of the wide lawn which grows up the impressive hill of the setting and the bright blue of the summer skyline of Chicago. The original patina of the equestrian portion of the monument was a dark brown/black, while the bronze decor of the pedestal was green. The present appearance of the monument is consequently more unified than at its unveiling on July 22, 1897.

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IV. Historical Precedents and Later Reflections

Although Saint-Gaudens is quoted as having said that the Shaw Memorial was his first equestrian monument,[126] the Logan Monument (fig. 186) was, in fact, his first traditional equestrian work. It was also, of all his major monuments, one of the most dependent upon historical precedents. It should be remembered that Saint-Gaudens had considered an equestrian Lincoln when first contemplating that commission.[127] Augusta Saint-Gaudens had compared an early sketch of the Lincoln Monument to the Marcus Aurelius in the Campidoglio at Rome (fig. 187).[128] Since he had that equestrian vision in mind as early as 1883,[129] it is probable that it had not escaped him ten years later when he was working on the Logan. Another equestrian figure with which it may be assumed all former Beaux-Arts students were familiar was the Equestrian Monument of Bartolommeo Colleoni (fig. 188). There is a general similarity in the stance of the horse in the Marcus Aurelius, the Colleoni and the Logan monuments with the raised forefoot and slightly turned or lowered head. In the figure of Logan, Saint-Gaudens seems to have consciously recalled the slightly arched back and jutting left arm of the Colleoni.

Saint-Gaudens would also have been conscious of two important American precedents when he worked upon his first formal equestrian statue. Henry Kirke Brown (1814-1886) had unveiled his Equestrian George Washington (fig. 189) on July

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4, 1856 in Union Square Park, New York when Saint-Gaudens was a small child. He would certainly have been most familiar with this notable Manhattan landmark. Thomas Ball (1819-1911) executed his Equestrian George Washington for the Public Garden in Boston in 1858-61.[130] Ball's heroic statue was not, however, unveiled until January 29, 1869 due to the intervention of the Civil War (fig. 190),[131] but there was ample opportunity for Saint-Gaudens to have seen this important precedent in Boston.

The two single most important sculptural precedents for Saint-Gaudens' Equestrian Logan (fig. 191) were French examples seen by the American sculptor at the Salon of 1889. Paul Dubois (1827-1905) was the sculptor who "held a higher place in [Saint-Gaudens'] esteem than any of the others, for his 'Joan of Arc' [was]. . .one of the greatest statues in the world,"[132] (fig. 192). The spirit and fire of Dubois' Jeanne d'Arc have certainly been incorporated, if not surpassed, in Saint-Gaudens' Equestrian Logan. However, it was probably the energy of the Jeanne d'Arc by Emmanuel Frémiet (1824-1910) (fig. 193) which had its closest parallel in Saint-Gaudens' Equestrian Logan.[133] Fremiet's replica in Philadelphia seems dwarfed by its surroundings and, therefore, lacks the bravura which is present in the Saint-Gaudens work.

Just four years after the unveiling of Saint-Gaudens' Logan in Chicago, Franklin Simmons unveiled his Equestrian

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General Logan in Washington, D.C. (fig. 194).[134] The life-size bronze reliefs on the base of the monument coupled with the heroic equestrian figure above recall both the Shaw Memorial (fig. 158) and the Equestrian Logan (fig. 191). Simmons' impressive monument, placed in a square honoring the soldier-statesman of the Civil War, cannot be understood, however, without reference to the work of Augustus Saint-Gaudens.

Certainly, too, French's Equestrian George Washington (fig. 195) for Paris must also be understood within the context of Saint-Gaudens' Equestrian Logan. George Washington was created by French in the years 1896-1900 in conjunction with the animalier Edward Clark Potter (1857-1923).[135] French's longstanding relationship to Saint-Gaudens has been demonstrated, and here their similar method in employing an animalier to execute the equestrian portion of the monument demonstrates further parallels. Although more static than Saint-Gaudens' dynamic Logan, the Equestrian George Washington is indicative of the increasing competence of American sculptors in the creation of public sculpture at the turn of the century.

The relationship of Frederick MacMonnies and Augustus Saint-Gaudens was long and complicated. MacMonnies began as an apprentice in Saint-Gaudens' studio as a very young boy. After MacMonnies had gone abroad to study, Saint-Gaudens called him back to America to help him with the execution of the figures in Storks at Play (fig. 47) for Lincoln Park in

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Chicago. In 1889 Saint-Gaudens stayed with MacMonnies when he went to Paris to visit the Salons and see the International Exposition. It was, therefore, inevitable that the work of MacMonnies would bear an important relationship to that of his first master. On November 14, 1897, shortly after Saint-Gaudens' arrival in Paris, Augustus wrote to his assistant, Ardisson, requesting that Ardisson send MacMonnies holsters and the simple saddle ("selle simple") which had served him for the Colonel Shaw "and which differs from that of the Logan and Sherman."[136] But it was the Logan saddle which MacMonnies must have used in his monument to General Slocum, unveiled on May 30, 1905 in Grand Army Plaza, Brooklyn (fig. 196). When viewed in its surroundings just behind the monumental Soldiers and Sailors' Monument in Grand Army Plaza (fig. 177), MacMonnies' equestrian group can be seen to be dwarfed by its surroundings. However, the lack of coordination between monument and site is not always a deficiency on the part of the sculptor, as will be seen in the case of the Sherman Monument. Nevertheless, despite its competence of execution and its apparent reference to the Logan (fig. 182), MacMonnies' Slocum has little of the command of the work of his teacher, Saint-Gaudens. In the integration of monument and landscape, Saint-Gaudens and the talented architects of the firm of McKim, Mead and White had no parallels in nineteenth century America.

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Chapter 8: THE EQUESTRIAN LOGAN - FOOTNOTES

[1]Taft, The History of American Sculpture, p. 301 quotes Saint-Gaudens.

The Chicago Sunday Tribune, July 18, 1897, p. 25.

The Logan Monument Memorial, Edited for the Commission by George Francis James (Univ. of Chicago Press, 1898), p.76.

[2]Byron Andrews, A Biography of Gen. John A. Logan (N.Y. & Chicago: H.S. Goodspeed & Co., 1884), p. 466, 469.

The Chicago Sunday Tribune, July 18, 1897, p. 25.

[3]It can only be assumed that this was the equivalent of a typographical error in bronze as the dates of the Civil War were 1861-1865 and the Battle of Bentonville, North Carolina was fought on March 18, 1865.

[4]Andrews, Logan, p. 363.

[5]Andrews, Logan, p. 367-8.

[6]Andrews, Logan, p. 369.

[7]Ibid., p. 369. During the Mexican War of 1846-48.

[8]Ibid., p. 369.

[9]Ibid., p. 370.

[10]Andrews, Logan, p. 370. On the 27th of November 1855 he married Mary Simmerson Cunningham (Andrews, Logan,p.373).

[11]Andrews, Logan, p. 375.

[12]Ibid., p. 375.

[13]Andrews, Logan, p. 376.

[14]Andrews, Logan, p. 379-80.

[15]Andrews, Logan, p. 385.

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[16]Andrews, Logan, p. 386.

[17]Andrews, Logan, p. 386-7.

[18]Andrews, Logan, p. 388, 391.

[19]Andrews, Logan, P. 391.

[20]Andrews, Logan, p. 404-5.

[21]Andrews, Logan, p. 405.

Edward S. Ellis, The History of Our Country, (Cincinnati & N.Y.: The Jones Bros; Knight and Brown, 1895-1900), 8 vols., v. 4, p. 916-18.

[22]Andrews, Logan, p. 406-10.

[23]Andrews, Logan, p. 410. However, having been wounded during the campaign he was unable to participate in the Battle of Shiloh.

[24]Andrews, Logan, p. 417, 428.

[25]Andrews, Logan, p. 428.

Vicksburg's capture was of strategic and psychological importance to the Union cause. It was one of the most heavily fortified Confederate positions which was of importance in maintaining navigation on the Mississippi River and was also, significantly, the home of Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy.

[26]Andrews, Logan, p. 435.

[27]Andrews, Logan, p. 436.

[28]The Life of David Glasgow Farragut, p. 377.

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[29]The Life of David Glasgow Farragut, p. 377.

[30]Andrews, Logan, p. 440.

[31]Ibid., p. 440.

[32]Andrews, Logan, p. 441.

[33]Ibid., p. 441.

[34]Andrews, Logan, p. 442.

[35]Andrews, Logan, p. 445.

[36]Ibid., p. 445.

[37]Andrews, Logan, p. 445-6.

[38]Andrews, Logan, p. 446.

[39]Andrews, Logan, p. 466.

[40]Andrews, Logan, p. 470-5.

[41]Andrews, Logan, p. 475-7.

General Sherman stated that Logan was not appointed because he was a politician and volunteer. General Thomas also opposed Logan's appointment to command the Army of the Tennessee and, therefore, Sherman appointed a West Pointer, Hood. (Memoirs of General William T. Sherman, 2 vols. in 1 [Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1957], II:85.

[42]Andrews, Logan, p. 511.

[43]Andrews, Logan, p. 529.

[44]Ibid., p. 529.

[45]Andrews, Logan, p. 535.

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[46]Andrews, Logan, p. 535.

[47]Andrews, Logan, p. 537.

[48]Andrews, Logan, p. 537, 543-4.

[49]Andrews, Logan, p. 572.

[50]Andrews, Logan, p. 573-8.

[51]Andrews, Logan, p. 586, 592, 615.

[52]Andrews, Logan, p. 646, 649.

[53]Andrews, Logan, p. 656-7.

[54]Andrews, Logan, p. 695.

[55]Logan Monument Memorial, p. 9.

[56]Logan Monument Memorial, p. 9, 55.

[57]Logan Monument Memorial, p. 10.

[58]Ibid., p. 10.

[59]Contract, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[60]Ibid., p. 1-2.

[61]Ibid., p. 2.

[62]Handwritten codicil to contract, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[63]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 74.

[64]Alexander Phimister Proctor, Sculptor in Buckskin, An Autobiography, Edited by Hester Elizabeth Proctor (Norman:

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University of Oklahoma Press, 1971), p. 128.

[65]Proctor, p. 129.

[66]Probably executed sometime before August 28, 1893 when a Mr. Hall took photographs of the Logan (See Appointment Calendar, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[67]Modern American Sculpture/A Representative Collection of the Principal Statues, Reliefs, Busts, Statuettes and Specimens of Decorative and Municipal Work, Executed by the foremost Sculptors in America, Ed. by Sadakichi Hartmann (N.Y.: Paul Wenzel, n.d.), plate XLI, "Study of a Horse," erroneously attributed to Augustus Saint-Gaudens.

[68]Proctor, p. 128.

[69]McKim, Mead and White Papers, New-York Historical Society Print Room. Nothing else is known of Mr. Jack.

Another undated letter from Saint-Gaudens to White (possibly related to the above and, therefore before the autumn of 1894) with sketches suggests possible treatment for the pedestal.

> Perhaps "Steles" with eagles on them or shields or small boys with shields or wreaths might be good on the Logan.

(McKim, Mead and White Papers, New-York Historical Society).

[70]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[71]Ibid., September 8, 1894.

[72]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[73]Copy, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

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[74]Saint-Gaudens to Annetta Johnson, September 8, 1894, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[75]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 101-2.

[76]October 12, 1894, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[77]Ibid., October 12, 1894 (quoted by Saint-Gaudens in Reminiscences II: 103-4).

[78]Letter of March 18, 1895 to Saint-Gaudens in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[79]Ibid., March 18, 1895. (See Saint-Gaudens penned note on the letter to Miss Johnson asking her to draw his attention to "this" (undoubtedly the holsters when they arrived).

See Chapter 2, p. 53 letter of November 21, 1879 in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[80]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library, quoted in Reminiscences II: 105.

[81]Saint-Gaudens to Walsh May 27, 1895, Reminiscences II: 106.

[82]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 106.

[83]Saint-Gaudens'Appointment Calendar 1893-6, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[84]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 101.

[85]Saint-Gaudens' Appointment Calendar 1893-6, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

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[86]A circular plan was approved by Saint-Gaudens, July 18, 1896, McKim, Mead & White Papers, New-York Historical Society Print Room.

[87]On October 2, 1897 Daniel H. Burnham submitted a square plan flanked by two circles for the Michigan Boulevard site. (McKim, Mead and White Papers, New-York Historical Society Print Room). Saint-Gaudens response to Burnham's drawings was "what a nuisance." (McKim, Mead and White Papers, New-York Historical Society Print Room).

On October 17, 1896, Olmstead, Olmstead & Eliot wrote to White approving of the Michigan Boulevard site with the penned note "We heartily approve of the site especially as it keeps the 'bones' out of the rural parks." (McKim, Mead & White Papers, New-York Historical Society Print Room).

[88]James Ellsworth to Stanford White, August 24, 1896 and Ellsworth to St. Gaudens September 23, 1896 (McKim, Mead & White Papers, New-York Historical Society Print Room).

[89]The Chicago Sunday Tribune, July 18, 1897, p. 25.

[90]Judge Blodgett to Saint-Gaudens August 18, 1897.

> . . .I very much regret that our funds ran so low, owing to the expenses of the unveiling exercises, that we are unable [to] pay as much toward the accessories as you thought needful. . ..

(Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[91]John A. Logan Collection, Chicago Historical Society.

[92]"Familiar Letters of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Edited by Rose Standish Nichols, McClure's Magazine, v.XXXI #6 (Oct.

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1908), p. 606.

[93]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[94]Norcross to White March 11, 1897, McKim, Mead and White Papers, New-York Historical Society Print Room.

Norcross to White February 23, 1897, ". . .If the contract is awarded to us for the entire of the work (as per our itemized estimate) the cost being $15,863., we could make a deduction of $600. . . .." (McKim Mead and White Papers, New-York Historical Society).

Ultimately, the piling, foundations, concrete and brick masonry in the foundation was awarded to E.W. Sproul and other companies did other incidental work. However, Norcross' share in the work was for the granite work and the crypt lining at a cost of approximately $5,000. (Copy of letter from Burnham to Judge Tuthill, July 22, 1897, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[95]McKim, Mead and White Papers, New-York Historical Society Print Room.

[96]McKim, Mead and White Papers, New-York Historical Society Print Room. Receipted bill of November 27, 1897.

[97]McKim, Mead and White Papers, New-York Historical Society Print Room.

[98]"LOGAN STATUE IS HERE", The Chicago Tribune, Friday, July 16, 1897, p. 7 noted that the approximate weight of the bronze statue was 6000 pounds.

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[99]The Logan Monument Memorial, p. 76.

The Chicago Sunday Tribune, July 18, 1897, p. 25.

[100]The Chicago Daily Tribune, Friday, July 23, 1897,p.1-2.

The Chicago Daily Tribune, Friday, July 23, 1897, p.6.

> ST. GAUDENS THINKS IT GRAND AND FITTING.
> (For The Tribune by Augustus St. Gaudens.)
> It was certainly a grand and fitting demonstration, and a splendid testimonial to the memory of General Logan. The program was carried out superbly and the unveiling ceremonies were all that could be desired. I am highly gratified with the successful consummation of the day's event.

See also McClure's Magazine, v.XXXI #6 (Oct. 1908), p. 609-10 and Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 84-8 for additional descriptions of the Logan unveiling. However, both sources misdate the unveiling as June 22, 1897. It was July 22, 1897.

[101]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[102]Ibid., August 14, 1897.

[103]The Chicago Times-Herald, July 22, 1897 (Clipping in Logan Statue Ceremonies Scrapbook, Chicago Historical Society).

The Chicago Daily Tribune, Wednesday, July 21, 1897, p.1. The terms here attributed to Blodgett and Tuthill were "superb" and "lifelike."

[104]Chicago Times-Herald, July 22, 1897 (Clipping in Logan Statue Ceremonies Scrapbook, Chicago Historical Society).

The Chicago Sunday Tribune, July 18, 1897, p.1.

[105]Chicago Times-Herald, July 22, 1897 (Clipping in Logan Statue Ceremonies Scrapbook, Chicago Historical Society).

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[106]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[107]See figure 183.

[108]Williams to Saint-Gaudens, June 21, 1897 (Copy Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[109]Chicago Times-Herald, July 22, 1897 (Clipping in Logan Statue Ceremonies Scrapbook, Chicago Historical Society).

[110]Copy in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[111]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[112]Ibid., August 18, 1897.

[113]The Chicago Tribune, Thursday, July 22, 1897, p. 3.

[114]The Logan Monument Memorial, p. 39.

[115]Ibid, p. 41.

[116]Taft, The History of American Sculpture, p. 301.

[117]The Chicago Daily Tribune, Wednesday, July 21, 1897,p.1.

[118]Royal Cortissoz, "Augustus St. Gaudens," The North American Review, v. 177 #564 (July-Dec. 1903), p. 736.

[119]Cox, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," The Atlantic Monthly, v. CI (March 1908), p. 303.

[120]The New York Times, March 1, 1908 (Criticism, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[121]Coffin, "The Sculptor St. Gaudens," The Century Magazine, v. 54 (June 1897), p. 193.

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[122]Correspondence from August 25, 1905 to September 13, 1905 in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[123]Dr. Raymond P. Bacon (University of Chicago) to J.F. Foster, General Superintendent, South Park Commissioners, Chicago, August 29, 1905 (Copy-Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[124]J.F. Foster to Saint-Gaudens, September 8, 1905 (Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[125]Markers and Monuments (Clipping file, Chicago Historical Society).

[126]Chicago Times-Herald, July 23, 1897 (Clipping in Logan Statue Ceremonies Scrapbook, Chicago Historical Society).

[127]See above, Chapter 3, Section II. The History of the Standing Lincoln.

[128]Augusta to Saint-Gaudens, August 4, [1883], Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library (Cited in Chapter 3).

[129]Ibid., August 4, [1883].

[130]Craven, Sculpture in America, p. 223-4.

However, an inscription on the monument, itself, appears to read "Thomas Ball/Sculptor/1864."

[131]Craven, Sculpture in America, p. 225.

[132]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 183.

The plaster model of Dubois' Jeanne d'Arc had been

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exhibited at the Salon de 1889 (#4320) where it had achieved a triumph (Lami ii: 218, 221).

[133]A modified replica of Frémiet's 1874 Jeanne d'Arc, gilded bronze was exhibited in plaster at the Salon de 1889 (#4387). In 1890 replicas of the second version were unveiled in Philadelphia (fig. 193) and Nancy. In 1899 the original gilded bronze was replaced by a gilded cast of the second bronze on the Place de Rivoli (Sellin says "Place des Pyramides"). The Philadelphia bronze was not originally gilded, and it has been questioned whether the recent (before 1974) gilding of the Philadelphia statue was appropriate (Sellin, Sculpture of a City: Philadelphia's Treasures in Bronze and Stone, p. 126-130). See also Lami ii: 412.

[134]James M. Goode, The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D.C., p. 278-9.

[135]Richman, Daniel Chester French, p. 28.

[136]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

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Chapter 9: THE EQUESTRIAN GENERAL SHERMAN

In the center of Manhattan on Fifth Avenue between Fifty-ninth and Sixtieth Streets stands the dynamic equestrian group of General Sherman led by Victory (fig. 197). Placed at the southeast entrance to Central Park, General Sherman is represented facing south with all the vigor and determined purpose which characterized his military career. The general is seated erectly upon his horse, which though frozen in bronze, seems in the act of forward motion. The bronze has been allowed to weather a mellow pale green which provides an attractive counterfoil for the pale pink of the granite base. Although missing the upper half of her palms of victory, the American woman who leads Sherman has been transformed into an ideal depiction crowned with laurel leaves. The Nike is naturalistically portrayed and her presence softens the harsh realism of the equestrian portion of the monument.

Unveiled on Memorial Day, May 30, 1903, the Sherman Monument from the moment of its unveiling was contrasted to and compared favorably with the equestrian figures of antiquity through the Renaissance.[1] It was seen as an American achievement fully comparable to and in many ways superior to its European predecessors. In artistic as well as philosophic terms this was another demonstration that America had arrived not only as a world power, but as a vital force in the arts.

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On the front of the base of the Sherman Monument is the inscription in bronze letters:

TO GENERAL
WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN
BORN FEB 8, 1820
DIED FEB 14,1891
ERECTED BY CITIZENS OF NEW YORK
UNDER THE AUSPICES OF THE
CHAMBER OF COMMERCE
OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

A bronze band with a running scroll separates the granite of the base from that of the pedestal. On this band, at the back of the monument is the inscription, "AVGVSTVS SAINT-GAUDENS MCMIII." On either side of the oval shaped base are three wreaths of olive leaves. Beneath this is a decorative band of leaves which somewhat resembles the stylized white oak leaves used on the pedestals of the Lincoln and Puritan monuments.[2] The monument is approached by three wide granite steps in modified quatrefoil form and a single higher step of the same form. The background for the statue looking north is provided by the beautiful trees of Central Park.

Still one of the most commanding equestrian groups of the ninsteenth century, the Sherman Monument by Augustus Saint-Gaudens, executed with the architectural advice of Charles F. McKim,[3] commands its twentieth century environment as the general dominated the period of the Civil War.

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II. General William Tecumseh Sherman (1820-1891)

Tecumseh Sherman (fig. 198), born in New Lancaster, Ohio on February 8, 1820, was the sixth child of Charles R. and Mary (Hoyt) Sherman.[4] He was named for the famed Indian Chief, Tecumseh, leader of tribes from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico.[5] Sherman was nine years old when his father died and he was raised by a neighbor and friend, Judge Thomas Ewing and his wife Maria.[6] The name William was added so that he could be baptised without embarrassment.[7] At the age of sixteen, William, tall, rangy, red-headed and fair entered West Point, to which he had been appointed through Ewing's political influence.[8]

After graduation from West Point in 1840, Sherman was active in the Indian wars and on November 31, 1841 was promoted to First Lieutenant.[9] He served at Fort Moultrie, South Carolina for four years and in California.[10] In January of 1850 he returned east to marry Ellen (Eleanor) Boyle Ewing, daughter of Thomas Ewing, then Secretary of the Interior in the cabinet of President Zachary Taylor.[11] Unable to support his family in either banking or law he accepted an appointment as superintendent of the Louisiana Seminary of Learning and Military Academy near Alexandria, Louisiana in August of 1859.[12] The secession ordinance was passed about January 25, 1861 and Sherman, believing absolutely in the inviolability of the Union, resigned from his position and started north via the Mississippi River.[13]

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Arriving in Washington, D.C., William visited his brother, John, then a Congressman from Ohio, and was introduced to the recently inaugurated President Lincoln.[14] He informed Lincoln of the preparations for war underway in the south and was somewhat dismayed by Lincoln's apparent casual response to his report of southern military activity.[15] The bombardment and capture of Fort Sumter on the 12-14 of April, 1861 finally precipitated the War of the Rebellion.[16]

Sherman was appointed a Colonel of the 13th Regular Infantry and participated in the carnage of the First Battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861.[17] The history of the first year of the Civil War was one of confusion, ineptitude and lack of coordination, a year in which the Union forces were going through the organizational problems already lived through by the Confederates in the year 1860. By the beginning of 1862 order was beginning to be established and Sherman was ordered to Kentucky.[18] Ulysses S. Grant and Captain Andrew H. Foote of the Navy had taken Fort Henry and the day after Sherman's arrival, February 15, 1862, Fort Donelson was taken.[19] The Battle of Shiloh (April 6-7) resulted in heavy losses for both north and south and the death of the Confederate Commander-in-Chief, General Albert Sidney Johnston.[20] By April 8, 1862 the rebels were in retreat and May 1 Sherman was promoted to Major-General of volunteers.[21] Writing to his brother from Memphis, Tennessee on September 22, 1862 William expressed an optimism totally lacking in

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his correspondence of the previous year.[22]

By the end of 1862, Sherman had organized a movement against Vicksburg which was unsuccessful because of lack of coordination and anticipated support from Generals Grant, Blair and Banks.[23] On January 17, 1863 William wrote to his brother John, "you cannot appreciate the difficulty of moulding into a homogeneous machine the discordant elements which go to make up our armies."[24] However, by mid-1863 a coordinated plan for the capture of Vicksburg was underway and its fall on the fifth of July marked the opening of the Mississippi River to the Union.[25] Grant was made a Major-General in the regular army, "the highest grade then existing by law," and James Birdseye McPherson and Sherman were promoted to Brigadier Generals.[26] Sherman noted with some poetic license that the guiding minds and hands of the fall of Vicksburg were Grant's, Sherman's and McPherson's, "all natives of Ohio."[27] He neglected to include Farragut, a native of New Orleans.

Meanwhile, in New York the draft riots were taking place in July of 1863, so that even while the military was beginning to achieve some actual and psychological advantage, the Union resolve was far from being unanimous or supportive. Of this period General Sherman wrote that the only real issue was whether or not the Union could physically subdue the south.[28] In October of 1863 Sherman was made commander of the Army of the Tennessee and the successes at Chattanooga

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in November and Knoxville in December followed.[29] March 1864 saw the advancement of Grant to Commander-in-Chief with Sherman succeeding him as commander of the Army of the Mississippi and the commencement of the Atlanta Campaign.[30] By September 2, 1864 Atlanta had been captured and General H.W. Slocum, commanding the 20th Corps, entered Atlanta unopposed.[31] General Sherman wrote that this victory enabled Lincoln to win in the presidential election in November since General George Brinton McClellan had been nominated by the Democratic party on a platform that declared that the war could not be won and the south should have its own government with slavery.[32] Sherman reasoned that the military success of the Union armies assured Lincoln's victory at the polls.

One of the most controversial moves of Sherman at this time was the evacuation of the civilian population of Atlanta and its subsequent burning on November 15.[33] Sherman responded to his critics that war was not a popularity contest and that if the south wanted peace, "they and their relatives must stop the war."[34] He further determined that defending the roads and lines of communication and supply between Chattanooga and Atlanta was impossible.[35] Therefore, it was best "to destroy everything and march toward the sea foraging for corn on the way to "make Georgia howl."[36] Grant assented to Sherman's plan and history was made.

For the first time in recorded military history,Sherman organized an army self-sufficient in its supply and depending

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upon the countryside to provide grain and provisions for its troops. Now recognized by military historians as the immediate predecessor of Germany's blitzkrieg in World War II and one of the most remarkable military manoeuvres of all time, Sherman marched through Georgia, devastating the countryside and bringing the war through the heart of the south.[37] The military and psychological implications of this campaign were so overwhelming that Sherman's march through the Carolinas in 1865 to unite with Grant before Richmond had almost less effect. This was because though the way was more difficult, the result was inevitable.

On the sixth of April, 1865, Robert E. Lee surrendered to Grant and on April 14 Lincoln was assassinated.[38] April 26, 1865 General C.E. Johnston surrendered to Sherman ending the Civil War.[39] With the installation of President Andrew Johnson, the issues of the Civil War were again to be fought, but this time on the political front. Sherman having nothing but contempt for political manoeuvering went to St. Louis after the grand review in Washington, D.C. of May 23-4, 1865. When Grant became president in 1869, Sherman took command of the army succeeding General Grant, and he also became Secretary of War.[40] In 1871 he was promoted for the presidency, but declined.[41] December of 1871 found Sherman in Europe.[42] He noted upon arrival in Rome that "Italy is full of Americans. . .who seem to take the lead as sculptors, painters, travellers, etc."[43] From 1872-1874 Sherman lived in Wash-

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ington, D.C. and late in 1874 he moved to St. Louis, Missouri.[44] In 1875 he published his Memoirs and from 1877-1881 he again lived in Washington, D.C.[45] On February 8, 1884 General Sherman retired at the legal retirement age of sixty-four.[46] In 1886 he moved to New York City where he lived for two years at the Fifth Avenue Hotel.[47] It was here that Augustus Saint-Gaudens met General Sherman and executed his portrait (fig. 199). Sherman afterwards bought a house on Seventy-first Street where he spent his remaining years and died there on February 14, 1891.[48]

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III. The History of the Sherman Monument

A letter to Stanford White with only the printed date 1886, written by a friend of Miss Rachel Sherman, indicated that Saint-Gaudens was anxious to do the General's head.[49] The writer continued, "Miss Sherman would like very much to have you call on her with Mr St Gaudens."[50] Saint-Gaudens' interest in doing General Sherman's head may be understood by a statement later made to the sculptor, Charles Keck.

> . . .I repeat what I said to you in my letter of the 6th, I have such respect and admiration for the heroes of the civil war, that I consider it my duty to help in any way to commemorate them in a noble and dignified way, worthy of their great services. (51)

Therefore, it may be seen that soon after General Sherman's move to New York, Saint-Gaudens set in motion a campaign to be introduced to the civil war hero so that he might sculpt his portrait. This he did out of mixed feelings of admiration, patriotism and a belief in his own ability. At this time Saint-Gaudens lived at 22 Washington Place near Washington Square.[52] Since he had recently completed the Farragut Monument for New York (fig. 15) and the Lincoln Monument for Chicago (figs. 44, 45), it was probably not difficult to convince Sherman that Saint-Gaudens was the proper person to execute his portrait. In any event, Sherman consented to eighteen sittings for the portrait, probably in 1887 and early 1888.[53] The completed bust (fig. 199) was exhibited by Saint-Gaudens at the National Academy of Design in 1888 along with a medallion portrait of Stanford White.[54]

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Saint-Gaudens in writing of the events of this period in his life was rather expansive on the subject and linked it with another memorable portrait executed at about the same time, the portrait of Robert Louis Stevenson (fig.200). Saint-Gaudens wrote:

> While modeling the relief of the Stevenson I had in my studio another absorbing portrait, a bust of General Sherman, the chance to make which Whitelaw Reid had been instrumental in obtaining for me. This task was also a labor of love, for the General had remained in my eye as the typical American soldier ever since I had formed that idea of him during the Civil War. The bust I made in about eighteen periods of two hours each. It was a memorable experience, and I regret nothing more than that I did not write down a daily record of his conversation, for he talked freely and most delightfully of the war, men and things. . .. (55)

Both portraits seem to have been executed primarily in 1887. However, while the Bust of General Sherman (fig. 199) was exhibited in the spring of 1888 at the National Academy of Design, Saint-Gaudens had to wait for Stevenson's return from Saranac in May of 1888 to put the final touches on the medallion of the poet.[56] The Portrait of Robert Louis Stevenson (fig. 200) was not exhibited at the National Academy until 1889.[57] Stevenson was most anxious to meet the general and Saint-Gaudens was able to arrange their meeting because of General Sherman's interest in Stevenson's play then on the New York stage, Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde.[58]

Lorado Taft wrote some years later of the Sherman bust:

> It is an astonishing work; an unexpected meeting with it is like suddenly coming face to face with a real man of powerful and impressive personality. The sculptor made some sacrifice

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> in order to convey this look of intense life. The bust has little of his usual suavity of handling, which he evidently found inconsistent with the character of the nervous,restless old general. The touch is all "staccato." The chin is aggressive, the tight mouth defiant,the nose inquiring,the eye like an eagle's; the beard is short and stubbly, the hair writhes and twists from very virility; the coat lapels are angular and stand out sharply;. . .Quite in harmony with these features is the play of vivid lights and shadows. They are restless and keen, abrupt to picturesqueness. (59)

In fact no greater contrast could exist than these portraits of two of the most interesting personalities of the nineteenth century, General William Tecumseh Sherman and Robert Louis Stevenson. The former, the man of action, energetic, powerful and dynamic and the latter, the man of letters, reflective, quiet and introspective. Saint-Gaudens chose to portray Sherman in-the-round and Stevenson in relief, probably knowing instinctively that each mode would enhance the depiction of the personalities involved.

Shortly after the death of General Sherman on February 14, 1891 "the first steps for the erection of a Sherman statue were taken by the Recorder newspaper. . .since passed out of existence."[60] That newspaper raised $8,600.50 which it turned over to the New York City Chamber of Commerce.[61] On April 9, 1891 an executive committee was appointed and on the 21st of May a preliminary contract was drawn up.[62] The provisional agreement proposed an equestrian statue in bronze of General Sherman with Victory for $45,000. or an equestrian statue in bronze "without the figure of Victory, for $35,000."[63] The formal contract with Saint-Gaudens was signed on March 21,

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1892.[64] The contract provided that the sculptor was to be paid $45,000. for the execution of an "Equestrian Statue of the best statuary bronze of General William T. Sherman, and in connection therewith a figure of Victory of similar bronze, such figures to be of heroic size. . . ."[65] The contract further provided that the statue should be ready for unveiling by May 1, 1894 in accordance with the model submitted by Saint-Gaudens to the executive committee and approved by them.[66] The contract was signed by Saint-Gaudens, George Wilson and Samuel D. Babcock, chairman of the committee.[67]

By 1891 the Adams Memorial and the first Diana had been installed. The two major monuments which remained incomplete on March 21, 1892 were the Shaw and Logan. The contract for the Sherman states that Saint-Gaudens had submitted a model that was approved by the committee.[68] However, there was undoubtedly little else done upon the Sherman for the balance of 1892 or 1893, for the Diana would soon be removed and replaced with a new version, the Shaw was expected to be completed by 1893 and the revised contract for the Logan specified that it would be unveiled in 1894. Furthermore, Saint-Gaudens took an active early part in plans for the World's Columbian Exposition of 1893.[69] Though he declined to be in charge of sculpture at the Exposition, he made several trips to Chicago and directed his pupil, Mary Tonnetti, in the execution of the Columbus for the fair.[70] In 1892, Saint-Gaudens created the relief of his and Davida's son, Novy,

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when Novy was approximately one and one-half years old,while Homer, his first born was twelve. How he expected to complete the Sherman by May of 1894 is difficult to understand even if we disregard the fact that other monuments, such as the Peter Cooper (1897, New York) and smaller commissions were also underway. It is evident that help was needed and some was on the way by the fall of 1894 in the shape of Alexander Phimister Proctor.[71] Proctor wrote of his work on the Sherman horse.

> About the time I finished the second model of the Logan horse [early in 1895], Saint-Gaudens asked me to do the horse for his equestrian statue of General William Sherman. Margaret and I took an apartment and found a studio on West Fifty-first Street.
>
> As soon as I was settled in the studio, Saint-Gaudens began to look for an animal that would answer for the model.. . .About that time we heard of a famous jumper on Long Island named Ontario. The horse suited Saint-Gaudens and his owner graciously offered him as a model. We boarded him at Dorlan's Riding Academy at Fifty-ninth Street and Central Park and hired a handler to bring him to the studio. . .By August 1, 1895 I had finished the Sherman horse. (72)

Obviously, Saint-Gaudens was pleased with Proctor's efforts for when he had finished, the sculptor bought Proctor an expensive hunting rifle as a token of his esteem.[73] Probably also due to the efforts of Saint-Gaudens and Stanford White Proctor received the first Rinehart Committee Scholarship for study in Paris.[74] Proctor and his wife sailed for Europe in 1896.[75]

Saint-Gaudens also wrote of this period.

> Then my condition in New York growing no better, since the Twentieth Street workshop was quickly filled [with the Logan and Garfield commissions]

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> and the Thirty-sixth Street studio remained impossible because of incessant interruption /and the Shaw and Peter Cooper underway there/ I took yet another small studio on Twenty-seventh Street, where, immediately after the completion of the "Shaw," and while that was being cast in bronze, I began the equestrian monument to Sherman.
>
> The horse of the "Sherman" was developed under my supervision in yet another Fifty-ninth Street /i.e. Fifty-first Street/ studio, the famous high jumper, Ontario posing as the model, while the figure of Sherman I created from an Italian model very much of the General's build. This man had great pride in his profession. He had "le cœur au métier." . ..(76)

This can be understood to mean that while the horse for the Sherman was being modelled by Proctor in 1895 at a studio on Fifty-first Street, Saint-Gaudens was much occupied with completing the Peter Cooper, Shaw, Logan and Garfield monuments at studios on Thirty-sixth, Twenty-seventh and Twentieth Streets. Therefore, the sculptor had little time to become involved with the Sherman until the beginning of 1897 when the Garfield was out of the way and the Peter Cooper, Shaw and Logan were on their way to the foundry. A letter of January 26, 1897 to his niece, Rose Nichols, quoted in part earlier, explains his situation with regard to the Sherman.

> All of the Shaw is out of the studio. They cast the Logan on Monday and I am working like the devil on the Sherman. I've found precisely the model I wished, just his size, the same pose of the head and the same thinness; a Milanese peasant who poses like a rock. Next week I commence the nude of the Victory from a South Carolinian girl with a figure like a goddess. (77)

A second letter to his niece of February 17, 1897 informs her of the progress on the Sherman.

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> . . .At 27th Street I've finished the nude of the Sherman and next week I begin to put his clothes on him. I had another day with the model for the Victory last Sunday, and that, too, is progressing rapidly. (78)

It may, therefore, be understood that with the completion of the Shaw and Logan monuments and other commissions, Saint-Gaudens was finally able to devote full attention to the Sherman Monument and was working on the models for the figures of Sherman and Victory at the beginning of 1897. Despite the best of intentions, Saint-Gaudens was shortly to become occupied with a revision of the figure of the Angel of Peace and Death (fig. 168) in the Shaw Memorial and details of the completion of the Logan Monument in Chicago (fig. 182). Then, too, after the unveiling of the Shaw Memorial on Monday, May 31, 1897, Saint-Gaudens had his first attack of pain which he sometimes called "neuralgia" and which was the first indication of the cancer to which he would succumb.[79]

After the unveiling of the Logan on July 22, 1897, Saint-Gaudens was able to get his affairs in order, close his New York studios and prepare for an extended European stay. Although many of his friends advised him against a prolonged residence in Paris, the sculptor was determined once again to test his skills in the center of the Western art world.[80] On October 26, 1897, Saint-Gaudens, his wife, Augusta, and his son, Homer, sailed for Europe.[81]

Having arrived in Paris by November 7, Saint-Gaudens set about finding a studio.[82] He found one in "a quiet,

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garden-like alley at 3bis rue de Bagneux," where he spent the next three years working on the Sherman, "a variation of the Stevenson for St. Giles's Church in Edinburgh, Scotland, and where he began his studies for"the figures of the groups for the Boston Public Library.[83] However, the depressing weather and his homesickness, probably prevented him from accomplishing much during his first months in Europe.[84] On November 16, he wrote to his niece that he had met Whistler and that he had gone to the "Court of Appeals where a trial of his was to come off," on the sixteenth but apparently did not.[85] Then in December he and his friend of Beaux-Arts days, Alfred Garnier, went on a trip "to the south of France and to Italy."[86] Saint-Gaudens visited Aspet and travelled from Toulouse to Marseilles and then by train to Nice and Ventimiglia.[87] They then walked to San Remo, finally arriving at Pisa and then Rome.[88] Visiting the Bay of Naples, Salerno and Amalfi, Saint-Gaudens returned to Paris early in 1898 and began preparation for the exhibition of his works at the Salon of 1898.[89] On February 26, 1898 Augustus wrote to his wife, Augusta, who had returned to Boston.

> I am feeling very well now and the Sherman is progressing very well. I am sure the committee will forget the delay when the work is done - I'm working at nothing else and in about 6 weeks I will have the model entirely finished Victory and all - Lovingly Gus (90)

On April 22, 1898 Saint-Gaudens wrote to Samuel Babcock from Paris.

> I have recently completed the model of the figure of General Sherman and enclose a

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> statement of payment which I should now like to have made to me -
>
> The agreement provides for a second payment of $5000. after I had worked six months on the monument. (91)

Saint-Gaudens also wrote that the horse had been enlarged to the colossal size and that he would like Babcock to set in motion the acquisition of a site.[92]

During this third period in Paris, James Earle Fraser (1876-1953) worked for Saint-Gaudens while he was a student at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts. He wrote of this period in an unpublished manuscript.

> . . .my studies took me to Paris where I entered the Beaux Arts classes.
>
> I brought with me several pieces of sculpture which I thought I might possibly show at the Salon one of them being the study of "The End of the Trail". . . Before the year had ended, two competitions were held by the American Art Association-- one for the best piece of sculpture, and the other to obtain a design for a medal. Fortunately for me I won these two competitions. . .and more to the point was the fact that Saint-Gaudens was one of the jurors for both of these competitions.
>
> Much to my surprise within a few days after the competitions,I received a letter from him telling me that he was very much pleased with what he had seen of my work,and asked if I would come to his studio. . .I. . .retain a vivid memory of that first impression. . .His head was magnificent. His hair was black and wavy with hardly a trace of gray. On the contrary his beard which was a golden red was mixed with silver. . .His eyes were twinkling and in color blue-gray.
>
> Finally. . .he asked if I would help him with his work,part of which he was getting ready to show in his large Exhibition at the Paris Salon, . . .and I arranged to work there all my after-

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> noons; I was studying in the Beaux Arts in the morning. Eventually when the Beaux Arts closed for the summer, I worked a full day on the enlargement of the Sherman statue from his small model.
>
> I recall the first thing that I was asked to do--it was Sherman's sword which I was to make nearly twice full size. Then came the retouching of the General's head which had been enlarged from the original bust that Saint-Gaudens had made of Sherman from life, and so on. . .That work continued for months.. . .
>
> Finally the Sherman statue was cast in plaster and set up in a large fenced-in space near Port Mont Rouge outdoors and Saint-Gaudens and I worked on it there in the outdoor light all one summer, and in the spring it was exhibited in the Salon without the Victory. . .. (93)

Fortunately, photographs have been preserved of the colossal plaster of the equestrian portion of the Sherman in its outdoor, Parisien setting (figs. 201-203).

By May 16, 1898, Saint-Gaudens was in touch with the Sherman Monument Committee since the statue was "far advanced," asking them to take the necessary steps to secure a site.[94] On that same date he wrote to his niece, Rose, fairly exuberant with his European experience.

> . . .This Paris experience,as far as my art goes, has been a great thing for me. I never felt sure of myself before,I groped ahead. All blindness seems to have been washed away. I see my place clearly now. . .A great self-confidence has come over me and a tremendous desire and will to achieve high things. . .I exhibited at the Champ de Mars and the papers have spoken well and it seems as if I were having what they call a 'success' here.. . . The Director of the Luxembourg tells me he wishes something of mine,and other friends have asked that I be given the Legion of Honour.. . . There is something in the air here which pushes one to do beautiful things; it seems something actually atmospheric, something soft and gentle in the air. . .. (95)

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Saint-Gaudens' letter seems to be a modest appraisal of the enormous impact which his exhibition at the Champ de Mars must have had on the Parisian art world. The American sculptor exhibited fifteen works among which were the third version of the Shaw Memorial (fig. 164) and the second version of the Puritan (fig.81),a funerary stele which was a variation of the Smith Tomb and predecessor of the Amor Caritas (fig.124),the Robert Louis Stevenson medallion (fig.200) and the Bust of General Sherman (fig.204).[96] He also exhibited seven photographs of works including the Adams Memorial (fig. 91), the Peter Cooper, the Caryatid from the Vanderbilt mansion (fig.122) and the statue of President Lincoln (figs.44, 45).[97] The critics responded enthusiastically. The first review in Art et Décoration by Paul Leprieur in June of 1898 noted that Saint-Gaudens' "exhibit is one of the surprises and delights of the Champ de Mars."[98] In August of 1898, Léonce Benedite reviewed, "Les Salons de 1898," in the Gazette des Beaux-Arts and devoted two pages of twenty to the work of Saint-Gaudens, one of which was a full page reproduction of the Shaw Memorial.[99] Benedite characterised the work of Saint-Gaudens as having a rare nobility and grand style.[100]

In February 1899 a major review of the works of Saint-Gaudens,seen in the Salon of 1898,appeared in Art et Décoration.[101] Gaston Migeon in a review of seven pages,illustrated seven of the fifteen works exhibited by the sculptor at the Société Nationale.[102] Of the Equestrian Monument of

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General Sherman, Migeon wrote that Saint-Gaudens had allowed him to see the maquette of the entire group, but that he was not permitted to reproduce it.[103] In a rather full description he characterised the Sherman maquette as "Volonté agissante" (active will), a magnificent symbol of a whole people.[104] He described the winged figure which accompanied Sherman as Victory and Peace "à la fois," whose elan affirms the calm and triumphant serenity of peace.[105] Migeon concluded with the statement that the equestrian statue of General Sherman would probably be a chef-d'oeuvre and at the same time one of the most important works of modern times.[106] The illustration of the Bust of Sherman (fig. 204) indicates that it was identical to the one now at Cornish (fig. 199) set upon a quadruple base, the second part of which, like the decoration beneath the Adams Memorial (fig. 91) is a wreath of bound leaves, probably laurel and olive.

No wonder Saint-Gaudens was pleased. This article and those of June and August 1898 completely justified the reason for his Parisian sojourn. The works of Saint-Gaudens were compared favorably not only to those of his distinguished student, MacMonnies, but compared to the other works exhibited at the Salons, which were seen as irritating or even worse, simply banal.[107] The twentieth century may look with amazement at critics who found Rodin's Balzac irritating and found the works of Saint-Gaudens exceptional in the midst of those of his French and European contemporaries. It is

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of course easy to see with the advantage of eighty years perspective that the Balzac was truly innovative and atypical, while the work of Saint-Gaudens was more easily understood within the context of traditional sculpture, superbly executed. It was the innovative character of Rodin's Balzac which made it more difficult to appreciate and the traditional nature of Saint-Gaudens' work which made it more accessible to the late nineteenth century public. Some of the American sculptor's appeal was also precisely because he was American of French extraction and trained at the Ecole. It was also because he was the most accomplished American sculptor to exhibit at the Salons of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The fact that Saint-Gaudens chose to exhibit with Rodin and others at the more avante guard Societé Nationale, also indicates that he saw himself as an innovator, or among the avante guard.

During May of 1898, correspondence indicates that a site at the head of the mall in Central Park was being actively pursued by the sculptor.[108] However, on June 2 George Wilson of the Chamber of Commerce responded that no progress could be made on a site until the plan for the pedestal was available.[109] On July 19, 1898 Saint-Gaudens responded to a letter from Charles Keck (1875-1951), who apparently wondered whether he should come abroad to work for Saint-Gaudens.

> Dear Charlie:
> I received your letter the other day, and it gave me great pleasure. . .I have simplified my work a great deal and only have Ardison [sic]

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> as an assistant,and have barely enough to keep him going. It is quite possible that I may have the Sherman enlarged by machinery,they do that here just as they make reductions, and it is a tremendous advantage, as you give your model to a machine man,and all the trouble and circus of an atelier full of fellows is done away with. However I had the horse pointed and I may have to have the figure done in that way too.
>
> I have thought of going back in October, but I do not know whether I will now, if the winters were not so dark and dreary here I should certainly decide to stay, but I fear that very much.
>
> /Bela/ Pratt has just gone back but his things at the Salon were not particularly good. I don't think Flanagan's work is very good either, and on the whole unless a fellow has stuff in him, coming over her doesn't seem to do any good. . ..(110)

Undoubtedly, one of the unstated reasons for his response to Charlie Keck was the fact that Homer had completed his school year and was on vacation in Paris and Saint-Gaudens was not ready to undertake any further obligations.

On August 22/1898/ Will Low wrote to Saint-Gaudens asking him what he wished done with the Shaw moulds in his Thirty-sixth Street studio which had been taken over by Charles H. Niehaus (1885-1935).[111] Low also asked what he was doing on the Sherman and if he had begun the Stevenson.[112] On September 2, 1898 Saint-Gaudens replied, "I am pegging away at the Sherman."[113] He continued that he had just returned from a trip to Holland and Belgium with his son, Homer, and that he had also been to England where he planned to return the following month on his way to Scotland to see about the Robert Louis Stevenson.[114] During the summer of 1898 Saint-Gaudens wrote that he had nearly finished the left side of

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Sherman's cloak.[115] By October of 1898, Augusta was in Paris and wrote to Homer on the 16th that his father was still working on Sherman's cloak.[116] On the 18th Saint-Gaudens wrote to his niece that the Sherman model would be finished the following week,and that when it was done he would be ready to go home.[117] On the 21st Saint-Gaudens wrote to White that the Sherman model was done.[118] November 23 he wrote to his niece:

> I have been quite happy for more than two days, as I have been arranging the drapery on the nude of the Victory and it has been remarkably successful. . .besides, the arrangement of the drapery has been made in such a way that it makes an easy matter for the arrangement of the Library figures and the Brooks angel. (119)

On December 6, 1898 he again wrote to his niece that he had been arranging drapery on four copies he had made of the nude of the Victory and that one of the four had come out remarkably well and he would have it copied (i.e. cast and enlarged?).[120] He continued:

> In a day or two I shall have the Sherman cast and the enlargement to the full size begun. While that is being done,I shall model the small Victory,which will be ready for the Salon in the Spring. My idea is to exhibit the full size Sherman on the horse, and alongside of it the small model of the entire group. I told you of the Conservator of the Luxembourg having expressed his desire to have the Angel with the tablet for that museum,and it is probable I will have it cast in bronze for that purpose and exhibit that,too, along with small gilded medallions of Beaman and the Howells group. Then I go at the Library figures.. . .I shall go to Edinboro' immediately after the holidays,which I shall pass with Homer. . .. (121)

Two days later, with characteristic desire to improve things, Saint-Gaudens was busy beginning the Sherman cloak all over and as Gussie reported to Homer, she was busy

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"making lots of little cloaks."[122] On the 23rd Saint-Gaudens wrote to Rose that his success with the drapery of the Victory had made him do the Sherman cloak over again.[123] On the 30th he wrote her:

> my Victory is getting on well. It's the grandest Victory anybody ever made. Hooraah! and I shall have the model made in a month or so. On the other hand I do not know whether I have told you that the cloak has been the sticking point on the Sherman. Well, I pointed and cast it with reluctance; and now,after a good rest, I went at it again to-day with a rush,and with a new and simpler arrangement I was able to make on the mannikin. I worked like the devil until Antonio,my handsome Italian boy, brought in the lighted lamp it was so dark,and to-night I feel I have that cloak now, just as I have the Victory. (124)

Saint-Gaudens also wrote to Miss Mary Mears on the same day (December 30) that Homer had returned to school in Dresden and that he (Homer) had been sacrificed to the Victory and Sherman's cloak.[125] Apparently he was done with the cloak for on the seventh of January 1899 he wrote to Rose from Edinburgh. He said that he had spent several days in London viewing the retrospective of the life-work of Burne-Jones, Sargent's Crucifixion for the Boston Public Library (which he called "a great thing") and waiting for the Stevenson Memorial Committee to assemble.[126] By January 15, 1899 Saint-Gaudens was back in Paris and wrote that he had the Sherman cast but was going to "fuss over it" before having it enlarged.[127] January 31st he wrote to Gussie.

> I have been much torn in mind about exhibiting the big Sherman at all, as Barbedienne can't do it in time,but I've found other fellows who can. . .Garnier writes that he had seen Mac the day he came to the studio [.] He told Garnier

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> my Sherman was 'tres beau'that it was the best thing I had done. (128)

By the 14th of February he wrote that he had the cloak right and that he had finished the right side that day.[129] In March he was receiving estimates for both the enlarging of the Sherman and its casting in bronze.[130] On April 7 he wrote to Rose that he was finished "with the figure of Sherman," and was working on the enlarged figure in wax.[131] That is to say the horse and figure of Sherman had been enlarged to life size and Saint-Gaudens was making final adjustments in wax. On April 12th he wrote:

> The big Sherman will be finished in time for the Salon and with it I shall exhibit the small model which includes the Victory, which is not quite finished. I am much pleased with the way old Sherman looks in the enlargement and, with the exception of one or two small things easily remedied, I think that on the whole there are fewer things that I dislike in it than in anything I have ever done. (132)

In the same letter he wrote that he had been to visit Rodin a few days before and was "deeply impressed" by his doors.[133] Then eleven moulders descended upon 3bis rue de Bagneux to enlarge Sherman and his horse to colossal size.[134] April 22 the Sherman was sent to the Salon and on May 1st Saint-Gaudens reported that it was set up in the place of honor, along with the model of the entire group, the bronze medallion of William and Mildred Dean-Howells and the bronze medallion of C.C. Beaman.[135]

Olivier Merson, in a review of sculpture at the Salons of 1899 in Le Monde Illustré wrote that the General Sherman

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was remarkable.[136] He concluded:

> Cet ensemble héroique est même la meilleure des sculptures exposées cette fois à ce bout lointain de la Galerie des Machines. (137)

The day after the opening of the exhibition, Saint-Gaudens wrote to his son, Homer, that for the first time in his life he had a swelled head because of the Sherman.[138] He also described the madness and noise and confusion which had attended the enlarging of the equestrian figure in his studio the previous month.[139]

On the eighth of May, Thiébaut Frères sent Saint-Gaudens an estimate for a gilded Sherman like Frémiet's Jeanne d'Arc.[140] At the end of May, Gus and Gussie were on a trip through the Pyrenees prior to her return to America.[141] And by June 13, 1899 a pencilled note in the Minutes of the Municipal Art Commission of New York indicates that the Sherman design had been accepted.[142] On Saturday, July 8, 1899 Augustus wrote to Gussie:

> Ardisson returned from London today and he starts in again with me next week. The Sherman comes back to the studio on Monday [from the Salon]. I have already fixed the cloak on the little model so that it can be fixed at once on the big one and I have finally started on the home stretch with the Victory. . .I am almost certain that the site I wish for the Sherman has not been given to others. [Thomas] Hastings. . .assures me that. . .his partner and the President of the Park Board are bosom friends and that when he returns he will personally see to the matter. . .. (143)

During the summer of 1899 the Luxembourg made the formal request for the Amor Caritas and ten medallions.[144] At the beginning of September 1899 Saint-Gaudens wrote to Will

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Low that he had been elected to the Société des Beaux-Arts.[145] He also indicated that he had been very ill.[146] Work on the Victory had been interspersed with a trip to Boulogne of a few weeks at the end of August and also with work on the Boston Library figures when he returned to Paris.[147] The Victory was not completed until the beginning of November when Saint-Gaudens wrote to the Sherman Monument Committee asking them for the third payment of $5,000.00.[148] This payment was due when the monument was "completed in clay."[149]

Meanwhile, Homer entered Harvard and Davida and Novy were in Paris. On October 27, 1899 Saint-Gaudens wrote to his brother, Louis, for whom Novy (Louis) had been named.

> . . .Homer entered Cambridge [Massachusetts, i.e. Harvard] two weeks ago Novy entered a French school at the same time. Davida don't like France and wants to get away. Gussie don't like it either and comes over on the St. Louis[?] Nov[ember] 1st and so the funny world goes round. (150)

It may be inferred from this that Davida and Novy were in Paris for an extended period. It also seems possible that the similarity of the "second" Head of Victory (fig. 205) and the Head of Diana (fig. 132) might indicate that Davida served as a model for the Victory while she was in Paris. The first model for the Victory was Hattie Anderson, who posed for Saint-Gaudens in New York before his departure for Paris.[151] Davida may have posed for Saint-Gaudens in 1899 and Alice Butler of Windsor, Vermont is reported to have posed for the Victory when Saint-Gaudens returned to Cornish

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in 1901.[152] This change in models may have accounted for some of the difficulty Saint-Gaudens experienced with the figure of Victory, as adjustments would have to be made even if the models were all similar in type.

Gussie came to Paris and on the 16th of November wrote to Homer from Saint-Gaudens' studio that his father was "still poking along on the Victory."[153] December 1st, 1899 Augusta wrote to Homer that Augustus had been made a [Corresponding] Member of the Institut de France and that congratulations had been pouring in before he was even officially notified.[154] Gussie continued that only two other Americans had received the honor, [John Lothrop] Motley, the historian, and William M. Hunt, the great painter, both of whom were dead.[155] She later observed that to "be made a member of the Institut of France is the highest honor the French can give anyone."[156]

December 22, Augusta wrote to Homer that Saint-Gaudens was still at work on the Victory.[157] And January 28, 1900 the sculptor wrote to Nellie (Helen) Mears that he was feeling very discouraged and could not decide whether or not he should exhibit at the International Exposition.[158] February 23 he again wrote to Nellie that Ardisson was casting the Victory and eight men were "re-casting the Sherman."[159] On February 19 Saint-Gaudens wrote to McKim that he would send him a full-size drawing of the plinth of the Sherman within the month as the pedestal must get underway.[160] By March 16

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Saint-Gaudens had decided to exhibit the Sherman with the Victory and he wrote Nellie Mears that the studio was like a madhouse with all the moulders.[161] Augusta wrote to Homer of the preparations for the Exposition which marked the turn of the century.

> The great new bridge [Alexandre III] is almost ready for traffic and on pedestals high in the air are [Frémiet's] gilded Pegasuses with female fames. Legs and wings and arms are flying in every direction. . ..[fig. 206] and if they weren't in bronze or rather gold and to last for ever they would be amusing in the light of an opera bouffe. The Architecture along the river is like an architect's nightmare but the whole thing leaves nothing new under the sun to be thought of in architecture. (162)

Later Gussie went to Vichy for the baths but returned for the opening of the Exposition.[163] After a trip to Spain with Gussie, Saint-Gaudens finally had a moment to catch his breath and wrote to McKim on June 2nd that he was sick about the difficulties that McKim had had trying to arrange a site for the Sherman.[164] On the other hand he was fairly exuberant about the fact that the Sherman had been given a place of honor at the Exposition. He wrote that even though the Victory had presented a "serious problem" he was "proud as a peacock about it," and had "the conviction that [he had] succeeded and done a swell thing,"[165] (fig. 207). He continued to McKim:

> If [the City of New York] do not wish to give Sherman the swellest position possible, they can put it where they please. I shall only raise a vigorous protest if it should be faced North or East, it must face South or West. Eh Voila! (166)

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June 24, 1900 Saint-Gaudens wrote to McKim that a site in front of Grant's tomb had been vetoed by General Porter and that Porter preferred the Fifty-ninth Street site.[167] Saint-Gaudens further reported that he was "hard at work" on the Boston Library figures and would leave for America "on the Oceanic July 25th."[168] The sculptor wrote of his return to America.

> In the midst of this Paris Exposition I was suddenly told that I was a sick man and that I could not get to a surgeon any too quickly. So I dropped everything and took the first steamer home.
>
> Though in a misery of mind beyond description, the impression of New York, of America and Americans, after a three-years' absence, was memorable. I was but a day in New York and a day in Boston before entering the hospital.. . .
>
> In due time I left the hospital to take the train for Windsor.. . .
>
> Then, through the delightful New Hampshire autumn followed the pleasure of convalescence, combined with further work upon the statue of General Sherman. For while the principal bronze casting was being made in Paris, I was carrying out alterations later sent to the founders;with the wings which did not please me, with parts of the cloak of the General, with the mane of the horse and the pine branch on the base, which I placed there to typify Georgia. (169)

On September 1, Saint-Gaudens wrote to Ardisson in Paris that a profile photo of the Sherman should be taken from both sides at the Exposition if the plaster in the studio had gone to the founders.[170] Fortunately, blue prints of those photographs taken in 1900 are preserved at the New York City Art Commission (figs. 208, 209).

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While Saint-Gaudens was convalescing from surgery, James Earle Fraser returned to Cornish from Paris to help Saint-Gaudens with the finishing of the Sherman statue.[171] First they awaited shipment of the plaster from the Exposition which closed at the end of November.[172] Then while Saint-Gaudens went to Florida to recuperate, Fraser stayed at Cornish with the architect, George Fletcher Babb, and built a large studio in which the final adjustments on the Sherman would be made.[173] Fraser wrote of this period.

> . . .by the time Saint Gaudens had returned [from Florida] we had set up the Sherman statue on its turntable in the studio ready for his criticism and direction. He was infinitely improved in health and was so anxious to complete his work that he immediately sent for numerous young sculptors to help. As I recall it there were fifteen of us working at one time, each having some work to do on the statue under Saint Gaudens' direction. It was quite like Donatello at Padua except he had 21 sculptors to help him.
>
> Finally, after the army of sculptors had left, Saint Gaudens, with Hering and myself to help, completed the work as it now stands at 59th Street and Fifth Avenue. (174)

By November 24, 1900 it had been decided that the Sherman would be exhibited at the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo and that the exhibitors would pay for the expense of shipping the plaster from the Paris Exposition to New York.[175] In a letter to Ardisson, Saint-Gaudens spoke of casts of the oak branch, one of which was to be sent to Thiébaut for casting.[176] Therefore, it may be understood that the change from oak to pine branch was probably not made until 1901.[177] Saint-Gaudens also noted in a letter

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to Ardisson of December 3, 1900 that the photograph of the left side of the Sherman at the Exposition showed that there was a mistake in the "little chain of the upper strap of the bridle at the mouth" which should pass under rather than over the upper strap.[178] He asked Ardisson to correct the mistake before casting.[179] In the same letter he also asked Ardisson to make the laurel leaves on the head of Victory "a little bit more pointed."[180] Saint-Gaudens wrote the letter from Boston where he was recuperating from a second surgical procedure and noted that he would return to Cornish in two days as he was progressing well.[181]

Although it was originally intended that the plaster cast of the Sherman would be sent directly from Paris to Buffalo for the Exposition, Saint-Gaudens asked that it be sent to Cornish first so that he might make certain repairs necessitated by its long journey.[182] Undoubtedly, he also wished to have a fresh look. By February 22, 1901 the cast of the Sherman was in New Hampshire.[183] It may have been during this period that Saint-Gaudens changed the oak branch to pine and sent a plaster cast to Thiébaut for the bronze.[184] The long needle Georgia pine and its placement under the horse's hoofs symbolized Sherman's march through Georgia. The sculptor apparently felt this was a more appropriate symbol than the oak branch. In any event, the revised plaster cast was forwarded to Buffalo for the exhibition and William A. Coffin, Director of Fine Arts for the Exposition wrote:

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> . . .I determined to have the Sherman set up in a fine emplacement in front of the Fine Arts Building and to have it face the building. The place for the pedestal was some distance out from the building. As I remember it now. . .the emplacement was on a high bank of the lake - an open space,macadamized,and we had got the Buffalo Park Department to take away a fountain that stood there in order to put the pedestal on the same spot. A pedestal was built and Hering and his men with many days of labor set up the Sherman. I wrote Saint-Gaudens again and he came to Buffalo. He looked at the Sherman in the morning, at noon and in the afternoon. He walked around it again and again. . .[He] had never before seen his Sherman set up as it was here,out of doors in a fine situation. . .and he was content.. . .
>
> He thought the pedestal was too much of a 'block' in its design so a new form of pedestal was designed by William Bosworth; Carrère and Hastings' representative on the Exposition grounds, a pedestal somewhat resembling the fine permanent pedestal in the Plaza but not quite so high; the old one was hacked away while the Sherman was shored up and the new one replaced it. (185) (fig.210)

Meanwhile Thiébaut wrote Saint-Gaudens that the bronze would be complete by the end of February and it was expected that the monument would be ready for installation in New York by September 1901.[186]

Lorado Taft wrote of the impression that the Sherman made at the Pan-American Exposition of 1901.

> [The Sherman] was first seen in this country at the Pan-American Exposition of 1901,where, most fortunately placed,its effect was even more impressive than in Paris. In the Palais des Beaux-Arts it rose above a forest of plastic creations competing necessarily with thousands of other attractions. At Buffalo,on the other hand,it was given an ideal location. Facing the Art building, but at a considerable distance from all structures, with a glassy lake and billows of green foliage as a background,it formed the natural centre of a great picture. Its pedestal was at the head of the stairs which led to a boat landing. . . . and finally the arch of blue sky,against which was silhouetted the great white mass. The effect

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> was indescribably fine. No one could see that monument as it stood in the Buffalo park without realizing how much the beauty of even a masterpiece is enhanced by fit surroundings. (187)

The response to the work of Saint-Gaudens at the exhibition was summed up by the director of Fine Arts, William A. Coffin.

> There were no medals of honor provided for in the awards at the Pan-American but the honor was created for Saint-Gaudens by the Board of Directors and he received the sole medal of honor awarded by the superior jury. (188)

Saint-Gaudens was not only recognized abroad, but was considered a master in his own country.

Meanwhile, McKim and Saint-Gaudens were championing a site for the Sherman at the south end of the mall in Central Park. Their formal proposal of May 15, 1901 noted the "general objection" to the placing of statues in Central Park, but they suggested that this was an "exceptional case."[189] In August, Saint-Gaudens wrote to Charles McKim of an alternate site at Seventy-second and Riverside Drive, but on December 24, 1901, the Municipal Art Commission recommended the "placing of the equestrian statue of General Sherman by St. Gaudens at the southerly end of the Mall. . . ."[190] However, on June 10, 1902 the mall site was discarded and the site at Fifty-ninth and Fifth Avenue was approved by the Art Commission.[191] Throughout 1902 the controversy raged about the site for the Sherman, but on May 12, 1902, Park Commissioner, William Willcox, and landscape architect, Sam Parsons, informed Saint-Gaudens that they had decided on Fifty-ninth Street and Fifth Avenue.[192] Saint-Gaudens did

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not object to the site, but asked that the Park Commission be informed that some adjustments in the site would have to be made.[193] Since the best viewing distance for the monument was sixty-five feet, the viewer would have to step into the street for proper observation.[194]

At the same time, Saint-Gaudens was in correspondence with William E. Dodge of the Sherman Monument Committee regarding the sculptor's desire to gild the monument.[195] Saint-Gaudens estimated that the probable cost of gilding would be $2000.[196] The Park Commissioners meanwhile were clamoring for plans for the pedestal.[197] Apparently, however, McKim did not wish to or was unable to make final drawings until it was decided where the monument would be installed.[198] Finally, on May 21, Willcox acknowledged receiving sketches of the ground plan and elevation.[199]

On July 12, 1902, Saint-Gaudens replied to the Chamber of Commerce who had written that they were seriously embarressed by the delay.[200] He informed the treasurer that the "statue had been in New York a number of months and was completed in Paris a year before," and added that the construction of the pedestal was delayed because of the problems of finding a site and that that was not a matter over which he had any control.[201] The sculptor suggested that the statue might be temporarily erected upon a pedestal of staff in October.[202] McKim,meanwhile,was extremely harried with the refurbishing of the White House and was,therefore,unable to

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complete plans for the Sherman pedestal in time for an October unveiling.[203] On September 3, Saint-Gaudens wrote to Dodge that McKim's plans would cost $26,000. and asked if the committee might raise the additional $6,000.[204] He added that the bronze was set up in the open on a hill at Cornish and that he was about to experiment with the gilding.[205] On September 25, Saint-Gaudens wrote to McKim that three men were working under James Wall Finn, gilding the Sherman and that the pedestal must be ready for a spring unveiling.[206]

By the end of October, Saint-Gaudens had sent sketches for the pedestal to McKim indicating that it should be approximately nine feet high with a two-foot rise.[207] On November 4, Saint-Gaudens wrote to McKim from Hot Springs, Virginia where he had gone for his health, suggesting that white marble might look well, but that red granite or pink Knoxville marble "would certainly be good," and enclosed a rough sketch of a base seventeen feet four inches long.[208] McKim responded that he would "get at it immediately," but that the white marble would be "too faraway in color from the bronze, for a long time" and that the pink Knoxville would be preferable as the red granite might be too expensive.[209] On November 9, Saint-Gaudens wrote that the Sherman had been successfully gilded and that he could send it to New York, but preferred to wait "until the snow falls, as transportation over the hilly Cornish roads is easier by sledge than be wagon.[210] He planned to store the statue in the Park Department yard

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in Central Park until the pedestal was ready for the unveiling and asked whether it would be injudicious for him to ask for the final payment.[211]

Since the bronze was complete, Saint-Gaudens became involved with plans for a reduction of the Sherman group. On November 11,he wrote to Ardisson that he wished an immediate response from Janvier, the Parisian founder, as to whether Janvier could execute a one and one-half metre reduction of the large Sherman group that had been used by Thiébaut.[212] On December 2nd he received estimates from Barbedienne for the reduction of the equestrian group with and without the Victory in sizes which ranged from one and one-half metres to seventy-five centimetres.[213] Probably because of the relatively high cost of the reductions, Saint-Gaudens declined to have them made.[214]

Meanwhile, John Williams, a New York founder, sent in an estimate for the gilded bronze fret moulding which would separate the stone of the "terrain" from that of the pedestal proper.[215] The contract for the granite pedestal was finally concluded with Norcross Brothers on December 26, 1902.[216] Additionally,Williams contracted to make the bronze wreaths and inscription of one hundred letters as well as the bronze band.[217] On December the 26th, the drawings of the pedestal had been completed and sent to Norcross.[218]

With the pedestal "en train" and the monument cast and gilded, the controversy over the site and the removal of

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four elm trees which would obscure the monument began.[219] Willcox, the Park Commissioner, finally agreed to remove the two elm trees immediately in front of the statue as they were not particularly good specimens.[220] The monument must have been in place by May 23, 1903 when Norcross submitted a bill for $17,627. exclusive of pavement.[221] On Memorial Day, which occurred on Saturday, May 30, 1903, the Sherman Monument was unveiled, slightly more than eleven years after it had been commissioned (fig. 211).

It can now be seen that in addition to various metamorphoses in drapery, wings and mane for the monument itself, the pedestal had at least three distinct forms. The first, a simple, flat base upon a rectangular pedestal can probably best be understood from a photograph by Peter A. Juley (fig. 212) which shows the front part of the base cut away and lowered below the level of the equestrian portion of the monument.[222] The photograph appears to be of the life-size clay group and can then probably be dated after November 1899 when the monument was completed in clay.[223] A photograph of the full-size plaster model of the entire group exhibited at the Exposition universelle of 1900 (fig. 213) shows a simple, black, rectangular base of approximately the size of the final base without the steps.[224] The pedestal used to exhibit the full-size plaster at the Pan-American Exposition of 1901 in Buffalo (fig.210) was designed by William Bosworth of the firm of Carrère and Hastings.[225] It is similar in shape to

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the final design by McKim (fig. 197) in both form and size. However, the final design evolved by McKim in association with Saint-Gaudens has an elegance and finish which subtly enhance the whole and which are entirely lacking in the first two pedestals. In addition, the granite base upon which the bronze figures rest has been slightly heightened so that the horse appears to be mounting an incline while Victory appears to have descended. This adjustment in the rise seems to have necessitated a corresponding adjustment in the placement of the figure of Victory, who between 1900 (fig.207) and 1903 (fig.197) has moved slightly ahead and to the right. An oblique photograph taken by the Parks Department in 1934 (fig.214) shows other changes made between 1900 and 1903 which are no longer visible because of damage to the monument. The palms held by Victory in 1903 were vertical while those of 1900 (fig.207) form an arc. The palms of 1901 (fig.210) are arched at the bottom and straight at the top, illustrating an interim version. Furthermore, since the general's sword has again been lost to vandals,it is no longer possible,without the aid of photographs,to see that in 1900 its placement and length varied between 1900 and 1903.[226]

As might be expected, the response to the gilded equestrain figure was immediate and positive. The New York papers not only wrote in detail of the unveiling ceremonies, but compared the monument to all the great equestrian figures

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from antiquity on. An article on the editorial page of the New York Tribune of May 31, 1903 is typical.

> At the unveiling of the Sherman statue in the Plaza yesterday its significance as a memorial to a great soldier was naturally emphasized in the ceremonies attending the event. But if New-York is to be congratulated on this addition to the objects of its civic pride, it is because the statue is also a memorial to a great artist. . . .It is[Saint-Gaudens'] masterpiece, and it is one of the noblest achievements of modern sculpture. (227)

Two weeks after the unveiling, Kenyon Cox wrote a long article about the Sherman Monument which began:

> No event has ever taken place in this country of equal artistic importance with the unveiling, two weeks ago, of the heroic equestrian statue of General Sherman by Augustus Saint-Gaudens. (228)

Cox continued by comparing the Sherman to Donatello's Gattamelata in Padua, Verrocchio's Colleoni at Venice, Frémiet's Jeanne d'Arc and Paul Dubois' Jeanne d'Arc both in Paris and Bega's William the Great in Berlin.[229] Cox rated Saint-Gaudens' Sherman "immediately after the Colleoni, if after it at all," and certainly greater than all the others mentioned.[230] However, as enthusiastic as was the praise from critics and friends, a personal note from President Theodore Roosevelt, retained in the Saint-Gaudens Archives, probably brought great personal satisfaction to the sculptor. Roosevelt wrote:

> Now to my mind your Sherman is the greatest statue of a commander in existence. But I can say with all sincerity that I know of no man . . .living [other than you] who could have done it. To take grim, homely, old Sherman, the type and ideal of a democratic general,

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> and put with him an allegorical figure such as you did, could result in but one of two ways--a ludicrous failure, or striking the very highest note of the sculptor's art. Thrice over for the good fortune of our countrymen,it was given to you to strike this highest note.
>
> Always faithfully yours,
>
> Theodore Roosevelt (231)

In comparing a photograph of the mounted Sherman, taken by Mathew Brady (fig. 215) with the Sherman Monument by Saint-Gaudens (fig. 211), the full import of Roosevelt's remarks may be understood. While General Sherman was indeed heroic, it was Augustus Saint-Gaudens who created a heroic image of the general for posterity. Saint-Gaudens has not only made the body of General Sherman somewhat fuller than in the photograph, but he has lengthened the lower half of the leg to compensate for the foreshortening caused by viewing the mounted general upon a pedestal. He has energized both horse and rider and portrayed the dynamic general in a manner that was not possible in photography.

Undoubtedly, the letters and tributes which Saint-Gaudens received did much to mitigate the annoying circumstances which surrounded the acquisition of a site for the Sherman Monument. The venom spewed by the Parks Department and its commissioner, Willcox, about the completion of the esplanade surrounding the statue, must have been exasperating. Soon, however, Saint-Gaudens was involved with having casts of the small Bust of Victory executed (fig.205).[232]

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By 1904 Saint-Gaudens was also involved in the preparation of works for exhibition at the great St. Louis World's Fair. Initially, it was thought that casts of the Shaw and Sherman would be sent in the hope that someone would eventually underwrite a bronze cast of the Sherman for St. Louis, a city in which the general had resided for many years.[233] However, the Shaw and Sherman were not sent ultimately and only a cast of the Puritan was exhibited.[234]

In 1911 Augusta contracted with Ardisson to make a reduction of the Victory three feet six inches high so that reproductions could be made.[235] This is probably the plaster cast still at Cornish (fig. 216) which would have been used to make the gilded bronze cast also at Cornish (fig. 217) and undoubtedly others such as the one at the Metropolitan Museum.[236]

In 1913 the entire monument at Fifty-ninth Street was moved sixteen feet south of its original site to conform with Thomas Hastings' plan for the Plaza, which also incorporated the Pulitzer fountain (figs. 218, 219).[237] The statue was regilded four times and then eventually allowed to weather naturally.[238] It is unfortunate that the original gilding of both equestrian group and stone base cannot be restored, as it would give an entirely different color scheme to the monument. Since the upper half of the palms of Victory and the general's sword have been vandalized or destroyed, a more pressing consideration would probably be their restoration. Perhaps some civic-minded corporation fronting

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on the Plaza could be induced to adopt this precious example of our American artistic heritage.

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IV. Historical Precedents and Later Reflections

Precedents for the Equestrian Sherman appear to begin with the Marcus Aurelius in the Campidoglio at Rome (fig. 187). As noted earlier, the Marcus Aurelius had been considered by Augusta as a probable source for Augustus' sketch for an Equestrian Lincoln.[239] Although there are few specific parallels in either the stance of the horse or the posture of the rider, other than the raised forefoot of the horse, Saint-Gaudens appears to have adopted the oval-shaped base of the Roman precedent. He made specific reference to the Marcus Aurelius when he had the Equestrian Sherman gilded.

In the nineteenth century, French precedents such as Frémiet's Jeanne d'Arc (fig. 193) and Dubois' Jeanne d'Arc (fig. 192) not only served as models for Saint-Gaudens' Logan (fig. 191), but should also be seen in relation to the General Sherman (fig. 197). The pose of the horse in Saint-Gaudens' Sherman and Dubois' Jeanne d'Arc are very similar. In addition to this similarity of pose, Frémiet's work can be seen as a parallel to the Sherman because this version, unveiled in 1899 in Paris' Place de Rivoli, had an oval-shaped base and was gilded.[240]

One of the most interesting parallels in nineteenth century sculpture is that of the Sherman and Kaiser Wilhelm I lead by Freedom (fig. 220) by Reinhold Begas (1831-1911) unveiled in Berlin in 1897.[241] While it is entirely possible that Saint-Gaudens never saw the German group, it must

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be assumed that he would have at least seen photographs of it.[242] Although both are equestrian figures lead by symbolic females and both are mounted upon oval-shaped pedestals, there are few monuments which could be found that present a more dissimilar aspect. The sides of the pedestal in Begas' work are covered with reliefs while winged allegorical figures are placed at each corner. The pedestal of the Begas work is at least as high as the equestrian group which surmounts it and is approached by a long series of steps which adds height to an already elevated monument. The result of this extreme elevation is that the viewer, unless at a very great distance, looks up at the belly of the horse - a consideration which made Saint-Gaudens lower the pedestal for the Sherman as originally conceived.[243] Furthermore, in the Begas group four lions, which are intended to suggest the majesty of the mounted figure, guard the four corners of the monument. To add further to the symbolism, a nude, male Apollo-like figure rests his left arm upon a carved bust and appears to gaze serenely at the viewer. When it is understood that this monument is set in front of an enormous arched peristyle surmounted at either end by a bronze quadriga, its complexity can be more fully appreciated. The idea of a female allegory leading an equestrian group seems rare in sculpture.[244] However, both Saint-Gaudens and Begas most probably knew the famous Capture of Juliers by Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) from the cycle of paintings in the

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Luxembourg Palace in Paris depicting the life of Marie de' Medici executed in 1621-4.[245] However, in the Rubens painting the goddess is still airborne, and the equestrian figure is female.

An article in the New-York Tribune of May 31, 1903 which compares the monuments by Saint-Gaudens and Begas concludes with the comment that the Sherman fills the viewer "with a sense of something majestic and without flaw."[246] Another reviewer for the New York Sun wrote on the same day:

> The grouping of the Sherman statue recalls the arrangement adopted by REINHOLD BEGAS for his Kaiser William I. at Berlin, where the old Emperor, seated easily on his war horse reins in hand, rides forward, accompanied by a laurel-crowned, wingless figure, carrying a palm, who walks by the side of the charger,leading it by a strap attached to its bridle. The figure in the German monument, as compared to its equivalent in the St. Gaudens composition,is singularly devoid of import. As in the Begas monument,the Victory is at the left of the horse,while St. GAUDENS has placed her further forward.
>
> She does not guide or touch the horse,but with swinging step,laurel crowned,her ample drapery flying in the wind,she advances with one hand uplifted and in the other carrying a palm branch, as if announcing the presence of the warrior.. . . (247)

Kenyon Cox pointed out that the model for the Sherman had been completed long before the installation of Begas' Wilhelm I, so that it could not have been indebted to the latter.[248]

Certainly, American precedents such as the Equestrian George Washington by Henry K. Brown in Union Square, New

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York (fig. 189 would have been a most important influence on the thinking of an American sculptor, born in New York. Not only the pedestal upon which George Washington is set, but the general disposition of the figure brings the earlier equestrian group to mind in a discussion of the Sherman. The press was also quick to note that the Sherman was only the second equestrian group in New York.[249]

Three precedents for the Victory in Saint-Gaudens' equestrian group are also noteworthy. Undoubtedly the most compelling precedent was the Nike of Samothrace, first exhibited at the Louvre in 1866 (fig. 221).[250] While the Hellenistic Baroque goddess has just alighted and her garments swirl forward as her motion is arrested, Saint-Gaudens' Victory (fig. 222) marches boldly forward with both feet planted firmly upon the ground. The Louvre Nike is an ethereal winged figure whose twisting motion has been captured and rendered through the filmy drapery of the upper torso. Saint-Gaudens' Victory on the other hand is modestly clothed with heavy drapery and wears the American eagle boldly emblazoned upon her breast. She is definitely feminine, but robust, and without her wings might be mistaken for an ordinary mortal. Particularly interesting nineteenth century precedents for Saint-Gaudens' Victory are to be found in the work of his teacher at the Ecole, Jouffroy. The figures of The Navy and the Merchant Marine (fig. 223) on the facade of the Louvre, both draped females, demonstrate how close to Ecole precedents the work of Saint-

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Gaudens was thirty-three years after the termination of his formal schooling. Another interesting precedent was Bartholdi's colossus in New York Harbor, the Statue of Liberty (fig. 224). Probably no other nineteenth century work of sculpture in America is more firmly established in the minds of the general public than this emblematic figure given to America by the French people and unveiled on October 26, 1886.[251] It is also the figure which welcomed Saint-Gaudens to America as he returned from Paris in 1900.

Of equal interest are those works which were directly or indirectly attributable to the example of Saint-Gaudens as well as those of General Sherman which were contemporary with Saint-Gaudens' equestrian group. The equestrian General Sherman by Carl Rohl-Smith (d.1900) and unveiled in Washington, D.C. in 1903 (fig. 225) falls into the latter group. Although commissioned in 1896 by the Society of the Army of the Tennessee for $96,000. after a competition in which twenty sculptors were involved, it aroused great controversy as to its artistic merits.[252] It was completed by several other sculptors after the death of Rohl-Smith and perhaps that is one of the reasons for its lack of cohesion.[253] It is remarkable because of its identical subject and dating rather than by any apparent points of artistic comparison. The plaster sketches of General Sherman by Cyrus Dallin (1861-1944) (fig. 226) and Charles Henry Niehaus (1855-1935) (fig. 227) may probably also be understood within the con-

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text of the sculptural competition for the monument for the Society of the Army of the Tennessee.[254]

While the equestrian figure of General Slocum by MacMonnies (fig. 196) has been compared to Saint-Gaudens' equestrian Logan (fig. 186), it can be compared with equal interest to Saint-Gaudens' Sherman (fig. 211). While similar in many ways to the two equestrian figures by Saint-Gaudens, the Slocum completely lacks that ability to become a part of and yet dominate its environment which is one of the most salient characteristics of Saint-Gaudens' works. While it has been demonstrated that the sculptor cannot always relate his work to a specific environment when that environment is not known beforehand, MacMonnies' group is not only too small for the site on which it has been placed, but also seems too small for the pedestal. It lacks the sense of proportion and presence for which Saint-Gaudens was justly celebrated. MacMonnies' 1907 Equestrian Major General George B. McClellan in Washington, D.C. (fig. 228) unlike the Slocum overwhelms the small triangle upon which it is placed.

Daniel Chester French's Equestrian Washington (fig.229) for Paris seems to suggest equally Saint-Gaudens' Logan and Sherman. Like Saint-Gaudens, French used an animalier, Edward Clark Potter (1857-1923) for the equestrian portion of his group.[255] The Equestrian Theodore Roosevelt by James Earle Fraser (1876-1953) provides a final comparison with

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which we can estimate the importance of the master in relation to his pupil (fig. 230). Although characterised as "one of the largest and finest equestrian statues in the world,"[256] when compared with the Sherman the proportions seem flawed and the monument as a whole lacks grace. Specifically, the pedestal while echoing the general oval configuration of the Sherman pedestal and decorated with a wreath on either side is too short for the equestrian group above. The horse looks as though it would have tumbled from the pedestal if it had not been frozen in place in bronze. Secondly, the figure of the Indian seems too large in comparison with the figure of the horse. Finally, Roosevelt appears to be seated on the horse's neck rather than on his back. It seems apparent that the work of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, especially as demonstrated in his major monuments, has a vigorous quality combined with a rare sense of proportion and delicacy that is not to be found in the work of his contemporaries in Europe or America and which is undeniably his own.

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Chapter 9: THE EQUESTRIAN GENERAL SHERMAN - FOOTNOTES

[1] New-York Tribune, May 31, 1903, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[2] Although called acanthus by one critic, it most closely resembles the leaves on the bases of the Lincoln and Puritan monuments.

[3] Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 78.

[4] LLoyd Lewis, Sherman Fighting Prophet (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1932), p. 20, 22.

[5] Lewis, p. 21-2.

[6] The Sherman Letters/ Correspondence Between General Sherman and Senator Sherman from 1837 to 1891, Edited by Rachel Sherman Thorndike (N.Y.: Da Capo Press unabridged republication of the first edition of 1894, 1969), p.v.

Lewis, p. 31-2.

[7] The Sherman Letters, p. v.

[8] Ibid., p. v.

Lewis, p. 48-9. Ewing was then Senator from Ohio.

[9] The Sherman Letters, p. 19, 21.

Lewis, p. 69.

[10] The Sherman Letters, p. 22, 27.

Lewis, p. 70.

[11] Memoirs of General William T. Sherman, by Himself, fore-

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ward by B.H. Liddell Hart, 2 vols. in one (Bloomington: Civil War Centennial Series, Indiana University Press, 1957, originally published in 1875), I: 91-101, 133-6, 139-43,146.

[13] The Sherman Letters, p. 104-6, 108.

Sherman, Memoirs I: 155.

[14] Ibid., I: 167.

[15] Ibid., I: 168.

[16] Ibid., I: 170.

[17] Ibid., I: 174.

The Sherman Letters, p. 122, 125-6.

Sherman, Memoirs I: 182, "Both armies were fairly defeated. . .." Sherman also indicated that while he fully expected to be demoted after the first Battle of Bull Run, he was instead promoted to Brigadier-General of volunteers(p.191).

[18] Sherman, Memoirs I: 217.

The Sherman Letters, p. 131-6.

[19] Ibid., p. 139.

[20] Sherman, Memoirs I: 247.

[21] Ibid., I: 248.

The Sherman Letters, p. 151-2.

Lewis, p. 232-3.

[22] The Sherman Letters, p. 161-3. Sherman had occupied Memphis with 6000 troops.

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[23]The Sherman Letters, p. 172-6.

Generals Francis Preston Blair, Jr. and N.P. Banks.

[24]The Sherman Letters, p. 181-2.

[25]Sherman, Memoirs I: 316-334.

[26]Ibid., I: 334, Brigadier-Generals in the regular army.

[27]The Sherman Letters, p. 209.

[28]Sherman, Memoirs I: 338-9.

[29]Ibid., I: 354-61.

[30]Ibid., I: 401, I: 1. The Army of the Mississippi embraced the departments of the Ohio, Cumberland, Tennessee and Arkansas.

[31]Sherman Memoirs II: 108-9.

[32]Ibid., II: 109.

[33]Ibid., II: 111.

[34]Ibid., II: 111.

[35]Sherman, Memoirs II: 152.

[36]Ibid., II: 152, wire to General Grant October 9, 1864.

[37]B.H. Liddell Hart, "Foreward," Memoirs of General William T. Sherman, p. xi-xvi.

The idea was really a development of ideas first proposed by Grant and Halleck, but expanded and carried out in a systematic and complete manner by Sherman (see Lewis, p. 273 re: Grant's plan that in attack on Vicksburg men should

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supply themselves from the countryside and p. 295-6 that the inspiration for the idea came from Halleck).

[38]Sherman, Memoirs II: 342.

On the same day that Lincoln was assassinated, the Union flag rose over Fort Sumter in ceremonies planned to commemorate the day, four years before, when it had been captured at the outbreak of the War of the Rebellion. These ceremonies had long been planned (Sherman, Memoirs II: 319-20) and were undoubtedly the reason for the assassination of the President on that day.

[39]Sherman, Memoirs II: 362-3.

[40]The Sherman Letters, p. 328-9.

[41]Ibid., p. 330.

[42]Ibid., p. 333-4.

[43]Ibid., p. 336.

[44]Ibid., p. 339.

[45]Ibid., p. 343, 345, 350.

[46]Ibid., p. 355.

[47]Ibid., p. 373.

[48]Ibid., p. 373.

[49]Stanford White Correspondence, New-York Historical Society.

Rachel Sherman Thorndike, the sixth child of William

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T. Sherman and Ellen Ewing Sherman was born July 5, 1861 (Lewis, p. 168). She was also the editor of The Sherman Letters (see note 6).

[50]Stanford White Correspondence, New-York Historical Society.

[51]Letter of January 16, 1906, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

Quoted in "The Early Recognition of Augustus Saint-Gaudens," Century Magazine, v. 77 #6 (April 1909), p. 834.

[52]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[53]C. Lewis Hind, Augustus Saint-Gaudens (International Studio/John Lane Co., MCMVIII), p. xli.

> Bust of General Sherman. 1888
> Eighteen sittings were given in 1887.
> The bust supplied material for the head
> of Sherman on the equestrian statue at
> the entrance to Central Park, New York.

Royal Cortissoz, "Augustus St. Gaudens," The North American Review, v. 177 #564 (July-Dec. 1903), p. 733 also states that the sittings were given in 1887.

Letters of January 24, 1888 and March 3, 1888 in the Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library record sittings in 1888.

[54]The National Academy of Design Exhibition Record/1861-1900, v.II, p. 819 #597 and 598.

[55]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 378, 381.

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[56]Low, A Chronicle of Friendships, p. 395 quotes a letter from Saint-Gaudens of 29 September 1887 in which Saint-Gaudens indicated that he had just completed "one of the events of my life" (i.e. the Stevenson sittings). Stevenson then went to Saranac and did not return until the summer of 1888 (actually May) when Saint-Gaudens had another sitting with him before he went to the South Seas (p. 417, 429).

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I: 373-8.

[57]The National Academy of Design Exhibition Record/1861-1900, v. II, p. 819 #495.

[58]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences I:381-2. Probably in 1887.

[59]Taft, The History of American Sculpture, p. 304.

[60]New York Commercial Advertiser, May 29, 1903, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[61]Ibid.

[62]Ibid.

Preliminary contract in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library (in a state of disintegration).

[63]Preliminary contract, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[64]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

New York Chamber of Commerce.

[65]Ibid., exclusive of architect's fee and cost of pedestal.

[66]Ibid.

[67]Ibid.

[68]Ibid.

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[69]Saint-Gaudens was present at the preliminary meetings in February of 1891 in which the general plans were laid. It was at the conclusion of these meetings that the sculptor said,"I never expected to see such a moment. It has been the greatest meeting of artists since the fifteenth century." (THE FINAL OFFICIAL REPORT OF THE DIRECTOR OF WORKS OF THE WORLDS COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION June 1894, by D.H. Burnham, 7 unpublished volumes in the Burnham Library of Architecture, Art Institute of Chicago, v. I, p. 48).

[70]Saint-Gaudens was paid $6,000. for the supervision of the work by Mary Tonnetti (Final Official Report. . ., v. IV: 72).

[71]Proctor, Sculptor in Buckskin, p. 128.

[72]Ibid., p. 129-31.

[73]Ibid., p. 131.

[74]The Rinehart Scholarship, named and funded from a bequest by William H. Rinehart (1825-1874), the American sculptor (Taft, p. 171),was intended as the American Prix de Rome, but in this case Proctor was allowed to go to Paris.

[75]Proctor, Sculptor in Buckskin, p. 135.

[76]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 77.

[77]"Familiar Letters of Augustus Saint-Gaudens," McClure's Magazine, v. XXXI #6 (Oct. 1908), p. 606, no names given.

A letter of January 13, 1908 in the Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library indicates that Hattie Anderson was the first model for the Victory.

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[78] McClure's Magazine, v. XXXI # 6 (Oct. 1908), p. 608. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 120-1.

[79] Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 89, here he calls it "lumbago."

[80] McClure's Magazine, v. XXXI # 6 (Oct. 1908), p. 605, 611.

[81] "Saint-Gaudens the Master," Century Magazine, v. 78 #4 (August 1909), p. 621.

[82] McClure's Magazine, v. XXXI # 6 (Oct. 1908), p. 611.

[83] Century Magazine, v. 78 #4 (Aug. 1909), p. 621.

[84] McClure's Magazine, v. XXXI # 6 (Oct. 1908), p. 611.

[85] Ibid., p. 611-2

[86] Ibid., p. 612.

[87] Ibid., p. 612.

[88] Ibid., p. 612.

[89] Ibid., p. 612-3.

[90] Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[91] Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[92] Ibid.

[93] J.E. Fraser, "Autobiography," Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[94] New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Papers.

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[95] McClure's Magazine, v. XXXI # 6 (Oct. 1908), p. 613.

[96] Exposition Nationale des Beaux-Arts, Catalogue Illustré des ouvrages de Peinture, Sculpture et Gravure, Exposés au Champ-de-Mars, le 1er Mai 1898 (Paris: E. Bernard et Cie), 1898, p. LI #154-175.

[97] Ibid, p. LI #169-175.

[98] "une des surprises et des joies du Champ de Mars." Paul Leprieur, "La Sculpture Décorative aux Salons," Art et Décoration Revue Mensuelle d'Art Moderne, v. 3 (Jan.-June 1898), p. 182.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 187-8 translates the entire review. (Also McClure's Magazine, v. XXXI # 6 (Oct. 1908), p. 613.)

[99] Gazette des Beaux-Arts, v. 20 (August 1898), p. 138-40.

[100] "la rare noblesse et le grand style." Gazette des Beaux-Arts, v. 20 (August 1898), p. 138. Translated in full in McClure's Magazine, v. XXXI #6 (Oct. 1908), p. 614.

[101] Gaston Migeon, "Le Sculpteur Augustin Saint-Gaudens," Art et Décoration, v. 5 (Jan.-June 1899), p. 43-49.

[102] Ibid., p. 43-9.

[103] Ibid., p. 46

[104] Ibid., p. 46.

[105] Ibid., p. 46.

[106] Ibid., p. 46.

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[107] Migeon, Art et Décoration, v.5 (Jan-Juin 1899), p. 43.

[108] New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Papers.

[109] New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Papers.

[110] Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[111] Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[112] Ibid.

[113] Low, A Chronicle of Friendships, p. 481-4.

[114] Ibid., p. 483.

[115] Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[116] Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[118] New-York Historical Society, Stanford White Correspondence.

[117] McClure's Magazine, v. XXXII #1 (Nov. 1908), p. 4.

[119] McClure's Magazine, v. XXXII #1 (Nov. 1908), p. 4.

[120] Ibid., p. 4-5.

[121] Ibid., p. 4-5.

[122] Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[123] McClure's Magazine, v. XXXII #1 (Nov. 1908), p. 6.

[124] Ibid., p. 7. Antonio Tonachel (1879-1951).

[125] Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

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[126] McClure's Magazine, v. XXXII #1 (Nov. 1908), p. 7-8.

[127] Ibid., p. 9.

[128] Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[129] Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[130] Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[131] McClure's Magazine, v. XXXII #1 (Nov. 1908), p. 10.

[132] Ibid., p. 10.

[133] Ibid., p. 11.

[134] Saint-Gaudens to Homer, May 2nd/99, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[135] McClure's Magazine, v. XXXII #1 (Nov. 1908), p. 11.

Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts, Catalogue Illustré du Salon de 1899/ Dixième Année/Librairie d'Art: Paris, p. LII # 126-129.

[136] Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[137] Ibid.

On August 3, 1899 Saint-Gaudens wrote to Gussie that of all the reviews he valued the one of which he enclosed a copy by Merson the most.

[138] May 2, 1899 Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

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[141]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[142]Municipal Art Commission, "Minutes," New York City, note in pencil opposite June 13, 1899.

[143]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[144]Saint-Gaudens to Augusta, n.d. but before July 4, 1899, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 197.

[145]8 September 1899, Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 198, 201 (Typescript of original in Saint-Gaudens Collection,DCL).

[146]Ibid.

[147]Saint-Gaudens to Augusta, August 12, September 4, 1899, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[148]Saint-Gaudens to Augusta, Nov. 3, 1899 and contract, both in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[149]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[150]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[151]Letter of January 13, 1908, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[152]Tharp, p. 316.

[153]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[154]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[155]Ibid.

[156]Augusta to Homer, December 29,1899, Saint-Gaudens

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Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[157]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[158]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[159]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library, after Sherman's death Saint-Gaudens was called in to take a death mask of the general and take measurements. He was 69 inches tall.

The first cast was of a figure 5' 10" tall and the revised cast was for a figure 6' tall (Saint-Gaudens to General Porter, April 16/99, New York Chamber of Commerce).

[160]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[161]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[162]March 9, 1900, Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL.

[163]Augusta to Homer from Grand Hotel des Ambassadeurs, Vichy, April 25,[1900], Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL.

[164]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[165]Ibid.

[166]Ibid. Those were the directions in which a statue received the best light.

[167]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[168]Ibid.

[169]Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 222-3, 227.

[170]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[171]Fraser, "Autobiography, ch. 7, p. 1-2, SGC,DCL.

[172]Saint-Gaudens to Ardisson, October 4 [1900],SGC,DCL.

[173]Fraser, "Autobiography," ch. 7, p.2-3, SGC,DCL.

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[174]Fraser, "Autobiography," ch.7, p.2, SGC,DCL, Fraser's manuscript must not, however, be taken too literally as work charts show that Henry Hering is the only one listed as working upon the Sherman. Therefore, it might be concluded that Hering's was the primary responsibility for the group. Fraser is listed in 1900 and 1901 as working upon the Billings, Flower and Rogers commissions.

[175]Saint-Gaudens in Boston to Ardisson in Paris, November 24 [1900], Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[176]Ibid.

[177]Ibid., or possibly later (see letter from Coffin to Saint-Gaudens of April 3, 1901, Saint-Gaudens Collection,DCL).

[178]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[179]Ibid.

[180]Ibid.

[181]Ibid.

[182]Charles Curran to Saint-Gaudens, 16 February 1901 and Coffin to Saint-Gaudens, April 3, 1901, both in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[183]Saint-Gaudens to Ardisson, February 22, 1901, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[184]However, the letter from Coffin to Saint-Gaudens of April 3, 1901 states that they are awaiting the oak branch at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo (SGC,DCL). Therefore, if Saint-Gaudens made the change at this time, he undoubtedly just sent the plaster of the pine branch to Thiébaut.

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[185]William A. Coffin, "Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 3 December 1908, typescript, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library, p. 8-9.

[186]Saint-Gaudens to Ardisson 26 Fevrier 1901, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

On April 20, John Williams, the New York founder sent Saint-Gaudens an estimate of about $80. for the casting of a bronze palm branch seven feet, three inches long.

Saint-Gaudens to Ardisson 1 December 1901, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

> "According to my agreement with Thiébaut Frères for the Sherman group, without the Terrace or oak branch I was to pay 29,500.00 francs and from this sum Thiébaut agreed to deduct 1,000. for the Palm in the hand of the Victory making the total price fcs 28,500
> I have paid on account 24,000
> Leaving still due fcs 4,500"

Saint-Gaudens to Ardisson, Dec. 24 [1901 on envelope] Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library. Saint-Gaudens asked Ardisson to please write out again the list of checks which Ardisson wrote for Saint-Gaudens, and Saint-Gaudens listed what he thought Ardisson had disbursed. The last was to Thiébaut for the Sherman in the amount of 5000. francs. Therefore, since Saint-Gaudens had made the last payment, the casting of the bronze of the Sherman would have been completed in 1901.

[187]Taft, The History of American Sculpture, p. 308-9.

[188]Coffin, "Reminiscences," typescript, p.9, SGC,DCL.

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189New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Papers.

190Saint-Gaudens to McKim, August 17, 1901, New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Papers.

Municipal Art Commission, "Minutes," New York City, December 24th, 1901.

191Tuesday, June 10 [1902], Municipal Art Commission, "Minutes," New York City. It was also noted that on May 26th, Daniel Chester French had been appointed chairman of the Sherman Monument committee of the Art Commission.

Although it is nowhere stated, I sense the influence of Olmstead, who seemed not to have been enthusiastic about having statues in his parks. Although this is merely supposition, it may be recalled that Olmstead was instrumental in having the site of the Logan changed from Jackson Park in Chicago to a site on Michigan Boulevard for the ostensible reason that he did not like "bones" in his parks.

192New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Papers.

The two other sites under active consideration at the time were the southerly end of the mall in Central Park and the site opposite the Grant Monument on Riverside Drive, to which the Grant family objected.

193Although Saint-Gaudens considered the Fifty-ninth Street site "a most honorable and beautiful location," he did not

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consider it "comparable with either the Grant or Mall sites." (Saint-Gaudens to French, March 19, 1902, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library).

[194] Ibid.

[195] Saint-Gaudens to Dodge, Jan. 28, 1902, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library. The letter implies that the bronze has arrived in America and is being housed in some sort of shed (possibly in Central Park).

[196] Saint-Gaudens to Dodge, March 13, 1902, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library. Saint-Gaudens stated that he thought the gilding could be done for "considerably less than 2,000.00," as that was the amount quoted by"one of the most responsible gilders in New York."

[197] Sam Parsons to Saint-Gaudens, May 12th, 1902, New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Papers.

[198] It was a Catch 22 situation.

[199] New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Papers.

[200] C.S. Smith, Treasurer of the Sherman Monument Committee, to Saint-Gaudens, July 10, 1902, New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Papers.

Saint-Gaudens to Smith, July 12, 1902, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[201] Ibid., July 12, 1902.

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[202]Saint-Gaudens to White, July 13th, 1902, New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Papers.

[203]McKim to Saint-Gaudens, August 20, 1902, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

Saint-Gaudens to Dodge, September 3, 1902, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[204]Ibid., September 3, 1902. He actually suggests $10,000. more including the expenses of the unveiling, etc.

[205]Ibid., September 3, 1902.

[206]New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Papers.

[207]White to McKim, Octo. 30, 1902, New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Papers.

[208]New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Papers.

[209]McKim to Saint-Gaudens, Nov. 5, 1902, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[210]Saint-Gaudens to Dodge from Hot Springs, Virginia, Nov. 9, 1902, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[211]Ibid.

[212]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[213]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[214]Ibid. Reduction to 1m50 with Victory about 4800 francs.

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[215]Williams to McKim, Mead & White, Dec. 13, 1902, New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Papers.

In the Logan the "terrain" had been cast of bronze with the legs of the horse. In the Sherman, the "terrain" was carved of the same granite which was used for the pedestal, but since the equestrian group and the "terrain" were originally gilded, there would only have been a difference in texture.

[216]Contract, New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Papers.

Although the contract does not specify what type of granite was used, a letter from Norcross Brothers to Saint-Gaudens of December 8, 1906 in the Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library asks the sculptor's permission to photograph the Sherman Monument so that they might use the photograph to advertise Branford Syenite Granite. Saint-Gaudens wrote on the letter that he would not approve of such a use of the photograph, but presumably that was the type of granite used.

[217]Williams to McKim, Mead and White, Dec. 17, 1902, New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead & White Papers.

[218]McKim to Saint-Gaudens, Dec. 26, 1902, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

Drawings in the New-York Historical Society Print Room by William H. Kendall of the firm of McKim, Mead and White

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indicate that the length of the pedestal was 17'10" x 5'7" and that the height of the stone base was thirteen feet three inches. The height of the base is confirmed in a letter from the Art Commission to Kendall of Dec. 17, 1919 also in the New-York Historical Society Print Room which states:

> According to the figured drawing on file in this office, the stone work from the level of the ground is 13 feet 5 inches. The two steps and the seat are figured at 2 feet 2 inches. This would leave the heighth of the pedestal proper 11 feet 3 inches, I assume that is the height referred to in your letter as being exactly 11 feet, for there is a deduction to be made of 4 inches for the wash on the stone above the top line of the mouldings.

Additionally, the drawings show the dimensions of the bottom step as 42'7" x 30'3".

[219]"The Sacredness of the Tree," The New York Evening Post, March 7, 1903, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library. This article was enclosed in a letter from Saint-Gaudens to Willcox, the Park Commissioner, on March 17,1903, also in the Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[220]On March 20, 1903, Willcox replied to Saint-Gaudens that he completely disagreed with Saint-Gaudens and that "Central Park would be much improved if a great deal of the statuary was replaced by trees,. . ./since/ parks are not made for statues,. . ." Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

Ultimately on April 22, 1903, Willcox agreed to remove the two trees on the south side of the circle (New-York

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Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead and White Papers).

[221]New-York Historical Society Print Room, McKim, Mead & White Papers. The cost of granolithic pavement around the monument was estimated at about $2,000.

[222]Photograph courtesy of Professor H.W. Janson.

[223]See above.

[224]Frederick Fried and Edmund Gillon, New York Civic Sculpture, A Pictorial Guide (N.Y.: Dover Publications,1976), p. 94.

[225]See above.

C.D. Arnold, Official Views of Pan-American Exposition, (Buffalo, N.Y.: C.D. Arnold, 1901), n.p.

[226]See figs. 209, 211.

[227]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[228]The Evening Post, New York, Saturday, June 13,1903,p.4. Reprinted in Kenyon Cox, Old Masters and New/Essays in Art Criticism (Freeport, N.Y.: Books for Libraries Press, first published 1905, 1969 reprint), p. 278 ff.

[229]Ibid., p. 4.

[230]Ibid., p. 4.

[231]August 3, 1903, Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL.

[232]Aubry estimate, 23 February 1904, SGC,DCL.

This head was copyrighted 7 February 1907.

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[233]Halsey C. Ives, Chief of the Department of Art, World's Fair, St. Louis, 1904 to Saint-Gaudens, April 4, 1904, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library (see also letter of May 5, 1904 in SGC, DCL).

[234]St. Louis: Louisiana Purchase Exposition, Official Catalogue of Exhibits/Department of Art, Revised Edition, 1904, p. 62 #2244. The Puritan.

[235]Contract, May 1, 1911, Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL.

[236]Although the example at the Metropolitan Museum of Art is dated MCMII (17.90.1) it was not copyrighted until 1912 (see list of copyrights in Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL). Therefore, this cast purchased by the Museum in 1917 appears to be from the reduction executed by Ardisson in 1911 and copyrighted in 1912.

[237]Fried and Gillon, New York Civic Sculpture, p. 94.

[238]Leon Kroll to Robert Moses, Nov. 14, 1943, New York City Department of Parks. The decision to allow the monument to weather naturally was made fairly recently.

[239]Augusta to Saint-Gaudens, August 4, [1883], Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL (cited in Chapters 3, 8).

[240]See above, Chapter 8, note 133, also Lami ii: 412.

[241]Photograph courtesy of Professor H.W. Janson.

[242]Although no documentary evidence has come to light which indicates that Saint-Gaudens went to Berlin, his

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abhorence of the "Germanic" in art might be suspected to relate to this group. Since at least three contemporary critics compared the Sherman to Wilhelm I by Begas (see notes 246-248) it might be assumed that the latter was widely known.

[243]Saint-Gaudens to the Editor of the Sun, November 30, 1903, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[244]Professor Janson also suggested that Begas might have known a sketch by Gottfried Schadow (1764-1850) for a monument to Friedrich II, illustrated in Hans Mackowsky, Die Bildwerke Gottfried Schadows (Berlin: Deutscher Verein für Kunstwissenschaft, 1951), p. 95, fig. 67. The sketch shows a highly energetic Victory leading an apparently reluctant or startled king.

[245]Illustrated in The World of Rubens/1577-1640, by C.V. Wedgwood and the Editors of Time-Life Books (N.Y.: Time Inc., 1967), p. 109 and p. 116, fig. 13.

[246]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[247]Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[248]The Evening Post, New York Saturday, June 13, 1903,p.4.

[249]The New York Sun, Sunday, May 31, 1903, Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[250]Réalités: Treasures of the Louvre from the Fourth Millennium B.C. to the Dawn of the Renaissance, Preface by Jean Charbonneaux, Chief Curator of the Louvre (N.Y.: G.P.

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Putnam's Sons, 1966), v.i, p. 182. The figure was discovered in 1863 by Charles Champoiseau, French Consul in Adrianople. The figure was restored and the left part of the body and right wing were remolded in plaster. In 1866 it was remounted on the galley brought from Samothrace and in 1883 it took up its present position on the Daru staircase in the Louvre. The height of the statue is 98".

Musée National du Louvre, Catalogue Sommaire des Marbres Antiquites, Paris, 1922, p. 130 #2369.

> "Découverte en 1863. . .la Victoire dont la tête manque malheureusement, arrive en France en morceaux. Le torse. . .exposé dans la salle des Caryatides. En 1883, M. Champoiseau rapporta l'avant de galère en marbre qui forme le piédestal. La statue fut alors complétée par l'adjonction de l'aile gauche et du sein droite. . . Elle fut ensuite placée en haut du grand escalier."

[251]Marvin Trachtenberg, The Statue of Liberty (N.Y.: Viking Press, 1976), opposite title page and fig. 27.

[252]Goode, The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D.C.,p.131-2.

A pamphlet written by the Sherman Statue Committee of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, dated June 17,1896 and addressed to J.Q.A. Ward, President of the National Sculpture Society is intended to answer questions brought up by the National Sculpture Society as to the awarding of the contract to Rohl-Smith and other controversies involving the commission. It is entitled, Answer of the Sherman Statue Committee of the Society of the Army of the Tennessee to the

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National Sculpture Society of New York City (N.Y.: Press of Unz & Co., 1896). A copy is in the Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

[253]Goode, p. 131.

[254]Rell G. Francis, Cyrus E. Dallin/Let Justice Be Done, Published for the Springville Museum of Art: Springvale, Utah in cooperation with the Utah American Bicentennial Commission, p. 81, fig. 111 (1895), plaster sketch of General Sherman.

New York Public Library Artist's File - NIEHAUS.

[255]Richman, Daniel Chester French, p. 28.

[256]Fried, New York Civic Sculpture, p. 74.

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Chapter 10: SAINT-GAUDENS IN PERSPECTIVE

Saint-Gaudens was the first major American sculptor to be trained at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and was the dominant artistic figure during the Golden Age of American sculpture. He exerted a tremendous influence on the arts in general during the period between the Civil War and the First World War, and upon sculpture in particular. His conscious adherence to the academic tradition was not atypical for American artists of the period. Thomas Eakins (1844-1916) who studied at the Ecole at approximately the same time, demonstrates not only another example of a major American artist who was faithful to his artistic roots, but also suggests a probable explanation of the difference in attitude between American and European artists toward the academic tradition. America which had in 1867 little to recommend it as a training ground for the arts, had to send its students abroad for the necessary foundation. Having achieved the requisite education at great effort, young American graduates of the Ecole were hardly anxious to disclaim the education received with so much time and effort. The Ecole which nurtured and trained American artists without charge was a resource to be built upon, not an impediment to be overcome. Furthermore, Saint-Gaudens' teaching career at the Art Students' League in the eighties and nineties and his wide use of students and others in a rather extensive atelier, provided reinforcement in America for the theories and practises which he had

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absorbed abroad.

Saint-Gaudens' major works not only summarized the cumulative tradition of Western art, but were the unsurpassed models for succeeding generations. The Farragut, Lincoln, Puritan, Diana, Adams Memorial, Shaw, Logan and Sherman each provided models for several generations of American sculptors. The comparison of these works with those that followed, amply demonstrates the superiority and uniqueness of the contribution of Augustus Saint-Gaudens. Saint-Gaudens' works were also the first American sculpture in which an architect was actively involved in the creation of a total environment. With Stanford White and Charles Follen McKim, Saint-Gaudens was the first American sculptor to fully comprehend and take advantage of the site in which a monument was to be placed. Even in such a case as the Sherman Monument, where the selection of a site was deferred so long and the space available was so limiting that a full utilization of space was not possible, the end result can be seen to be exceptional. Saint-Gaudens, therefore, can truly be seen as the father of environmental sculpture in America.

In each case of commemorative portraiture in the major monuments, it has been shown how closely Saint-Gaudens followed his subject, so that all who knew the personage involved were pleased beyond expectation with the representation. What it was not possible to demonstrate until after the discussion of the Sherman Monument was that as closely

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as Saint-Gaudens achieved a likeness of the facial characteristics and personality of his subject, he was less bound by exact representation of the form. That is to say, the proportions of the figure of General Sherman (fig. 211) can be seen to differ rather substantially from those in the photograph by Mathew Brady (fig. 215). Yet while the lower legs of Sherman have been elongated and the proportions of the figure were deliberately altered from a figure who was 5'9" to a figure 6' tall, the effect in the monument is not distortion. That is due to the fact that the alterations in size were executed to compensate for the angle at which the monument is viewed. What Saint-Gaudens did was so subtle, however, that those who viewed and criticized the various monuments with an eye to how realistically portrayed they were, had no objections to the conscious liberty the sculptor took with the form. In any event, part of the sculptor's skill can be seen as the ability to idealize within a realistic framework. His other salient sculptural characteristic, early recognized by H.H. Richardson, was his ability to be able to visualize relationships, proportion and scale in a manner that his peers found exceptional. A comparison of the actual statues of James Earle Fraser's Equestrian Theodore Roosevelt or MacMonnies' Equestrian Slocum with Saint-Gaudens' Sherman makes the latter's aesthetic sensibility manifest.

As a human being, Saint-Gaudens was perhaps more self-

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less with his time and encouragement of students than any other American sculptor of the period. The knowledge of his tremendous skill and his willingness and ability to share his knowledge with others, was a tremendous incentive to those around him. His personal motto, "Le coeur au métier," gives some idea not only of his devotion to his profession, but perhaps gives a partial insight into his willingness to continually adjust and readjust his work in order to find a more perfect form. The three characteristics which Saint-Gaudens most admired: love, charity and courage, say much about this man and perhaps explain in a small way why he was so successful in his major monuments, many of whose subjects demonstrated one or more of the characteristics most admired by the sculptor.

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STUDIES IN NINETEENTH CENTURY AMERICAN

SCULPTURE: AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS

(1848-1907)

by

Lois Goldreich Marcus

PHOTOGRAPHS

Volume II.

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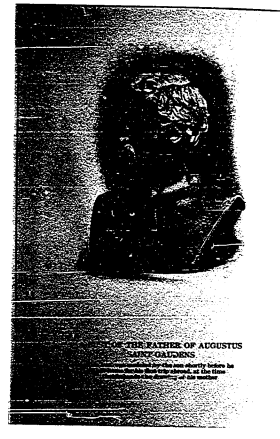
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Augustus Saint-Gaudens (1848-1907)
(frontispiece, Reminiscences I).

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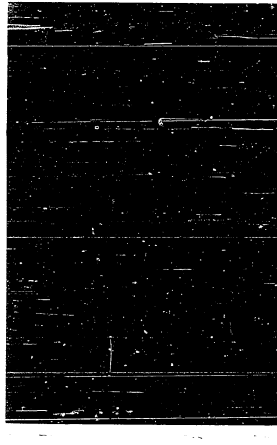


(fig. 1) Saint-Gaudens, Bust of His Father, Bernard (1867). Reproduced from Reminicences I, 14.

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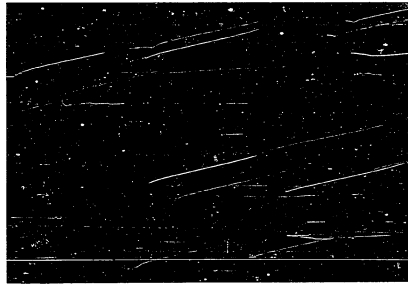


(fig. 2) Saint-Gaudens at his cameo lathe. Reproduced from Reminiscences I,48.

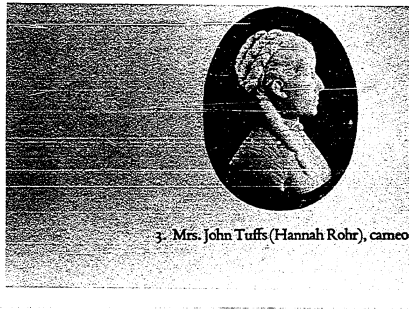


(fig. 3) Saint-Gaudens, John Tuffs, shell cameo, 1-5/16 x 1½" oval. Reproduced from the Smithsonian Institution, Augustus Saint-Gaudens. The Portrait Reliefs, 1969, #1.

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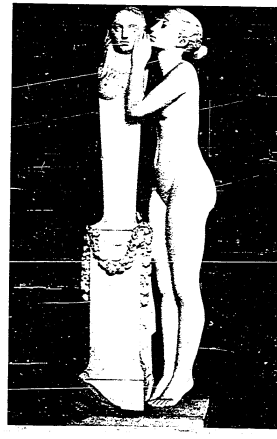


(fig. 4) Saint-Gaudens, William Root Bliss, Paris 1869, shell cameo, 1-7/16 x 1-3/16" oval, Lent by Boston Athenaeum, gift of Mrs. Calvin Austin, 1927. Reproduced in Smithsonian Institution, Augustus Saint-Gaudens. The Portrait Reliefs, fig. 2.

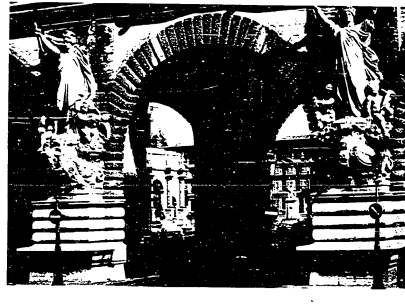


(fig. 5) Saint-Gaudens, Mrs. John Tuffs (Hannah Rohr), Rome 1872, shell cameo 1-15/16 x 1½" oval. Reproduced from Smithsonian Institution, Augustus Saint-Gaudens. The Portrait Reliefs, fig. 3.

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(fig.6) Jouffroy, The Secret of Venus (Salon of 1839), Louvre. Reproduced in D. Cady Eaton, A Handbook of Modern French Sculpture (Dodd,Mead & Co.:N.Y., 1913), p. 192.



(fig.7) Jouffroy, Commerce and Navigation (1861-4), Louvre, South Facade, Guichet du Carrousel. Reproduced in Trachtenberg, The Statue of Liberty, (N.Y.: Viking Press, 1976), p. 78, fig. 36.

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(fig. 8) Saint-Gaudens, Hiawatha, 1872, plaster, marble, location unknown. Tharp, Saint-Gaudens and the Gilded Era, p. 68.



(fig. 9) Soares dos Reis, O Desterrado (s&d 1872, marble, Museu Nacional de Soares dos Reis. Photo courtesy Prof. William H. Gerdts.

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(fig. 10) Howard Roberts, La Première Pose (exhibited in 1876 at the Philadelphia Centennial, marble s&d 1876, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

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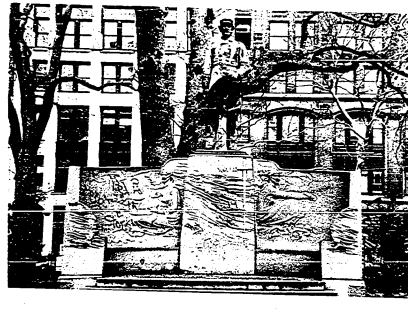


(fig. 11) Saint-Gaudens Silence (marble, s&d 1874), Tomkins Memorial Chapel of the Masonic Home, Utica, New York.



(fig. 12) Préault, Jacob Robles Monument (Silence), original c. 1843 Israelite Cemetery, Père Lachaise, Paris. Reproduced in T.J. Clark, The Absolute Bourgeois, fig. 29, marble relief, Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.

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(fig. 13) Saint-Gaudens, The Farragut Monument, Madison Square Park, New York City. (Photo: L. Marcus, 1977).

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(fig. 14) Admiral Farragut, age 37, frontispiece, Loyall Farragut, The Life of David Glasgow Farragut.



(fig. 15) Vinnie Ream Hoxie, Admiral David Glasgow Farragut, 10' bronze, unveiled Farragut Square, Washington, D.C., April 25, 1881.

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(fig. 16) Saint-Gaudens, Admiral Farragut, Madison Square Park, New York, original location. (Photo: courtesy of the New York City Park Dept.)

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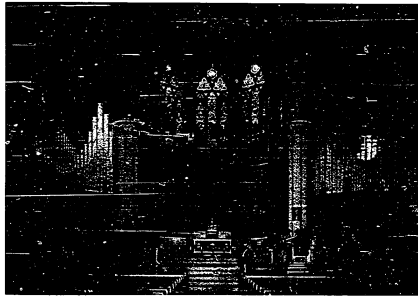
(fig. 17) Augusta Homer Saint-Gaudens (1848-1926), wife of Augustus Saint-Gaudens. Print from negative in Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

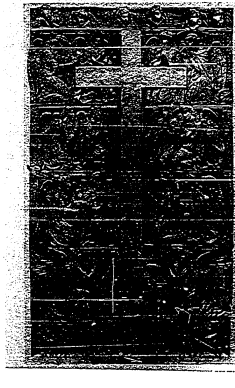
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(fig. 18) Saint-Gaudens, Monument to Robert Richard Randall (bronze, s&d 1883, Sailors' Snug Harbor, Staten Island). Photo: L. Marcus 1976.

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(fig. 19) St. Thomas Church altar with Saint-Gaudens, Angels Adoring the Cross (1877) flanked by John La Farge panels, Noli Me Tangere (left) and the Visit of the Three Maries to the Tomb (destroyed by fire August 8, 1905). Photo courtesy Professor H. Barbara Weinberg.

(detail) Saint-Gaudens reredos. Thrown away c. 1964.

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(fig. 20) Mathew B. Brady, Admiral Farragut from "Brady's Lecture Book" #125 Reproduced in Mr. Lincoln's Camera Man/Mathew B. Brady, 2nd revised edition, Chapter 24, n.p.

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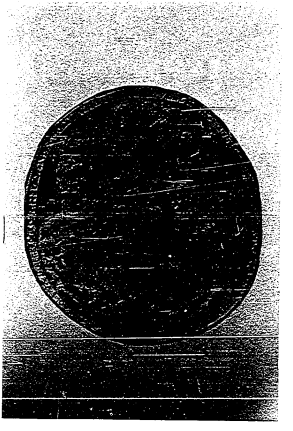


fig. 21) Admiral Farragut. Reproduced from Loyall Farragut, The Life of David Glasgow Farragut, engraving opp. p. 202.



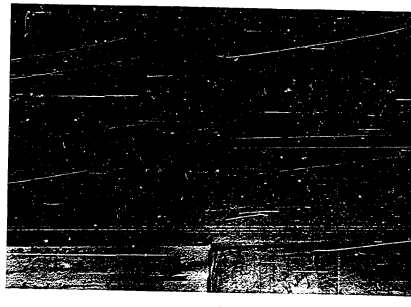
(fig. 22) Saint-Gaudens, Bust of Admiral Farragut, bronze, Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, New Hampshire. Photo: L. Marcus, 1977.

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(fig. 23) Saint-Gaudens, Caricatural relief of White, McKim, Saint-Gaudens (1878). Reproduced in Reminiscences I, 156.

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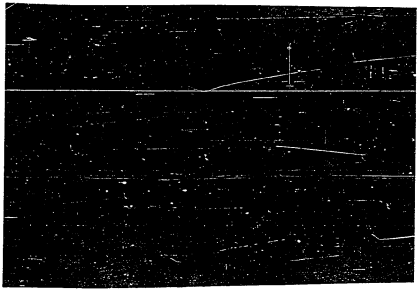


(fig. 24) Saint-Gaudens, Early Design for Farragut Monument. Photo of drawing courtesy of Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, New Hampshire.



(fig. 25) Saint-Gaudens, Clay sketch for Loyalty and Courage. Photo courtesy Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, N.H.

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(fig. 26) Saint-Gaudens Sketchbook, Drawing of Farragut Monument (probably August 1879), American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters. Photo: L. Marcus 1978.

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(fig. 27) Bartholdi, Statue of Lafayette
(bronze s&d 1873, unveiled in
Union Square, New York 1876).
Photo: L. Marcus 1976.

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(fig. 28) Saint-Gaudens J. Bastien-Lepage (1880) bronze relief, replica Brooklyn Museum of Art.



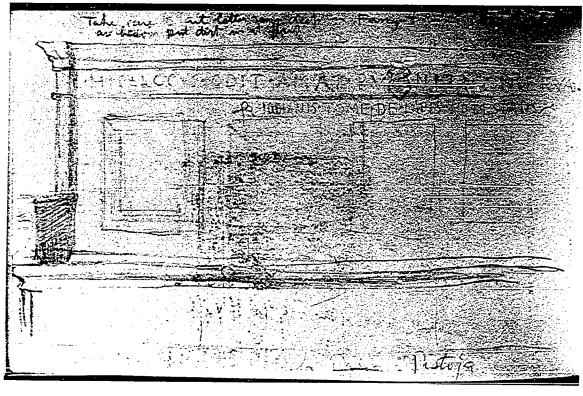
(fig. 29) Saint-Gaudens, Admiral Farragut at foundry (1880). Photo: Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, N.H.

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(fig. 30) Saint-Gaudens, Farragut Pedestal (1881), original bluestone, Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, New Hampshire. Photo: L. Marcus August 1977.

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(fig. 31) Saint-Gaudens Sketchbook, Drawing of Seat at Pistoja (August 1879), American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters, N.Y. Photo: L. Marcus 1978.

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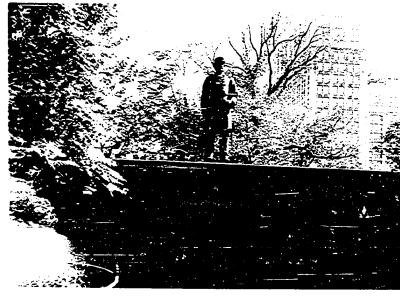


(fig. 32) Saint-Gaudens, Farragut Monument, after 1891 with Diana atop Madison Square Garden to left of monument (over Farragut's right shoulder). Photo courtesy Museum of the City of New York.

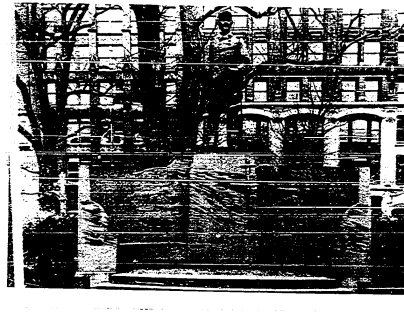


(fig. 33) Back of Farragut Pedestal. Photograph 4 October 1934, courtesy New York City Department of Parks.

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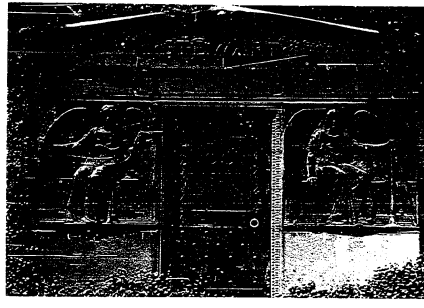


(fig. 34) Farragut Monument with pedestal boxed in 1935 in preparation for its removal to the north end of Madison Square Park. Photo courtesy New York City Art Commission.



(fig. 35) Saint-Gaudens, Farragut Monument after 1939 at North end of Madison Square Park, New York. Photo courtesy of New York City Art Commission.

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(fig. 36) Saint-Gaudens, Stewart Monument (1883/4, bronze) Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn, N.Y. Photo: L. Marcus 1976.

(fig. 37) French, Minute Man (bronze and granite, s&d 1874), Concord, Massachusetts. Richman, Daniel Chester French: An American Sculptor, p. 5, fig.2.

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(fig. 38) Randolph Rogers, Admiral Farragut, plaster, University of Michigan Museum of Art (1885.2). Photo courtesy Professor William H. Gerdts.

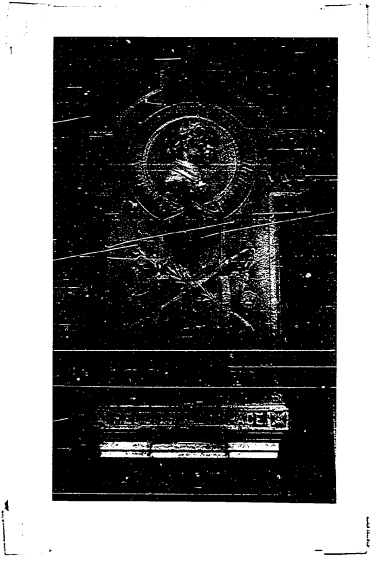


(fig. 39) William Page, Admiral Farragut in the Shrouds of the Hartford (from an old photo of a drawing in possession of Joshua Taylor, William Page, fig. 46.

ssion of the Author

FIGURE 46: ADMIRAL FARRAGUT IN THE SHROUDS OF THE HARTFORD (from an old photo-

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(fig. 40) Launt Thompson, Admiral Farragut, marble tablet, Church of the Incarnation, New York. Photographed April 1978. (L. Marcus).

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(fig. 41) Franklin Simmons, Navy Group, 1891, bronze, Civil War Memorial, Portland, Maine. (Photo: Craven: Sculpture in America, fig. 8.21).

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(fig. 42) Niehaus, Admiral Farragut, Muskegon, Michigan. (Late 1890's). Artists' File,NYPL.



(fig. 43) Kitson, Admiral Farragut, Vicksburg National Military Park. Artists' File,NYPL. Bronze dedicated 28 June 1893, Marine Park, Boston.

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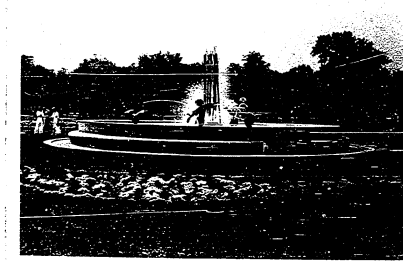


(fig. 44) Saint-Gaudens, Lincoln, unveiled October 22,1887, Lincoln Park, Chicago. Photo: L. Marcus, 1977.

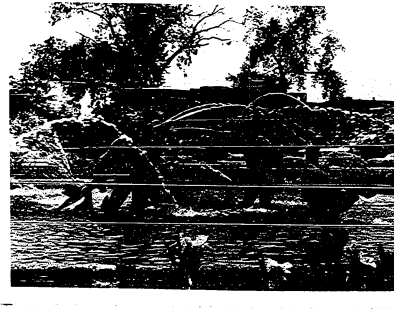


(fig. 45) Saint-Gaudens, Lincoln, bronze, Lincoln Park, Chicago. Photo: L. Marcus, 1977.

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(fig. 46) Saint-Gaudens and MacMonnies, Storks at Play, bronze unveiled 1887, Lincoln Park, Chicago. Photo: Chicago Historical Society.

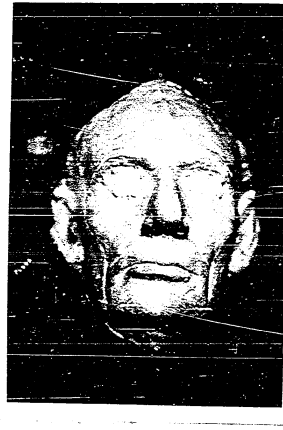


(fig. 47) Detail of Storks at Play. Photo: L.Marcus October 1977.

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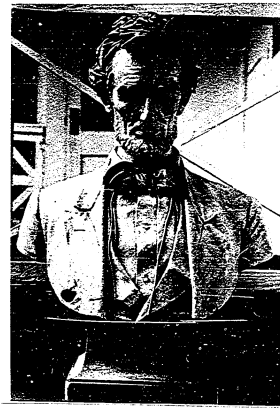


(fig.48) Saint-Gaudens, Seated Lincoln, clay? for Grant Park, Chicago (1907). Photo Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth CL.

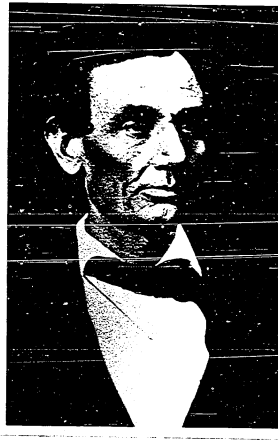


(fig.49) Leonard Volk, Lincoln Life Mask, taken April 1860, plaster, Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, N.H. (Photo: L. Marcus 1977).

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(fig.50) Saint-Gaudens, Bust of Lincoln, plaster cast from Standing Lincoln reduction, SGNHS, Cornish, N.H. (Photo: L. Marcus, 1977).



(fig.51) June 1860 Photograph of Lincoln, Chicago Historical Society.

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(fig.52) Mathew Brady, Seated Lincoln, contemporary print from original Brady negative. Library of Congress.



(fig.53) Saint-Gaudens, Sketch of Standing Lincoln (Reminiscences II, 27).

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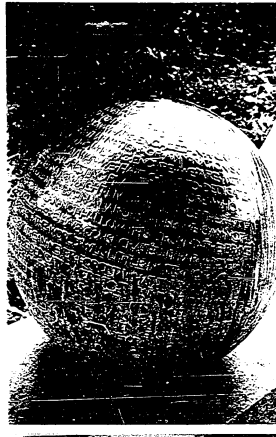


(fig. 54) Saint-Gaudens, Preliminary sketch of Standing Lincoln. Photo: Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL.



(fig. 55) Saint-Gaudens, 2 Sketches for Standing Lincoln. Photo: Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL.

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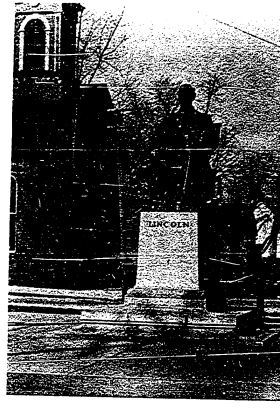


(fig.56a) Saint-Gaudens, Standing Lincoln (detail) left ball with palm and Gettysburg address. (Photo: L. Marcus 1977).

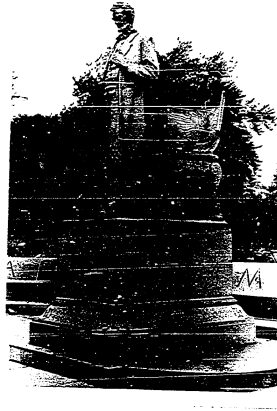


(fig.56b) Saint-Gaudens, Standing Lincoln (detail) right ball with oak leaves, letter to Horace Greeley. (Photo: L. Marcus 1977).

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(fig.57) Adolph Weinman, Seated Lincoln, 1909, Hogenville, Kentucky. Theodore Eitel photo at Chicago Historical Society.



(fig.58) Saint-Gaudens, Standing Lincoln (detail). Photo: L. Marcus 9.26.77.

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(fig.59) Lot Flannery, Abraham Lincoln,1868, Judiciary Square, Washington,D.C. Reproduced in James M. Goode, The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D.C., p. 229.



(fig.60) H.K. Brown, Lincoln, bronze,1869, Prospect Park, Brooklyn, New York. Photo courtesy of Professor H.W. Janson.

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(fig.61) Vinnie Ream, Lincoln, marble, acquired 1871, Rotunda, Washington, D.C. Photo courtesy of Professor William Gerdts.



(fig.62) Larkin Mead Lincoln, bronze,1874, Oak Ridge Cemetery, Springfield, Illinois. Photo courtesy of Professor Wm. Gerdts.

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(fig.63) Thomas Ball, Emancipation Group, bronze, 1874, Boston. Photo courtesy of Professor H.W. Janson.



(fig.64) Charles J. Mulligan, Lincoln the Rail Splitter, Garfield Park, Chicago, unveiled 1911. Chicago Historical Society photo.

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(fig.65) Lorado Taft, Standing Lincoln, 1927, Urbana, Ill. Chicago Historical Society photo.



(fig.66) French, D.C. Lincoln for Lincoln Nebraska, Chesterwood (cast in 1966). Photo courtesy of Professor H.W.Janson.

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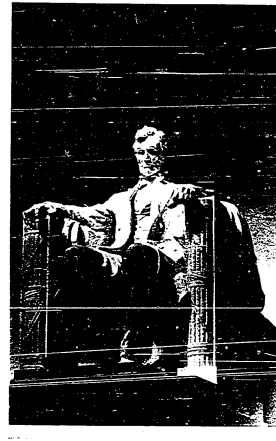


(fig.67) D.C.French, Abraham Lincoln,1909-1912, bronze and granite, Lincoln, Nebraska. Reproduced in Richman, Daniel Chester French, p.121.



(fig.68) D.C. French, Seated Lincoln, 48" plaster for Washington, D.C. Lincoln, (1915), Chesterwood. Photo courtesy of Professor H.W. Janson.

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(fig. 69) D.C. French, Lincoln Memorial, marble, 1922, Washington, D.C. Reproduced in Goode, The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D.C., p. 401.

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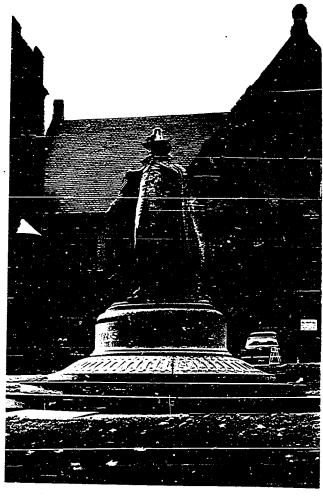


(fig. 70) Randolph Rogers, Seated Lincoln, bronze, 1871. Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. Reproduced in Sculpture of a City, p. 52.



(fig. 71) Randolph Rogers, Lincoln, plaster c.1866, University of Michigan (1885.3). Photograph courtesy of Professor William H. Gerdts.

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(fig. 72) Saint-Gaudens, Puritan (1887), Springfield, Massachusetts. Photographed September 1978.by L. Marcus.

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fig. 73) Louis Saint-Gaudens, Bust of Chester W. Chapin, marble, 1883, destroyed. Photo SGNHS.



(fig. 74) Saint-Gaudens Sketch for Seated Chapin. Reproduced in Reminiscences II: 6-upperleft.

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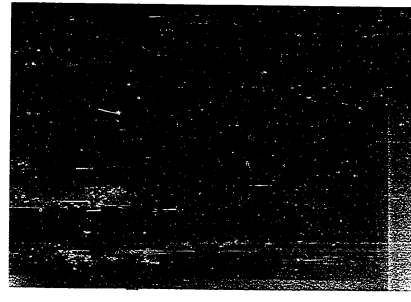


(fig. 75) Saint-Gaudens, Sketch for Puritan, reproduced in Reminiscences II: 6-upper right.



(fig. 76) Saint-Gaudens, Model for Deacon Chapin (Puritan), reproduced in Reminiscences II: 6-lower left.

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(fig. 77) Setting for St. Gaudens' Statue of Deacon Chapin, Springfield, Massachusetts, SGNHS.

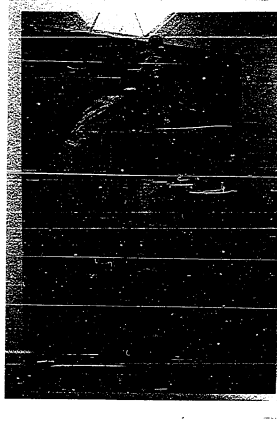


ig. 78) Saint-Gaudens, Puritan. Reproduced in Reminiscences II: 14.

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(fig. 79) Saint-Gaudens, Puritan, heroic size plaster cast (original photo: George Cox, Smithsonian Institution of History and Technology, SGNHS).



(fig. 80) Saint-Gaudens, Puritan, plaster, SGNHS.

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(fig. 81) Saint-Gaudens, Puritan (Art et Decoration, v.5 #2 (Feb. 1899) review of Salon of 1898, p. 47).



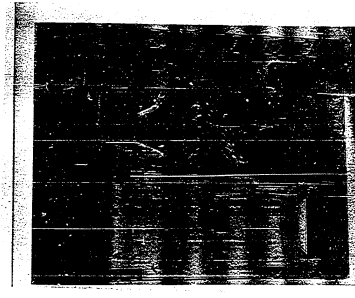
(fig. 82) Saint-Gaudens, Head of Puritan, plaster, SGNHS. Photo L. Marcus, August 1977.

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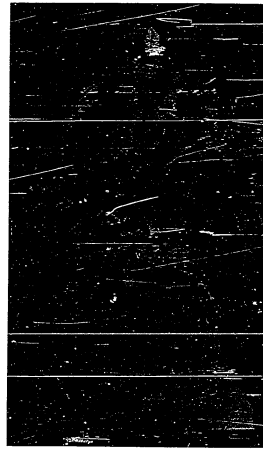


(fig. 83) Saint-Gaudens, Puritan, bronze, H. 30½ x 19". Photo: courtesy of New-York Historical Society.

(fig. 84) Certificate of Award of Grand Prize, Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL. Photo: L. Marcus 1977.



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(fig. 85) Saint-Gaudens, Pilgrim, bronze, Philadelphia. Reproduced in Hind, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, 1908, "erected in City Hall Square in 1905."

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(fig. 86) Saint-Gaudens, Pilgrim, Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. Reproduced in Sculpture of a City, p. 214.

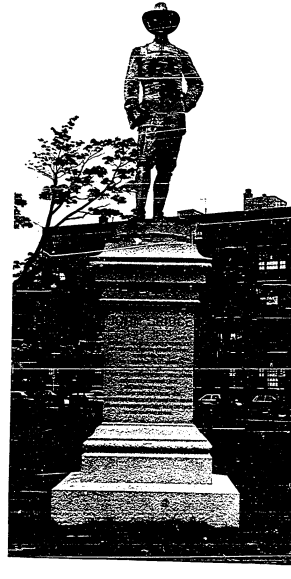
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ROGER WILLIAMS, Rhode Island.
Marble statue by Franklin Simmons.

(fig. 87) Franklin Simmons, Roger Williams, marble, 1870. Reproduced in Compilation of Works of Art. . . in the United States Capitol, p. 268.

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(fig. 88) Thomas Gould, Puritan, bronze, 1882.
Photo: L. Marcus October 1978.
Cambridge, Massachusetts.

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(fig. 89) J.S. Hartley, Miles Morgan, bronze, 1882, Springfield, Massachusetts. Photo: L. Marcus, September 1978.

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(fig. 90) John Q.A. Ward, Pilgrim, bronze, 1885, Central Park, New York. Photo: L. Marcus, May 1978.

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(fig. 91) Saint-Gaudens, Adams Memorial, 1891, Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, D.C.

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(fig. 92) Michelangelo, Delphic Sibyl, 1508-12, Sistine Ceiling, Vatican.

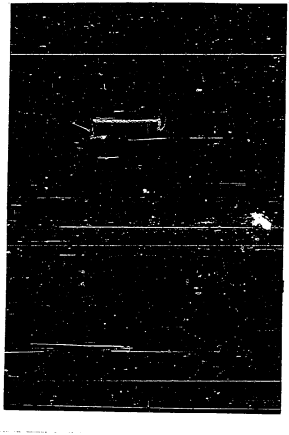


(fig. 93) Michelangelo, Tomb of Lorenzo de' Medici (1520-26) detail, Florence.

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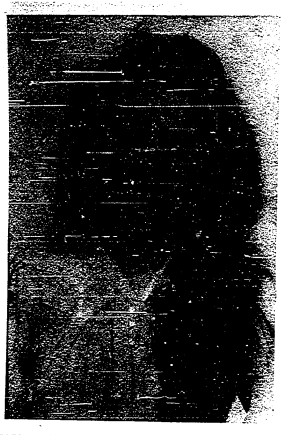


(fig. 94) Michelangelo, Pietà, 1498-9, marble, St. Peter's.



(fig. 95) Saint-Gaudens, Leaf from a Scrapbook. Photo: NCFA.

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(fig. 96) Davida Clark. Photo: Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

(fig. 97) Saint-Gaudens, Three Early Sketches in Clay for the Adams Memorial, Socrates on the right (Reminiscences I: 358).



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(fig. 98) Square Design for Adams Memorial. Photo:SGNHS.

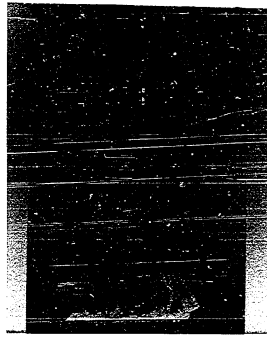


(fig. 99) Saint-Gaudens, Early Sketch for Adams Memorial. Photo: SGNHS.

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(fig. 100) Rodin, The Thinker, 1880, bronze 1906, Rodin Museum, Paris.



(fig. 101) Mercié, Le Souvenir, 1885, marble replica, Musée de Luxembourg.

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(fig. 102) Saint-Marceaux, Genius Guarding the Secret of the Tomb, 1879, marble, Luxembourg.



(fig. 103) Michelangelo, Ignudo, Sistine Ceiling.

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(fig. 104) Dubois, La Charité (detail of Tomb of General de Lamoricière, c. 1876, Cathedral de Nantes.

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(fig. 105) Saint-Gaudens, Adams Memorial, 1891,
verso of granite stele.
Photo: L. Marcus, April 1978.

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(fig. 106) Stanford White and Saint-Gaudens, Adams Memorial, 1891 (detail of granite exedra). Photo: L. Marcus April 1978.

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(fig.107) Agnus Memorial, Druid Ridge Cemetery, Baltimore (verso). Photo: NCFA



(fig.108) Agnus Memorial, Druid Ridge Cemetery, Baltimore. Photo:NCFA. Bronze cast by Bureau Brothers, Philadelphia, H.70"x W.46" x D. 39".

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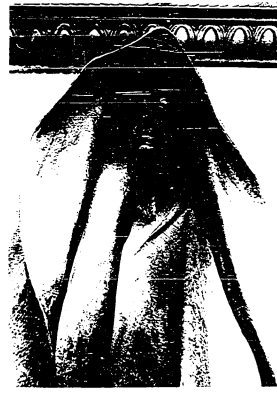
(fig. 109) Saint-Gaudens, Adams Memorial, 1969 bronze replica, National Collection of Fine Arts. Cast by Roman Bronze Works H. 69-7/8 x W. 40" x D. 44-3/4" (177.4 cm. x 101.4 x 112.9 cm.).

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(fig. 110) Saint-Gaudens, Adams Memorial (detail)
Rock Creek Cemetery,
Washington, D.C.
Photo: L. Marcus April 1978.

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(fig. 111) Agnus Memorial, 1907,
detail of head,
Druid Ridge Cemetery,
Baltimore. Photo: NCFA,

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(fig. 112) Saint-Gaudens, Adams Memorial, 1967
bronze replica, SGNHS.
Photo: L. Marcus, June 1976.

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(fig.113) Saint-Gaudens, Head of Adams Memorial, plester, SGNHS. Photo: L. Marcus August 1977.

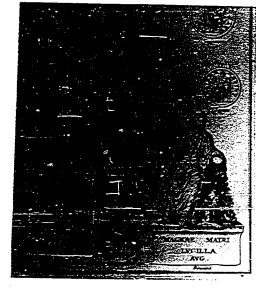


(fig.114) Saint-Gaudens, Head of Adams Memorial, 1908, bronze, Brooklyn, Museum of Art.

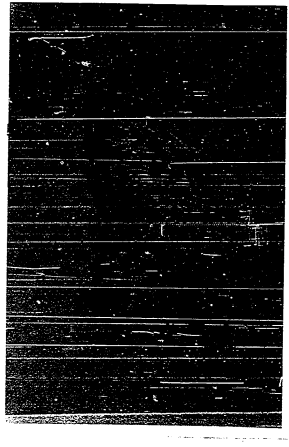
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(fig.115) Pleureuse, Prefica or Themis (Winckelmann, Monumenti antichi, II#44).



(fig.116) Magna Mater Cybele) (Montfaucon, L'Antiquité Expliqué, v.1, part I, opp. pl.II).

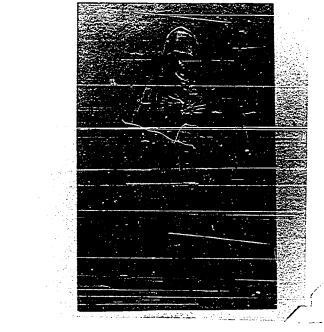


(fig.117) Femme assise sur un rocher (Déméter douloureuse), Louvre, coll. E. Bellon, painted terracotta.

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(fig. 118) Claus Sluter, Tomb of Philip the Bold (detail), Dijon.

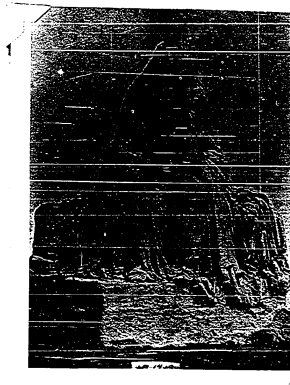


(fig. 119) Germain Pilon, La Vierge de Pitié (1580-5, painted terracotta, Louvre.

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(fig. 120) Antonio Canova, Tomb of Clement XIV (1784-7) SS Apostoli, Rome.



(fig. 121) Canova, Mansuetudine (Meekness), 1783 Posagno, terra-cotta.

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(fig. 122) Saint-Gaudens, Caryatid for Vanderbilt Mantlepiece (detail), installed 1883, Numidian marble, Metropolitan Museum of Art.



(fig. 123) Saint-Gaudens, Morgan Angels, destroyed by fire 1884. Photo: SGNHS.

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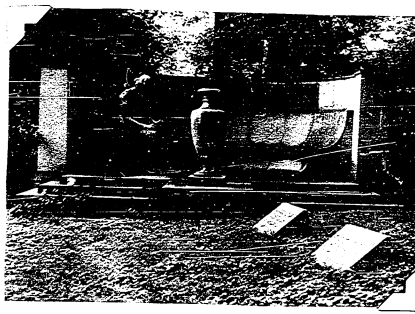


fig. 124) Saint-Gaudens, Amor Caritas, bronze bas-relief (original 1886, s&d 1898, 39-7/8 x 17$\frac{7}{8}$x4",Brooklyn Museum. Photo: L. Marcus 1976.

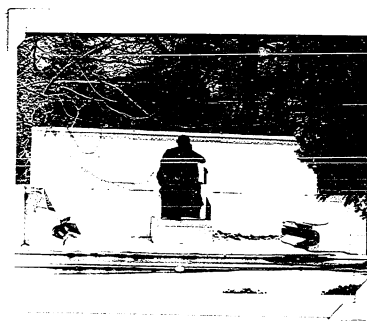


(fig. 125) French, The Angel of Death and the Sculptor (Milmore Memorial), marble copy (1926) of original bronze (1889-93), 92" high, Metropolitan Museum.

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(fig. 126) Partridge, The Kauffmann Memorial, 1897, bronze and granite, Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, D.C. (Photo: L. Marcus, June 1974).

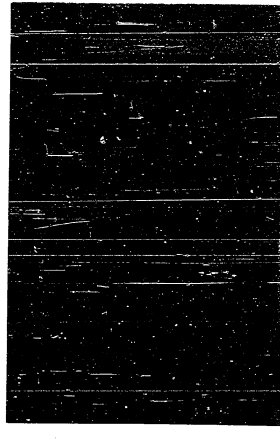


(fig. 127) Partridge, Pulitzer Monument, 1915, Woodlawn Cemetery, Bronx, New York. (Photo: L. Marcus, February 1974).

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(fig. 128) Bitter, Hubbard Memorial, 1902, bronze figure and granite architecture, Green Mountain Cemetery, Montpelier, Vermont. Photo: Lizzari, Dennis, fig.38.



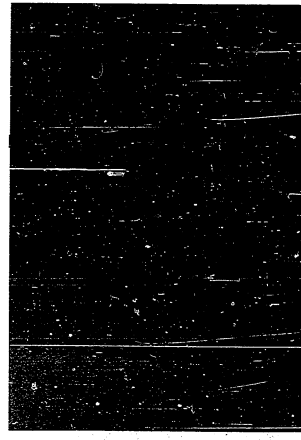
(fig. 129) La Farge, Study of Wisdom, s&d 1900, Toledo Museum of Art.

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(fig. 130) Saint-Gaudens, Diana, 1893, copper, 13'1",
Philadelphia Museum of Art,
Photo: L. Marcus, April 1978.

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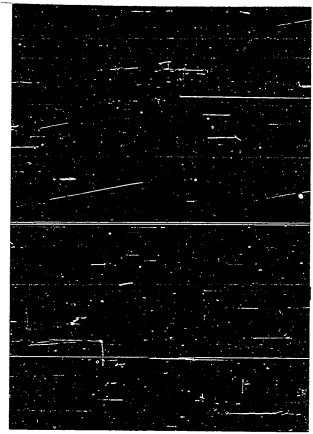


(fig. 131) Saint-Gaudens, Study for a Head, c. 1886, marble, SGNHS. Reproduced in Metamorphoses, fig.25.



(fig. 132) Saint-Gaudens, Head of Diana, bronze, SGNHS. Photo: L. Marcus, June 1977.

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(fig. 133) Saint-Gaudens, Diana, original model, probably a unique bronze cast, 24-7/8" (63.4 cm.). Gift of J. Gellatly, NCFA.



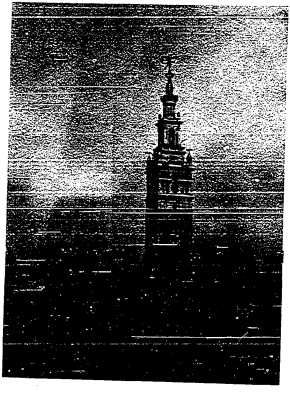
27. Early plaster model for the first figure of *Diana*, from a photograph taken by Lionel Moses
(not in exhibition)

(fig. 134) Saint-Gaudens, Early plaster model for the first figure of Diana. Reproduced in Metamorphoses, p. 202, fig. 27.

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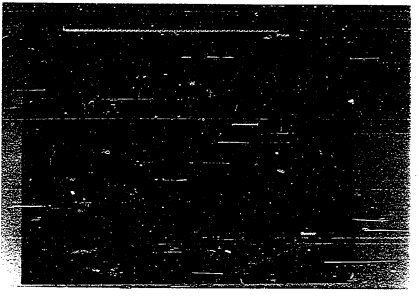


(fig. 135) Saint-Gaudens, Diana, copper, 1891, first version. Photo: SGNHS.

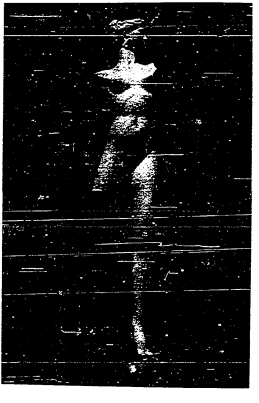


(fig. 136) Saint-Gaudens, Diana atop Madison Square Garden, New York. Photo: Museum of the City of New York.

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(fig. 137) First Diana atop Agricultural Building,1893, Worlds' Columbian Exposition, Chicago. Reproduced in Metamorphoses, p. 203, fig. 29.



(fig. 138) Saint-Gaudens, Diana plaster model, SGNHS. Photo: L. Marcus, August 1977.

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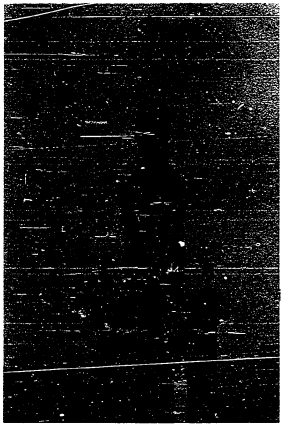


(fig. 139)
Saint-Gaudens, gilded Diana, 13' copper, 1893, second version.



(fig. 140)
Second gilded Diana atop Madison Square Garden. Reproduced in Hind, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, 1908.

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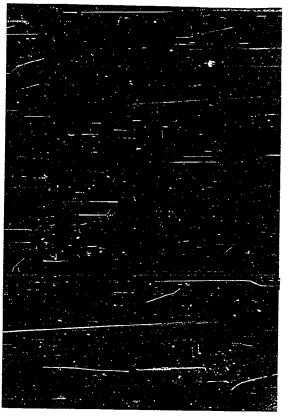


(fig. 141) Diana (2nd) atop Madison Square Garden after drape was blown off. Photo: Museum of the City of New York.

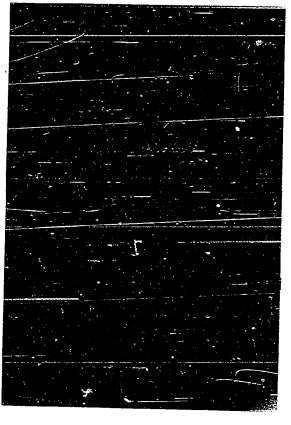


(fig. 142) Diana (2nd) removed from Madison Square Garden, May 6, 1925.

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(fig. 143) Saint-Gaudens, Diana half-size cement cast, 1894. Photo: Museum of the City of New York. Approximate size 6½'.



(fig. 144) Saint-Gaudens, Diana, gilded bronze cast of half-size Diana (112" figure 74½", sphere 9½". Metropolitan Museum of Art, cast 1928.

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(fig. 145) Saint-Gaudens, Diana, bronze cast of original half-size model of second Diana, revised in 1894, cast in 1973, SGNHS. Photo: L. Marcus, June 1976.

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(fig. 146) Saint-Gaudens, Diana, s&d 1895, bilded bronze, H. 41-3/8" x 18½" x 13" including integral base. Robert B. Woodward Memorial Fund, Brooklyn Museum, N.Y.



Fig. 99. *Diana*. Plaster, 1776. Gotha, Schlossmuseum.

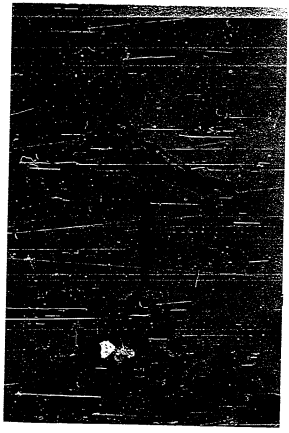
(fig. 147) Houdon, Diana, 1776, plaster, Gotha Schlossmuseum. Reproduced in Arnason, The Sculpture of Houdon, fig. 99.

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(fig. 148) Falguière, Diana, bronze, New York art market. Photo: L. Marcus, November 1978.

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(fig. 149) Falguière, A Hunting Nymph, plaster exhibited at Salon de 1884, bronze reduction New York art market. Photo: H.W. Janson.



(fig. 150) MacMonnies, Diana, Salon de 1889, bronze reduction (Christie's photo) of original bronze at Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

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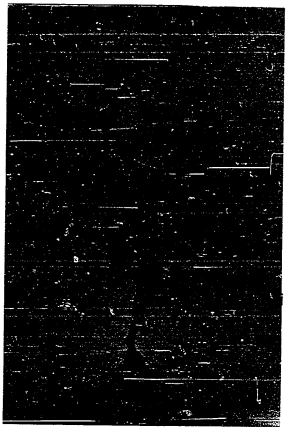


(fig. 151) Warner, Seated Diana, bronze reduction 23½", Metropolitan Museum of Art. (s&d 1887).

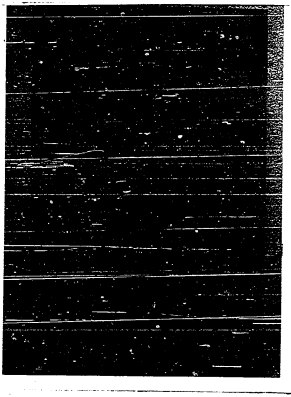


(fig. 152) Rhind, Progress Lighting the Way of Commerce, 1900, atop Montgomery Ward tower, Chicago, 19' copper. Photo: Philadelphia Museum of Art, mislabelled Saint-Gaudens' Diana.

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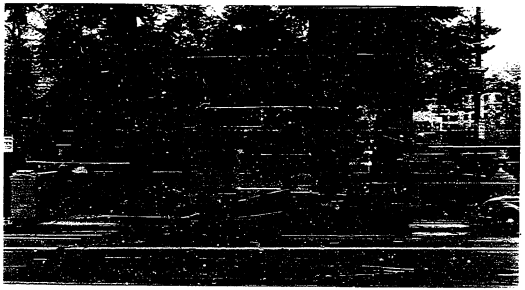


(fig. 153) Rhind, Progress Lighting the Way of Commerce, bronze reduction, private collection, Chicago, Illinois.



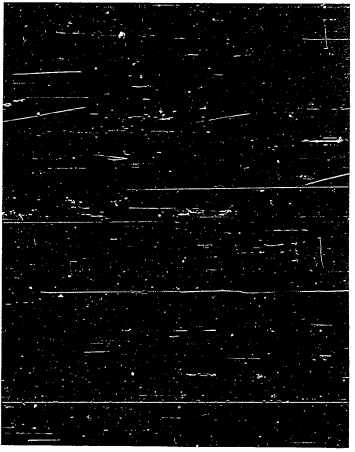
(fig. 154) Bitter, Diana, bronze,1909. Reproduced in Dennis, Karl Bitter, fig. 107, p. 243.

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(fig. 155) Saint-Gaudens, Shaw Memorial, unveiled May 31, 1897, Boston Common, Boston, Massachusetts, bronze relief in Knoxville marble frame and architecture, on a granite base. Photo: L. Marcus, October 6, 1978.

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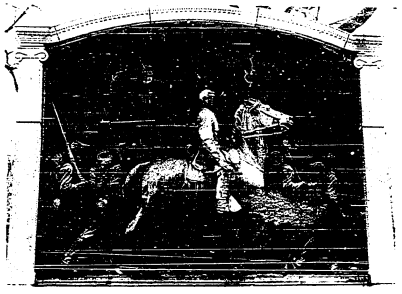


(fig. 156) Robert Gould Shaw. Photo courtesy of Parkman Shaw.

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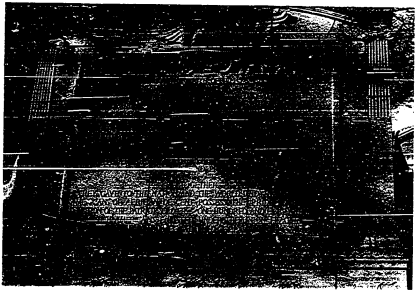


(fig. 157) Saint-Gaudens, Shaw Memorial, 1897, bronze, H. approximately 11'3" x W. 14'3½" x D. 2'. Photo: reproduced from original Century Co. photo-courtesy American Academy and Institute of Arts & Letters.



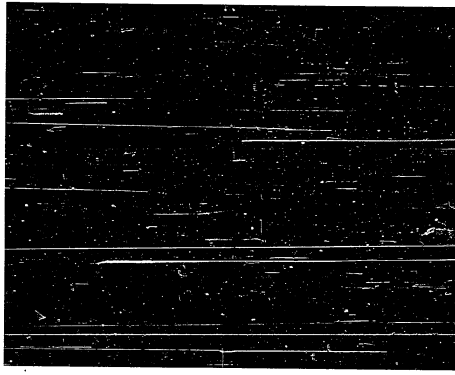
(fig. 158) Saint-Gaudens, Shaw Memorial, 1897, Photo: L. Marcus, January 1976.

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(fig. 159) Saint-Gaudens, Shaw Memorial, verso.
Photo: L. Marcus, January 1976.

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(fig. 160) Saint-Gaudens, Shaw Memorial, March 1883, plaster model, 14$\frac{7}{8}$x15$\frac{1}{2}$", SGNHS. Photo: L. Marcus, August 1977.

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(fig. 161) Saint-Gaudens, Shaw Memorial, first version, 1896. Photo: American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters, New York.

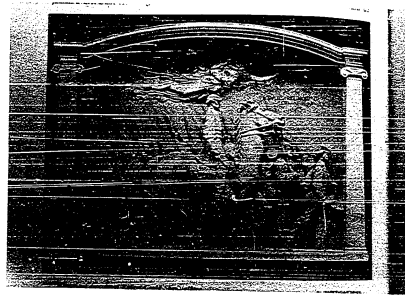


(fig. 162) Saint-Gaudens, Shaw Memorial, detail of first version. Photo: American Academy and Institute of Arts and Letters, New York.

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(fig. 163) Saint-Gaudens, Study for first Angel in the Robert Gould Shaw Memorial, gilded bronze. H. 9-7/8,W.36-3/4",D. ½". Inscribed on lower right lip "Roman Bronze Works N-Y-." Purchased from Mrs. Saint-Gaudens in 1923. Brooklyn Museum.

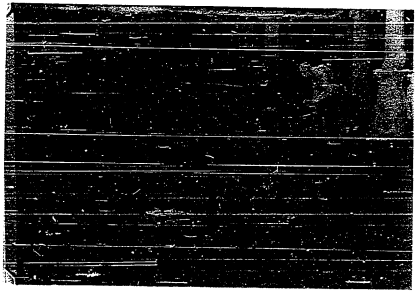


(fig. 164) Saint-Gaudens, Shaw Memorial, 3rd version, 1898. Reproduced in Gazette des Beaux-Arts, 1898, 20: 139.

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(fig. 165) Saint-Gaudens, Shaw Memorial, 1900, fourth version. From The Chefs-D'Oeuvre of the Exposition Universelle, vol. 3, opp. p. 44.

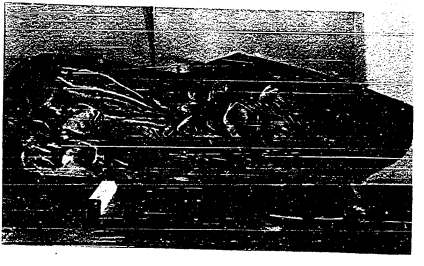


(fig. 166) Saint-Gaudens, Shaw Memorial, fourth version, 1900. As exhibited at the Pan-American Exposition, Buffalo, 1901. Photo: original glass negative, Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL.

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(fig. 167) Saint-Gaudens, Shaw Memorial, 4th version, plaster, 1900. As exhibited at the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Cornish, N.H. Photo: L. Marcus 1976.

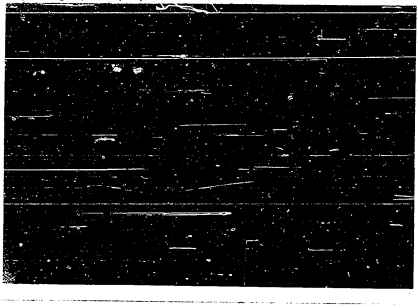


(fig. 168) Saint-Gaudens, stamp of figure of Angel in Shaw Memorial, gilded bronze; H.35-13/16",W.9'1/16". Brooklyn Museum of Art.

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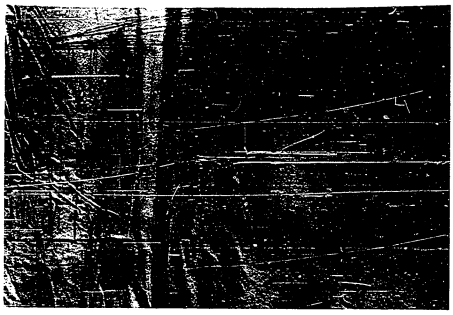


(fig. 169) Meissonier, Campagne de France, 1814, signed and dated 1864, Louvre. Photo: Agracci,courtesy Pierre Rosenberg.



(fig. 170) Detail of letter from Saint-Gaudens to Eugenie Nichols showing sketch of Meissonier's Campagne de France 1814. Photo: SGNHS.

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(fig. 171) Saint-Gaudens, Shaw Memorial, pencil drawing based on Meissonier's 1814. Photo:SGNHS.



(fig. 172) Lemaire, Henri IV, 1838, bronze, Musée Carnavalet,Paris. Photo: H.W.Janson.

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(fig. 173) Lemot, Henri IV, bronze, 1818, Paris. Photo courtesy H.W. Janson.



(fig. 174) David d'Angers, Tomb of General Gobert, 1847, marble. Père Lachaise Cemetery, Paris. Photo: courtesy H.W. Janson.

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(fig. 175) Vincenzo Vela, The Victims of Labor, 1882, plaster H. 224 cm., W. 327 cm. Museo Vela, Ligornetto. Photo: courtesy Professor H.W. Janson.

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(fig. 176) Rude, Le départ des volontaires en 1792 (La Marseillaise), 1833-6, Arc de Triomphe, Paris. High relief in stone, H. 12m 70. L. 6m. Photo: courtesy Professor H.W. Janson.

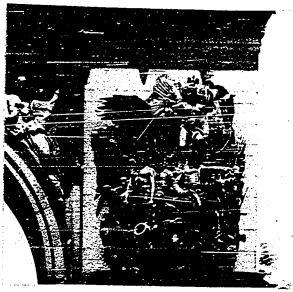
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(fig. 177) MacMonnies, Sculptural program for Soldiers and Sailors' Memorial Arch, Grand Army Plaza, Brooklyn, New York, 1898-1901. The three-part bronze group includes the quadriga atop the arch and two sculptural reliefs, The Army (left) and The Navy (right). Photo: courtesy Donald Gormley, New York City Art Commission.



(fig. 178) Detail of Arch showing The Army, 1901.



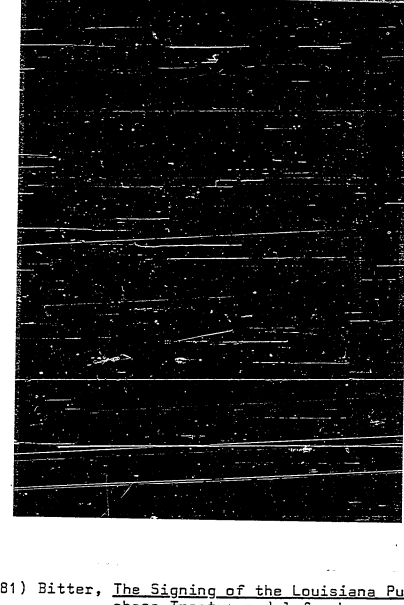
(fig. 179) Detail of Arch showing The Navy, 1901.

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(fig. 180) French, Lafayette Monument, 1917, bronze relief in granite architectural frame, Prospect Park, Brooklyn, New York. Photo: New York City Art Commission courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

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(fig. 181) Bitter, The Signing of the Louisiana Purchase Treaty, model for bronze relief, 1913, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. Reproduced in Dennis, Karl Bitter, p. 185, fig. 82.

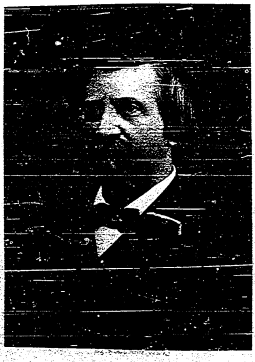
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(fig. 182) Saint-Gaudens, Logan Monument, unveiled July 22, 1897, Grant Park, Chicago, bronze and granite. Photo: L. Marcus.

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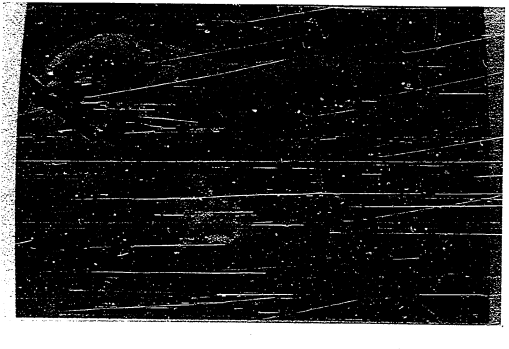




(fig. 183) Saint-Gaudens, Logan Monument, detail of pedestal. Photo: L. Marcus, September 1977.

(fig. 184) John A. Logan, frontispiece, Andrews, A Biography of Gen. John A. Logan (N.Y.& Chicago: H.S.Goodspeed & Co., 1884).

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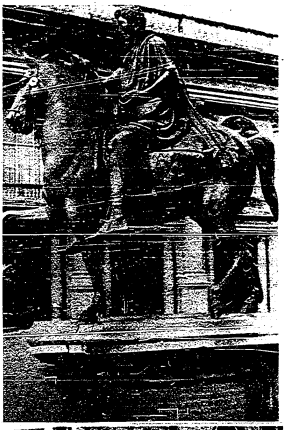


(fig. 185) Proctor, Logan Horse (1895) reproduced in Sadakichi Hartmann, Modern American Sculpture, n.d., plate XLI erroneously attributed to Saint-Gaudens.

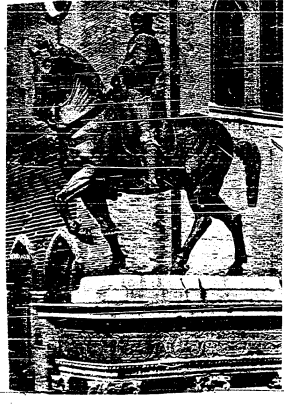


(fig.186) Saint-Gaudens, Logan, 1897. Photo: L. Marcus 1977.

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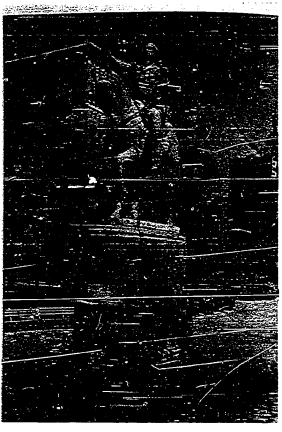


(fig. 187) Marcus Aurelius, Campidoglio, Rome, 161-180 A.D., bronze overlife-size. Reproduced in Janson, Key Monuments, fig. 203.

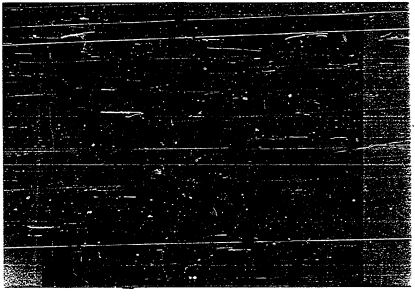


(fig. 188) Andrea del Verrocchio, Equestrian Monument of Colleoni, 1485-88, bronze, c. 13', Venice. Reproduced in Janson, Key Monuments, fig. 637.

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(fig. 189) Brown, Equestrian Washington, unveiled July 4, 1856 in Union Square, New York. Reproduced in Sharp, New York City Public Sculpture, p. 28.



(fig.190) Ball, Equestrian Washington, Boston. Reproduced in Craven, Sculpture in America, fig.7.4.

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(fig. 191) Saint-Gaudens, Logan, 1897, Chicago. Photo: L. Marcus 1977.



(fig. 192) Dubois, Jeanne d'Arc, 1900 bronze, Paris. Plaster Salon de 1889. Photo: H.W. Janson.

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(fig. 193) Frémiet, Jeanne d'Arc, Philadelphia, 1890 bronze replica. 2nd version, plaster 1889 Salon, bronze, Nancy 1890, Paris, Place de Rivoli 1899. Photo: L. Marcus April 8,1978.

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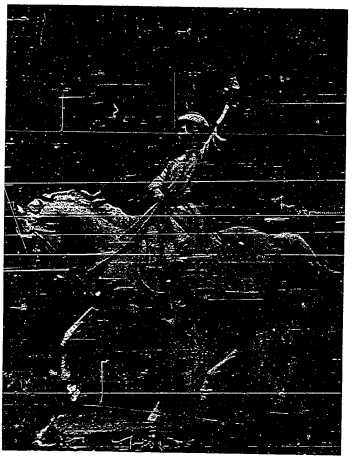
(fig. 194) Simmons, Equestrian Logan, 1901, bronze, Logan Circle, Washington, D.C. Reproduced in Goode, The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D.C., p. 279.

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(fig. 195) French, Equestrian Washington, for Paris, 1896-1900, plaster 22½" model, Chesterwood # NT 69.38.255. Photo: H.W. Janson.

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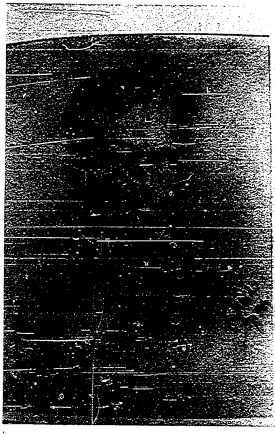
(fig. 196) MacMonnies, Equestrian General Slocum, bronze, Grand Army Plaza, Brooklyn, New York, 1905. Plaster model reproduced in Hartmann, Modern American Sculpture, n.d., pl.LI, mistakenly identified as "Logan."

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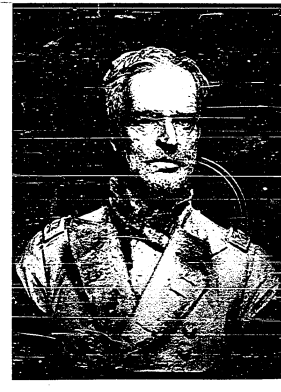


(fig. 197) Saint-Gaudens, Equestrian General Sherman led by Victory, 1903, 59th and Fifth Avenue, New York. Photo: L. Marcus.

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(fig. 198) Photograph of Sherman in 1864 by Frederick, reproduced in Lewis, Sherman Fighting Prophet, opp. p. 402.



(fig. 199) Saint-Gaudens, Bust of Sherman, plaster, SGNHS. Photo: L. Marcus, August 1977.

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(fig. 200) Saint-Gaudens, Robert Louis Stevenson, 1887-8. Reproduced in Reminiscences I: 380.

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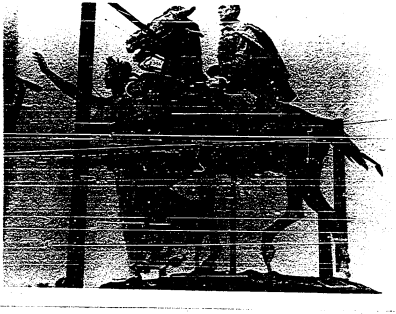


(fig. 201) Saint-Gaudens, Equestrian Sherman, plaster, Paris. Photo: Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.

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(fig. 202) Saint-Gaudens, Equestrian Sherman, plaster in its outdoor Parisian setting. Photo: Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College Library.



(fig. 203) Saint-Gaudens, Equestrian Sherman, plaster in its outdoor Parisian setting. Photo: Saint-Gaudens Collection, DCL.

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(fig. 204) Saint-Gaudens, Bust of General Sherman, plaster, 1888. Reproduced in Art et Décoration, v.5 (Feb. 1899), p. 46.

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(fig. 205) Saint-Gaudens, Head of Victory, 2nd study. Reproduced in Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II: 291.

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(fig. 206) Frémiet, Pegasus, 1900, gilded bronze, Pont Alexandre III, Paris. Photo: H.W. Janson.

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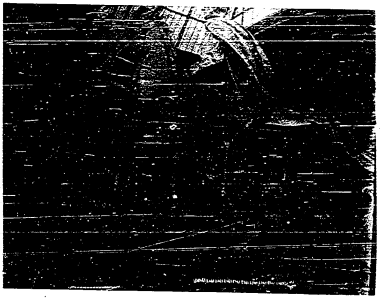


(fig. 207) Saint-Gaudens, Equestrian Sherman, 1900, Paris Exposition Universelle. Photo: New York City Art Commission, blueprint.

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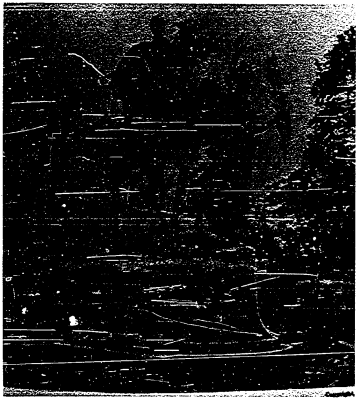


(fig. 208) Saint-Gaudens, Equestrian Sherman, 1900,
Paris Exposition Universelle.
Photo: NYC Art Commission blueprint.



(fig. 209) Saint-Gaudens, Equestrian Sherman, 1900
Paris Exposition Universelle.
Photo: NYC Art Commission blueprint.

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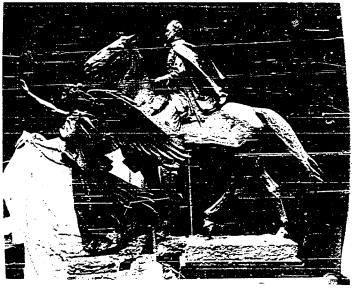


(fig. 210) Saint-Gaudens, Equestrian Sherman, 1901, Buffalo. Reproduced in C.D. Arnold, Official Views of the Pan-American Exposition, n.p.

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(fig. 211) Saint-Gaudens, Equestrian Sherman, 1903, New York. Photo: L. Marcus.



(fig. 212) Saint-Gaudens, Equestrian Sherman, 1899 clay. Photo: Juley, courtesy H.W. Janson.

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(fig. 213) Saint-Gaudens, Sherman, plaster, 1900 Paris Exposition Universelle. Photo: Fried, New York Civic Sculpture, p. 94.

(fig. 214) Saint-Gaudens, Sherman, bronze, 1903, New York. Photo: NYC Department of Parks, 1934.



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(fig. 215) Mathew Brady, General W.T. Sherman on a Horse, July 19, 1864 (Meredith, Mr. Lincoln's Camera Man #39).

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(fig. 216) Saint-Gaudens, Victory, plaster, Cornish,N.H: SGNHS. Photo: L. Marcus August 1977.

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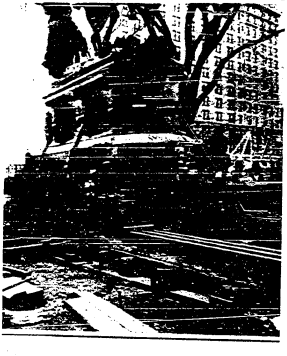


(fig. 217) Saint-Gaudens, Victory, gilded bronze, SGNHS. Photo: L. Marcus, August 1977.

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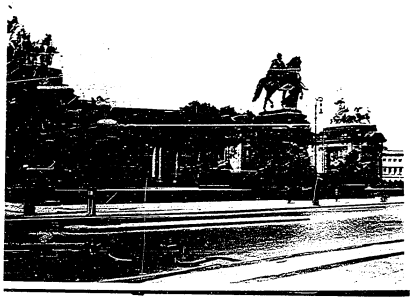


(fig. 218) Saint-Gaudens, Sherman during 1913 move. Fried, New York Civic Sculpture, p. 94.



(fig. 219) Saint-Gaudens, Sherman, during 1913 move. Fried, New York Civic Sculpture, p. 94.

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(fig. 220) Begas, Wilhelm I, 1897, Berlin.
Photo: courtesy H.W. Janson.

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(fig. 221) Nike of Samothrace, 200-190 B.C., Louvre.



(fig. 222) Saint-Gaudens, Sherman, 1903.

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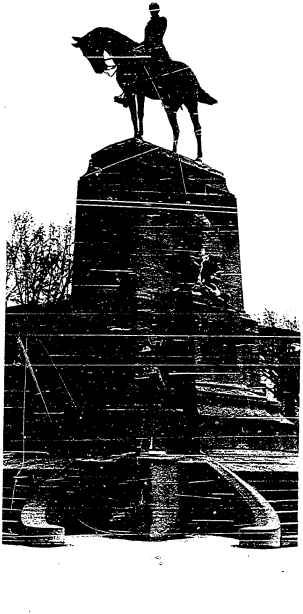


(fig. 223)
Jouffroy, Merchant Marine (Commerce), 1861-4, Louvre south facade. Photo: H.W.Janson.



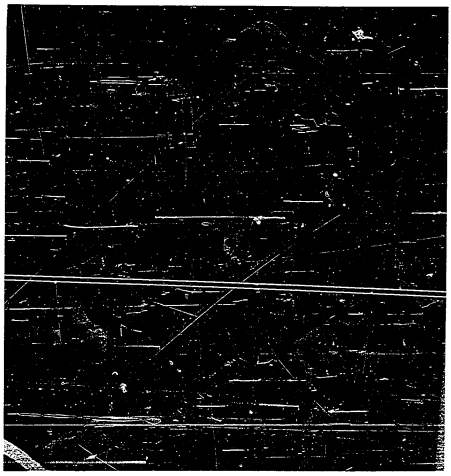
(fig. 224)
Bartholdi, Statue of Liberty, 1886 unveiled, New York Harbor. Reproduced in Trachtenberg, The Statue of Liberty, p. 69, fig. 27.

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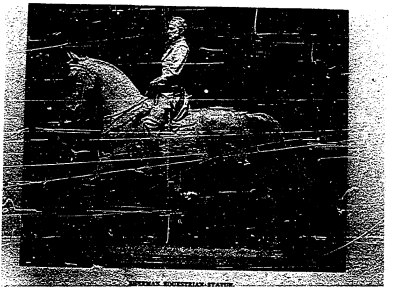
(fig. 225) Carl Rohl-Smith and others, Equestrian General Sherman, unveiled 1903, Washington, D.C. Photo: L. Marcus.

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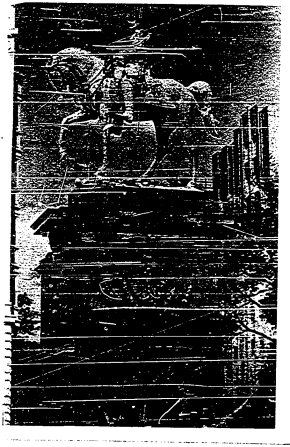


(fig. 226) Dallin, General Sherman, 1895, plaster. Reproduced in S. Hartmann, Modern American Sculpture, pl. XV.

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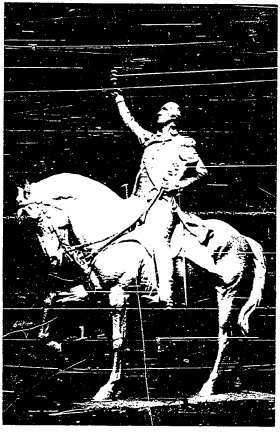


(fig. 227) Niehaus, General Sherman. NYPL Artists' File.



(fig. 228) MacMonnies, Major General George B. McClellan, 1907, bronze. Reproduced in Goode, The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D.C., p. 107.

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(fig. 229) French, Equestrian Washington, 1909 sketch. Photo: Juley, courtesy Professor H.W. Janson.

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(fig. 230) Fraser, Equestrian Theodore Roosevelt, s&d 1939, New York City.
Photo: L. Marcus 1979.

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