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A

FOR "THE BOYS IN BLUE": THE ART GALLERIES OF THE SANITARY FAIRS

By

Evdokia Savidou-Terrono

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.

2002

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INTRODUCTION

About a month after the firing at Fort Sumter, American artists organized in New York City an exhibition and sale of paintings for the benefit of a "Patriotic Fund." The show included 113 works by such notable artists as John Casilear (1811-1893), Asher B. Durand (1796-1886), Regis Gignoux (1816-1882), William Hart (1823-1894), Daniel Huntington (1816-1906), Eastman Johnson (1824-1906), and others and it was applauded as an indication of their commitment and support for their country at her time of need. The sale realized more than $4,000 and it was the earliest fundraising effort by artists for the benefit of the war.[1] This commendable art show, though, paled in comparison with the spectacular art galleries of the Sanitary Fairs held to raise money for Union soldiers.

In the midst of the Civil War, Joseph Harrison, an art collector, stated with pride that the exhibition of more

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[1] For the exhibition see "Fine Arts" New York Times 29 May 1861, 5, 3, and for the "Sale of Pictures for the Patriotic Fund," New York Times 30 May 1861, 5, 2.

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than 1,000 works for the Philadelphia Great Central Fair, was so important that it had "never been equaled in modern works anywhere, not even in Europe."[2] A reporter remarked with satisfaction on the "cultivation and taste of the city of Cleveland" demonstrated by the impressive art show of more than 250 art works, held in that city in February 1864.

A reviewer of the art gallery of the Great Western Sanitary Fair of Cincinnati considered it "a fine proof of the swift progress of American civilization that such a gallery could be made up of home pictures in a city almost a thousand miles from the ocean, and on a spot which so many foreigners think of as the 'backwoods' of America."[3] In April of that year, visitors crowded the art gallery of the New York Metropolitan Fair "one of the most truly intellectual features of the enterprise," to admire more than 300 art works by American and European artists.[4] Pittsburgh artists and collectors contributed generously to

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[2] Joseph Harrison, letter to Thomas L. Luders, 21 June 1864, Joseph Harrison Letterbook, 1862-1865, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[3] Charles B. Boynton, ed. History of the Great Western Sanitary Fair (Cincinnati: C. F. Vent, 1864) 403.

[4] "The Art Department," New York Herald 4 April 1864, 2, 2.

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the "Exhibition of Paintings and Statuary for the Pittsburgh Sanitary Fair," testifying to the vibrant art activity of their city. Even the Sanitary Fair at the "village" of Yonkers, New York, featured an impressive art gallery with an estimated value of $35,000. And all this for the benefit of the "boys in blue."

Beginning in 1863, Northern cities large and small, organized fairs under the auspices of three relief organizations: the United States Sanitary Commission, the Western Sanitary Commission and the Christian Commission. All three agencies, completely autonomous and independent of one another and from the government, sought to support Union troops by providing for their physical and moral needs.

Contributions in money or in kind were collected at regional centers on behalf of these agencies and then dispersed to the front according to need. The frequency of military engagements--and the concomitant number of casualties--imposed an ever-increasing burden on the treasuries of these commissions, which had to petition the public for monetary support. Of all the means employed by them for the acquisition of funds, fairs proved to be the

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most successful.[5] Fourteen major ones were held in urban centers in the East and the Midwest, and a score of smaller cities put together fairs that ranged from only one-to two-day bazaars, to quite sophisticated affairs.[6]

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[5] There is great inconsistency in the names used for the various fairs and occasionally, the same fair is identified by different titles. In this study, the term Sanitary Fair is used to identify throughout all fairs that benefited the USSC or the WSC. Most fairs were identified as such, preceded by the name of the city that sponsored the particular fair. Others, however, such as the Metropolitan Fair of New York, the Great Central Fair of Philadelphia and the Albany Army Relief Bazaar, were not. The Maryland State Fair, and the Indiana State Fair coincided with the State Fair, thus the name. Fairs that benefited the CC were sometimes identified as such, for example the San Francisco Christian Commission Fair. The Maryland State Fair and the Great Central Fair in Buffalo New York were not, although the first raised funds for both the USSC and the CC and the last contributed to the treasury of the CC. There were many other fairs that were held for soldier relief or sailor relief, or other philanthropic institutions, but were not associated with any of the commissions. The Rochester Christmas Bazaar was held in December of 1863, under the auspices of the Ladies Hospital Relief Association, and a Soldier's Fair took place a year later in December, Springfield, MA to support a local soldier's home. Lastly, a Ladies' Michigan State Fair was held in Detroit in support of poor freedmen and refugees. I will discuss these as well, because they included art galleries.

[6] For an extensive recent study of the Sanitary Fairs, and other Civil War fairs see Beverly Gordon, Bazaar and Fair Ladies: The History of the American Fundraising Fair (Knoxville, TN: The University of Tennessee Press, 1998) 58-101. Another article that covers generally many of the fairs, however limited in its scope, is by William Y. Thompson, "Sanitary Fairs of the Civil War," Civil War History 4 (March 1958): 51-67. For an excellent contemporary account of the fairs, local aid societies and the commissions see, Frank B. Goodrich, The Tribute Book (New York: Derby & Miller, 1865).

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The fairs were unique to the Northern states in their size and ambitious aspirations. No relief agencies were instituted in the South, that were comparable to Northern ones, although Southern women mobilized early in the war to help out their soldiers. Generally, their lack of extensive experience in organized philanthropic work in the antebellum period, prevented them from instituting large scale, coordinated relief efforts. Although, they held fairs and bazaars to raise money for gunboats and for the needs of Confederate troops, these events were regional in extent and limited in scope and they did not parallel the magnitude and far reaching implications of the Sanitary Fairs.[7]

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[7] For brief references to those fairs, see E. Merton Coulter, The Confederate States of America 1861-1865 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950), 416-418 and Mary Elizabeth Massey, Bonnet Brigades (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), 38. For information on relief efforts in the South see Edwin B. Coddington, "Soldiers' Relief in the Seaboard States of the Southern Confederacy," The Mississippi Valley Historical Review 37 (1950): 17-38, and for women's efforts in particular, Francis Butler Simkins and James Welch Patton, The Women of the Confederacy (Richmond and New York: Garrett and Massie, Inc. 1936) 18-24 and Drew Gilpin Faust, "A Part to Perform," Mothers of Invention. Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1996) 23-29.

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Hundreds of dedicated volunteers and paid workers ensured the successful outcome of the Sanitary Fairs. They secured appropriate sites for the construction of new buildings or outfitted already extant ones, they collected and arranged thousands of contributions and ultimately they diligently promoted and supervised the fairs. The fairs encouraged good-natured competition and unselfish cooperation among cities and states and boosted dramatically local economy. The most ambitious ones were remarkably complex in their organization and depended for their success upon a number of committees responsible for the many departments. Preparations begun months in advance when the organizers solicited contributions from professionals and manufacturers, associations and charitable groups, farmers and business owners, artists, art dealers and art collectors. The fairs were extensively publicized in the local press and announced to other states through personal appearances, circulars and newspapers. The procedures, appearance, content, problems and public appeal and the success of the fairs were recorded in official "fair histories," photographs, lengthy accounts in local newspapers, popular "fair newspapers" issued for the duration of the events and finally private diaries and letters.

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Magnificent parades, patriotic speeches, musical and theatrical performances and lectures inaugurated the fairs and introduced visitors to a fascinating world of joy and excitement but also of instruction and meaningful contemplation. Luminaries attended and President Abraham Lincoln visited the fairs in Baltimore, Philadelphia and Washington, D.C. Schools, banks and public services were shut down so that everyone could attend the festivities.

The fairs were promoted as democratic experiences aimed at uplifting public spirit, popularizing the Union cause, rallying Americans to the national struggle and restating the falsehood of Southern secession. Their organizers capitalized on local and national talent and achievement, offered entertainment in exchange for benevolence and cultivated an aesthetic refinement. At a time of declining spirits and personal tragedies, the fairs provided all who participated a much-needed escape, but also a sense of pride in their accomplishments and their immediate contribution to soldier relief.

At the most divisive time in American history, newspaper reviews emphasized the moralizing and unifying impact of the shows noting that "all the false distinction

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of class, circle and clique vanished."[8] And these, they hoped, would be lessons for years to come. Mary Livermore, one of the organizers of the Northwestern Soldier's Fair in Chicago in 1863, remarked that the "spontaneous enthusiasm which the fair enkindled, its electric generosity, its moral earnestness, and its contagious patriotism glorified the occasion, … [and] were of more worth to the country than the money which was raised."[9]

The fairs were successful in keeping the civil conflict at the forefront particularly in the last years of the war. The importance of continued support was clearly expressed by a reporter for the Daily Missouri Democrat who considered the fairs "revivals of patriotism…. Their mission is to awaken patriotism, to discover the present great needs of our army and to relieve them and to bring

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[8] "Social Influence of the Late Fair" Unidentified clipping, Great Central Fair Collection, v. 2. Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

[9] Mary Livermore, My Story of the War (Hartford, Connecticut: A. D. Worthington & Company, 1890) 563. References to the moral influence of the fairs in newspaper accounts are many, such as the following one: "Around each ice cream or 'porter house' there is a halo-love for the integrity of the Union. Above the evervescence [sic] of each glass of soda bends the constitutional bow of promise, and at the bottom of each coffee-cup settles a lasting peace for our now disrupted country." "The Great Sanitary Fair," Brooklyn Daily Eagle 26 February, 1864, 2, 5.

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home to every man the question: Am I doing *my whole duty* [italics in text] to my country in this time of her agony?"[10] Most of the cities in which fairs were held, were politically divided and segments of their population were characterized by strong pro-southern sentiments; that was true for New York as well as Philadelphia, St. Louis, Baltimore and Cincinnati alike. The political impact of the fairs was recognized by the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Great Western Fair of Cincinnati who declared that the "moral power of the fairs … is doing much to encourage re-enlisting, and the convince the South of the folly of persisting in its madness against a united North."[11]

Besides elevated messages, however, most visitors to the fairs sought the excitement and the festive atmosphere that prevailed in them. The hundreds of thousands who bought tickets to the fairs, were eager to partake of the diversions that the fairs offered and to be distracted for awhile from the tribulations of the war. Organizers, contributors and visitors alike, wished to prove the

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[10] "The Popular Feature in Our Fair," Daily Missouri Democrat 17 April, 1864, 4, 3.

[11] Edward Conkling, "The Great Western Sanitary Fair," The Sanitary Commission Bulletin (1 February 1864): 205.

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cultural and material superiority of their city or state over any other and prove their marked cosmopolitanism. One commentator asserted that should "the histories of these Fairs ever be studied in Europe they will serve to correct many false ideas of the condition of American society, and convince those who now sneer, that we shall soon stand, at least, by the side of the most advanced nations in all that relates to luxury, elegance and art."[12]

Superlatives such as "the best," "the finest," or "the first" abound in descriptions of all the Sanitary Fairs. Everyone was invited to give the most and compelled to buy often in order to swell the coffers of the fairs. And indeed, many did exactly that. Consumerism on a massive scale defined the fairs which were inundated by buyers in search of clothing, embroidery, jewels, china, silver, crystal, furniture, clocks and pianos among other items.

In the variety of objects that they offered, their manner of their presentation, and the fact that elegant saleswomen attracted prospective clients, the fairs were comparable to large department stores. "The crowd at

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[12] Boynton, History of the Great Western Sanitary Fair, 403-404.

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first felt as if they were in a vast dry-goods establishment or fancy store, and that they were merely out on a grand shopping excursion; and so they inspected, and handled, and tumbled the goods, as they had been accustomed to do, and looked out for the good bargains."[13] In addition though the Sanitary Fairs included mementoes from far away lands, historical relics and art--all for the "sake of the soldiers."[14]

The precedence for the arrangements and the contents of the Sanitary Fairs can be found mostly in charity bazaars, State, Agricultural, and Mechanics Fairs, Antislavery Fairs, as well as museums of curiosities. Indeed, their eclectic nature is all too evident in their inclusion of mechanical equipment, agricultural products, large floral displays, fanciful objects aimed to please every taste, and bizarre and out-of-the ordinary curiosities. To mid-nineteenth century audiences accustomed to populist exhibitions such as P. T. Barnum's

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[13] Ibid, 250. The impact of the popularity of the large department stores on the arrangement of the Sanitary Fairs is discussed briefly in Daniel J. Hoisington, "'Will you Come to the Fair?': Sanitary Fairs During the Civil War." The Citizens' Companion 7 (June-July 2000): 12-19.

[14] Livermore, My Story of the War, 428.

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American Museum, the fairs had to combine the amusing, intriguing, and surprising with the educational and the didactic in order to attract visitors and persuade them to come back.

The combination of the "high" and the "low" was not unknown to American audiences, quite the contrary.[15] One of the earlier instances of such a mixture may be found in Charles Willson Peale's (1741-1827) museum of painting and natural curiosities which opened in Philadelphia in 1786 and is illustrated in The Artist in His Museum (1822, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts).

In his museum, Peale combined innovations such as a washing machine and a thresher with exotic curiosities, fossils, hundreds of stuffed birds, ethnographic exhibits of Native American artifacts, collections of casts and his art works. In his painting, his portraits of prominent men, occupy physically the highest position indicating the hierarchy of his arrangement.[16]

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[15] For a discussion of this commonplace combination of the sophisticated, the mundane and the bizarre and the beginning of a distinct demarkation between these spheres in mid-nineteenth century America see, Lawrence W. Levine, Highbrow/ Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1988) 147-168.

[16] For the contents and the educational mission of Peale's museum see Charles C. Sellers, Mr. Peale's Museum:

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Similarly, the fairs often included displays of Native American life, customs and handiwork, gems, distinctive natural specimens, and also characteristic curiosities from around the world, meaningful objects of American history, relics of past military conflicts and the Civil War, and, magnificent art displays.[17]

The art galleries were often praised as the most remarkable and sophisticated departments in the Sanitary Fairs and were considered their crowning achievement. "Throngs of visitors" and lengthy accolades in the press testify to the importance of the art galleries and their attendance often eclipsed that of all other departments, suggesting the interest they generated. The art gallery of the 1863 Northwestern Soldier's Fair in Chicago netted $3,726.75 in its three-week run, and reports of 1,850 tickets sold a day verify the appeal of the exhibition.[18] A

Charles Willson Peale and the First Popular Museum of Natural Science and Art (New York: Norton, 1980).

[17] The fairs of the St. Louis Agricultural and Mechanical Associations that begun in 1856, as well as the Firemen's Fair and the fair for the Ohio Mechanics Institute, both held in Cincinnati, in 1845, included art exhibitions but those were largely local in scope. For catalogue references see, The National Museum of American Art's Index to American Art Exhibition Catalogues, comp. James L. Yarnall and William H. Gerdts (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1986) 17, 37.

[18] There was always an additional admission charge for the

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reporter for Chicago's Evening Journal suggested that the art gallery provided an excellent opportunity for the institution of a permanent art gallery that the people in that city had been "anxiously awaiting."[19] Significantly, for cities large and small, the art galleries proved in their popularity, the viability, and indeed, profitability of public exhibitions and served as the greatest incentive for the establishment of art museums in the late nineteenth century.

For many cities these were the first public art exhibitions of such magnitude, and merit, available to a wide segment of the population. Many art collectors opened their private exhibitions for the duration of the fairs, thus exposing their holdings to audiences that generally did not have access to them. Even at fairs that did not include an art gallery, as in Buffalo and Boston, visitors benefited from the collections of the Fine Arts

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art galleries therefore attendance is easier to calculate. For the Chicago Fair see History of the Northwestern Soldier's Fair (Chicago: Dunlop, Sewell & Spalding, 1864) 35.

[19] "The Art Gallery," Evening Journal [Chicago] 5 November 1863, 4, 3. Inducements for the establishment of permanent art galleries appeared often in the press including the following, "A Metropolitan Art Gallery," New York Tribune 23 April 1864, 9, 4, and "Art Gallery at the Fair," Pittsburgh Commercial 10 June 1863, 2, 4.

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Academy and the Boston Athenaeum, respectively, that were opened up to the public.

In major urban areas of the Eastern seaboard, exhibitions in academies, athenaeums, commercial galleries and artists' studios continued unabated during the Civil War. For smaller cities, however, many of the opportunities for artistic promotion, that had began prior to the Civil War, ceased. The art galleries of the fairs afforded artists high visibility for their works when other chances for patronage had collapsed. Even successful artists suffered professionally during the war. George Peter Alexander Healy (1813-1894) attested to the hardship that he experienced because of lack of commissions; "This war-time was hard upon me; for when bare necessities of life are obtained with difficulty, such luxuries as portraits are not to be thought of. This was especially true during the first part of this terrible war;" Likewise, George Caleb Bingham (1811-1879), found himself "all out of employment and Art far below every thing else in such times as these."[20]

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[20] George P. A. Healy Reminiscences of a Portrait Painter (New York: Kennedy Graphics, Inc., 1970) 68-69 and Paul Nagel, "The Man and His Times," in George Caleb Bingham (St. Louis: St. Louis Art Museum, 1990) 42. Healy participated in the 1863 Chicago Northwestern Soldier's

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The size and content of the art exhibits at the fairs attests to their rising importance for the well-being of the American artistic community. They became more varied, and occasionally more focused on American art and the number of artists who submitted their work rose steadily. While the art gallery of the 1863 Northwestern Soldier's Fair in Chicago, boasted more than 300 works (primarily portraits culled from local collections), in 1865, artists from New York and Boston, showed diverse themes and some sold their work for profit, with a smaller portion of the money going to the war effort. Furthermore, out of the 207 works listed in the art catalogue of this second exhibition, less than 30 were works by European artists, a clear indication that, by 1865, the Sanitary Fairs had become respectable and desirable venues for promoting American art. [21]

Fair with 36 paintings, more than any other artist in the exhibition and he was the chairman of the art committee of the second Sanitary Fair in Chicago in 1865. Bingham, however, was represented with only four paintings at the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair in the spring of 1864.

[21] Catalogue of Paintings, Statuary, etc. Exhibited for the Benefit of Ladies' North-Western Fair in Aid of the Chicago Branch of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, for the Relief of Soldiers, 27 October 1863 and Catalogue of Paintings, Statuary Etc., in the Art Department of the Great North-Western Fair. (Chicago: n. p., 1865).

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The inclusion of both American and European paintings stood as a testament to the wealth of contemporary American art collections and provided an opportunity for audiences to compare native and foreign talent. In larger cities such as New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, collectors as well as artists contributed liberally to the fairs, but even Mid-Western cities mounted remarkable exhibits that showcased their enviable stature in the Fine Arts. The art gallery of the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair, held in St. Louis, Missouri, in late spring of 1864, presented more than 300 works primarily by local artists; the city of Pittsburgh amassed an admirable collection of 252 American and European art works for its fair. Feverish artistic activity characterized the cultural life of Cincinnati throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, and the city had proven a hospitable ground for the development of art patronage and art exhibitions. For its Sanitary Fair, Cincinnati put together an exhibition of more than 120 art works contributed by prominent local art collectors and artists alike.

Interestingly, the drive for superior art shows was much stronger in the Western centers such as Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Pittsburgh and St. Louis. Their

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communities wished to declare their artistic achievements on par with those of the Eastern seaboard cities. Indeed, more than any other department within the fairs, the art galleries asserted the artistic advancement of one city over another and were touted as manifestations of their sophisticated populations.

Often the art galleries were promoted as a moralizing agent that could unite visitors by providing them visual proof of the magnificence of the American land and the character of its people. At a time when artists, art critics, and clergymen alike expounded on the benefits of art as an ethical modifier on a personal and national level, the art exhibitions were often praised for their benevolent impact upon the psyche of visitors burdened by the conflict. As Neil Harris observed the "great Civil War itself seemed only to intensify the need for the spiritual balm of art."[22] Fair organizers believed that exposure to the artistic masterpieces enhanced moral sentiment and elevated the mind above the malignant influences of the war. The Cincinnati Daily Commercial observed that, after having

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[22] Neil Harris, The Artist in American Society: The Formative Years 1790-1860 (New York: George Braziller, 1966) 300.

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visited the Hall of Curiosities and War Relics, the visitor entering the art gallery was "made buoyant by the genial surroundings, the almost living embodiment of the noblest conceptions of the genius …," while "scattering at once the jaundice from his disordered vision, … and dispelling from his thoughts all bilious and melancholic ruminations …."[23]

The purpose of this study is to examine the structure, content, message, impact, and public appeal of the art galleries of the Sanitary Fairs. Procedural issues such as the selection of art committees and their influence on the selection of art works will also be considered. The ideological impact of the art galleries will be examined in depth. Of particular interest is the apparent intention of some organizers to emphasize and promote notions of "Divine Providence" and "Manifest Destiny," encourage patriotic allegiance, and popularize the righteousness of the Unionist cause through art works which carried explicitly nationalistic and political messages, and had achieved the status of popular icons in

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[23] "The Art Gallery of the Great Western Sanitary Fair," Cincinnati Daily Commercial 25 December, 1864, 1, 7-8.

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the years preceding the war. Many art works, particularly those included within the larger fairs, celebrated America's glorious past, stressed the idea of a strong, united nation that could depend upon its natural resources and the vast capabilities of its people and forecasted future prosperity in spite the adversities of the time. Few works however, referred to the Civil War and those few were rather sentimental and non-threatening views of the conflict. It appears as if the organizers wished to eliminate all unpleasantness and promote instead the ideal of a peaceful, harmonious America unencumbered by the crisis.

The public and critical reception of the shows will be discussed, as it provides us with valuable insights into the tastes and attitudes toward certain themes and artists. Generally, the art galleries of the Sanitary Fairs reflected the thematic preferences of artists and collectors in the years immediately prior to the Civil War. Because most of the works were not created expressly for the fairs but rather were gathered from extant collections, they serve as significant indicators of the collecting trends of the times. The art catalogues of the fairs offer insight into the collecting patterns of certain individuals and can also help us to reconstitute their holdings when

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other information is lacking. Thus, although in Eastern cities we see a preponderance of "modern" American works, in certain Mid-Western states, European and Old Master paintings predominate, reflecting the antebellum disregard of American talent.

Primary attention will be given to American art works, although European works will be discussed when their message informed the ideological outlook of the specific fair, or when their presence is indicative of the art collecting interests of the particular region, or of a certain collector. Finally, this study will deal with the significance of the art galleries within the context of artistic activities in the Civil War period and American art exhibitions in general, and the formation of the great American art museums in the last three decades of the nineteenth century.

For most interpreters of American art, the Civil War era has been considered as a disruptive interlude between the intensely nationalistic spirit of the pre-war years and the expansionist, cosmopolitan trends that followed in the post-bellum years. Historians have largely considered the years of the conflict as devoid of significant cultural and artistic activity. But this view ignores important

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undertakings triggered by the war, most notably the art galleries of the Sanitary Fairs. In their scale, complexity, didactic outlook, public appeal, financial achievement as well as their impact on the subsequent establishment of public art museums, the art galleries of the Sanitary Fairs constitute an important and much neglected chapter in American art. In the history of American exhibitions, the Sanitary Fairs in general and the art exhibitions in particular, stand as the most successful such enterprises prior to the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial.

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CHAPTER I

RELIEF AGENCIES

Long accustomed to caring for their sick and their poor through charitable and religious groups, Northern women were prepared to apply similar methods to the enormous undertaking of outfitting and caring for a national army, starting with their own communities. Realizing early in the war the need to reinforce the resources of the federal government, volunteers, mainly women, instituted a number of Soldiers' Aid Societies in many cities. Their purpose was to provide clothing, foodstuff and other necessities for Union soldiers.[1]

No one, however, could have foreseen the magnitude of their task, or its implications for the well-being of the military forces and for society at large. The small

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[1] There are numerous accounts of the charitable work performed by American women in the nineteenth century. For an excellent account of the involvement of Northern women in charitable work throughout the century, and particularly during the war see, Lori D. Ginzberg, "A Passion for Efficiency" in Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics and Class in the Nineteenth Century United States (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990) 133-173. Also Anne Firor Scott, "We Are Now Very Busy: Women and War," Natural Allies: Women's Associations in American History (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1991) 58-77.

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antebellum charitable societies, limited in their scope, had no need for the extensive organizational and procedural planning required by the Civil War. Women were quite unprepared for the extraordinary task required of them.

The aid societies that were formed at the beginning of the war, were supported by the enterprising and philanthropic spirit of local women, but, they lacked a definite structure and a precise plan of action. The largest voluntary army, involved in the bloodiest conflict of the nineteenth century, needed to be sustained by carefully regulated, continuous relief efforts conceived and implemented on a mammoth scale.

The Inception of the United States Sanitary Commission

Under the direction of Elizabeth Blackwell, the fist woman to receive a medical degree in the United States, a group of prominent women gathered at the New York Infirmary for Women on 25 April 1861. Present also at that meeting was Reverend Henry Whitney Bellows, one of the most influential New York ministers. The fact that the various charitable societies, that had already begun relief work for the Union soldiers were "working without concert, … or

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head, [and] without any direct understanding with the official authorities," necessitated the meeting.[2] Their goal was to devise a plan for the efficient coordination of the benevolent groups.

A second meeting was held on 29 April 1861 at the Cooper Institute in New York City, where it was decided that an agency was needed "to organize the benevolent purposes of all into a common movement."[3] The Woman's Central Association for Relief (WCAR) resulted. A board of 24 prominent men and women was elected to govern the association. Dr. Valentine Mott, a preeminent New York surgeon, became its president, Reverend Henry W. Bellows, the pastor of All Souls Unitarian Church, served as its vice-president and Frederick Law Olmsted, the landscape architect was a member as well.[4]

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[2] "To the Women of New York, and Especially to those Already Engaged in Preparing Against the Time of Wounds and Sickness in the Army," in Charles Stillé, History of the United States Sanitary Commission (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Company, 1866) 523.

[3] Ibid.

[4] For an excellent account of the WCAR and its connection to the USSC see Rejean Attie, "'A Swindling Concern': The United States Sanitary Commission and the Northern Female Public, 1861-1865" Ph. D. Dissertation (Columbia University, 1987) and Jeanie Attie, Patriotic Toil: Northern Women and the American Civil War (Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press, 1998).

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The WCAR planned to coordinate the efforts of localities by researching the hygienic and nutritional needs of the soldiers and thereafter petitioning regional relief agencies for specific items to satisfy those needs. Following the meeting at the Cooper Institute, a committee traveled to Washington in hopes of gathering such information and ascertaining ways in which the newly formed organization might be of help. Exploratory attempts to have the American government accept the intervention of the WCAR were met with disapproval. The proposed services were considered an intervention on the established practices of the Medical Bureau of the Army and were not taken kindly. Furthermore, disagreements within the WCAR undermined the authority of the organization.[5]

The government's reluctance to sanction an association primarily run by women, and Bellows' desire to conceive and implement a larger program of prevention and relief led him

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[5] Attie suggests that for Bellows the "regional resistance and official antagonism shown the women's organization preclud[ed] any possibility of practical reforms," and proposes that Bellows planned early on the formation of a separate organization, even while working on behalf of the WCAR. The WCAR continued to work independently from the USSC until the summer of 1861, but by the fall of that year it effectively became one of its branches. "'A Swindling Concern' …," 51-53 and 97-98.

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to pursue the formation of a male dominated organization. Following the April meeting in New York, WCAR members, including Bellows, addressed a letter to the Secretary of War, Simon Cameron, which diplomatically, yet forcefully, asked him to accept their aid and allow the agency to undertake the care of the soldiers. They insisted that their intent was to "act … with great efficiency and harmony to contribute to the comfort and security of [the] troops …."[6]

Pointing to the private generosity and sympathetic outpouring of benevolence, the signatories suggested that "the [War] Department [would] win a still higher place in the confidence and affections of the good people of the loyal States, and find itself generally strengthened in its efforts, by accepting in some positive manner the services of the associations … which are laboring to bring into system and practical shape the general zeal and benevolent activity of the women of the land in [sic] behalf of the Army."[7]

Finally, the Secretary of War issued an order on 13

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[6] "An Address to the Secretary of War, Washington, May 18, 1861," Stillé, History of the United States Sanitary Commission, 527.

[7] Ibid.

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June 1861, co-signed by President Lincoln, not so much recognizing the WCAR but ratifying a new organization, the United States Sanitary Commission (USSC). The government charged the Commission with the responsibility of inquiry and care of the sanitary requirements of the soldiers. But, it made clear, that it would not provide the USSC with any financial assistance.[8]

Bellows, the Commission's driving force, stated that it "might be said to have been born paralytic--to have [been] promised nothing but a paper existence and a speedy death after ignominious failure to fulfill any of its hopes. If it had depended on the government … for hearty sympathy and co-operation-it would have died in its infancy."[9] The USSC, unwelcome at its inception and highly controversial throughout its existence became one of the

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[8] "Order of the Secretary of War, Approved by the President, Appointing the Sanitary Commission." Stillé, History of the United States Sanitary Commission, 532-33. Stillé later suggested that "it was deemed essential that [the USSC] should be wholly free from that sort of control which would have been the inevitable accompaniment of depending on the Government … to execute its work." Ibid, 81.

[9] Henry Bellows, "The United States Sanitary Commission," Reprinted from Johnson's Universal Encyclopedia, (Reprint for Private Distribution, New York: n. p.: n. d.) 4-5.

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most influential and financially successful of all the relief agencies established during the Civil War.

The Structure of the United States Sanitary Commission

In its report submitted to the Secretary of War, the Commission presented a precise organizational scheme based on two committees, one of inquiry and the other of advice, each with a number of subcommittees. It also established a governing board, nominating a President, Vice-President, a Secretary and a Treasurer.[10] The primary officers of the Sanitary Commission were some of the most prominent men of the times--financially, socially and educationally--and most were Republicans. Bellows, who was nominated its president, participated actively in Northern politics and worked to influence public opinion in favor of the Union through his sermons and lectures. He divided his prewar activity between his responsibilities to his church and his extensive speeches on the demoralizing effects of poverty, crime, and a national lack of an ethical code. A Bostonian

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[10] "Plan of Organization for the Commission of Inquiry and Advice in Respect to the Sanitary Interest of the United States Forces," quoted in Stillé, History of the United States Sanitary Commission, 533-538.

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educated at Harvard, Bellows believed that it was the responsibility--and indeed the duty--of the urban elite to protect the moral fabric of society and rectify transgressions by example whenever necessary.[11]

In addition to Bellows, Alexander D. Bache, the superintendent of the United States Coast Survey, and one of the founders of the National Academy of Sciences, became the Commission's Vice-President; George Templeton Strong, a lawyer and a prominent member of New York society, served as Treasurer and Frederick Law Olmsted, the well known architect became its Executive Secretary.[12] Although the

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[11] Bellows was very active in the cultural and political life of New York. Besides his political and religious writings, he wrote art criticism and in February 1863 he drafted the constitution for the Union League Club of New York. An excellent account of Bellows' beliefs in the responsibility of the upper classes to determine the direction of the less fortunate is found in Clifford E. Clark, Jr., "Religious Beliefs and Social Reforms in the Gilded Age: The Case of Henry Whitney Bellows," New England Quarterly 43 (March 1970): 59-65. Also for Bellow's teachings regarding the need of the upper classes to be involved in moral reform of those less fortunate see Peter G. Buckley, "To the Opera House: Culture and Society in New York City, 1820-1860" Ph. D. Dissertation (State University of New York, 1984) 595-603. Bellows and other members of the Commission and the Union League Club were very active in the New York Metropolitan Fair.

[12] Alfred J. Bloor, a New York architect became the Commission's Corresponding Secretary. In his diaries, Strong noted his impressions of two of his fellow members: Bellows, he described as "public-spirited and unselfish, farsighted and wise …," although occasionally "conceited" and "conspicuous." Frederick Law Olmsted, the Executive

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movement that led to the creation of the USSC was due to the enthusiasm, dedication and perseverance of women, none was finally included in its structure. Throughout its existence, the USSC counted in its ranks a considerable number of Associate Members, including many prominent figures of the times, such as Samuel D. Gross, Charles E. Norton, William C. Bryant, Cyrus W. Field, Oliver W. Holmes, Alexander T. Stewart, William H. Aspinwall, Professor Benjamin Silliman Jr. and others, who often lectured on behalf of the agency and raised public awareness of its program and its achievements.[13] In addition, to help disseminate its message and coordinate local fundraising efforts, twelve regional branches of the USSC were established throughout the Union states.[14]

Secretary of the Commission until 1863, was "among the truest, purest, and best of men, …" whose sense of judgment and executive ability he admired very much. The Diary of George Templeton Strong, eds. Allan Nevins and Milton Halsey Thomas (New York: Octagon Books, 1974) 4 April 1862, 238 and regarding Olmsted, 17 December 1862, 280.

[13] "Associate Members of the U.S. Sanitary Commission," Sanitary Commission Documents no 12 (29 June 1861).

[14] Commission branches were also established in Montreal and Toronto in 1862, in Paris in November 1863 and in London in March 1864. Bellows expressed his hope in a letter to the English Branch, that it would elicit "the sympathy of England for the *Loyal Side* [italics in text] in this struggle, the side of Order, Liberty and Christian righteousness." Cited in Edmund Crisp Fisher, The English Branch of the United States Sanitary Commission (London: W.

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"An Intelligent and Scientific Commission"[15]

Henry W. Bellows hoped to create an authoritarian, centralized, officially sanctioned agency that would have the power to dictate the manner in which contributions were collected at the various regional centers and distributed thereafter. The idea was to systematize and channel local benevolence into a nationwide effort. Although on the surface the USSC was created to facilitate relief efforts, its "ultimate end [was] neither humanity nor charity. It [was] to economize for the National service the life and strength of the National soldier."[16]

According to George Fredrickson, the motives of Bellows and of the other principal members of the board behind the creation of the USSC were not exclusively humanistic. Bellows, as well as Strong, saw the war as a

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Ridgeway, 1865), 45. For the Canadian Branch see Alex Millin Ross, Canada [sic] Branch of the United States Sanitary Commission (Montreal: n. p., 1864).

[15] "Letter from the Acting Surgeon-General to the Secretary of War," Stillé, History of the United States Sanitary Commission, 530-31.

[16] "Statement of the Object and Methods of the Sanitary Commission," U.S. Sanitary Commission Documents No. 69 (New York, 1863) 5.

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cleansing experience, one that would stimulate a sense of nationalism and enhance moral discipline.[17] Thus, Bellows, strove through the USSC to control individual responses to the relief of soldiers, by coalescing all efforts into an ordered whole, making the individual feel part of the national experience, rather than an isolated citizen of local or state interests.

Bellows reasoned in the North American Review, that one of the paramount purposes of the Commission was to intervene between the benevolent public and the army and to oversee philanthropic efforts so as to prevent anarchy.[18] His centralized scheme of discipline and deference to a central authority attempted to counteract the debilitating fragmentation of the state brought about by the war. Furthermore, the USSC's primary function was to create a network of preventive measures through hygiene and proper nutrition, and provide relief to wounded soldiers. Bellows emphasized that the Commission's "main object, … was

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[17] George Fredrickson, "The Sanitary Elite: The Organized Response to Suffering," The Inner Civil War: Northern Intellectuals and the Crisis of the Union (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1965) 98-112.

[18] Henry Bellows, "The Sanitary Commission," North American Review 18 (January 1864): 153-194.

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scientific and preventive. The secondary purpose, which was intelligible and popular, [was] the relief of suffering and want …."[19]

External Challenges and Internal Dissent

Despite Bellow's succinct comments, the USSC was often plagued by persistent criticism of its methods, its purposes, and its achievements.[20] The public often disapproved of its high-minded ideology, and its insistence on reorganizing benevolent societies according to a strict, controlled program, grated on local charities which enjoyed and wished to maintain their authority.[21] Communities that

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[19] Bellows, "The United States Sanitary Commission," Johnson's …, 5. The programmatic intentions of the Commission were reinforced by Stillé who stated that relief work undermined the original purpose of the organization, History of the United States Sanitary Commission, 68.

[20] For the multiple complaints against the USSC and its officers see Attie, "The Commission Attacked: Rumors and Competition." in "'A Swindling Concern' …," 164-234.

[21] Bellows, however, maintained that

> The immense result of this admirably organized system secured a steady, persistent and copious flow of supplies all through the war, which redounded to the praise of women, who soon became as business-like, orderly, and systematic in their administration of their own societies as the best shop-keepers.

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contributed to the local branches of the USSC, increasingly expressed dissatisfaction and exhibited suspicion toward the Commission because of its constant attempts to regulate the ultimate destination of regional contributions. Efforts on the part of USSC branches to assume some independence from the programmatic instructions of the Commission escalated, as faith in its purposes and its successful administration diminished.

Accusations of misappropriation of funds or supplies surfaced often, and members of the USSC had to defend and justify its existence. The public often doubted the benevolent intent of the organization, and believed that the agency itself profiteered from its war efforts.[22] Many in the homefront communities felt that they had little, if anything, in common with the elitist, urban, highly educated, upper-class officers of the USSC, who constantly bombarded them with instructions as to the most efficient manner in which to conduct their charity work.

"The United States Sanitary Commission," Johnson's …, 17.

[22] Attie, "The Commission Attacked: Rumors and Competition," 165-172. Strong confessed on the occasion of the New York Metropolitan Fair his concern about "the newspaper attacks and queries and criticism to which the Sanitary Commission is about to be exposed on its receipt of the proceeds of this fair …." Diary of George Templeton Strong, 16 April 1864, 429.

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In many instances, the public and even regional branches, reacted against the strict directives of the Commission.[23] One of the main criticisms against the Commission was the fact that it compensated its agents and its officers in particular, with funds raised for the benefit of the soldiers. While many volunteers worked on behalf of the USSC, its secretaries were paid wages that ranged from $1,500 to $5,000 annually. Bellows, however, insisted on the need for employees by pointing out that salaries attracted the most qualified personnel and that paid agents were more willing to obey the dictates of the Commission.[24]

Other thorns in the side of the USSC, were its

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[23] Through circulars and letter, the officers of the Commission justified their efforts on behalf of the soldiers:

> The existence of the Commission tends to nationalize the humanity and charity of the whole people, … to intensify the feeling that we are one great Nation, and not a mere aggregate of States and sections; that our army is a National Army…. The Commission['s] highest office has been, and is to NATIONALIZE [capitals in text] the sympathy of the People with the sufferings and privations of the People's Army.

"How can we Best Help Our Camps and Hospitals," Statement and Correspondence, … of the Woman's Central Association of Relief (New York, 1863) 14.

[24] Bellows, "The United States Sanitary Commission," Johnson's …, 20f. Stillé, "Disbursements of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, from 27 June 1861 to 1 January 1866," History of the United States Sanitary Commission, 547, records that office salaries amounted to $136,690.21.

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competitors; the Western Sanitary Commission (WSC) and the United States Christian Commission (CC).[25] The WSC was created on 5 September 1861, as a result of the persistence of Reverend William Greenleaf Elliot, pastor of St. Louis' Unitarian Church of the Messiah. The organizers of the WSC felt that a separate organization was needed to focus its attention on the areas west of the Mississippi, where public sentiment toward the war and the Union was dramatically divided. Generally, the work of the WSC paralleled the efforts of the USSC, although its field of operation was restricted in the mid-Western states.[26]

The second organization that vied with the USSC for the sympathies and the strained pockets of the benevolent

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[25] Fairs were held for the benefit of both these commissions. The Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair benefited both the USSC and the WSC, and similarly the proceeds from Maryland State Fair were divided between the USSC and the CC. Large fairs exclusively for the benefit of the CC were held in San Francisco, Buffalo and Philadelphia.

[26] For the WSC, see William E. Parrish, "The Western Sanitary Commission," Civil War History 36, 1 (March 1990): 19-34. The most extensive contemporary information on the Commission can be found in J. G. Forman, The Western Sanitary Commission: A Sketch of its Origin, History, Labors for the Sick and Wounded of the Western Armies and Aid Given to Freedmen and Union Refugees with Incidents of Hospital Life (St. Louis: R. P. Studley & Company, 1864). A more recent account of the activities of the WSC is Paula Coalier, "Beyond Sympathy: The St. Louis Ladies Union Aid Society and the Civil War," Gateway Heritage 10 (Summer 1990): 38-51.

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public was the CC. George Hay Stuart, a Philadelphia dry goods merchant and chairman of the Central Committee of the YMCA, founded the CC with the purpose of tending to "the spiritual good of the Soldiers in the Army, and incidentally their intellectual improvement and social and physical comfort." Unlike the USSC, the CC had no political overtones, was less bureaucratic and until 1863, it functioned through a system of volunteers, instead of paid agents. Initially, the CC concentrated its efforts on the distribution of religious materials to the soldiers, but it would later duplicate the work of the USSC by collecting household donations and distributing them to the front.[27] Unlike the USSC, however, the CC carried out its work through personal contacts with the soldiers and this practice appealed greatly to homefront communities. Furthermore, the CC allowed local charities relative freedom on the kind of contributions they offered, and permitted them to choose their ultimate destination. This

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[27] For general information on the Christian Commission see, Lemuel Moss, Annals of the Christian Commission (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1868) and M. Hamlin Cannon, "The United States Christian Commission," Mississippi Valley Historical Review 38 (June 1951): 61-80. It was administered by twelve commissioners, members of Evangelical Protestant churches in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, Cincinnati, Buffalo and Washington.

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gave individuals a sense of control over their own benevolence and of immediate accomplishment in their support of soldiers from their own communities.[28]

Competing for funds, marred by criticism of its stringent conditions, and a perceived lack of compassion, the USSC endured periods of financial and ideological trial. Nonetheless, it always remained faithful to its principles. The scientific program of the USSC, and its plan for preventive services and relief, did not allow a place for sentimentalism, as Henry Bellows was fond of pointing out.[29]

Despite the adversities that plagued the USSC, however, its role in the maintenance of the Union troops was extremely valuable both in practical and ideological

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[28] Attempts between the USSC and the CC to vilify and undermine each other's practices flared constantly. Furthermore for the public, as Attie points out, "support of the overtly religious Christian Commission implied a reaction against the spread of the urban, anti-orthodox Christianity of the Sanitary leadership." "'A Swindling Concern' …," 220.

[29] Walt Whitman, who spent considerable time with the Union soldiers after 1862, lambasted the attitudes of the USSC's agents. "As to the Sanitary Commission and the like, I am sick of them all & would not accept any of their berths-…-they seem to me always a set of foxes and wolves-they get well paid & are always incompetent & disagreeable." Walt Whitman, Correspondence ed. Edwin H. Miller (New York: New York University Press, 1961) 110-111.

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terms. According to Bellows, the Commission distributed in total $15,000,000 worth of supplies, some of which was purchased and dispatched with the more than $4,500,000 in funds received from the fairs, while others were contributed by private citizens and groups.[30] The Commission was, after all, successful in uniting, in a single-minded effort, the individual temperaments of large segments of the population, and orienting their generosity in the most efficient manner. While it appealed to the prevailing philanthropic sentiment and garnered the charity of millions, the USSC also assumed executive stewardship over regional benevolence and managed the largest private bureaucratic organization ever conceived in the United States. As George Fredrickson observed, the Commission's "success and the public acceptance of its policies, its victories over the voluntarists and the individualists,

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[30] There are discrepancies in the reported numbers. According to Bellows, "Receipts of the U.S. Sanitary Commission from June 27, 1861 to January 1, 1866," "The United States Sanitary Commission," Johnson's ..., 45-46, the total receipts were $4,924,480.99, including those of the Sanitary Fairs. However the same report cited in Stillé, excludes contribution from the fairs and other sources and records $2,658,801 History of the United States Sanitary Commission, 546. The USSC ceased to exist on 8 May, 1878. The CC was the first of the relief agencies to conclude its operation in February 1866, and the final report of the WSC was issued in 1886 see, Robert H. Bremner, The Public Good: Philanthropy and Welfare in the Civil War Era (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1980) 69-70.

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symbolized this new willingness of Americans to work in large, impersonal organizations."[31]

The Supportive Role of Women

Although the responsibility for procedural decisions regarding the structuring of the USSC rested upon men, the driving force behind most fundraising activities was the untiring labor of a great number of women. As Rejean Attie has observed, inasmuch as opportunities for careers outside the home were relatively scarce, wartime charity gave women an outlet where they could develop their organizational skills and express their patriotic sentiment. Because they were not allowed "direct access to political and military participation, [they] employed gender-specific means to display their support for the Union cause."[32]

Women assumed executive roles within the branches of the USSC and were charged with decision making and planning, responsibilities which were not open to them outside the sphere of philanthropy. As Bellows remarked, the USSC "united the women in a common array, helped to federalize and nationalize public sentiment,[and] made the

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[31] Fredrickson, The Inner Civil War, 111.

[32] Rejean Attie, "'A Swindling Concern' …," 32.

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war popular at home, …."[33] Women like Ellen Collins and Eliza Lee Schuyler, both members of the executive committee of the WCAR, promoted actively the interests of the Commission by publicizing its mission and by calling for contributions. Most important, in their efforts to disseminate the ideology of the USSC, they came into personal contact with thousands of women in the North helping to unite them towards a common goal and allowing them to relay their wishes and concerns to the officers of the USSC.

Bellows recognized that the "skill, zeal, business qualities, and patient and persistent devotion exhibited by those women who manage the truly vast operations of the several chief centers of supply … have unfolded a new page in the aptitudes and capacities of women."[34] Mary Livermore and Jane Hoge, both members of the Chicago branch, known as the Northwestern Sanitary Commission, wrote extensive memoirs of their involvement with the Commission and their participation in the war effort in general, and expressed

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[33] Bellows, "The United States Sanitary Commission," Johnson's …, 14.

[34] Bellows, "The Sanitary Commission," North American …, 184.

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their satisfaction in being able to partake of such an experiment. In organizing and supervising the USSC branches, women asserted their self-confidence, and determination, honed their executive skills, brought whole communities together and demonstrated capabilities that would propel them to political, social and cultural activism in the second half of the nineteenth century.

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CHAPTER II

THE SANITARY FAIRS

The USSC and the Fairs

From its inception the USSC had to depend on the fundraising capabilities of its members in order to finance and implement its large prevention and relief program. It had to petition individuals and companies for much needed money to fund the collection, purchase and distribution of relief supplies. The officers of the Commission, early in its existence, appealed to the financial interests of life-insurance companies who had contracts on Union soldiers and tried to persuade them of the financial profitability of preventive measures.[1] Charles Stillè stated that each soldier was "a costly piece of National property, worth a certain large number of dollars to the Nation, and that his death [was] a pecuniary loss …."[2] Thus, by contributing to the sustenance of the newly formed organization, insurance companies could hope to minimize larger expenses later on.

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[1] Marjorie Barstow Greenbie, Lincoln's Daughters of Mercy (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1944) 73.

[2] Stillé, History of the United States Sanitary Commission, 469.

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Unfortunately, few responses were forthcoming, while the USSC's organizational expenses and the cost of its relief work were quickly increasing.

Thereafter, a call was made to "all loyal people of the United States" encouraging them to help relieve the sufferings of the Union soldiers by supporting the work of the USSC. Many responded, but the revenue increase was modest and could not keep pace with the expanded commitments of the Commission. Early in its existence the Commission was supported by contributions primarily from New York, Boston and Philadelphia, until a much needed economic boost came from the generous contributions of the Pacific States in the fall of 1862, thus helping to sustain its operations. In 1862 though, no one could have anticipated the "unprecedented results" of the Sanitary Fairs, which in spite their problems, aided substantially in the financial success of the Commission.[3] The fairs contributed more than $2,700,000 to the central treasury of

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[3] Ibid, 473. For the early financial condition of the USSC, see Stillé, History of the United States Sanitary Commission, 468-483.

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the USSC, in addition to supporting its regional branches and local aid societies.[4]

At the same time, however, that they supported the work of the USSC, the fairs undermined its centralized scientific method of evaluation, collection, and distribution of supplies. By localities, the fairs were seen as an excellent opportunity to declare independence from the restrictive practices of the USSC. Moreover, the public was quite reluctant to contribute more money or materials for the benefit of the central treasury of the Commission, after having patronized the fairs.[5] Consequently, they were considered with skepticism by Bellows and others who believed that they diverted attention from the larger program of the Commission.

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[4] Ibid, 483. The exact amount quoted by Stillé is $2,736,868,84, but that refers only to contributions to the central treasury of the USSC and does not include amounts raised either for the local USSC branches or for the WSC. Thompson suggests that the total amount raised by Sanitary Fairs was $4,392,980.92, "Sanitary Fairs of the Civil War," 64.

[5] Alfred J. Bloor communicated that during his trip to Toronto, Canada, one of the women volunteers of the USSC declared that "she presumed the large accessions to the funds of the Commission from the late fairs would suffice for [the] wants [of the Agency]-that it was perhaps desirable that the sympathies and assistance of the loyal American of Canada would now be given to the Christian Commission." Alfred J. Bloor, Letter to Frederick Knapp, 9 September 1864, p. 7. Alfred J. Bloor Letterbook. New York Historical Society.

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Although George Templeton Strong recorded often in his diaries with satisfaction the monetary contributions from the regional fairs, the USSC remained critical of them.[6] Alfred J. Bloor, the Commission's Corresponding Secretary, admitted however, that the Commission was willing to accept financial contributions from the fairs, even if it did not have control over their administration, their program or their ideology: "Is it not better to accept what is thrown up on our shore by the top wave of passing excitement … than to refuse the spoil because the current which bore it along did not originate with and cannot be controlled by ourselves?"[7]

By 1863, for many, the Civil War had become a way of life, which interrupted only minimally their everyday activities. The public had grown weary of constant petitions from the USSC, and many doubted the urgency of sustained support. Participation in the fairs, however,

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[6] Referring to the revenues of the Brooklyn and Long Island Sanitary Fair, Strong stated in a proprietary manner that after all expenses were paid off "eight thousand dollars is left for my central treasury" from the advanced subscriptions and "to which must be added the hundred or two hundred thousands … raised by the Fair itself." The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 17 February, 1864, 406.

[7] Cited in Thompson, "Sanitary Fairs," 56-57.

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made many feel that they had a personal impact on the lives of the soldiers, instead of merely helping to increase the expansive bureaucracy of the USSC.

Regional branches collected funds in the name of the agency, but those were often used to satisfy local needs rather than forwarded to the central treasury. In order to respond to public charges as to richness of the coffers of the USSC an article was published aiming to set the record straight:

> For the last two months the papers have been full of paragraphs about certain noble systematic efforts to raise funds for army relief by "Fairs" and subscriptions, and the magnificent money results of these undertakings have all been reported and wondered at as so much contributed to "the Sanitary Commission." … But the fact is, that the great sums thus raised for Army Relief do not come into the Treasury of the Sanitary Commission …. These great Fairs have not, strictly speaking been conducted in the interest of the Sanitary Commission of the United States.[8]

As the credibility of the agency decreased, more and more branches claimed a larger percentage of fair profits, thus depriving the USSC of much needed funds, and creating considerable tension between the parent organization and its regional delegates.

Furthermore, the fairs channeled attention away from the centralized, national principles of the Commission and

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concentrated it on the factional interests in each community. Often, the sustained, long-term commitment required for the organization, collection of contributions and attendance to the various departments of the fairs, diverted fundraising efforts from the regular, measured work of the USSC.

[8] U. S. Sanitary Commission Documents, No. 69, 2-3.

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"Fair Mania"[9]

> One might as well try to dam up Niagra [sic] as to stem the succession of 'Fairs' which gathering impulse … will … sweep over the whole country, carrying city, town and village in the current.[10]

Of all the tasks that women undertook for the USSC, none demanded a greater commitment of organizational and delegating skills, time, diplomacy, and perseverance and none was more rewarding or demonstrated their effectiveness more successfully than the Sanitary Fairs. Hundreds of women committed months of their lives for the preparation and successful administration of the fairs.

First they came up with the idea of instituting the Sanitary Fairs, based on their past experiences with charitable fairs and bazaars. Then, they petitioned individuals, businesses, organizations and whole communities for contributions. They often oversaw the arrangement, promotion, and management of these vast exhibitions, organized theatrical and musical performances and lectures, welcomed visitors, supervised sales, and

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[9] The Great Northwestern Soldier's Fair, 14.

[10] Quote by Alfred J. Bloor, cited unidentified in Thompson, "Sanitary Fairs of the Civil War," 56.

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encouraged the generous participation of the public. So demanding were women's responsibilities at the fairs that two lost their lives while at work for the New York Metropolitan Fair: Mrs. David Dudley Field and Mrs. Caroline M. Kirkland.[11] Strong recorded that the two women "sacrificed their lives to overwork at the fair," but he quickly added that he doubted "whether the death of either can be traced to this cause."[12] Strong also expressed his hope that his wife, Ellen, who shouldered a remarkable responsibility as the Treasurer of the Metropolitan Fair, "may not be harmed by this long period of excitement and hard labor! She is and for months has been steadily working under a terrible pressure of steam."[13] Fortunately, Ellen

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[11] Kirkland was a respectable author of travelogues and belles-lettres and attended Bellows' All Souls Church. Her death was reported in "The Death of Mrs. Kirkland," The New York Times 10 April 1864, 8, 4. The cause of her death is not identified in the above citations.

[12] The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 22 April 1864, 431.

[13] The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 4 April 1864, 427. Ellen Strong was active in humanitarian work throughout the war. She was a member of the WCAR and worked along with other prominent New York women as a nurse see Kristie Ross, "Arranging a Doll's House: Refined Women as Union Nurses," in Divided Houses Gender and the Civil War, eds. Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 98. Another member of New York's elite, Maria Lydig Daly recorded in her diary that "Mrs. George Strong went [to the Parks Barracks] with rouge pot, crinoline, and maid to attend to the wounded and came home

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Strong not only carried to conclusion her responsibilities as Treasurer unharmed, but she also participated in theatrical performances for the benefit of the fair.

The zeal which American women of the Union states demonstrated in the organization, planning and administration of the Sanitary Fairs was an indication of the experience they had acquired in antebellum fundraisers. Philanthropic fairs had been largely the domain of women. Thus, they were able to involve themselves in the public sphere in a role which was gender appropriate and was moreover expected and sanctioned by society.

Throughout its history, the USSC called upon women to rally their communities for the moral and financial support of the commission, and they answered the call with unprecedented alacrity and dedication.

Bellows, however, who often praised female commissioners for their work, credited male associate members of the commission, "selected men of weight and

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having washed the faces of seven men." Diary of a Union Lady 1861-1865, Harold Earl Hammond, ed. (New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company Inc., 1962) 5 February 1862, 14. Besides serving as the Treasurer of the Metropolitan Fair, Ellen Strong was also a member of the Drama and Public Amusements Committee see, "Officers," Metropolitan Fair in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission. (New York: Charles O. Jones, 1864) 12.

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influence," as being not only "the chief instigators of money contributions, but the inaugurators of the great fairs which so generously and magnificently fed the treasury of the Commission."[14]

Women instigated the first Sanitary Fair in Lowell, Massachusetts in February 1863.[15] Ironically, though, the "Ladies' Fair Festival in aid of the United States Sanitary Commission" was chaired by a man, Mayor Hocum Hosford.[16]

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[14] "The United States Sanitary Commission," Johnson's …, 15. By many fair accounts, however, men were quite reluctant to become involved in the protracted effort of organizing the fairs. A view contrary to that of Bellows was expressed by Alfred Bloor at the conclusion of the war:

> The supplies amounting in aggregate value to many millions of dollars-some fifteen millions I should name as a rough estimate …-were almost universally collected, assorted, dispatched [sic], and re-collected, re-assorted, and re-dispatched, by women, representing with great impartiality, every grade of society in the Republic.

In Jeanie Attie, "Warwork and Domesticity," Divided Houses, 257.

[15] Thompson and others state erroneously that the first fair to benefit the USSC was that of Chicago in the fall of 1863. See Thompson, "Sanitary Fairs …," 51. For information on the Lowell fair see entries in the Lowell Daily Courier 26 January-28 February, 1863. The Lowell fair was recognized as the first in "Fair Jottings. The First Sanitary Fair," The Baltimore American 20 April, 1864, 1,7.

[16] "The First of the Great Sanitary Fairs," Frederick W. Coburn, History of Lowell and Its People (New York: Lewis Historical Publishing Co., 1920) 333.

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New England women had been very active in fundraising activities before the war, most notably in Anti-Slavery fairs held at mid-century. Antislavery fairs had been held in eastern cities from the 1830's on and anticipated the Sanitary Fairs both in terms of the exhibition patterns but also because they were distinctly political events. The most prominent ones were held in Massachusetts.[17] The annual events known as the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society Fair from 1834 till 1844 and as the National Bazaar of the American Anti-Slavery Society thereafter, were usually held around Christmas time and they featured many components that were later incorporated in the Sanitary Fairs. They included fineries for the home as well as attractive haberdasherie, clothing and jewelry for women, but also art works, paintings and sculptures and historical documents.[18]

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[17] For an account of the fairs and particularly those in Boston see Lee Chambers-Schiller, "'A Good Work among the People' The Political Culture of the Boston Antislavery Fair," in Jean Fagan Yellin, John C. van Horne, Eds. The Abolitionist Sisterhood: Women's Political Culture in Antebellum America (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994) 249-274. Many of the New England cities that held Sanitary Fairs such as Lowell, Boston and New Bedford, also held Antislavery fairs. For fundraising activities in New England see Beverly Gordon, "Playing at Being Powerless: New England Ladies Fairs, 1830-1930," Massachusetts Review 26, 4 (Spring 1986): 144-160.

[18] Chambers-Schiller, "'A Good Work Among the People' …," 251.

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Like many of the Sanitary Fairs, Antislavery fairs also included contributions from abroad. For the Eighth Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair contributions included "a valuable collection of scarce Autographs; … Bronzes from Rome; … Embroidered and Perfumed Composition Bags, from Constantinople; … Swiss Carved Wood-Work; … Antique Vases; … Beautiful Netted Hammocks from Santiago."[19]

The women of Lowell, who had held Anti-Slavery fairs since the 1830's, had good models to follow. In a very brief time, they put together a respectable bazaar that included a "Chinese pagoda," "a large number of splendid paintings," "implements of war, such as guns [and] knapsacks," and "an old chair that came over in the Mayflower," along with a "Pilgrim Colony," where "both … the antique appearance of the "inhabitants" and … its refreshments, [were] of the ancient style."[20] Already, at Lowell we see all the successful components that would be

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[19] Ibid., 253 and note 11.

[20] "Opening of the Fair," Lowell Daily Courier 26 February, 1863, and "The Fair and Festival," Lowell Daily Courier 24 February 1863. The material was sent to me by the staff of the Pollard Memorial Library in Lowell, and there is no pagination. There is no further commentary, nor a catalogue of the paintings exhibited at this fair.

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imitated and increase in size and importance in the subsequent fairs.

In spite of the novelty of its purpose, the fair raised $4,850 in its three day run, and Henry W. Bellows gracefully acknowledged the generous contribution stating that it would have been "very difficult for any community (this side of Rocky Mountains) to keep pace …," with the beneficence of Lowell.[21] The relatively modest experiment in Lowell, however, initiated a virtual avalanche of fairs that for the next two years occupied the hearts and minds of many people throughout the states of the Union.

The women of Chicago were the first to follow on 27 October 1863. On that day, business was halted, courts and post-offices closed down, and a grand military parade and an evening choir concert by two hundred children ushered the Great Northwestern Sanitary Fair. Newspaper reviews applauded the remarkable enterprise and considered the magnificent parade as an unequivocal "sublime protest on behalf of the people against the poltroons and traitors who

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[21] Henry Bellows, letter to William F. Salmon, Secretary of Executive Committee of Ladies of Lowell, cited in Coburn, History of Lowell and its People, 333. According to the letter half of the proceeds benefited the central treasury of the USSC and the other half was forwarded to the Boston branch.

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were enemies to the Government, and opposed to the war."[22]

The initial objective of the organizers was to raise $25,000 for the local branch of the USSC. To their astonishment, however, Chicagoans came forth and shared generously the wealth that they had amassed throughout the war, and the fair proved a spectacular financial accomplishment netting $75,682.89.[23]

This event "was pre-eminently a woman enterprise, and received no assistance from the other sex in its earlier stages …. The first Fair was, in its incipiency, regarded by Chicago with indifference, and by the Commission with indulgence."[24] Its success was attributed entirely to the

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[22] "The Great Northwestern Sanitary Fair," Chicago Tribune 29 October 1863, 4, 1.

[23] Chicago fared very well during the war because it was a railroad and manufacturing hub for the North and a primary supplier for the Union Army. Newly built structures, both private and public graced the city, such as Uranus Crosby's $600,000 opera house, the new Tremont hotel and the impressive home that Leander McCormick, brother of Cyrus had built in 1863. For Chicago in the late 1850's and the war years see, David Lowe, Lost Chicago (Reprint, New York: Wings Books, n. d.) 68-71.

[24] Sarah Edwards Henshaw, Our Branch and its Tributaries (Chicago: Alfred L. Sewell, 1868) 210. The passage is cited identically by Livermore, My Story of the War, 412. Only Jane Hoge, another associate manager of the branch, suggested that "the gentlemen of the Commission in regard to our plan, … gave us their hearty approval." Later though she attested to the fact that "Some of our leading and patriotic men, who afterwards became the most assiduous helpers, gravely shook their heads, and prophesied failure

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ingenuity and the persistence of Mary Livermore, Jane Hoge, and Sarah Henshaw, associate members of the Chicago Branch of the USSC from its formation in October 1861. Livermore, who had extensive connections in the East wrote to Louisa Lee Schuyler of the WCAR, stating: "The Fair is my suggestion and I am largely concerned with all its various departments." She was hoping "to obtain some advice, or suggestions," about the organization of the fair from Schuyler who had extensive executive skills as she was in charge of the WCAR.[25] The fair imposed an extraordinary responsibility upon these women who according to state laws could not sign a contract without male approval and who had "no legal ownership [of their] minor children."[26]

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to this quixotic scheme of womanly benevolence. A. H. Hoge, The Boys in Blue (New York: E. B. Treat & Company, 1867) 333-334.

[25] Mary Livermore, letter to Louisa Lee Schuyler, 24 September 1863. Louisa Lee Schuyler Papers, New York Historical Society. She wrote the letter from Dorchester, Massachusetts, and she stated: "I shall have to put on the harness immediately on my return, as our fair comes off on the last week of October, and the first of November." For information on Livermore and her involvement with the Northwestern Sanitary Fair see, J. Christopher Schnell, "Mary Livermore and the Great Northwestern Fair," Chicago History 4, 1, (Spring 1975): 34-43. Bostonian born, Mary Livermore had been involved in temperance and abolitionist movements while she lived in New England and continued her charitable work in Chicago.

[26] Livermore, My Story of the War, 435-436.

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Organizers extended an invitation for all to contribute to the fair that was seen as a nationalistic exercise, intended to sustain interest in the war effort. The fair reiterated the value of individual and collective effort and enhanced healthy competition among cities uniting them towards a shared goal.

As it was reported in the Sanitary Commission Bulletin "States are connected closer, while the lines between them are less sharply drawn, and loyalty to the great of 'nationality' has … a deeper hold upon the whole Northwest, and upon the nation itself …."[27] The Chicago fair was lauded as an opportunity to unite opposing factions:

> All who were present unite in saying that they never before realized so fully the consciousness and the exhilarating effect of breathing, as it were, an atmosphere which was literally filled with generous emotions and moral earnestness, and where every other element was absorbed or neutralized.[28]

Furthermore, as Mary Livermore attested, the fair was intended to win converts to the Union cause and "reveal the worth, and enforce the claims of the Sanitary Commission,

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[27] "The Great Northwestern Sanitary Fair," The Sanitary Commission Bulletin 1, 3 (December 1, 1863): 71.

[28] Ibid., 65.

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upon those indifferent to them."[29] The earliest reactions of the USSC towards the fair were hardly encouraging. As Sarah Henshaw observed the:

> tendencies [of the Sanitary Fair] were exhaustive, and involved a reaction, which, by bringing listlessness and inactivity, interfered with the healthy and regular flow of supplies and money. For these reasons, some of the most earnest friends of the Sanitary Commission deprecated a resort to Fairs, conceiving that the objections to them counterbalanced their advantages.[30]

In September of 1863, a convention was called in Chicago in order to discuss the organizational details of the fair. Committees were established for the various departments and detailed circulars were printed. The organizers wished to solicit "anything rare, useful, curious or elegant in nature or art, …."[31] Since this was intended to be a Northwestern fair, Livermore and Hoge extended their influence to the neighboring states of Wisconsin, Michigan and Iowa.[32] Quickly their enthusiasm and

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[29] Livermore, My Story of the War, 411.

[30] Henshaw, Our Branch and its Tributaries, 286.

[31] History of the Great North-Western Soldier's Fair, 6.

[32] Livermore stated that an "extensive correspondence was carried on with governors, congressmen, members of the state legislatures, military men, postmasters, clergymen, and teachers. The letters addressed to the women of the Northwest, explanatory, hortatory, laudatory, and earnest,

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commitment spread throughout the city and beyond.

> The Northwest was ransacked for articles rare, curious, antique, bizarre or remarkable, to add to the attractions of the "Curiosity Shop," homes beautified with works of art, paintings, or statuary, were temporarily plundered of them for the "Art Gallery," and all who possessed artistic, decorative, dramatic or musical talent were pressed into the service of the "Evening Entertainments.[33]

The organizers traveled as far as New York and Philadelphia canvassing the support of their affluent citizens. Many, including "[Alexander T.] Stewart, the merchant-prince of New York," contributed generously and "there [were] indications that some of the New England cities [would] protest against being "left out in the cold" in this matter."[34]

The fair required the concerted effort of a great number of volunteers whose earnestness and willingness had

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were numbered by thousands." My Story of the War, 413. E. W. Blatchford, the treasurer of the Chicago branch of the Commission, was the only male member of the organizing committee of this fair.

[33] History of the North-Western Soldier's Fair, 14.

[34] "The Northwestern Sanitary Fair," Evening Journal [Chicago, Ill.] 29 October 1863, 4,4. Through petitions to wealthy men in the eastern states, the managers of the Chicago Fair were able to elicit considerable contributions. Besides Stewart, Goupil & Co., Tiffany, and Appleton and Co., also sent contributions to the fair see, History of the North-Western Soldier's Fair, 63.

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to be harnessed towards the complex organization of the various departments of the Fair. Ten thousand circulars were distributed enumerating the kinds of contributions needed. Ultimately, sixteen states in all contributed to the success of the first Northwestern fair.[35] Even the erstwhile uncooperative men of Chicago recognized the magnificence of the task undertaken by the women and "came forward, pledging large donations in money or merchandise, or favoring the ladies with suggestions, and aiding in the work, which had grown to huge proportions, and eclipsed all other interests."[36]

The local press promoted the fair daily by reiterating its patriotic purpose and enticing visitors through detailed references to the various departments. Additionally, the fair was advertised in the fair newspaper, The Chicago Volunteer or North-Western Fair Gazette. The four-page publication included advertisements by local businesses, worthwhile incidents at the fair and descriptions of its departments and was one of the popular

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[35] For the organizational details of the fair see, History of the Great North-Western Soldier's Fair, 5-18.

[36] Livermore, My Story of the War, 415. According to Livermore, Potter Palmer, "the proprietor of the famous hotel …, took the city of New York in hand, obtaining contributions from her importers, jobbers, and manufacturers, amounting to nearly six thousand dollars."

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features of the fair.[37]

Bryan Hall, the main structure of the fair, was a large, extravagantly ornamented, two story octagonal pagoda. Items for sale were placed at the lower section and a musical band occupied the second floor.[38] The internal decoration of the hall was designed by John Mills van Osdel (1811-1891), Chicago's premier architect, and was realized by "a Committee of German artists."[39] Within this flag festooned building, the exhibits were arranged in booths

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[37] The Chicago Volunteer or North-Western Fair Gazette, was published from 28 October-7 November 1863. Many subsequent fairs issued such fair newspapers. The content of these publications varied widely. Some were comprised largely of advertisements and simple descriptions of the fairs, while others included thoughtful articles and poems by well-known literary figures.

[38] Bryan Hall was donated for the duration of the fair by Thomas B. Bryan Esq., President of the Chicago Soldier's Home. Admission to Bryan Hall was $0.25 and a season ticket cost $1.00. I have not been able to find information as to the exact location of the hall.

[39] He is listed as van Osdell in History of the North-Western Soldier's Fair, 21-22. van Osdel, who was a committed abolitionist, came to Chicago from New York and he was the city's only architect in the 1850's. He was responsible for many prominent residential structures, as well as many lavish hotels such as the refurbished Tremont House and later the third Potter Palmer Hotel. For van Osdel see, Lowe, Lost Chicago, 16-17 and Carl Condit, The Chicago School of Architecture (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1964) 20,24,146,149,162.

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identifying the county, or state that contributed the goods.

Although the message, and the rhetoric of the fair were novel, its contents largely reflected those often included in state fairs:

> ploughs, stoves, furnaces, millstones, and nails by the hundred …, Wagons [sic] enameled leather, hides, boxes of stationary, cases of boots, cologne by the barrel, native wine in casks, … pianos, organs, silver ware, … pictures, … loads of hay and grain and vegetables, horses, colts, oxen …-in short, whatever they had of goods or treasure.[40]

The most popular department in Bryan Hall was the Curiosity Shop. Its exhibits combined the sentimental with the educational, the peculiar with the rare and the exotic, and included autographed works by Oliver Wendell Holmes and William Cullen Bryant, a case of homeopathic medicines, alongside with a large collection of minerals and Native American artifacts.

The city of Boston, that was "already astir with preparations for a grand soldier's and sailor's fair … did not turn a deaf ear to [the] request for aid, but, with characteristic generosity" contributed to the Curiosity Shop "a large box filled with treasures abundant with her,

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[40] Livermore, My Story of the War, 416.

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but rare in the Northwest." They included "specimens of Chinese handiwork, of Fayal laces, of Sea Island algae, curious fans, slippers, pictures, and table ware in the highest style of Japanese art [items which] were rare at that time in the West."[41]

At the Curiosity Shop one could also see the "Alpine Staff used by Napoleon in crossing the Alps," and "several relics associated with Napoleon's life" on the island of St. Helena, presented to the fair by a "young lady from the island of St. Helena," [whose people] "heartily sympathize with the Federal Government in its conflict with treason."[42] Exhibits such as these, lent the fair a cosmopolitan flavor and promoted the Civil War as an object of international concern that had sympathizers in other countries.

As one newspaper reporter stated, the exhibits combined "the useful … with the ornamental," but most importantly everything manifested "the most loyal liberality and unstinted benevolence," and he encouraged everyone to visit and patronize the department with the assurance that it "will enrich his heart with a

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[41] Ibid., 414-415.

[42] History of the North-Western Soldier's Fair, 31.

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consciousness of having contributed to the sick and wounded soldiers."[43]

The most significant item in Bryan Hall that attracted the most attention in the daily press, was the original draft of the Emancipation Proclamation. Abraham Lincoln donated it to the fair in hopes that it would "contribute to the relief or comfort of the soldiers."[44] Battle-torn flags representing both the North and the South were located in the Curiosity Shop, "mementoes of the valor of our brave men in the field, fighting for the maintenance of right and justice against wrong and outrage … [and] they appealed to the people to stand by the great cause of human freedoms and self-governments …." A "Southern necklace" an iron collar, imposed by the "rebels" upon a black man who was supplying information to the Union troops as to the position of enemy forces, created considerable reaction among the visitors.[45] Obviously, these exhibits were

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[43] "The Northwestern Sanitary Fair," Evening Journal [Chicago, Ill.] 28 October 1863, 4, 3.

[44] History of the North-Western Soldier's Fair, 24. The organizers of the fair had the document lithographed and copies of it were sold at the fair, while the original, the single most expensive item to be sold at the fair, was purchased for $3,000 by Thomas B. Bryan.

[45] Ibid., 30.

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intended to remind audiences of the commitment of their soldiers in the service of humanity and justice, and of the cruelty of slavery, while pieces of rope and timber from the "Old Ironsides" and fragments from the Merrimac and the Cumberland recalled the war of 1812 and the sacrifices of the Union troops.

Visitors were invited to reminisce about colonial times with the tobacco box of the "immortal Puritan, John Alden," and the "'Elliot Bible' -the first printed in America,-both loaned by Miss McFadden, of Pittsburgh, herself a descendent of John Alden."[46] This sentimental dependence on historical relics became very significant in successive fairs.

Musical and theatrical performances and lectures took place at the Metropolitan Hall.[47] These included "breathing pictures," namely *tableaux vivants* on a variety of subjects such as "The Brethren of Joseph Bringing to Jacob the Coat

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[46] These same items were also exhibited at the Pittsburgh Sanitary Fair. John Alden and Mayflower artifacts were exceedingly popular in all the fairs.

[47] For the musical performances in all the Sanitary Fairs see: Jean W. Thomas. "Music of the Great Sanitary Fairs: Culture and Charity in the American Civil War," Ph. D. Dissertation (University of Pittsburgh, 1989). In larger cities, public lectures, musical and theatrical performances often run concurrently with the fairs, so the fairs had to offer similar entertainments in order to compete successfully with private entrepreneurs.

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of Many Colors," "The Death of Beatrice Cenci," the "Witch's Dance" by Paganini, a patriotic allegory the "Anthem to Liberty" in which the main character personified the "Goddess of Liberty," and aroused much enthusiasm in the audience by singing the "Star Spangled Banner."[48] The most popular event associated with the fair however, was a series of lectures given by Anna Dickinson, one of the most spirited and intelligent orators of the time, whose impassioned, patriotic words stirred the audiences and attracted great attention in the press.[49]

McVicker's Theater, the "best arranged and best lighted hall in the city was placed at the disposal of the fair for an Art Gallery."[50] The Art Gallery, was considered

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[48] "The Tableaux at Metropolitan Hall," Evening Journal [Chicago, Ill.] 30 October 1864, 4, 3. There was always an extra charge for musical and theatrical entertainments and lectures.

[49] For her activity during the Civil War see, James H. Young, "Anna Elizabeth Dickinson and the Civil War: For and Against Lincoln." The Mississippi Valley Historical Review 31 (1944-1945): 59-80. Dickinson spoke for the benefit of the Sanitary Fairs in Philadelphia and Cleveland as well.

[50] Livermore, My Story of the War, 441. The art gallery was located on the second floor of McVicker's Theater. The structure, built at a cost of $85,000 in 1857, was a landmark in Chicago and on its first floor it housed the Chicago branch of the Sanitary Commission. There was an additional charge of $0.25 for the art gallery and one could have a season pass for $1.00. "The Northwestern

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an exceptional achievement, one for which the young city of Chicago had every reason to be proud of. Indeed this was a remarkable collection, exemplary of the artistic tradition of the city of Chicago and of the tenacity of fair organizers who appealed to artists and collectors at home and far away for contributions. 25,000 visitors to the art gallery were recorded in a twelve day period, while on a single day 1850 tickets and 800 catalogues were sold. The remarkable attendance led organizers to allow the art gallery to remain open for two additional weeks following the close of the fair.[51]

In spite its successes, however, the fair was not without its critics. The Chicago Times, sympathetic to the anti-war factions within Chicago, published an article that was highly critical of the Sanitary Commission in general and Hoge and Livermore, charging the first with misappropriation of funds and the women for accepting payment for their services. The article generated quite a stir in the other newspapers which readily stood to defend both the commission and its aims and the directors of the

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Sanitary Fair." Evening Journal [Chicago] 28 October 1863, 4, 3.

[51] Livermore, My Story of the War, 442.

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Chicago branch.[52] Its problems aside, though, the fair proved in its successful outcome, the viability of such an enterprise and provided an adaptable formula for other cities to follow. In its multifaceted character, its rhetoric, the volume of the exhibited items and in its financial success, the fair was a singular accomplishment for the city of Chicago.

Contrary to the extravagance of the Chicago fair, the first financially successful Eastern fair, the New England Sanitary Fair, held in Boston from 14-21 December 1863, was an understated affair.[53] There was no published history, nor

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[52] Its content and responses to it can be found in "A Copperhead Hiss at the Ladies' Sanitary Fair," Evening Journal [Chicago] 2 November 1863, 4, 1. Also "A Libel on the Sanitary Commission Exposed," Chicago Tribune 7 November 1863, 4, 3. Livermore also dealt with the issue: "disloyalists, from first to last, assailed both it and its managers, publicly and privately, in the most venomous manner. The most malignant falsehoods were put in circulation of its managers to its detriment, while the wholesale defamation of its managers, was so coarse and disgusting that it carried with it its own refutation." My Story of the War, 563.

[53] Alfred J. Bloor suggested that the people of Boston were more sympathetic to the CC and that may explain their lukewarm reaction to a USSC fair. Alfred J. Bloor, Letter to Frederick Knapp, 9 September 1864, p. 9. Alfred J. Bloor Letterbook. New York Historical Society. Thomas G. Appleton, though who was responsible for the collection of art works encouraged John F. Kensett "to come on and see this Fair, which all say will be something stupendous, …." Thomas G. Appleton, letter to John F. Kensett, 8 November [1863], Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art. For the Boston Sanitary Fair see Robert

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were circulars printed and there was only scant advertisement in local newspapers, which promoted the fair for the "softening influence it … shed on party asperities."[54] It was an effort directed by Bostonians and assisted by other New England states and it was set up in Boston's Music Hall.

The fair content was similar to that in Chicago, although on a smaller scale. Centrally placed in the Music Hall was a pyramid of trophies of the civil conflict, decoratively arranged and the Curiosity Shop abounded with relics of the Colonial era. They included a fragment of Plymouth Rock, numerous items belonging to Washington, such as his sash, saddle and cane, the sword of Miles Standish, the shirt in which governor William Bradford was baptized, and the coat worn by Franklin when he signed the alliance treaty with the French in 1778.[55] All these items bespoke of

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Lester Reynolds, "Benevolence on the Home Front in Massachusetts During the Civil War," Ph. D. Dissertation (Boston University, 1970) 268-282.

[54] "The Great Fair," Boston Post 14 December 1863, 1, 5. A member of the Boston Sanitary Commission, Miss Abby W. May, doubted that the enterprise was necessary and likened the fairs to children's parties. Alfred Bloor, tried to offer encouragement by suggesting that the fairs offered "periodical incitements," to the cause of the USSC, for those who were not wholeheartedly dedicated to its work. Cited in Thompson, Sanitary Fairs, 57.

[55] For the contents of the fair see "Sanitary Commission

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tradition and accomplishment, messages all too easily understood by New Englanders so much closer connected to America's earliest heritage. Dispersed through the Music Hall were a number of art works in addition to those exhibited in the Boston Athenaeum that was opened to the public for the occasion.

Like its predecessor, the New England fair published a journal called The Knapsack on the grounds of the fair. Its motto "In Buying for the soldiers' you confer a favor upon the whole community," was obviously meant to appeal to the sympathy of the visitors, by emphasizing the fact that ultimately the efforts on behalf of the Commission benefited everyone. The New England fair was the first to initiate "raffling" on a large scale, that would become the issue of much discontent and debate in the following fairs. It seems though, that the ethicacy and morality of raffling did not disturb either devout New Englanders, nor their clergy, and a great number of items, including art works were thus dispersed at profitable prices. Throngs of visitors attended the fair so that the organizers had to close down the hall occasionally in order to control the crowds. Alfred Bloor who visited the fair testified that

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Fair," Boston Evening Transcript 18 December 1863, 4.

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the "crowd was so great that it was hardly possible to move but I observed enough to see that it was a very elegant (af)fair."[56] In its one week, the New England Sanitary Fair raised $149,950.85, and was hailed a superb success.[57]

On the same day that Boston opened its fair, "two acres of people strove to be the first to pass the gate" of the Christmas Bazaar in Rochester, New York.[58] The bazaar lasted from 14-22 December 1863 and was

> the absorbing topic of discussion in every quarter. In the home circle, in the street, in the stores, by day and night, among old and young, high and low, rich and poor, grays and gay, it [was] the transcendent theme. Everybody goes. Everybody admires. Everybody carries away

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[56] Alfred J. Bloor Diary, 12 December 1863, v. 1858-1865. New York Historical Society.

[57] A reporter for the New York Herald found the money raised by the Boston fair a small amount, and an indication that there was "but little genuine devotion to the Union amongst the Boston abolitionists. They are ever ready with their professions of loyalty and readiness to make sacrifices; but when it comes to performance they are always to be found in the background." "The Test of Patriotism," New York Herald 5 April 1864, 4, 3.

[58] Goodrich, The Tribute Book, 174. Although the fair was organized under the auspices of the Ladies' Hospital Aid Association of Rochester, a local relief society, and did not benefit any of the commissions, I am discussing it here because it set the precedence for some of the features that were to follow in larger fairs. For the Rochester fair see Report of the Christmas Bazaar, held under the Auspices of the Ladies' Hospital Relief Association, from December 14 to December 22, inclusive at Corinthian Hall, Rochester, N. Y. (Rochester: Benton & Andrews, 1863).

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> some pretty or substantial token of sympathy for the 'sick and wounded soldiers,' ….[59]

The bazaar was described as a "World's Fair," and indeed it had a distinctly international outlook manifested in its many foreign booths. Besides the "National" American booth they were separate Irish, Italian, Turkish, Russian, English and Scotch, German and Swiss, Chinese and French exhibitions, as well as a Gypsy Tent. In each, they were "tableaux vivants," with participants dressed according to nationality.

The prominently located American booth celebrated at once the fecundity of the American land and its colonial past through "symbols [that] were too expressive to need any interpretation."

> The central figure of the group [was] the Goddess of Liberty; at the right George and Lady Washington; in front beautiful impersonations of the 'Red, White and Blue," on the left a young girl standing beside a barrel of flour supporting a sheaf of white, and leaning upon a shield and anchor,-.[60]

The American exhibit also included a Yankee booth,

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[59] "Local Affairs," Rochester Daily Democrat 16 December 1863, 1, 2-5. Five issues of a newspaper entitled the Bulletin were issued for the Fair and excerpts from it are included in the Report of the Christmas Bazaar, held under the Auspices of the Ladies' Hospital Relief, 14-15, but I have been unable to locate actual copies of the newspaper.

[60] Ibid.

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where "an Albany lady … of well known Dutch lineage," played the role of Sophronia Slick, the "down cast" Yankee matron.[61] Authenticity of detail was what the organizers strove for. At the Indian Wigwam visitors were assured that all artifacts were of true "aboriginal taste and manufacture." In the Chinese booth all the costumes were purported to have been made in Hong Kong and brought over by the lady managers of the exhibit, while the Turkish booth "would have deceived the most uncompromising Oriental, by the ineffable odor of its tobacco, the illimitable length of the *chibooks*, and the transcendent quality of its merchants."[62]

The bazaar also included a prominent floral display and an art gallery, made up of 150 works from "the most valuable private collections" in the city. The gallery was lauded as a "rare and enchanting spectacle to the lover of art, [as it presented] an unequalled combination."[63]

While the city of Rochester took pride in raising more

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[61] "The Rochester Bazaar," Rochester Daily Democrat 23 December 1863, 2, 2.

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid. The Art Gallery and the Stereopticon, an exhibition of photographs, albums and frames, were housed in the Rochester Athenaeum. The Art Gallery brought in $524 at $0.25 admission, excluding season ticket holders.

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than $11,000 during its week-long bazaar, the people of Cincinnati were bidding to surpass Eastern fairs with their own, all the while battling a bitter winter.[64] For the Great Western Fair held between 21 December 1863-9 January 1864, 16 committees and 70 sub-committees were organized to attend to the preparations, and Abraham Lincoln was elected its honorary President. The organizers commandeered the local opera house, Mozart Hall, which accommodated the Art Gallery, the department of War Memorials, Curiosities, and Relics and the various performances, while a huge structure of 64 by 400 feet was constructed for the exhibits of heavy machinery and agricultural products.

This extraordinary undertaking was particularly significant for the city of Cincinnati in view of the divided sentiments of its population towards the issue of slavery. As inhabitants of a border city, close to the deep South, Cincinnatians often dealt with the problem of

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[64] The city had lengthy experience in fair organization with the mechanics' fairs, held by the Ohio Mechanics Institute. The first fair was in 1832 and after a lapse of six years the fairs recurred from 1838 until 1860 see, Philip Spiess II, "The Cincinnati Industrial Expositions (1870-1888): Propaganda or Progress?" M.A. thesis (University of Delaware, 1970). The first fair was held in the Bazaar buildings that had been built by Mrs. Frances Trollop, in an exotic mixture of styles ranging from Byzantine and Gothic to Greek and Egyptian Revival. The first fair included some paintings and sculpture, Ibid, 34.

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African-Americans escaping into their city and the debates over the issue of slavery and its resolution, were constant and multifaceted. On the other hand, Cincinnati was a central depot for western travel and its wealthiest merchants and professionals who profited from local economy, developed a sophisticated culture that was celebrated at the Great Western Fair.[65]

The popularity of the fair is indicated in the lengthy poems composed in its honor by those who experienced its magnificence:

> What a rushing-what a pushing to get into the Fair,/ And see the many wondrous sights, and the people gathered there./ Our feet and legs of slight avail-we wish for wings to fly./ No sport so rich--no fun so rare/ As crowding and being crowded in the mazes of the Fair.[66]

The diversity of objects on exhibition expanded on the popularity that similar themes enjoyed in Boston and Chicago. The department of War Memorials, Curiosities and Relics boasted a collection of "historical" objects including the requisite Washington "slippers," confederate

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[65] For Cincinnati during the Civil War, and the racial tensions see Robert S. Duncanson: A Centennial Exhibition (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Museum of Art, 1972).

[66] Ene, "What I Saw and What was There," in Aletheia Pattison, Scrapbook of Clippings, 1842-1863. The Cincinnati Historical Society.

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muskets and flags, the manuscript of a sermon brought over on the Mayflower, various autographs and a "piece of a Beech Chip, with the distinct tomahawk mark of Daniel Boone."[67]

There was also a large collection of autograph letters including those of Lafayette, Aaron Burr and Thomas Jefferson, and of many artists. William H. Beard (1824-1900) contributed one "with the usual owl depicted as holding the pen which has apparently formed the letters of his name." Emanuel Leutze (1816-1868) participated with a letter and William Parsons Dana (1833-1927) and Thomas LeClear (1818-1882) "of the Studio Building [sent] friendly notices" while William Hart (1823-1894) sent a "letter with a most charming little landscape sketch attached."[68] Thomas

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[67] "List of Articles Exhibited in Art and Curiosity Halls," History of the Great Western Sanitary Fair, 362-402.

[68] "Great Western Sanitary Fair," Cincinnati Daily Commercial 30 December 1863, 2, 3. Felix O. C. Darley (1822-1888) also contributed an autograph (no. 154) and it sold for $1.00. Beard offered two autographs, one (no. 26) as described in the newspaper citation sold for $0.50 and another (no. 27) sold for $0.90. Dana's autographs, (nos. 152, 153) sold for $0.40 and $0.10 respectively. William Hart's listed at no. 252 brought $3.25, one of the most expensive prices of the sale, while surprisingly Leutze's (no. 313) matched Le Clear's (no. 311) and both brought only $0.10. Artists contributed autographs to other fairs, but this is the only occasion that they were mentioned in a newspaper review. The artists' contributions are listed in Catalogue of a Large Collection of Autographs, Coins,

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Buchanan Read (1822-1872), who was the President of the National Soldier's Historical Association, and was active in war relief efforts in Cincinnati, contributed not only his art works, but also five poems, a commentary, and an autograph.[69]

In contrast to other departments of the fair, the Art Gallery offered attractions that were "less obvious, less gaudy, [that] required study, and presupposed a classic taste and cultivation, and were preeminently such as would be enduring, while those in the Bazaar, though splendid, were melting and evanescent."[70] Unlike the art gallery though, the fair newspaper, The Ladies' Knapsack, included articles intended for the "great, large-hearted people who love the Soldier, not for the icy intellect and the pulse which beats by book."[71] In spite the adverse weather

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Medals, Etc. Donated to the Great Western Sanitary Fair to be Sold at Auction …, (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke &Co., 1864).

[69] His contributions are listed in Catalogue of a Large Collection of Autographs, Coins, …, nos. 414-420, and they all sold for more than $1.00, the most expensive being his poem entitled "Drifting," for $3.00. For Thomas Buchanan Read's wartime activity in Cincinnati see, Charles T. Greeve, Centennial History of Cincinnati 1 (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Co., 1904) 845.

[70] "Great Western Sanitary Fair," Cincinnati Daily Commercial 30 December 1863, 2, 4.

[71] The Ladies' Knapsack, 22 December 1864, 2. In the same

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conditions, Cincinnatians patronized generously the fair, outdid Boston and replenished the local branch of the USSC with $235,406.

The achievements of Chicago, Boston, and Cincinnati and the national attention that these cities received for their effort soon led many other cities and states to follow suit. "Fair fever" took over and in February 1864, a year after the first fair in Lowell, five cities inaugurated their own Sanitary Fairs.[72]

"The Brooklyn and Long Island Sanitary Fair … was the first great act of self-assertion ever made by the city of Brooklyn."[73] The cities of Brooklyn and New York planned on holding a combined fair slated to open on 22 February, 1864, but as New York postponed the opening date, the city of Brooklyn inaugurated its own fair earlier.

The antagonism between the two cities was evident in the fact that New York newspapers largely ignored the

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issue there is a poem by Thomas B. Read entitled "Woman" that refers to the creation of Eve.

[72] Fairs were held in Albany, Brooklyn, Buffalo, Poughkeepsie and Yonkers, N.Y., Cleveland, Ohio and Washington, D.C.

[73] History of the Brooklyn and Long Island Fair (Brooklyn: The Union Steam Press, 1864) 5. The New York Times for example, carried only a brief article on the closing of the fair on 7 March 1864, 4, 5.

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Brooklyn fair. Most of the fair exhibits were located at the Brooklyn Academy of Music, including a new feature, the Post Office, where letters could be written on request and sent with special "fair" postage stamps. In its novelty the Post Office attracted the attention of Winslow Homer (1836-1910) who illustrated this and other departments of the fair for Harper's Weekly.[74] Structures adjacent to the Music Academy provided the setting for the quite popular Knickerbocker Hall and The New England Kitchen. Taylor House, a private mansion donated to the fair for its duration, housed the Art Gallery and the Department of Arts, Relics and Curiosities, which also contained a smaller collection of paintings, drawings and engravings.

For the inauguration, the admission price to the fair was $1.00 and it was expected to be $0.55 thereafter. But the fair was so popular that by the third day the ticket price was raised to $1.00 and at intervals the halls were closed down in order to control the crowds. George T. Strong who visited the fair on that day noted that it was a

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[74] The feature proved very popular and it was repeated in most of the larger fairs, but even some smaller ones as in those in Stamford, Connecticut and Springfield, Massachusetts. For the history and the issues of the Sanitary Fairs see, Alvin R. Kantor and Marjorie Sered Kantor, Sanitary Fairs. A Philatelic and Historical Study of Civil War Benevolences (Glencoe, IL.: SF Publishing, 1992).

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"very pretty and lively spectacle, but the crowd was such that I could see no details and could have bought nothing, had I wanted to."[75] In one day, $24,000 were received from admission tickets and the gross receipts exceeded $50,000. The fair was deemed a

> "social success" because at the fair "ladies … met their fellow townswomen, acquaintances and friendships [were] formed, prejudices dismissed, icy barriers thawed out and a vast deal of genuine philanthropy done which in the end will tend to renovate to a large extent our entire social system, and humanize many people ….[76]

In spite its unifying effect though, the fair was also the site of two heated controversies; one against the sale of alcohol and another against raffles. Members of the clergy objected to the sale of alcohol at Knickerbocker Hall and The New England Kitchen, and the organizers complied and prohibited the practice. One reviewer however, did not fail to comment on the alcohol prohibition. "Knickerbocker Hall [was] a recognition of old New York, and [its] worthy Dutch settlers … [whose] specialties were

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[75] The Diary of George Templeton Strong 26 February 1864, 408. For attendance records see, "The Great Sanitary Fair," Brooklyn Daily Eagle 24 February 1864, 2, 3-6.

[76] "The Great Sanitary Fair" Brooklyn Daily Eagle 25 February 1864, 2, 3.

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long pipes and kegs of schnapps, but these things could not be tolerated within the precincts of the Fair."[77]

These kitchens were in many respects the first "recreations" of colonial interiors and as such, they are the earliest instances of the Colonial Revival movement that was celebrated at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition of 1876, and reached its apogee at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893.[78] The kitchens celebrated the varied national origins of the local population and they were an attempt at least, for historical authenticity. They were also indicative of the desire to associate with a creditable colonial past and to claim uninterrupted continuity with a prominent ancestry at a time when the war was challenging social and economic patterns.[79]

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[77] "The Great Sanitary Fair," Brooklyn Daily Eagle 22 February 1864, 2, 2.

[78] Rodris Roth discusses extensively the significance of the Sanitary fair kitchens and suggests that they "reinforced Colonial virtues as codes for the modern citizen to follow…. The kitchens are early instances of the collecting and study of artifacts for private pleasure as well as public edification." "The New England, or "Olde Tyme" Kitchen Exhibit at Nineteenth-Century Fairs," in The Colonial Revival, ed. Alan Axelrod (New York, London: N.W. Norton & Co., 1985) 159-183.

[79] Beverly Gordon suggests that in the colonial kitchens the "attitude to the past was … double-edged; it … was simultaneously venerated and gently mocked." Further along she proposes that "they reflected a somewhat self-satisfied

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The New England kitchen was advertised as an "illustration of New England life, as it existed 100 years ago," complete with a large hearth, a spinning wheel, and appropriately dressed attendants.[80] A reviewer, however, found it drab and uninteresting, an unfair recreation of colonial life: "If the establishment was a fair specimen of New England in the olden time, we should say that it was a capitol spot to go from, and we don't wonder that so many

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attitude, a stance of superiority toward the past. Mid-century Americans believed in progress, and, by turning the colonial kitchen into a comic kind of place, they were able to reinforce their sense that, notwithstanding the war, they were living in a more advanced era." Bazaars and Fair Ladies, 76. There is no evidence however, that either the organizers or the visitors considered them in such a light. With few exceptions, which challenged the historical precision of the exhibits, reviewers extolled the experiment and looked nostalgically at the security and the successes of the colonial period. The fact that so many prominent women of distinguished lineage, participated in these exhibits leads me to believe that they were considered as serious, rather than frivolous enterprises.

[80] "The Great Sanitary Fair," Brooklyn Daily Eagle 24 February 1864, 2, 3-6. There was an additional charge of $0.50 for admission to the New England Kitchen. In many fairs there were regional variations to the kitchens. At the New York Metropolitan Fair there was a "Knickerbocker Kitchen," and the "Dutchess Room" at the Dutchess County and Poughkeepsie Fair was also Dutch colonial in outlook. The "Pennsylvania Kitchen" at the Great Central Fair celebrated the German origins of the state's population. In the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair in St. Louis, there was both a "Knickerbocker" and a "Dutch Kitchen" and at the Indiana State Fair in Indianapolis there was a "Yankee Kitchen."

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New Englanders emigrated to Brooklyn."[81] In order to further enhance the illusion of being in the "olden days," a Massachusetts couple got married in the "New England Kitchen" according to the "ancient fashion."[82]

The other controversy at the fair regarded the practice of raffling. Many items, including an album of oil sketches contributed by American artists, were to be disposed of by raffle. Some however, found the practice immoral and compared it to gambling thus forcing the organizers to abandon it and institute subscription lists instead.[83]

The last two days of The Brooklyn and Long Island Fair were devoted to the families of poor and fallen soldiers and the fair concluded on 11 March with a grand "Calico Ball." Strong had predicted that the fair might raise one "hundred or two hundred thousand" dollars but in the end

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[81] "The Great Sanitary Fair," Brooklyn Daily Eagle 22 February 1864, 2, 5.

[82] Ibid., 2, 3-4.

[83] George T. Strong commented that the "great Brooklyn Fair has been a splendid triumph of morality …. There was no "raffling" and nothing was disposed of by chance or lottery. The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 8 March, 1864, 412.

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more than $300,000 went into the coffers of the central treasury of the USSC.[84]

While the inhabitants of Brooklyn admired their bold experiment of independence from New York City, the organizers of the Army Relief Bazaar in Albany suggested

> that the patriotic ardor and zeal of officials and of all persons of every party and nationality, and of both sexes, in your neighborhood, should be promptly and effectively enlisted. No man is so wealthy or high, and no man so poor and degraded, as to refuse the gift of patriotism on the altar of our common country…. No State in the whole Union has so much at peril in this war as New York; and no other State will reap such vast benefits by its successful termination. Duty, Interest and Patriotism, all unite in calling upon our citizens to mass themselves together in this noble enterprise like the ancient Macedonian phalanx, and thus secure an early Victory and a lasting peace.[85]

A spacious building was constructed specifically for the Bazaar and quickly filled up with the contents of a Curiosity Shop, a Post Office and a Wigwam as well as numerous "foreign" booths.[86] Erastus Dow Palmer (1817-1904), Albany's most esteemed sculptor, organized in his studio an

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[84] Ibid., 17 February 1864, 406.

[85] Second Annual Report of the Albany Army Relief Association (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Co., 1864) 16.

[86] Information on the various departments of the Army Relief Bazaar can be found in the Albany Evening Journal 23 February-22 March 1864.

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art exhibition that included the "*chef d'oeuvres* of some of [the] greatest painters, and embraces almost every style and school and epoch of painting, from time-blurred Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS to the last product of CHURCH and HART."[87] The gallery was pronounced "one of the rarest and richest ever exhibited in this country," and news of it were published in nearby Utica, where the editor of the Utica Herald claimed that the collection was "remarkable on many accounts for the absence of poor pictures, and for the numbers of those leading masters of American art."[88]

In honor of Washington's birthday, on which the fair was inaugurated, the Curiosity Shop featured many memorabilia relating to the First President. There was a "towel … belonging to [him] and worked with his initials; Cup belonging to him; [and] a piece of cloth from the Arm

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[87] "The Art Gallery," Albany Evening Journal 26 February 1864, 2, 4.

[88] "Art Gallery," Albany Evening Journal 9 March 1864, 2, 4. As in most other fairs an extra charge of $0.25 applied to the art gallery. At the conclusion of the fair it was reported that $1,379 was raised from daily admission tickets to the art gallery, indicating that, excluding season ticket holders, 5516 people visited Palmer's studio during the fair. $417.90 was raised by the sale of the ten cent catalogue see, "Army Relief Bazaar," Albany Evening Journal 16 March 1864, 2, 4.

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Chair in which he sat during his last illness."[89] Many other important figures were represented at the fair by their autographs. Those of Ulysses Grant, Martin van Buren, and Samuel B. Morse (1791-1872) could be purchased for $0.50, while Noah Webster's, Louis Agassiz's and John Jacob Astor's were valued at $1.00. But, the most prized item in the bazaar was again a Lincoln contribution; the preliminary draft of The Emancipation Proclamation. Visitors bought a raffle for $1.00 and a chance of obtaining the document, and finally $1,100 was successfully raised by its sale.[90]

The Albany fair also included an entire department devoted to Native Americans. Contrary though, to subsequent shows where Native Americans represented their own

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[89] "The Curiosity Shop," Albany Evening Journal 24 February, 1864, 2, 5. Catalogue of Rare and Valuable Curiosities Contributed for Exhibition in the Curiosity Shop of the Albany Army Relief Bazaar, February 22d, 1864 (Albany: Weed, Parson and Co., 1864). Washington vied for popularity with John Alden, as many of his possessions appeared at various fairs. Washington's diary was exhibited at the Brooklyn and Long Island Fair his coat, vest and pants, his coffee-boiler and milk pitcher were exhibited at the Indiana State Fair and bizarre curiosities such as the "Lemon and Orange in Jar, …. Taken from Washington's Residence at Mount Vernon," was shown at the Pittsburgh Sanitary Fair.

[90] Mason Tolman "Freedom Document Up for Grabs in $1 Lottery," New York State and the Civil War 2, 9 (March 1963): 18-25.

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traditions and customs, this was an ongoing "theatrical" performance in which Caucasian women acted the roles of "chieftainnees," such as "Minnehaha," "Pocahontas" and "Metamora."[91] This romanticized interpretation certainly reflected the fascination that Eastern audiences demonstrated towards Native Americans, which was revived by mid-century westward expansion, and shows such as Albert Bierstadt's (1830-1902) Indian Department at the New York Metropolitan Fair. The exhibition also marks distinctly an attempt to present a non-western culture for public consumption, an idea that would be expanded in later World's Fairs.[92]

Invention and theatricality were also evident in "foreign" displays; As in Rochester, England, Scotland, Ireland, Switzerland, Holland, Germany, Spain, Italy, and Japan and the "Orient," were represented by their products and costumes. So convincing was the Oriental exhibit that

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[91] "The Indian Wigwam," Albany Evening Journal 29 February, 1864, 2, 4.

[92] The exhibitions of non-westerners as bizarre and exotic continued and was later applied to the exhibitions of non-western cultures at the 1893 Chicago World's Fair see, Curtis M. Hinsley, "The World as Marketplace: Commodification of the Exotic at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893," in Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, eds. Exhibiting Cultures (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991) 344-65.

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one "expected … to hear torrents of Arabic gush from the fair lips of the richly bedizened divinities who presided," over the booth.[93] The variety of offerings in these exhibits was lauded as an indication of the sophisticated and well-traveled citizens of the area, but it may also identify their diverse geographic origins. Hyperbole aside, these exhibitions point to the increased internationalism that defined the fairs and the attempt of the organizers to remove their audiences from the struggle at home to fascinating and exotic places abroad.

Similarly, at the Northern Ohio Sanitary Fair held in Cleveland from 22 February-10 March 1864, visitors were transported to far away lands by ladies dressed in ethnic costumes and at its "international" booths exquisite and intriguing objects were available for purchase.[94] The visitor was enticed to buy "veritable importations from

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[93] "The Army Relief Bazaar," Albany Evening Journal 25 February 1864, 2, 3. The term "oriental" was used generally to cover items from Asia. The organizers of the Albany fair were recorded as having visited the Yankee booth, as well as the "sideshow" of the Rochester Christmas Bazaar. Considering of course the small size of the exhibition they would have seen the international booths as well see, "The Rochester Bazaar," Rochester Daily Democrat 23 December 1863, 2, 2.

[94] Reviewers noted that the foreign booths at the Fair collapsed boundaries and brought all countries together in a seamless coexistence see "The Northern Sanitary Fair," Daily Herald [Cleveland] 4 March 1864, 3.

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China and Japan," Italian "alabaster clocks, statuettes, French "Sevres vases, … perfumeries and lingeries," while in the Turkish booth "attendants in oriental costume, splendid with 'barbaric pearls and gold,'" created an atmosphere of magical mystery.[95]

An impressive cruciform structure, constructed specifically for the fair, with a dome towering above 65 feet, enclosed a statue of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry and accommodated the main exhibits, while musical and theatrical entertainments took place at the Academy of

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> From booth to booth the eye falls upon gay demoiselles of France, yellow-haired frauleins of Germany, dark-eyed senoritas of Spain, bewitching houris of Turkey, Italia's graceful signorinas, bonnie lassies of Scotland, rosy maidens of England, frank and merry daughters of Erin, Russian damsels in furs, belles of the Celestial empire …."

Our Acre and its Harvest (Cleveland: Fairbanks, Benedict & Company, 1869) 162-163, 166, 170-171. Fair exhibits had to be entertaining enough in order to compete successfully with commercial ventures. The citizens of Cleveland were accustomed to "international" attractions, as it is indicated by an announcement of acrobatic performances by an Arab troupe that "both bewildered and delighted [audiences] with the ease and grace of their pyramidal feats, their whirling and turning, and the marvelous strength exhibited." "The Children of the Desert," Cleveland Plain Dealer 16 March 1864, 3, 2.

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Music.[96] *Tableaux vivants* such as an "Artist's Studio" and the "Picture Gallery," interspersed with musical presentations kept audiences' attention in the evenings.[97]

The organizers of the fair glowingly asserted that as

> the fruit of the patriotism of a relatively small population, inhabiting a mere fraction of the loyal North, the Cleveland fair cannot but be regarded as one of the most strikingly successful of the entire number. And … the joyous harmony of its animating spirit and the taste which controlled its adornment gave it claims to a higher consideration than that to which it was entitled by its pecuniary results."[98]

More than any other exhibit, the Fine Art Hall, which was housed along with the Curiosity Shop at the Court House, was celebrated as a singular example of the "taste and artistic judgment, and liberal patronage of the Arts"

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[96] Although there is no identification of the sculptor of the statue within the Sanitary Fair, in 1860, the sculptor William Walcott (1819-1882 or 1895) had created a statue of Perry that was placed at the center of Public Square in Cleveland see, William H. Robinson and David Steinberg. Cleveland Art. Community and Diversity in Early Modern America (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1988) 23. In the Circular of the Committee on War Memorials, Relics and Curiosities, Perry is listed as a member of that committee. USSC Papers, Container 10, Folder 6, Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland Ohio.

[97] For the *tableaux vivants* and their public appeal see Thomas, Music of the Great Sanitary Fairs, 121-130.

[98] "Success of the Fair," Our Acre and its Harvest, 205.

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in the city of Cleveland.[99] Once again, the art gallery was recognized for "cultivating a taste for the Fine Arts among our people, elevating their minds above what is merely useful to what is also beautiful; this branch of our great fair while performing its part on the immediate object in view, will we believe, accomplish another object of not less importance."[100]

Equally laudatory were the comments of the historian of the Dutchess County and Poughkeepsie Fair, held in Poughkeepsie from 15-19 February 1864, who considered the small art gallery as the culmination of the "Aesthetic aspirations" of the organizers who had opened the gallery free of charge "permitting the fine arts to be accessible to all."[101] A thirteen year old who visited the fair failed to mention her impressions of the art gallery, but she found the Old Dutch Kitchen "very interesting; there was an old spinnet [sic] there nearly two hundred years old ... and an old negro sitting in the corner," while "Henrietta Livingston, in a rich brocade dress and high heeled shoes

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[99] "A Passing Glance at the Art Gallery," Daily Herald [Cleveland] 7 March 1864, 1, 1.

[100] "Fine Art Hall," Sanitary Fair Gazette 1, 3 (23 February 1864): 1.

[101] Report of the Dutchess County and Poughkeepsie Sanitary Fair (Poughkeepsie, 1864), 11.

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of her great-grandmother, added much to the attractions of the room."[102]

Unlike the financial and critical successes of most of the fairs, the one in the nation's Capital was a much neglected enterprise. The fair, which was expected to benefit both the USSC and the CC stirred little interest, was largely abandoned by its organizers, and attracted minimal public attention. The outcome of the fair may have also been affected by preparations for the Sanitary Fair in neighboring Baltimore which opened in mid-April. Alfred Bloor suggested that the reluctance of Congress members and of influential women to support the fair was a reflection of their negative sentiments towards the USSC, and the fair, "where it was not ridiculed or condemned it was ignored by the 'better classes'."[103] Although Lincoln attended and spoke at the fair, the event was barely

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[102] The diary reference is quoted in "The Sanitary Fair," Dutchess Country Historical Society Yearbook 32 (1947): 97. The reference to Livingston is in Report of the Dutchess County …, 23. This department was the responsibility of Matthew Vassar who had also donated the large building that housed the fair. In its four days run in March, the fair raised $16,192.27 and was considered quite an achievement for the city of Poughkeepsie.

[103] Bloor's comments are cited in Thompson, Sanitary Fairs of the Civil War, 63.

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advertised and in its limited run at the Patent Office, it raised only about $3,000.[104]

The people of Baltimore however, were able to achieve what organizers at many other fairs had only coveted; on inauguration day thousands turned out to greet President Lincoln and other Cabinet members, and even Ministers of many European and South American countries visited the fair.

Alfred J. Bloor who went to the fair as a representative of the USSC stated "a good deal of loyalty and enthusiasm seemed to prevail, but there was an air of cheapness about the display." He admitted though, that there was a "fine art gallery, [with] many good pictures."[105] In spite Bloor's comments, attendance was so high on the second day that organizers were forced to raise the price because the "packed and jammed mass of humanity could go neither forward nor backward, and all opportunity

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[104] For Lincoln's attendance see Sidney Kramer, "Lincoln at the Fair," Abraham Lincoln Quarterly 3 (September 1945) 340-356. There is no history of the fair, nor any circulars, but a few announcements appeared in the Washington Evening Star in January and February of 1864.

[105] Alfred F. Bloor Diaries 1858-1865, 22 April 1864, New York Historical Society.

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to dispose of the articles for sale was … at an end."[106] Both the USSC and the CC were the happy recipients of the public's generosity that raised about $80,000.

The successful fairs of the winter of 1864, fueled the competitive spirit of various cities that challenged each other to prove their citizens' fundraising capabilities and their undeniable support of the war and the Union. A visible and measurable proof of loyalty was nowhere more important than in the city of St. Louis.

Missouri was dramatically divided among secessionists and those who supported the claims of the Union, and it was thought that a fair would generate harmony and cooperation between warring factions.[107] The Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair held in May 1864, in St. Louis, was advertised as a "jubilee of patriotic rejoicing-A UNION LOVE FEAST, [sic] which will bring back the kindly relations of former times. A new era will soon dawn upon our State and nation, the era of Union, of freedom, and enduring peace."[108] The fair would

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[106] "The Maryland State Fair," The Baltimore American 20 April 1864, 1, 6.

[107] For the divisive politics in Missouri see, Paul C. Nagel, Missouri, A History (University Press of Kansas, 1988).

[108] Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair-Circular (St. Louis, Missouri, 5 February 1864). Civil War Envelopes-Union-Missouri, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. For a

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bring together not only political opponents but also the various ethnic groups in the city. The Germans of the city were invited to participate, and indeed were given a large area in the fair buildings where they offered beer, an action that generated a heated controversy at the fair. In spite the indignant protestations of temperance supporters, the Germans were allowed to sell tens of kegs of lager for the benefit of the Union soldiers.

Twenty committees in all, dealing with everything from books, drama and public amusements, the Fine Arts, china and glassware, refreshments, and millinery helped make the fair a resounding success. It was hailed as the "grandest benevolent enterprise ever attempted in the far West, … in the magnificence of conception or thoroughness of preparation."[109]

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published account of the Mississippi Fair see Robert Patrick Bender, "'This Noble and Philanthropic Enterprise': The Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair and the Practice of Civil War Philanthropy," Missouri Historical Review 95, 2 (January 2001): 117-139.

[109] "The Great Fair," Daily Missouri Democrat 17 May 1864, 4, 3. Quite often, items that did not sell at one fair, were solicited by organizers of subsequent ones. The St. Louis fair benefited from a large collection of objects, including "twenty-nine rare and beautiful paintings" that its organizers purchased at the New York Metropolitan Fair. "Third Day of the Fair," Daily Missouri Democrat 21 May 1864, 3, 6. St. Louis contributed about $3.50 per capita, whereas Philadelphia and New York raised only $1.67, see

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Crowds flooded the Knickerbocker and the Dutch Kitchen, had their future revealed at the "Delphic Oracle," and 50,000 people took a chance with a $1.00 raffle ticket at the opportunity of wining the Smizer farm, a five hundred acre farm and three silver bars sent in from the Nevada territory.[110] Raffling reigned supreme at the fair and furniture, wagons, carriages, saddles and art works, including a crucifixion scene valued at $2,500, were thus disposed. One of the most popular features of the fair was the sale of votes in favor of Union generals; General Hancock won and McClellan, Sherman, and Grant were also favored by the patrons.

The Art Gallery, deemed "one of the most attractive and fascinating features" of the fair, was comprised primarily of European works from local collections, and it netted the fair more than $7,000 from entrance receipts and the sale of catalogues. Although there were no Native Americans on exhibition, three works by Charles Wimar (1828-1862) depicted Native Americans. The "most splendid" picture of the show though, was the "world-renowned" The

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Final Report of the Western Sanitary Commission (St. Louis: R. P. Studley & Company, 1866) 13.

[110] For the dispensation of prizes see Daily Missouri Democrat 21 June 1864, 4, 3.

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Home of Washington, (Washington and Lafayette at Mount Vernon, 1874) by Thomas P. Rossiter (1818-1871) and Louis R. Mignot (1831-1870), a painting that received much praise in the local press.[111] Additionally a publication on the Arts of St. Louis, describing the advancements made in the city, in painting, sculpture, photography, lithography and printing was prepared for sale at the fair.[112]

The Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair was the first fair that had a "Department for the Interests of Freedmen and Union Refugees." It was reported that one of the tables was manned by a freed slave, an extraordinary event, it was thought, "in a city where slaves [were] still held and sold."[113] But when a minister brought two African Americans into the fair and requested to be served refreshments, by at least one account, the white lady "waitresses," refused and called the police. The minister and his "comrades …

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[111] "The Fair," The Daily Countersign 28 May 1864, 1.

[112] Tod Helmuth, ed. Arts in St. Louis, (St. Louis: R. P. Studley & Company, 1864).

[113] "Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair," Harper's Weekly 8, 385 (14 May 1864): 306. According to Bender, African American soldiers were employed for the construction of the fair buildings. Members of the Sixty-Eight U.S. Infantry were offered fifty cents per day, plus free admission to the fair but they generously contributed the money, along with portion of their army pay, to the Freedmen's bureau at the Fair see "'This Noble and Philanthropic Enterprise'," 136-137.

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[were] kicked … out."[114] The incident that was widely reported in the newspapers, however indicative of the divided sentiments of the population, was considered only a minor problem in the generally celebratory tone of the fair.

The multitude patronized the fair, and increased after 8 June, when it was opened to all for free. The month long fair, was lauded as proof of the state's attachment to nationalist ideals and it raised more than $550,000 for the Western Sanitary Commission.[115] In an attempt to outshine their predecessors and lure visitors with novel and surprising attractions, the fairs became increasingly extravagant and theatrical in their arrangements.

Shortly after the conclusion of the fair in St. Louis,

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[114] Details of the affair are communicated in detail in Jane McDonald, undated letter to Lizzie, her granddaughter, Wilson Price Hunt papers, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. McDonald was disappointed at the "rough crowd" that she encountered at the fair and the lack of "any genteel families," but she approved of the reaction of the ladies to the incident, because she did not "believe in negro equality." Hannah I. Stagg suggests however, that the minister held his ground and ultimately one lady conceded to serving them. "Local Incidents of the Civil War," Missouri Historical Society Collections 4 (1912-1923): 63-81.

[115] On this fair see Jasper Cross, "The Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair, St. Louis, 1864," Missouri Historical Review 46 (April 1952): 237-246.

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Pittsburgh inaugurated its own in June of 1864. Located in the public square in Allegheny, the fair covered an area of 73,200 square feet, occupying the newly constructed Allegheny City Hall as well as a number of additional structures.[116] In spite competition from the Great Central Fair of Philadelphia then under way, the Pittsburgh Sanitary Fair, which lasted from 11-18 June, was a remarkable success even though contributions came mostly from the western part of Pennsylvania. Petitions though were extended to other cities and states and abroad. The fair even attracted the attention of the Pope Pius IX (1792-1878), who promised through one of his cardinals to Rufus King, the U.S. Minister to Rome, that he "would gladly also contribute his mite towards the … good object."[117]

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[116] The City Hall housed the Art Gallery and the Curiosity Shop and six more buildings, the lumber for which had been purchased from the buildings of the fair in Cleveland, accommodated the Mechanics Hall, an Audience Hall, the Monitor Building, a Floral Hall, the Bazaar and the Dining Hall. A visit to the fair was quite expensive; although admission to the main hall of the bazaar cost only $0.25, an additional $0.25 each, was charged for the Picture Gallery, the Curiosity Shop, the Mechanics Hall, Monitor Hall, and the Livestock exhibit. The Floral Hall carried a charge of $0.50, as did the Dining Hall but that price included dinner see, "Sanitary Fair. Prices to the Fair," The Pittsburgh Commercial 10 June, 1864, 2, 5.

[117] Rufus King, letter to Foreign Correspondence Committee, 6 May, 1864, cited in "Pittsburgh Sanitary Fair," The

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During the war, Pittsburgh enjoyed a remarkable economic boost as its manufacturing plants worked incessantly to support the war needs; steamboats, light and heavy artillery, ammunition, coal and food supplies were produced and then shipped to the front. The city grew prosperous and its population was ardent in its support of the Union and of the war.[118] Therefore, the invitation of Felix Brunot, the chairman of the Pittsburgh Fair, who petitioned everyone "to give the proceeds of one day's labour [sic]" for the benefit of the fair as "the aggregate sum produced will be a splendid testimonial of … sympathy with the noble soldiers of the Union," was enthusiastically received.[119] Yet once again, communal spirit prevailed and

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Pittsburgh Commercial 31 May, 1864, 1, 5. This indication that Pius IX was favorably inclined towards the fair and the national cause was particularly instructive for a city with divided sentiments between its native Protestant and immigrant Catholic populations. His support may also be significant in view of the conciliatory attitude that he had assumed at the time of his inauguration. Pius IX began his reign in 1846, at a time of internal divisions in Italy, and in one of his first papal acts he granted amnesty to political prisoners and was in favor of national unity. For a brief account of his achievements see "Pius IX," F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, eds. The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church (New York: Oxford University Press, 1974) 1097.

[118] For Pittsburgh during the Civil War see Leland Baldwin, "The Sinews of War," in Pittsburgh, The Story of a City (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1938) 311-325.

[119] Charles Lewis Slattery, Felix Reville Brunot 1820-1898

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as Brunot stated

> party differences were ignored in behalf of humanity, and innumerable conflicting elements were reconciled, so that when the Fair opened every opposing or doubting voice was silenced, and nearly the whole population of Pittsburgh, Allegheny, and the surrounding boroughs formed one community of willing hearts and hands to make it a success.[120]

For its duration, the fair dominated the front page of local newspapers competing successfully with war news. Visitors were enticed to the Curiosity Shop with such exhibits as the "Table on which the 'Declaration of Independence was signed," an "original letter of Gen. Washington," the "hair of Henry Clay, cut at Ashland," a "'tooth pick' made from the scaffold of 'Old John Brown," a "cap of Union Soldier with bullet mark," a taxidermied "American eagle," but also a "dress worn by Queen Victoria," "Chinese, Japan [sic] and Indian garments of all descriptions," and "Egyptian mummies, centuries old … [and] Etruscan vases of great beauty."[121] There was also a

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(New York: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1901) 96. The contributions are reported to have amounted to an average of $3.47 for every person living in the western part of the state at that time see, Dorothy Daniel, "The Sanitary Fair," The Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine 41 (1957): 145.

[120] Daniel, "The Sanitary Fair."

[121] Pittsburgh Sanitary Fair. Department of Old Curiosity Shop, Trophies of War and Old Arms. Catalogue of Flags,

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Chinese Booth, in which every evening, four women, two men and two children in "full Chinese silk robes, gorgeously embroidered and decorated," paraded around "gratifying [the] curiosity" of the audience.[122]

Comparable in their impact were the contraptions at Monitor Hall, so called after its namesake vessel, that fascinated young and old alike; there was a manmade lake, complete with scale model ships and an island with a fort and strategically placed canons which during mock battles fired at the ships. The effect was noted to have been even more dramatic in the evening under gas lights.[123]

Whereas the Curiosity Shop and Monitor Hall appealed to the sense of wonder and satisfied the quest for the unusual and the titillating, the impact of the Floral Hall, lay in its elevating influence as the

> artificial scenery, the music of the waterfall, the caroling of the birds, the hum of merry

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Trophies, Arms, Relics, … Exhibited in City Hall, Allegheny, June 1, 1864, …. (Pittsburgh: Ferguson, 1864).

[122] "The Great Fair. The Chinese Booth," The Pittsburgh Commercial 14 June 1864, 1, 5. This booth was made up largely of objects that the organizers had purchased at the Metropolitan Fair in New York.

[123] "The Great Fair," The Pittsburgh Commercial 3 June 1864, 1, 4.

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> voices, win upon on all beholders, awakening in every nature the most pleasurable sensation, and tending in some measure to satisfy the immortal longing of the soul for the higher and spiritual life.[124]

The Floral Hall one of the most popular features of the fair, was an elaborate display of foliage, trees and rocks and "the forbidden tree, around [which was] coiled the serpent, and near it [stood] Adam and Eve in matchless innocence."[125]

Similarly, the art gallery "the finest, rarest, and most valuable collection of paintings ever exhibited west of the mountains" offered refuge for those who sought

> intelligence and beauty-the effects and offspring of polished culture-lend its enchantment to the noble object of charity, the greatest of virtues, from whose bright presence is reflected back additional splendor upon their already fine creations.[126]

The Pittsburgh Fair was very lucrative and raised more

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[124] "The Sanitary Fair: Floral Hall," The Pittsburgh Commercial 6 June 1864, 1, 5.

[125] Quote from Pittsburgh Gazette 1 June 1864, cited in Daniel, "The Sanitary Fair," 154-5. The statues of Adam and Eve were appropriately covered so as not to offend anyone. There was also a "Swiss Cottage" within the Floral Hall.

[126] "Art Gallery at the Fair," The Pittsburgh Commercial 10 June 1864, 2, 5.

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than $320,000.[127]

In the summer of 1864 a number of smaller cities followed suit and held their own fairs, some of which benefited local interests rather than any of the commissions; Wheeling, West Virginia; Stamford, Connecticut; Nantucket, Massachusetts; Dubuque, Iowa; and Quincy, Illinois. The first three, were smaller affairs but they imitated many of the features of the larger ones. Both the Nantucket and Stamford fairs were inaugurated with Grand Balls and the one in Wheeling even had a Curiosity Shop and Gallery of Fine Arts.[128] Those in Dubuque and Quincy were considerably larger.

Recording her impressions of the fair in Dubuque, Iowa, Mary Livermore, who had helped organize it, relayed that she

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[127] Although the fair was held in the name of the USSC, no money went into its central treasury. Of the proceeds, $50,000 was sent to Philadelphia for the benefit of the Christian Commission, and the rest was used for the construction of the "Pittsburgh Sanitary Soldiers' Home" at the end of the war.

[128] The art gallery at Wheeling was made up of amateur works. Announcements and details for the Grand Patriotic Festival in Wheeling were carried in the Daily Intelligencer [Wheeling] 10 June-9 July 1864. For the Soldier's Aid Fair in Stamford see The Stamford Advocate 22 July-5 August 1864. Notices for the Nantucket Union Fair, also called the Nantucket Sanitary Fair, were carried in The Inquirer [Nantucket] and The Weekly Mirror [Nantucket].

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> was prepared for something creditable, but was surprised by its beauty and magnitude. It was a wonderful fair, when all that pertained to it was fully comprehended. It was held west of the Mississippi, where the refinements and luxuries of civilization were not supposed to exist in large measure. It was held in a new state, where railroads were not numerous, and where prairie stage-coaches were still the principal conveniences for traveling …. There were no ladies and gentlemen among her people.

Furthermore, she expressed her astonishment when she entered the three-story City Hall in Dubuque and found it full of goods as varied as at any other fair.[129] With confidence she conveyed that "this latest born of the great sisterhood of fairs, seemed, … equal in beauty and general effect to any of its predecessors."[130] Indeed the fair displayed a remarkable variety and in the library of the City Hall there was a large collection of books and photographs and some oil paintings and engravings.[131]

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[129] The fair was held from 22 June-1 July 1864.

[130] Livermore, My Story of the War, 611-12.

[131] On view, at the Library of the City Hall were "two small exquisite harvest scenes," by Sylvester Phelps Hodgdon (1830-1906) of Boston, some European paintings, as well as a copy of Correggio's work of the Penitent Magdalen, "Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair," The Dubuque Daily Times 23 June 1864, 1, 2. Also on view were two landscape views by a Miss Birdsall, an artist "whose ability has been recognized in our largest cities." "Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair," The Dubuque Daily Times, 1, 4. These art works are cited in The Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair,… Dubuque, June 1864. Donations

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Finally the fair raised more than $90,000 in its limited week long run.

The Western Illinois Sanitary Fair, as the fair in Quincy was called, was housed in a immense structure of 255 by 78 feet, that was built expressly for the fair, and it had many of the features of larger fairs including a Post Office, an Indian Wigwam, a Holland Kitchen, the novel "'Uncle Tom's Cabin,' a veritable structure of logs, sticks and mud," and an Art Gallery.[132] The Art gallery which housed paintings, engravings and sculptures also accommodated a collection of birds, rabbits, and a double headed snake, but also "lovely landscapes and life-like portraits in oil, said to be copies from some of the old masters-from the Düsseldorf Gallery …."[133]

In the late summer and the fall of 1864, many mid-

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and Treasurers Report. (Dubuque: Marsh & Brothers, 1864) 47-48. There is no catalogue or list of the art works exhibited.

[132] "The Fair!!," The Freedom's Progress 1, 1 (11 October 1864): 2. This fair also had a Freedmen's Department and five issues of the Freedom's Progress was published for the benefit of the Freedmen's bureau. At least one number of a second newspaper entitled The Skirmisher was published at this fair.

[133] "The Art Gallery," Freedoms' Progress 1, 2 (12 October 1864): 2. This is the only reference to the art collection in the fair.

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Western states held their own fairs and "fair mania" reached the West coast. California had been very supportive of the USSC from the very beginning and indeed Stillé recognized that the "great 'Sanitary Fairs' of 1864, … would have never been organized had not the bounty of the Pacific States enabled the Commission to prove itself a National organization working on a National scale."[134]

A number of California cities held fairs, but the most successful one was in San Francisco for the benefit of the Ladies Christian Commission.[135] It is likely that the organizers might have felt that the coffers of the USSC were plentiful, with all the revenues from recent fairs, and they decided instead to patronize the CC. The event, was a local affair, organized largely by members of Evangelical churches and it run almost concurrently with the San Francisco Mechanics Fair, the two were housed in

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[134] Californians often boosted the coffers of the USSC with contributions that amounted to more than $370,000 by the end of December 1863. "Appendix, No. 5. Contributions Received from California," Stillé, History of the United States Commission, 539.

[135] Stillé lists three other fairs in California; a Sanitary Fair in San Joacquim County, a fair in Napa City, and a Children's Fair in San Francisco. All proceeds benefited the USSC. "Appendix, No. 5. Contributions Received from California," History of the United States Commission 540-541. For the San Francisco fair see, Dorothy H. Huggins, "Women in War-Time, San Francisco, 1864," California Historical Quarterly 24 (September 1945): 261-266.

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the same area.[136] Although on a much smaller scale, it had many of the same exhibits as the larger mid-Western and Eastern fairs.[137] The central attraction was its Floral Temple, and another exhibit "'Jacob's Well' was surrounded by a crowd of thirsty wayfarers, who kept white-robed Rebecca busy dipping her pitcher and filling the outheld cups."[138]

The fair also included a number of curiosities, colonial and war relics, and an art gallery and museum that were deemed the "most satisfactory sights …." The art gallery was considered a great success "aesthetically and

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[136] Controversy arose as to the relationship between the Mechanics Fair and that of the CC. The CC fair was expected to begin earlier, but the organizers of the Mechanics Fair feared that this may diminish their revenues, as people would not be willing to patronize two different fairs held so soon the one after the other. For the controversy see, "The Coming Fairs," Daily Evening Bulletin ([San Francisco] 4 August 1864, 2, 1. The Mechanics Fair run through the end of September and it included a 4,000 pound cheese which was donated to the Sanitary Fund. It sold for $1.00 a pound and brought $2,820 for the USSC see "That Cheese," Daily Alta California [San Francisco] 28 August 1864, 1, 1.

[137] A suggestion was made that a newspaper be published in conjunction to the fair but this doesn't seem to have materialized see, "Ladies Christian Commission Fair-A Suggestion," Daily Alta California [San Francisco], 22 August 1864, 1, 1.

[138] Huggins, "Women in War-Time, San Francisco, 1864," 264.

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financially."[139] By the third day more than 100 works were on exhibition in a room that proved to be too small and was uncomfortably crowded particularly in the evenings.

The museum contained a "cabinet of Japanese and Chinese bronzes, … [which gave] many new ideas of the capacity of the wonderful people who fashioned them, and who have given to some of these designs in bronze almost the grace and propriety of Grecian urns and vases."[140] There were also a number of musical and theatrical performances and tableaux given for the benefit of the fair. Raffling was prohibited, although items were disposed of by subscriptions.

On 27 August, a young Samuel Clemens, then a reporter for the San Francisco Daily Morning Call, recorded that

> The success of the Fair of the Christian Commission is no longer conjectural-it is

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[139] Ibid.

[140] "The Christian Commission Fair," Daily Evening Bulletin [San Francisco], 27 August 1864, 5, 3. It is quite unclear whether there was a distinction between the art gallery of the Christian Commission Fair and that of the Mechanics' Fair, considering that they were housed in the same space. There are reports that a catalogue of the art exhibition would be published but none was printed see "Paintings at the Grand Fair," Daily Alta California [San Francisco] 26 August 1863, 1, 1. By the third day of the fair one reviewer noted that the "Art gallery has been enriched by several gifts and loans; but was still without labels or catalogues …." "The Christian Commission Fair," Daily Evening Bulletin [San Francisco] 26 August 1864, 3, 4.

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> demonstrated fact. … It is proposed to continue the Fair almost a fortnight longer, and inasmuch as its popularity is steadily increasing, it requires no gift of prophecy to enable one to pronounce it a grand success in advance.[141]

Ultimately, "whatever little jealousies and sensitivenesses [sic] may have disturbed masculine minds and ruffled the newspaper press, the warm hearts of the women came together with one common, kindly motive," and the fair raised more than $20,000 for the CC.[142]

By early 1865, the novelty of the fairs had waned and the public was entirely skeptical of the need of fundraising for the USSC. Few fairs were held in the last months of the war, but a quite successful one was held from 8-12 January 1865 in St. Paul, Minnesota under the auspices of the local branch of the Sanitary Commission. The fair offered many of the same attractions as previous fairs, such as a post office and an art gallery, an exhibition of native Americans, as well as interesting curiosities such

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[141] Samuel Clemens, "The Fair," The San Francisco Daily Morning Call, 27 August 1864. For this reference I am indebted to Daniel Hoisington, editor of Edinborough Press.

[142] "Local Matters," Daily Evening Bulletin [San Francisco], 29 August 1864, 3, 3.

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as an elephant and a giant pig, and it netted more than $9,550.[143]

With the conclusion of the war approaching in the Spring of 1865, USSC commission members tried to persuade the public of the urgency of their support for the returning troops. Jane Hoge and Mary Livermore, who had continued their work with the USSC, realized all too well the need for its economic sustenance and decided to hold a second fair in Chicago.[144]

Contrary though to the extraordinary affirmation of their efforts at the 1863 fair, the revenues of this last Sanitary fair were well below the expectations of its organizers. Not only was the public less enthusiastic and committed but also the death of President Lincoln, who was expected to attend the fair, plunged the country into mourning.[145] Nonetheless, the 1865 fair was well attended

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[143] For a brief account of the fair see Goodrich, The Tribute Book, 283-85.

[144] The second Chicago Fair was a cooperative effort between the Chicago Soldier's Home, the USSC and the CC. There were no major fairs between January 1865 and the last Chicago Fair in May-June 1865.

[145] Lincoln's young son Tad attended the Chicago Fair, and the Lincoln Log Cabin was also exhibited at the fair, see "The Lincoln Log Cabin," Chicago Tribune 29 May 1865, 4, 1. A visit to the fair was quite expensive; a season ticket cost $3.00, and single entrance tickets to various departments ranged for adults, from $0.25 to $0.50,

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and the patriotic sentiment flowed freely, strongly reinforced by newspapers accounts. Visitors were reminded of the death of Lincoln, but they were also invited to rejoice at the end of the war. They were encouraged to patronize the fair because homebound troops needed more than ever the material and emotional support of their communities.[146] It was "confidently hoped that the pecuniary results of the approaching fair can be sufficient to complete the work, and the cheering military prospects cause us to feel that this is, in all probability, the LAST CALL."[147]

Contributions were solicited once again from mid-Western and many Eastern cities. Jane Hoge visited Brooklyn, New York and delivered an address, hoping to elicit a sympathetic and generous support for this second fair. In her lengthy and impassionate speech, Hoge related

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discounted tickets applied to children under 14 years old see, "The Prices of Admission to the Sanitary Fair," Evening Journal [Chicago] 29 May 1865, 4, 3.

[146] For the need of continued financial support, and the objections that the public might raise against the fair see North-Western Sanitary Fair, North-Western Sanitary Fair Circular to the Wholesale Grocers of Chicago, 1865.

[147] Northwestern Sanitary Fair: To the Friends of the Sanitary Commission in Minnesota. Circular, n. d., 1. I am indebted to Daniel J. Hoisington for this reference.

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her experiences with the wounded soldiers and invited her audience to offer their "grateful offerings, not as a bribe for future efforts, but a tribute of gratitude and justice; [so that] every sick and wounded soldier shall be restored to home and friends if he has them; and if not, have a 'Home' provided for him." [148]

Ellen Sherman, the wife of Tecumseh Sherman, who had recently moved to Chicago, expressed to her husband her desire to work at the fair and asked him for contributions. Sherman replied:

> I don't much approve of ladies selling things at a table. So far as superintending the management of such things, I don't object, but it merely looks unbecoming for a lady to stand behind a table to sell things. Still do as you please. I have nothing that would engross the profits …. I could collect plenty of trophies but have always refrained and think it best I should.[149]

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[148] "Address Delivered by Mrs. Hoge,… in Aid of the Great North Western Fair, to be Held at Chicago, Illinois, May 30th, 1865," U.S. Sanitary Commission Document No. 88 (New York, 1865), 21.

[149] Tecumseh Sherman, letter to Ellen Sherman, 23 March 1865, cited in Home Letters of General Sherman, ed. M. A. DeWolfe Howe (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), 335. At a later time, Sherman sent to his wife, "the Columbia flag and a Revolutionary seal." He told her that he distributed the circulars that she had sent, to others soliciting trophies but he also admitted; "it is embarrassing for me to engage in the business, as trophies of all kinds belong to Government, and I ought not to be privy to their conversion. Others do it, I know, but it shows the rapid decline in honesty of our people." Ibid, 346.

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The fair emphasized, yet again, the spirit of cooperation and unity which characterized the first Chicago Fair, and attested that the "distinctions of society have been erased for the hour, and men and women have stood upon the same place and labored for the same cause."[150]

All in all, the second Chicago fair offered a much-needed diversion at the end of the war. It temporarily distracted audiences from the uncertainty in the aftermath of Lincoln's assassination and demonstrated, for one last time, the commitment of the Chicagoans to the national well being.

The fair was located in a structure erected specifically for it on Dearborn Park, fronting on Lake Michigan (fig. 1). Besides Bryan Hall, used again for the fair, Monitor Hall, a large amphitheater was created with

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[150] "Glimpses of the Fair," Evening Journal [Chicago] 21 June 1865, 4, 2. Contrary to the first fair, the executive committee was comprised entirely by men under the presidency of Thomas B. Bryan. Blatchford acted again as its treasurer and Hoge and Livermore as corresponding secretaries. Mary Livermore devotes very little attention to the second fair, besides her visit to Lincoln, hoping to persuade him to attend the fair see, My Story of the War, 578-579.

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the intention of flooding it in order to recreate the battle between the Monitor and the Merrimac.[151]

The cosmopolitanism that characterized the exhibits of the first Chicago fair, was even more evident in this second one. Organizers extended their influence beyond the United States, as others had done in the meantime, and sent agents to many European countries, England and "even China."[152] The international department of the fair housed contributions from Americans living in Europe and England.[153] "The tourist of the Fair, [found] himself lost in foreign lands; [among] the rich and exquisite gifts of loyal wanderers in many lands, …."[154] The fair promised to

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[151] It seems that the construction of this hall was problematic, as it would not retain the water. See "Monitor Hall," Chicago Tribune 31 May 1865, 4, 4. There is no indication that there was a published history for the second Chicago fair. Information on the various departments and their contents was culled from circulars and reviews that appeared daily in the Evening Journal [Chicago] and the Chicago Tribune. See for example "Glimpses of the Fair," Evening Journal 31 May 1865, 4, 2-3.

[152] Henshaw, Our Branch and its Tributaries, 288.

[153] List of Contributions to the Northwestern Sanitary Fair from Friends in Europe. (Chicago: Journal Book & Job Printing Office, 1865). Those included fancy clothing items, and jewelry, an edition of Schiller's works, a nine volume edition of Shakespeare's workbooks, and photographic albums of old master paintings and a few small statues.

[154] Unidentified article. Chicago Northwestern Soldiers' Fair Collection. Chicago Historical Society.

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carry visitors "beyond "the continent" into Asia and the islands of the South seas." Union Hall, the main hall of the fair (fig. 2), was "Oriental in its brilliance, but American in its spirit, where science and art have conspired for sweet Mercy's Sake."[155]

Solicitations were extended to neighboring states and there was a proposal for a Minnesota Department, and a Cabinet of Indian Curiosities within it. The marketability of Native American culture was foremost in the minds of the organizers who declared that

> It is well known that Eastern people, many thousands of whom will be present, feel a great admiration for the savages, whom we fail to appreciate, and for their benefit it is intended to have present, if possible, some living specimens of "the poor Indian." We solicit contributions of Indian curiosities of every kind, such as birch canoes, medicine bags, snow shoes, tomahawks, and elk antlers, etc. These will not only afford an attractive exhibition, but, if donated to the department, will sell well.[156]

Indeed, "specimens of aboriginal chivalry- a quartette of braves, warriors, songsters … and champion dancers," were exhibited and their performances attracted

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[155] "Glimpses of the Fair," Evening Journal 29 May 1865, 4, 2.

[156] "Minnesota Department," in Northwestern Sanitary Fair: To the Friends of the Sanitary Commission in Minnesota, 2.

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considerable attention. Visitors were encouraged to see them "if only to show that they are not afraid of them."[157] The comment, in spite the dubious compliment, reflected the prevalent attitudes of the times. The men were treated as worthwhile curiosities, or even as dangerous and threatening savages, very much removed from the fine instincts of western society.[158]

In their imaginative offerings, the excitement they

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[157] "The Soldier's Fair," Chicago Tribune 15 June 1865, 4, 3. The condescending attitude is altogether evident in the comment of a reporter who referred to the exhibitions of Native American artifacts as "simple contrivances of our red brethren [which] present a strange contrast to the daily implements of society, afforded by the enlightenment of the eighteenth century, and yet they afford a feeling of sympathy for their peculiar history." "Old Curiosity Shop," The Daily Commercial [Pittsburgh] 2 June 1864, 2, 5.

[158] Indicative of such attitudes is the review of one of their performances:

> The Chippewa braves, redolent of the smoky wigwam, so suggestive of beaver, buffalo and jerked venison, took a trail, Indian file, through the multitudes of the Fair building, …. Arrayed in beads, blankets and immobility; tricked out with feathers, red ochre, and all the finery of war path and wilderness, they stalked silently through the city of alcoves, not a muscle of their bronze faces betraying wither admiration or surprise. Marvelous proper men, no doubt, in the dark eyes of many a squaw they left behind, we accept them as "the glass of fashion and the mould of form" in the aristocratic regions of savagery.

"Glimpses of the Fair," Evening Journal [Chicago] 30 June 1865, 4, 2.

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generated, the patriotic sentiment they engendered, all these lucrative fairs testified to the earnest desire of their organizers to excel in their effort and prove their city's singular commitment to helping out Union soldiers. However, their munificent contributions and grand rhetoric did not compare, in the least, to the overwhelming enterprises of the Metropolitan Fair in New York and the Great Central Fair in Philadelphia the two most successful of all the fairs.

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Other Civil War Fairs

Although the fairs held in the name of the USSC, the WSC or the CC, were the most extravagant fundraising events of the Civil War, a number of other concerns used this well rehearsed venue to raise money for a variety of war related needs, those of the Ladies Hospital Association in Rochester already noted. Few fairs were held in support of Sailors serving in the Union army, but other charitable undertakings funded local interests as well as soldiers' homes, intended to accommodate troops on the way to the front and back, and even the last Sanitary Fair in Chicago was earmarked for both the USSC and the local soldier's home.

Almost a year after their successful Sanitary Fair, Bostonians concentrated their efforts from 9-19 November of 1864 on a National Sailor's Fair whose most distinguished feature was its newspaper, The Boatswain's Whistle, that was edited by Julia Ward Howe, and had a remarkable editorial council that included among others John Greenleaf Whittier, Oliver Wendell Holmes and Edward Everett. The newspaper included comments on the fair, accounts of life at sea, a variety of poetry such as a poem entitled "Sea-Shore" by Ralph Waldo Emerson, and art reviews. The

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lengthier of these was a biography on Harriet Hosmer whose statue of Zenobia of 1858, was expected for exhibition in Boston.[159]

The fair featured a few art works such as "a crayon head by Rowse, [Samuel Worcester Rowse, 1822-1901] … much admired," and "a good painting of ducklings by H. D. Morse, [Henry Dutton Morse 1826-1888]" as well as "several skillfully executed photographs taken by the artist Bierstadt," but visitors to the fair also enjoyed a large art exhibition at the Boston Athenaeum. Besides the works that were on view in 1863 for the Boston Sanitary Fair, there were important additions, including Allston's monumental The Angel Releasing St. Peter from Prison, (1814-1816, Museum of Fine Arts Boston), many landscapes by Robert Salmon, portraits by Joseph Blackburn (active in America 1754-1763/64) and John Smibert (1688-1751) many portraits by Copley and a single work by George Inness (1825-1894) his Sign on Promise, of 1862, (no. 358) which was later painted over with his Peace and Plenty of 1865 (Metropolitan Museum of Art).[160]

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[159] S. C., "Harriet Hosmer," Boatswain's Whistle 1, no. 9 (18 November 1864): 65-66. Emerson's poem appeared in the same issue on page 65.

[160] For the art exhibition see Catalogue of Paintings and Statuary, Exhibited for the Benefit of the National

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The Sign of Promise was exhibited in New York in 1863 and was described as "a comingling [sic] of vaporous clouds and azure sky, murmuring stream and quiet meadow, field and forest, hills and mountains, and over all the rainbow of hope, following the storm, gives glorious promise of peace and joy to come."[161] Henry Tuckerman also recognized the political impact of the work when he suggested that "The picture has a moral in its subject and a moral in its treatment. It expresses hopefulness, the promise of good; it implies a divine purpose."[162]

A few weeks after the National Sailor's Fair, a most successful fundraiser was realized in Springfield, Massachusetts from 19-22 December 1864, for the benefit of its local Soldier's Rest, a soldier's home.[163] Held in the

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Sailor's Fair, at the Athenaeum Gallery, … Boston. 1864. (Boston: Fred Rogers, 1864). The information on the overpainting of The Sign of Promise and a discussion of the work see, Angela Miller, The Empire of the Eye: Landscape Representation and American Cultural Politics 1825-1875 (Ithaca, London: Cornell University Press, 1993) 114-115.

[161] Quoted in Nicolai Cikovsky, Jr., George Inness (New York: Praeger, 1971) 34.

[162] Henry T. Tuckerman, Book of the Artists (1867; reprint, New York: James F. Carr, 1966) 529.

[163] Springfield was a stopover point for sick and wounded soldiers from the Northeast. Its Soldier's Rest, a convalescent home, was supported by local funds that were

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City Hall, the fair was centered around a floral arbor, "artistically designed and wreathed entirely … with evergreens, with birds and squirrels here and there among the foliage." It also had a children's department, a post office, and a curiosity shop that featured "the veritable maul with which Abraham Lincoln used to split rails," and an art gallery of more than 140 works.[164]

"Art lovers," were encouraged to "avail themselves of an opportunity not likely to present itself again, and we venture to say that all will be surprised and gratified by the merits and beauty of the collection." Credit was given to local collectors and artists for their "hearty response" as the show was indeed remarkable in its wealth of American pictures.[165] Local artists William Shaw Tiffany (1824-1907), Henry Lewis (1819-1904), William S. Elwell (1810-1881) contributed their landscapes and portraits, and Denison

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greatly diminished in the spring and summer of 1864 due to the increased numbers of soldiers returning from the battlefield. The fair was called in order to expand the building and continue its operation.

[164] "Springfield Soldier's Fair," The Springfield Republican 20 December 1864, 2, 2-4. For the art gallery see Catalogue of Paintings; contributed by the Citizens of Springfield… at the Soldier's Fair, Opened in Springfield Dec. 19, 1864. (Springfield: n. p., 1864).

[165] "The Art Gallery," The Springfield Musket 1, 2 (21 December 1864): 4.

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Kimberly (1814-1863) an artist who had "done himself great credit as a copyist" was represented mostly by copies after the Old Masters.[166] The most important resident artist, Chester Harding (1792-1866) enriched the collection by his own works and those of other artists.

The exhibition also featured works by George Henry Durrie (1820-1863), a couple of pictures by Gignoux and singular examples by Walter Mason Oddie (1805-1865) Albert Fitch Bellows (1829-1883), Boughton, Paul Weber and William Hart (1823-1894), Gilbert Stuart (1755-1828) and others. There were many copies of European works, but the only two originals were a landscape by Constant Troyon (1810-1865), A Forest Scene (no. 33) that according to a report was presented by the artist himself to William Tiffany and a genre work by Hübner.[167]

Harding's portraits attracted particular attention and his picture of Daniel Webster (no. 85) was considered "the most prominent" in the show for it recorded with great precision and no flattery, the care-worn face of the elderly intellectual. Hart's Autumn in the White Hills (no.

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[166] "More About the Art Gallery," The Springfield Musket 1, 3 (22 December 1864): 5.

[167] "The Art Gallery," The Springfield Musket.

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100) was "a perfect little gem," and The Helping Hand (no. 40) by Boughton, "an American artist … often called, from a similarity of style, the American Frére," also stood out in the collection.[168]

As it had been the case with many of the art galleries of the Sanitary Fairs this was seen as an expression of the fact "that the citizens of Springfield have had the taste to adorn their homes with such creditable specimens of art; and … that they have so freely given these cherished treasures, at not a little risk, in aid of the Fair."[169]

In spite concerns that "Fair newspapers are getting to be a great bore,' organizers forged ahead and published four issues of The Springfield Musket.[170] This was a rather sophisticated publication that featured, besides descriptions of the fair, a variety of articles such as one on creating a fern garden, on the progress of education in the United States, a commentary on Frances Trollope on the occasion of her death, poetry by Henry W. Longfellow, book

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[168] "More About the Art Gallery," The Springfield Musket. and "The Art Gallery," The Springfield Musket.

[169] "The Art Gallery," The Springfield Musket.

[170] "The Musket," The Springfield Musket 1, 4 (23 December 1864): 4.

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reviews and short reviews of the art gallery of the fair.

On the first day a total of $3,848 was recorded from sales and entrance receipts and those last amounted to $1,100 from a single admission fee of $0.25. At the end of the four days, more than $18,000 was raised for the soldier's home.

Lastly, a Ladies' Michigan State Fair, was held in Detroit for the benefit of freedmen and refugees and it included a Fine Arts Gallery, which featured scenes of Native Americans by John Mix Stanley (1814-1872), landscape paintings by Joseph Hekking and works by Robert S. Duncanson (1821-1872).[171] Duncanson's Uncle Tom and Little Eva of 1853, a work based on Harriett Beecher Stowe's popular novel Uncle Tom's Cabin, although not one of his most successful works, offered a sympathetic view of the kind and trustworthy African American man who was depicted caring for the young Caucasian girl, thus making it a perfectly appropriate subject for the fair.[172]

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[171] This brief citation of the fair is based on the account provided by Gerdts, Art Across America, 2, 238. In spite communications with the Burton Historical Collection at the Detroit Public Library, I have been unable to secure information on the fair.

[172] The work was commissioned by Reverend James Francis Conover, the editor of the Detroit Tribune, who was a strong abolitionist agitator in the city.

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In spite their modest size these fairs depended for their success upon the proven fundraising methods that had been applied in the larger fairs. Their organizers chose the most profitable ventures and then adjusted their scale to what was locally feasible, but their ambitions and in some cases their achievements, particularly in regards to the art galleries were often comparable to those of some larger urban centers.

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CHAPTER III

The "Mammoth Fairs:"[1] The Metropolitan Fair and the Great Central Fair

The introductory commentary to the Record of the Metropolitan Fair, held in New York City from 4-23 April 1864, stated that the fair would be

> universal; enlisting all sympathies from the highest to the lowest-democratic, without being vulgar, elegant, without being exclusive; fashionable, without being frivolous; popular without being mediocre, in short, it must be inspired from the higher classes, but animate, include and win the sympathies and interest of all classes."[2]

The ideological message of the fair was all too evident; as was often the case the organizational echelon was occupied by prominent New Yorkers who assumed complete stewardship over the enterprise and attempted to impress upon it their cultural superiority hoping to unite the financially, culturally and politically heterogeneous New York population. The particular issues confronting the

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[1] Livermore, My Story of the War, 563.

[2] A Record of the Metropolitan Fair in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission, Held at New York, in April, 1864. (New York: Hurd & Houghton, 1867) 2.

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organizers of the Metropolitan Fair were uppermost in the mind of Bellows who realized that

> The extend of the population, the distinct nationalities, separate spheres of interest, the various layers of independent life, composing New York, with the political, religious, and social jealousies prevailing here, make a grand common movement, for any end or object, a triumph of sagacious arrangement and organized address.[3]

New York was radically divided and indeed, Fernando Wood, the mayor of New York at the beginning of the war, had pro-southern sympathies; in early April 1861, Wood proposed that New York abandon the Union. The 1862 gubernatorial election brought to power Horatio Seymour, whose anti-abolitionist rhetoric would later be held responsible for the anti-draft riots in New York City. Throughout the war, Democrats had significant power within the local government and the political corruption of William Marcy Tweed of Tammany Hall dominated the city. Moreover, New York's economy was dependent on the preservation of the Southern way of life. Many in the city's financial and commercial circles were concerned with the impact that the war would have on their interests. Banks financed agricultural activities in the South, New

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[3] "The Sanitary Fair," The World [New York] 5 April 1864, 3, 5.

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York merchants provided the Southern elite with fashionable goods and of course, many New Yorkers had familial ties with prominent Southern families.[4]

The Metropolitan Fair was intended to spur patriotic sentiment and encourage allegiance to the Union, and was essentially directed by members of the Sanitary Commission.[5] Many of its organizers including Bellows, Strong, Wolcott Gibbs, George Griswold, Jonathan Sturges and Richard Morris Hunt (1827-1895) were founding members of the Union League Club, just a year earlier.[6] Prominent New Yorkers, members of the club, participated in the Executive Committee of the

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[4] For the political and economic tensions in New York see, Will Irwin, Earl Chapin May and Joseph Hotchkiss, A History of the Union League Club of New York City (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1952), 10-11.

[5] Unfortunately, Bellows was unable to be present at the fair. The death in 1864, in San Francisco of Thomas Starr King, the charismatic Unitarian pastor and one of the most popular speakers at mid century, who had been an ardent supporter of the Commission since its inception, forced him to move to San Francisco in order to assist King's parish. In California, Bellows continued to promote actively the interests of the USSC in speeches and newspaper articles see, "The Sanitary Meeting Last Night-Address of Dr. Bellows-Large Gathering of Unionists," Daily Evening Bulletin [California] 14 May 1864, 3, 3-4.

[6] Jonathan Sturges was the Club's president for 1864. For the founding members of the Union League Club and its activities in the Civil War see, Irwin, May and Joseph Hotchkiss, A History of the Union League Club of New York City, 20-21 and 27-47.

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fair. The "Gentlemen's Association" included Abraham Cozzens, Willam Blodgett, Alexander van Rensselaer, Lloyd Aspinwall, Jonathan Sturges, Marshall O. Roberts, whose wives sat on the "Ladies' Association" along with Mrs. John Jacob Astor, Mrs. August Belmont, Mrs. Richard M. Hunt, Mrs. George Strong, Mrs. Hamilton Fish and the daughter of Philip Hone.[7] The Metropolitan Fair also held the singular distinction of having an ex-President as a member of one of its committees; Honorary Millard Fillmore, who served on the "Committee of Contributions from without the City."[8] These individuals and many others used their social acumen and their economic influence and commanded the fair.

Excitement and the desire to outdo Brooklyn quickly took over. New Yorkers worked feverishly for the fair and a "wounded soldier," recorded that the "fair, for a month

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[7] "Officers," Metropolitan Fair in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission (New York: Charles O. Jones, 1864) 6-7. Although organizational and executive responsibility rested with two associations one of men and another of women, the Standing Committee of the USSC reserved the right to settle disputes among them, see The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 1 April 1864, 422.

[8] "Officers," Metropolitan Fair in Aid …, 10. His participation in the fair is quite interesting considering that he was responsible for the Compromise of 1850, the bill that ratified the very controversial Fugitive Slave Act that allowed for the extradition of black escapees back to their slave owners.

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before it opened, had become a monster, living on human flesh. It demanded … a lady a day, and a very well dressed lady at that;"[9] George Templeton Strong, who worked ardently for the fair, noted in his diary the enthusiasm that the event created; the "whole city is bubbling and fizzing with the Fair and the Sanitary Commission. I wonder people are not worn out with it, and that the words Sanitary Commission do not produce the effect of a heavy dose of tartar emetic."[10] Jane Newton Woolsey however wrote that it was "difficult not to feel so [enthusiastic] when everybody else is full of excitement about it."[11]

In spite the enthusiasm and the commitment of so many, difficulties in securing adequate accommodations and the

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[9] "Recollections of the Metropolitan Fair in New York," Our Daily Fare 1, 1 (8 June 1864): 2.

[10] The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 14 March 1864, 414. Strong was amazed that he along "with two or three other New Yorkers, should have the right to decide questions so large, confided to [them] somehow or other, nobody can exactly say how or by whom." Although Strong as the Treasurer of the USSC, was responsible for decisions at the fair he was not a member of the Executive Committee of the Gentlemen's Association, nor of any other committee.

[11] Jane Newton Woolsey to Jane Stuart Woolsey, 9 March 1864, cited in Sylvia G. L. Dannet, ed. Noble Women of the North (New York and London: Thomas Yoseloff, 1959) 278. Woolsey and most of her seven daughters were involved in earnest with various war relief efforts, including the Metropolitan Fair. Woolsey and one of her daughters worked for the floral department of the fair.

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debate over the morality of raffling forced organizers to postpone the fair's opening in order to settle the issues.[12] By mid-February 1864, Strong admitted that the "nasty raffling question, and the question whether sufficient area has been secured, are embarrassing."[13] By late February 1864, he was still visiting sites that could accommodate the fair, because he and many in the Ladies' Association realized that the proposed locations and the extant structures that had already been secured, were insufficient for the number of the exhibits and the anticipated crowds.[14]

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[12] The overarching control of the USSC over the fair was all too evident in their directive regarding this issue. The Standing Committee of the USSC decided against the practice, both on legal and moral grounds. In a letter addressed to the Ladies' Committee of the Executive Board of the Metropolitan Fair, Bellows and other members of the Standing Committee of the USSC suggested that raffling was an unacceptable practice not only because it was illegal but most importantly because the USSC dedicated to "maintaining the cause of law and order" could not approve of "an illegal proceeding, even if winked at by the authorities or authorized by cosium." The Commission also stated that "its disuse [was] precisely proportioned to the advance of law, order and moral and Christian culture." "No Raffling at the New York Fair," Cleveland Morning Leader 26 February 1864, 1, 1. The issue was reported widely in local newspapers see "The Morality of Raffling," The Leader [New York] 20 February 1864, 4, 4. The issue had also been addressed in "The Fairs," The Sanitary Commission Bulletin (15 February 1864): 233.

[13] The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 17 February 1864, 406.

[14] Strong noted in his diary that in preparation for the

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He recorded in detail the trials regarding the issue and the frustration of the ladies of the Executive Committee who finally had "taken the providing of additional space into their own hands," and appealed directly to the mayor of New York who satisfied their demands.[15]

Furthermore, conflicting individual temperaments and talents of committee members, often blighted the fair. Considering the great number of people involved, each one of them believing earnestly in the usefulness and propriety of their opinion, intense disagreements arose all too often. Strong testified to the tensions that were evident and the "quantity of gossip, intrigue, and personal pique [which was] stupendous and terrible."[16] Contrary to most

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fair he met with a convention of "boss carpenters," who wanted to know about the "objects, methods and results of the Commission." The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 2 March 1864, 410. Their manager, according to Strong, was James Renwick. I am not sure whether he refers to James Renwick, Sr., a professor at Columbia University who in 1814 had submitted a Gothic design for the university, or his son, James Renwick Jr. Strong may have known the elder through his affiliation with the school. A James Renwick is listed as the Chairman of the Committee on Architectural Ornaments for the fair see, "Special Committees," Metropolitan Fair in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission, 8. Complete Copy in Furness Papers, Box 2, Folder 4, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

[15] The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 14 March 1864, 413.

[16] Ibid, 28 March 1864, 419.

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other fairs, where women were ultimately the ones who received the approbation, praise, and support of men, the female members of the executive committee encountered constant antagonism from male committee members.[17] Strong often castigated the attitudes of the men who had done nothing but "thwart, snub, insult, and override the ladies' committee in the most disgusting, offensive, and lowbred way. Their general course has been snobbish and stupid."[18] In the official history of the fair it was recognized that

> The men of New York, with few exceptions, doubted the success of the enterprise-at least doubted its having any such success as the ladies hoped for …. So they would naturally, if the matter had been in their hands, have limited the scope of the undertaking; and as it was, the tendency of their counsels was generally toward economy, toward lowering enthusiasm, and cutting down the plans of the ladies. … So the ladies had sometimes to carry out their faith over the head of unbelief, …. Not that the ladies were not indebted to the men for cooperation, for help in a hundred ways where their own strength would have been insufficient. … Perhaps it would be most nearly just to say that it was the union of woman's faith with man's experience, and the

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[17] For an excellent account of the tensions of the Metropolitan Fair see Attie, ""A Swindling Concern …," 289-301. Strong often acted as a mediator trying to appease the flaring temperaments among committee members see, The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 8 March 1864, 412, and 14 March 1864, 413.

[18] The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 1 April 1864, 421-22.

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> energy and constancy of both, that insured the fortunate result.[19]

To add insult to injury, women organizers were not included on the official platform during the opening ceremonies, and none was invited to speak. Major-General Dix delivered the opening speech on inauguration day, and acknowledged the contributions of women to the organization of the fair and entrusted them with its success. However, since none of them was present on the platform, Joseph H. Choate accepted the responsibility and spoke on their behalf.[20]

While those responsible for the Metropolitan Fair

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[19] A Record of the Metropolitan Fair, 13-14.

[20] "Address of General Dix" and "Reply of Mr. Choate," The New York Times 5 April 1864, 8, 1. The contributions of the women organizers to the Metropolitan Fair were validated by Bellows who in a letter acknowledged that

> Whatever difficulties may in our cities have attended similar enterprises, no persons, who have ever attempted to unite this heterogeneous metropolis in any common object, political, social or humane, can doubt that obstacles to be overcome, are in the nature of things vastly greater here than anywhere else in our country… A successful presidential campaign in this city requires less labor, and patience, and skill, than you have shown in mastering such immense forces and uniting so vast a population of our New York population in the Metropolitan Fair.

"The Sanitary Fair," The World 5 April 1864, 3, 5.

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battled onerous dissent and continual postponement, the neighboring city of Brooklyn watched anxiously and waited impatiently for the opening of the fair and challenged New Yorkers to surpass its own success. A reporter for the Brooklyn Daily Eagle took revenge on the slight that the Brooklyn and Long Island Fair had suffered in the hands of New York newspapers and criticized the organizers of the Metropolitan Fair for their inability to have everything ready on opening day and for soliciting the cooperation of the state of New Jersey. "We had hoped that the city of New York, who has never tired of twitting rustic Brooklyn, would be strong enough to go it alone and have a fair competition in the honorable strife." On the eve of its inauguration, he found the fair in an "inchoate state of affairs."[21]

On 4 April 1864, however, the fair displaced even war news from the front pages of both the New York Herald and the New York Times both of which carried full-page descriptions of the fairs, detailing the inaugural activities and describing the various departments. On 2 April 1864, C. Godfrey Gunther, the Mayor of the city,

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[21] "The Metropolitan Fair," The Brooklyn Daily Eagle 4 April 1864, 2, 4.

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issued a proclamation in "view of the importance of the occasion, and the praiseworthy associations connected with this labor of love," and recommended that the day be observed as a holiday by everyone "except works of charity and necessity."[22]

The fair was an extraordinary undertaking that, its problems notwithstanding, testified to the tenacity, perseverance, ambitions, and influence of its organizers.

> The Metropolitan Fair is a grand conception; grand, not alone in its object, but in the magnificence with which it is gotten up. The wonders of the Crystal Palace pale before the splendor of this extraordinary exhibition. Lavishness of expense, a liberality that knows no bounds, and a fund of charity, which is always living and active in the community, are the characteristics of the enterprise; but the 'greatest of these is charity'."[23]

A spectacular parade of 10,000 military men including infantry, cavalry and artillery accompanied by 27 bands, opened the fair and initiated a period of feverish activity. Joseph H. Choate challenged the "great Metropolis, rolling in wealth, plunged to the lips in luxury, not only [to] surpass the contributions of any one

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[22] "The Metropolitan Fair," New York Times 3 April 1864, 8, 1.

[23] "The Metropolitan Fair-The Opening Day." New York Herald, 4 April 1864, 4, 3.

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of her sister cities in this strife of love, but more than all the rest together" and he urged "the bloated fortunes of merchants and traders" to come forth for the benefit of the Commission.[24] Cornelius Vanderbilt answered the call first and offered $100,000 and Alexander T. Stewart immediately matched the contribution.

The pageantry of the inaugurations heightened the feeling of excitement and well being that the fairs wanted to promote. Duly reported in the press, the well orchestrated speeches, emphasized the propriety of the struggle and the need to support the soldiers in their fight against the vice of slavery, but they also extended a call for unity and cooperation in spite the adversities of the times. The fair was an unprecedented undertaking in its size, complexity and ideology.

The main exhibition, the Metropolitan Hall, located in the 22nd Regiment Armory which was expanded and outfitted especially for the fair, occupied a whole city block from fourteenth to fifteenth street (fig. 3).[25] It housed the

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[24] "Metropolitan Fair," The New York Times 5 April 1864, 8, 1.

[25] It was decided that "… the lot of ground on fourteenth street between Sixth and Seventh Avenues lately known as Palace Garden was the most eligible which the Committee had discovered …," for accommodating the expanded needs of the fair. "Minutes. Metropolitan Fair in Aid of the U.S.

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Floral Temple, The Department of Arts and Trophies, the Art Gallery, the Indian Department, exhibitions by both the New York Police and Fire Departments, various county and state booths, the Curiosity Shop, the New Jersey Department, the Post Office, and the Department of Carriages and Farmer's Implements and a Restaurant.

Another structure fronting on the north side of Union Square, the cost of which was underwritten by the USSC, accommodated the International Hall, the Knickerbocker Kitchen, the Music Hall and the Children's Department.[26] According to Strong, "their architect, White, has done his hurried job wisely and well."[27] The structure was described

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Sanitary Commission," 9, Manuscript, Theater Division, Museum of the City of New York.

[26] Strong mentions that the cost will be underwritten by the Commission see, The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 14 March 1864, 413-14. The choice of Union Square as the site of this second building may not have depended entirely on the availability and size of the area. Union Square was one of the most fashionable districts until the 1860's but in 1863 it was also the site of the Draft Riots. The Union League Club was also located in the area, on 26 East Seventeenth Street. For Union Square during the period see, A History of the Union League Club of New York City, 27-29.

[27] The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 4 April 1864, 427. The reference is most likely to Richard Grant White, who was the Secretary of the Gentlemen's Association for the fair. He was the father of Stanford White (1853-1906), had served on the art jury for the New York Crystal Palace exhibition and is listed as the author of the art catalogue for that fair. He was primarily known as a literary figure in New York; in the early 1850's he prepared an annotated

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as "a tremendous and expensive building … reaching from Broadway to Fourth Avenue, … a long barrack with the end buildings one story higher, truss roof, huge oriel windows and fine planed plank throughout."[28] Richard Morris Hunt, a member of the committee on Arrangements and Decorations, was responsible for its interior decoration and Strong recognized that he had "put all his taste and all his indomitable energy into [it] and produced a series of most artistic and splendid interiors at little cost."[29]

Illustrations in contemporary publications testify that the end result was indeed a feast for the mind and the senses, but a visit to the fair required a serious financial outlay. A season ticket cost $5.00 and an additional $2.00 was charged for the celebrations of the

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edition of Shakespeare's plays. He also served as an editor for many journals and wrote criticism for music and the theater, but I could find no information that he was an architect as well. For Richard Grant White see, Paul Baker, The Gilded Life of Stanford White (New York & London: Free Press & McMillan, 1989) 2ff.

[28] Abby Howland Woolsey to Jane Stuart Woolsey and Geoegeanna M. Woolsey, 30 March 1864, cited in Dannet, Noble Women of the North, 280.

[29] The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 4 April 1864, 427. The committee included among others, James Renwick, Lloyd Aspinwall, and the wives of Hunt, John Jacob Astor, August Belmont and John Jay. "Special Committees," Metropolitan Fair in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission, 9.

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opening day. Admission to the Art Gallery, the Indian Department and the Department of Arts and Trophies and the Curiosity Shop cost $0.25, and all musical and theatrical entertainments required an extra charge.[30] Some complained that tickets to the fair were exorbitantly expensive and that prices charged for goods were quite excessive because individuals wanted to overvalue the worth of their contributions.[31]

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[30] "The Ticket Department," The New York Times 4 April 1864, 1, 3. On the second day, admission price was $1.00, and it was expected to be $0.50 thereafter, but as crowds overwhelmed the fair, the organizers announced the admission would remain at $1.00. Average expenditure at the fair ranged from about $1.75 to $4.00, including meals, at a time when median daily wages for males ranged from $1.64 in the manufacturing industry to $2.55 in the building trade. For average wage figures see Clarence D. Long, Wages and Earnings in the United States 1860-1890 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1960) 14 f. Wages were higher for skilled workers particularly for machinists, metal and shipyard workers. Machinists in 1862 were paid from $3.50 to 4.50 a day and their wages rose steadily in 1863 and 1864 see, Ernest McKay, The Civil War and New York City (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990) 219f. A humorous account of the exorbitant charges for all the components of the fair was published by a fair visitor under the pen name of Mc Arone. He asserted that after only two hours at the fair he had spent twenty-four dollars, and mocked the fact that almost at every turn the visitor was faced with yet additional charges. "Mc Arone," The Leader [New York] 9 April 1864, 5, 3.

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> This error is in most cases attributable to the contributors, who, for the purpose of enhancing the supposed value of their goods, have marked them with exorbitant prices, leaving them thereby unsold, and making it imperative that at the

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In spite the expense, throngs crowded the fair. In just the first two days, receipts amounted to $150,000, and on the second day, more than 13,000 people were recorded in attendance.[32] Besides the attractions in the fair proper, there were a host of other events held in its benefit. Theatrical and musical performances were given at various locations and the fair dominated the life of New York.

On the second week of its run, the admission price was temporarily lowered to $0.50 and it was feared that:

> the reduced rates would increase the attendance proportionately, and that the *profanus vulgus* [italics in text]-the hewers of wood and the drawers of water-would become mixed in the mazes of the Fair with the representatives of the upper ten, the shoddy and the codfish aristocracy.[33]

The statement concealed the obvious tensions and social divisions that defined New York City since the draft riots of 1863. The social and economic disparities between the ever-increasing immigrant population, the freed blacks

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> close of the Fair they should be sold at a real sacrifice.

"Town Gossip," Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper (30 April 1864): 82.

[32] "The Metropolitan Fair," Harper's Weekly 8, 381 (16 April 1864): 228.

[33] "The Fair," New York Herald, 8 April 1864, 1, 5.

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and the moneyed elite plagued the city.[34] The organizers desired to create a seemingly democratic experience stamped with a distinctly refined outlook that would elevate cultural appreciation and promote a harmonious coexistence. It was hoped that the fair would "cement and unify the community in patriotic feeling, and bind it together with the ties of humane and kindly sympathy. It [would] help close up the sore gashes, heal the bruises, and obliterate the sears of … recent political struggles."[35] Organizers attempted to create a safe, pleasant and fascinating microcosm, where audiences could enjoy the illusion, at least, of calm and security. In a city that was socially, economically and politically divided, the "highbrow" attitude of the fair only seemed to reinforce the inequalities and challenge the tenuous peace among opposing factions.

Furthermore, the fair was held in the midst of an economic depression. Although wealthy New Yorkers, such as the Vanderbilts, the Belmonts, the Astors, and the Stewarts enjoyed extravagances never known before, many suffered a

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[34] For the political, social and economic tensions in New York see Ernest McKay, The Civil War and New York City.

[35] Metropolitan Fair in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission, 5-6.

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life of deprivation and poverty.[36] Strong recorded his own forays to the opera, to artists studios and art exhibitions but wrote with cynicism of Alexander T. Stewart's intention of spending "one million on a new white marble palazzo," and wondered whether New Yorkers would have to pay for "butter a dollar a pound."[37] Maria Lydig Daly recorded her family's financial aid to the poor and admitted that if the situation would continue her family would have to ask for charity as well. Daly, whose husband Charles P. Daly was a judge and a member of the Union League Club, was disturbed by the excesses demonstrated by the wealthy and declared that "all foreigners look at us with astonishment (I should think too with disgust) to see how little we as people seem

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[36] In 1863, A. T. Steward, William Astor and Cornelius Vanderbilt declared incomes that amounted to more than 1.5 millions. For a discussion of the economic prosperity of the upper class in New York see McKay, "Living" in The Civil War and New York City, 216-229.

[37] Strong recorded his visit to the Düsseldorf Gallery where the collection of John Wolfe was being auctioned and confessed that "their sale [was] a domestic tragedy." John Wolfe, a merchant with extensive contacts with the South suffered greatly with the war and was forced to sell his art collection. The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 19 December 1863, 382. For Stewart see ibid., 21 March 1864, 416, and for the economic hardships 2 April 1864, 423. Finally Strong related that the stock market crashed and that "sundry, large fortunes … evaporated suddenly and quietly …." Ibid, 18 April 1864, 430.

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to feel the dreadful state of the country."[38]

Strong was all too aware of the political and economic tensions that defined life in New York, and was vigilant about preventing "any memorable calamity and catastrophe," at the fair. His "self-assumed mission was to confer with the police department and the fire department about the fearful possibility of fire, panic, and slaughter."[39] He was concerned that "any malignant, devilish Copperhead or sympathizer" could ignite a fire in the fair buildings and then "Richmond papers would laud and magnify any such transaction, and there were many beasts in the community who would like to be concerned in it, could it be safely done."[40]

The fair absorbed the attention and the energies of hundreds of volunteers who literally toiled for days, aiming to surpass any prediction as to the financial outcome of the fair, by encouraging visitors to see all the

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[38] Harold Earl Hammond, ed. Diary of a Union Lady 1861-1865, 19 April 1864, 290.

[39] The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 4 April 1864, 423. An indication of the threat of insurrection and trouble was the fact that the fair was the first and only one that had whole departments dedicated to the police and fire forces in the city.

[40] Ibid.

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departments and participate in all events and fundraisers. Adelaide W. Smith, who worked in the Arms and Trophy Department remarked that a

> number of distinguished, elegantly gowned women toiled here indefatigably, brimming over with excitement and patriotism, quite regardless of the unusual fatigue of standing and working so many hours daily, in their anxiety to allow no one to pass without contributing in some way to the fund, now reaching thousands of dollars.[41]

Although most newspapers looked approvingly at the whole enterprise, The New York Leader suggested that the managers of the fair had joined in

> cliques, "rings," or close corporations, and insist upon having all the credit and discredit of the arrangements. … Everything the managers have done has been grossly mismanaged.[42]

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[41] Cited in Dannet, Noble Women of the North, 276. The successes of the fair were reported in many other states and even reached the West coast. Many articles on the fair appeared in two San Francisco newspapers, the Alta California and the Daily Evening Bulletin see for example, "The San Franciscan in Gotham," Daily Evening Bulletin [San Francisco] 10 May 1864, 1, 1, and "Worries of the Ladies of the New York Sanitary Fair," Daily Evening Bulletin [San Francisco] 28 May 1864, 1, 6.

[42] "Notes on the Sanitary Fair," The Leader [New York] 9 April 1864, 4, 2. The reporter went on the complain about the inadequacy of ventilation, of provisions at the Knickerbocker kitchen, about the Fair newspaper that was "too stupid to read," and the sobriety of the all-black clothing that women attending the tables were required to wear. But, he acknowledged that "The chief points of interest in the Fair are the Indian Lodge, the picture gallery, [and] the Knickerbocker kitchen …." And he added "Those who like the other side of the picture better will find it in the rosy, poetical, highly-colored and imaginative reports of the journals. We prefer facts to

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Many considered the fair as an outstanding indication of the city's patriotic sentiment and Union ideals, while others regarded it with skepticism and questioned the motives of the donors. Harriet Roosevelt Woolsey found New York during the fair,

> in really a disgusting state of fashionable excitement; nothing is talked of or thought of, or dreamed of but the big Metropolitan Fair! Mrs. Parker has her two thousand-dollar tea sets to dispose of; Kate Hunt her two-hundred dollar curtains; Mrs. Schermerhorn her elegant watches; and Mrs. Somebody else the beautiful jewelry sent from Rome for the Sanitary Commission ….[43]

Maria Daly considered the fair "the apotheosis of fashionable and cheap patriotism on the part of many, particularly the lady portion (those who have given excepted)."[44] In spite of her reservations however, Daly bought a season ticket and frequented the fair.

On one occasion she visited the Knickerbocker Kitchen, in the Metropolitan Hall, which had been described as "without exception, the jolliest, liveliest, pleasantest place in the fair;" As in Brooklyn, prominent women

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fiction, But, by all means, go to the Fair." Ibid.

[43] Harriet Roosevelt Woolsey to Jane Stuart Woolsey and Georgeanna M. Woolsey, n.d. cited in Dannett, Noble Women of the North, 279.

[44] Diary of a Union Lady 1861-1865, 5 April 1864, 286.

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unearthed their family relics for the decoration of the kitchen and then helped serve visitors. In the kitchen "the creme de la creme of New York [was] voluntarily waiting on tables for the sake of charity, for which they willingly sacrifice their time, comfort and pride."[45]

Not all women socialites of course, found the activity appropriate for their social station and Maria Daly recorded that had she offered her services, visitors would have "boasted that they had been served by Mrs. Judge Daly, and [her] portrait would have been in every newspaper."[46]

Besides the Knickerbocker Kitchen visitors could delve into the colonial past at the Department of Arms and Trophies, which featured the necessary relics from the Revolutionary, the Mexican American War, and the Civil War. Homage was paid once again to Washington with the "flag under which [he] was inaugurated first President of the United States," along with his uniform, his sword, and his cane.[47]

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[45] "The Knickerbocker Kitchen" The New York Times 9 April 1864, 8, 2.

[46] Diary of a Union Lady 1861-1865, 7 April 1864, 287.

[47] "The Metropolitan Fair," New York Times 4 April 1864, 1, 4.

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In the Metropolitan Hall visitors could also enjoy contributions from Italy, housed in the Roman Department, such as a book of engravings of Antonio Canova's (1757-1822) works, donated by the American actress Charlotte Cushman, and paintings and sculptures by American artists living in Italy. Contributions from abroad were also housed in the International Hall at the Union Square building.

This was the first truly international fair as tributes came from Russia, Great Britain, France, Austria and Prussia, Denmark, Belgium, Turkey, Sweden, Greece, Poland, Spain, Bavaria, Germany, Ireland, Brazil, Mexico, the Ionian Islands, then independent from Greece, Venezuela and even the city of Hamburg, which was involved in a major conflict in the Schleswig-Holstein War.

James H. Anderson, the U.S. Consul in Hamburg approached with great enthusiasm the task of collecting contribution for the Fair, and was quite successful in spite the time limitations, as well as the ongoing war. He organized a committee that was comprised not only of Americans but also of Germans.

He was mistakenly informed though, by some Germans in New York that the fair would last two or three months. He also suggested that the "war in the vicinity and the sick and wounded in the city hospitals, are serious impediments

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to our success here …." However, he commented with satisfaction: "I am sure we have friends here, but they think the German war on their hands is all they can bear."[48] Nevertheless, he was able to send in monetary contributions as well as art works, primarily the contributions of Germans. Such enthusiastic responses to petitions for the fair were considered "testimonies of the sincerity of foreign sympathy with the loyal men of the [American] nation in their struggle with barbarism."[49]

American ambassadors and Americans living abroad solicited contributions from illustrious figures who enjoyed popularity among American audiences. In the Autograph Department, there were contributions by many "distinguished European Royalty, authors, … who sympathized with the Union Cause." Charles Dickens sent a manuscript story, and Victor Hugo, the King and Queen of Prussia, Hans Christian Andersen, Jenny Lind, and Verdi sent their autographs. The American Actress Fanny Kemble contributed a

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[48] James H. Anderson, letter to Elizabeth W. Sherwood, 12 March 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1533. Archives of American Art.

[49] "The United States Sanitary Commission." Harper's Weekly 8 (9 April 1864): 228. The foreign contributions to the fair were touted in the press as laudable proof of foreign support to the Union cause see also, "The Great Fair," Harper's Weekly 8 (2 April 1864): 210.

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book of autographs including those of Queen Victoria, the Duke of Wellington and those of "a full assortment of other Dukes, Lords, Princes and Earls of celebrity."[50]

More than any of the other fairs, the Metropolitan Fair had to compete with commercial entertainments and exhibitions of bizarre curiosities that were concurrently available. P. T. Barnum, for example, was advertising "Four Enormous Giants-Three men and one woman, each over eight feet high; two Dwarfs, each less than two feet high-besides a host of other Novelties."[51] To compete successfully, the organizers of the fair presented the "Pride of Livingston County," a 3,600 pound ox and an "Albian cow, one year old, and but three and a half feet high, …."[52] In the Optical and Surgical Department, eager audiences parted with their money in order to see an exhibition of the circulation of

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[50] "Town Gossip" Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper 20 (30 April 1864): 83.

[51] "Barnum's American Museum," Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper 19 (23 April 1864): 66. Interestingly enough the advertisement appeared just below the featured article on the Metropolitan Fair. On 9 April 1864, Barnum offered the receipts of his museum to the benefit of the fair. "Benefit at Barnum's Museum in Aid of the Fair," New York Herald 9 April 1864, 5, 2.

[52] "The Metropolitan Fair," New York Times, 4 April 1864, 1, 4.

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the blood in the web of a frog's foot and were fascinated by a contraption contributed by George Strong, described as a "double-plated electrical machine, with apparatus."[53] When in operation, the machine produced "a gorgeous exhibition of voltaic electricity… beaded streams of colored light, blue, rose-pink, and green… most lovely-far beyond any fireworks …."[54]

The Curiosity Shop included an array of the serious, the worldly and the out-of-the ordinary, as other exhibits had done in the past. There was a "quilt from the Palace of the Emperor of China; Candlesticks cut from the stem of the Cactus during the Mexican War; Storks of Imperial Bronze, covered with coating of platina [sic]; Portrait of Harvey Birch, the Revolutionary Spy, by JARVIS; Antiquities exhumed from Mexican Pyramids during the war with Mexico; [and] trays used by MARTIN LUTHER …."[55] There were also "Two Landscapes in Hair, from Holland, very old," a "brick from house in St. Domingo, built by Diego, son of Columbus," and

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[53] "The Metropolitan Fair," The New York Times 10 April 1864, 8, 3.

[54] The Diary of George Templeton Strong 8 February 1864, 404.

[55] "The Curiosity Shop," The New York Times 4 April 1864, 1, 4.

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the "Death-bed" of Henry Clay. As the year marked the tri-centennial of Shakespeare's death, there were a number of items relating to the author including rubbings from his tomb, contributed by Clarence Cook, a piece of yew from his house, and a cast of a sculptural bust of him. In addition there were many contributions, "Recollections of Travel in Many Lands," such as a "Splendid Vase and Instrument of Torture," exhibited by Leutze.[56]

Another equally enticing and exotic exhibition in the Metropolitan Hall, was the New Jersey Department which was the responsibility of Jasper F. Cropsey (1823-1900.)[57] The central portion of it was described as "of Moorish style," while an adjacent structure was reminiscent of "Cockloft Hall" from Irving's Salmagundi.

The fair combined enlightenment and entertainment at every level. Even the fair newspaper The Spirit of the Fair, proclaimed its distinction from all previous efforts,

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[56] Catalogue of Articles Contained in the Museum and Curiosity Shop of the Metropolitan Fair, April 4th 1864 (New York: Baker & Godwin, 1864).

[57] It may well be that Cropsey's interest in architecture as well as his experience with the 1862 London International Exposition qualified him to undertake charge of this department. The artist's daughter Minnie had the lead role in the play Cinderella, and she "brought down the house and bouquets frequently." "Town Gossip" Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper 20 (30 April 1864): 83.

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as it was intended to be "a choice compendium of literary excellence, rather than a simple Fair record."[58] A treatise by James Fenimore Cooper entitled "New York," that dealt with states' rights, was published in installments, Fanny Kemble contributed poetry, Major-General John A. Dix delivered an article on Roman Imperial history, and Christopher P. Cranch published a poem.[59]

Of all the departments though, the two that attracted the greatest attention, and were distinctly contrasted in their messages, were the Art Gallery and the Indian Exhibition.

The Art Gallery (fig. 4) was deemed "a monument to the wealth, magnificence, and progress in art of the greatest city of the Western Continent."[60] Maria Daly, who recorded often in her diary her visits to artists' studios and to the National Academy of Design attested that the "picture

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[58] The Spirit of the Fair 1, 2 (6 April 1864): 15.

[59] Cooper's "New York" run in many issues beginning on 5 April 1864 see "Unpublished Mss. of James Fenimore Cooper," Spirit of the Fair 1, 1 (5 April 1864): 6-7, and subsequent issues. For Dix's account see "The Six Writers of the Augustan History," Spirit of the Fair 1, 4 (8 April 1864): 43-44, and for Cranch "Two Pictures-Peace and War," The Spirit of the Fair 1, 2, (6 April 1864): 19, and (7 April 1864): 31.

[60] "The Art Department" New York Herald 4 April 1864, 2, 2.

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gallery is very beautiful. … [it] is beautifully proportioned, the pictures well hung and well lighted. The gallery was full of agreeable people, including General Burnside, General and Mrs. Fremont, …, Leutze, Bierstadt, … and a great many fashionables."[61] Mrs. Jonathan Sturges who chaired the Art Committee along with John F. Kensett (1816-1872) marveled at what had been accomplished: "Upon entering the brilliantly lighted hall on the first night of the 'private view,' I could scarcely keep the tears back, I was so happy."[62]

Indeed, the gallery received the adulation of the press and the public and was one of the largest contributors to the fair fund with $85,780 from the sale of tickets and art works.[63] It provided "a chance to every one

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[61] Diary of a Union Lady 1861-1865, 5 April 1864, 286.

[62] Mary Pemberton Cady (Mrs. Jonathan Sturges), Reminiscences of a Long Life (New York: F. R. Parrish & Company, 1894) 241. I am indebted to Charlotte Emmans Moore for bringing this source to my attention. Moore is currently at work on a Ph.D. Dissertation, on the art gallery of the Metropolitan Fair entitled "'These Noble Offerings': The Art Gallery of the Metropolitan Sanitary Fair, New York City, 1864" Boston University.

[63] Final Report of the Treasurer and Finance Committee of the Metropolitan Fair, in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission (New York: John F. Trow, 1864) 8. Mary Sturges communicated that "nearly one hundred thousand [dollars] belonged to the Art Department, a sum far beyond what we

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to share in a source of enjoyment and cultivation which has hitherto been almost entirely denied to those who could not count themselves among the wealthy and refined."[64] The art gallery was an extraordinary success; it raised $19,235 from admission tickets, which amounts to 76,940 visitors (excluding season ticket holders).[65] With its wide range of subjects it appealed to many tastes; individual determination was celebrated by Leutze's Washington Crossing the Delaware (1851) which physically dominated the space, the magnificence of the American land was extolled by Frederick Church's (1826-1900) Niagara (1857); and westward expansion into the territories of Native Americans was recorded in minute detail in Albert Bierstadt's (1830-1902) Rocky Mountains (1863).

The uplifting messages and the civilizing impulses that one experienced in the Art Gallery were often contrasted with those in the Indian Department (fig. 5)

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had ever dreamed of when we began our work." Cady Reminiscences of a Long Life, 242.

[64] "The Fair as a School of Art," New York World 7 April 1864, 10, 4.

[65] Statement of the Art Department of the Metropolitan Fair in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission (New York, 5 August 1864). The public exhibition of Belmont's gallery raised 1,920.18, while Aspinwall's show contributed $666.75.

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which was organized by Bierstadt and occupied a large section of the main hall:

> One could scarcely believe that a sliding door was all that separated the grand temple where the eye is greeted at every point with evidence of civilization, refinement and educated skill from the abode of the red denizens of the wilderness. Nevertheless it is so; … the civilized and the accomplished Caucasian is brought face to face with the rude dwellers of the forest.[66]

Another reviewer found the exhibition exploitative and requested to know "the private opinion of those Indians upon the whole matter. There is something so inconceivably wretched in the aspect of these Shoshomes, something so evidently blase," that he thought the Native Americans made for an unhappy gathering.[67] The exhibition though, was very popular and its decoration of "elk heads, scalps, buffalo and bear skins, tomahawks, saddles, canoes, … Indians cradles, … carried [audiences] back to days when New York was but a barren rock," and was said to appeal particularly to women and children.[68] One observer asserted that other

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[66] "The Indian Department," New York Herald 4 April 1864, 2, 1.

[67] "Town Gossip," Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper 20 (30 April 1864): 83.

[68] "The Indian Department," Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper 18 (16 April 1864): 49.

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fairs had "failed to call upon the Indians to furnish their 'quota' to the national cause." Therefore, "it was left to New York, which some say is the center of barbarism and civilization, to 'conscript' the savage in helping forward this national benevolent undertaking."[69] The Native Americans performed dances and demonstrated various daily life activities, and when Maria Daly visited the "Indians" she found "their dance … graceful and dramatic, … and the dance of the women, … graceful, dignified, modest and touching."[70]

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[69] "The Indian Department," New York Herald 4 April 1864, 2, 1.

[70] Diary of a Union Lady 1861-1865, 5 April 1864, 287. The dances were described in some detail by John Ward, see "John Ward Diaries," Entry for 5 April 1864, Collection of the New York Historical Society. A humorous account of the Indian department by a "country" girl was published, full of idiomatic grammar, in the Spirit of the Fair see "Letters from Sally Popcorn to her Sister Betsey, in Pumpkinsville.-No. 2," Spirit of the Fair (21 April 1864): 184

> Sich a row of creeturs you never see-with paint on their faces, and feathers in their heads, and clothes with straggling', stringy trimmin' to 'em, and two of 'em had rings in their noses. I guess they hadn't been scalpin lately, for they are as fat as can be, and don't look very murderin'. They danced a war dance that was very uncertain in its figures, and I don't really think the natives knew what they were goin' to do next, but they yelled like loons and screech owls, and shook rattles, and howled with all their might.

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Newspapers though, recorded some tension when the Native Americans refused to perform at close intervals. Bierstadt suggested that the "Indians" had "been detained one week more … than was contemplated in their original offer of services to the Sanitary Commission and they [would be] disposed to continue their performances, … if they can have some compensation for their time." He reasoned that this compensation was necessary so that they could support their families and was justified since they had "increased receipts of the fair at least twenty hundred dollars besides giving their gratuitous performances daily for the holders of season tickets."[71]

The distinct cultural and social boundaries indicated by these exhibits were reiterated by the different attractions and entertainments offered for the middle and

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[71] For the rising tension see, "The Metropolitan Fair, New York Tribune 11 April 1864, 1, 5, and Albert Bierstadt, letter to the Executive Committee, n.d. John F. Kensett Papers: Metropolitan Fair in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission, 1864. Museum of the City of New York. Bierstadt's petition was read at a joint meeting of the Ladies and Gentlemen's Committees and it was decided that Bierstadt would act as he deemed best in regards to the Indians' performances and that they would be paid for their services. See Minutes. Metropolitan Fair in aid of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, 16 April 1864, pp. 75-76. Museum of the City of New York. The problems are recorded in detail in A Record of the Metropolitan Fair in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission, 199-205.

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upper, versus the lower classes. While inviting the participation of all classes, the officers of the fair often held an elitist attitude towards the lower class.

On the occasion of his wife's theatrical debut in a performance for the benefit of the fair, Strong found the event "at Leonard W. Jerome's sumptuous private theater … highly distinguished, aristocratic and exclusive," and it could not have been otherwise with a ticket price of $5.00.[72] Visiting the fair however, on the last day of its run, Strong had to retreat "in the 'Floral Temple,' a harbor of refuge from the dense crowd, most plebeian …."[73]

These class disparities, repeated to varying degrees in most of the fairs, pointed to similar divisions throughout American society. The Civil War highlighted the severe class distinctions that culminated, in its aftermath, in the concentration of wealth in the hands of

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[72] Leonard W. Jerome, was one of the wealthiest New Yorkers during the Civil War. His daughter, Jennie married Lord Randolph Churchill and became the mother of Winston Churchill. Jerome built his theater as an annex to his sumptuous home on Madison Square, which later housed the Union League Club, of which he was a member. See, A History of the Union League Club of New York City, 63-67. Along with Richard Grant White and Lester Wallack, Jerome was on the Committee of Drama and Public Amusements.

[73] The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 18 April 1864, 430.

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the few and the widening of the gap between the classes.[74] During the war, the extravagances recorded among the wealthy, particularly in the larger urban centers were extraordinary. For most Northerners of the upper class, the war had little impact on their enjoyment of finer things and genteel entertainments and nowhere was that more evident than in the New York City. Attempts to curtail unnecessary excesses were often unsuccessful.

At the conclusion of the Metropolitan Fair though, the Ladies Association called an Anti-Luxury Convention at the Cooper Institute "for the purpose of calling the attention of women to the injury inflicted upon the country in this crisis by the extravagant purchase of imported luxuries, and to suggest the propriety of abstaining from such luxuries until the present crisis is past." Many spoke in favor of the measure, including Susan B. Anthony, but ultimately it was defeated for fear of its impact on foreign trade and employment.[75]

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[74] For the socio-economic conditions in America in the Civil War, see Emerson D. Fite, Social and Industrial Conditions in the North During the Civil War, (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1910). For an interesting British account of attitudes towards education, religion, business and amusements during the period see, James Dawson Burn, Three Years Among the Working Classes in the United States During the War (London: Smith, Elder & Company, 1865).

[75] For the convention and for dissenting opinions as to its

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In the aftermath of the fair, the extravagant lifestyle of some involved with it, led a reporter of the New York Herald to accuse them of having profited from the venture. The writer called the fairs "grand schemes of robbery" and asserted that only a small portion of the money raised went for the intended purpose while the

> balance has been diverted from its legitimate direction, and used for private purposes. We see men now living in grand houses, riding in splendid carriages, and indulging in all sorts of extravagant displays, who before their connection with those sanatory [sic] fairs, were obscure people, living in obscure places, and apparently not peculiarly able to rise above the level of the humblest in society.[76]

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result see "Anti-Luxury convention," The New York Times 17 May 1864, 8, 3-4 and "The Economical Reform Movement," The New York Times 22 May 1864, 5, 3. In spite though contrary opinions to it, a few women forged ahead and created the "Women's Patriotic Association on Foreign Goods," with Maria Daly as its president see, New York Times 12 June 1864, 5, 1. The movement achieved considerable notoriety and was reported as far as San Francisco see "More on the Anti-Extravagance Movement," Alta California [San Francisco] 4 July 1864, 1, 6.

[76] Quoted in Burn, Three Years Among the Working Classes in the United States During the War, 239. The term "sanatory," is mistakenly used by Burn throughout the chapter referring to these fairs. In November 1864, Maria Daly charged that the funds have been used for electioneering purposes. And after having swallowed within six months all the proceeds of the Fair, they are now crying for more and propose to raise means by taking donations in the churches on Thanksgiving Day, taking the bread out of the mouths of the old and infirm clergymen, to whom it has all along been given.

Diary of a Union Lady 1861-1865, 17 November 1864, 315.

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Strong, was elated at the fair revenues but also expressed skepticism at "the spectacle of lavish luxury … [which] was a little suggestive of fiddling while Rome is in full blaze at its four corners." However he admitted that "raising a million by a fair [was] good and creditable to the community …."[77] Although the fair may not have been entirely successful in its intent on nullifying class distinctions, it certainly pointed to a desire on the part of the upper class to redirect the tastes of the masses and place a greater emphasis on enjoyments that were genteel and edifying.[78]

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[77] The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 24 April 1864, 434. Even before the fair was over, suggestions appeared in the newspapers as to how the USSC should best use the revenues from the fair and many were in favor of constructing a Soldier's Home to alleviate the sufferings of Union veterans see, "The Sanitary Fair and Commission," New York Herald, Supplement 8 April 1864, 1, 2. Strong recorded that William H. Aspinwall was involved with the issue "of funding part of the proceeds of the Metropolitan Fair for a *Hotel des Invalides* or two, …." The Diary of George Templeton Strong, 10 April 1864, 429.

[78] The Metropolitan Fair in particular and the Great Central Fair stand as indications of the desire of the upper classes to define cultural institutions and attractions specifically reserved for aesthetic refinement, rather than for mere amusement or enjoyment, a process that Lawrence Levine defined as the "Sacralization of Culture," and I will be discussing the issue in relation to the art galleries of the fairs, see Highbrow/Lowbrow, 146-168.

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The problems encountered at the Metropolitan Fair "served as warning lights to the good people of Philadelphia when they followed with their great Central Fair," held from 7-28 June 1864.[79] The organizers of the New York fair challenged those in Philadelphia by offering them a "mammoth broom" with which to sweep profits greater than those of the Metropolitan Fair. Philadelphians placed the broom in their Curiosity Shop and accepted the challenge, secure in their knowledge that "the exhibition in Philadelphia, in every department, exceeds the New York display in every respect, …."[80] The Great Central Fair was a cooperative effort among Pennsylvania, Delaware and New Jersey and proved a resounding fiscal success in its three-week run raising $1,035,398 from its 253,924 visitors.[81]

As in New York, the city of Philadelphia was often

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[79] A Record of the Metropolitan Fair,…, 49.

[80] "Local Affairs. The Sanitary Fair," Ledger and Transcript [Philadelphia] 6 June, 1864, 1, 5. Even the fair newspaper Our Daily Fare was bigger than any of its predecessors. Some issues contained more than 75 pages, its articles were lengthier and more insightful and included a series of reviews of all the major fairs.

[81] An excellent account of the Great Central Fair is J. Matthew Gallman, "Voluntarism in Wartime: Philadelphia's Great Central Fair," in Toward a Social History of the American Civil War ed. Maris A. Vinovskis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990) 93-116.

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divided by pro-Southern sentiments. The first Union League in the country was formed there in December 1862, and many of its members were instrumental in the planning and success of the fair.[82] The fair however, gave a large number of Philadelphians the opportunity to showcase their capabilities in organizing an event of such vast proportions. It demanded the fervor and unflagging commitment of thousands of volunteers who undertook the daunting responsibility of structuring all the necessary activities.[83]

The organizers appealed to "the great industrial classes … in the interest of no party, radical or conservative, Republican or Democratic, Administration of anti-Administration."[84] As in all the previous fairs, it was imperative for the financial and ideological success of the fair not to appear as a partisan effort, although a

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[82] Winnifred K. MacKay, "Philadelphia During the Civil War 1861-1865," Pennsylvania Magazine 70 (1946): 26.

[83] For the massive organizational structure of the fair that counted about 100 committees see List of Committee Members of the Great Central Fair for the U.S. Sanitary Commission Held in Philadelphia (Philadelphia: Henry B. Ashmead, 1864).

[84] Circular, United States Sanitary Commission. 1 March 1864. Furness Papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

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consideration of the Executive Committee clearly indicates that it comprised some of the wealthiest and most influential men in Philadelphia.[85]

At its opening, the fair was hailed by the mayor of Philadelphia as the result of "enlarged views, refined taste, and unflagging energies …."[86] Although, the absence of President Lincoln, who was expected to attend, disappointed many, the exuberant speeches delivered not only by the mayor but also by the governor and the governors of Delaware and New Jersey recognized the unflappable spirit of the citizens of their states and, in a spirit of cooperation, applauded the achievements of both the USSC and the CC. Although problems and disagreements between members of the more than 100 committees organized for the fair were common, the social and political tensions

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[85] The following were among others the officers of the Executive Committee, John Welsh, chairman, Caleb Cope, treasurer, Charles Stillé was the corresponding secretary and Horace Howard Furness was the recording secretary. Stillé, Memorial of the Great Central Fair for the U.S. Sanitary (Philadelphia: United States Sanitary Commission,1864) 18. The Executive Committee represented the manufacturing, mercantile and professional segments of Philadelphia; both Stillé and Furness were attorneys, while John Welsh and Caleb Cope had made their fortunes through manufacturing and trade.

[86] "The Inauguration of the Great Central Fair," Public Ledger and Transcript [Philadelphia] 8 June 1864, 1, 6.

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that were evident at the Metropolitan Fair did not seem to mar the Great Central Fair.[87]

Attendance at the fair was considered a once in a lifetime experience. Everyone who could afford it was there; school children and the cadets of the Pennsylvania Military Academy went, soldiers and sailors were applauded at their visits, the Knight Templars of the Masonic Fraternity of Baltimore and Philadelphia attended, and President and Mrs. Lincoln ingratiated themselves to organizers and the public alike when they visited the fair a week after its opening.

On 16 June 1864, Philadelphia was in great commotion in anticipation of the President's visit. The presidential couple visited the exhibits for a few hours and Mrs. Lincoln is recorded to have returned to the fair for a closer look including a visit "to the Art Gallery, where she was able to fully inspect the collection of paintings."[88] Lincoln later communicated the patriotic commotion that surrounded his arrival, as he was "crowded, and jostled, and pulled about, and cheered, and serenaded,

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[87] For arguments among committee members see Gallman, "Voluntarism in Wartime," 98-99.

[88] "Our Own Great Central Fair. The President's Visit." Our Daily Fare 1, 10 (18 June 1864): 77.

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until [he] was … used up," and avowed never to attend another fair.[89]

The excitement that the fair generated is indicated in the letter of a young man, preparing to enter Princeton in the Fall, who thought the fair to be the best of "anything of the kind ever held anywhere [underlined in the original]." Besides having gone to the fair "five or six times" with his school, he visited twice with his mother and aunt and stayed there the whole day.[90] Even Alfred Bloor, undoubtedly a more discerning observer, was awed by the spectacle: "I shall not attempt to describe this magnificent fair, far surpassing [underlined in the original] all others, even the New-York one. It will be for the painter, engraver and historian to do." Bloor certainly had a measure of comparison not only with the New York fair but with those of Boston, Pittsburgh and Baltimore that he had visited as well. So exciting was the experience that

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[89] Livermore, My Story of the War, 579.

[90] Neither of the correspondents is fully identified. Rothesay letter to Greeley, 6 July 1864, Daniel B. Gale Papers 1864-1869, Missouri Historical Society, St. Louis. For other diarists impressions of the fair see, Gallman, "Voluntarism in Wartime …," 104.

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the following day he returned to see the Music Gallery and the "Indians in their war dances."[91]

It seems that the performances of the Native Americans were not nearly as organized as those at the Metropolitan Fair although there is at least one indication that Bierstadt was invited to head a similar exhibition at the Great Central Fair. John Welsh, the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Great Central Fair petitioned Bierstadt to exhibit his show of Native Americans in Philadelphia by suggesting that the Committee was "desirous of combining such attractions as may at once please and instruct …. As the Indians are an injured race, whatever may tend to bring them into notice …, must do good. It will give me a great deal of pleasure therefore if by your aid we can serve both the cause of the Soldier and the Indian, …."[92]

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[91] Alfred J. Bloor Diary, 17 June 1864. The music gallery was added to the fair exhibits on 13 June 1864.

[92] John Welsh, letter to Albert Bierstadt, 8 April 1864, Furness Papers, Correspondence, Box 7/folder 2., Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. Interestingly, this reference stands out for its sympathetic attitude to the plight of Native Americans. There is no further mention of Bierstadt's name in connection to these performances. A Clement C. Barclay, Esquire was identified as being in charge of the Native Americans who performed in the Children's Department see, "City Affairs," American and United States Gazette [Philadelphia] 14 June, 1864, 1, 6.

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The Great Central Fair was advertised as an elegant and sophisticated affair capable of providing its audience with a cosmopolitan experience:

> For the time there was an air of Paris among our usually staid and sober population. The Boulevards and the Champ Elysées were produced in little in Union avenue and the Floral Department: then, the magnificent Art Gallery, …, makes the traveled visitor scarcely regret the bygone days spent in the Louvre, the Luxembourg and Versailles.[93]

The fair buildings occupied a massive area at Logan Square defined by two pointed canvas domes that towered above the Restaurant and the Horticultural Department. The main thoroughfare called Union Avenue was a "splendid Gothic arch and the entire length is supported by latticed ribs which spring from the ground meeting in the center."[94] Stillé deemed the structure a "forcible illustration of American taste, showing a high degree of national culture, and vieing [sic] very significantly with structures from whence we are led to suppose only art and refinement can proceed."[95] The fair included among others, the popular

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[93] "Social influence of the Late Fair" Unidentified clipping, Grand Central Fair collection, v. 2. Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

[94] Stillé Memorial of the Great Central Fair for the U.S. Sanitary Commission, 11.

[95] Ibid. Stillé suggested that the architect of the building

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Horticultural Department with its spectacular central fountain, the William Penn Parlor, a Pennsylvania kitchen and the Art Gallery.

The magnificence of the fair was reported as far away as San Francisco by a lady correspondent of Alta California who remarked that the interior was

> of gorgeous beauty and bloom … almost dazzling, and when lighted up in the evening glitters like a fancy palace. The high, arched dome is hung with flags of all nations and trophies of the arts and manufactures of the whole world.[96]

Inside the hall, visitors were enticed by a variety of exhibits and lured to contribute to a variety of fundraising "devices." In addition to the sword contest, a $1.00 donation secured an entry of the name of a soldier, officer or private into the "Book of Honor," and another $1.00 allowed a visitor to nominate a candidate for a $5,000 silver vase. There was a $1,000 saddle to be given to the most popular army general and in the Curiosity Shop a $0.10 donation placed one comfortably in Washington's, or Hancock's or Jefferson's or Marie Antoinette's chair, all

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was Strickland Kneass, Ibid., 21.

[96] "Our Letter from Philadelphia," Daily Alta California [San Francisco] 10 July 1864, 1, 4.

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of which were on exhibition.[97]

Audiences were constantly surprised by exhibits small and large; Native Americans performed their dances in the Children's Department, there was a "Turkish Divan" with frosted columns and gilded alcoves and niches, a Jacquard Loom was weaving neckties for an additional charge, and everyone marveled at a horse-shoe producing machine.[98]

Visitors to the fair recorded their impressions in letters and diaries. Delia Louise Colton, from a modest Philadelphia family, wrote to her 23 year old brother Matthias Baldwin Colton, then enlisted in the Union Army:

> Oh I do wish you could have seen [the fair]. Never was such magnificence in this good country before. Soldiers were let in free …. I was in a museum on duty and had the most delightful time…. We had some really curious things; a piece of Rose Standish's, Capt. Miles Standish's wife's wedding dress. a table cloth off which Washington and Lafayette dined, Capt. Paul Jones's telescope with his name upon the case, written by himself.[99]

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[97] "The Great Central Fair," Public Ledger [Philadelphia] 10 June 1864, 1, 5. Among the candidates for the vase were President Lincoln, Generals Sherman and Grant, Reverend Bellows and the Chairman of the fair, John Welsh.

[98] For the description of the divan see "The Picture Gallery at the Sanitary Fair," North American and United States Gazette [Philadelphia] 7 June 1864, 1, 6.

[99] Delia Louise Colton, letter to Matthias Baldwin Colton, n. d. cited in Column South, Suzanne Colton Wilson, comp. (Flagstaff: J. F. Colton & Company, 1960) 163.

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Later, Matthias Bolton had the chance to visit and indeed he "went on duty at the Sanitary Fair Grounds," and remarked with admiration at the sight of the art gallery: "Splendid. Fine exhibition of Fine Arts."[100]

Sidney George Fisher, a prominent Philadelphia political writer, recorded in his diary that the interior was "profusely decorated with flags & flowers & lined on each side with counters containing articles … in infinite variety …."[101] Although not mentioned in Fisher's diary, the popular William Penn Parlor paid tribute to its namesake and to local history. The parlor attracted visitors with items such as Penn's "shaving-dish and razor; … [his] clock, candlestick, [and] looking glass," the "original charter of the city of Philadelphia," and Benjamin West's (1730-1820), William Penn's Treaty with the Indians (1771).

Fisher commented that the "horticultural room was very splendid, but everything else was eclipsed far by the gallery of pictures …."[102] The Horticultural Department,

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[100] Ibid., 162.

[101] A Philadelphia Perspective: The Dairy of Sidney George Fisher Covering the Years 1834-1871, ed. Nicholas B. Wainright (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1967) 473.

[102] Ibid., 473-74.

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which dominated Union Avenue, comprised an elaborate pyramid of exotic plants from various climates, arranged around a rotunda of 190 feet in diameter. Water cascaded down the pyramid, while jet sprinklers propelled water high up in the air. At least one reviewer considered the "effect … indescribable. The thousand fantastic colors sent forth must be seen, and when seen will never be forgotten. Every drop of water becomes a jewel."[103] The Horticultural Department offered an elevated aesthetic and educational experience comparable to that of the Art Gallery. Another reviewer referring to both departments asserted that "no such exhibitions as these two will ever be seen again in a lifetime, and that the magnificent collection of paintings will pass away never again to be seen in the aggregate."[104]

The large picture of Ariadne, of 1814 by John

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[103] "Our Great Central Fair," Our Daily Fare 1, 11 (20 June 1864): 85. Beverly Gordon has written on the subject of the horticultural displays of the Sanitary Fairs see, "Picturesque Horticultural Environments," Bazaars and Fair Ladies, 86-90. Like the art galleries, the horticultural exhibits were often lauded for providing a respite from the furious activities of other departments and for their beneficial and uplifting effect. Gordon suggests that in many cities these were the first "landscaped" settings that were viewed by the larger public, thus providing the impetus for the creation of public parks later in the century.

[104] "Local Affairs," Public Ledger [Philadelphia] 18 June 1864, 1, 5.

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Vanderlyn (1775-1852), which was exhibited in a separate room for an additional charge of $0.50, punctuated the transition between the Horticultural Department and the Art Gallery.[105] Justifiably, the art exhibition was considered "beyond question the largest, the most valuable, the most complete collection of paintings ever known in America." The only regret was that "no one could in a year of daily visits … see one tenth of its beauty."[106] A week after the fair's opening there had "not been an hour in which a studious examination of either [the Horticultural Department or the Art Gallery] could be made. A bird's eye, cursory examination was all that was possible."[107]

Indeed, it must have been a visual feast and an extraordinary task for connoisseurs and uninitiated alike to go through the Art Gallery and appreciate its full impact (fig. 6). The walls "washed in a purple tint" accommodated more than 1000 pictures illuminated by a

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[105] Its location is identified in "City Affairs," American and United States Gazette, [Philadelphia] 14 June 1864, 1, 6.

[106] "The Art Gallery," Forney's War Press 3, 31 (11 June 1864): 5.

[107] "City Affairs. The Great Central Fair," North American and United States Gazette [Philadelphia] 16 June 1864, 1, 4.

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skylight during the day and gaslights at night.[108] Even a viewer as sophisticated as Joseph Harrison, the chairman of the Art Committee, could not but marvel at the art gallery. He confessed with pride that he and James Claghorn, his associate in the selection process, were astonished at its success.[109] He wrote:

> The picture gallery is nearly 500 feet long and is now hung with … the finest pictures in this country to the value of almost $750,000. I wish you could see this gallery and the whole Fair. You have no idea of its Magnitude and Beauty.[110]

Everyone was dazzled by the sheer size of the art exhibition. Delia L. Colton was absolutely awed by the spectacle: "Just think of the Picture Gallery extending from one end of Logan Square to the other, from East and

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[108] "The Picture Gallery at the Sanitary Fair," North American and United States Gazette [Philadelphia] 7 June 1864, 1, 6. The exact number of works exhibited was higher than the 1048 listed in the catalogue, because newspapers often referred to the addition of art works during the fair.

[109] Joseph Harrison, letter to Thomas L. Luder, 21 June 1864, Joseph Harrison Letterbook, 1862-1865, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. The Fine Arts Committee with 67 members was one of the largest in the organizational structure of the fair, see List of Committee Members of the Great Central Fair for the U.S. Sanitary Commission Held in Philadelphia, 19-20.

[110] Joseph Harrison, letter to Thomas L. Luder, 10 June 1864, Joseph Harrison Letterbook, 1862-1865, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

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West; you know that is more than a square long. There were 1100 pictures, some magnificent ones too …."[111] Newspapers reported that "at all hours of the day and night the gallery [was] thronged," in spite the additional charge.[112] Harrison communicated that

> as far the number of visitors are concerned, last evening at times between 8 and 9 1/2 o'clock we had much too great a crowd and the gallery not very pleasant to anyone. We do not wonder that people are attracted towards us, and that they find it a most agreeable place to loiter in. But we would most respectfully suggest that something be done to prevent so large a number of the $3 tickets [season tickets] filling the gallery in the evening between the hours of 8 & 9 1/2 as most of these tickets are in the building all day and could enjoy the gallery without making part of the crowd in the evening.[113]

In order to control attendance, he decided on June 15 to raise the admission price to $1.00 between 7:30-10 a.m.[114] Two weeks into the fair, Harrison recorded with

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[111] Delia Louise Colton, letter to Matthias Baldwin Colton, Column South, 163.

[112] "The Great Central Fair," Public Ledger and Transcript [Philadelphia] 16 June 1864, 1, 5.

[113] Joseph Harrison, letter to John Welsh, 10 June 1864. H. H. Furness Papers, May-June-July 1864, Box 8/ folder 4, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

[114] Joseph Harrison, letter to John Welsh, 17 June 1864, Furness Papers, May-June-July 1864, Box 8, F-4, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. The Art Gallery was the only part of the fair that remained open at reduced prices beyond the conclusion of the fair see, "Art Gallery,

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satisfaction that the Art Gallery "rects [sic] have been since the opening nearly $1800 per day, on 25 cent tickets alone not counting about 15000 season that have the run of the whole Fair by paying 85 c."[115]

For an enterprise as complicated as the Great Central Fair problems were relatively minor; a platform collapsed at the opening ceremonies, a few petty thieves were arrested, as had been the case at other fairs, and an assistant cashier at the fair was brought to trial for embezzling five thousand dollars.[116] They were also a few dissenting opinions; one visitor considered the fair "childs [sic] play particularly when the Sanitary Commission do not need the money," and another thought a visit to it "a waste of money."[117]

By most however, the fair was recognized as a remarkable cooperative effort that demonstrated in its "colossal dimensions and architectural beauty … [and] the

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Central Fair," North American and United States Gazette [Philadelphia] 30 June 1864, 2, 4.

[115] Joseph Harrison, letter to Thomas L. Luder, 21 June 1864.

[116] A Swindler in Earnest," North American & United States Gazette [Philadelphia] 22 June 1864, 1, 5.

[117] Such opinions are recorded in Gallman, "Voluntarism in Wartime," 104.

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liberality of its contributions … the zeal, devotion and ability with which its humane purposes have been prosecuted and carried out by all …."[118] At its conclusion, Charles Stillé remarked that the fair "taught the cheering and hopeful lesson that, with the great mass of the American population the grand idea of country presents itself as something beyond and above the sphere of mere party politics."[119]

Like all their predecessors, both the Metropolitan Fair and the Great Central Fair, ultimately involved the fervent commitment of all social classes who were willing to contribute munificently their time, energy, attention and resources to a cause that superseded individual dispositions and political affiliations. Admittedly, both were commanded by members of the upper class who wished to define their outlook by their cultural and aesthetic imprint, but their impact and influence was larger than their political, social, and cultural rhetoric. At a time when political, economic, and social conditions were tense

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[118] "Interesting Proceedings at the Close of the Fair," North American & United States Gazette, [Philadelphia] 29 June 1864, 2, 2.

[119] Stillé, Memorial of the Great Central Fair for the U.S. Sanitary Commission, 10.

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and precarious, these fairs succeeded in bridging the gap between opposing factions, boosting a sense of well-being and confirming people's pride in their cities and communities.

Although many argued against the necessity, purpose and impact of the fairs, millions of visitors reflected the sentiments of Sidney G. Fisher:

> The fairs … are miracles of American spirit, energy, & beauty. Nothing like them has ever been seen in the world before …. All voluntary subscriptions, from all classes of the people, rich & poor. What prosperity, what wealth, what a fund of intelligence, public spirit, right feeling & good taste [do they] show.[120]

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[120] A Philadelphia Perspective, 474.

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CHAPTER IV

AMUSEMENTS, ARTS, AND CULTURE DURING THE CIVIL WAR

The Civil War is often viewed as having a dramatic and disruptive impact on established patterns of everyday life. While this is certainly true for cities in the South, particularly in the latter years of the war, Americans in the Northern states continued to enjoy many of the social, educational, and cultural activities to which they were accustomed in the antebellum period.[1]

By some accounts at least, amusements were enjoyed in some southern cities as well during the Civil War. A Richmonder complained that even "while battle and famine encompass us on every hand upper-tendum is as gay as though peace and plenty blessed the land."[2] Although early in the

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[1] The following is by no means an all inclusive discussion of cultural or artistic activities in the North during the war, but rather an indication of the availability of multiple and varied diversions and educational opportunities in those cities that held Sanitary Fairs.

[2] Cited in Patricia C. Click, "'The People Will Not Be Without Amusements of Some Sort': Social Stratification and Amusement Patronage in Nineteenth-Century Baltimore, Norfolk, and Richmond," in Travail et Loisirs Dans Les Societes Pre-Industrielles ed. by Barbara Karsky and Elise Marienstras (Nancy: Presses Universitaires de Nancy, 1991) 179.

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war southern women were encouraged to "fold away … bright tinted dress …. No more delicate gloves, no more laces," by 1864, perhaps as a reaction to the extreme depravities they had sustained throughout the war, there was a marked tendency towards greater material enjoyment and excess.

> The Aid Societies had died away; they are a name and nothing more. The self-sacrifice has vanished; … Never were parties more numerous…. Never were the theatres and places of public amusement so resorted to…. The love of dress, the display of jewelry and costly attire, the extravagance and folly are all the greater for the brief abstinence which has been observed.[3]

Cultural historians, though, have largely ignored these activities and have concentrated instead upon the social and economic conditions that led to the war and, in its aftermath, on Reconstruction. Likewise, American art historians have explored extensively the optimistic character of the Jacksonian democracy and its reflection in antebellum art and the intensely nationalistic outlook of mid-century American art, and have pondered the pronounced influence that European art and taste had upon American art

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[3] Montgomery Daily Advertiser, 15 June 1864, cited in Drew Gilpin Faust, "Altars of Sacrifice: Confederate Women and the Narratives of War," in Divided Houses: Gender and the Civil War, eds. Catherine Clinton and Nina Silber (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992) 190.

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following the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial. They have largely disregarded though, the artistic activities within the period of the Civil War proper for the era has been, unjustifiably, considered as a cultural and artistic vacuum.[4]

Contemporary reviews however, testify to a virtually uninterrupted enjoyment of multifarious cultural and educational activities. Records of attendance at musical entertainments and theatrical performances were more popular during the conflict, than ever before. New York's Philharmonic Society presented five concerts a year throughout the war and all were very well attended. In Boston, the Handel and Haydn Society performed many concerts and even held a "concert for raising funds for the troops."[5]

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[4] For aspects of American art in the context of the Civil War art see Lucretia Hoover Giese, "'Harvesting' the Civil War. Art in Wartime New York," in Redefining American History Painting, Eds. Patricia M. Burnham and Lucretia Hoover Giese (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) 64-81, and Joni L. Kinsey, "History in Natural Sequence: The Civil War Polyptych of Frederick Edwin Church," Ibid., 158-173. More recently, the Art Institute of Chicago commemorated its 1999 exhibition with "Terrain of Freedom: American Art and the Civil War," The Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies 27, 1 (2001).

[5] "Handel and Haydn Society," Dwight's Journal of Music 21, 9 (31 May 1862): 68.

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James William Wallack, a London-born actor and theater manager opened his own theater in New York in 1861, which was very well patronized by the cream of New York society including the Belmonts, the Dalys and the Strongs. Maria Daly attended a performance there, of the "Clandestine Marriage" in November of 1862 and commented on the presence that same night, of Mr. and Mrs. Belmont.[6] In some cases, theatre receipts exceeded by far antebellum records. As it was reported in February 1864,

> Wet weather or dry, the people flock to the theaters; The receipts of a rainy evening now exceed those of a benefit night in the old times. Manager Wallach made so much money last year that he was enabled to pay for his theater. Manager Jackson of the Winter Garden, managed to make money in a double sense; for he cut down his expenses as his receipts increased.[7]

A few months later in April of 1864, the cornerstone of a monument in honor of the tri-centennial of William Shakespeare, was dedicated concurrently with the New York Metropolitan Fair. Maria Daly and her husband, who as a leading Shakespearean scholar was a driving force behind the monument, attended the event accompanied by Bierstadt.

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[6] The Diary of a Union Lady 1861-1865, 1 December 1862, 201.

[7] "Drama. Crowded Theaters and Poor Plays," The Round Table 1, 11 (27 February 1864): 169.

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Thereafter, the couple enjoyed a Shakespearean matinee of Romeo and Juliet at the Opera House, that featured Edwin Booth as Romeo, while a performance of Falstaff was given at Niblo's theater.[8]

Such enjoyable diversions were by no means exclusive to Northeastern audiences. As it was recorded by a St. Louis correspondent to Dwight's Journal of Music,

> Notwithstanding the universal and too earnest cry of hard times, and entire want of money... it appears as though places of amusement were never better patronized than they are [now] .... Our concerts are literally jammed, several hundred being refused admittance last evening.[9]

Operatic performances attracted considerable attention as well. In Cleveland, a famous operatic company under the direction of Maurice Grau, performed "MOZAR'S [sic] matchless creation, 'Don Giovanni,'" as part of a tour that included Albany, Rochester, Buffalo, Cleveland, Chicago, Louisville and St. Louis.[10] In the city of St. Louis,

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[8] The Diary of a Union Lady 1861-1865, 23 April 1864, 292. Besides Judge Daly, Richard Grant White and Edwin Booth also solicited funds for the monument that was unveiled in May 1872.

[9] Dwight's Journal of Music, 25 January 1862, quoted in Thomas, "The Music of the Sanitary Fairs," 80.

[10] "Third Night of the Opera-Increased Enthusiasm," Cleveland Plain Dealer 28 January 1864, 3, 2. There are numerous citations in various local newspapers of both musical and theatrical performances, many of which were

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selections from Mozart, Mendelsohn, Rossini and Donizetti appeared at the beginning of the war in the "finest block of marble buildings in the West," constructed by a "Mr. Darby," and continued to be performed in the early 1860's.[11]

Besides the theater and music, middle and upper class audiences alike, benefited from educational gatherings in literary societies and reading clubs.[12] A profusion of lectures on a variety of topics were offered throughout the conflict. Maria Daly recorded having listened to "Dr. MacGowan's lectures on Japan, and learned more in an hour and a half than in a month of reading."[13] Well known figures such as Charles Sumner, Wendell Phillips and Henry Ward Beecher delivered militant speeches castigating Southern secession and suggesting solutions for unity in the post war years, while others, such as Louis Agassiz and Bayard

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held at the same time as the fairs. For musical entertainments during the war see Thomas, "Music of the Great Sanitary Fairs," 78-82.

[11] "St. Louis, April 28, 1861," Dwight's Journal of Music 19, 5 (4 May 1861): 38.

[12] For various cultural activities at mid-century and during the Civil War see, Louise L. Stevenson, "Beyond the Parlor: Cultural Institutions in Small Towns and Big Cities," in The Victorian Homefront: American Thought and Culture, 1860-1880 (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1991) 48-70.

[13] The Diary of a Union Lady 1861-1865, 20 December 1862, 209.

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Taylor provided an escape through their presentations on science and travel respectively.[14]

Outside of these edifying and sophisticated attractions in many cities there were circus performers, dancing troops and other populist entertainments.[15] The Amphitheater and the Hippotheatron, both in lower Manhattan featured performances by clowns, trained dogs, horses and monkeys, but as one reviewer observed the "low, indecent jokes of the so-called clowns … [prevented any] gentleman, and still less … any lady," from attending, and such performances were "discounted by respectable people."[16] In Pittsburgh, at the same time that the Sanitary Fair was taking place, a "stirring and effecting drama, entitled …

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[14] Louis Agassiz on a tour through various states, delivered a lecture series on glaciers for the Library Association in Cleveland, Ohio while preparations for the city's Sanitary Fair were under way. "The Closing Lecture of the Regular Course," Cleveland Plain Dealer 22 January 1864, 3, 2.

[15] Lawrence Levine has argued that many theatrical, musical and operatic performances, at least until the 1870's, were not characterized by the exclusivity and sophistication that they assumed in the last quarter of the nineteenth, and increasingly at the turn of the twentieth century. See, "The Sacralization of Culture," Highbrow/Lowbrow, 86-168. A decisive shift, however, began to occur during the Civil War with the appearance of spaces specifically designated for elite audiences.

[16] "Amusements. The Hippotheatron," The Round Table 1, 13 (12 March 1864): 200.

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THE VISION OF DEATH," and the "thrilling melo-drama … THE ORPHAN OF GENEVA," were presented at the Pittsburgh Theater. Additionally, the circus of "Thayer and Noyes's U.S. Circus and van Amburgh and Co.'s Mammoth Menageries and Egyptian Caravan," tantalized audiences with "Moral and Refined Amusement, pre eminent [sic]: Equestrians, Acrobats, Gymnasts, Jesters, Contortionists, Clowns, Equilibrists and … [a] magnificent collection of Living Lions, … Leopards, Bears, Hyenas, Wolves, Monkeys, Apes, Baboons, …."[17] Apparently, Americans felt quite comfortable patronizing all these diversions and amusements despite the war, or exactly because they wished to escape its dampening effect.

Newspaper articles as well, offered a much needed distraction by elaborating on a wide range of topics. Readers could debate the issue of the Confederacy and on the same page be informed of French fashions for the Winter of 1863.[18] Throughout the war, Americans kept abreast of European developments not only in fashion, but also in the

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[17] "Pittsburgh Theater," and "Grand Metropolitan Combination," The Daily Pittsburgh Gazette 22 June 1864, 1, 5.

[18] "Fashions for Winter," Evening Journal [Chicago] 14 October 1863, 4, 2.

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arts, music and literature through articles that were published in a variety of newspapers and magazines.

Americans were well informed not only of political and economic activities, but also of many cultural and artistic undertakings. In the early 1860's, circulation of newspapers reached unprecedented numbers and although some established magazines were forced to close down, others such as the illustrated Harper's Weekly and Leslies' Weekly managed to overcome the levy of a federal tax on advertising that was imposed in 1862, and by reducing their size and focusing on the war, remained active and quite popular for its duration.[19]

Magazines with a more serious focus such as the North American Review, the National Quarterly and the Atlantic Monthly maintained circulation by promoting the Union, informing their audiences of war events but also providing them with essays on a variety of topics. Even, the Knickerbocker Magazine, a journal with strong Southern sympathies that by 1863 opposed Lincoln's war policies, remained active in spite its staunch political position.

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[19] John Tebbel and Mary Ellen Zuckerman, "Magazine Publishing in the Civil War," The Magazine in America 1741-1990 (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) 47-53.

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Magazines addressing women specifically, such as Godey's Lady's Book, Peterson's and Arthur's Home Magazine, all published in Philadelphia, had a steady readership through the war and the first two were indeed the most popular among female readers.[20]

In addition to these general journals there were a few specialized ones that focused on art, musical and literary criticism, such as Dwight's Journal of Music, and the newly established The New Path and The Round Table.[21] This last one featured reviews and critical commentary of American art exhibitions, including those of the Sanitary Fairs, and regular, detailed descriptions of activities in artists' studios. It also published reports and criticism on European art which ranged from a discussion of the colored statues of John Gibson, to the artistic contributions of

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[20] For the history of magazines that addressed exclusively female audiences and the messages that they promoted see, Kathleen L. Endres, "The Women's Press in the Civil War: A Portrait of Patriotism, Propaganda and Prodding," Civil War History 30 (March 1984): 31-53.

[21] The Round Table was founded on 19 December 1863. Its diversity and its sophisticated nature were underscored by its subtitle, "A Weekly Record of the Notable, the Useful and the Tasteful." The New Path which also begun publication in 1863 and ceased in 1865, was the organ of the Society of the Advancement of Truth in Art, the American followers of the English Pre-Raphaelite painters.

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Paul Delaroche (1797-1856) and Ary Scheffer (1795-1858).[22]

In the midst of the war, Americans also participated in a small but well organized display at the 1862 International Exhibition in London, in spite the disregard of the American government.[23] The exhibit was intended to testify to the prosperity, order and organization that characterized American life even in the midst of the disruptive Civil War. The American presence was particularly important because of the pro-Southern sentiment that characterized British opinion throughout the war.[24]

In his introductory commentary to the catalogue of the American section, Joseph E. Holmes, the acting American

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[22] "Colored Statues," The Round Table 1, 4 (9 January 1864): 60 and "Paul Delaroche and Ary Scheffer," Ibid., 1, 5 (16 January 1864): 71.

[23] "In future International Exhibitions, so promotive of the best interest of civilization and the arts of peace, it is to be hoped the United States may occupy a larger space in the great bazaar of nations, and receive a more generous sympathy and greeting that the *public* seem willing now to accord."

Joseph E. Holmes, "Introduction," International Exhibition, 1862. United States. Official Catalogue. Published by the Order of the United States Commissioners (London: n. p. 1862), iv.

[24] For British reactions to the Civil War see, Ephraim D. Adams, Great Britain and the American Civil War, 2 vols. (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1957).

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Commissioner, castigated the "'slave holders' rebellion,' which had for its object and end the destruction of the legitimate constitution of the United States," and suggested that the small exhibition was put together, without any governmental support and it was moreover "compiled in the midst of other and pressing duties." The contributions, he asserted, were but a small indication of the vastness and the activity of the American people who had "changed a continent from wilderness in a lifetime, and increased from a population of 3,000,000 to 30,000,000 in a century." American accomplishments "but for the baneful influences of human bondage, (so unjustly incorporated into our system), … could have been none other than a source of pride and honor to the race."[25]

The American section showcased the bounty of American nature and the ingenuity of its people. There were silver, gold and quartz ores from the Nevada Territory, various oil products, agricultural products from New York and Ohio, locomotives and carriages from Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and New York, the exhibition of a telegraph, and a large variety of industrial and agricultural machinery from power

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[25] International Exhibition, 1862. United States. Official Catalogue, 3-4.

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Looms and sewing machines, printing presses and cork cutting machines, to reapers and threshers and cotton picking equipment. There were also musical instruments, furniture and engraved glassware and a small exhibition of oil paintings, watercolors, drawings and statuary.

The Commissioner stated that Fine Arts exhibition was quite small due to "the uncertainty up to late moment of there being any representation at the Exhibition, from the United States …." A more satisfactory and fair picture of the Fine Arts in America would have been possible "under more auspicious circumstances …," and "would have certainly claimed … great attention."[26]

He recognized the contributions of Benjamin West, Gilbert Stuart, and John Singleton Copley (1738-1815) not only to American but British art alike, and lauded the achievements of Thomas Cole (1801-1848), Durand, Leutze and Darley. Praise was also accorded to Hiram Powers (1805-1873), and to Joseph Mozier (1812-1870), Harriet Hosmer (1830-1908) and William Wetmore Story (1819-1895) whose works could be seen in the Roman and English Departments of the exhibition. Only eight American artists, most living in

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[26] Ibid, 69.

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Europe exhibited their works, including George Harvey (c. 1800-1878), Huntington, Louis Remy Mignot (1831-1870, listed erroneously as L. B. Mignot), Cropsey, William Jacob Hays (1830-1875), Miner Kilbourne Kellogg (1814-1889), and William Page (1811-1885). The American alcove was dominated by Cropsey's Autumn on the Hudson River, 1860, (National Gallery of Art), that extolled the magnificence of American nature, whereas a plaster version of Power's Greek Slave brought on meaningful associations to the ills of slavery inflicted upon the American Republic which was depicted in Edward R. Kuntze's (1826-1870) Statue of America.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, American art flourished in urban centers in the East and mid-West through annual exhibitions at various academies and Art Unions, private art galleries and exhibits in artists' studios. Privileged audiences frequented the exhibitions of the National Academy of Design in New York, the Boston Athenaeum, and the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and patronized earnestly and enthusiastically the production of American artists. In many cities the war did not, in the least, upset this established artistic enterprise.

In May 1861, Charles C. Ingham (1796-1863) presenting the annual report of the National Academy of Design, spoke of the temporary lull of activities due to the war:

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> The great Rebellion has startled society from its propriety, and war and politics now occupy every mind. No one thinks of the *Arts*. Even among the Artists, patriotism has superseded painting, and many have laid by the palette and pencil to shoulder the musket.[27]

While it is true that few artists, such as Sanford Gifford (1823-1880), James M. Hart (1828-1901), David Johnson (1827-1908) and Jervis McEntee (1828-1891) enlisted and others, notably Winslow Homer (1836-1910), Edwin Forbes (1839-1895), Edward L. Henry (1841-1919) illustrated the war for popular magazines, for most artists the war was an event that was experienced from afar and seems to have had little effect either on their activities or in their choice of themes.

In the major urban centers of the East, exhibitions continued uninterrupted and indeed in some instances new ventures were inaugurated in the war years. In 1863, Clarence Cook, who had just joined the New York Tribune as its art critic remarked, "A casual glance at the works

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[27] Thomas S. Cummings, Historical Annals of the National Academy of Design (Philadelphia, 1865), 301, cited in Patricia Hills, The Painter's America. Rural and Urban Life, 1810-1910 (New York: Whitney Museum of American Art, 1974) 63. Another commentator urged artists to "Dare to be national!" and declared that "Little or nothing is now being done in the studios; many of our artists have shouldered the musket and gone off to the wars ..." "American Art," Knickerbocker 58, 1 (July 1861): 48.

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displayed on the walls of the Derby Gallery will be sufficient to convince every visitor that … 'the Rebellion of the Slave States' has been anything but damaging to the interests of Art."[28] On the occasion of the 1863 exhibition at the National Academy he observed that there was "a picture mania" shared by the "gay and festive people" who frequented the art exhibitions.

> Pictures are selling daily at what would have been regarded as fabulous prices in the flush times before the Rebellion, and our wayward brethren down South find it difficult to obtain the means of covering their limbs with decent garments would open their eyes with astonishment to see what prices are paid by our prosperous citizens for such purely luxurious articles as pictures to clothe their drawing-room walls ….[29]

Similarly popular were the exhibition at the Century Club and the Artists' Fund Society. The Artist's Fund Society, formed in 1860, to support poor artists and their families with funds raised through its annual exhibitions and auctions, was by 1864 quite successful and a

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[28] "Annual Exhibition of the National Academy of Design," New York Daily Tribune, 17 April 1863, 3,2, cited in John P. Simoni, "Art Critics and Criticism in Nineteenth Century America," Ph. D. Dissertation (Ohio State University, 1952) 239-240.

[29] "Another Artist's Reception," New York Daily Tribune, (4 April 1863) 2,6, cited in Simoni, "Art Critics and Art Criticism …," 240.

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contemporary reviewer noted that the "society is now in a flourishing condition."[30]

Although the war challenged the livelihood of some artists, Healy and Bingham already mentioned, others enjoyed remarkable popularity and prosperity.[31] Whittredge recorded that after failing to enlist he "soon found himself busy with fairs, exhibitions of pictures, sewing societies and what not for the benefit of the soldiers." And he continued:

> The Civil War had disturbed many things, but strange to say, it had less effect upon art than upon many things with more stable foundations. The Academy at 23rd Street and 4th Avenue was built chiefly during the war and it was during the war and a little later that the very popular artists' receptions were held there, for which it was often difficult to get a ticket, so many fine people were desirous of attending them. They were the great occasions for the artists to show their works and meet nearly all the lovers of art in the City.[32]

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[30] "The Artists' Fund Society," The Round Table 1, 10 (20 February 1864): 154.

[31] In 1861, Leutze had received the highest payment ever given to an American artist by the American government, $20,000 for a coveted commission of a mural for the stairway of the House of Representatives in the newly expanded United States Capitol. The result Westward the Course of Empire takes its Way (1862) celebrated the same optimistic spirit of Manifest Destiny that was contested in western territories. The Capitol dome, which was completed in 1865, but which was under construction during the Civil War, was one of the most monumental projects undertaken in the period.

[32] John I. H. Baur, The Autobiography of Worthington

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Receptions provided artists with an opportunity to present their work to prospective patrons and get noticed in newspapers and magazines, whereas patrons had the chance to showcase their wealth and sophistication, socialize with their peers, and in the process boost the prospects of American art. A reviewer however, castigated those in attendance at such events for using them as an excuse to "show their best cravats and their diamonds." He considered them a deplorable "dress show. Feathers and coiffures attract more attention than the pictures, which, under the garish effect of the gaslight, lose in return half their *relative* effectiveness."[33]

The most popular artists' receptions in New York, were those held at the recently established Tenth Street Studio Building. It was there that in February 1862, Bierstadt "entertained a brilliant company of chosen with a collasion of the most delicate and inspiring sort."[34] Maria Daly was

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Whittredge 1820-1910. (Brooklyn Museum: Brooklyn Museum Press, 1942) 43.

[33] "Boston Artist's Reception," The Round Table 1, 10 (20 February 1864): 153-154.

[34] New York World, 3 February 1862, 8, cited in Annette Blaugrund, The Tenth Street Studio Building (Southampton, N.Y.: The Parrish Art Museum, 1997) 27.

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one of the "chosen" and she reported that on that evening she visited the studios of Sanford R. Gifford (1823-1880), Regis F. Gignoux (1816-1882) and Henry K. Brown (1814-1886), while Joseph Choate and General Robert Anderson were also in attendance.[35] In May 1862, joined by Bierstadt, she attended the exhibition of the National Academy of Design and attested with satisfaction that the pictures were "quite good."[36] Her close friendship with the artist allowed her frequent visits to his studio and in January of 1863, she recorded her impressions of his Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak (1863) while he was at work on this,

> very large picture, a scene in the Windriver [sic] Mountains, a waterfall, snow peaked mountains, a narrow green valley with an Indian encampment in the foreground with their horses and dead game which the hunters had brought home. It is the grandest landscape I think I have ever seen.[37]

Bierstadt presented his Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak not only in his own studio, but also at a public reception at Dodworth's Studio on 18 March 1863, and later that year

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[35] The Diary of a Union Lady 1861-1865, 1 February 1862, 100.

[36] Ibid, 22 May 1862, 136.

[37] Ibid, 19 January 1863, 215.

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in Boston.[38] In spite though her obvious enjoyment of such gatherings, Daly also noted that it was "surprising how people spend despite the present distress. The artists say they have never been so busy. Bierstadt is even offered more than he has asked for his pictures, and every place of amusement is crowded."[39]

Established artists who had access to exhibitions and were supported by enthusiastic patrons fared very well during the war. Their work was in high demand, so much so that often they were unable to satisfy all requests. The correspondence files of John F. Kensett record such petitions from extant and prospective patrons, some of whom were of lesser means. In October 1864, A. D. Gridley, a clergyman, wrote to Kensett asking him if he could find the time to paint a painting similar to his work entitled Narraganset Bay, that Gridley had seen exhibited in Utica. In the same letter, he informed Kensett that three years earlier he had commissioned a work from Daniel Huntington. Although he was "with only a moderate income," he was

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[38] For the exhibitions of Rocky Mountains, Lander Peak see, Gordon Hendricks, Albert Bierstadt: Painter of the American West (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. 1988) 113, 116.

[39] Diary of a Union Lady 1861-1865, 20 December 1862, 209.

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willing to "sacrifice some other things in order to satisfy this taste." [40]

In Brooklyn, the Brooklyn Art Association, which was formed in January of 1861, continued its winter and spring exhibitions throughout the conflict.[41] Indeed the members of the Brooklyn Art Association were instrumental in the success of the Art Gallery of the Brooklyn and Long Island Fair. Private galleries such as the Düsseldorf Gallery continued to promote exhibitions of European art. Similarly, private dealers enjoyed a period of unprecedented prosperity as fortunes were rapidly made and the newly rich, as well as established art collectors, wished to demonstrate their financial and social accomplishments by patronizing the arts. In 1859, Michael P. Knoedler, moved his gallery to new quarters on Ninth Street and Broadway and conducted his brisk business throughout the war by selling mostly European paintings, fewer American works, engravings and photographs. In 1864

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[40] A. D. Gridley, letter to John F. Kensett, 24 October 1864, in John F. Kensett Papers, Correspondence D-Z, Reel 1534, Archives of American Art.

[41] For the Brooklyn Art Association see Clark S. Marlor, The Brooklyn Art Association (New York: James F. Carr, 1970).

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he sold 58 works through the auctioneer Henry Leeds among them a Landscape by John Casilear (1811-1893) for $1,500, a very respectable amount at the time.[42] Similarly successful in New York, was Schaus's Art Emporium which dealt in English, French and American works in originals and engravings.[43] Finally, in December 1864, Samuel P. Avery who had participated actively in the organization of the art gallery of the Brooklyn and Long Island Sanitary Fair, opened his own "Fine Art Room" and attracted such clients as John T. Johnston, William H. Vanderbilt, Robert M. Olyphant and others.[44]

On occasion, art institutions and art activities were inaugurated in the midst of the Civil War. Such was the case with Buffalo, New York. The city boasted an established artistic community that included the Swedish born Lars Gustaf Sellstedt (1819-1911), the popular genre painter Thomas Le Clear (1818-1882), and William Henry

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[42] Blaugrund, The Tenth Street Studio Building, 98.

[43] "Fine Art Emporiums," The Round Table 1, 3 (2 January 1864): 44.

[44] Blaugrund, The Tenth Street Studio Building, 97-99. For a brief account of Samuel Avery's activities see Linda Skalet, "The Market for American Painting in New York: 1870-1915" Ph. D. Dissertation (John Hopkins University, 1980) 186-190.

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Beard who settled in Buffalo in 1850, and participated actively in organizing art exhibitions in the city in the 1860's along with Le Clear and Sellstedt.[45] Even during the Civil War, Buffalo enjoyed a remarkable activity in the arts. A successful art show took place in December of 1861, and its public appeal led in November 1862 to the establishment of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy which held exhibitions throughout the war. Sellstedt, Beard and Le Clear were included in the large group of curators of the Academy and in its third season in 1863, they put together an exhibition of 169 works, mostly American. Those included their own works and others by George Henry Hall (1825-1913), Peter Frederick Rothermel (1817-1895), Cropsey, Bierstadt, Thomas Worthington Whittredge (1820-1910), the young Charles Caryl Coleman (1840-1928)(who exhibited mostly copies of Old Masters), and Aaron Draper Shattuck (1832-1928).[46] In 1864, the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy was

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[45] For the art climate in Buffalo see William H. Gerdts, Art Across America vol. 1 (New York: Abbeville Press, 1990), 204-211.

[46] The Buffalo Fine Arts Academy. Catalogue of Paintings and Sculpture on Exhibition at the Academy's Gallery, Arcade Buildings, Main St. Buffalo, N.Y. (Buffalo: Joseph Warren & Co., 1863).

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installed in a "new and excellent gallery, … in order to cultivate the public taste …."[47]

Similarly, the nearby city of Rochester had an active, however small art scene by the 1840's with exhibitions at the local Mechanics Fair and in single picture exhibitions of monumental works such as West's Christ Healing the Sick in the Temple (1815) and his Death on a Pale Horse (1817). By mid-nineteenth century, there was a number of resident portrait and landscape painters who inaugurated in May 1862, the Rochester Academy of Fine Arts. In July of that year, the Academy presented an exhibition of European and American art, including works by local artists as well as those of Bierstadt, George Loring Brown (1814-1889), Thomas Prichard Rossiter (1818-1871) and Rothermel, which were contributed by New York dealers and collectors.[48] Many of these same artists were featured in the art gallery of the Ladies' Hospital Relief Association Bazaar in December 1863.

Albany was another regional art center in the state

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[47] L. G. Sellstedt, letter to John F. Kensett, Kensett Papers Correspondence, Reel 1534, Archives of American Art. In his attempt to create "as good an exhibition as can be obtained," Sellstedt petitioned Kensett to donate an art work to the inaugural show of the Academy.

[48] Gerdts, Art Across America, 1, 197.

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that demonstrated the strength of its art community by remaining active throughout the war. In the nineteenth century, Albany had a great tradition in portrait painting, represented by Asa Weston Twitchell (1820-1904) and Charles Loring Elliott (1812-1868). Erastus Dow Palmer (1817-1904) was a seminal figure in the cultural life of the city and his studio was the center of artistic activity for the many capable landscapists who emerged in Albany with his guidance and help.[49] The most successful were James M. and William Hart, George Henry Boughton, William Page and Launt Thompson (1833-1894). Boughton opened his own studio in Albany and stayed in the city until his departure for England in 1861, while Page was active as a portraitist there in the 1820's.

In the 1840's Albany had a premier Gallery of the Fine Arts that featured in its exhibitions from 1846 to 1850, the work of local artists, but also contributions from the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and the Boston Athenaeum.[50] Its last exhibition in 1850, showcased more

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[49] For information on art activities in Albany see William H. Gerdts, "Art in Albany and the City's Portrait Tradition," in The Faces of the City: Albany Portraits from Three Centuries (Albany, N.Y.: State University of New York, 1986) 10-31.

[50] For the content of the shows at the Albany Gallery of the

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than 150 European and American art works, paintings, sketches and miniatures, including Cole's serial canvases The Cross and the World, Henry Peters Gray's The Apple of Discord, Vanderlyn's Caius Marius on the Ruins of Carthage (1807), as well as paintings by the Hart brothers, Henry Inman (1801-1846), Tompkins Harrison Matteson (1813-1884), John Thomas Peele (1822-1897), Church, Lilly Martin Spencer and others.[51] There were no contributions from other more established institutions and in spite its early success the gallery ceased exhibitions in 1850. With the exception of a single show in 1858 for the benefit of the poor at Ransom's Iron Store, the city had no other major art exhibitions; the only outlet for local artists were the shows at the art store of Richard Annesley and his partner Vint, and the art store of John Pladwell.[52]

Even in cities where there were not any public galleries, private initiative brought the arts to the people. In Hartford, Connecticut, a city with an

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Fine Arts see, Gerdts, "Art in Albany and the City's Portrait Tradition," 23-24.

[51] Albany Gallery of the Fine Arts. Catalogue of the Fifth Exhibition (Albany: Charles van Benthuysen, 1850).

[52] George Howell, Rogers & Tenney, "Art and Artists," Bicentennial History of Albany (New York, 1886) 737.

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established tradition of art exhibitions and art patronage, the Wadsworth Gallery created in 1844, remained opened to the public during the war.[53] In 1863, the admission charge was $0.15, and an annual individual ticket was available for $1.00, while a family could be admitted for a year for $2.50.[54] The gallery, which was made up primarily of American art works, and featured the half-size copies of the Revolutionary war series by John Trumbull (1756-1840), John Vanderlyn's (1775-1852) The Death of Jane McCrea (1804), Thomas Cole's Mount Aetna (1843), and various portraits including that of Benjamin West (1821) by Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830). The accompanying catalogue to the collection contained lengthy commentary on the Revolutionary War series extolling the accomplishments of the brave men who against all odds managed to defeat much larger forces. Referring to Trumbull's The Battle of Trenton, Dec. 26th, 1776 (The Capture of the Hessians at Trenton, December 26, 1776, 1786-1828), the writer commented on the magnanimity of Washington, who after

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[53] For art activities in Hartford in the mid-nineteenth century see, Gerdts, Art Across America 1, 104-107.

[54] Catalogue of Paintings, Now Exhibiting in Wadsworth Gallery, Hartford. (Hartford, CT: Case, Lockwood & Co., 1863).

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winning the battle walked the battlefield and instructed his surgeons to provide all assistance possible to the wounded. The moral guidelines implicit in such images could provide lessons for imitation in the current conflict:

> The magnanimous kindness displayed by Washington on this occasion, offers a sublime example of true heroism, and well deserves to be imitated by all military men. The artist chose this subject, and composed the picture for the express purpose of giving a lesson to all living and future soldiers in the service of his country, to show mercy and kindness to a fallen enemy,-their enemy no longer when wounded and in their power.[55]

Even smaller mid-Western cities enjoyed remarkable artistic activity in the years prior and during the Civil War, often competing with Eastern art centers. Although some artists saw their commissions plummeting, others, reaped laurels and handsome financial rewards during the 1860's. Writing from Cincinnati to James Claghorn, who was helping him construct a studio in Philadelphia, Thomas B. Read testified to being "literally over run with work [underlined in the original] although I have put my price up since I came back-indeed I am refusing any more portraits."[56]

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[55] Ibid., 8-9.

[56] Thomas B. Read to James Claghorn, 19 March 1864, Claghorn Letters, Roll no. 4152, frame 0140-0141, Archives of American Art.

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In spite of Frances Trollope's critical comments on the cultural conditions in Cincinnati, the "Athens of the West," had an enviable cultural activity since the early years of the nineteenth century.[57] The city could boast an impressive exposure to musical and theatrical entertainments and in 1819 saw the creation of a prominent choral group, the Haydn Society, which ceased in 1824, but was replaced twenty years later by the Handel and Haydn Society. A number of touring theatrical groups entertained the public beginning in the 1820's.[58]

In the 1850's the city prided itself in its Philharmonic, and its performances continued on a small scale throughout the war. The most successful though musical venue in Cincinnati during the war was Pike's Opera House, perhaps the most prominent music hall in the mid-West; capable of accommodating 4,000 people, the hall was one of the largest in the country. In that splendid space, Cincinnatians reveled at operas by Donizetti, Verdi,

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[57] See, Robert C. Vitz, The Queen and the Arts: Cultural Life in Nineteenth-Century Cincinnati (Kent, Ohio and London: Kent State University Press, 1989).

[58] For the musical and theatrical activities in Cincinnati see, Vitz, The Queen and the Arts, 8-15, 41-46, 58 ff.

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Rossini and Mozart, including in 1864 a spectacular performance of Gounod's Faust. During the Great Western Fair dramatic readings took place at Pike's Opera and there was also a presentation of A Midsummer-Night's Dream.[59]

Undoubtedly though, Cincinnati's greatest accomplishments were in the visual arts.[60] In the first half of the nineteenth century Cincinnati stood as the uncontested leader of art and culture in the mid-West. Supported by sympathetic patrons, with Nicholas Longworth supreme among them, the arts flourished. Already by the second decade of the nineteenth century, a number of artists were working in Cincinnati, including for a brief time John J. Audubon (1785-1851) and Chester Harding (1792-1866).[61] A flurry of artistic activity occurred in the

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[59] Ibid., 62-3, 69.

[60] Ibid, 15-52. There is a wealth of published material on the art activities in Cincinnati in the nineteenth century. For the period up through the Civil War see Denny Carter, "Cincinnati as an Art Center, 1830-1865," in The Golden Age: Cincinnati Painters of the Nineteenth Century represented in the Cincinnati Art Museum (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1979), and Kathleen Dillon, "Painters and Patrons: The Fine Arts in Cincinnati, 1820-1860," Bulletin of the Cincinnati Historical Society 25 (1967): 7-32.

[61] For early art activities in Cincinnati see Ophia D. Smith, "A Survey of Artists in Cincinnati: 1789-1830," Bulletin of the Cincinnati Historical Society 25, 1 (January 1967): 3-20.

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1830's with a number of promising and accomplished artists including James Beard (1812-1893), William Henry Powell (1823-1879), Duncanson, William Louis Sonntag (1822-1900), Miner Kilbourne Kellogg (1814-1889), Read, Whittredge, the Frankenstein brothers, John and Godfrey, and Lilly Martin Spencer, although some of them departed by the end of the decade for the East.

Various museums were established in the city beginning in the 1820's. A physician, Daniel Drake, opened his Western Museum in 1820 presenting an interesting collection of Indian relics as well as prehistoric fossils and taxidermied animals. Although it changed ownership, for the next twenty years the museum attracted the attention of impressionable audiences with its odd mixture of the peculiar and the entertaining. Exhibits ranged from "mermaids" and grotesquely deformed animals to wax figures that from 1829, were designed by Hiram Powers who had settled in the city ten years earlier. There were many attempts to support and promote the arts through various institutions such as the Gallery of Fine Arts, opened in 1828 and the Cincinnati Academy of Fine Arts ten years later. In 1841, artists and collectors established the Section of Fine Arts as a division of the Society for the

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Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, with the intention of combining an art gallery and a museum with a public library.

So active was the art scene in Cincinnati that by the mid 1840's, even The New York Tribune, marveled at the "wealth, genius and beauty," that characterized the city.[62] The timid efforts for the promotion of the arts increased, and in 1847, the Western Art Union was created following the pattern of New York's American Art Union. By 1850, the venture had more than 5,000 subscribers who received engravings of the works of many local artists, including those of James Henry Beard, Spencer, Sonntag, Duncanson, and Whittredge, although by 1852, general discontent with the practices of the Union led to its dissolution.[63] Shortly thereafter however, William Wiswell, a dealer in frames and mirrors, opened a public and free gallery at his shop. The gallery, which included both American and European works was "a favorite resort, of evenings, especially, and frequented by visitors, principally strangers, as many as

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[62] Cited in Vitz, The Queen and the Arts, 35.

[63] John Frankenstein reserved a particularly caustic criticism for the inequalities and favoritism of the Union in his satirical poem American Art: Its Awful Attitude; A Satire, ed. William Coyle (reprint Bowling Green: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1972).

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fifteen hundred of whom have visited it in one day and evening."[64] Wiswell, continued his patronage of local artists until the Civil War, and indeed, he would be one of the contributors to the Art Gallery of the city's Great Western Sanitary Fair.

Cincinnati also prided itself in the creation of one of the earliest art academies for the benefit of women students; in 1854, Sarah Worthington Peters, formed the Ladies' Academy of Fine Arts for the purpose of teaching design to women students.[65] The academy depended on membership support and it was so successful that by the mid-1850's Peters with a fund of $6,000 traveled to Europe to purchase copies of Old Master paintings and casts that would be used for instruction. This experiment, although it succumbed in 1864 to the disarray brought by the war, would later form the basis for the McMicken School of Design.[66]

In 1860 a number of resident artists including James H. Beard, Read, the Frankestein brothers, and younger

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[64] Charles Cist, Sketches and Statistics of Cincinnati in 1859 (Cincinnati: William H. Moore & Co., 1859) 205.

[65] Heather Pentland, "Sarah Wothington King Peter and the Cincinnati Ladies' Academy of Fine Arts," Cincinnati Historical Society Bulletin 39 (Spring 1981): 7-15.

[66] Ibid, 14.

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artists such Joseph O. Eaton (1829-1875), Henry Mosler (1841-1920) and Alexander Wyant (1836-1892), formed the Sketch Club and published a short-lived journal under the same name. The Sketch Club marked prominently its presence at the art gallery of the Cincinnati fair to which many of its members contributed war sketches.

In 1859, Charles Cist, who had chronicled the city's developments, declared with pride:

> Without invidious comparisons, we may feel proud of what we have accomplished. No other city of the Union, *coeteris paribus*, has produced so many artists, reckoning among them, too, some of the brightest names in the art of the country.[67]

With the advent of the war, many artists abandoned Cincinnati for the more promising larger Eastern cities, and the loss of southern markets, as well as the rise of other regional transportation centers such as Chicago and St. Louis challenged the economic, artistic and cultural hegemony of Cincinnati. In the war years art activity in the city subsided, although, the prominent art gallery of the Great Western Fair was a secure testimony to the established strength of the art community and the diversity and breadth of the city's art collections.

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[67] Cist, Sketches and Statistics of Cincinnati in 1859, 201-202.

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In the 1850's and 1860's both Chicago and St. Louis competed with Cincinnati for the artistic leadership in the mid-West. The city of Chicago had virtually exploded in population and by the 1850's had more than 30,000 inhabitants. By mid century, the city was a scheduled stop for many touring musical and theatrical groups and it had a well regarded theater, McVicker's, which housed the art galleries of both Chicago fairs. The theater which had been renovated in the early 1860's, presented often Shakespearean and other comedic plays, and was reported to have had "one of the most spacious stages in the country, and its stage accessories are of the best." Another entertainment venue, Woods Museum, was a Barnum-type museum along with a theater stage which also showcased Shakespeare's work.[68]

The most remarkable artistic event in the city's young history took place in 1859, when the fist major art exhibition took place as part of the Illinois State Fair. Its purpose was "the furtherance of art in Chicago," and it was hailed as "worthy of high commendation," for "a city so young, and so generally believed to be entirely devoid of

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[68] "Chicago," The Round Table, New Series, no. 3 (23 September 1865): 45.

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all taste and culture in Art."[69] Leonard Volk (1828-1895) was largely responsible for the collection of 289 paintings, eighteen statues and 67 engravings, which attracted more than 12,000 people in its more than month long run and netted $800.[70] However, there were no further efforts for the promotion of the arts in the city because there were "serious objections … to any attempt to establish, at this time, a permanent and independent association for the encouragement of the Fine Arts…."[71]

Although many artists were active in Chicago, with the exception of the art galleries of the Sanitary Fairs, there were no organized art exhibitions, and very limited institutional support in the early 1860's. By the mid-nineteenth century, Chicago had a well-established artistic coterie that included portrait painters Healy, Charles Highwood, John Antrobus and Susan Hely St. John (1833-1913)

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[69] "Chicago's First Fine Arts Exhibition," Chicago History 2, 11 (Spring 1951): 324-325. Many members of the Chicago Historical Society sat on the board of directors for the 1859 exhibition.

[70] Interestingly, the profits were given to Leonard Volk, so that he could revisit Italy, in exchange for a bust for the Chicago Historical Society, although his second trip did not materialize until 1868.

[71] "Chicago's First Fine Arts Exhibition," 326.

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all of whom painted both portraits as well as genre scenes and Antrobus also practiced landscape painting. Many of these artists were patronized by the Chicago Art Union which was established in the city in 1860. Its purpose was "the encouragement and advancement of Fine Art in the West, and the promotion of a true and discriminate taste in Painting and Sculpture."[72] Many, who would later become involved with the Great Northwestern Sanitary Fair, such as Thomas B. Bryan, contributed their effort and support to the success of this venture.

In March of 1864, a reviewer for The Round Table, asserted that

> The young city, while it can have no claim to rival older communities in art, may yet, by its unquestioned taste and liberality, claim the friendly thought and estimation of all who wish well to the future of American art …. Unhappily however, Chicago is no paradise of artist, who find so many rival claimants of public favor in that bustling and progressive metropolis. And yet this may in part be owing to the fact that art is yet unorganized there; like a modest newcomer and adventurer, its stands quietly apart, biding its time, and contently accepting its fate. The day, it is hoped, is not distant when the fullness of its time shall come.[73]

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[72] George P. Upton, "Art in Chicago," The Western Monthly 4 (December 1870): 404.

[73] "Chicago Art Notes," The Round Table 1, 15 (26 March 1864): 234.

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This seems though a rather harsh estimation, considering that even Williams and Everett of Boston, recognizing the potential for patronage exhibited in 1864 for sale more than 200 paintings that included works by Bierstadt and Sonntag.[74] A few months later, two fresco painters Jevne & Almini, were recorded as constructing a "permanent art-gallery … which is to be devoted exclusively to the exhibition of the works of Chicago artists," and their gallery remained active at least through 1864.[75] In May of 1864, while Volk was at work on a statue of Senator Douglas, there was an exhibition in that same gallery which included the works of Peter Fiske Reed (1818-1887), Henry Chapman Ford, Susan Hely St. John and others.[76] A sale of art works by many Chicago artists took place in the same gallery in July 1864 and "though the prices secured were

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[74] Ibid.

[75] "Chicago Art Notes," The Round Table 1, 16 (2 April 1864): 249. The writer noted that the "studios of our artists have hitherto been the only places of exhibition…, and, with the exception of Mr. Healy's, have afforded a very unsatisfactory medium." For this, and other art activities in Chicago at mid-century see, Gerdts, Art in America 2, 290.

[76] W. W. S. "Monument to Senator Douglas," The Round Table 1, 24 (26 May 1864): 377.

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not of the highest, the sale as a whole was a successful and satisfactory one as an inaugural."[77]

It would not be however, until the conclusion of the war in 1865, that a magnificent structure, Uriah H. Crosby's Opera House was opened as an art exhibition site that featured a fine arts gallery and an Art Association. The rising status of Chicago as a center for the arts could be evaluated by a "glance at some of the pictures … exhibited upon its walls [indicating] that it had commanded respect abroad, and … brought out some of the best pictures the Eastern and foreign studios had ever produced."[78] Crosby's Opera House was not successful though and soon thereafter its art collection was dispersed and the structure was sold. Much of its collection however, as well as the structure were inherited by the Academy of Design which was instituted in 1867 and became a active promoter of local talent in the post-bellum period.[79]

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[77] W. W. S. "Chicago Art Notes," The Round Table 2, 31 (16 July 1864): 75.

[78] Upton, "Art in Chicago," 405-6.

[79] Many artists who had been active at the Chicago Sanitary Fairs such as Volk, Ford, and William Cogswell were instrumental in this new organization.

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Like Chicago, St. Louis had by the mid-nineteenth century, a firmly established art community that included Ferdinand Thomas Lee Boyle (1820-1906), Manuel de Franca (1808-1865), Alban Jasper Conant (1821-1915), Charles Wimar (1828-1862) and Bingham.[80] Beginning in 1857, art exhibitions were held in the yearly fairs of the local Agricultural and Mechanical Association. These included an eclectic array of paintings, statuary, works of design but also "Minerals, Chemicals, and some miscellaneous articles, for which space could not be found in the other buildings."[81] The premiums offered by the association attracted many artists to the 1859 exhibition, which featured a number of plaster works by Peter Crummen, marble statues, oil paintings and watercolors, prints and drawings as well as artists' materials, photographic instruments and materials and stenographic equipment.

By 1859, the president of the Association wishing to

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[80] Wimar received a major commission, for the decoration of the St. Louis Courthouse in 1861, at the same time that Leutze, his teacher was working on the mural for the United States Capitol.

[81] M. Hopewell, Report of the Third Annual Fair of the St. Louis Agricultural and Mechanical Association, of September, 1858 (St. Louis: George Knapp & Co., 1859) 96. The fairs were interrupted with the Civil War, but resumed in 1866.

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enhance the public appeal of the Fine Arts Hall, "placed it under the care of gentlemen who were connoisseurs in the Fine Arts, … and who were desirous of doing any thing that would encourage a 'love for the beautiful.'" The organizing committee included De Franca, Sydendham R. Clarke, Henry W. Williams, William D. Wood, Samuel Rimmer, and James S. Chew who petitioned local collectors for contributions. Not "a single application was made in vain. The citizens felt the general enthusiasm, and the Hall was soon a perfect storehouse of the Fine Arts; … Many of the paintings which adorned it were from the old masters, which would have irradiated even the classic walls of the Vatican."[82] The makeup of this 1859 show, was distinctly more serious than any of the previous ones and comprised of 171 paintings, with additional drawings and statuary. Although there were many unattributed paintings, some copies after the Old Masters and works by David Teniers (no indication which one), Salvator Rosa (1615-1673) and Thomas Lawrence (1769-1830), the show was dominated by American art works. Prominent in the exhibition were paintings by Bingham, Charles Wimar and John James Audubon (1785-1851), while

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[82] M. Hopewell, Report of the Fourth Annual Fair of the St. Louis Agricultural & Mechanical Association, of September, 1859 (St. Louis: George Knapp & Co, 1860) 122-3.

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many other artists including Gignoux, Rembrandt Peale (1778-1860), Charles Warren Eaton (1857-1937), Sonntag, Rossiter, and Cole had single examples of their work shown. Sarah Miriam Peale (1800-1885), one of nine women artists in the show, participated with a painting of "a Melon, freshly cut." The painting was so "tantalizing to beholders," in its perfect illusion that it recalled the classic story of Zeuxis and the birds, and was awarded a premium and a $15 prize.[83]

Some of the exhibited paintings were familiar to St. Louisans since they had been exhibited at the Cosmopolitan Art Association in recent years and were distributed as engravings. In the fall of 1860, a Western Academy of Art was established in the city and was provided with antique casts but unfortunately, this venture ceased with the Civil War.[84]

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[83] Ibid., 129-130. The others who contributed works were Phillippine Espenschied (1847-1925), Susan P. Marlowe, Juliet Massie, Emilie Conway, Maggie Barber, Mattie G. Dowthitt and an artist listed only as Miss Lidell. Most were amateurs, although Espenschied studied art early on and after her husband, Henry Overstolz, became mayor of the city, she became an active patron of the arts. For the activities of women artists in the city see, Lincoln Bunce Spiess, "St. Louis Women Artists in the mid-19th Century," Gateway Heritage 3, 4 (Spring 1983): 10-23.

[84] The Western Art Academy was the result of efforts by Henry T. Blow (1817-1875), who had served as State Senator

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St. Louis' prosperous merchants participated actively in the cultural life of the city. The St. Louis Mercantile Library which was formed in 1844, offered lectures that continued throughout the war, and by the 1850's had acquired a respectable art collection that included sculptures by Harriet Hosmer, some contemporary American works and European Old Masters.

The diversity of artistic and cultural activities that defined life in Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis was not nearly as evident in the city of Cleveland. By 1857, the Cleveland City Directory listed only six professional artists, although music and the theater fared much better. There was a well-patronized Academy of Music that entertained large crowds even during the war. At the same time as the Northern Ohio Sanitary Fair, newspapers reported that a "densely packed house of the beauty, fashion, wealth and *dillettanti* of the city witnessed VERDI's grand Opera 'Il Trovatore."[85] A number of bands

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as well as minister to Venezuela, prior to his election as congressman during the war years see, "Art Development in St. Louis," in Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis, eds. William Hyde and Howard L. Conard (New York, Louisville, St. Louis: The Southern History Co., c. 1899) 1, 43-52.

[85] "Third Night of the Opera-Increased Enthusiasm," Cleveland Plain Dealer 28 January 1864, 3, 3.

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performed to sold out crowds as indicated by a notice of "a feast of harmonious sounds," a "grand concert given by the members of the combined Cleveland and West Side Gesangaverein and Leland's full Band," of selections of Weber, Mozart and many other composers.[86]

By the mid-nineteenth century, the city had a solid and prosperous mercantile class that attended musical and theatrical performances and offered some patronage to local as well as itinerant artists. One of them, Allen Smith Jr. (1810-1890), who had trained at the National Academy of Design, and settled in the city in the 1840's, painted insightful and uncompromisingly realistic portraits and genre scenes, many of which were engraved by the American Art Union.

In the mid-1830's, a group of naturalists formed a group for the promotion of the natural sciences, the Arkites. Their collection of natural specimens was open to the public, and in 1842 the group hosted an art exhibition in the quarters of their society. The city had an active scientific community that in 1843 established the medical department of Western Reserve College and in 1845, the

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[86] "The Concert Last Night," Daily Herald [Cleveland] 4 March 1864, 1, 4.

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Cleveland Academy of Natural Sciences was instituted there.

There were a few sporadic art exhibitions such as an exhibition of reproductions of Italian and Flemish works in 1844, and in 1847, Rembrandt Peale's Court of Death (1820), was exhibited in the city as part of its national tour.[87] Throughout the 1840's and 1850's, the people of Cleveland patronized enthusiastically panoramas, which presented them with an astonishing array of themes that ranged from representations of the Mexican War, the California gold rush, The Crimean War, well known locals such as Niagara Falls, the Hudson River, New York City and more "exotic" destinations such as Italy, Jerusalem or the Arctic. In 1862, Archibald Willard, a prominent local portraitist, presented his own panorama on Civil War subjects.[88] Just two years earlier in 1860, the sculptor William Walcutt (1819-1882 or 1895) had created a monument commemorating the victory of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry at the Battle of Lake Erie in the War of 1812.

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[87] Information cited in William H. Robinson, David Steinberg et al., Cleveland Art: Community and Diversity in Early Modern Art (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1992) 22.

[88] Ibid., 23.

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Announcements in the local press advertised lessons in watercolor and perspective drawing and in 1860, the Cleveland Sketch Club, a better organized art association, presided by Walcutt, offered drawing instruction and criticism to select members who conducted classes in each other's homes.[89] The city however, emerged as a center for the arts only in the post-bellum period and particularly after the 1876 Centennial.[90] In view of the paucity of a well established art community and patronage base, the collection of more than 130 art works at the art gallery of the Northern Ohio Sanitary Fair is all the more remarkable.

Contrary to the intermittent artistic and cultural activities of the city of Cleveland, Pittsburgh prided itself in a well established cultural environment for both the upper as well as the lower classes and that was maintained in the 1860's by the prosperity brought on by the war.[91] The city had a remarkable tradition in musical

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[89] Ibid., 20.

[90] The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History, Eds. David D. van Tassel and John J. Grabowski (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988) 50. See also, Gerdts, Art Across America, 2, 214-215.

[91] For the diversity of entertainments to the middle and lower classes in Pittsburgh see Francis Couvares "Pleibeian Society, Plebeian Culture: Pittsburgh in the Iron Age," David Gilmour Blythe's Pittsburgh: 1850-1865, Proceedings of an All-Day Public Forum, (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Museum of

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patronage beginning in 1812 with the Pittsburgh Harmonic Society. Although short lived it was soon followed by many other more successful groups such as the Mozart Society in 1838, and the Pittsburgh Academy of Music in the 1840's.

Pittsburgh was one of the most memorable and most eventful stops for Jenny Lind, the Swedish Nightingale that was brought to this country by P. T. Barnum. On tour throughout the mid-West, Lind arrived in Pittsburgh in April 1851, following her very successful concert in Cincinnati. Tickets for the event, which raised more than $8,000, sold for as high as $50.00 each, but a few dissatisfied customers threatened the famous singer by casting stones and verbal insults at her.[92]

Pittsburgh had been equally hospitable to the visual arts.[93] The city had a number of resident artists, art collectors and art suppliers from the early nineteenth century onwards. One of the earliest promoters of the arts in the city, who would play a significant role in the organization of the art gallery of the fair, was John Jones

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Art, 9 May 1981) 38-50.

[92] Baldwin, Pittsburgh. The Story of a City, 256-7.

[93] For artistic activities in Pittsburgh at mid-century see David Wilkins, "The Pittsburgh Art Community: 1860-1865," in David Gilmour Blythe's Pittsburgh: 1850-1865, 16-26.

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Gillespie. In 1832, Gillespie founded the J. J. Gillespie Company an important emporium that offered the finest imported goods. In 1845, this first store burned down and the enterprising Gillespie soon rebuilt in larger and more prominent quarters. He then traded not only in mirrors, glass and fancy objects but also sold prints that he himself acquired from Europe, as well as those of American artists that Gillespie funded to print.[94] Gillespie helped popularize the arts in Pittsburgh as every passerby could benefit from the art works exhibited at his shop windows.

Many itinerant and local artists found in Gillespie's shop a hospitable setting for the promotion of their work. Those active in the 1830's were Russell Smith, Chester Harding (1792-1866), Darley, Thomas Sully (1782-1872), and George Cochran Lambdin (1830-1896). The last three were the most prominent portrait painters in the city by mid-century. Other local artists who congregated at Gillespie's included George Hetzel (1826-1906) and Jasper Holman Lawman

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[94] For Gillespie see, "Some of the Interesting Happenings in the Past Century," Unidentified article, J. J. Gillespie, Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh. By the 1880's, Gillespie became a premier art dealer whose shop promoted the work not only of American artists, but also Old Masters and contemporary European works. The company remained in operation until 1927.

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(1825-1906) and the most controversial and prominent Pittsburgh artist, David Blythe. Hetzel's studio was also a gathering spot for many, including Alfred Wall (1809-1896) and William Coventry Wall (1810-1886), both landscape painters active in the mid-nineteenth century.[95]

Attempts to provide institutional support of the arts were realized in 1859 with the creation of the Pittsburgh Art Association. For the first year, its organizing committee included well-known collectors Christian H. Wolff, William Thaw and G. W. Hailman, Gillespie and artists William C. Wall, and Lawman. The first exhibition comprised 278 art works mostly paintings, a few sketches and photographs, some reliefs and statues. The works of Pittsburgh artists featured prominently, many loaned by local collectors, most notably Wolff. Gignoux, William Trost Richards (1833-1905), Isaac Eugene Craig (1830-?) and Trevor McClurg (1816-1893), William Wall, Hetzel, Blythe and others offered their paintings for sale.[96] In spite

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[95] For early nineteenth century art activities in Pittsburgh see, Penelope Reed, "Pittsburgh Artists, Past and Present," Art and Archaeology 14, 5-6 (November-December 1922): 313-317, David Wilkins, Art in Nineteenth-Century Pittsburgh (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh, 1977).

[96] Catalogue of the First Annual Exhibition of the Pittsburgh Art Association 1859 (Pittsburgh: Barr & Myers, n. d.).

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however the commitment and the enthusiasm of artists and collectors alike, the association ceased to exist after its 1860 exhibition.[97]

In 1855 the Pittsburgh Academy for Instruction in Drawing and Painting was instituted with the support of local artists but it did not survive long. In 1863 however, two of Pittsburgh's most successful artists, McClurg and Hetzel, ran a design school and in 1865 McClurg joined the newly created Pittsburgh School of Design. Its first board of directors was made up of prominent businessmen and art collectors such as Andrew Carnegie, William Thaw, Thomas S. Clarke and John H. Schonberger.[98]

The financial prosperity achieved during the war by many mid-Western cities provided a most auspicious setting for the development of the arts and culture. The pursuit and support of arts and music was for mid-Westerners an

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[97] The last show was equally large with 256 works on exhibition see, Catalogue of the Second Annual Exhibition of the Pittsburgh Art Association 1860 (Pittsburgh: W. S. Haven, n. d.).

[98] Martin B. Leisser, "What Art Schools and Other Fostering Institutions Have Done in the Past," Gazette Times (Pittsburgh) (4 May 1910), n. p. included in Martin B. Leisser, "Art in Pittsburgh," Typewritten Copy of Articles in the Pittsburgh Gazette-Times, 1910. Carnegie Library of Pittsburgh.

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evident demonstration of their cultural attainment and was intended to combat popularly held beliefs as to their provincialism and lack of interest in ennobling preoccupations.

That was similarly true for the city of San Francisco, whose citizens enjoyed a wide variety of amusements during the war. Musical and theatrical entertainments abounded in the early 1860's. McGuire's Opera House in July 1864, presented the "local drama" "Upper Ten and Lower Twenty," as well as a farcical performance entitled "Model of a Wife," with ticket prices ranging from $0.20 for gallery seats, to $1.00 for those in the orchestra, while private boxes cost from $5.00 to $10.00 each. Comparable were the prices at the Metropolitan Theater where in that same month, three dramatic plays were offered concurrently.

Additionally, Donizetti's "Lucia di Lammermoor" was presented at MaGuire's Academy of Music, and Platt's New Music Hall promoted "The Original and Only Blaisdell Brothers, Campanologians! or Wonderful Swiss Bell Ringers!."[99] All these four venues had been active throughout the early 1860's and their programs were

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[99] All these announcements appeared under "Amusements," Daily Alta California [San Francisco] 1 July 1864, 6, 3.

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changing often in order to keep up with competition. On 9 July 1864, "'Il Trovatore' was rendered in fine style at Maguire's Academy of Music," and in attendance were "Rev. H. W. Bellows, … besides the usual number of feminine sweets in full costume."[100] Minstrel shows and circus performances were equally popular, such as the "ELEGANT, SENSATIONAL, THRILLING, COMIC, AND ENTERTAINING NOVELTIES OF THE DAY," offered by the "Wilson and Zoyara's Great Circus."[101]

By mid-century, a number of artists, both Californians and from other regions, enlivened the local art scene and there were sporadic art exhibitions from the mid 1850's on. The San Francisco Mechanics Institute held an exhibition in 1858 and again in 1864, concurrently with the Ladies' Christian Commission Fair in that city.

It is evident that pragmatic concerns over the economic, social and political ramifications of the Civil War did not alter dramatically everyday attitudes towards genteel and even plebeian enjoyment of amusements and culture. The entertainments and art exhibitions of the

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[100] "Amusements, Notices, etc.," Daily Alta California [San Francisco] 9 July 1864, 1, 3.

[101] "Wilson and Zoyara's Great Circus," Daily Alta California [San Francisco] 6 July 1864, 6, 4.

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Sanitary Fairs were yet another manifestation of the general interest in such affairs that characterized the period. In most cases the art shows depended for their success on established art communities and experience in exhibition practices, and engaged the enthusiasm of local artists and collectors who saw in them an opportunity to promote their work and collections respectively. For smaller cities though, the interest in such elevated and erudite pursuits also signified the formation of a regional cultural identity that was competitive and comparable to that of larger urban centers, and was going to find its ultimate and clearly defined outlook in the post-Civil War years.

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CHAPTER V

THE ART GALLERIES OF THE SANITARY FAIRS

Organization of Art Committees

> We have not forgotten that our Artists, from the commencement of the war, have been among the most loyal, warm-hearted supporters of our cause; that they have given again and again their time and talents to help our suffering soldiers, and now we invite them to unite with us once more in making this an occasion long to be remembered, where every heart shall bring its tribute of affection for our country.[1]

Like any other department of the fair, the art galleries demanded the organizational skill of many who had extensive knowledge of the local art scene, had appropriate connections to aid them in the collection of art works and were discriminating enough to distinguish the merits of various contributions. In most cases art committees were made up of local artists and art collectors because contrary to any other of the departments, where even amateurs could arrange the exhibits, the art galleries demanded a degree of professional expertise that

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[1] Circular. Art Exhibition in Behalf of the Metropolitan Fair in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission. Kensett Papers, Metropolitan Fair in Aid of the U.S. Commission. Museum of the City of New York.

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necessitated the judicious involvement of those knowledgeable with the practices and risks of art selection and arrangement. One reviewer of the art gallery of the Great Central Fair recognized exactly this fact:

> The arrangement of those [art works] accepted was alone work enough for three committees of ordinary men, for be it known to the uninitiated that a picture is not hung merely by attaching it to a nail in a wall, and harmless as a picture seems artists do not esteem each other's works. We have known a portrait of a beautiful woman, apparently the perfection of innocence, to kill a sleeping child in the next frame, and have seen one landscape actually destroyed by the conflagration of a neighboring sunset.[2]

In smaller cities committee selections must have been relatively easy, because the few artists or art collectors that were available were all too willing to participate in the task. In the larger cities though, choices depended largely on visibility, social connections and established experience in the arts. In most cases there are no surviving records that illuminate the procedures for choosing committee members. Customarily, responsibilities were shared by both male and female committee members, although most often executive power was concentrated with

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[2] "The Art Gallery," Forney's War Press 31, 3 (11 June 1864): 5.

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the men while women used their social influence to encourage contributions.

At the first Northwestern Sanitary Fair in Chicago though, the small, five-member art committee was made up of women, with the sole exception of the sculptor Volk as the general manager.[3] His election to the post reflected his prominence in the city, and most importantly his prior experience in arranging Chicago's First Fine Arts Exhibition in 1859. The "warmest praise" was reserved for Volk's abilities who, in two days time, was able to arrange more than 300 paintings and sculptures "by a sort of artist's instinct … in so admirable a manner that the crabbiest author or owner of a picture would find it a hard matter to find fault."[4]

Whereas Volk provided the technical expertise, Mary Livermore's social acumen was instrumental in the success of the art galleries of both the 1863 and the 1865 Chicago fairs. Livermore and many other women used their power of delicate persuasion and as she noted "homes beautified with

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[3] There is at least one indication that Healy was initially considered as the president of the art gallery, see "Fine Art Gallery, The Northwestern Sanitary Fair" The Evening Journal [Chicago] 14 October 1863, 4, 4.

[4] "The Great Northwestern Fair," Chicago Tribune 29 October 1863, 4, 2.

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works of art, paintings or statuary, were temporarily plundered of them for the "Art Gallery, …."[5]

So enthusiastic was the response of artists and collectors that

> Very few declined, and the number of beautiful and rare works of art that were collected was a surprise to those who had not kept pace with the growth of Chicago in culture and refinement. Not a few pictures were sent from Wisconsin, Michigan and Iowa, and some from Pittsburgh.[6]

She also appealed to her acquaintances in the East hoping for "an introduction to some of the N.Y. artists, who might be willing to donate some specimens of their handiwork for the benefit of our Southwestern heroes, anguishing in hospitals."[7] Livermore, as well as Volk, also participated in the Fine Arts Committee for the 1865 Chicago fair, but now the committee had expanded considerably and included Healy, as its president, artist John H. Drury (1816-?), Uriah Crosby and Thomas B. Bryan.[8]

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[5] Livermore, My Story of the War, 415.

[6] History of the North-Western Soldier's Fair, 32.

[7] Mary Livermore, letter to Louisa Lee Schuyler, 24 September 1863. Louisa Lee Schuyler Papers, New York Historical Society.

[8] "Fine Arts Committee," Catalogue of Paintings, Statuary, Etc … of the Great North-Western Fair (Chicago: n. p., 1865).

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The formation of committees was undoubtedly a demanding and time-consuming responsibility. George Griswold Gray, the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Metropolitan fair informed John F. Kensett of his appointment as the chairman of the Art Committee.

> Having received no answer from you, I reported you as having accepted & you were appointed chairman of the Committee on art including pictures and artist's materials for sale … & upon you desolves [sic] the duty of filling up the Committee with such gentlemen as you think will best do duty. As so many lay members are already named, probably the others had better be artists, with a representative of the art stores but all this at your discretion …. No number is fixed for the Committees & you can have as many assistants as you please.[9]

Kensett's strong pro-Union beliefs and his membership to the Union League Club made him a most appropriate candidate for the position. His high visibility in the artistic and cultural circles in New York City undoubtedly facilitated the arduous task of completing the organizing committee. Kensett was a member of the Union League Club, the Century Club, had served on the United States Art

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[9] George Griswold Gray, letter to John F. Kensett, 16 December 1863, John F. Kensett Papers-Correspondence Reel N68-84, frame 344. Collectors Abraham M. Cozzens, William T. Blodgett, and Marshall O. Roberts who formed the Committee on Exhibition were mentioned in Gray's letter as was the artist William Stanley Haseltine (1835-1900).

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Commission that was charged with the responsibility of the completion of the United States Capitol, was on the Committee of Arrangements for the National Academy of Design continuously from 1859 through 1866, and he was the treasurer of the Fellowship Fund that was responsible for fundraising for the new building of the Academy.[10]

The gentlemen's Fine Art Committee ultimately was a combination of some of the most prominent New York collectors and artists. It included Marshall O. Roberts, the successful merchant who became exceedingly wealthy during the war with his involvement in the shipping and railroad industries, and who had served on the board of the Art Union from 1846 to 1851 and was an avid collector of American art, Abraham Cozzens, as well as Joseph H. Choate, and the art dealer Michael Knoedler. Among the artists were Thomas Hicks (1823-1890), Christopher Pearce Cranch (1813-1892), Eastman Johnson (1824-1906), Leutze, Whittredge, Huntington, then President of the National Academy of

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[10] For information on Kensett's numerous artistic activities see, John Paul Driskoll, John K. Howatt, John Frederick Kensett: An American Master (Worcester, Ma: Worcester Art Museum, 1985) 35ff. Henry K. Brown (1814-1886) and James R. Lambdin (1807-1889) were the other two members of the United States Art Commission, see, Report of United States Art Commission, 22 February, 1860. Kensett Papers, Correspondence Reel 68-84, Archives of American Art.

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Design, Launt Thompson (1833-1894) and the photographer Matthew Brady.[11] All these men were recognized for their "utter absence of personal selfishness … men … who gave up most important avocations to attend to the self-imposed duty of the Fair."[12]

Although there are few surviving letters that clarify the selection process, Kensett appears to have turned to old friends and colleagues. He was well connected to many members of the Art Committee; Hicks and Cranch, he had known since his studies in Italy, Huntington was a member of the Century Club and a close friend. Leutze, Thompson and Whittredge were residents of the Tenth Street Studio, at the time that Kensett was the Manager of Exhibitions there, so discussions as to the needs of the exhibition could be exchanged on a regular basis. Whittredge expressed

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[11] See "Committee on the Fine Arts" Catalogue of the Art Exhibition at the Metropolitan Fair, in Aid of the U.S. Sanitary Commission (New York: n. p., 1864) 2. In a single source, Albert Bierstadt is also listed as a member of the art committee, but there is no other indication of his direct involvement with the art gallery see, "Officers" Metropolitan Fair in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission, 9. The sculptor Henry Kirke Brown, living at the time in Newburgh, was a member of the Committee of Contributions from without the City. Ibid, 10.

[12] "Recollections of the Fair in New York-No.2" Our Daily Fare 1, 3 (10 June 1864): 18.

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his delight in being involved with the Fair, following his unsuccessful attempt to enlist.

> It was not long before things took a steadier turn, and I began to see that there were many things I could do to help on the war if I stayed at home, and soon found myself busy with fairs, exhibitions of pictures, sewing societies and what not for the benefit of the soldiers.[13]

Although most artists and individuals responded enthusiastically to the call for assistance, some declined, claiming too many other responsibilities. William Parsons Winchester Dana (1833-1927) wrote to Kensett thanking him for his invitation to be a committee member, asserting that

> Nothing would give me greater pleasure than to aid efficiently in the great cause-and nothing but positive inability to find time for all the irons that I have in the fire to the almost annihilation of work in my studies prevent my embarking into new spheres. I must therefore beg off-and content myself with contributing to the Fair in other ways.[14]

In the Ladies Committee sat some equally prominent women; Mrs. Jonathan Sturges, Mrs. Blodgett, Mrs. Joseph

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[13] Baur, The Autobiography of Worthington Whittredge 1820-1910, 42-43. Whittredge attempted to enlist, along with Sanford Gifford and although Gifford was accepted, Whittredge was never called, because the regiment had sufficient numbers.

[14] William P. Dana, letter to John F. Kensett, 23 January 1864, Kensett Papers Reel 1534, Archives of American Art. Dana's name appeared in the art committee in the circular for the Art Exhibition, but not in the art catalogue.

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Choate, Mrs. Wallach, wife of Lester Wallach, and Miss Edith Cook, the only professional woman artist in the Ladies Committee.[15] Cook's name was listed separately from the other women in the catalogue of the art exhibition, immediately above that of Kensett, as if to punctuate her connection with the other artists in the group rather than with the women socialites.

Mrs. Jonathan Sturges testified that her selection as the Lady Manager of the Committee was an indication of the influence and respect commanded by her husband.

> I was appointed Chairman of the Art Department on account of my husband's interest in art, and our acquaintance with the best artists of the time. The Sketch Club of the period, … took great interest in our work, and the artists of New York gave donations which were to be first exhibited and then sold for the benefit of the Fair …. I went around among the different families who had fine collections of picture, and requested the loan of works of art for our Gallery. It was wonderful to see the feeling of the people. The reply was, "I would not loan my pictures for anything else, but for this, you may take what you please." The consequence was, when the artists came to hang the pictures, they had more than the walls would hold; and all finished it was one of the most beautiful exhibitions of the kind ever made in New York.[16]

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[15] Cook was a landscape artist, who was well connected to artists of the Hudson River School see, Gerdts, Art Across America, 1, 233.

[16] Sturges, Reminiscences of a Long Life, 240-241. Jonathan Sturges and to a lesser extend his wife, Mary were involved in the social and political life of New York. Sturges, a

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A complex network of committees was formed to satisfy the demands of organizing an art exhibition of such large proportions. Specialized committees were established to solicit contributions from various countries; they included Americans living abroad but also many artists who had studied in Europe. The Committee on French, German, Belgian, and Flemish Schools included William Blodgett, Leutze, Knoedler, Eastman Johnson, Cranch and the artist John R. Tait, in Düsseldorf. The American Consul in Rome, William J. Silliman, Whittredge and Cozzens participated on the Committee on Italy and American Artists in Rome. Likewise, Freeman H. Morse, the American Consul in London served on the Committee on English art along with J. Lester Wallack, Launt Thompson (1833-1894), Boughton, and John Whetten Ehninger (1827-1889).[17]

In the end, most recognized the unselfish dedication

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successful merchant was a firm supporter of the national government during the Civil War, and "a recognized leader of the anti-slavery movement." For the political attitudes of Sturges see Gail E. Husch, "1851/1852: Asher B. Durand, Jonathan Sturges, and God's Judgment upon Gog," Something Coming: Apocalyptic Expectation and Mid-Nineteenth Century American Painting (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 2000) 180-200.

[17] Circular. To Americans Abroad, Jan. 28th, 1864. John F. Kensett Papers, Museum of the City of New York.

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of all these individuals to the success of the art gallery of the fair. Kensett received the appreciation of his fellow organizers for his "untiring devotion to the enterprise which has just resulted so successfully, and [for his] ability and courteous zeal in furthering the cause of patriotism and humanity."[18]

There was however, at least one dissenting voice that recognized ulterior motives in the ways that the members of the art committee of the Metropolitan Fair conducted the selection process. The reviewer for The Round Table suggested that the problem with the make up of the art committee was the inclusion of art collectors, whose preference was for artists that they had patronized in the past, and who acted as "the crown-prince who sets the court painter in advance of all others." The author accused the art committee of "Barnumism" in what he considered an entirely anti-democratic selection process.

> Were not the ostensible motive of this exhibition a noble and worthy one, severest and most aggressive criticism would assault the Committee on Exhibition and the Committee on Fine Arts. For though they have selected and exhibited many fine and noble pictures, there is a manifest

[18] C. Nash, letter to Kensett, 28 April 1864, cited in John Paul Driscoll and John K. Howatt, John Frederick Kensett: An American Master (Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 1985) 44.

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> predominance of works from the members of that committee, while certain painters are either not represented or but meagerly …. But the acting members of the committee thought differently; they clamored; they pushed; they were noisy in presenting the claims of their friends; they insisted that the place of honor should be awarded, now to this painter, now to that.[19]

One reviewer waged complaints of favoritism against the art committee of the Brooklyn and Long Island Sanitary Fair, which was largely comprised of members of the Brooklyn Art Association. Gignoux served as chairman of the Committee along with artists Richard William Hubbard (1816-1888), John Williamson (1826-1885), Nicholas Biddle Kittell (1822-1894), John Adams Parker (1827/29-c.1905), the art dealer Samuel Avery, who served as the secretary, and Henry Ward Beecher, the popular minister.[20]

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[19] "Pictures at the Metropolitan Fair," The Round Table 1, 18 (16 April 1864): 280-281. The critic proposed that for future exhibitions, art committees should be "made up exclusively of artists, as professional honor proves a protection to the rights of each member of the profession." This critic's assertions are somewhat justified if one considers the content of the art gallery of the Metropolitan Fair. There were seven works by Daniel Huntington, which, because of their size, were prominently displayed at the show. Leutze was equally well represented with six works, while there were only three works by Kensett and only one by Whittredge. It seems however that the inclusion of high numbers of works by certain artists was due to the make-up of the holdings of collectors who contributed their works to the show.

[20] For a brief discussion of the Brooklyn and Long Island Fair and its art exhibition see Marlor, A History of the Brooklyn Art Association 16-19.

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Although on the published catalogue of the art exhibition of the fair, only seven members are cited in the art committee, 34 male members and 36 female members served under the Arts, Relics and Curiosities Committee. The male committee included among others artists Mauritz Frederick Hendrick De Haas (1832-1895), Samuel Colman (1832-1920), John Mackie Falconer (1820-1903), Seymour Joseph Guy (1824-1910), Thomas Le Clear (1818-1882), William Beard, Platt Powell Ryder (1821-1896), Johann Hermann Carmiencke (1810-1867), Alonzo Chappel and Charles Loring Elliott (1812-1868).[21] Many of the above artists had been active in the art community in Brooklyn organizing exhibitions and promoting the arts and their inclusion in the art committees was meant to guarantee its success.[22] The members of the female committee were mostly socialites and amateur artists, except for Fidelia Bridges (1834-1923) who by the

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[21] It seems that there was at least one Sub-Committee on Engravings and John M. Falconer was its chairman see, History of the Brooklyn and Long Island Fair, 85-86. For Falconer see, Linda S. Ferber, "Our Mr. John M. Falconer," in Brooklyn Before the Bridge: American Paintings from the Long Island Historical Society (Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, 1982) 16-23.

[22] For the art activities in Brooklyn prior to the war see, Gerdts, Art Across America, 1, 139-140.

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early 1860's was a respectable artist with a solid exhibition record.[23]

The art committee was credited "for the excellence and taste shown in the arrangements," and special recognition was given to Gignoux and Williamson.[24] One commentator suggested "a change of programme [sic] in the Brooklyn Art Machine, as run by Gignoux, Williamson & Co.," and accused them of discrimination not only in "taking all the best pieces on the walls of the Exhibition room for their own pictures," but also in exhibiting only a small number of the sketches contributed. Furthermore he proposed that the sketches should have been returned to the artists so as to be rescued "from the shabby treatment they have already received in the hands of this incompetent Committee on Art." He also suggested that a sketch be made of "Gignoux, Williamson & Co., grinding their little axes at the public grindstone-the "Brooklyn Art Association' looking on admiringly at the skill displayed-and present it to the

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[23] History of the Brooklyn and Long Island Fair, 119-120.

[24] "The Great Sanitary Fair: The Gallery of Fine Arts," Brooklyn Daily Eagle 22 February 1864, 2, 6.

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Metropolitan Fair, to show the people over the water how they do things in this city."[25]

The task of the committees to present with equanimity and fairness the contributions of various artists and collectors must have been a challenging one. Their dedication and diplomacy in handling difficulties, appeasing egos and assuaging heated controversies was recognized by the reporter of Forney's War Press who acknowledged, in relation to the art gallery of the Great Central Fair in Philadelphia, that

> To prevent a general massacre and war of the Roses among a thousand rivals, the committee has displayed admirable tact in reconciliation; and, considering the extreme difficulty, … we have good reason to complement them on the arrangement.[26]

The selection of Joseph Harrison as the chair of the Art Committee for the Great Central Fair was due to his

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[25] K.[?] "The Artists and the Fair," Brooklyn Daily Eagle 8 March 1864, 2, 4.

[26] "The Art Gallery," Forney's War Press 3, 31 (11 June 1864): 5. John Sartain, Rothermel, Schussele, Edward Moran (1829-1901) and Thomas Moran (1837-1926), were cited as members of sub-committees. There was an additional Committee on Fine Arts for the Delaware and New Jersey section of the Fair. It was under the leadership of Felix Octavious Carr Darley (1822-1888) and comprised of 25 men and 20 women see List of Committees of the Great Central Fair, 51.

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prominence as an art patron and active participant in the art scene of Philadelphia. It was recognized that Harrison's "well-known energy and liberality render him eminently fitted for the position."[27]

What distinguished this Fine Arts Committee though, was the limited number of artists. Besides Harrison, there were three prominent collectors on the committee; James L. Claghorn served as co-chair along with publisher Henry C. Carey, and collectors Caleb Cope, William Wilstach and George Whitney were also members.[28] Claghorn enjoyed equal adulation, to that accorded Harrison, as he

> absolutely labored night and day in the direct supervision of the department, and has found a fitting work in making the beauty of art serve the practical purposes of charity. Mr. Claghorn's extensive knowledge of art and artists has

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[27] "Philadelphia Art Notes," The Round Table 1, 16 (2 April 1864): 249.

[28] Harrison used his judgment in appointing the other members of the Committee of the Fine Arts. For example in a letter to John Sartain he informed him of his appointment to the committee see Joseph Harrison, letter to John Sartain, 8 March 1864, Sartain Collection. Papers Relating to the Sanitary Fair, 1864. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Mss. Division. For Harrison in general, and his involvement with the Great Central Fair see Carolyn Sue Himelick Nutty, "Joseph Harrison, Jr. (1810-1874): Philadelphia Art Collector." Ph.D. Dissertation (University of Delaware, 1993) 258-267.

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> immeasurably aided in the triumph of this great enterprise.[29]

Out of 28 members though, only four, Thomas Sully, Thomas Moran, Christian Schussele and the engraver John Sartain (1808-1897), were artists.[30] Some of the members were officers of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts in 1864. Cope was its president and Sartain was the Corresponding Secretary, as well as the chairman of the Committee on Exhibition.[31] Two members of the cloth were also included in the Fine Arts Committee; Reverend William H. Furness and Reverend Horace J. Morton. Furness was a very popular Minister at First Congegration Unitarian Church of Philadelphia, who in the 1840's and 1850's had

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[29] "The Art Gallery," Forney's War Press 3, 31 (11 June 1864): 5.

[30] Sartain was also charged with the responsibility of designing a medal and a badge for the Fair see, William Struthers, letter to John Sartain, 4 February 1864, Sartain Collection. Correspondence 1860-1869. Papers Relating to Great Sanitary Fair, 1864, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Mss. Division. In the Committee of Women the only artist was Anna Peale see List of the Committees, 20.

[31] "Officers of the Pennsylvania Academy," Exhibition Catalogue of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Art, 1864. James Claghorn was one of the directors of the exhibition committee for that year along with Peter Rothermel, George Lambdin and William H. Furness Jr, all of whom helped with the organization of the art gallery at the Great Central Fair.

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roused public sentiment with his passionate antislavery sermons. Sartain, Henry C. Carey and Thomas Sully were members of his congregation.[32] The male members of the committee were aided in their task by their spouses, who participated in the 38 member Ladies Committee.

Additionally though, there were a number of sub-committees charged with handling various aspects of the art gallery. At a meeting of artists that convened in April 1864 in Philadelphia, Joseph Harrison, George Cochran Lambdin (1830-1896), De Witt Clinton Boutelle (1820-1884), Thomas and his brother Edward Moran, Thomas Henry Smith, William Trost Richards (1833-1905) Stephen James Ferris (1835-1915), Thomas J. Fennimore and others, elected Peter Rothermel (1812-1895), the chairman of a committee whose purpose was to "obtain the co-operation of the great body of the artists of Philadelphia to render the coming

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[32] The relationship between Furness and Sartain is discussed in Ann Katharine Martinez, "The Life and Career of John Sartain (1808-1897): A Nineteenth Century Philadelphia Printmaker," Ph.D. Dissertation (George Washington University, 1986) 66ff. Sartain may have shared Furness's abolitionist sentiments but the two had also collaborated in an artistic endeavor see William H. Furness, "Fine Arts," The American Gallery of Art Ed. John Sartain (Philadelphia: Lindsay and Blakiston, 1848) 18-20. On the other hand, Sully opposed Furness's antislavery sentiments and in 1846 commented in his diary: "I can no longer go to church. Mr. Furness has driven me away with his abolition sermons." Cited in Martinez, "The Life and Career of John Sartain …," 68.

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exhibition as full and as X [complete?]."[33] All these socially and artistically influential individuals used their local leverage to create "one of the most marked features of the Great Central Fair."[34]

Newspaper reviewers often recorded the adverse conditions that organizing committees had to contend with, when trying to outfit the galleries and accommodate the great number of works but ultimately applauded the quick response of the organizers. Three days after the opening of the Great Central Fair, the art gallery was still not complete.

> Though hundreds of pictures were hung on the walls, scores were piled against each other, or lying on the floor; the hanging committee were busy in selecting positions and directing workmen; there was order in this confusion, but it was like Venus rising from the sea, visible only to the waist. The statue was upon the pedestal, but the scaffolding was not removed. The catalogue was not printed, was, in fact, only partially in manuscript. Yet we were amazed at the rapid progress …; then the gallery was little more than a long, bare room, heaped with frames and canvass. Only by the extreme energy of the

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[33] Minutes of a Meeting of Artists, 9 April 1864, Sartain Collection. Papers Relating to the Sanitary Fair, 1864. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Mss. Division. All the artists at this meeting were either full Academicians or Associate members of the Academy.

[34] "The Art Gallery," Forney's War Press 3, 31 (11 June, 1864): 5.

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> Committee upon Fine Arts has the gallery been so far completed ….[35]

Others remarked upon the cooperative spirit that characterized those who participated in the organization of the art galleries, and often stressed the remarkable odds that they worked against. The art committee of the Pittsburgh Sanitary Fair was admired for its ability to "achieve such a result in so short a time [that] required Herculean labor, but the Committee who undertook it, like General Grant, never fail in their projects."[36]

The committee included leading collectors such as Christian Wolff, John H. Shoenberger, George W. Hailman, and Charles H. Spang, John Harper, the influential dealer J. J. Gillespie, and artists Trevor McClurg, William C. Wall (1810-1886), David Gilmour Blythe, as well as two women artists identified as Miss Chislett and Miss Cowley.[37] These aesthetically savvy members attempted to present a discriminating exhibition that would bring credit to the

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[35] Ibid.

[36] "The Great Fair. Art Gallery," The Pittsburgh Commercial 4 June 1864, 1, 5.

[37] "Committee on Art Gallery," Catalogue of Works of Art. Exhibition of Paintings and Statuary in Aid of the Pittsburgh Fair Fund of the United States Sanitary Commission …. (Pittsburgh: Barr & Myers, 1864).

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artistic community of Pittsburgh and testify to the erudition of its citizens

> It is the design of the Committee to strictly confine the collection to works of REAL MERIT, [capitals in the original] so that in attaining the MAIN OBJECT of their labors, viz: The Securing of means to relieve the wants of our sick and wounded soldiers; the secondary, but highly important end may be secured, of encouraging in our midst a taste for ART and developing the extent to which it has already been fostered by persons of taste and culture among us." [38]

Furthermore they strove to showcase the art works in the best possible light in the newly created gallery at the Allegheny City Hall, all the while battling unfavorable conditions.

> The Committee have been most untiring and assiduous in their labors, but they have all worked like Trojans, and have accomplished a most satisfactory result. The halls where the paintings will be exhibited were unplastered and in a most unfavorable condition. The committee, however, have so transformed, their appearance, that if not actually beautiful, the deformity of barren walls has been overcome and the ceiling was canopied, and the surroundings festooned with evergreens, that with the paintings carefully arranged, the grand effect will be alike

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[38] Circular, Great Northern Ohio Sanitary Fair, to be Held at Cleveland, Ohio, February 22, 1864. Fine Art Department. Cleveland, 25 January 1864. USSC Papers, container 10, folder 6. The Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland.

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creditable to the taste and the enterprise of the Committee.[39]

In many cases, reviewers tried to combat any negative criticism by stressing the particular demands of the art galleries, very different from those of other departments. They emphasized the care and attention that the committees had to devote not only to presenting an aesthetically pleasing and meaningful effect, but also to guaranteeing the safety of the art works. References to the insightful and discerning capabilities of the members of art committees were often used to set them apart from other committees, which did not face similar issues in terms of both the collection of exhibits and their presentation.

The portraitist, William Penn Brannan (?-1866), who was responsible for the arrangement of art gallery of the Great Western Sanitary Fair in Cincinnati was credited with "the large measure of success … in spite of all obstacles,"

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[39] "The Art Gallery," Pittsburgh Commercial 3 June 1864, 1, 5. This writer also recognized the efforts of the female members of the Committee "in numbering, making out catalogues, arranging the paintings, &c, [offering] most valuable assistance." McClurg, Alfred Wall, Wm. C. Wall, J. J. Gillespie, Blythe, George Hetzel, along with collectors Charles F. Spang, and John Harper, the president of the committee worked to outfit the gallery and supervise the hanging of the works see, "The Sanitary Fair. Art Hall," Pittsburgh Commercial 2 June 1864, 1, 5.

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such as delays in arranging the works because of the excessive dampness of the hall.[40] In addition to Brannan, the 26 member art committee included art dealer William Wiswell who served as its chairman, the art dealer and merchant Lewis C. Hopkins, the theater manager Henry Probasco, artists James C. Beard and Almon Baldwin, and architects Samuel Hannaford and James McLaughlin, with the notable exclusion of any women on the committee.[41]

In the smaller urban centers where the number of permanent resident artists was relatively small, business men and professionals dominated the art committees. That was certainly the case at the Northern Ohio Sanitary Fair in Cleveland, where out of the 36 members on the Fine Art Committee only three were artists, George L. Clough, Caroline Ormes Ransom (1838-1910), an artist identified

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[40] Charles B. Boynton, ed. History of the Great Western Sanitary Fair (Cincinnati: C. F. Vent & Co., 1864) 404.

[41] Information on the make up of the art committee is included in History of the Great Western Sanitary Fair, 42-43. Almon Baldwin had served as the curator of the gallery of the Art Union of Cincinnati in 1849 and 1853, so his experience was very useful to the committee. The exclusion of women was not isolated to the arts. Initially, none of the committees of the fair included women, although at some point a Ladies Executive Committee was instituted see ibid, 44-49. Also women were later included in the Horticultural and Pomological Department see "Sub-Committees," The Ladies' Knapsack 26 December 1863, 3.

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only as Miss Cleveland, and James F. Ryder, an art dealer. The committee though included many prominent citizens who had been active in the war years in fundraising for the Union, and who also had a lengthy record of active involvement in the city's civic and political affairs, and in the promotion of the arts.

The committee's president William Jarvis Boardman, was a lawyer and a bank director for many years, and in the 1860's he also served as the president of the Cleveland Library Association. Another member Joseph Perkins, was an active philanthropist in the city, and in 1867 he was one of the founders of the Western Reserve Historical Society. Similarly, Herman M. Chapin had dedicated his life to civic and political improvements in the city and in the 1860's had helped raise money and supplies for the Union Soldiers. He had also served as the president of the Cleveland Library Association, and was also a founding member of the Western Reserve Historical Society.[42] The common link among

[42] The information on the committee members comes from The Encyclopedia of Cleveland History. Their involvement with the Cleveland Library Association, later the Case Library Association, was the connecting link among various members of the committee. It may well be, that in smaller cities it would have been difficult to exclude any prominent citizens willing to contribute to committee work, for fear of offending them.

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the many committee members was undoubtedly their prior experience in fundraising and business and their interest in the cultural affairs of their city, but also the fact that many of them were art collectors; that was true for Boardman, Perkins and Chapin but also for Henry F. Clark, one of the editors of the Cleveland Leader and R. K. Winslow, two other members of the committee.

At the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair, the number of Art Committee members swelled to a remarkable total of 48 men and 37 women, one of the largest committees for a smaller fair. Most of the artists then working in St. Louis were members of the committee; Ferdinand T. L. Boyle, who served as the chairman, George C. Bingham, Alban Conant, Manuel J. de Franca, Theodore Kaufman (1814-?) and Samuel B. Kellogg, Julius H. Kummer (1817-1856), as well as Sarah M. Peale (1806-1885), Hannah B. Skeele, and Jeannie Glover.[43]

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[43] "Committee," Catalogue of the Art Gallery of the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair (Saint Louis: R. P. Studley, 1864). There is some confusion as to whether Boyle served indeed as the chairman. Although he is listed as such in the above catalogue, and recognized as having supervised the arrangement of the hall in newspaper reports, in another source he is listed as having resigned this position see, Final Report of the Western Sanitary Commission from May 9th 1864 to December 31 1865 (Saint Louis: R. P. Studley & Co., 1866) 26. In this last source, the art committee is listed as considerably smaller with only 28 male and 27 female members.

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What united many of the other members of the art committee was not only their interest in the arts, although that was true for many, but rather their unconditional devotion to the Union. That was certainly the case with congressman Henry Blow, who had been appointed as United States Minister to Venezuela by President Lincoln. Likewise Solomon Smith, a successful actor who had settled in St. Louis in 1853, became a practicing lawyer, and was actively involved in the establishment of a provisional government in 1861. Two members of the cloth who sat on the committee, Reverend Montgomery Schuyler and Reverend Truman Post were from New York and Vermont respectively, and they had supported assiduously the Union ideals through their sermons [44]

Unlike the large size of the art committee of the

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[44] Information on these St. Louisans comes from Encyclopedia of the History of St. Louis. Many of the members of the art committee were lawyers and some like Henry Hitchcock and Chester Harding, a descendant of the namesake artist, had been vocal in Missouri politics and were known for the pro-Unionist and anti-slavery sentiments. Hithcock and another member, manufacturer Hudson E. Bridge, had served as delegates for the City of St. Louis to the Missouri State Convention of 1861, during which they defended their state's loyalty to the Union. Bridge, Reverends Post and Schuyler are excluded from the art committee list in Final Report of the Western Sanitary Commission…. Many of the members also had common ties to the St. Louis Mercantile Library Association.

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Mississippi Valley Fair, that of the Maryland State Fair included only twelve men, mostly collectors with the exception of two artists; Alfred J. Miller (1810-1874) and the landscape painter Edward G. McDowell. George B. Coale, a collector, sat as the committee chairman.[45] This small committee though managed to put together an exhibition of more than 100 works, many by local contemporary American artists, but also attracted numerous contributions from artists and collectors in New York and Philadelphia.

Comparable in its inclusion of many "foreign" contributions was the exhibition of the art gallery of the Yonkers Sanitary Fair. Its 22 member art committee collected 173 works from local as well as New York collectors.[46] Similarly successful were the efforts of the organizers of the art gallery of the Ladies Relief Bazaar in Rochester, New York. Interestingly enough, three women and only one man comprised the art committee, which

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[45] "Committee on the Fine Arts," Catalogue. Art Exhibition Maryland State Fair (Baltimore: J. B. Rose & Co., 1864).

[46] For the make up of the Paintings and Fine Arts Committee see Thomas A. Atkins and John W. Oliver Yonkers in the Rebellion of 1861-1865 (Yonkers: n. p., 1892) 65. In this account a William T. Coleman is listed as the chairman, while in a newspaper list Edward Martin is recognized as such, see "Yonkers Sanitary Fair," The Statesman 4 February 1864, 2, 3.

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included Rochester's most prominent woman artist, Helen Searle (1827-1884). This small committee appealed to local artists and collectors and managed to put together a varied collection of more than 150 works primarily of American artists. The achievement of the committee was recognized by the reviewer of the Rochester Daily Democrat who asserted that were it not for the noble cause of the fair "under no circumstances could these unpurchasable productions have been obtained for public exhibition." [47]

It was precisely the generosity of collectors and artists that made the art galleries of the Sanitary Fairs so successful, but also the ability of art committees to navigate delicately through often sensitive personalities in order to secure much needed contributions. Although the overall success of the art galleries was not commensurate to the size of the committees, their diversity, and their impact on the educational and aesthetic experience of the visitors was dependant on the initiative of their members, and the enthusiasm with which they approached their task.

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[47] "Notices of the Press," and "The Art Gallery," Report of the Christmas Bazaar … of the Ladies' Hospital Relief Association, 11 and 19.

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The Collection of Art Works and Problems Encountered

For all the exhibits, circulars were printed soliciting art works. The directions given in them contained few specifics as to what kinds of art works were expected. For the 1863 Great Northwestern Fair in Chicago, the circular noted that

> All pictures and works of art donated, will be arranged in a gallery, lighted so as to exhibit them to the best advantage. Loans of pictures and statuary are solicited for the exhibition. They will be arranged with great care, be arranged by competent persons, and during their exhibition will be in charge of a careful custodian, and afterwards, will be well packed and returned to the owners.[48]

The primary sources for contribution in all cases were local artists and collectors. For the Great Western Fair in Cincinnati a brief advertisement run in the newspaper suggesting that the "city artists be invited to furnish one or two specimens of their works of art, to be placed on exhibition at the coming … Fair."[49] Similarly, for the Great Central Fair, Philadelphia artists, who were committee

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[48] History of the North-Western Soldier's Fair, 11.

[49] "Works of Art," Cincinnati Daily Gazette 9 December 1863, 2, 3.

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members, were asked to prepare lists of desirable art works that could be obtained from private collections.[50]

Circulars for the art exhibits provided only the most general instructions to prospective donors. The organizers of the Metropolitan Fair stressed the importance of the arts as an integral part of the fair and invited everyone to participate, but otherwise set no directions.

> We desire to have in connection with this Fair, the finest Art Collection which has ever been seen in this country; that our private galleries should send their choicest treasures in painting, sculpture, and works of art of ever nation and of every description; and that our artists should loan or give their best works.[51]

Most artists offered enthusiastically their works for exhibition. Alfred Thompson Bricher (1839-1908) declared that he would give with "great pleasure" one of his works

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[50] Minutes of a Meeting of Artists of Philadelphia, 9 April 1864, Sartain Collection. Papers Relating to the Sanitary Fair, 1864, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

[51] Circular. Art Exhibition in Behalf of the Metropolitan Fair ….. The circular also informed owners that donated works would be insured against fire, that the Committee would be responsible for framing and mounting the picture, and that donated works would be sold at auction. At the conclusion of the fair, art works would be returned at the Committee's expense.

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"to the good cause."[52] Giuseppe Fagnani (1819-1873) deposited for sale his portrait of "America's eminent friend Richard Cobden," as an indication of his "warm interest in the noble charity, … [and] my strong attachment to this my adopted home …."[53] A similar sentiment was

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[52] Alfred Bricher, letter to John F. Kensett, 22 March 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art.

[53] Giuseppe Fagnani, letter to Mrs. Hamilton Fish, 13 February 1864. Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1534, Archives of American Art. Fagnani also expressed in the letter his hope that the portrait may ultimately enter a public institution. The work appeared as no. 167, in Catalogue of the Art Exhibition at the Metropolitan Fair …. The portrait generated a lively competition at the auction and was acquired by William Cullen Bryant for $1,000 see "Sale in the Art Gallery," The World [New York] 20 April 1864, 10, 2. Richard Cobden (1804-1865), a British cotton merchant, was a staunch opponent of slavery on ethical and moral grounds. In a subsequent letter to Mrs. Sturges, Mrs. Fish informed her of Fagnani's letter and also of the offer of another gentleman, a Mr. Moore, who was eager to contribute a picture of Washington by Rossiter. Mrs. Hamilton Fish, letter to Mrs. Jonathan Sturges, 17 February 1864. Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1534. Archives of American Art. However no picture by Rossiter is cited in any of the catalogues for the art gallery. The art catalogues for the Sanitary Fairs, should be used only as an indicator of what was on exhibition rather than as the absolute source. There are often discrepancies between various printings of the catalogues and also differences between exhibition and sale catalogues. Often works were added to the exhibitions following the printing of the catalogues. Art works were also exhibited outside of the art gallery. For example William S. Mount intimated in a letter: "I sent a present to the Metropolitan Fair a Fruit Piece for the album or otherwise as the Committee thought proper. I forwarded a sketch (of apple blossoms in oil) to a lady who is to have a table at the Fair." William s. Mount, letter to D. C. Polhemus, 30 March 1864,

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expressed by Francesco Augero (active 1854-1870) who "being desirous of contributing to the alleviation of the sufferings of the gallant soldiers of my adopted country … [give] my allegorical piece The Goddess of Union Attended by Peace and Plenty and Dismissing the Fury of Rebellion and her Victims."[54] Eliza Greatorex (1820-1897), participated with her Kate Kearny's Cottage on the Banks of Killarney.[55] An artist identified as H. J. Haight, offered his work entitled The Grandmother and also informed the Committee, of John Carlin's (1813-1891) wish to donate The

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Miscellaneous Mss. William Sidney Mount, New York Historical Society.

[54] Francesco Augero, letter to Mrs. Hamilton Fish, 23 February 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1533. Archives of American Art. In another letter however, Augero stated that the work cost him "fifty dollars," and that he would give it to the Sanitary Commission at cost. Augero to Kensett, 23 March 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1533. Archives of American Art.

[55] Eliza Greatorex, letter to John F. Kensett 12 February 1864 Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art. Her work entitled Kate Kearny's Cottage on the Banks of Killarney, is listed as no. 246 in Catalogue of the Art Exhibition …, and no. 91 in the auction catalogue, where it was sold for $25. The work of eight other women artists was on view. Henriette Ronver who was represented by two pictures of terriers, Annie J. Murtrie, Mrs. C. A. Edwards and Miss G. Field, showed still-lifes, Miss J. G. W. and Emma Church showed a figural piece, and finally a Mrs. Atwood contributed a copy after Titian. Interestingly enough, although Edith Cook was on the committee, she did not exhibit her work.

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Virtuoso, which he was preparing expressly for the Fair.[56] Jasper Francis Cropsey (1823-1900) donated a "little study 'The Monument to Peace'," indicating that it was the original sketch of a picture in possession of Joseph Harrison.[57]

Whereas most contributions were of already extant pieces, some artists created paintings expressly for the fairs. Edwin Forbes informed Kensett that he was preparing an oil painting "a scene from the battle of Gettysburg" as

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[56] For Haight see H. J. Haight, letter to John F. Kensett, 8 March 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art. Haight's work does not appear either in the exhibition catalogue, nor in the sale catalogue for the Metropolitan Fair, but a work by Carlin entitled Sparking is listed as no 139 in the auction catalogue for the Metropolitan Fair. Sparking is mentioned in a letter by Carlin in which he encouraged the committee to "borrow some fine pictures of Mr. Haight." J. Carlin letter to Kensett, 1 March 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1533. Archives of American Art.

[57] Jasper F. Cropsey, letter to John F. Kensett, 22 March 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art. The work appeared as Study for a Large Picture, ["Peace" handwritten notation] no. 173, Catalogue of Paintings and other Works of Art Presented to the Metropolitan Fair … to Be Sold at Auction (New York: George F. Nesbitt & Co., 1864) 12, and it sold for $115 to Regis F. Gignoux. I consulted the annotated copy of the sale catalogue that is available at the New York Public Library. Cropsey's sketch of Peace, (1851) in its depiction of a classical setting, punctuated with symbols of peace and prosperity, expressed a hope for resolution of sectional conflict in the aftermath of the Compromise of 1850, and thus its inclusion was particularly significant.

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his contribution to the fair.[58] George Henry Yewell (1830-1923) offered to paint a figural subject, and Granville Perkins (1830-1895), wrote that he was working on a small work entitled Baracoa, Island of Cuba.[59]

Many artists were anxious to have their work exhibited at the Metropolitan Fair. The sculptor, Edward R. Kuntze informed Kensett that, in spite having been confined to bed because of illness, he wanted to "prevent [his] name from being left out in the catalogue of the exhibition," and expressed his intent to exhibit two busts and "a figure of Columbia who, caressing the eagle that tears the chain of

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[58] Edwin Forbes, letter to John F. Kensett, 24 March 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence Roll 1534, Archives of American Art.

[59] George Yewell, letter to John F. Kensett, 8th March 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence Roll 1534, Archives of American Art. On the Shore by Yewell appears as no 157 in the sale catalogue, and according to a notation it was purchased by Gignoux for $60.00. Granville Perkins, letter to John F. Kensett, 13 February 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1865, Reel 1534, Archives of American Art. Granville noted that according to the circular that he received, art works were expected from 1 February to 15 February 1864. However, even at the end of March, artists still informed the art committee of their intention to offer works. It appears that it was up to the artists to name a price that they thought fair for their art works. Granville responded to such a request by setting a price of $50 for his Baracoa, Island of Cuba see, Granville, letter to Kensett, 25 March 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1865, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art. Ultimately the work sold for $72.59 to Marshall O. Roberts see "Sale of Paintings in the Art Department," New York Herald 20 April 1864, 4, 5.

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Slavery, solicits relief for her sick and wounded sons."[60]

On other occasions, petitions for contributions were extended to individual artists. Erastus Dow Palmer wrote to Eastman Johnson requesting a contribution to the Albany Army Relief Bazaar and Johnson courteously replied "your request will receive my best attention" but also noted that

> There are so many applications for pictures & I paint so few that it is quite impossible for me to keep up with them, but I will do the very best I can for you [underlined in the original] on this occasion. I should like to know when you must have them. I thot [sic] of trying to get that Blacksmith I had in the Fund, altho.[sic] I am not acquainted with the purchaser …. I wish you would let me know when you require them & if I can't send that I will endeavor to put something else that will do as well.[61]

Harriet Hosmer's response to the news that one of her works would be on exhibition at the 1865 Chicago Fair was

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[60] Edward F. Kuntze, letter to John F. Kensett, 27 March 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1865, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art. Only one work, cited generally as Composition in Clay, appears in Catalogue of Paintings and other Works of Art Presented to the Metropolitan Fair … to Be Sold at Auction, 11.

[61] Eastman Johnson, letter to Erastus Dow Palmer, January 1864, Palmer Correspondence 1860-64, item no. 77.13.20, Albany Institute of History and Art. Ultimately, Johnson was represented by two works, Old Joe (no. 88) contributed by J. T. Johnston and Morning News (no. 113) Catalogue of Painting and Sculpture Exhibited at Palmer's Studio, in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission, February 22, 1864 (Albany: van Benthuysen's Steam Printing House, 1864).

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characteristic of the spirit in which such petitions were received.

She graciously admitted that it had been her

> wish to do something more in aid of the Sanitary Commission than circumstances have hitherto placed in my power, & [sic] when being informed that Mr. Griswold has kindly consented that my statue of Zenobia shall be exhibited at the great Fair now about to be opened in your city, & [sic] that it is proposed to divide the proceeds of such exhibition into three parts, one of which is… at the disposition of the artist, I beg you will allow me to increase the receipts of the Fair by that sum, whatever it may prove to be, & [sic] to regard it as a slight expression of my sympathy with the cause.[62]

As for all other departments, personal and professional relationships were instrumental for the success of the art shows. Artists very often appealed to their colleagues for contributions and most responses were positive. Popular artists however, were often pressured by multiple demands for contributions. William J. Hoppin asked Kensett for a contribution to an album of sketches for the New England Sanitary Fair and informed him that other artists including Bierstadt, Samuel L. Gerry (1813-1891), J. Foxcroft Cole (1838-1892), Benjamin Champney (1817-

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[62] Harriett Hosmer, letter to the Committee of the Chicago Sanitary Fair, 30 May 1865. North-Western Sanitary Fair Papers, Chicago Historical Society.

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1907), Ames, William Bradford (1823-1892), Huntington, Hicks, Henry Suydam (c. 1803-c.1883), Edward Gay (1837-1928) and others had already agreed to offer their sketches. Hoppin also expressed his hope that he would be able to convince Leutze, who had just returned to the United States, to participate with a drawing.[63]

Thomas G. Appleton (1812-1884) reiterated the request by asking Kensett "to contribute a sketch however slight and perhaps … give hints as to the management of the Book … [and] you may be able to add to our wealth by asking the aid of friends."[64] By December 1863, Appleton wrote to Kensett that "Our book-Album goes so swimmingly … and will gladly receive your New York quota of sketches."[65] In return, in March 1864, Champney wrote to Kensett of his intention to offer to the Metropolitan Fair, a small picture as well as a sketch for one of the albums of sketches in order "to repay the obligation" for Kensett's

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[63] William J. Hoppin, letter to John F. Kensett, 5 November 1863, Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1965 N 68-84, frame 369. Archives of American Art.

[64] Thomas G. Appleton, letter to John F. Kensett, 8 November [1863], Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1865, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art.

[65] Thomas G. Appleton, letter to John F. Kensett, 5 December 1863, Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1865, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art.

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contribution to the Boston Fair.[66] Besides his contribution to the Metropolitan Fair, Champney also stated that he would like to send a sketch to the Brooklyn Fair, if he could "squeeze out time."[67]

Kensett always popular and willing to help received numerous petitions, even while handling the many responsibilities as chairman of the Art Committee for the Metropolitan Fair. As preparations for the fair were under way, Kensett received a request from a member of the Art Committee of the Brooklyn and Long Island Fair, for "one of your always, valuable sketches," intimating furthermore that Daniel Huntington and Edwin D. White (1817-1877) had already agreed.[68] A few months later, a similar call came from Baltimore, asking him to retrieve from his

> stock of treasures on hand … some sketch, be it ever so slight, from your hand, or if not dash off something for the Baltimoreans who hold you in special regard-though I fear most of your admirers are not as sound in their love of country, as they are in that of art …. I know you are all tossed to death by what Cozzens declares

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[66] Benjamin Champney, letter to John F. Kensett, 7 March 1864, Kensett papers, Correspondence 1824-1865, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art.

[67] Ibid.

[68] George S. Stephenson, letter to John F. Kensett, January 1864. Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1534. Archives of American Art.

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> to be "the insanitary Fair" which makes me state our demands so very moderately.[69]

Since his brother, Thomas Kensett, contributed liberally works from his own collection to the Maryland State Fair, Kensett could not refuse.

Most artists gladly cooperated in order to ensure a representative show of the successes of American art. On one occasion, George C. Lambdin (1830-1896) asked Kensett for help in determining the subject matter for a sketch that would be included in an album of sketches prepared by Philadelphia artists for the Metropolitan Fair.[70] Such exchanges were quite common and it was understood that reciprocity might be expected for any donation. De Witt Clinton Boutelle working in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, offered three of his works to the Metropolitan Fair and a sketch to the Brooklyn and Long Island Fair, but at the same time informed Kensett that "Philadelphia will call for a donation in a short time."[71]

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[69] Alexander Bless[?], letter to John F. Kensett, 5 March 1864. Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1865, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art.

[70] George R. Lambdin, letter to John Kensett 24 January 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1865, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art.

[71] De Witt C. Boutelle, letter to John F. Kensett, 8 February 1864. Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1865, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art.

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Such requests, in spite the burden that they placed on artists, also revealed clearly the accommodating disposition of most artists for such a cause. In that spirit one of the organizers of the Philadelphia Fair expressed to Kensett her belief that

> the fraternity [of artists] in New York will respond with equal heartiness on the occasion of our Fair, for the sake of good fellowship & as proof of interest in the common cause; it will silence forever the snarling charges of initial jealousy which are sometimes made the small of each city against the other.[72]

At least one artist however did not celebrate the collaborative sentiment of such requests. In regards to the album of sketches for the New England Sanitary Fair, Thomas G. Appleton noted that "Mr. Church writes me that he makes it a rule never to contribute to such things. Perhaps it is a mistake, but it saves him a good deal of trouble and annoyance."[73] Church did indeed make such a rule and he expressed his evident frustration to the organizers of the 1865 Chicago Northwestern Fair.

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[72] Sarah B. Wistar, letter to John F. Kensett, 23 March 1864. Letter Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1534, Archives of American Art.

[73] Thomas G. Appleton, letter to John F. Kensett, 5 December 1863, Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1865, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art.

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> I am glad to learn that Chicago with her characteristic energy still continues the good work-of a brilliant success there can be no doubt- While acknowledging the compliment you pay by your attaching so much importance to anything I might do-yet I am compelled-and very respectfully-to decline to undertake to paint a picture for your Fair. You do not have the slightest conception of how much the artists have been taxed to contribute to the hundreds of Fairs which have been held all over the Union. If I had acceded to all the demands I would have done nothing else for two years. For awhile I responded but was obliged finally to make it a rule to confine my gifts to Charities & Fairs originating in New York City, and they are abundant enough. When you consider that the artist alone is called upon to contribute to the same charity [underlined in the text] in a hundred different places you will need no further argument to acquit him from the imputation of lack of generosity in case he declines to respond to constant appeals.[74]

Numerous petitions, often from unauthorized persons created tensions, as well. In reference to the Great Central Fair in Philadelphia it was reported that

> Self-constituted committees begin to call; first a lady who is getting up an album for a special project and begs one sketch, just one, which of course the artists cannot refuse, and she goes on her way rejoicing, to be followed by number two, who has a little volume which is to be published for the Sanitary Fund, and wishes a few illustrations, and so forth, …."[75]

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[74] Frederic Church, letter to Mrs. E. E. Attwater, 1 March 1865, Chicago. North-Western Sanitary Fair Papers, Chicago Historical Society. There are no works by Church listed in the art catalogue for the 1865 Chicago fair.

[75] "Philadelphia Art Notes," The Round Table 1, 16 (2 April

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Although, most were all too eager to support the cause unselfishly, some saw in these large exhibitions a wonderful opportunity to promote their works and perhaps even benefit financially from them. Nelson Augustus Moore (1824-1902) wrote from Hartford, Connecticut, to offer to the Metropolitan Fair a painting entitled The Old Home which was a depiction of a house that Washington stayed at "while reviewing troops." He also informed Kensett that he had another work as well but was reluctant to send them both as he was called to "contribute here as well as in N.Y." Therefore he proposed that if he were to donate the work, he would expect that half the amount of the sale be returned to him. This second painting was tentatively titled either "The Ministry of Angels," or The Valley of the Dead," and depicted the

> visit of angels to the battlefield at twilight. Of course it is a picture widely open to criticism, yet-I hope it- will be a picture interesting to the public if not fortified at every point against the criticisms of artists. Those who have seen it think it will be an interesting picture to say the least & I should

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1864): 249. In the same article it was reported that "a well-known landscape painter" was asked to paint the interior of a doll's house and was so insulted that he "rushed frantic from his studio, and has since shunned the haunts of committees."

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> suppose it would be an appropriate picture for the exhibition.[76]

Similarly John Rogers proposed that he would let the fair have his groups at a discount so that the public would see his work and order duplicates, and if this were an agreeable arrangement he could then "afford to make a more liberal donation" to the Fair.[77] Likewise, John G. Taggart, a New York artist in dire need of money, wrote Erastus Corning asking him to buy from him a painting by a French artist that he could then donate to the Albany Fair.[78]

Of higher aspirations, but expressing similar needs, was the request made by John H. Griscom, executor of the Peale estate to William T. Blodgett, member of the Art

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[76] Nelson A. Moore, letter to John F. Kensett, 15 February 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1865, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art. The subjects are rather unusual for Moore who was largely known as a landscape artist see Gerdts, Art Across America, 1, 106. Moore may have thought that his chances would be better with these themes that were more relevant to the times. Only one work entitled The Country Home by Moore is listed as no. 167 in Catalogue of Paintings and Other Works of Art Presented to the Metropolitan Fair … to Be Sold at Auction, 12.

[77] John Rogers, letter to John F. Kensett, 14 March 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1865, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art.

[78] John G. Taggart, letter to Erastus Corning, 28 January 1864. Erastus Corning Papers, Box 83, F-3. Albany Institute of History and Art.

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Committee on Exhibition, regarding the purchase of Charles Willson Peale's Washington at Yorktown, that had remained unsold after the disposal of the artist's estate. Griscom suggested the sale of the work through a subscription list for the collection of funds for the Sanitary Commission. He proposed that the work would then "be presented to the U.S. government, to be permanently deposited in the Executive Mansion (or such other suitable public place as may be judged best) accompanied by the names of the subscribers to the fund, to remain an enduring memorial of their patriotism and benevolence."[79]

Apparently, the plan was rejected, perhaps because of the fair's prohibition against subscription lists, and a month later Griscom wrote to James Claghorn with a similar proposal, hoping that the sale would be realized at the Great Central Fair, for "the benefit of both the heirs & the fair."

> The interest excited in the public mind regarding works of art, at the present time, especially in connection with Sanitary Fairs, seems to present an auspicious moment for rendering that painting available for the double purpose of setting up the estate, and aiding in the good works to which the fairs are devoted. [80]

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[79] John H. Giscom, letter to William T. Blodgett, 19 February 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel N 1534, Archives of American Art.

[80] John H. Griscom, letter to James Claghorn, 22 March 1864,

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A similar petition was made on behalf of Lucy Audubon, the widow of John Audubon, regarding his drawing The Death of Montgomery.[81] Kensett, ever compassionate could not refuse to help out and sent a check of $100 and purchased the drawing himself. His magnanimity was appreciatively recorded.

> You will make the widow's heart leap with joy- for she began to feel that her hopes would be frustrated that there were some to appreciate what she so much prized, and only parted with, from necessity. This disposition of the drawing made by the artist, backed by sympathy for the … illustrious dead and with the motives that make it … cannot fail to leave a deep impression on the aged and sorrowful occasion.[82]

Likewise, individuals were often willing to contribute their art works on their own terms. The works in question were mostly European works, and of dubious authenticity and sometimes copies. In one such offer a J.

Claghorn Papers, roll no. 4152, frame 0143, Archives of American Art. It seems that Griscom was unsuccessful in this second attempt as well, as the work does not appear in the catalogue nor is it discussed in any of the reviews.

[81] Lucy Audubon, letter to de Peyster, 23 March 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1865, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art.

[82] Federic de Peyster, letter to John F. Kensett, 11 October 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence Reel 1534, Archives of American Art.

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C. De Vries offered two works by Dutch artists and one by a French artist, with the stipulation that the committee only withhold ten percent of the sale price and the rest be returned him.[83] Another collector offered for sale a large 12 by 9 feet copy of The Descent of the Cross after Rubens which he thought "would make a splendid alter-piece [sic]" for a Roman Catholic church. He estimated the value of the piece at $1000 to 1,200 but he would offer it for $500 and whatever profit was made from the sale, would benefit the fair.[84]

The collection of art works did not rest entirely on the initiative of the members of the Fine Arts committee alone. At the Metropolitan Fair, L. Wolcott Gibbs, whose wife was one the Fine Arts Committee, wrote to William T. Blodgett, who was on the Committee on Exhibition, and suggested that they try to secure the Statue of Eve, a work in the possession of Charles Alger of Newburgh who was

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[83] J. C. De Vries, letter to The Art Committee of the Metropolitan Fair, 11 March 1864. Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1534, Archives of American Art. None of the works appear in the catalogue of the art exhibition of the Metropolitan Fair.

[84] John Horner [?,illegible signature], letter to the Executive Committee on Fine Arts, 26 February 1864. Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1865, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art.

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about to remove his collection of statuary and paintings from the city. He also urged Blodgett to communicate to Kensett that he should petition the Italian Consul, who owned the "last work of Ary Sheffer" with the assurance that the consul would not refuse to exhibit it. He also stated that the "very great size of our room makes early knowledge of such things as will fill it creditably quite necessary."[85]

The majority of contributions came from collectors and well-meaning individuals. J. A. C. Gray, a member of the Arms and Trophies Committee, presented for sale a work entitled A Roman Peasant by Miss Emma Church who was then in Rome.[86] Robert M. Olyphant simply informed Kensett of his

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[85] L. Wolcott Gibbs, letter to William Blodgett, 22 February 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1534, Archives of American Art. Indeed Blodgett wrote to Kensett suggesting that "Mr. Alger would be likely to contribute for Exhibition, as well as donate anything for the Fair if applied to." William T. Blodgett, letter to John F. Kensett, Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1865, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art.

[86] A. C. Gray, letter to the Chairman of the Art Committee, 31 March 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1865, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art. The painting is listed as number 168 in Catalogue of the Art Exhibition..., 12, and as no. 17 in the Catalogue of Paintings and other Works of Art Presented to the Metropolitan Fair... to Be Sold at Auction, 4. In the annotated copy of this catalogue in the collection of the National Academy of Design the painting is marked as sold for $20.00.

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intention to donate 18 pictures, nine for exhibition and nine for sale.[87]

At times the offerings were so plentiful that they put the organizing committees in a quandary as to how to decline unwanted contributions. Such was the case with the Great Central Fair in Philadelphia, where

> the embarrasment [sic] of riches- in other works the offers of desirable pictures for exhibition, and the pictures that had been solicited from abroad-(that is Boston, New York, &c.) …, so far exceed the capacity of the wall surface to receive them that some principle had to be adopted to control the rejection of the surplus.

It was therefore decided that "all copies and pictures of doubtful originality be declined." In order to further limit the numbers, most portraits were excluded from exhibition while in "cases of about equal merit between old and modern art, preference be given to the latter."[88]

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[87] Robert M. Olyphant, letter to John F. Kensett, 23 March 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1534, Archives of American Art.

[88] Minutes of the Fine Art Committee Meeting, 4 June 1864. Sartain Collection Papers Relating to the Sanitary Fair, 1864, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Mss Division. This decision contradicted the invitation posted at the circular where it was suggested that it was "particularly desirable, to obtain for exhibition as many portraits of distinguished Philadelphians and Pennsylvanians as possible, illustrating the history of our City and State, from the earliest Colonial times to more recent periods, as well as portraits of eminent persons of our sister States

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For the larger fairs petitions were also made to Americans living abroad for artistic contributions. In their circular, the art committee of the Metropolitan Fair extended a call to

> patriotic artists, wherever they may be, to bestow … (for our great Art Exhibition, in connection with our Metropolitan Fair) what their hearts may prompt, in any shape of beauty and inspiration; hoping on our part to have the honor of exhibiting such gifts to the best advantage, for which purpose a special space will be provided.[89]

Another circular noted that a "separate space will be provided … for the several nationalities of Europe, also for American Artists residing abroad, feeling sure that we have those who wish us well, wherever Art flourishes."[90] Undoubtedly the enthusiasm of all those who were all too excited about answering the patriotic call, and the lack of specific instructions as to what kinds of art works would

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of New Jersey and Delaware." Circular. Fine Arts Committee of Great Central Fair, 14 March 1864. Great Central Fair collection, Ephemera Wq 962, Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Philadelphia.

[89] Circular, To Americans Abroad, 28 January 1864. Kensett Papers, Metropolitan Fair in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission, Museum of the City of New York.

[90] Circular. Art Exhibition in Behalf of the Metropolitan Fair in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission. Kensett Papers, Metropolitan Fair in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission, Museum of the City of New York.

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be accepted must have presented a problem for the selection process. There are letters from well-meaning individuals who offered their own amateur works as well as copies or prints of Old Masters for exhibition or sale at the art galleries; for example an American living in London offered for sale his own watercolor after a work by William Holman Hunt.[91]

Reviewers often noted with gratification, the enthusiasm with which donors greeted the petitions for contributions, which were thought indicative of "so unanimous a devotion to one cause, … never a cause so deserving that devotion."[92] One of the most sympathetic, and most meaningful for that matter, contributions came from Carl Hübner (1814-1879) who wrote:

> I embraced with pleasure the opportunity to do something for the wounded soldier of the United States, you will find … a picture, among those which the Düsseldorf artists sent for the same purpose, entitled "God Save the Union." If the work does not fulfill the expectation I hope that you will accept my immortal desire to do something towards the cause. I painted it with pleasure for that very purpose.[93]

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[91] Charles Fairbanks, letter to the Art Committee, 4 March 1864. Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1534, Archives of American Art.

[92] "Philadelphia Art Notes," The Round Table 1, 16 (2 April 1864): 249.

[93] Carl Hübner, no recipient, 1 May 1864, Translated copy, and original, Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1534,

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The contribution by Düsseldorf artists, mentioned by Hübner, was the most significant contribution from abroad, and the one that created the greatest controversy. John Robinson Tait (1834-1909), an artist, poet and writer who in the 1860's was studying in Düsseldorf was charged, at the suggestion of Leutze, with the responsibility of collecting the works on behalf of the Metropolitan Fair.[94] Tait enthusiastically undertook the task as that gave him the "opportunity of serving in some degree my country, and at the same time, of learning more intimately the generous and noble qualities of the great people, amid which I live at present, all of whose feelings and sympathies are with us, for freedom and the Union." By early April he reported with satisfaction "the gratifying success" of his efforts.

> The result exceeded my most sanguine expectations, and in a short time I had a list of

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Archives of American Art. Hübner also mentioned that he sent a photograph of the painting, signed with his initials, and suggested that if the Committee saw a potential for the sale of autographed photos of his work, he could send them more.

[94] For Tait see Gerdts. Art Across America, 1, 333. In one of his letters Tait asks for Leutze's help "as the friend who made me a kindness in having me appointed on the Committee …." See, John R. Tait, letter to Emanuel Leutze, 10 August 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence N 68-85, Archives of American Art.

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> nearly one hundred subscriptions, including the names of best artists here …. The regret has been general among the artists, that the time was so short, and I am confident I would have largely increased the number of my contributions, if it would have been further extended, as the call has been made just when all are busy with large works for the Exhibitions. In addition to the valuable drawings, watercolors, engravings and photographs, there was an "Illustrated List drawn by Adolf Schmitz containing nearly 90 autographs of Düsseldorf artists, who have made donations, a most beautiful work of art and interesting souvenir of the Fair."[95]

Not only did he solicit contributions in Düsseldorf, but also extended his influence to Berlin and in addition to paintings, he collected drawings and engravings, as well as funds that allowed him to have the art works framed and ready for exhibition. Tait's hard work paid off; in spite their late arrival, the art works were noted by the press, and their sale increased the coffers of the fair.

However, there was no official acknowledgement of the contribution, and at the conclusion of the fair no one had undertaken the return of loaned pictures, or those that were not sold. Therefore, Tait was obligated to his German colleagues who held him responsible for their pictures. He felt ostracized and in August of 1864, justifiably anxious

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[95] John R. Tait, letter to Kensett, 2 April 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1534, Archives of American Art. The illustrated list mentioned by Tait is currently in the collection of the Century Association.

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as to the lack of any information regarding the pictures, he wrote to Leutze:

> In summing up, I have to say, I gave over two months of my time and spent no little money in ways for which I could not ask reimbursement, I gave also a picture, and was obliged to subscribe myself for charities here for Schleswig Holstein and what not (out of an income of sixty Pounds a year) and the return has been Credit- $12.00 for a good cause Debit- the loss of position and friendship and a most unpleasant responsibility for the pictures loaned-the consequences of the neglect of the Committee. You know the Malkasten, and you know artists and therefore you will know that I have not exagerated [sic]. The consolation I have had when I have complained on two occasions was being laughed at for my "folly" by one American, and being advised by another (an American Consul) to commence a law suit at once, or be obliged hereafter to pay the value of the loaned pictures myself![96]

Furthermore, Tait complained that the instructions as to procedures were non-existent, and thus he had acted as best he saw fit in order to benefit the exhibition.

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[96] Tait, letter to Leutze, 10 August 1864. The Malkasten was an artists' association that was organized by Leutze and included both American artists living and working in Düsseldorf, and German artists, such as Carl Friedrich Lessing, Andreas Achenbach, Carl Hübner, Johann Hassenclever and others who contributed their work to the Metropolitan Fair. It was created in the revolutionary spirit of 1848 and was distinctly nationalistic in its outlook. For the Malkasten see Barbara S. Groseclose, Emanuel Leutze, 1816-1868: Freedom is the Only King (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1975) 31-2.

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> The Committee cannot say I exceeded my instruction in taking them for I had no instructions. The Circular I received asked the loan of pictures, declared that a separate space should be reserved for different nationalities, assured me that the expenses of removing and returning the pictures would be paid by the Committee, and finally … [it was up to the] Committees to adopt such measures as in their opinion would best promote the interests of the Exhibition. I still did not act unadvisedly, but wrote to London, Hamburg and Paris for information before accepting the few pictures I did. As it was, I denied many who wished to send and accepted only from those to whom would have been ingratitude to refuse …. If the committee say I acted on my own responsibility, I can reply, that considering my instructions, the whole was done on my responsibility, and the result was as you wrote, nearly $12,000 for the Sanitary Commission.[97]

Leutze urged Kensett to assist Tait in his predicament and he recognized that if Tait "cannot give official evidence, that all the pictures both loaned and given, [underlined in the original] were sent by him and received

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[97] Tait, letter to Leutze, 10 August 1864. In his letter, Tait expressed particular concern about "Herzog's large picture" which he wanted return. In one of his letters, Tait had identified the work as a "'Swiss Wrestling Match,' a large landscape with many figures," see John R. Tait, letter John F. Kensett, 2 April 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1534, Archives of American Art. The picture was apparently displaced as it is indicated in a letter to Kensett where the author confirmed that he could "get no information from either the Commission or Custom House… [and he expressed his] fear it could be hopeless." George Nathill, letter to John F. Kensett, Kensett Papers, Correspondence N 68-85, frame 327, Archives of American Art.

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here, he is still liable of being suspected of unfair doings."[98] Ultimately, Kensett appears to have resolved the issue as in mid-September of 1864, Tait wrote to say that he received his letter and that the "explanations that it contains are perfectly satisfactory, and I feel myself repaid for the inconvenience resulting from the previous delay by the kindness with which you have hastened to repair." Tait also rebuked Kensett's offer for a monetary contribution by saying that it was his "satisfaction of having in some degree, been of service to my noble countrymen on the battle field at home."[99]

James H. Anderson, the U.S. Consul in Hamburg, registered a similar complaint as to the lack of specific instructions.[100] Anderson diligently had notices published

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[98] Emanuel Leutze, letter to John F. Kensett, 29 August 1864. Kensett Papers, Correspondence N 68-85 frames 151-153, Archives of American Art. Leutze suggested that Kensett sent as acknowledgment of receipt a copy of the catalogue and a signed duplicate of the list of the works made by Tait.

[99] John R. Tait, letter to John F. Kensett, 20 September 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1534, Archives of American Art.

[100] James H. Anderson, letter to Mrs. E. W. Sherwood, 24 March 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1865, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art. There are two more letters from Anderson detailing his efforts in collecting contributions in money and kind, including paintings, from the few Americans and German citizens in Hamburg, see James H. Anderson, letter to the Metropolitan Fair in Aid of the

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in local newspapers calling all U.S. citizens, residing in Hamburg to a meeting. Thereafter he was successful in securing monetary contributions as well as a number of paintings.

> Miss Bertha Ross an artist of merit (from Schleswig-Holstein) [who] contributed four paintings for exhibition and sale, half of the proceeds to go to relieve our sick and wounded, and the other half, the sick and wounded of the Schleswig-Holstein Army. Miss Lehmann an artist of this city, of merit, contributes as loans for the fair seven good paintings, …. The officers of the fair are requested by Miss L. to retain $4.00 for every picture that is sold. And to encourage purchasers, she will accept five dollars less than the price named, for each picture. Miss. L. wishes it discreetly understood, that if her paintings (loaned) be not sold on these terms, she expects them returned.[101]

U. S. Sanitary Commission, 12 March 1864, and 26 March 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1865, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art.

[101] The titles and prices cited for the paintings by Bertha Rofs were The last true Friend-price, $50.00, A Landscape in Holstein, $15.00, Ladies of Scleswisg-Holstein, $30.00, Two children Crossing a Stream, $30.00. Anderson noted that she wanted the paintings sold whether they bring these prices or not. "I doubt not that they will be quickly picked up by some one of the many friends of Schleswig-Holstein in New York. I think Miss R[ofs] designs to donate in about a week, wholly for the relief of our [underlined in the original] poor sufferers, one other painting which is nearly finished." The paintings by Miss Lehman were her own copies mostly after Raphael, although the prices ranged from $30.00 to $90.00. Additionally Anderson donated two paintings by an "artist of great merit, Mr. Konnenkamp worth $200," and he noted that "The finest picture in the gallery at Kiel is by Konnenkamp." James H. Anderson, letter to Elizabeth W. Sherwood, 12 March 1864, Kensett

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Apparently Ms. Lehman's paintings were indeed returned, because they were copies.[102] Anderson thought this to be a great insult to Miss Lehman who was "surprised and shocked" at the news. Furthermore, he wrote that there was no indication in the circular that copies would not be accepted.[103] It seems though that the issue was not as much that the works were copies, but the terms of the agreement, as there were at least two copies that were exhibited at the Metropolitan Fair, a work after Titian and another after Reynolds.[104]

In spite the evident diligence of the various members of the art committee, problems abounded. The task of putting together a large art exhibition such as that of the

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Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art.

[102] On the cover of Anderson's letter of 12 March, 1864 there is a notation by Elizabeth Sherwood that "Mr. Kensett will take what action he thinks best on this."

[103] James H. Anderson, letter to Elizabeth W. Sherwood, 24 March, 1864. Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1865, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art.

[104] The works are listed respectively as no. 265, and 301. The donor was a Mrs. A. M. Atwood, who felt "very doubtful of their claims-but trusting for the good cause that I have so much at heart, that they may be of some merit." A. M. Atwood, letter to Joseph Choate, 30 March 1864. Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1865, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art.

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Metropolitan Fair required procedures of control that were often inadequate or non-existent. Kensett was often the unfortunate recipient of numerous complaints about the lack of information as to procedures, the lack of confirmation of receipt of contributions, as well as complaints about missing art works.

In April 1864, Charles D. W. Brownell (1822-1909), inquired of his work entitled La Luma de las Ammas, Cuba, the receipt of which had been acknowledged, but as the work did not appear in the catalogue, the artist wanted to know of its fate.[105] Indicative of similar problems was the letter of Daniel Huntington who, in June of 1864, well after the close of the fair, inquired about a painting and an "extensive contribution of valuable autographs" sent by John Whetten Ehninger (1827-1889) that were not acknowledged or returned.[106]

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[105] Charles D. Brownell, letter to John F. Kensett, 11 April 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1865, Reel 1533, Archives of American Art.

[106] Daniel Huntington, letter to John F. Kensett, 9 June 1864. Kensett Papers, Correspondence 1824-1965, Reel N 68-84, frame 374, Archives of American Art. For the Metropolitan Fair, it is easier to ascertain the problems that organizers encountered because of the great number of surviving documents. Although I assume that comparable issues arose in other cases, the lack of concrete information makes it difficult to verify them.

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At the conclusion of the Metropolitan Fair many of the unsold works were not returned to their owners, but languished instead in the Studio Building. In May 1864, James Boorman Johnson, brother of the collector John Taylor Johnston and owner of the building, wrote to Kensett objecting to the usage of the rooms and asking him to remove the works.[107] By July, no action had been taken, and Leutze wrote to Kensett, because artists were complaining "at the continued occupation of the Exhibition room here [at the Studio Building] by the pictures, boxes etc. remaining over from the Sanitary Fair. They want to have the room cleared out …. If I do not hear from you soon I will try to get Goupil's to stow them away as the greatest parcel belongs to them."[108]

Unaware of the background trials and tribulations, one visitor to the art gallery of the New York Metropolitan fair asserted that "Every visitor to this Department will carry away with him higher estimates of the beautiful, and

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[107] James B. Johnston, letter to Kensett, 23 May 1864. Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1534, Archives of American Art.

[108] Emanuel Leutze, letter to John F. Kensett, 26 July 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel N 68-85, Archives of American Art.

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a keener appreciation of its exalted ministry in embellishing and purifying human thought and life."[109]

Paeans were written to organizers, painters and contributors alike who were thus serving the high-minded ideals of patriotism and democracy. This was well stated by a reviewer of the 1863 Northwestern Sanitary Fair, who wrote that art works had

> no where [sic] been placed in a better light than which falls upon them from the high and sacred purposes for which they are now for a time set apart; …. It seems to us also most fit and fortunate, that these the finest efforts of human thought and culture, should thus be joined, … in bearing succor and solace, to those who are struggling, suffering and dying for Freedom and the Union.[110]

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[109] "The Picture Gallery," Harper's Weekly 8, 381 (16 April 1864): 246.

[110] "The Art Exhibition," The Chicago Tribune 27 October 1863, 2, 2.

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The Content of the Art Galleries and their Public Appeal

(All the numbers included in the text refer to art exhibition catalogues for each one of the fairs).

Describing his experiences at the Metropolitan Fair in New York, a 'wounded soldier' suggested that

> Had the Metropolitan Fair done nothing else, the Art Gallery, its 'bright consummate flower,' would have saved it from disgrace …. The Art Gallery alone would make a book. There are probably no men who have a more enviable position in their own city than the New York artists. They *are* [italics in the text] prophets in their own country. Church, Huntington, Kensett, Gifford, Bierstadt. Leutze, Lang, Hart Casilear, Haseltine, … Whittredge, McEntee, and many others are not "only names of high renown" but every one indicates a patriot and a gentleman.[111]

Indeed, the art gallery received the adulation of the press and the public. Newspapers marveled at the fact that the gallery was the result of

> unstinted generosity of owners and artists, acting together in a large and liberal spirit free from all small motives, and private or personal considerations, [giving] a view of the present condition of the Art of Painting In America, such as, for comprehensiveness and the pleasurable ease with which can be studied, has never before been possible to attain.[112]

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[111] "Recollection of the Fair in New York,-No. 2." Our Daily Fare, 1, 3 (10 June 1864): 18.

[112] "The Exhibition of Pictures at the Metropolitan Fair," New York Daily Tribune, 9 April 1864, 12, 1.

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The art gallery of the Metropolitan Fair featured many influential and well known American and European paintings. The published catalogue directed audiences in their visit and helped reinforce perhaps the intended messages.

The Record of the Fair remarked that "people were glad of a chance to see so many pictures, whose fame had become historic, brought out and exhibited side by side with others equally famous or now first shown." The value of the show resided in its comparative value. Visitors now had the chance to evaluate art works such as Bierstadt's Rocky Mountains and Church's Heart of the Andes in relationship to each other and appreciate their respective merits (fig. 7). "Especially was the collection rich in pictures that had for years lurked in the seclusion of drawing-rooms and private galleries."[113] Furthermore it was one of the earliest public occasions that American and European paintings were shown together in such large numbers.

Diarists recorded their impressions by concentrating on the major art works in the show. John Ward visited the art gallery a number of times, and on his first visit noted

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[113] A Record of the Fair, 98.

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in his diary the physical arrangement of the larger works;[114] On a second visit he "spent half an hour there looking at Bierstadt's Rocky Mountains, Leutze's Masquerades, Cole's Past and Present and the Heart of the Andes."[115] Similarly Alfred Bloor commented on the "magnificent collection [that] included Church's Heart of the Andes & Niagara, Gignoux's Niagara, Bierstadt's Rocky Mountains, Leutze's Washington Crossing the Delaware etc. etc. Stayed a couple of hours."[116]

Undoubtedly, the dominant work in the show, covering most of the north side of the gallery, was Leutze's Washington Crossing the Delaware, 1851, (fig. 8, no. 1, Metropolitan Museum of Art) deemed "a good picture for faint hearts in these times."[117] This was the first work

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[114] John Ward Diaries, 6 April 1864. New York Historical Society.

[115] Ibid, 15 April 1864.

[116] Alfred Bloor Diaries, 2 April 1864, New York Historical Society.

[117] "Recollection of the Fair in New York,-No. 2." Our Daily Fare. I am proposing that the arrangement of the art works was intended to reinforce certain ideologies, clearly understood by the organizers of the shows. Whether audiences shared these messages is open to debate. The reading of the arrangement of the art gallery of the Metropolitan Fair is greatly facilitated by the excellent and detailed photographs of the art gallery by Matthew Brady included in Recollections of the Art Gallery of the Metropolitan Fair, 1864. The volume I consulted is the one

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listed in the catalogue and the only one that was accompanied by a lengthy two page commentary which described in detail the "severest of those trials, which marked the struggle of our forefathers for Independence," and glorified Washington who "has taught us not to believe in impossibilities." Accompanying Washington was his "faithful negro servant, who never left the General's side, and whose devoted and intelligent attachment was so highly prized by his kind hearted master… certain we are, that many a less worthy, though whiter face, has been handed down to posterity." For his soldiers, Washington exemplified the supreme decisive leader who could withstand all adversity and even though [his soldiers] "lacked this spirit in themselves, they have long since imbibed it from their leader."[118]

Washington, as well as the art work provided messages that passed the test of time and they were pertinent for the present. The remarkable position accorded Washington certainly echoed the celebratory tone of the Colonial past

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in the Whittredge Collection, Archives of American Art. J. Gurney and Son produced another set of excellent views of the art gallery that are in the collection of the Manuscript Department of the New York Historical Society.

[118] Catalogue of the Art Exhibition at the Metropolitan Fair in Aid of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, 3-4.

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that was evident throughout the fair. Washington was the prototype of the unwavering hero, the supreme example to emulate in the current struggle. Furthermore, the idea of Washington as a new Moses, who had liberated his people from monarchical bondage, and led them forth to independence and self-determination, and to the Promised Land, had assumed remarkable dimensions by mid-century.[119]

Immediately to the left of Leutze's work was Gignoux's Niagara in Moonlight, 1859 (fig. 8, no. 3, now lost) a work that had often been compared, and indeed was considered to be superior to Church's Niagara of 1857, that was exhibited diagonally from it on the eastern wall of the gallery.[120] Gignoux's depiction of Niagara was deemed the "most poetic"

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[119] Robert Hay, "George Washington: American Moses," American Quarterly 21 (Winter 1969): 780-791.

[120] James J. Jarves distinguished Gignoux from his fellow landscape painters on the merit of this work which gives a fair realistic suggestion of the flow and force of the cataract, under the mysterious conditions of a clouded moonlight, which greatly heightens the effect of the whole scene, and baptizes it with the spirit of the imaginative unreal, making it the opposite of Church's Niagara by Sunlight, whose sole suggestion is of mathematical quantity, space, depth, rapidity, and fall, with accurately imitated tint.

James J. Jarves, The Art Idea (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1960) 194.

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version of the waterfall and had been engraved for Harper's Weekly in 1859.[121]

For audiences accustomed to the well-established associations between the magnificence and singularity of American nature and its capability to sustain national development and success, the juxtaposition of the accomplishments of Washington and of the natural wonder certainly carried telling messages. The promise of divine benevolence was even more evident in Church's interpretation of Niagara, 1857 (no. 14, Corcoran Gallery of Art, fig. 8 and 9), with its prominent high-arching rainbow, a most visible symbol of divine covenant, that could sustain the American people and guide them towards a secure national future. The reassuring power of the rainbow reminded fairgoers of their manifest destiny.[122]

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[121] The meaningful associations between Washington's achievement and this natural monument were elaborated at least once before in an engraving by P. Stampa, A Symbol of America, 1800. In this print, Niagara was used as the backdrop for the tomb of Washington that was guarded by the figure of Columbia. As Elizabeth Kinsey has observed, in this print the waterfalls, "a seemingly timeless image of God's everlasting power,... takes on the nation's futurity and represents the natural arena where the United States will achieve prosperity." Information on this work can be found in Elizabeth McKinsey, Niagara Falls (London, New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985) 232-233.

[122] Some of the works surrounding Church's Niagara included Daniel Huntington's Elspeth Mucklebackit and Lord

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Also next to Leutze's work was yet another politically charged painting; Carl Müller's The Roll Call of the Last Victims of the Reign of Terror, 9th Thermidor, 1793, 1850 (fig. 8) the second work listed in the catalogue where it was accompanied by a key of the main figures. The painting was well known in artistic circles and depicted "the demons who governed, or rather misgoverned the French republic while satiating themselves on the blood and lives of their hapless victims."[123] The work included a number of well-known aristocrats in the court of Louis the XVI who were sentenced to death under the guillotine in the aftermath of the French Revolution. Since the French Revolution was about the overthrow of the monarchy by lawyers, land-owners and professionals, essentially members of the Third Estate, it was seen as a parallel event to America's Revolutionary war that had served as its inspiration. The dialogue between the works of Leutze and Müller, offered distinct associations between the Revolutionary past of America and

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Glenallan-Antiquary, (no. 16) Edwin White's Sacred Lesson, (no. 15) Thomas Cole's Catskill Creek and North Mountain, (no. 13) Jules Breton's The Harvest, (no. 12, 1857, Private Collection) and on either side of it, two works by Eduard Dubuffe entitled The Departure (no. 18) and The Return (no. 9).

[123] "The Art Department," New York Herald 4 April 1864, 2, 2-3.

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France alike, but it also reminded audiences of the devastating chaotic divisions and the precariousness of political power as various groups replaced one another in quick succession in the aftermath of the French Revolution. New Yorkers would have heeded these messages, which all too painfully would have reminded them of their own experiences during the New York draft riots a year prior to the Metropolitan Fair in April of 1863.

In a most meaningful, and presumably intentional arrangement, the westward glance of Washington in Leutze's painting was directed towards yet another manifestation of adventurous spirit and pioneering determination; Charles Deas's Long Jakes, 1844, (fig. 8, no. 10 The Manoogian Collection)[124] As much as Washington represented the glorious past, Long Jakes defined the present, and anticipated an even more energetic future. Long Jakes, a trapper, is towering above the viewer and above the expansive landscape alert to the dangers all around him. In 1845, the work was exhibited at the American Art Union, and its subject was recognized as being "from the outer verge

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[124] For a lengthy discussion of this work see Elizabeth Johns, "Outer Verge of Civilization," in American Genre Painting. The Politics of Every day Life (New Haven and London: Yale and University Press, 1991) 66ff.

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of our civilization; he is Santa Fe trader, and with his rifle in hand, his blazing red shirt, his slouched hat, long beard and coal black steed, looks as wild and romantic as any of the characters in Froissart's pages, or Salvator Rosa's pictures."[125] The following year, the work was engraved for wide distribution and came to typify for Americans and Europeans alike "an air of wildness and daring … of half-savage life and freedom from the restraints of civilization," but also the possibility of new beginnings where individual determination and hard work could guarantee success.[126] The comment celebrated the exciting prospects available to adventurers, but also the fear for the disregard of established patterns of life that determined civilized behavior on the Eastern seaboard.

Interestingly enough the work was engraved in 1846, the year that the United States declared war on Mexico, that ultimately resulted in the annexation of territories from Texas to the Pacific, territories that had been heretofore associated with the trappers. The issue was deliberated on a work that was shown a couple of feet away

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[125] Ibid., 69.

[126] Ibid., 77.

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from Long Jakes, Richard Caton Woodville's Mexican News, 1848 (fig. 8 and 9, The National Academy of Design.) Painted in Düsseldorf, the work was exhibited in New York and it was engraved in fourteen thousand prints, making it the most popular work in the late 1840's and early 1850's. It depicts a diverse group of white men huddled together under the protective shade of the American Hotel, sharing the news included in an Extra Copy of a newspaper. On the column, a note calls for volunteers to the war, thus making the connection between the Mexican American War and the Civil War all the more explicit. On the steps of the hotel, and just outside its figurative and literal protection, marginalized and isolated, are a young African-American man and his daughter who listen attentively to the group's discussion.[127]

In the proximity of these works, although invisible in photographs, was Henry Inman's (1801-1846) The News Boy, 1841, (fig. 10, no. 5, Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, MA). The work was quite well known as it had been exhibited at the National Academy of

[127] According to Bulletin of the American Art Union the interpretation of the black man in Woodville's work was compared to that of Mount in The Power of Music, which was also on view at the fair see Johns, American Genre Painting, 122.

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Design in 1841, and an engraving after it was published in The Gift of 1843. Jonathan Sturges, who had also exhibited it in 1846 at the Inman Memorial Exhibition, lent it to the Metropolitan Fair.[128] For audiences both in the 1840's and in the 1860's, the work identified the distinct inequalities of American life; the rugged young boy, whose only sustenance is a small half-bitten apple, is standing in front of a bronze sphinx adorning the steps of a prominent structure, while a large mansion on the right makes the contrasts all the more pronounced.[129]

Landscapes and genre works, both American and European, were featured prominently on the Eastern wall of

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[128] For a discussion of this work see William H. Gerdts, "Henry Inman: Genre Painter," The American Art Journal (May 1977): 39-41. According to a story published in the Knickerbocker in 1862, the inspiration for the work came from a newsboy that Inman encountered in front of the Astor Hotel, one of the first modern hotels built by John Jacob Astor in New York City in 1836. However, the Astor Hotel was never adorned with sphinxes as is the case in this painting, see ibid, 40.

[129] The young newspaper boy is holding a batch of newspapers, and the top one is the Sun, the earliest penny paper, first issued in 1833 which included political as well as social issues. This and other newspapers that soon followed, such as James Gordon Bennett's New York Herald, Horace Greeley's Tribune and William Cullen Bryant's Evening Post, were instrumental in disseminating information to the general public and influencing their opinion on serious issues.

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the art gallery of the Metropolitan Fair.[130] Landscape paintings concentrated mostly on celebrated locales in the Northeast, which were recognized for their distinctive and beautiful natural features but also had meaningful cultural associations. Underneath Church's Niagara, hung Cole's North Mountain and Catskill Creek of 1838 (fig. 11, no. 13, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven).[131] This was one of many picturesque views of the same site, which resulted from Cole's trip to the area in 1835, in which he emphasized the pastoral ideal of man's concordance with an unspoiled and accommodating landscape at a time when

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[130] Genre works by American and European artists that occupied this portion of the Eastern side, included Peter Rothermel's Beggar Girl and Daniel Huntington's The Page, as well as works by Patrois, Eduard Frère, and Paul Delaroche (1797-1856). Delaroche's Napoleon at Fontainebleau, which was at the time engraved for publication, recorded the downfall of Napoleon I on the occasion of the signing of the Treaty of Fontainebleau 13 April 1814, that ended the war between France and various European powers and ultimately led to the exile of Napoleon to Elba. Immediately next to Delaroche's work was Jean Leon Gerome's (1824-1904) Egyptian Recruits Crossing the Desert, 1857, a very popular work that had been exhibited at the annual exhibitions of the Pennsylvania Academy in the early 1860's.

[131] Immediately next to Cole's work there was Breton's The Reapers of 1860, in which the group is shown in front of cultivated landscape rather than the Arcadian setting of Cole's work.

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tourism began to upset this relationship.[132] For visitors, the hospitable landscape, with the small log cabin on the left, the fishermen in the water and the man watering his horse satisfied a nostalgic longing for a simpler, more peaceful way of life in the midst of adversity. Further down on that same side, there was another interpretation of Niagara, c. 1852-1854 (no. 37 Collection of the White House) by Kensett, as well as his Eagle Cliff, Coast of Massachusetts of 1859 (cited as Morning on the Massachusetts Coast, no. 40, Collection of Alexander Gallery) and in proximity to it, two large paintings by Asher B. Durand, The Beeches, Sunset, 1845 (no. 27, Metropolitan Museum of Art) and In the Woods, 1855, (no. 44, listed as Forest Scene, Metropolitan Museum of Art). All the venerable components of the American land that Cole had extolled so distinctively in his famous "Essay on American Scenery," were here for the visitor to appreciate; the sublimity and beauty of Niagara, the ancient American trees, and all the nurturing elements that could provide both physical as well as mental support.

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[132] For a discussion of this and other views of the region by Cole see Thomas Cole: Landscape into History, eds. William H. Truettner and Alan Wallach (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994) 51-77.

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The work that dominated the Eastern view of the gallery was Bierstadt's Rocky Mountains, Lander Peak of 1863 (fig. 12, no. 50, The Metropolitan Museum of Art), which glorified in monumental proportions, the magnificence of the, as yet, virginal and untouched landscape only populated by its first inhabitants, Native Americans.[133] It had been on exhibition in New York shortly before the opening of the Fair and it had been recognized as

> purely an American scene and from the faithful and elaborate delineation of the Indian village, a form of life now rapidly disappearing from the earth, may be truly called a historic landscape. …. [The work] inspires the temperate cheerfulness and promise of the region it depicts, and the imagination contemplates it as the possible seat of supreme civilization.[134]

The painting was significant within the larger ideology that equated the exploration of the wealth of American nature with national destiny, but also because it related to the conflict at hand. Bierstadt traveled to Saint Joseph, Missouri, and joined Frederick W. Lander's survey party into the Rocky Mountains, all the while

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[133] Bierstadt's Valley of the Yosemite, 1864 (no. 163, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) was also on exhibition and was offered for sale.

[134] "The New Pictures," Harper's Weekly (26 March 1864): 195.

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keeping Eastern audiences abreast of his activities in the West by publishing a series of letters to The Crayon, thus familiarizing them with the physical setting of his works. Upon his return to New York, he worked feverishly on a number of interpretations of the uncharted western territories and Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak, was certainly his most monumental of all. George Bancroft, a historian and diplomat who patronized Bierstadt, commented in the Spirit of the Fair:

> In this noble work, the artist transports us to the almost eternal solitudes of nature. … We hold that the scene would have been comparatively voiceless, meaningless, and dead but for the addition of the wild men of the mountains in their own life and manners. The one is the fulfilment [sic] of the other; … the two blend together, making the picture, with its exquisite afternoon light, one action, one landscape, one harmonious whole; bright, cheerful, sunny nature in its savage mountains; bright, cheerful, sunny nature in its savage children, and the two combining to form one harmonious whole.[135]

Besides extolling the distinctive qualities of the Western landscape, the painting's title had particular temporal meaning and its messages were felt even stronger at the Metropolitan Fair. Lander died in March 1862 and his loss was reported in the New York Times where he was

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[135] George Bancroft, "Nature and Life," The Spirit of the Fair 1, no. 16 (22 April 1864): 186.

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recognized for "his character and career, as well as his actions since the war begun, [which] led the whole country to look upon him as the very best ideal of an American soldier, and as a man from whom great and heroic things were to be expected as the war progressed."[136] The implicit dialogue between the determination of Washington and the courage of Lander would not have been missed on the audience. Immediately on top of Bierstadt's work there was Thomas Cole's Italian Scene, Composition, 1833 (fig. 12 and 13, no. 49, The New York Historical Society, cited as Italy), accompanied by the following poem:

> O Italy! How beautiful thou art!
> Yet I could weep, for thou art lying alas!
> Low in the dust, and they who come, admire thee
> As we admire the beautiful in death.[137]

The combination of these two works may be seen in a dual light. In Cole's work, the foreground is occupied by a pleasant vignette of a couple dancing under the shadow of a

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[136] New York Times, 3 March 1862, cited in Nancy K. Anderson and Linda S. Ferber, Albert Bierstadt: Art and Enterprise (New York: The Brooklyn Museum of Art, 1991) 77.

[137] Catalogue of the Art Exhibition at the Metropolitan Fair, 7. The work was exhibited in 1848 at the New York Gallery of Fine Arts, on the occasion of Cole's death, and was accompanied by the same verse see, American Landscape and Genre Paintings in the New-York Historical Society Richard J. Koke, comp., v. 1 (New York: New York Historical Society, 1982) 189.

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circular temple, whereas on the right portion shows a young man who looks contemplatively at the landscape dotted with ruins of the great classical past. The recognition for Italy's great classical past and a concern for its present, was shared by many Americans in the mid-nineteenth century.

Although Italy was admired for all it had contributed to the modern world, its political difficulties as well as its domination by the Catholic Church were seen with suspicion. The despotic power of the Pope over Italy's temporal fortunes was considered anachronistic and entirely foreign to the republican American experience. Cole's Italy in its relation to Bierstadt's Rocky Mountains may have offered a poignant comment between the moribund traditions of Europe and the promise of excellence, success and a greater egalitarianism in the newly acquired territories in the United States.[138] The pairing of the works however may have also been intended as a warning; for many Americans the uncontrollable exploitation of resources in western

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[138] My thinking on this point was influenced by Gail Husch, Something Coming, 13-33. The discovery of wealthy resources in the western territories was seen by many Americans in the middle of the nineteenth century as a sign of providential benevolence, whereas the adversities that plagued Europe, particularly Catholic countries, were considered as an indication of divine displeasure.

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territories, and the rapid accumulation of wealth signaled the loss of traditional patterns of life and threatened the stability of the nation.[139]

The last well known work on the eastern side of the art gallery was Daniel Huntington's Mercy's Dream (fig. 14, no. 66) a version of the very popular theme that Huntington worked on since the 1840's on John Bunyan's The Pilgrim's Progress.[140] The work was accompanied in the catalogue by John Bunyan's verse thus making the optimistic content of Mercy's Dream evident to gallery visitors.[141]

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[139] Angela Miller has suggested that Cole and others saw western expansion in a skeptical manner as destructive of traditional American values, see The Empire of the Eye, 33-39.

[140] For an extensive discussion of the popularity of Bunyan's works and of Huntington's interpretations of such themes see William H. Gerdts, "Daniel Huntington's Mercy's Dream. A Pilgrimage through Bunyanesque Imagery," Winterthur Portfolio 14, 2 (Summer 1979): 171-194. According to Gerdts, the work exhibited at the Metropolitan Fair was Huntington's third version on the subject dated 1858 and currently in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

[141] The work was followed by Bunyan's optimistic verses:

> I was dreaming that I sat alone in a solitary place, and was bemoaning the hardness of my heart. Methought I looked up and saw one coming with wings toward me. He said, "Peace be to thee!"… and he put a beautiful crown upon my head; … when he took me by the hand and said, "Mercy come after me." So I went up, and I followed, till we came at a golden gate, ….

See Catalogue of the Art Exhibition at the Metropolitan

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Furthermore, an 1843 very popular variation on Bunyan's poem entitled Pilgrim's Progress in the Last Days, would have helped audiences in the Metropolitan Fair make meaningful connections. In this poem the main protagonist, Christian who apparently is of "dark hue" journeys until he arrives at the "Palace Beautiful." While he is enjoying a meal with other guests, he is interrupted by an "Ethiopian" seeking refuge. There ensues a debate between "Mr. Expedience," who wishes to absolve himself of the whole affair and another man called "Christian Abolition," who proposes that they destroy the castle of "Giant Slavery," who is supported by his brother "Pro-Slavery." There is a battle between opposing forces, which is seen only as a prelude to an anticipated broader conflict. In its aftermath, "Christian" and his friend "Constant" are joined by "White-Heart," a Negro, and the company proceeds in hopes of reaching the Celestial City. For many mid-nineteenth century audiences, who saw the Civil War as a necessary confrontation on the path to a millennial age of peace and prosperity, Huntington's Mercy's Dream hinted at

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Fair …, 8. Prominent works near Huntington's Mercy's Dream, included William T. Richards, October 1863, (no. 80) James M. Hart's Morning in the Adirondack, (no. 74), Regis Gignoux, Indian Summer in Virginia (no. 82), and Eastman Johnson's Postboy (no. 84).

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least at the hopeful resolution of the impediment towards the realization of a divine promise.[142]

On the Western side of the exhibition, centrally located and directly across from Bierstadt's Rocky Mountains stood a work of similar size, and meaning and an ever more exciting local, Frederick Church's Heart of the Andes, 1859 (fig. 15, no. 111, Metropolitan Museum of Art).[143] Critics had compared the two works before, but now their physical juxtaposition literally invited an evaluation of their artistic merits and also the locations that they depicted.[144]

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[142] For the story of the Pilgrim's Progress in the Last Days, and its appropriation by abolitionists before and during the Civil War see David E. Smith, John Bunyan in America (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1966) 25-31.

[143] Church's The Andes of Ecuador, 1855, was also on exhibition (no. 89 in the catalogue) just a few feet away from the Heart of the Andes. Church had exhibited both the Heart of the Andes and Niagara in 1861 and 1864 in support of the Patriotic Fund. Another two works by Bierstadt were on exhibition Setting Sun (no. 165) and Evening (no. 333). To the left of the Heart of the Andes one could see Kensett's Adirondack Scenery of 1854 (no. 124, listed as White Mountain Scenery,) as well as three works by Leutze, Hester Prynne and Little Pearl 1851, (no. 113 currently unlocated), his Venice Victorious (no. 128, unlocated) and John Knox Admonishing Mary (no. 127). All these are visible in figure 16.

[144] For a brief discussion of the comparisons made see Gordon Hendricks, "Bierstadt and Church at the New York Sanitary Fair," Antiques 102 (November 1972): 895-899.

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A humorous comparison appeared in The Spirit of the Fair according to Sally Popcorn:

> There's two big pictures, one on each side of the room. The biggest one they call the "Heart of the Andes," and it's a very stony heart it seems... splashes of water shinin' and comin' down to see what's goin' on in the village, this side of the mountain .... After I look at this awhile, I went to see whose heart the other one was, but it didn't 'pear to belong to anybody-like an old maid's. There was a big mountain in the back part, and some nice pasture lots and a tolerable wood lot, but the wood's been cut off, I guess to make road for the Ingins and horses and tents and dogs and trappers and campfires and old bones bleached white in the grass, are scattered all around the medder in front, but they must be shiftless folks to let their fences git down altogether.[145]

In characteristic theatricality, Church exhibited the work as he had done in 1859, in both Europe and America, surrounded by a truly massive frame, and in this case crowned by the portraits of Adams, and Washington by Gilbert Stuart and Jefferson by Rembrandt Peale. The forefathers of the nation who had worked for its independence and believed in its promise were towering over the South American landscape as if looking approvingly at

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[145] "Letters from Sally Popcorn to Her Sister Betsey, in Pumpkinsville.-No. 3," The Spirit of the Fair 1, 17 (23 April 1864): 208.

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the possibility of an ever-expanding American influence in new lands.

The arch-rivals John Adams and Thomas Jefferson who had fought so bitterly over the election of 1800 are shown united in this one instance.[146] The audiences of the Metropolitan Fair would have been reminded of the threat of civil unrest during the presidential election of 1800 that was acrimoniously debated in Congress. The discontent that was brought about by the ultimate election of Jefferson was alleviated only by the conciliatory tone of his first inaugural address on March 4 1801, in which he recognized the prospect of a "rising nation, spread over a wide and fruitful land, …, advancing rapidly to destinies beyond the mortal eye." And he continued

> Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle. We have called by different names brethren of the same principle …. If there be any among us who would wish to dissolve this Union or to change its republican form, let them stand undisturbed as monuments of the safety with which

[146] Alexander Hamilton by Rowan [?] was also shown at the Metropolitan Fair (no. 103). In spite their earlier disagreements over the settlement of debt that the United States had incurred from various wars, Jefferson and Hamilton reconciled, particularly after the 1800 election, when Hamilton supported Jefferson against Burr. Throughout his political life Hamilton advocated for a strong, central government.

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> error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.[147]

Church's Heart of the Andes depicted the realization of Jefferson's dream for American expansionism and identified the optimism that defined the exploration of new territories and resources, which although had been interrupted by the Civil War were expected to resume in its aftermath.[148] But it also encouraged audiences to marvel at the spectacle of the divine creation and contemplate the overarching protection of the Creator. When it was first exhibited in 1859, at least one reviewer said it all too explicitly when he stated that "The deep meaning of nature, its purifying, elevating influences are profoundly felt in the presence of this truly religious work of art."[149]

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[147] Cited in Henry Steele Commager, ed. Documents of American History 9th ed., 2 vols. (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1973) 1: 187.

[148] Jefferson's presence may be further relevant as in a 1826 letter to William Ludlow he advocated for the exploration of uncharted territories and their improvement through the civilizing agency of western culture. Letter cited in Miller, The Empire of the Eye, 143. She suggests that Jefferson's approach "is symptomatic of a powerful nineteenth-century insistence on a progressive and unidirectional concept of history that consigned non-European cultures to marginality or oblivion."

[149] Cited in Franklin Kelly, Frederic Edwin Church (Washington, D.C.: National Gallery of Art, 1990) 58.

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This artistic exploration beyond North America expressed Church's own desire for aesthetic challenge, but reflected as well governmental plans for territorial expansion that was at the time investigated by Matthew Fontaine Maury, a geographer in the service of the government. South America would have offered almost inexhaustible resources, as well as provided employment opportunities for Americans, immigrants and African-Americans.[150]

On a different level, as Angela Miller has proposed, the South American works by Church and western views by Bierstadt provided for audiences in the 1850's and 1860's, an escape from views of North American scenery that were

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[150] For Maury and Church see Albert Boime, The Magisterial Gaze (Washington, D.C., London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991) 65-67 and Katherine E. Manthorne, Tropical Renaissance: North American Artists Exploring Latin America, 1839-1879 (Washington, London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1989) 52-53. Whereas western expansion was fraught with problems, the exploration of South America would have provided as Maury suggested "a safety valve" that would release economic pressures that had risen from shifts in the population in the United States, and could have been particularly useful in dealing with the slave issue. He even proposed expansion into South America as the "remedy for preserving the Union." Cited in Manthorne, Tropical Renaissance, 53. Manthorne suggests that "South America, to the mid-nineteenth century North-American mind, represented renewal, rebirth," a quite hopeful message in adverse times. Manthorne, Tropical Renaissance, 68.

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wrought with "sectional associations."[151] Audiences at the fair could contemplate the sheer beauty and sublimity of both regions free from venerable historical associations that marked many of the landscapes in the Northeast. That was certainly true if one considers that two paintings by Kensett that were shown near Church's works explored views located in the White Mountains, one of the most popular and most ideologically charged regions in the Northeast; Morning in the Valley of Conway (no. 104) and Adirondack Scenery of 1854 (fig. 16, no. 124, listed as White Mountain Scenery).[152]

The White Mountains had been sanctified in the

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[151] Miller, The Empire of the Eye, 200-207 and "The Sectional Conflict in the 1850s: Fissures in the National Landscape." Ibid., 209-241. She also proposes that the juxtaposition of Bierstadt's Rocky Mountains against Church's Heart of the Andes led fairgoers "on a journey down the central geological spine of the Western hemisphere, comprised by the Rockies to the north and the Andes to the south." Very much like its southern counterpart, the Rockies offered audiences an escape from the hallowed political and historical associations of northeastern landscapes to territories that anticipated America's glorious future rather than told of its past, see Angela Miller, "Albert Bierstadt, Landscape Aesthetics, and the Meanings of the West in the Civil War Era," in "Terrain of Freedom: American Art and the Civil War," The Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies 27, 1 (2001): 46.

[152] Judging from the photographs the work entitled White Mountain Scenery is the same as that listed as Adirondack Scenery in Driskoll, Howat et al., John Frederick Kensett: An American Master, 80, plate 9.

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national memory by legendary events and myths from the Colonial period on, and their praises were sung by Cole in his essay on American Scenery and by the influential minister, Thomas Starr King in 1860.[153] For Cole in 1835, the mountains in New Hampshire defined "the union of the picturesque, the sublime, and the magnificent," whereas in 1860 King described the valley of Conway as a "scene of plenty, purity and peace."[154] Kensett's works exemplified both these aspects of the mountainous terrain of the mountains; at once the broad open valley of Conway with the mountain range in the background and the sublimity of the rugged landscape in his White Mountain Scenery. Furthermore, in its geological variety and in the wealth of its natural features, the region of the White Mountains,

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[153] For the history and the aesthetic appeal of the mountains to painters and writers alike see Donald Keyes et al., The White Mountains: Place and Perception (Hanover, N.H.: University Art Galleries, 1980). The nationalistic significance of the White Mountains is also discussed in Miller, The Empire of the Eye, 88-90 and 266-276.

[154] Thomas Cole, "Essay on American Scenery," in John McCoubrey, American Art 1700-1960 (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1965) 103, and Thomas Starr King, The White Hills: Their Legends, Landscape and Poetry (Boston: Crosby, Nichols, Lee, 1860) 159. The White Mountains had become a popular tourist destination by the 1850's and particularly in the early 1860's. King's travelogue was exceedingly popular as it directed visitors in their appreciation of the area by commenting on the history of the region but also on its aesthetic and moralizing value.

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much like that of the Adirondacks and other mountain ranges, was seen in its magnificence as the most visible sign of Divine Providence.[155]

In a comparable dialogue to that between Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak and Italy, the optimistic spirit of the Heart of the Andes was counteracted by the cautionary outlook of The Past (no. 112) and The Present, 1838 (fig. 16, no. 126 Mead Museum of Art, Amherst College) both by Thomas Cole. The works, which were exhibited in close proximity to The Heart of the Andes, dealt with the rise and fall of a great civilization. Situated in feudal Europe, The Past celebrates a civilization at its height, with its massive castles and the jousting knights in the foreground, while The Present shows the ultimate decay of the society, now standing ruined, overwhelmed by verdant nature. In his paintings as well as his poems and his prose, Cole often sounded a horn of warning against excess and greed that could bring down even the most powerful of nations.

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[155] Benjamin Champney, the acknowledged leader of the White Mountain school, donated to the Metropolitan Fair, a work identified as White Mountain Scene (no. 241). Scenes describing various aspects of the region of the White Mountains, appeared prominently in many Sanitary Fairs.

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If Cole's paintings were meant as admonitions, a few paintings further along on that same wall, proposed models for fruitful cooperation, a peaceful coexistence between the races, benevolence and tolerance. Massed at the end of the western wall, just before the exit from the exhibition were William Tylee Ranney's (1813-1857) Marion Crossing the Pedee, William Sidney Mount's (1807-1868) Power of Music, along with Leutze's Image Breaker, and the Silesian Weavers, and Thomas Hicks' (1823-1890) Edwin Booth as Iago, (no. 146).

Ranney's Marion Crossing the Pedee, 1850 (fig. 16, 17, no. 129, Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth), unlike Leutze's singular incident of Washington Crossing the Delaware, depicts Francis Marion, the "Swamp Fox," who often crossed the Pedee River in South Carolina during the Revolution. The work promoted the significant contribution of Southerners to the Revolutionary War effort when all colonies were working in unison towards a shared cause. On it a black man is shown helping at the crossing, as an integral member of the group of men.

William Sidney Mount's The Power of Music, 1847 (fig. 18, Cleveland Museum of Art) on the other hand celebrated the unifying, common experience of music, a theme that Mount often dealt with in his work, although the African

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American man was now shown excluded from the group of white men who are enjoying the music within the barn.[156]

Another image of discord, Leutze's The Image Breaker, 1847 (fig. 18, 19, no. 141, listed as The Puritan and his Daughter, Collection of Noah Cutler), was known to New York audiences as it had been exhibited at New York's Düsseldorf Gallery in 1849.[157] The message of religious intolerance in the Image Breaker was enhanced by yet another image of conflict, Carl W. Hübner's The Silesian Weavers, 1844 (fig. 18, 20, no. 145, Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf). In the work the cloth merchant on the left, is rejecting the fabrics brought to him by the weavers who are unable to compete with machine production. This was a protest against class inequalities and exploitation and it found quite a sympathetic reception among critics and the public alike,

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[156] The painting had been made available to a wide audience since in 1848 it had been published as a print by Goupil, Vibert and Co., and was widely circulated.

[157] For the Düsseldorf Gallery see William H. Gerdts, "The Düsseldorf Connection," in William Gerdts and Mark Thistlethwaite, Grand Illusions (Fort Worth, TX: Amon Carter Museum, 1988) 127-133, and William Gerdts, "'Good Tidings' to the Lovers of the Beautiful": New York's Düsseldorf Gallery, 1849-1862," The American Art Journal 30, 1, 2 (1999): 50-81. The gallery was established in New York in 1849, for the exhibition of paintings that suffered from the contemporary political and economic climate in Düsseldorf in the late 1840's.

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when it was exhibited at the Düsseldorf Gallery in 1849.[158]

In that same grouping two works commented on the benevolent scope of the fair; Eastman Johnson's Working for the Fair (fig. 18, no. 138, currently unlocated), and Daniel Huntington's exploration of the biblical theme of the Good Samaritan, 1853 (fig. 18, no. 139, New Jersey State Museum). In Johnson's work, one of the few works created specifically for the Fair, a young girl is shown seated in a well-appointed domestic interior, looking at the viewer as if interrupted from the handiwork that lies on her lap. In contrast to the modest size and contemporary setting of Johnson's work, Huntington's large-scale allegory, demonstrated his pre-occupation with didactic themes and testified to his facility with the academic and ideal form. Undoubtedly the most unusual work, and perhaps the most maligned work in that section of the art gallery was William H. Beard's The March of Silenus, 1861 (fig. 18, no. 140, Albright-Knox Art Gallery). In it, a joyous

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[158] To the knowledgeable viewer, the exhibition of this work would have brought about meaningful parallels between the plight of the Silesian weavers and that of African-Americans, as well as the issue of territorial sovereignty. Silesia was a highly contested territory that was divided by language as well as religion. German as well as Polish was spoken in the region and the population was divided between Catholics and Protestants.

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menagerie of animals is dancing frantically in the moonlight.[159]

In spite the generally optimistic spirit that defined the fair, visitors were reminded of the current conflict just before exiting the art gallery. On top of the doorway and to the right of Washington Crossing the Delaware, was Victor Nehlig's Gallant Charge of Lieutenant Henry Hidden, at Sangster's Station, Virginia, 1862 (fig. 21, no. 151, New York Historical Society), the only major painting in the Fair that actually dealt with a Civil War theme.

The work (fig. 22), which was exhibited at the National Academy of Design in 1863, commemorates the heroic valor of Lieutenant Hidden, the only casualty in a cavalry skirmish between Union and Confederate during the Confederate withdrawal from Centerville and Manassas in early March 1862. Hidden's sacrifice had particular relevance for the audiences of the Metropolitan Fair, because in 1861, at the age of twenty-four, he had enlisted

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[159] The inclusion of Beard's work in this section may be due to his connection to Düsseldorf for a brief time in 1857. Beard was elected to the full ranks of the National Academy of Design on the merits and the attention that this work attracted upon its exhibition in 1862. For Beard and this work see William H. Gerdts, William Holbrook Beard: Animals in Fantasy (New York: Alexander Gallery, 1981) 8-9. The negative criticism bestowed upon the work at the Metropolitan Fair will be discussed later.

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in the Union Army in New York. In order to justify that his death was not in vain, one reviewer remarked that "one can scarcely believe that his slight form could have performed such a feat as it did, dispersing two companies of rebel infantry with a squad of fifteen men."[160]

Overall, very few paintings dealt with the conflict at hand and judging from the titles, only seven works in the catalogue referred to Civil War themes, and with the exception of Nehlig's battle scene, most appear to have been genre scenes.[161] Of these, Louis Lang's The Soldier's Widow, (1863, no. 290) had been exhibited the previous year at the National Academy of Design and its content was indicative of the sentimentalism that characterized Civil-

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[160] "The Annual Academy of Design," Scientific American 8 (20 June 1863): 394.

[161] The other Civil War works are: William J. Hays (1830-1875) The Approaching Combat (no. 198), Louis Lang's (1814-1893) The Soldier's Widow, Victor Moreau M. Griswold's (1819-1872) On the Potomac (no. 257), Victor Nehlig's Rebel Prisoners (no. 270), Thomas Nast's (1840-1902), Drummer Boy Writing Home (no. 285), The Potomac (no. 288) by William L. Sonntag (1822-1900) and Francesco Augero's, Goddess of Union attended by Peace and Plenty, Dismissing the Fury of Rebellion and her Victims, (no. 185). 129 sketches of battle scenes and incidents from the front were contributed by the correspondents of Frank Leslie's Illustrated Paper and they were exhibited for sale in the Department of Arms and Trophies. None of the artists is identified see, Broadside, Catalogue of a Collection of Original Sketches of Battle Scenes and Incidents of the War, Metropolitan Fair, New York, McKinney Library, Albany.

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War related themes. The work portrayed a young mother leaning over her baby's crib and offering a scabbard and a sword to the laughing child. "The woman's fair yet tear-worn face, the deep dejection of mature grief struggling at the corner of her mouth with a half smile of sympathy in the baby's pleasure, and the baby himself, all rosy, gleeful and unconscious of his orphanage, make a very touching and skillfully managed contrast."[162]

On a more ambitious scale Francesco Augero's "political allegory" of The Goddess of Union attended by Peace and Plenty, Dismissing the Fury of Rebellion and her Victims, was admired as a work that exhibited distinctly "classical tendencies." Union was depicted in the guise of an ideal woman whose face revealed "indignation and sadness," whereas the figures of Peace and Plenty were "beaming with an angelic influence over our distracted country." Contrary to the peaceful idealism of these allegories was the figure of Rebellion "sullenly withdrawing from the presence of the angry goddess, and hideous in all the repulsive aspects that can be imparted

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[162] "The National Academy of Design: Its Thirty-Eight Annual Exhibition," The Evening Post [New York] 12 June 1863, 1, 2.

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to such a creation. At his feet lie the crushed and writhing victims of his insensate rage."[163]

This artistic disregard of the war was discussed a few months after the conclusion of the Metropolitan Fair, by the reporter of The Round Table who observed that

> One of the most remarkable circumstances connected with the existing war is the very remote and trifling influence which it seems to have exerted upon American art. The illustrators of the pictorial newspapers have been active, and the spirited groups of Rogers show that he has had an eye to the dramatic aspects of the great struggle; but the chief body of our artists have gone on painting landscapes and genre pieces and portraits, as if the old peace had never been interrupted. The few who have illustrated episodes of the war have selected those of a grotesque or humorous character, or occasionally those appealing to the sentimental or pathetic springs of heart. We scarcely remember anything large in manner or dramatic in feeling from an American painter, …. Pictures like Lang's "Return of the Sixty-ninth Regiment," of which, fortunately, few have been produced, are scarcely worthy of serious criticism. It is not now our purpose to inquire why Americans, of all others the most interested in the bloody drama daily enacting before their eyes, should neglect subjects so suggestive and effective, and which, from their knowledge of local scenery and national character and habits, they ought to be best able to illustrate …. Pictures like Constant Meyer's "Consolation" or Hübner's "God Save the Union," should have emanated from our own countrymen, and it is a lasting reproach that men foreign to the soil, and who cannot feel the deep interest that we do in the rebellion, should be

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[163] "Fine Arts," New York Herald 14 April 1864, 4, 4.

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> the first to show the themes for illustration it affords.[164]

Similarly, few paintings on the show commented directly on the underlying issues of the Civil War, such as the treatment or the lives of African Americans. Besides the two works by Woodville and Mount already mentioned, few

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[164] "Art. Painting and the War," The Round Table 2, no. 32 (23 July 1864): 90. The writer praised an exhibition of works by Italian artists, then on view at the Derby Gallery, that commented on the American Civil War. He asserted that "Many have undeniable excellence in the composition, and all of them are painted in a coarse, free style, which is the opposite of that generally in vogue with us." He also praised a "large composition by Nehlig, representing the battle of Somerset,…. It is decidedly the best work of its class in the collection." Ibid. For a very good recent discussion of the reluctance of American artists to deal with the subject of the Civil War see Giese "'Harvesting' the Civil War. Art in Wartime New York," 64-81. Giese suggests that the "nature of the war, its course and ultimate objectives" made it a problematic war for American artists to interpret. The fact that this was a civil war, between people of the same nation, precluded the usage of the standard approaches that had often been applied in grand manner historical paintings dealing with warfare between competing nations. The issue is also considered by Steven Conn, Andrew Walker, "The History in the Art: Painting the Civil War," in "Terrain of Freedom: American Art and the Civil War," The Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies 27, 1 (2001): 65-67. They similarly attribute the paucity of relevant images to the ideological problems posed by the war itself as well as the fact that history painting in America was on the decline, its place gradually taken up by the reportorial quality of photography, which would render graphically to the needs of this particular war. Furthermore "such was the trauma of the war that American history painters, both during and after the conflict, found themselves unable to lend it purpose and legitimacy, even through techniques they had relied upon for roughly one hundred years."

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other works portrayed African Americans. Two works that did though, and which attracted some attention in the daily press were Mount's Right and Left, and Eastman Johnson's, The Young Sweep. Right and Left, 1850 (fig. 23, no. 238, The Museums at Stony Brook) portrays a young, well dressed African-American man who is looking out towards the viewer in a reserved manner.[165] In this work, Mount delineated attentively and in great detail the features of the self-assured young man who dominates the work to the exclusion of any distracting elements.

On the other hand, Johnson's Young Sweep, 1863 (fig. 24, no. 213, Private Collection) focuses sympathetically on the unfortunate circumstances of the young, barefoot African American child, who makes his meager living as a chimney sweep. The subdued colorism of the work as well as the child's sullen expression, create a pathetic feeling quite unlike that in Mount's work. Recent scholarship has suggested a political meaning to this work; the boy's placement outside the latched door, which in this case

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[165] See Deborah J. Johnson, William Sidney Mount. Painter of American Life, (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1998) 73. Johnson suggests that the figure is not only playing the violin but also calling the figures during a square dance, thus indicating a greater variety of talents and capabilities beyond just music making.

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stands for the Union, indicates his marginality from the political life of the nation, whereas his patient look is one of hope for a positive resolution of the war.[166]

Whereas these two works depicted realistically African Americans, another more topical work communicated elevated messages in an academic, allegorical manner. Henry Peter Gray's America in 1862 (no. 164, currently unlocated) had been exhibited at the National Academy of Design in 1863.[167] The work depicted a "kneeling manly figure of a slave who looks up into the eyes of the genius of America, who breaks his chains with one hand and offers him a sword with the other. The motto of the State of Virginia night well be engraved beneath it vic semper tyrannis."[168] Generally, as

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[166] See Patricia Hills, "Painting Race: Eastman Johnson's Pictures of Slaves, Ex-Slaves, and Freedmen," in Teresa A. Carbone and Patricia Hills, Eastman Johnson: Painting America (Brooklyn, N.Y.: Brooklyn Museum of Art, 2000) 140-141. According to Carbone, Eastman Johnson's Drummer Boy of 1863, (The Century Association), was presented at the Metropolitan Fair, where it was bought by Century Association members through subscription, along with a work by Launt Thompson (1833-1894) and Junius Brutus Stearns (1810-1885) The Widow (no. 226) see, Teresa E. Carbone, "The Genius of the Hour: Eastman Johnson in New York, 1860-1880," in Eastman Johnson: Painting America, 59.

[167] Also on view was another painting by Gray entitled The Pride of the Village, of 1863 which had also been exhibited at the National Academy of Design in that year.

[168] "The Lounger: The National Academy of Design," Harper's

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in the rest of the fair, the art gallery at the Metropolitan Fair communicated optimistic messages and avoided graphic images either of the war or the actualities of the lives of African Americans.

The art gallery was not the only venue though, in which visitors could appreciate American and European Art. Art works were exhibited throughout the fair at stalls and at other exhibits; at the New Jersey Department there were drawings and paintings by Durand, Darley, Huntington, Inman, Schaffer, Vanderlyn, Inness and others.[169] Additional works were located at the Museum and Curiosity Shop; amidst the bizarre array of objects one could see a copy of a portrait of Martin van Buren (no. 19), by Robert Walter Weir (1803-1889) Gilbert Stuart's portrait of Mrs. Perez Morton, ca. 1802 (no. 293), and a portrait of Washington

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Weekly 7, 331 (2 May 1863): 274.

[169] A Record of the Metropolitan Fair, 122. Only a few of the works are listed in Catalogue of Articles in the 'Salmagundi' Summer House in New Jersey Department of the Metropolitan Sanitary Fair, (copy at the McKinney Library, Albany under Metropolitan Fair, N.Y. The drawing by Darley was entitled Irving and his Contemporaries, and Durand's work was Rip van Winkle among the Mountains. On view were also Inness's, Sunnyside, Inman's Rip van Winkle, and Huntington's Katrina Van Tassel' and Ichabod Crane.

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(no. 572) by Robert Edge Pine.[170] Paintings and statuary were also exhibited at the Roman Department.[171]

Besides the art gallery and other venues at the Metropolitan Fair proper, audiences had the opportunity, for an additional charge, to see Kensett's October Afternoon-Lake George, 1864, (fig. 25, Corcoran Gallery of Art) at Knoedler's.[172] The placid water of the lake, which is punctuated with sailboats, and the warm colors of the autumnal landscape provided a reassuring glimpse of nature completely unaffected by the war. The painting was praised for its "subtle coloring and the beautiful delineation of the autumnal effects, for the soft radiance of the sky, the pure and delicate color, the fine rendering of space, and

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[170] Catalogue of Articles… in the Museum and Curiosity Shop of the Metropolitan Fair, April 4, 1864 (New York: Baker & Godwin, 1864).

[171] Roman Contributions to the Metropolitan Fair, n.d. Metropolitan Fair Collection, New York Public Library, under *ZH-IKM p.v. #16, 7, and handwritten notes of titles of 20 pictures contributed to the fair. It was noted in a review that "Miss Stebbins has forwarded a fine bust of Washington, and Mr. Ives sends… a bust of Hon. William H. Seward. … Miss Foley [has] contributed some rich marbles statuary and bas reliefs." "The Roman Department," New York Herald 4 April 1864, 1, 5.

[172] The work belonged to Robert Olyphant, who agreed to have it exhibited for the benefit of the Fair. The exhibition raised $187.86, see Statement of the Art Department of Metropolitan Fair, in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission.

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the harmony of the picture as a whole." But the work was admired as well for its gratifying influence as it was "pleasant to contemplate in those lulls of the dreadful tumult of the war, soothing to the sense of a people racked by the shattering agitations of battles won and lost."[173]

For an additional charge fairgoers could also visit the private galleries of August Belmont and William H. Aspinwall, whose generous contribution to the benefit of the Metropolitan Fair was praised in the newspapers.

> Private individuals, whose love of the beautiful and inclination to munificence have induced them to establish perfectly appointed galleries of their own, take this occasion to aid the most beneficent of charities by throwing open to universal view, … those treasures upon which only the privileged few had been heretofore allowed to gaze.[174]

Belmont's collection which contained works by French, Dutch and Flemish artists and few Americans, was deemed the result of "the judgment of so experienced and shrewd a connoisseur …. Mr. Belmont has not expended a fortune in extravagant bids for inferior works of artists whose *chef d'oeuvres* have given them world wide fame; neither has he

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[173] "Art: Kensett's Lake George," The Round Table 1, 14 (14 March 1864): 216.

[174] "The Fair as a School of Art," New York World 7 April 1864, 1, 3.

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fallen in the hands of those Philistines, the 'dealers'."[175] Artists represented in his collection included Delaroche, Frère, Bonheur, Meissonier, Vernet and the British Landseer, and Americans Gignoux, Johnson, Boughton, and the Dutch born artist Mauritz Frederick Hendrick de Haas, who by 1859 settled in New York.

Comparable was the gratitude bestowed upon William Aspinwall, who in his desire to assist the audience in understanding his collection "issued a handsome and elaborate catalogue, so arranged that it will be an assistance to the intelligent and a means of enlightenment to the most obtuse." Aspinwall's collection complemented that of Belmont, but was much broader in range; it included the works of Italian masters of the late Renaissance and Baroque masters such as Titian, Corregio, and Paolo Veronese, Peter Paul Rubens, Anthony van Dyck, Salvator Rosa, and Gerard Dow, as well as more modern masters such as Thomas Gainsborough, Thomas Lawrence, and Ary Scheffer. American artists, including Gignoux, Huntington, Kensett,

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[175] Ibid. See August Belmont, The Belmont Gallery on Exhibition. 1864, pamphlet in the collection of the New York Historical Society. For a review of the exhibition see "Art: Mr. Belmont's Gallery," The Round Table 1, 17 (9 April 1864) 265.

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Lily Martin Spencer, Woodville and Church were also represented in the collection.[176]

Unfortunately, the "exceedingly liberal" collection of paintings by Düsseldorf artists that created so many problems for Tait as well as Kensett, arrived too late to be shown during the Fair but was exhibited at the Derby Galleries.[177] It was acknowledged as "one of the most gratifying evidences of generous and active sympathy with the great cause for which we are now struggling."[178] Although the laudable motives of the German artists were very much appreciated, their works were thought to be of less merit, but one reviewer admitted that "it would be an ungracious task, under the circumstances, to speak critically. They were not offered as master-pieces, and such we had no reason to expect them to be." Most of the

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[176] For the contents of Aspinwall's collection see Descriptive Catalogue of Pictures in the Gallery of W. H. Aspinwall, n.d., Collection of the New York Historical Society. The Belmont collection was evidently the most popular one and it brought $1,920.18, whereas the Aspinwall exhibition contributed only $666.75, see Statement of the Art Department of Metropolitan Fair, in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission.

[177] Based on Tait's invoice, a list of the art work was published in "Our Düsseldorf Correspondence," New York Herald (Supplement) 22 April 1864, 1, 6.

[178] "Foreign Artists' Aid to the Sanitary Fair," The Round Table 1, 26 (11 June 1864): 407.

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works were sketches, and pencil drawings and for that reason they attracted little attention. Hübner's work was the bright exception, partially due "to its own merits and the reputation of the painter as from the expressive legend which it bore."[179]

The make up of the art exhibition of the Metropolitan Fair depended upon a successful combination of works that carried serious and powerful messages, but also pleasant and prosaic works. By the time the Metropolitan Fair was held, this formula had already been tried numerous times with slight variations in content and scale. In nearby Brooklyn, for example, only a few weeks prior, visitors to the Academy of Music had been treated to a comparable variety. There is at least one account that Eastman Johnson, Kensett, and Hicks had visited the art gallery (fig. 26) and "all … were greatly pleased with the exhibition."[180]

Upon entering the art gallery at the Academy of Music, the visitor saw "Stuart's full length portrait of 'Washington,' while the 'Niagara,' [no. 49] of Gignoux, and

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[179] "Art. Sale of the Sanitary Fair Pictures," The Round Table 2, 28 (25 June 1864): 26.

[180] "The Great Fair: An Artistic Vision," Brooklyn Daily Eagle 2 March 1864, 2, 5.

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the magnificent picture by the same artist, 'The Alps at Sunrise," [no. 23]… look towards each other from opposite ends of the room, and happily represent, through the medium of the New and the Old World."[181]

The choice of Stuart's Washington (no. 1) as the most visible work in the exhibition was a fitting choice considering that the fair was inaugurated on Washington's birthday. The portrait was identified as one that was painted for Mrs. Washington in 1796, and it was recognized as "the second effort of the artist to obtain a correct likeness of the General, the first not proving satisfactory. It is considered the best full length portrait by Stuart ever painted, and the most striking

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[181] "Our Daily Record," The Daily Morning Drum Beat 1, 10 (3 March 1864: 4. Art works are listed in Catalogue of the Works of Art Exhibited at Brooklyn and Long Island Fair in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission (Brooklyn: The Union Steam Press, 1864). There were very few sculptural works shown; two reliefs by Kuntze, and Mozier's Pocahontas (no. 62). There were also three statues by John Rogers which were not listed in the catalogue but appear in reviews of the art gallery; Union Refugee, The Country Post Office and Mail Day in the Army are cited in "The Great Sanitary Fair: The Gallery of Fine Arts," Brooklyn Daily Eagle 23 February 1864, 2, 6. The Union Refugee was considered "very expressive and tells a truthful story of what Southern Unionists have to suffer for their patriotism." "The Gallery of Fine Arts," Brooklyn Daily Eagle 22 February 1864, 2, 6.

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likeness of Washington extant at that period."[182]

The second work in the catalogue was Eastman Johnson's Kentucky Home, 1859 (fig. 27, Negro Life in the South, The New-York Historical Society) a work that had enjoyed remarkable popularity in 1859, when it was exhibited not only in New York but in Boston as well. The work emphasized the proper social order, in which African Americans exist in blissful ignorance under the benevolent gaze of their white mistress but in the charged climate of the Civil War, this work also came to identify the social conditions that had led to the conflict.[183] The work became the banner for abolitionists and pro-slavery advocates alike. One reviewer identified this work as

> a stirring speech from the Anti-Slavery Platform,

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[182] "The Great Sanitary Fair: The Gallery of Fine Arts." The Atheneaum portrait by Stuart was indeed commissioned by Martha Washington. Thereafter, Stuart created the full length Landsdowne portrait of Washington (1796) on the basis of the Athenaeum Washington. The portrait exhibited at the fair might have been a version of this. Another possibility is that this was a version of the Munro-Lenox Washington of 1800 (New York Public Library) which has been considered a more successful interpretation of Washington. For these portraits see Dorinda Evans, The Genius of Gilbert Stuart (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1999) 63-71. Also on exhibition was Stuart's portrait of Mrs. Thomas Lea, c. 1798.

[183] For reviews of this work see Patricia Hills, "Painting Race: Eastman Johnson's Pictures of Slaves, Ex-Slaves, and Freedmen," in Carbone and Hills, Eastman Johnson: Painting America, 126-131.

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> the Negro quarters teeming with life, human and animal; … the indolent servants enjoying to the full their only solace-music; the mistress, refined and elegant, just looking in upon what clearly for that fact, is not a daily scene, with her maid looking behind her, better fed, better clothed, much more of a woman, much less of a slave in her outward life, than her fellow servants, all presenting a sad picture of Southern Slavery, when viewed from one stand-point.[184]

By a reviewer of the art gallery at the fair, the work was distinguished as "one of the most interesting and graphic pictures in the collection, and … a truthful illustration of the homes of Southern bondmen. The grouping is admirable and the drawing excellent."[185]

Another two paintings, these satirical in content, commented on the decay of the South. William M. Davis (1829-1920, mistakenly identified as William T. Davis) contributed a work entitled The Neglected Picture (no. 87). The work according to one review had been exhibited in New York "with great success," and depicted "a lithograph of Jeff. Davis in an old pine frame, and with the glass broken and shivered, leaving only jagged points; and so well done

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[184] Anonymous, New York Daily Tribune, 21 May 1859, 6, cited in Hills, "Painting Race: Eastman Johnson's Pictures of Slaves, Ex-Slaves, and Freedmen," 127.

[185] "The Great Sanitary Fair: The Gallery of Fine Arts." Brooklyn Daily Eagle 23 February 1864, 2, 6.

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as to quite deceive many a passer-by, who wonders why such a shabby old affair should have been allowed to find a place here."[186] A second work by Davis Done Gone, (no. 34) was equally critical of the southern way of life and told "the story of the Rebel's career pretty graphically. What with the empty whiskey bottle, the salacious novel, the pack of cards and a bloody bowie knife, life in Secessia is pretty well depicted."[187]

American landscapes paintings covered once again the whole range of subject matter from depictions of the Green Mountains, by John Dobson Barrow (1823-1907) (no. 103), Mount Washington (no. 127) by Sanford Robinson Gifford (1823-1880) listed erroneously as J. R. Gifford) and Samuel Colman's Conway Valley (no. 140); Bierstadt showed two of his landscapes of the Rocky Mountains (no. 60 and no. 78)

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[186] "Our Daily Record," The Daily Morning Drum Beat 1, 10 (3 March 1864): 4. Another equally incendiary work by Davis, entitled Mephistopheles (no. 70), depicted "the Rebel President with the addition of a pair of horns, see "The Fair Finale: Sale of Paintings," Brooklyn Daily Eagle 10 March 1864, 2, 5.

[187] The Great Sanitary Fair: The Gallery of Fine Arts," Brooklyn Daily Eagle 23 February 1864, 2, 6.

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and there were representative works by Cole, Inness, Kensett, Durand and Mignot.[188]

There were also genre pieces by Thomas Le Clear (1818-1882), Edward Lamson Henry (1841-1919), Guy, Lambdin and William H. Beard showed his Bears on a Bender, 1861, (no. 113, currently unlocated). In spite the accusation that members of the Brooklyn Art Association used the show for their own promotion, only few of their works were on view; Gignoux was represented by three landscapes, there were two works by John Williamson, Calla Ethiopia (no. 10) and Indian Corn (no. 165), and only one by Nicholas Biddle Kittell an Ideal Head (no. 111).

Yet again, Civil War themes works were quite scarce, with the exception of Winslow Homer's Berdan Sharpshooter of 1863 (no. 85, Portland Museum of Art) and Victor Nehlig's Courage and Fear (no. 131). The Berdan Sharpshooter, Homer's first essay in painting, was exhibited for the first time at the Athenaeum Club in New York in January of 1864, and then at the Brooklyn and Long Island Fair, where one reviewer described it as "a

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[188] Mignot showed three North American views rather than his more characteristic South American landscapes. His participation at the show is of note particularly in view of his southern origins and his pro-Southern sentiments that led him to immigrate to London in 1862.

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striking, truthful picture, the most interesting, on the whole, that we have seen of this artist's very individual work."[189] Equally few were the historical works; there was Columbus and the Cardinals (no. 47) by Thomas Lochlan Smith (1835-1884), Edwin White's (1817-1877) Requiem of De Soto (no. 48) and a sentimental interpretation by John Whetton Ehninger (1827-1889) of Washington's First Interview with Mrs. Custis, (no. 23) a work that proved so popular that was enacted as a *tableaux vivant* at the fair.

In preparation for the show, the organizers had solicited American artists for oil sketches and many responded generously thus enriching the collection with more than one hundred works.[190] These were exhibited individually, rather than in a bound album, and some were considered "gems of singular merit." One reviewer commented that

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[189] "Artists' Reception for the Benefit of the Brooklyn and Long Island Fair," New York Tribune 19 February 1864, cited in Nicolai Cikovski, Jr. and Franklin Kelly, Winslow Homer (New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 1996) 39.

[190] "And, we now appeal to you to come forward with our offerings that ART may use your hands to lay upon the altar of a sacred, honoring and national cause, her best, most beautiful, most elevating of offerings," Circular of the Committee on Reception and Exhibition of Works of Art (Brooklyn 18 January 1864) War Fund Collection-Sanitary Fair, folder 5. Brooklyn Historical Society.

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> Connoisseurs will be especially interested in a bit of painting by Church-a wild swamp scene, with the Sun just bursting through the clouds; in J. M. Falconer's pretty little picture of a boy looking out of a window upon the tossing sea; in Lang's delineation of a little girl weaving a willow basket under the shade of an overhanging tree; in Tait's animal piece (for which $200 have been offered) of a dog with a bird in his mouth; and in other choice little specimens of the skill of Rossiter, Kensett, Bierstadt, Hazeltine, Suydam, Durand, and their brethren in Art, who by their contributions to the Good Cause, have shown that they are also brothers in patriotism.[191]

There were also landscapes by William and James Hart, a marine by Frederick De Haas, a sunset view by John W. Casilear, and genre works such as Edwin White's "touching scene of sisterly devotion, the subject being a young girl praying by the side of her dying brother," and "The Sleeping Infant" by John G. Brown.[192] The single Civil War theme in the group was an oil sketch by Elisha W. Hall (1833-1905) entitled After the Battle, a "scene illustrative of a field of battle, with the sun setting in

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[191] "Our Daily Record," Daily Morning Drum Beat 1, 4 (3 March 1864): 4. "The Great Sanitary Fair," Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 27 February 1864, 2, 6. Also on exhibition there was an album of chromolithographs of English works that were exhibited in Manchester, England in 1864.

[192] Ibid.

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a lurid sky, on the wounded, dying and dead. It is an expressive little sketch."[193]

With few exceptions, the majority of the works in the art gallery were by American artists, a reflection perhaps of the competition that the fair received from the Metropolitan Fair and the absence of large local collections. Of the European works on exhibition Auction in the Studio by Peter Baumgartner (no. 58) and Thomas Couture's Soap Bubbles (listed as the Indolent Scholar) attracted attention. The Auction in the Studio was described as "a picture of sterling merit, possessing all the excellencies of the German School of art, and but few, if any, of its defects."[194] Johann Peter Hasenclever's group of art works, Student's Departure (no. 54) The Examination (no. 55) and The Return (no. 56), describing "the career of

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[193] Ibid. A list of the oil sketches is cited in an exhibition announcement entitled "The Artist's Contribution to the Brooklyn Fair in Aid of the Sanitary Commission-120 Sketches valued at $8,000 to be disposed at $10.00" in the C. B. Nuchols Collection Scrapbooks. 1861-64, Box 2/4, vol. 3, Northern Civil War Materials, Brooklyn Historical Society. There was considerable disagreement as to the manner in which the album would be disposed of, whether it should be auctioned off, or given away by raffle see, "The Great Fair: The Artist's Album," Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 3 March 1864, 2, 3. For the resolution of this issue see note 476.

[194] The Great Sanitary Fair: The Gallery of Art," Brooklyn Daily Eagle, 25 February 1864, 2, 5.

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a young German student" and Edouard Frére's, Little Cook, 1858 (no. 144, Brooklyn Museum of Art) were also noted in the daily press. Hassenclever's works, which were quite familiar to American audiences because of their lengthy exhibition at the Düsseldorf Gallery, were described as "three of the best works in the collection."[195]

A work that attracted critical attention was Thomas Couture's (1815-1879) The Indolent Scholar, 1851 (Soap Bubbles, Metropolitan Museum of Art), which was described as "representing a handsome schoolboy, of life size, lazily engaged in blowing soap bubbles, instead of studying his lessons."[196] However, in the pensive manner of the young man and in its emphasis on the fragility of the bubbles that float in mid air, the work may have provided, an oblique at least, commentary on the precariousness of human existence.

In addition to the art gallery, paintings and sculptures were dispersed throughout the fair. 109

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[195] "Art Notes," unidentified clipping, War Fund Collection-Sanitary Fair-clippings, Box 3, folder 6, Brooklyn Historical Society.

[196] "Our Daily Record," The Daily Morning Drum Beat 1, 10 (3 March 1864): 4. The work was also exhibited in New York with the title Days Dreams (no. 97) and at the Great Central Fair in Philadelphia under the same title (no. 397).

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paintings were available for sale, and more engravings were located at Taylor House, within the Museum of Arts, Relics and Curiosities.[197] Contrary though to the spacious, well lit gallery provided for the art works at the Academy of Music this was a "small corner reception room of the Taylor House, [where] … huddled [is] a very valuable collection of painting and a little statuary more or less meritorious…."[198]

Many of the same artists who were represented at the main gallery had their work shown here as well. The work that immediately attracted the attention of visitors in this gallery was "a massive view" (no. 13, Marine View) by Thomas Moran (1837-1926), and another noted work was an Equestrian portrait of Washington by Alonzo Chappel (1828-

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[197] For a complete list see Catalogue of Arts, Relics and Curiosities, on Exhibition (Brooklyn: Daily Eagle Print, 1864) 15-20. Separate from the other paintings, but within this area was also John S. Copley's portrait of Jane Brown of 1756 (no. 307, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), as well as many drawings including a sketch by Thomas T. Farrer (no. 872, listed as Farrar).

[198] "The Great Sanitary Fair: The Taylor House," Brooklyn Daily Eagle 22 February 1864, 2, 4. There is a single photograph of this art gallery but the author of the above review listed the works in the order of their actual placement. The art exhibition also included a large number of engravings of both American and European works that are mentioned in the above article. The contributors of these included Henry Ward Beecher, John M. Falconer, Samuel Avery and William H. Swann.

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1887) [no. 6]. Also distinguished in the collection was "a view of sunset on a rocky coast" by Kensett, and "several of the little pictures by Tait."[199]

At the same time that the Metropolitan Fair was taking place, the residents of Baltimore were treated to "an exhibition of rare and valuable paintings" that was located in the Rooms of the School of Design of the Maryland Institute for the Promotion of the Mechanical Arts.[200] The collection consisted of 120 paintings, the majority of them American works gathered from local collections, although "the wealthy mansions of New York and Philadelphia... sent... for the great humane cause some of their choicest and most valuable art treasures, …."[201] Thomas Kensett, the brother of the artist, and an important art collector on his own right, loaned 13 American art works, and George B. Coale and D. L. Bartlett two other local art connoisseurs offered eight paintings each.

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[199] "Our Daily Record," The Daily Morning Drumbeat 1, 8 (1 March 1864): 4.

[200] "Maryland State Fair for the Benefit of the United States Sanitary and Christian Commission," Baltimore American, 18 April 1864, 1, 4.

[201] "The Art Exhibition," Baltimore American 20 April, 1864, 1, 5.

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As it was by now customary, critics deemed this exhibition one of the most important ever seen in Baltimore: "Let no one omit a visit to the Gallery. Familiar with all exhibitions of this class in Baltimore during thirty years, we have no hesitation in saying that no former display of *original* [italics in the original] works has equaled it. In this respect we speak chiefly of the productions *of our American artists*, [italics in the original] …." The reviewer then offered a list of the most significant works on view which were "especially deserving the study of persons who have only an hour or two to spare for the Gallery."[202] These included landscapes by Kensett, Sanford R. Gifford, Jervis McEntee's (1828-1891) Twilight (no. 103) and Virginia, (no. 114) Woodville's Politics in an Oyster House, Frank Blackwell Mayer's (1827-1899), The Fiddle (no. 448), the First Cigar (no. 119) by John G. Brown and Eastman Johnson's Mating (no. 76).

Brown's First Cigar was deemed "full of life, fun, wickedness, and, in a word-*boy*," and attracted the attention of Lincoln during his visit to the art gallery "his humorous spirit caught the infection in a moment, and

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[202] "The Maryland State Fair: An Hour with the Painters," Baltimore American 26 April 1864, 4, 2.

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enjoyed it greatly."[203] Eastman Johnson's Mating of 1860 (fig. 28, present location unknown), which was in the possession of General John Adams Dix, a staunch Union advocate, was a vignette comparable to that included on the left side of his Old Kentucky home.[204] In it a young black man whose form is largely shaded, is courting a light skinned black young woman, who is turning her face away from him, the whole scene taking place underneath a pigeon house. The picture was considered "an exquisite bit of truthful poetry, rendered with a neatness of detail, which makes the physiognomy of courtship and flirtation as distinct in the pigeons on the roof, as in the young folks who are 'coming to the scratch' on the door sill."[205]

Another work that was considered particularly relevant, in view of current politics and in a city with strong copperhead elements, was Woodville's Politics in an Oyster House of 1848 (fig. 29, no. 118 Walters Art Gallery), "a picture to laugh over and then to moralize

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[203] Ibid.

[204] The work is illustrated and discussed in Patricia Hills, "Painting Race: Eastman Johnson's Pictures of Slaves, Ex-Slaves, and Freedmen," 131.

[205] "The Maryland State Fair: An Hour with the Painters." Baltimore American 26 April 1864, 4, 2.

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upon."[206] In it a young man, dapperly dressed in black, argues his point with an older gentleman who is looking out towards the audience, as if to avoid the aggressive tone of his conversant, or perhaps to ignore him. The scene takes place in an oyster house, replete with its bright red curtains that could be drawn for privacy, newspapers that provided the material for heated arguments and the cuspidor for spitting out tobacco. As Elizabeth Johns has observed, oyster houses were often the setting for political debates and commercial exchanges."[207]

One commentator alerted the audience to the contentious theme of the work by suggesting that Woodville with "intensity he has individualized, in the earnest talker, all the elements that go to make up the *Dimocrat* [sic, Italics in text] of the Pot-house, the blatant nuisance of 'Ward Meetings' and 'Conventions.' The picture was exquisitely humorous fifteen years ago. It is almost tragic in its suggestions now."[208]

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[206] Ibid.

[207] Johns, American Genre Painting, 179, where the painting is discussed.

[208] Maryland State Fair: The Art Exhibition," Baltimore American 22 April 1864, 4, 1.

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Besides Woodville, two other local artists Alfred Jacob Miller (1810-1874) and Frank Blackwell Mayer were represented in the collection. Miller's works such his Indian Shooting a Cougar, were "desirable not only for their great artistic power, but for their *historical interest*, as depicting a race which is fast disappearing from our country. Miller's Indian pictures will in a few years be of inappreciable value."[209] Also well received was the work of Mayer, who was then working in Paris. His The Fiddle (no. 47) was considered "as worthy of especial [sic] notice as a *genre* [italics in text] piece of great cleverness for its character and humor."[210] Interestingly, Edward G. McDowell who was on the art committee, was not represented in the show, a fact that was noted with regret

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[209] Ibid. On view at the "National Table" in the main hall of the fair, was a facsimile volume identified as "Autograph Leaves from Our Country's Authors," the content of which was deemed "of national and permanent interest" and its illustrations were done by Alfred J. Miller. The book included various works by Cooper, Bayard Taylor, Holmes, Hawthorne and others, a poem by Washington Allston, and another by Harriet Beecher Stowe. The originals were to be bound in a volume and sold by raffle. For the contents see "Opening of the Maryland State Fair," The Baltimore Sun 19 April 1864, 1, 6, and for Miller's contribution "The Maryland State Fair: The National Table," Baltimore American 28 April 1864, 2, 4.

[210] Maryland State Fair: The Art Exhibition," Baltimore American 22 April 1864, 4, 1.

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by the press as his work forecasted "a distinguished rank for him among native artists, who not only photograph nature in their pictures, but instill into their canvasses the soul and spirit of the scenes they represent."[211]

In the divisive political climate of Baltimore, a number of paintings that carried messages specifically relevant to the conflict or to larger issues were noted by the press, and presumably easily understood by fairgoers. All of Sanford R. Gifford's works attracted attention but especially his romantic view of Fort Federal Hill, Baltimore, 1862, (no. 76, Seventh Regiment Fund) which was described as a "tragic, sunset scene from the battlements of 'Fort Federal Hill'." The work was the result of his own experience since as a member of the Seventh Regiment of the National Guard, Gifford served in the summer of 1862 at Fort Federal Hill.[212]

Equally telling was McEntee's Virginia in 1862 of 1863, (no. 103, currently unlocated) that was accompanied

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[211] Ibid.

[212] For this information see John K. Howat, American Paradise: The World of the Hudson River School (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc. 1987) 224. Another work on view by Gifford was his Kauterskill Clove, from Sunset Rock, that was offered by a local collector, George B. Coale. Considering the numerous views of the Clove by Gifford it is difficult to ascertain which one this may have been.

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in the catalogue by the verses of Childe Harold: "Thy tree has lost its blossoms,/ But the sap lasts-and still the seed we find/Sown deep even in the bosom of the North;/ so shall a better spring, less bitter fruit bring forth."[213] In this work, which depicted a desolate landscape with a burned down home, McEntee had "made melancholy colors and cold lights, in the indistinctiveness of the evening, display the tragedy of a great State of our Union even better than language can set forth the sorrow and desolation of war."[214]

Both Gifford's Baltimore and McEntee's Virginia in 1862, were shown at the Tenth Street Studios in 1863 in New York, and the reviewer for the New York Tribune considered the works as "embodiments of the times …. They could have only been painted by artists who had been part of the

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[213] Catalogue. Art Exhibition. Maryland State Fair. Baltimore, April, 1864. (Baltimore: J. B. Rose & Co., n. d.) 7. McEntee's Virginia was also exhibited at the Metropolitan Fair.

[214] "The Maryland State Fair: An Hour with the Painters." Baltimore American 26 April 1864, 4, 2. Just underneath Virginia in 1862 hung a portrait of McEntee by Eastman Johnson entitled The Home Studio (no. 105), which McEntee loaned to the fair. The arrangement of these works and other works is discussed in "Maryland State Fair: The Art Exhibition," Baltimore American 22 April 1864, 4, 1. McEntee served for three months in the Union Army as a lieutenant in the 20th Regiment.

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scenes they depicted."[215] Another reviewer recognized the provocative nature of McEntee's work and asserted:

> There is little to show that it is a battlefield; the carnage of warfare is nowhere visible; nothing revolting meets the eye … and while it leaves much to the imagination, it is wonderfully suggestive in its character that the "filling in" comes readily and naturally.[216]

Visitors were encouraged to attend the show and note not only the numerous landscape works, but also the genre works as "no technical knowledge is needful to understand them, and yet the connoisseur might find *his* [italics in text] delights in the artistic execution of each one of them." One of the most delightful and most easily understood works on view, as in the Brooklyn and Long Island Fair, was Beard's Bears on a Bender (no. 68) that was described as "exhaustless" in its humor, showing blissful bears happily eating watermelon. Other light and pleasant genre works included Catching Rain Drops (no. 20) by Seymour Joseph Guy (1824-1910), that was described as "a

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[215] 'Reception at the Studios in Tenth Street," New York Tribune 4 February 1863, 8, cited in J. Gray Sweeney, McEntee and Company (New York: Beacon Hill Fine Art, 1997) 8.

[216] Barry Gray, "Artists' Reception," Boston Evening Transcript, 7 February 1863, 1 cited in J. Gray Sweeney, McEntee and Company, 8.

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pulpy, jolly little bit of girlhood," Waiting for Dinner (no. 13) "a purely American picture" by Francis William Edmonds (1806-1863) "an excellent man of business and a better artist, recently lost to us," and The School Girl, (no. 17) by Richard Morrell Staigg (1817-1881), an artist who used to practice in Baltimore.[217]

The work of John G. Brown enjoyed the favor of the press on many occasions as his "genius for depicting childhood in all its moods is unequalled in this country, and whose rapid improvement is carrying him swiftly to a high position among artists." Interestingly, Homer's Playing Old Soldier, of 1863 (no. 97 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), one of the few works relating to a Civil War theme was not mentioned in any of the reviews. In a makeshift tent, which is identified as a hospital by its red flag, a young soldier is examined by Union physicians in their effort to ascertain whether he is ill indeed, or "playing old soldier," and feigning discomfort.[218]

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[217] "Maryland State Fair: The Art Exhibition," Baltimore American 22 April 1864, 4, 1. Judging from their titles, 43 out of 120 works by both American and European artists depicted genre themes, an unusually large number in comparison to other fairs.

[218] The work had been exhibited at the Artist's Fund Society in New York in 1863 and on its merit one critic recognized that "Mr. Homer's [work] you will find signed all over with

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But all these galleries paled in comparison to the sheer size and variety of the art gallery of the Great Central Fair, the most magnificent of all the art galleries; brightly lit by skylight during the day, and by gas lights at night, it was "omitted scarcely by anyone. People with the most limited pocket-books shape their influence in this direction."[219] By some reports in a single day more than seven thousand visitors were admitted to the art gallery which netted more than $33,000 for the fair.[220]

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truth-truth in the conception, worked out with faithful striving after truth." "The Artists' Fund Society, Fourth Annual Exhibition," The New Path 1 (December 1863): 96. The work as well as the common practice of "playing old soldier," are discussed in Marc Simpson, Winslow Homer: Paintings of the Civil War (San Francisco: The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, 1988) 149-152.

[219] "City Affairs. The Great Central Fair," North American & United States Gazette 14 June 1864, 1, 6. Another exhibition of a private art collection for the benefit of the Christian Commission was held in 1864 in Philadelphia. I do not know the exact dates of the show and the only evidence of this undertaking that I was able to locate is the Catalogue of the Exhibition of Private Collection of Works of Art, for the Benefit of the Christian Commission, held at the Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia (Philadelphia: Caxton Press of Sherman & Co., 1864). The collection of more than 250 art works featured paintings, few sculptures, watercolors and engravings. The majority of the works on view were American, and many indeed were by Philadelphia artists, Rothermel, Weber, Williams and Schussele prominent among them. Comparison between this catalogue and those of the Great Central Fair indicates that this was not a single collection but rather contributions by many different collectors and artists.

[220] Charles J. Stillé, Memorial of the Great Central Fair

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The experience must have been gratifying but also equally overwhelming for any visitor. One critic proclaimed that

> No one could in a year of daily visits to the Art Gallery see one-tenth of its beauty. A truly good picture is a study for a lifetime, and upon this principle appreciation of the thousand masterpieces which are condensed in this room would be impossible for a Methuselah. It is a labyrinth of beauty, to which the only clue is a well studied and carefully marked catalogue. Those who have no special knowledge, but simply a love of art, may find enough pictures, but the art-student should read his catalogue, and mark out his course among the great artists and their works. … To roam from picture to picture is to become bewildered.[221]

Another commentator acknowledged the success of the art gallery in its overall arrangement of "no less that fourteen hundred pictures upon the walls," but lamented its short duration as well as the fact that some paintings were unfairly distinguished "by the use of upholstery and other adornments, as has been done in the case of Bierstadt's

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for the U.S. Sanitary Commission (Philadelphia: United States Sanitary Commission, 1864) 117. According to Stillé the "number of pictures and other works of art exhibited was nearly fifteen hundred."

[221] "The Art Gallery," Forney's War Press 3, 31 (11 June 1864): 6. By one account the art gallery was "elongated twenty feet and all the space filled with new paintings of high value." "City Affairs," North American and United States Gazette [Philadelphia] 18 June 1864, 1, 6.

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'Rocky Mountains,' a little Meissonier, and one or two others."[222]

Although the size of the picture gallery of the Great Central Fair in Philadelphia was truly unprecedented in the annals of American art exhibitions, its content reiterated that of the other Sanitary Fairs; there were plenty of landscapes, genre works, and still-lifes, and a few portraits. But there was also a remarkable number of allegorical and historical works which celebrated Colonial America and its achievements, as well as incidents from the Revolutionary War. Also more paintings dealt with the Civil War.

The art gallery of the Great Central Fair was recognized as being of

> a remarkable variety in the array of artists, themes, styles and treatment. Unlike many art exhibitions, this collection affords a great number of small cabinet pictures of the most exquisite finish and beauty …. American art is elaborately represented, without regard to the locality of the artist, so that for the first time the various local schools of art meet on a common ground …. Very many [pictures] will bear study, and to the connoisseur and the students of art, as well as for all who would improve their

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[222] "Philadelphia Art Notes," The Round Table 2, 27 (18 June 1864): 10. On the eastern end of the art gallery was the Watercolor department and upon entering the art gallery, the first works exhibited there were the sketches by artists of the Artist's Fund Society.

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> taste in the fine arts, there is no better resort than this. Even a brief visit is refreshing to a visitor, but the oftener it is repeated the more real enjoyment will be found in the art gallery. We speak of this because this is the only department of the Fair which no extra inducements are held out to visit. There are no lotteries, no fair saleswomen, no enticements to spend money. Those who love the fine arts will go there and go for their love of art alone.[223]

Philadelphians were treated to many of the important pictures that New Yorkers had enjoyed, since collectors in New York, and others in Brooklyn, Boston and Baltimore contributed the majority of the works on exhibition.[224] This was truly a collaborative effort between the organizing committee and a host of painters, collectors and even art dealers.

On exhibition once again was Müller's Last Roll Call, Bierstadt's Rocky Mountains, Huntington's Ichabod Crane and Katrina van Tafel, Beard's March of Silenus, Eastman Johnson's Working for the Fair, Hicks, Edwin Booth as Iago and on occasion they were works of comparable themes as in the case of Hasenclever's The Workingmen's Petition to the

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[223] "The Great Central Fair," American and United States Gazette [Philadelphia] 13 June 1864, 1, 7.

[224] Among New York collectors who contributed works were William Aspinwall, Marshall Roberts, Robert Olyphant, William T. Blodgett, John Taylor Johnston and the dealer Michael Knoedler.

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Council of 1848, for Political Rights, the counterpart to Hübner's Silesian Weavers.

Commenting on the sheer size and the variety of the show, Charles Stillé suggested that

> To the connoisseur of art here, he may feast his eyes upon such living nature on canvas as he has never seen in all America before. Has Art no hold in the affections of the people? Who dare say "No." After gazing upon our present display to enumerate even a small portion now exhibited would entail a censorship which must be respectfully declined.[225]

Of the more than 1000 works on exhibition, few were singled out again and again for praise in the newspapers.[226] Bierstadt's Rocky Mountains, (no. 84) held central stage, as it did in New York, and one first hand account proclaimed that "A German artist said to us yesterday that if this picture was true to the fact Switzerland has no such grandeur. If it is not the master-work of the artist,

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[225] Stillé, Memorial of the Great Central Fair for the U.S. Sanitary Commission, 20. Nevertheless Stillé distinguished the work of local artists such as Rothermel, Hamilton, Sully, Schussele, and Weber.

[226] I am basing this number on the 1061 art works listed in Catalogue of Paintings Drawings Statuary Etc. of the Art Department in the Great Central Fair…. 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: n. p., 1864). It seems however from evidence in other sources that the number was much larger. Unfortunately there are no detailed photographs that allow an understanding of the interaction of the various works.

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we should be glad to see the picture which surpasses it."[227] Another one proposed that to "the earnest gazer the picture is almost stereoscopic in its clearness and boldness, and the delicacy of coloring the groupings, and the managements of lights and shades, afford unmingled satisfaction to the lover of art."[228]

Müller's, work The Last Roll Call, attracted particular attention and was described at length as

> Terror, fear, hope, apathy, despair and courage are all portrayed upon the canvas, and there are not wanting such exquisite picture of anguish as the parting of husband and wife, parent and child, and such by-scenes as the placid face of the unconscious infant sleeping upon the mother's breast, while the mother's own features tell a story of dread and unspeakable anxiety lest her name should be next upon the roll of the doomed. As a memento of the time when France was drunk with blood the painting is invaluable; as a work of art the painter has made his picture worthy of the importance of his subject.[229]

The works of Bierstadt, and Müller were deemed "worthy of a day's attention," but notice was also given to Hasenclever's The Workingmen's Petition to the Council of

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[227] "The Art Gallery," Forney's War Press, 3, 31 (11 June 1864) 6.

[228] "The Art Gallery-Reports of the Fair-Gossip," Our Daily Fare 1, 9 (17 June 1864): 69.

[229] Ibid., 70.

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1848, for Political Rights (no. 214).[230] The painting was admired for its fidelity to factual observation as "this splendid work is complete in every detail, every figure being a study, and the whole forming a group as lifelike as though it had been photographed from reality," and Hübner's The Emigrant's Last Visit to the Family Grave was ranked "among the better class of the many splendid paintings in the collection.[231]

The main characteristic of the gallery was the presence of many large-scale American academic works which were well known to audiences either because of their local or their national reputation. The collection abounded in works by recognized masters. Leutze's series on the accomplishments of Columbus was well represented beginning with the Departure of Columbus, of 1855 (no. 419, current location unknown), Columbus Landing at America of 1863 (no. 551, current location unknown) and his Columbus Before Ferdinand and Isabella, after his return from America of 1843 (no. 334, Private collection). Also prominently displayed were the works of Rothermel that were based on

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[230] 'Our Own Great Central Fair: The President's Visit," Our Daily Fare 1, 10 (18 June 1864): 78.

[231] "The Art Gallery-Reports of the Fair-Gossip," Our Daily Fare 1, 9 (17 June 1864): 69.

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Elizabethan themes such as his Sir Walter Raleigh, Spreading his Cloak for Queen Elizabeth to walk upon (no. 85), Queen Elizabeth signing the Death Warrant of Essex (no. 127), but also works that related to colonial history and the early Republic such as The Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock, his Franklin at Versailles (no. 147) and The First Reading of the Declaration of Independence (no. 255).[232]

A great number of paintings celebrated the country's successful colonial beginnings. Prominent among them was Peter F. Rothermel's, The Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock, 1854 (fig. 30, no. 479, Kirby Collection of Historical Paintings, Lafayette College, Easton, PA), in which the determined, but also apprehensive colonists, are stepping onto the rock surrounded by a dramatic sky that rages above, a sign of divine presence. It has been noted that "the landing of God's elect at Plymouth Rock stood on its own as a powerful symbol of original mission for Americans," and that their mission would be realized

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[232] Rothermel as the chairman of Philadelphia artists who participated at the Fair, was the most often represented artist with a total of eighteen art works. Christian Schussele and Thomas Sully, the two artists on the Fine Arts Committee showed six works each.

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through remarkable adversities that the nation though was always able to withstand.[233]

The gallery offered visitors the chance to review American history from its earliest beginnings on Plymouth Rock, through the trials of the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812 and the Mexican-American conflict, and contemplate the impact of the Civil War. Even in the case of light-hearted themes such as William T. Ranney's Veterans of 1776 Returning from the War of 1848 (fig. 31, Dallas Museum of Art, no. 134, listed as Revolutionary Hero's Return) the relevance of the issues would not have been lost. When the work was exhibited in 1848, one reviewer recognized "A grotesque group of hardy amateur soldiers leaving camp for their own firesides. Their merry humor, as they jog so philosophically along, never fails to excite a feeling of

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[233] Wendy Greenhouse, "The Landing of the Fathers: Representing the National Past in American History Painting, 1770-1865," in William Ayres, ed. Picturing History: American Painting 1770-1930 (New York: Rizzoli, 1993) 53. Another important painting by Rothermel Christian Martyrs in the Coliseum, of 1862-1863 (no. 3, currently unlocated), a work that was very well known since its exhibition in Boston and New York in 1864, was prominently displayed almost by itself on the eastern wall of the art gallery. The information as to the location of Rothermel's work is cited in "Philadelphia Art Notes," The Round Table 2, 28 (25 June 1864): 27.

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joy and sympathy in the heart of the beholder."[234] Emblazoned on the side of the cart appear the names of prominent Revolutionary battle sites, and so as to make the impact all the more prominent Christian Schussele's portrait of Washington was shown in the vicinity (no. 136).

Works that celebrated the war of 1812 included Old Ironsides, 1863 (fig. 32, The Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, listed as Shipwreck of Old Ironsides, no. 25) by James Hamilton (1819-1878), and the monumental painting of Perry's Victory on Lake Erie, ca. 1814 (fig. 33, no. 227, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts) by Thomas Birch (1779-1851) celebrating the victory of the American Fleet in September of 1813, under the able command of Oliver Hazard Perry.

In Hamilton's work, the mighty frigate, the USS Constitution, that got its nickname because its hull was able to repel British canon fire in the war of 1812, is shown beaten by the maniacal waves, having lost its mast and barely retaining its threadbare American flag. The subject was particularly significant because in spite its success during the war, the ship had been neglected, but in

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[234] "The Art Union Pictures," Commercial Advertiser 14 September 1848 cited in Gerdts & Thistlewhaite, Grand Illusions (Fort Worth, TX: Amon Carter Museum, 1988) 40.

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the 1860's there was a campaign to rescue it from destruction. One scholar has proposed that the official name of the frigate, Constitution, may have led audiences in the 1860's to read its battle at sea as an allegorical allusion to the current state of national affairs; "the country's constitution has been left to the mercy of the storm," and its validity for the Union was being challenged.[235]

A few works further along from Birch's Perry's Victory on Lake Erie (judging from the catalogue) there was a Civil War subject, Victor Nehlig's The Night After a Battle (no. 234), and this dialogue between the past and the present was reenacted throughout the art gallery.[236] Two more large works, placed in proximity to each other invited connections between the Revolutionary and the Civil War; the State House, Day of the Battle of Germantown by Rothermel and the Return of the New York 69th Regiment of 1862-1863 by Louis Lang (1814-1893).

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[235] Bruce Chambers, "Painting the Civil War as History, 1861-1910," in Picturing History: American Painting 1770-1930, 127.

[236] Other Civil War themes on display included Louis Lang's Departure for the War (no. 13) and his Widow, or Spirit of 1864, (1863, no. 18)) which had also been exhibited at the Metropolitan Fair.

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Rothermel's State House on the Day of the Battle of Germantown of 1862 (fig. 34, no. 481 Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts) depicts compassionate Philadelphians, but mostly women, who are caring for the wounded outside the State House, which was used as a hospital and a jail during the war. Employing distinctively arranged groups as well as carefully positioned light and dark contrasts along with pronounced gestures, Rothermel engages the viewer and makes the dramatic content of the work enfold in front of his audience. The work indicated to visitors the parallels between American women during the Revolution and the hundreds of women volunteers who had not only cared for the wounded of the Civil War, but through their energy and determination made the Great Central Fair a reality.[237]

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[237] The work is discussed in its relationship to the Sanitary Commission and the Great Central Fair in Mark Thistlethwaite, "The Artist as Interpreter of American History" In this Academy: The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1805-1976 (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1976) 105. For a more recent evaluation of Rothermel see Mark Thistlewhaite, Painting in the Grand Manner: The Art of Peter Frederick Rothermel (1812-1895) (Chadds Ford, PA: Brandywine River Museum, 1995). Also on view was Rothermel's First Reading of the Declaration of Independence of 1861 (no. 255, Union League Of Philadelphia) which celebrated the unity of diverse groups of people for the achievement of a common cause.

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Commenting on Rothermel's State House on the Day of the Battle at Germantown, a reviewer acknowledged that the artists had succeeded "in making a very effective grouping, and of conveying a very excellent idea of such a scene at such an era, and under such circumstances;" but found fault with the door of the State building as historically inaccurate.[238]

The excess of Rothermel's works on view however was criticized, and a reporter commented that "it seems as though every collection in the city had been overhauled for his works, and we have them accordingly to an indefinite extent, …."[239] Yet another, was not as impressed with Rothermel's monumental art works, but preferred instead his smaller sketch entitled The Soldier's Widow (no. 712).

> Rothermel's picture pleased me very much; he has fortunately spared us the grand historical, and painted a simple little picture of a single figure, which has really a great deal of feeling. It is a poor woman, sitting in a cold and empty room sewing a soldier's overcoat, while she watches the cradle where her child is sleeping. She looks forlorn and pitiable in that broken walled garret, while her thin fingers work upon the coat which may perhaps cover her absent dear one. The picture touches us, sadly indeed, yet we

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[238] "The Art Gallery-Reports of the Fair-Gossip," Our Daily Fare 1, 9 (17 June 1864): 69-70.

[239] "Philadelphia Art Notes," The Round Table 2, 28 (25 June 1865): 27.

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> feel more grateful to the artist for this little scene of poverty than for all his gorgeous Moors and Romans.[240]

Lang's Return of the New York 69th Regiment of 1862-1863 (fig. 35, no. 491, New York Historical Society), another major canvas on a Civil War theme, was exhibited along with a key of the major figures.[241] The painting was

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[240] "Philadelphia Art Notes," The Round Table, 2, 27 (18 June 1864): 10.

[241] Besides the works mentioned above and those discussed below, the following paintings and sketches, judging from their titles, had a Civil War theme, John George Brown, The Young Widow (no. 47), Sailor's Requiem by Thomas Moran (no. 267), News from the Field (no. 288) by Hearn Shipwrecked Sailor by Thomas Birch (no. 360), Off Duty by Peter Rothermel (no. 407), The Soldier's Wife by Thomas H. Coulter (pen drawing, no. 633), The Goddess of Liberty and Spirit of Secession (no. 668) by Alfred Fredericks (?-1907?), Death of Secession (no. 682) by Robert Wylie (1839-1877), High-mettled Confederates going to Northern Pastures (no. 684) by E. Smith, The Soldier's Widow (no. 712) by Rothermel, Slain for his Country (no. 715) by George W. Pettit, The Young Recruit (no. 732) by Trevor Thomas Fowler, The Sinking of the Cumberland (no. 738) by Thomas Moran, Charging the Rebels (no. 740) by Joseph B. Howell, and Contraband Huts (no. 741) by Xanthus Smith. The following sketches, watercolors and drawings also commented on the conflict; The Volunteer's Return by Joseph B. Howell, In Camp (no. 775) by Max Rosenthal, The Cost of Loyalty in East Tennessee (no. 782) by Thomas Moran, An Attack on Rebel Raiders (no. 835) by George Frederik Bensel (1837-1879), A Cavalry Charge (no. 942) by Felix O. C. Darley, and possibly The Prisoner (no. 1009) by Eastman Johnson. For all the works see Catalogue of Paintings Drawings Statuary Etc. of the Art Department in the Great Central Fair …. 2nd ed. (Philadelphia 1864). A small oil painting by Thomas Buchanan Read, entitled Hero Holding the Beacon (no. 102, Cincinnati Art Museum) of 1864, may have proposed an anti-slavery message, in spite the fact that the subject related to the love affair between Hero,

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already well known, at least to New York audiences, because it had been exhibited at Goupil's gallery, and on that occasion a pamphlet was published commending the regiment for its extraordinary achievement. The pamphlet proposed that the event "gave scope to the artist; allowing him to introduce the magnificent bay of New York as seen from Bowling Green, between Castle Garden and Washington Hotel, both of these buildings having become celebrated from associations of the past."[242]

The 69th Regiment was one of the earliest New York companies to enlist in the war effort and had fought heroically in the first battle of Bull Run, as well as other battles in Virginia. Lang depicted the exuberance that was generated by their return to New York on 21 July

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priestess of Aphrodite at Sestos, and Leander. Nightly, Hero placed a torch on top of a tower to guide Leander in his swim through the Hellespont. But on one fateful night, the torch was extinguished and Leander drowned. It has been suggested that for mid-nineteenth century audiences Hero's light identified a beacon of morality and that for Read it may have stood for the bright future towards which the United States would emerge following the Civil War. For the work see The Golden Age: Cincinnati Painters of the Nineteenth Century, (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1979) 96.

[242] American Landscape and Genre Paintings in the New-York Historical Society, ed. Richard J. Koke, 2, 258-259. Castle Garden, depicted on the left, was originally built as a fort, but in 1855 it became the primary immigration station for all those entering the United States.

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1861. In this very large painting, the energetic gestures of the participants and the dramatic lighting effects help the viewer concentrate on the many sentimental vignettes that surround the central group of drummers.

On the far left, women and soldiers care for the wounded, and immediately next to them a family embraces warmly their father who has returned wounded, but safe. On the right side an officer with his maimed hand occupies center stage, and a young soldier cradles in his arms a weeping young woman, while narrating to his entourage his experiences at the battlefront. Groups of sightseers hanging from the windows are waving their hands, welcoming exuberantly the young heroes. The excitement of the scene is further enhanced by the enthusiasm of the newsboys in the foreground, one of whom is holding copies of an Extra edition under his arm.

Although the above paintings situated issues of conflict and its effects in historically specific terms, two other works on exhibition used an allegorical approach towards the same effect; Henry Peter Gray's classical interpretation of the unbearable tolls of conflict The Wages of War, 1848 (fig. 36, no. 612, Metropolitan Museum

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of Art), and Alfred Fredericks' The Goddess of Liberty and Spirit of Secession (no. 667).

The Wages of War was a work that was widely known since it was purchased by the American Art-Union in 1849 and was engraved thereafter. The dramatically posed, wounded warrior in the foreground is surrounded on either side by two mourning women, a reticent young soldier and a child who extends solicitously his hand towards the viewer inviting us to contemplate the devastating effect of the war. In spite its classical context the impact of this work in the midst of the Civil War would have been all too powerful.[243]

Alfred Fredericks' The Goddess of Liberty and Spirit of Secession was most likely the painting described by a lady correspondent of the Daily Alta California who in her review of the art Gallery of the Great Central Fair mentioned many of the larger paintings on view, but described in great detail a work that she referred to as

[243] Also on exhibition were Gray's Origin of the American Flag (no. 49, current location unknown), The Pride of the Village (no. 93), his Apple of Discord, (no. 190, current location unknown) and the Spirit of the Times (no. 545). The Apple of Discord, was very well received by the "crowds [that] constantly gathered about it." 'Our Own Great Central Fair. The President's Visit," Our Daily Fare 1, 10 (18 June 1864): 88.

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"Liberty Surprised by Treason and Disunion."

> It represents the goddess as having been lying, in the dead of night, peacefully sleeping on a couch covered by the Stripes and Stars. The twin fiends of discord, like stealthy devils, steal in upon her. The attitude is one of surprised alarm, but not of fear. One hand is raised as if to shut out the lurid flame beyond the two, that lights their faces into horrid threatening; the other grasps her sword. Her eagle shrieks and raises his broad wings above her.[244]

Whereas all the above paintings commented on the extraordinary toll of conflict, there was at least one painting that celebrated the hope of peace; Frank B. Mayer's Elihu Burritt in his Studio (1859, present location unknown, no. 599) Elihu Burritt (1810-1879) was known as "The Learned Blacksmith" because of his love of reading and his knowledge of more than fifty languages by the age of thirty.[245] The relevancy of the image though in relation to the period, lies in the fact that Burritt was also a peace advocate and an active participant in the international peace conferences of the late 1840's and 1850's. These

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[244] "The Great Central Fair: The Pictures," Daily Alta California 10 July 1864, 1, 4. She also mentions another Civil War related work entitled The Wounded in the Streets of Vicksburg, which however is not recorded in the catalogue.

[245] For Francis B. Mayer see Sona K. Johnston, American Paintings 1750-1900 (Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1983) 100-101.

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aimed to institute a Congress of all Nations, and promote universal brotherhood irrespective of creed, color and nationality.[246] In one of them, Burritt told his audience that "The morning light of the good time coming is everywhere breaking upon the eyes of those who are looking and longing for its appearing …. The great necessities and interest of the age unite to make peace the first want and predilection of the nations."[247] His pacifist message was a

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[246] For Burritt's interest in universal peace see Husch, Something Coming, 157-163. Burritt and others proposed that universal peace would be achieved through the spread of Christianity and particularly Protestantism. John Sartain acknowledged this idea in his 1849 print entitled The Harmony of Christian Love; Representing the Dawn of the Millennium. In the print various Protestant clergymen were shown interacting with a Native American and an African-American, while in the background Muslims were preparing to join them. In the foreground a young child is embracing a lion and a lamb in fulfillment of the promise described in Isaiah 11:6. "they shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." The work is illustrated and discussed in Husch, Something Coming, 71-72. Also of importance in this respect is the impact of Associationism, a reformist movement that was quite popular in the United States and in Philadelphia in particular. Associationists advocated for universal peace and social reform by proposing a revaluation of the relationship between the labor force and capital. They castigated slavery that they consider as contrary to divine law. A number of artists including Cropsey, Thomas Hicks, Cranch, Sartain, Spencer and others were sympathetic to Associationist messages see Husch, Something Coming, 168-169.

[247] Ibid., 158.

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most appropriate one in the ideological culture of the fair.

The overall tone of the art gallery was mostly celebratory and at times even humorous. On occasion even the Civil War was treated with lightness as in the case of the amicable character of the young soldier in Winslow Homer's Playing Old Soldier (no. 203) While so many paintings at the Fair, celebrated the sacrifice and the valor of soldiers in various conflicts, this one depicted a much more realistic aspect of life at camp.

Even more humorous in effect was Christian Schussele's (1824-1879) Young Patriots (Mock Army) of 1855 (fig. 37, listed as Raw Recruits, no. 381). In front of a peaceful landscape a band of boys are armed with sticks and are sworn by their father who is seated in front of a picturesque but dilapidated structure. A younger child is encouraged by his mother to join in the fun. The robust, healthy looking children are contrasted with the figure on the elderly man who is looking pensively at them, perhaps recalling his participation in the battlefield.[248]

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[248] Schussele was an active participant in Philadelphia's art circles. He was an influential teacher at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts and his work was widely known through the distribution of engravings by John Sartain see, Barbara Weinberg, The Lure of Paris:

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Landscapes were once again plentiful, both transcriptive views of nature as well as allegorical interpretations. Whereas audiences in New York were exposed to Cole's moralizing landscapes, Philadelphians had the chance to see Jasper Cropsey's The Olden Times, Evening (no. 187) and the Olden Times, Morning (no, 194, both current location unknown) and many other landscapes by Louis Remy Mignot (1831-1870), Cranch, Kensett, Sanford Gifford and others.[249] Philadelphia artists were well represented by the works of James Hamilton, who exhibited both historical landscapes as well as biblical themes and Shakespearean themes, Thomas Moran (1837-1926), Russell Smith (1812-1896) and Xanthus Smith, William Trost Richards (1833-1905), William Louis Sonntag (1822-1900) and Isaac L. Williams who exhibited one of his characteristics views of the Susquehanna, entitled Sunset on the Susquehanna (no. 228). Also on view was Lady Jane Grey Presenting her Tablets to the Constable of the Tower, as she Goes to Execution of c. 1863 (no. 246, Woodmere Art Museum,

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Nineteenth Century American Painters and their Teachers (New York, London, Paris: Abbeville Press, 1991) 38-40.

[249] Mignot was represented by two South American works, the only such works in the show; Chimborazo (no. 326, possibly View of Riobamba Ecuador, Looking north Towards Mt. Chimborazo, and Sunset (no. 485).

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Philadelphia), a well known work by a local artist Edward Harrison May (1824-1887) who had achieved international reputation. The work, which described one of the most contentious moments in British history, focuses on the brightly illuminated, peaceful face of the young queen as she calmly proceeds towards her execution thus bringing an end to one of the most difficult periods in British history.

There were very few portraits, mostly of presidents and politicians, such Gilbert Stuart's portrait of Madison (no. 97), and his portrait of Elizabeth Beale Bordley of 1797 (no. 524) characteristic of his portraits of prominent Philadelphians. Lastly, well known artists such John G. Brown, William H. Beard and Eastman Johnson were represented by genre works, but proportionately these were fewer than any other subject matter, at least by American artists.

The fair also featured the work of many professional and amateur women artists such as Mary Peale's Still Life, Strawberries (no. 338) Raspberries (no. 468½,) and Grapes (no. 627), Fidelia Bridges' Study of Ferns, and Lilly Martin Spencer's Height of Fashion.[250] Height of Fashion,

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[250] Other women artists exhibited mostly still lifes and

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ca. 1854, (fig. 38, no. 506, currently unlocated). The work depicted a young African-American girl, fashionably dressed, holding a makeshift monocle over her left eye. In spite though the light character of the study, prominent on the girl's arm is a metal cuff, perhaps an allusion to her enslaved state.[251]

Another much smaller oil sketch, was more explicitly related to the changes that would be brought about for African Americans as a result of the Civil War. Entitled About to Change his Tune (fig. 39, no. 755) by Stephen

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landscapes, and there were some genre works as well. Ida Waugh, exhibited a sculpture presumably of a Civil War topic entitled The Contraband (no. 796) and an artist identified only as Mrs. H. M. S. participated with an allegorical work called Loyalty and Disloyalty (no. 1021). Another artist, Mary Smith, a member of the Artists' Fund Society and the daughter of landscape painter Russell Smith (1812-1896), offered a sketch entitled The Rival Chieftains (no. 718). There is a notation for an E. McDowell, that might be Elizabeth McDowell who exhibited a Landscape (no. 647).

[251] Height of Fashion was one of two works on a similar theme, the second one entitled Power of Fashion, ca. 1851, (currently unlocated); Both depicted happy African American children, a girl and a boy respectively. Both children are accompanied by the same little dog and they are engaging playfully with the viewer. For these works see William H. Truettner, Lilly Martin Spencer 1822-1902: The Joys of Sentiment (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institutions Press, 1973) 38-41. Spencer's works were extremely popular in the 1850's and 1860's, since many of them were offered as engravings by Goupil & Co. This pair of works was engraved as well and was very successful.

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James Ferris depicted in a humorous manner, a quite critical comment on current events.[252] Strewn about in the foreground of the work are both Confederate and Union uniforms, and between them sits a young African-American boy playing an oversize banjo. On the wall behind him there is a tattered advertisement for a "Grand Opera. There is a Good Time Coming," making the reference to issues of Emancipation all too evident.[253] The sideways look of the

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[252] The work was part of the album of sketches that were contributed by Philadelphia artists to the Great Central Fair. On a recent study of the album, where this work is discussed and illustrated see David Cassedy, A Civil War Album … Exhibited at the Great Central Fair in Philadelphia… and Sold to Benefit the U.S. Sanitary Commission (Philadelphia: Schwartz Galleries, 1999) n. p. A sketch by Stephen James Ferris entitled Liberty Triumphant, may have been exhibited at the Great Central Fair, although it is not identified in the art catalogue. The work depicts a massive figure of Liberty clutching a sword and the American flag, looking upwards towards a choir of angels, while she is trampling on a fire-breathing monster. To her right are liberated slaves offering her their children while in the background war and fire are raging. On the far left portion of the composition, a skeleton rides forth on a white horse, see David Cassedy, A Civil War Album… , plate 10. Two more albums were on exhibit; one made up of watercolors was presented to Charlotte Cushman and a second contained oil sketches by New York artists. On the Cushman album see "The Artist's Album," Our Daily Fare 1, 5 (13 June 1864): 38. There is no list of the contributions by New York artists.

[253] The term "good time coming" was a very popular one in the 1840's and 1850's and derived from a poem by Charles McKay, the Scottish poet:

> There's a good time coming, boys,/ A good time coming:/We may not live to see the day,/But earth shall glisten in the ray/Of the good time coming.

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black man is difficult to explain, but he may be trying to avoid the young Caucasian woman who is looking ambiguously towards the viewer just behind the wall, or the black woman who is looking menacingly at him. Underneath the white young woman, an inscription reads "Plantation bitters," perhaps an allusion to the unpleasant impact that the war would have for her lifestyle. The crumbling wall, appears to be part of a fence that conceals a well appointed house in the background, but it obviously refers to the decaying institutions of the Southern way of life.

In terms of European art, the collection was especially rich in the works of French, German and Dutch artists who were well represented in local collections, but also with those contributing collectors from New York and other cities. Once again Hübner's work was very prominent, along with that of Hasenclever and the work of other German artists such as Karl Josef Litschauer (1830-1871), Eberhard Stammel (1832-?), Hermann Sonderman and others whose works covered the whole thematic spectrum. Of all of them though, one critic deemed Day Dreams (no. 397, Soap Bubbles) by

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Charles McKay, Ballads and Lyrics (London, 1859) cited in Husch, Something Coming, 69. The poem was set to music and was very popular in the United States.

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Couture as "unquestionably, the finest specimen of *genre* [italics in text] painting in America, and is, in many respects, the best picture in the Hall. It is a first-class work by one who at present ranks as first among French artists."[254] Another European work that attracted the attention of critics because of its small size and the big price attached to it was The Standard Bearer by Jean-Louis Ernest Meissonier (1815-1891) (no. 110); "You can cover it with your hand, but it is worth as many thousand dollars are there are fingers that cover it! Five thousand dollars for a painting scarcely bigger than this paragraph, seems an erroneous disproportion between value and valuation; yet if the buyer can sell it for six thousand, who shall accuse him of extravagance; …."[255] One of the largest European works on view was Derby Day of 1858, the massive painting by William Powell Frith (1819-1900), then on tour through the United States. Derby Day was singled for its factual depiction of the variety characters and was described as

> just such a picture as a pencil-plying Dickens or a modern Hogarth would delight to paint. There is nothing fanciful or fantastical about the painting, but all is as exact in its fidelity to

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[254] "The Art Gallery," Forney's War Press, 3, 31 (11 June 1864): 6.

[255] Ibid.

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> nature and to life as though it had been limned by sunlight through the medium of the magic camera.[256]

In its panoramic view of a great number of humorous incidents the work provided a much-needed uplift, and a proper counterpart to the more serious works on exhibition. In its emphasis on the harmonious, however precarious coexistence of often opposing segments of the British population, the work may have provided an example for American audiences to follow.

There were few sculptures on exhibition that included an allegory of Grief (no. 794) by Robert Wylie and two designs for a Soldier's monument (no. 802) and a Battle Monument (no. 802 $^{1/2}$) by George A. Nichols. Undoubtedly of course, the most easily understandable works were those by John Rogers (1829-1904), many of which were directly related to the Civil War.[257] The art gallery featured 13 of his popular works such as his Checker Players of 1859, and his Slave Auction, of 1859, which had been admired by leading abolitionists of the day, including Henry Ward Beecher, and because of its components was a perfectly

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[256] Ibid.

[257] All of Rogers' sculptures were included under number 803 in the catalogue and assigned letters from A-N.

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appropriate work for the fair; the pathetic young mother cradling her young child, the defiant father and the unscrupulous auctioneer. Also on view were his Sharpshooters, Card Players, Picket Guard, Camp Fire (or Making friends with the Cook) all of 1861, his Union Refugees of 1863, and his Wounded Scout (or Friend in the Swamp) of 1862, one of the largest statuettes in the group.

In the Wounded Scout a young Union escapee from Libby Prison is helped through the swamp by an African American while a copperhead nearby threatens the safety of both. The sentimentalism and the intensity of emotion in Roger's groups made them quite appealing to the fair's audiences, as they proposed a much more approachable alternative to many of the ambitious and complex academic works that filled the walls of the gallery.[258]

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[258] As it was mentioned before, art works were also located in the William Penn parlor that including Benjamin West's Penn's Treaty with the Indians as well as portraits by James Reid Lambdin (1807-1889), Sully and Benjamin West. All the works are listed in Memorial of the William Penn Parlor in the Great Central Fair (Philadelphia: James Rogers, 1864) 5-6, 7. Art works were also exhibited at Delaware Department and including watercolors contributed by Goupil & Co., various statues, copies of the works of Canova and Thorvaldsen and one work by William T. Richards entitled Harvest Scene see "Delaware," Our Daily Fare 1, (14 June 1864): 46.

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In addition to the art gallery at the Great Central Fair, committed art lovers could enjoy the art gallery of Joseph Harrison, who not only devoted time and attention to ensure the success of the art gallery and donated works to the art gallery, but also made his private collection available to the public for the benefit of the fair. His holdings complemented well the art gallery of the fair, as works by many of the same artists were represented within; American artists included Rothermel, Lang, Read, Hamilton, Cole, Leutze, Sully, Schussele and others.[259] Three very important works by Cropsey held particular relevance in view of the times; The Spirit of War and The Spirit of

[259] There are a number of different catalogues of the Harrison collection see Catalogue of Pictures in the Gallery of Joseph Harrison, Jr., Rittenhouse Square, Philadelphia, n.d., copy at the Philadelphia Historical Society, Reading Room. This catalogue contains 115 paintings and sculptures and includes some works that belonged to Robert S. Sturgis. This copy may be dated sometime in 1856, because it includes Cropsey's Millennial Age, which was purchased by Harrison in 1856, but not The Spirit of the War and the Spirit of Peace which were acquired by Harrison later that year. Interestingly enough though Peter Rothermel's Patrick Henry, Before the Virginia House of Burgesses, which Harrison had purchased by 1855, does not appear in this catalogue. Another copy entitled Catalogue of Pictures, Statuary, and Bronzes in the Gallery of Joseph Harrison, Jr. (Philadelphia, 1870) at the Archives of American Art contains 185 works in all, and lists Rothermel's work but none of the Cropsey works. It is certain though that in 1864, visitors to the Harrison collection would have seen all these very meaningful works.

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Peace both of 1851 and The Millennial Age of 1854, (Newington-Cropsey Foundation).

In The Spirit of War (fig. 40, National Gallery of Art) and The Spirit of Peace, (fig. 41, Woodmere Art Museum, Philadelphia) two works in many ways comparable to Cole's dual allegories of The Past and The Present, Cropsey forayed into the genre of large-scale allegorical works laden with meaningful implications.[260] The works created in the aftermath of the Mexican-American War and particularly the Compromise of 1850, were very well known as they were exhibited continually from 1852 through 1857. At the 1852 exhibition at the National Academy of Design in New York, the catalogue entry emphasized that The Spirit of War demonstrated "the evils and sorrows, domestic and pastoral, industrial and commercial, that cluster about war," which are made evident by the fire and destruction, that overwhelm the castle and its inhabitants.[261] On the contrary The Spirit of Peace depicts the harmonious coexistence of

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[260] These two works are discussed extensively in Angela Miller, The Empire of the Eye 122-126, and Husch, Something Coming, 152-179. Miller examines the works in reference to the political situation of the 1850's, whereas Husch considers their importance in terms of Cropsey's particular interests in pacifist reforms through the Christian gospel.

[261] The quote cited in Miller, The Empire of the Eye, 122-123.

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man in nature surrounded by evidence of material prosperity, such as a massive circular temple dedicated to Peace and in front of it a sculptural group of a lion and a child petting a lamb. The group is placed on top of a large pedestal on which swords are turned into plowshares in realization of the prophetic verses of Isaiah xi,6:

> The wolf shall also dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them.

The works obviously were meant as an admonition in the divisive climate of the early 1850's and their message was even more significant in the midst of the Civil War.[262] But they also expressed Cropsey's pacifist sentiments as in a letter he proposed that The Spirit of Peace depicts "the tale of happy and perpetual change that has followed the stern and desolate times of human strife. Man's peace is

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[262] Angela Miller has suggested that

> If The Spirit of War spoke to the growing fears of a fratricidal conflict threatening the Union, The Spirit of Peace lauded the efforts of compromise through which disunion would be averted. The symbolism of the lion and the lamb in the Spirit of Peace may this allude to the reconciliation of opposing social systems and to the necessity of laying aside sectional conflict to embrace higher principles of national harmony.

Miller, The Empire of the Eye, 126.

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made with man and his Creator and from the altar of his heart assends [sic] unceasing and acceptable incense to Him who came to proclaim peace on Earth."[263]

Comparable were the messages promoted in The Millennial Age (fig. 42) which was exhibited in the Harrison collection accompanied by the verses in Isaiah xi, 6. The conciliatory, peaceful coexistence of the animals proposed a hopeful message, not only in view of the Civil War, but also in terms of the larger concern of millennial peace and harmonious brotherhood among nations. The landscape is dominated by a massive statuary group of a lion that towers over a lamb, a calf and a child. The slab is supported by a group of classical women who encircle two putti, one of them holding the cross and another a banner with the message, "Peace on Earth." The reassuring idealism of the work is made all the more evident by the foreground group of a shepherd, a woman and three boys, who are basking in the warm glow of the sun.

Yet another work in the Harrison collection spoke of disunity and strife, but also of the ultimate hope of resolution and reconciliation; Rothermel's Patrick Henry Before the Virginia House of Burgesses, 1851 (fig. 43, The

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[263] Cited in Husch, Something Coming, 155.

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Patrick Henry National Memorial, Brookneal, Virginia).[264] The painting depicted Patrick Henry delivering in May 1765, his famous speech against the Stamp Act that incited such an intense reaction on the part of the burgesses and brought the house into great disarray. Rothermel explored to the outmost the dramatic potential of the work through exaggerated gestures and lighting effects that force us to concentrate on the monumental figure of Henry, but also the mediating action of Edmund Pendleton, the well known lawyer, who is trying to intervene. The only person not enthralled by the drama, is Richard Henry Lee who is looking heavenwards, and is gripping anxiously the table in front of him.

For mid-nineteenth century audiences, Patrick Henry was seen as the determining agent in a divine plan that had proscribed for Americans independence from monarchical rule, and an onward march towards a shared governance based on republican ideals. However, the vision of Henry is emphasized further by the tensely posed figure of Lee who was remembered in the 1860's, as one of the earliest

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[264] The work was the result of a commission by the Philadelphia Art Union in 1851, and it had been distributed as an engraving.

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opponents to slavery on religious grounds. In his significant speech in front of his peers at the Virginia House of Burgesses in November of 1759, he proposed that everyone regardless of color is "entitled to liberty and freedom by the great law of nature." In an 1852, review of the work for Graham's Magazine it was recognized that "Lee sees by a sort of prophetic intuition the full import of this [Henry's] inspired oratory. His very face, under the magic of Rothermel's genius, is a long perspective of war, desolation, heroic deeds, and the thick-coming glories of ultimate civic and religious liberty."[265] The popular idea that the Civil War was yet another step along the path that ultimately would lead to the satisfaction of a larger divine plan, was well emphasized by Rothermel's painting.

Clearly, the obvious diversity, complexity and success of the large art galleries of the Metropolitan Fair and the Great Central Fair was due to the extensive resources that their organizers drew upon. But, many of the messages that were strongly pronounced in these shows had been expressed equally well, albeit in a much smaller scale, in the art

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[265] "The Philadelphia Art Union," Graham's Magazine 40 (March 1852): 326, quoted in Husch, Something Coming, 151.

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galleries that had preceded them. The thematic preferences in the smaller fairs reflected local collecting patterns, but the fact that particular works were chosen indicates a purposeful arrangement that was intended to communicate ideas comparable to those in the larger fairs.

This was certainly true for the 1863 North-Western Fair in Chicago that was seen as a true demonstration of the city's artistic achievement; not only in its size but in its variety, the art gallery of the fair rivaled those of larger cities.[266] Visitors were told that in order "to see the Art gallery to advantage [one] must see it by gas light. When it is illuminated the effect is not only brilliant, but in all cases, where the pictures themselves are of any real value-literally marvelous and enchanting."[267]

In the art gallery, a visitor encountered "specimens of the skill of some who have a world-wide reputation, that, if not equal, to any paintings they have ever made, at least fully sustain their great name, and would be

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[266] This was primarily an exhibition, as very few works were for sale. Only 18 out of 323 works were marked for sale and included copies after old masters but also works by local artists such as Ford, Drury and Reed.

[267] "The Great Northwestern Sanitary Fair. The Art Gallery," Chicago Tribune 30 October 1863, 4, 2.

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highly admired wherever seen by men of taste and appreciation of art."[268] The art works were separated in five alcoves and the majority of them were portraits and landscapes, followed by genre and few still-lifes, and a very small number of Civil War subjects.[269]

There was, as it would become customary for most of the art galleries, a portrait of Washington reported to be by Benjamin West after Stuart, but the most prominent portraits in the gallery were those of Healy. 36 out of a total of 323 works were his, and perhaps most meaningful among them was the portrait of Orestes August Brownson of 1863 (fig. 44, no. 6, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

Brownson (1803-1876) was a very influential, but controversial preacher, social theorist, author, and newspaper publisher who in his essays spoke against the

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[268] "The Art Exhibition," Chicago Tribune 27 October 1863, 4, 2.

[269] The diversity of the experience was recorded in verse by "Paulina," a visitor to the art gallery see "Visit to the Art Gallery of the North-Western Sanitary Fair," The Evening Journal [Chicago] 10 November 1863, 4, 1. Judging from the titles only two works were relative to life at the front; Picket Duty on the Missouri (no. 99) by Henry Chapman Ford, and The Picket (no. 185) by a Miss Cameron. The physical arrangement of the art gallery is described in detail in "The Art Exposition of the Sanitary Fair," Evening Journal [Chicago] 29 October 1863, 4, 4.

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social inequalities brought about by industrialization. After his conversion to Catholicism, Browson strove to reconcile opposing religious factions and quell anti-Catholic sentiment in the Northeast. He was also an ardent supporter of the Union and he defended its preservation throughout the 1860's, so the exhibition of his portrait at the fair was of a broad value.[270]

The second most prominent artist on the show was John Antrobus (1837-1907) who was represented by 18 portraits, while the third most prominent portraitist in Chicago, William F. Cogswell was only represented by two portraits. The participation of Antrobus, an English-born artist had arrived in Philadelphia in 1850, is particularly interesting in view of his past. In the 1850's he had worked in many southern states including Georgia, Alabama

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[270] For this portrait see Annette Blaugrund et al. Paris 1889: American Artists at the Universal Exposition (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1989) 166. For a brief account of Brownson see A. S. Ryan, "Orestes Brownson," The New Catholic Encyclopedia 2 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1967): 827-829. Although Brownson was initially a member of the Presbyterian church be converted in 1844 to Catholicism, and in the 1840's he was a participant in the utopian community of Brook Farm, which counted among its members Margaret Fuller, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Amos Bronson Alcott and William Ellery Channing.

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and Louisiana, and he even enlisted with the Confederate army, but by 1862 had settled in Chicago.[271]

Besides his portraits, Antrobus also showed views of Mexican scenery that were grouped, in the catalogue at least, with a Sunset Scene (no. 149) by Alexander Wust (1837-1876) (misspelled in the catalogue as Wurst) and Sonntag's Scene in Virginia (no. 150). Also on exhibition was a view of Lake George by Cranch (no. 34), a Scene on the Hudson (no. 201) by Sanford R. Gifford, Kensett's, View on the Hudson (no. 237), Cropsey's Catskill Mountain House and two South American landscapes by Church. At a glance the visitor would experience the range of the geological wonders of North, Central and South American landscape.

Wust's Sunset Scene was thought of as

> a really wonderful, and affecting picture. In the foreground dark, heavy masses of trees rise from a little ravine, at the bottom of which lies a silent, glassy stream, frozen in everlasting darkness with mighty rocks flanking them on the left, and all the purple and blue sky on the other side of the trees, in the far off background flecked with bloody clouds, and suffused with a ruddy and golden haze. A picture to study; brilliant; and full of poetry. [272]

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[271] For Antrobus see Gerdts, Art Across America, 2, 99.

[272] "The Great Northwestern Sanitary Fair. The Art Gallery," Chicago Tribune 30 October 1863, 4, 2.

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The views of the Hudson by both Gifford and Kensett were extolled as "exquisite little gems," and the works of Gifford and Cropsey were thought to be "excellent pictures of New England scenery, and possessed of great merit."[273] Cropsey's Catskill Mountain House of 1855 (no. 239, The Minneapolis Institute of Arts) that had already been exhibited at Chicago's 1859 First Fine Arts Exhibition, depicted the Catskill Mountain House, a popular retreat that had attracted the attention of many other artists, including Thomas Cole. The house and its picturesque landscape had enticed visitors since the early 1820's and although by the mid-1850's, when Cropsey painted the work, the area was modified, he chose to disregard modern developments and emphasize instead an Arcadian view of nature with the resort nestled warmly in its embrace. For the war torn visitors to the North-Western Fair, this peaceful view of the American land provided refuge and solace.[274]

Durand's Stratton Gap, Manchester Vermont (no. 95) was admired because it "reproduced the scene with a fidelity

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[273] History of the North-Western Soldier's Fair, 34.

[274] For a discussion of this work see Howat, American Paradise, 203-205.

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and truth the nature that almost carries us back to the Green Mountains," and Durand was praised for his skill in rendering … its purity and freshness of color, soft beauty of outline, and the every changing harmony of the lights and shadows." One of Church's South American views was located close to Durand's work.[275] A reviewer noted that even this smaller work by Church provided "evidence of the same skill and invention, similar grandeur of outline and composition, breadth and distance of perspective, and brilliant richness of tint," as his larger interpretations of the region.[276]

Another work on view by Church was entitled simply South America (no. 200), and Franklin Kelly has identified this work as View Of Cotopaxi of 1857 (The Art Institute of Chicago).[277] Although much smaller than the monumental Heart of the Andes, View of Cotopaxi provided the audiences of the Chicago Fair with a representative variety of the nature of the region; a panoramic view of the luminous

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[275] "The Art Exhibition," Chicago Tribune 27 October 1863, 4, 2, This may have been South American Scene that is listed as no. 2 in the catalogue. Although the works are far apart in the catalogue, this commentator suggested that at least one work by Church hung near Durand's painting.

[276] Ibid.

[277] Kelly Frederic Edwin Church, 165.

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landscape with the dramatic waterfalls in the middle ground and the fuming volcano in the background, it communicated an awe inspiring sense of sublimity, whereas the mediating factors of the young woman in the lower right portion of the work, as well the figure in the boat in the placid water, reassured visitors of the hospitable quality of this remote landscape. Both works were described as "bright and luminous, with dark pines, and brilliant tropical plants, in the foreground, contrasting finely with the sunny valley, and the gorgeous sides of the mountains, whose peaks are glittering in mid-heaven with perpetual snow."[278]

Comparisons though between North and South American landscapes would have carried comparable messages to those of the larger fairs, and this is particularly significant in relation to the works of Antrobus. Although Antrobus never completed a series of characteristics views of "Southern life and nature," that he had planned, he suggested that American artists should seek the landscapes of the South in order to understand the true character of the region.[279] He also protested that "Artists roam the

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[278] History of the North-Western Soldier's Fair, 33.

[279] One of these works, Plantation Burial of 1860 is illustrated in Gerdts, Art Across America, 2, 100.

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country of the North, turning out pictures of its scenes and scenery by the hundred yearly, but none come to glean the treasures with which the grand and beautiful country of the South and its peculiar life abound."[280] Antrobus' "regional" works at the fair dealt with Mexican nature, the habits of its people and its history, and proposed a counterpart to both northeastern landscapes as well as Church's South American views.[281]

Besides Antrobus and Healy, many other local artists were represented at the show; these included Charles Highwood, and Peter Fiske Reed (1817-1887), both of whom settled in Chicago in 1863, and John H. Drury (1816-?) who also relocated to the city from Washington, D.C. Two of Drury's works Maryland Farm Scene (no. 170) and Nine Miles from Washington (no. 171), were regarded "with peculiar pride as the production of a native Chicago artist;" and were thought worthy of "a very high place in the temple of

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[280] Quoted in Miller, The Empire of the Eye, 239.

[281] Antrobus's showed Mountain Pass in Mexico, (no. 145), Snow Mountain in Orizaba, Mexico (no. 146), Cortez in Mexico (no. 281), and Scene in Mexico (no. 147). This last work is most likely the one described as "'La Fiesta la Senora de Duadeloupe,' a festal day of the Mexican peasants,…." "The Art Exposition of the Sanitary Fair," Evening Journal 29 October 1863, 4, 4.

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modern art." Nine Miles from Washington was described peculiarly enough as "a scene in Kentucky, where a negro who has driven three horses, a-team, a-field, is resting on his plow-handle, talking with a Negro girl with a bundle on her head."[282] The work of three local women artists Susan Hely St. John, a Miss Cameron, a Mrs. George M. Higginson and that of Lilly Martin Spencer were also featured at the fair.[283]

Two of most notable works on display, that attracted attention because of their elevated messages, were Rossiter's America (no. 28, current location unknown) and Italy (no. 29, current location unknown). The paintings, which faced each other in the gallery, were described at

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[282] "The Great Northwestern Sanitary Fair. The Art Gallery," Chicago Tribune, 31 October 1863, 4, 2.

[283] Mrs. George M. Higginson is identified as a landscape painter and the following lengthy note identifies her as an artist of note:

> Mrs. George Higginson (daughter of Rev. Dr. Tyng) scarcely does her full justice, as she has painted others far superior to this specimen. She has developed great talent in representing a peculiar kind of scenery-such as is found about the lakes of Western New York- green meadows, graceful elm-trees, quiet brooks, and gently slopping hills. There is however, a vividness about the green that is almost excessive at times.

"Art In Chicago," The Round Table 1, 1 (19 December 1863): 13.

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length in the catalogue:

> Two female figures symbolize the two countries: "America," with bright face, blue eyes, and waving hair, on which a star-besprinkled crown is resting, stands in the flooding lights of the newly risen day, looking young, strong, brave and hopeful. "Italy," with dark hair, sad, down-cast eyes, and worn features, droops in a despairing and abandoned attitude, while the red twilight falls around her.[284]

The works were exhibited in the third alcove along with a copy of Couture's Romans of the Decadence (no. 23, cited as Decline of the Roman Empire, which was described as "principally noticeable for a quantity of very lascivious male and female figures."[285] Thus the deterioration and the demise of the once powerful civilization centered on the Italian peninsula was

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[284] "The Art Gallery," History of the North-Western Soldier's Fair, 33. The information about their location in gallery is found in "The Great Northwestern Sanitary Fair. The Art Gallery," Chicago Tribune 30 (October 1863) 4, 2. In this review, particular attention is given to the figure of Italy which was described "as almost ravishing in its loveliness …. The background is also good; a bit of the Campagna, with rivers on it, and Alban Hills in the distance. Over the whole picture is a warm, orange light, which is exceedingly pleasing to the eye, and exceedingly tricky as art."

[285] For the arrangement of the third alcove see "The Art Exposition of the Sanitary Fair," Evening Journal [Chicago] 29 October 1863, 4, 4. Drury's Nine Mile from Washington was also in this alcove.

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reiterated by both Couture's and Rossiter's work, whereas a bright future was situated in the New World as evidenced by Kensett's View on the Hudson and Church's South American landscapes also included in the same location.

The exhibition also contained a few European works and the aesthetic sophistication of art lovers in a city even as young as Chicago, was noted by a reviewer of the art gallery who remarked that "of works by the old masters, there were professedly paintings by Rembrandt, …, Sassaferato, Tintoretto, and several excellent copies of famous old pictures."[286] Works of a more firm provenance and popularity included Angelica Kauffman's (1741-1807) Comedy (no. 81) and Tragedy (82) and examples of the Düsseldorf school, such as works by Adolh Tidemand (1814-1876), Friedrich August de Leuw (1817-1888) and Friedrich Peter Hiddeman (1829-?). Hiddeman's A School Examination (no. 14) was deemed a work that "was appreciable by even the most uncultured, and yet it possessed the humor and reality of Hogarth, with a fine display of coloring."[287]

There was also a small exhibit of statues that

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[286] "The Art Gallery," History of the North-Western Soldier's Fair, 34.

[287] Ibid., 33.

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included the recently arrived statue of Jephthah's Daughter (no. 313) by Joseph Mozier, a few portraits by Leonard Volk, and a medallion portrait (no. 323) by Erastus Dow Palmer, and copies of works by Thorwaldsen and other European artists.

As the progenitor of all other art galleries at the Sanitary Fairs, the art exhibition of the 1863 North-Western Fair, proved a remarkable success and demonstrated the progress that the city had achieved since the first Chicago Art Exhibit in 1859. One local reviewer proclaimed the art gallery a "small Paradise" which provided audiences with "the privilege of wondering through the alcoves, and tasting the fruits upon which… older and richer cities feed continuously." In comparison to the earlier show, this art gallery demonstrated to all "the growth in culture and the refinements of civilized life that [had] taken place."[288]

The increasing frequency of Sanitary Fairs in 1864, made it particularly difficult for the organizers of art galleries to depend on contributions from other cities, and that was especially true for those in the mid-West. Local artists and collectors responded enthusiastically to the

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[288] "Art in Chicago," The Round Table 1, 1 (19 December 1863): 12.

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call for contributions and arranged exhibitions that vied successfully with those in the East. For many regional art centers, the art galleries of the Sanitary were the only major art exhibitions during the Civil War.

That was the case with the vibrant city of Cincinnati, whose art gallery at the Great Western Sanitary Fair was the result of "patient and judicious labor," on the part of the art committee who found it "a very difficult task to obtain a large collection of paintings and engravings which should match in interest and real value the other parts of the Exhibition."[289]

As a final proof of their diligent efforts, the committee put together a show "until it was a most creditable exhibition of the genius of our Western artists, …," and reflected local tastes.[290] William Wiswell, Lewis C. Hopkins and E. C. Middleton, gave liberally to the art gallery of the fair. Interestingly Charles Stetson, who was very influential in the creation of the Western Art Union and was an active patron of the arts with a very good collection of mostly western works, presented to the fair

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[289] "The Art Gallery," in History of the Great Western Sanitary Fair, 403.

[290] Ibid.

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for exhibition and sale only one work, Thomas Buchanan Read's Excelsior, 1858? or 1861-1867 (no. 8, Cincinnati Museum of Art), an illustration of Henry W. Longfellow's poem by the same title.[291]

The collection of more than 150 works, included paintings by many local artists such as Thomas Buchanan Read, Robert Duncanson, Thomas P. Rossiter, Joseph Oriel Eaton (1829-1875), William Sonntag and William Penn Brannan (?-1866), as well as a few European works by Ferdinand Theodor Hildebrand (1804-1874), and Oswald Achenbach (1827-1905), Teniers [no indication which one], a copy of a work by Joshua Reynolds (1732-1792) and others, and a collection of watercolors by the Düsseldorf school, loaned by William Karrmann.[292] The annotated catalogue aided audiences in their appreciation of the art works by offering brief commentary on the paintings.

One of most meaningful works, in view of the objective of the art exhibit was Thomas P. Rossiter's Such is Life-Scene During the Crimean War of 1855 (fig. 45, no. 5, The Newark Museum) briefly described in the catalogue as "A

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[291] For these and other collectors in Cincinnati see Vitz, The Queen of the Arts, 34-35.

[292] "Private Collection of Superior Oil Paintings …," Cincinnati Daily Commercial, 30 December 1863, 1, 4.

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Scene in London." The painting commented on the inequalities of British Society and the disregard that its most affluent citizens demonstrated towards the less fortunate, including destitute women and children and the veterans of the Crimean War all of whom are in the shadows of the work on the left in distinct opposition to all those well to do members of the middle and upper middle class.

The apathy expressed in Rossiter's painting was in stark contrast to the empathetic reactions of the fair participants to the comfort and well-being of the poor and of the Civil War veterans, and helped reinforce and applaud the philanthropic spirit of the Fair. Rossiter's work, was followed in the catalogue, by "the original sketch" of Leutze's Westward the Course of the Empire takes its Way of 1861 (no. 6) and a copy of Joshua Reynolds' Charity, (no. 7), all three works creating a meaningful dialogue of the westward march of civilization and the charitable tendencies distinctly characteristic of Americans.

Sonntag's now lost series entitled The Progress of Civilization of 1847 (no. 118) attracted considerable critical attention. The works were thought to be "very expressive," and were accompanied by lengthy commentary describing their content:

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> In the first, we have a vast, wild mountains, steep and trackless, over which hover flocks of birds, and among whose rocks "the wild fox digs his hole unscared;" while, perched on the extreme verge of a high cliff, on a dead limb, sits a solitary owl, contemplating the dismal waste about him. The second shows a group of Indians, scattered in their single shabby tent, some indolently basking in the sunshine, and others seeking a precarious livelihood by catching the fish in an adjoining river. In the third, a party of pioneers are pressing westward, through a country which is gemmed on all sides by countless, thriving log-cabins; and, lastly, we have a palatial private residence, in the suburbs of a great city, teeming with many-handed activity, and sending out on all sides streams of trade and travel.[293]

Sonntag's series was the result of a suggestion by Elias Magoon one of the most erudite American ministers who wrote extensively on national issues, and also had a particular understanding of art and its relationship to national destiny, as was attested by his extensive art collection. Magoon identified with progressivist ideologies at mid-century that saw westward expansion, and America's territorial expansion in general, as the realization of a pro-scribed nationalist narrative.[294] For Magoon and for

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[293] "The Art Gallery," in History of the Great Western Sanitary Fair, 413.

[294] For Magoon's political ideology and its relationship to art see Miller, The Empire of the Eye, 140-141, and Ella M. Foshay, Sally Mills, All Seasons and Every Light: Nineteenth Century American Landscapes from the Collection of Elias Lyman Magoon (Poughkeepsie, N.Y.: Vassar College

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many of his contemporaries, the American land would be the theater of future achievements of a broader impact.

Angela Miller who defined Sonntag's work as "a celebratory vision of republic destiny," asserts that for contemporary audiences, his work expressed "a new vision of empire … linked … with the extension of northern industrial and urbanized democracy to the West." She also suggests that for audiences during the Civil War, these works reflected "an iconographic tradition rooted in Genesis and in the prophetic books of the Old Testament: the mandate to transform the landscape into a fruitful garden through human labor, … the nation's passage from desolation to plenitude."[295]

Whereas the optimist tone of Sonntag's work reassured visitors to the fair of the promise of an ever-expanding American republic, James Henry Beard's (1814-1893) The Last Victim of the Deluge of 1849 (fig. 46, no. 50, Cincinnati

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Art Gallery, 1983).

[295] Miller, The Empire of the Eye, 138-139. Miller also discusses the shift in the public perception of these works. Whereas an 1858 review of the work identified the first canvas as "Nature in her primitive grandeur," the 1864 review of the same work described the first canvas of the series as depicting "a vast … dismal waste," that needs to be civilized. Ibid, 139.

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Art Museum) offered a much more somber and contemplative outlook, and an opposing message. Beard created this work in the midst of one of the worst cholera epidemics that had swept many mid-Western and Southern cities, including Cincinnati, so its gloomy content was an allegorical reflection of the physical and emotional devastation brought about by the disease.

The painting was described at length in the catalogue and was recognized as "a masterly production."

> The swelling veins and tendons of his neck, and the slight clenching of his supporting hand, alone give token of the might of that energy which has sustained him hitherto. His face is fixed and rigid, and his eyes gaze on vacancy without an object, past or future. There is no fear there, but there is no hope; it is not despair, it is not defiance or resignation, nor yet expectancy, but a sullen, passionless, and pulse less awaiting his inevitable doom.[296]

Considering that the work had been widely exhibited in the Midwest and as far as New York and well noted in the daily press, its prophetic messages would have been sadly contemplated by fairgoers. On a broader level though the

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[296] "Great Western Sanitary Fair," Cincinnati Daily Commercial, 30 December 1863, 2, 3. The text accompanying this notice was a reprint of the art catalogue entry, and both were reprints of the original review of the work in the Cincinnati Gazette, 19 September 1849, cited in Husch, Something Coming, 242, note 15.

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work had profound political implications that were indicative of Beard's own concerns. In American ideology catastrophic occurrences were often seen as divine retributions for human sins, and that was certainly the context in which the cholera epidemic was perceived in the 1840's.[297] In the aftermath of the Mexican-American War that brought about territorial expansion but also the debate on the extension of slavery, the cholera was seen as a Providential warning, and Zachary Taylor called for a governmentally sanctioned day of fasting in hopes of atonement of the national sins.[298] On a personal level though, this work may reflect Beard's own concerns with the rising divisions in American society in the late 1840's and his fear of an impending national crisis.[299]

In contrast to these ideologically charged paintings, the work of another celebrated artist, Robert S. Duncanson provided a refuge to an ideal world that was expressed in

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[297] For an extensive discussion of this work and its political impact, upon which my comments are based, see Husch, "1849: James H. Beard and the Last Victim of the Deluge," in Something Coming, 107-126.

[298] Ibid, 114-117.

[299] Husch suggests that in the early 1860's, Beard was a member of the nativist Constitutional Union Party that advocated the preservation of the Union see Husch, Something Coming, 109.

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such poetic works as his Lotos-Eaters.[300] Duncanson, born of a black or mulatto mother and a Scottish-Canadian father, arrived in Cincinnati in the early 1840's and soon marked his presence in the community as a noted portrait painter.[301] Although he went to Europe in 1863, his work remained popular and well known in Cincinnati.[302]

Duncanson's The Lotos-Eaters, of 1861 (no. 15, Collection, His Royal Majesty, The King of Sweden) based

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[300] Also on view was his Oenone (no. 77) which portrayed the tragically abandoned wife of Paris, whom Duncanson, according to critics, had made into a most sympathetic figure. "The beholder is involuntarily brought into a lively sympathy with the touching sorrows of the lovely and ill-fated Oenone, with which, also, all the surroundings seem consonant; "The Art Gallery," in History of the Great Western Sanitary Fair, 410.

[301] Duncanson's difficulties in assimilating in the problematic culture of Cincinnati, at least early in his career are discussed in Joseph D. Kettner, The Emergence of the African-American Artist: Robert S. Duncanson (Columbia, Missouri: University of Missouri Press, 1994). Duncanson painted portraits of leading abolitionists such as Lewis Cass, the senator from Detroit, and James G. Birney, editor of a Cincinnati abolitionist paper, and Richard Sutton Rust, a Methodist minister who was active in the local Anti-Slavery Society, but none appeared at the fair.

[302] Indicative of Duncanson's exclusion from his peers in spite his success was his comment that his departure for Europe expressed his desire to be "where his color did not prevent his association with other artists and his entrance into good society." Cited in Robert S. Duncanson: A Centennial Celebration, Exh. cat. (Cincinnati: Cincinnati Art Museum, 1972) 14.

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upon Tennyson's poem, captivated audiences in Cincinnati and London where it was exhibited to great acclaim. The scene was described in the catalogue as

> A Tropical scene. A party of happy, careless loiterers, luxuriating in the delights of the prospect; some reclining in the sward, others splashing in the waters of a river which nestles deep down among the mountains, checked for a little time in its course in a picturesque basin, situated in the center of a tract, which may border on the Elysian fields.[303]

The rest of the exhibition comprised of landscapes, a few genre works and some portraits, most prominently three works contributed by Healy, and Read's portrait of James Murdoch, The Great Tragedian (no. 57). This was a meaningful work for Cincinnatians not only because Murdoch was a prominent actor in the city, but also because he was very much involved in local charitable work.[304]

Other works featured in the art gallery were landscapes by Thomas Worthington Whittredge and Alexander Helig Wyant (1836-1892), who worked in Cincinnati from 1861 until 1863, and Thomas Corwin Lindsay (1839-1907) and two

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[303] "The Art Gallery," in History of the Great Western Sanitary Fair, 407.

[304] For Murdoch see Vitz, The Queen and the Arts, 63-67. In October of 1864, Murdoch delivered at Pike's Opera a dramatic reading of Read's poem, "Sheridan's Ride," that was very enthusiastically received by the audience.

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allegorical pieces by Joseph Oriel Eaton. William B. Brannan, who was often credited with the successful arrangement of the art gallery, exhibited two works one of which Tidings from the Battlefield (no. 16) was a Civil War sketch depicting "a returned soldier relating to the home-folks his various 'adventures by flood and field;' his 'hair-breadth 'scapes I' the imminent deadly breach,' and 'all the pomp, pride, and circumstance of glorious war."[305]

This was one of many works that related to the Civil War including Henry Mosler's A Picket on the Look-Out at Midnight (no. 26), Frank Beard's The Volunteer's Return (no. 37) and thirteen war-related sketches donated to the fair by members of the Sketch Club. These included works by Henry Worrall (1825-1913), Raphael Strauss (active 1859-97), Alexander Helwig Wyant, James C. Beard, James Holbrook Beard and others. Strauss's work depicted a "Union volunteer planting the stars and stripes upon a lofty rock, and crushing with his heel a secesh reptile," whereas Worrall's sketch was entirely comic "representing a squad of soldiers dancing around a hoop-skirt and a bonnet

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[305] "The Art Gallery," in History of the Great Western Sanitary Fair, 407.

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elevated in a pole, to the tune of 'The Girl I left Behind Me,'." Another, entitled "All Gone to the War," depicted a group of young women staring at a coat and hat, whose owner was fighting at the front.[306]

Although there were some European works on view, the art gallery of the Cincinnati Fair, was primarily an exhibition of American art and one that featured prominently the work of local artists and the contributions of local collectors.

Likewise, Cleveland's art community banded together in support of the Northern Ohio Sanitary Fair and put together an exhibition of paintings that was the source of civic pride as proof of the "great progress made within a few years in all those arts which beautify and adorn the civilization of our age."[307] The gallery comprised more than 130 paintings from local collections and a number of Rogers' sculptural groups that he offered for sale.[308] Many

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[306] Ibid, 411. The subjects of all sketches are described in this source. It is interesting to note that the art gallery initially did not feature a portrait of Washington, one of the very few that didn't, although at some point an unidentified portrait was donated and was on exhibition see "The Sanitary Fair," Cincinnati Daily Commercial 31 December 1863, 2, 2.

[307] "Northern Ohio Sanitary Fair. Fine Art Hall, Morning Leader [Cleveland], 25 February 1864, 4, 2.

[308] It is interesting to note that besides fine art, the

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committee members contributed liberally from their art collections; Joseph Perkins, Henry F. Clark, Richard K. Winslow and William J. Boardman. American art was well represented, although the only local artists shown were George L. Clough, Allen Smith Jr., and James Sharpless (c. 1751-1811). Interestingly, no works by Caroline Ransom, an art committee member and a well-respected local portraitist were on view.[309]

Landscapes were the dominant genre, mostly views of the Northeast, rather than interpretations of local scenery. Listed early in the catalogue were scenes of the

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exhibition also contained a few curiosities such as a picture of "Rembrandt's studio-Burnt by the Poker," and a sculpture possibly, made of cork see Catalogue of Paintings and Statuary &c., in the Fine Art Department of the Cleveland Sanitary Fair, (Cleveland, Ohio: E. Cowles & Co., 1863). Newspaper reviews attest to the exhibition of art works that are not included in the catalogue and reports as to the exact number of works on view vary widely. Reviews kept audiences abreast of additions to the gallery and by one account they were multiple editions of the art catalogue that kept up with the new contributions see "A Passing Glance at the Fine Art Gallery," Daily Cleveland Herald, 7 March 1864, 1, 4. According to this account there were nearly two hundred paintings on view in addition to sculpture.

[309] A few other local women artists were represented at the show. Miss Cleveland, who was also on the art committee, exhibited a Sybil (no. 44), and three others identified as Miss Hastings, Miss Noble and Miss Humphrey exhibited landscapes. Miss Noble was listed as an art teacher in the late 1850's see Robinson, Steinberg, et al. Cleveland Art: Community and Diversity in Early America, 20.

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White Mountains by Louis Remy Mignot and William Hart, views of Lake George and Auburn by Clough, a few Hudson River landscapes and a lithographic copy of Church's Niagara, as well as western landscapes of Oregon and the San Juan River in New Mexico by Alexander Helwig Wyant. [310]

The most relevant image, locally, was An Evening at the Ark of 1859 by Julius Gollmann (?-1898) (fig. 47, cited as The Arkites, no. 10, The Western Reserve Historical Society). Gollman, who had immigrated to the region from Germany, took individual studies of all the men, members of an informal group of naturalists, and then recombined them into a group portrait. The Arkites were under the direction of William Case, who had served as the city's mayor from 1850-1852, and along with the other members of the club was active in the social and cultural life of the city.[311] With

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[310] Mignot's Sunset in the White Mountains, 1861,(no. 3, Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco) was a well known work that had been exhibited at a local frame shop in 1862, where it was purchased by Henry F. Clark, an editor for the Cleveland Leader who lent it to the fair.

[311] For this work and Case see Robinson, Steinberg et al., Cleveland Art: Community and Diversity in Early Modern America, 19. Case was very active in the public and artistic arena in Cleveland, and served as mayor in 1850-52. In 1859, the work was exhibited at the newsprint shop of Hawks and Brothers in order to raise money for local charity, and on that occasion it was described as a "grand historical painting." Cleveland Morning Leader, 13 May 1859, cited in Robinson, Steinberg et al., Cleveland Art:

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self-assured casualness they are shown conversing, playing cards, or merely enjoying the warmth of the fireplace during this quite gathering. These influential men appear to ignore social proprieties, as is evidenced by their postures and the unkempt interior, although their impeccable clothing confirms their social and economic status.[312] A suite of six portraits by Allen Smith Jr., all of which were on exhibition, celebrated another local achievement, the establishment in 1843 of the medical department of the Western Reserve College.[313]

The art work though that attracted the most attention was Washington and Lafayette at Mount Vernon, 1784 of ca. 1859 by Rossiter and Mignot (fig. 48, no. 33, Metropolitan Museum of Art). Much like Leutze's Washington Crossing the

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Community and Diversity in Early Modern America, 21 and 32, note 53.

[312] It has been suggested that their meticulous clothing confirms their social position, whereas their disregard for proper behavior, at once is justified by the privacy of the group, is also an indication of their desire to express that position through their "capacity to invert and control conventional attributes of social class." Ibid., 20. The art work had been shown in 1859, in order to raise money for a "Home for the Sick and Friendless," so it was quite familiar to local audiences.

[313] For these works see Robinson, Steinberg et al., Cleveland Art: Community and Diversity in Early Modern America, 16-17.

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Delaware this was a subject of "a national interest," valued because it "revives in the minds of the people their affection for the earlier days of the Republic."[314] Contrary to many of the portraits of Washington, including one by Rembrandt Peale (1778-1860) that was on exhibit here, this work placed Washington in a domestic setting, surrounded by the warmth of his family, conversing with Lafayette on the porch of Mount Vernon, against the backdrop of a peaceful and plentiful Virginia landscape.[315]

Indeed references to the work commented on the relaxed appearance of Washington in stark comparison to his official portraits. One reviewer noted that the figures were "types of thinking, breathing humanity," set within the serenity of the landscape. The emphasis was placed on Mignot's "glorious summer sunset, which touches up everything with its bright warm glow." Interestingly enough, the only element that interrupts this idyllic view of domestic tranquility, the vignette of the female

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[314] "A Passing Glance at the Fine Art Gallery," Daily Cleveland Herald 7 March 1864, 1, 4.

[315] It appears that the work was shown opposite the entrance to the gallery, because as delivery of the picture was delayed "space [had] been left immediately opposite the hall's entrance, for a large picture, which has been promised from New York." "The Great Sanitary Fair," Plain Dealer [Cleveland] 27 February 1864, 3, 5.

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African-American slave extinguishing the flame from the wick of the toy cannon that the young boy plays with, was mentioned only in passing so as if not to upset the peaceful effect of the work; the warning though implied by this detail was all too evident.[316]

Another politically significant painting was David Gilmour Blythe's Abraham Lincoln Writing the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 (fig. 49, Museum of Art, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh). The work, which was a later addition to the gallery and is not included in the catalogue, was described in detail in the local press as "an admirably conceived caricature," and the hope was that it would be presented to President Lincoln. The caricature-like appearance of Lincoln, as well as the numerous written elements were meant to help the audience read this work as clearly as possible. All the components of the work were enumerated in contemporary reviews:

> a bust of Jimmy Buchanan, with a cord about his neck is hanging," "maps of the rebel States and South Carolina, a trunk filled with old papers, marked "Lincoln's trunk," a cannon ball, torn envelopes, &c. A bust of Webster ornaments the mantel-piece. An American flag is used for the window curtain. The room is in a hapless state of

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[316] For a review of this work see "Rossiter's Picture," Plain Dealer [Cleveland] 3 March 1864, 3, 3.

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> confusion, and the worthy President has a rather perplexed, though thoughtful cast of countenance. It is a very good thing in its line.[317]

At least one of the powerful messages of the work was communicated clearly to the audiences by the inscription on the cornice of the bookcase: "Without slavery the war would not exist, and without slavery it would not be continued." The American flag, hung upside down indicated to all, as Bruce Chambers has proposed, the adversities facing the nation. Furthermore, as he suggests, this particular portrayal of Lincoln "may come closer than any other of the contemporary portrayals of Lincoln to voicing the ambiguity and tension, the doubt and conflict, under which the Emancipation Proclamation was issued and with which it was received," and perhaps present to viewers a more sympathetic view of Lincoln. It has been suggested that through this work Blythe, a staunch Lincoln supporter, intended to popularize the president to a wider audience.[318]

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[317] "Northern Ohio Sanitary Fair," Morning Leader, 27 February 1864, 4, 3. This work is discussed in Bruce W. Chambers, The World of David Gilmour Blythe (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1980) 88-93, 166-167. Chambers identifies the hanging portrait as possibly that of Andrew Jackson.

[318] Ibid., 93. Barry Schwartz has asserted that "the painting is so densely symbolic, so intellectually complex, that only the most sophisticated viewer could decipher it." It was, he suggests, this illegibility of the image that made it unpopular even in print see Barry Schwartz,

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Distinguished among genre works were those by Lilly Martin Spencer, who was recognized as "an artist of considerable celebrity … who possesses a happy appreciation of the numberless beauties abounding in domestic everyday life, and an equally happy faculty of transferring them to the canvas."[319] One of her works variably identified either as Young Students or Home Sports, depicted a band of young children who had blindfolded a dog and sent it after an angry cat and her kittens, a humorous and pleasant subject that attracted as much attention as the satirical Poor Relations by James Henry Beard (no. 117, unlocated). In this work that was thought as comparable to "the manner of Lanseer [sic]" Beard depicted the scorn that poor relatives, an older female dog and her puppy received by her wealthier kin. Although the work was criticized for its

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"Picturing Lincoln," in Picturing History: American Painting 1770-1930, 137. The multiplicity of meaningful elements may explain the lengthy descriptions of the work in reviews of the art gallery, intended perhaps to encourage audiences to contemplate the nuances of the work.

[319] "Fine Art Hall," Plain Dealer [Cleveland] 27 February 1864, 3, 4. Spencer exhibited two works, one listed in the catalogue as Child's Sorrows, no. 87 and another one that was not cited, but was referred to variably as Young Students or Home Sports.

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lack of finish it was admired for its fidelity to nature and truth to fact.[320]

Equal attention was bestowed on Rogers' genre pieces for their precise delineation of character and detail. Besides Rogers' sculptural groups that told of life at the front such as Mail Day, and Picket Guard, as well as his Union Refugees of 1863, in which a "brave Tennessean with gun on one side, and fond wife and children clinging to him on the other- a model to the life," only two other works took their inspiration from the war and its effects.[321]

In the end, the art gallery of the Northern Ohio Sanitary Fair was deemed an extraordinary accomplishment, not only because it was the result of largely local contributions, but most importantly for its long term impact on the audiences. The exhibition was "remarkable" in

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[320] "The Great Sanitary Fair," Plain Dealer [Cleveland] 27 February 1864, 3, 5. The work was engraved in 1848 and a thousand prints were distributed through the Western Art Union in Cincinnati see, Gerdts, Art Across America, 2, 186.

[321] One work listed in the catalogue as The Spirit of 1864, by an artist identified as S. F. Gave (no. 130), and in a different source another work by the same title is listed under an artist identified as C. J. Cara. See "Northern Ohio Sanitary Fair," Morning Leader [Cleveland] 25 February 1864, 4, 3. In the same article an untitled painting was described as "group of three Ohio soldiers" by an artist listed as Frank Tuttle.

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"cultivating a taste for the Fine Arts among our people, elevating their minds above what is merely useful to what is also beautiful; this branch of our great fair while performing its part of the immediate object in view, will we believe accomplish another object of not less importance."[322]

The transforming effect of the art galleries upon the burdened minds of fairgoers was echoed again and again; A reviewer of the art gallery of the Pittsburgh Sanitary Fair (fig. 50, 51) rhapsodized at the effect of the art gallery of more than three hundred works stressing to his readers, in slight exaggeration, that "not one has been brought from abroad," and he continued: "How they enrapture the senses and let loose the imprisoned soul! How they purify and exalt the imagination! If we had more pictures in our houses, the world would be better for it."[323]

The strength of local art collections such as those of Charles F. Spang and Christian H. Wolff, William Thaw and others and the commitment of local artists made this a very successful undertaking. Upon a visit to the gallery, in

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[322] "Fine Art Hall,' Sanitary Fair Gazette [Cleveland] 1, no. 3 (23 February 1864): 1.

[323] "The Sanitary Fair: The Art Gallery," Pittsburgh Gazette 3 June 1864, 3, 1.

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preparation for its opening, a reporter found hard at work John Harper, the chairman of the committee, Trevor McClurg, William and Alfred Wall, George Hetzel, John Harper and others, but noted in particular "the unobtrusive demeanor of Chas. F. Spang, Esq., [who] in addition to having generously brought his entire collection of valuable paintings to the wall, was industriously assisting to arrange them on the wall."[324]

Another leading contributor to the fair was John H. Schoenberger, an iron manufacturer, who was active in charitable affairs in the city and a dedicated patron of the arts. His collection was rich in works by European artists, particularly German, but it also included a few American works by Sonntag, Whittredge, Sully, Hetzel, Russell Smith (1812-1896), Read, and Leutze's Venice Victorious which he also lent to the Metropolitan Fair.[325]

Christian H. Wolff, a hardware merchant and one of the most significant art and book collectors in Pittsburgh, enriched the art gallery with many of his holdings of both

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[324] "City Intelligence: The Sanitary Fair," The Pittsburgh Commercial 2 June 1864, 1, 5.

[325] Catalogue of Paintings in the Gallery of J. H. Shoenberger, Pittsburgh (Pittsburgh: W. S. Haven, 1863).

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American as well as European artists. Like Spang, Wolff's European preferences were towards German artists, but he also patronized generously Americans artists. To the Sanitary Fair he contributed Sully's Red Riding Hood (no. 211), and a work by George Cochran Lambdin (1830-1896), Sully's student, entitled Blowing Bubbles (no. 218) as well as works by Hetzel, Hamilton, Rossiter, Johannes Adam Simon Oertel (1823-1909) and McEntee. Wolff was a faithful patron to Blythe but he did not contribute any of his works to the fair.

A favorable attachment to local artists was also demonstrated by William Thaw whose offerings to the fair included works by Hetzel, Lambdin, McClurg, and five works by Emil Bott (1827-1908) who evidently was his favorite artist. Equally generous to local talent was C. W. Hailman who exhibited at the fair Hetzel's copy of Leutze's Washington Crossing the Delaware, as well as McClurg's The Pioneer's Defense (unlocated) a work that was well known in Pittsburgh through lithographs by J. J. Gillespie and Company.[326]

Other local artists whose work was presented in the art gallery were Eugene Craig, a local history painter who

[326] About McClurg see Gerdts, Art Across America, 1, 289.

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exhibited possibly a Civil War theme entitled The Departure for the War (no. 215), John Broome who donated a work entitled Wounded Soldier (no. 232), Jasper Holman Lawman (1825-1906), Alfred Wall and Clarence Johns.

Of all the works on exhibition though, those of Blythe attracted the most attention. His paintings were recognized as "a delightful sprinkling of [his] celebrated humor." With their often caustic approach to mid-nineteenth century American realities, they stood out in a collection that abounded in interesting, but nevertheless conventional landscape and genre works. One reviewer of the art gallery noted exactly the distinct effect of Blythe's works when he remarked:

> We trust no offense will be given to our other artists when we particularize the inimitable Blythe, the American Hogarth, whose works in the Exhibition will attract quite as much attention as those that have cost their owners sums of money that would surprise the uninitiated in the purchase of gems of Art. Blythe is a genius and no one will deny it. His sentiment is as fine as his satire is terrible.[327]

12 works in all, challenged gallery visitors with their humorous but critical wit in themes that ranged from moralizing social commentary to serious, however concealed,

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[327] "The Great Fair: The Art Gallery," The Pittsburgh Commercial, 2 June 1864, 2, 5.

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political criticisms. Besides the politically significant Lincoln Writing his Emancipation Proclamation, which was here on view (no. 135), Blythe's talents were represented at the fair by small works such as The Schoolmaster of 1852-56 (no. 68, Private Collection) a work loaned to the fair by James Park Jr., a successful industrialist who was the director of Pittsburgh's Western University and its Law and Order Society. In a city that was burdened by serious social and economic problems at least until the financial boom brought about by the war, education was often seen as the only venue for remedying all ills by preparing well educated future citizens. In The Schoolmaster a frustrated teacher is confronting a dutiful mother about her incorrigible son who stands nonchalantly on the right portion of the work. Blythe's work identified, perhaps more than any other contemporary artist, the stark realities of his cultural milieu, and reflected clearly his own political and social beliefs.

Referring to Blythe's works at the fair one reviewer noted that they

> give relief to the scene and interest to the mind at every turn. Blythe undoubtedly takes the laurels from Govarni [sic] in his conceptions of the shades of character. His works are perfect models for painting. In painting, a judicious

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> obscurity in some things contributes to the effect of the picture, because the images are exactly similar to those in nature, dark confused uncertain images have a greater power to form the grandeur of passions than those which are more clear and determinate.[328]

Indeed, many of Blythe's works, particularly those created in the midst of the war were laden with cryptographic details that referred either to local or national issues. In Lawyer's Dream of 1859 (fig. 52, no. 269, Museum of Art at Carnegie), one of his many paintings that dealt critically with the dispensation of law and its practitioners, Blythe depicts a slumbering lawyer surrounded by law books and local Pittsburgh newspapers, whose ear is titillated by Satan with promises of success and recognition, while in his dream he is receiving the adulation of his peer and is crowned by a small putti, under the watchful eye of the American flag.

Also on view at the fair was the portrait of Bobbie Burns in "Auld Clay Biggen," of 1858-1860 (no. 99 Private Collection, Pittsburgh), the controversial Scottish poet Robert Burns, who advocated in his poems for Scottish Nationalism, and often spoke against political and social

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[328] "City Intelligence: Art Gallery at the Fair," Pittsburgh Commercial, 10 June 1864, 2, 4.

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hypocrisies, ideals that Blythe identified with in his own works and poetry.[329]

His most relevant images to war issues and secession though were his Richmond Bastille, Southern Attack on Liberty (no. 146) and Old Virginia Home.[330] Richmond Bastille, of 1863 (fig. 53, no. 172, currently, Libby Prison, Boston Museum of Fine Arts), was one of the most stirring images that described the infamous prison in Richmond, Virginia. Officers are shown in wretched circumstances, some conversing, others playing checkers, some washing up and others merely loitering, while a figure in the center of the work is pronouncing loudly perhaps his hopeful expectations for divinely ordered freedom. Immediately next to him though, and near the door, is a

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[329] For Blythe's social and political views see Chambers, The World of David Gilmour Blythe (1815-1865), 37-40, 78-81.

[330] Southern Attack on Liberty may be the same work as Lincoln Crushing the Dragon of Rebellion of 1863 in the collection of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts. Blythe's Old Virginia Home and his Lawyer's Dream were offered for sale along with others paintings that had been exhibited at the fair, see "The Sanitary Fair," Pittsburgh Gazette 16 June 1864, 3, 1. According to Chambers Old Virginia Home sold for $30 see Chambers, The World of David Gilmour Blythe (1815-1865) 177.

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black coffin, indicating the only possible escape from the dreary prison.[331]

His Old Virginia Home of 1864 (fig. 54, no. 240 The Art Institute of Chicago) combined realism and allegory in a seamless manner. The thin, bowed black man has broken his shackles and is leaving behind the disheveled house that is surrounded by fire and a devastated landscape. He is looking directly at the viewer thus inviting us forcefully into the composition. In the background, faintly visible on the left is the Union flag while the spectral, apocalyptic figures of War and Famine occupy the right upper portion of the work. This fusion of graphic realism and thought provoking allegory was enhanced further by a very specific detail in the immediate foreground; the name of Henry Alexander Wise, who was the Governor of Virginia from 1856 till 1860 and had served in the Confederate Army. Most significantly though, Wise had refused a pardon to abolitionist John Brown thus causing his hanging, and fueling tensions between North and South. As Chambers has suggested, this work may refer to Wise's own house, that

[331] Chambers suggests that the work was the result of reports of the inhumane conditions at Libby prison that were widely circulated in northern newspapers in 1862 and 1863, Chambers, The World of David Gilmour Blythe (1815-1865), 93.

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had been burned a few times, but it also refers to the destruction of Virginia and its institutions, and more extensively to the destruction brought upon the Union by the Civil War. Furthermore, the almost caricatured black man, who addresses the audience with his sorrowful eyes, indicates the ambiguity and uncertainty of his future, in spite his freed state.[332]

The last painting by Blythe that certainly exhibited "a judicious obscurity" was his Foreign Loans, of ca. 1863-1865 (fig. 55, no. 33, cited in the catalogue as United States Treasury, Museum of Art, Carnegie). While the treasury clerk is checking over the money, an older man is looking with suspicion at an older, rather comic figure who is about to exit the treasury, obviously having been rejected in his petition for a loan. Prominent in the background of the work are signs recording successful loans for corporations and individuals, while in the foreground a large sign confirms the prohibition of loans to foreigners. That, in conjunction to the memorandum on the countertop from the London Times, has led Chambers to suggest that this may be a reference to the refusal of the federal

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[332] For the analysis of this work see Chambers, The World of David Gilmour Blythe (1815-1865), 94-97 and 176-77.

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government to offer financial assistance to Britain because of its pro-southern loyalties. Furthermore, the three individuals recognized on the wall as having received loans were George D. Prentice, editor of the Louisville Daily Journal and William G. Brown, editor of the Knoxville Whig, both of which were southern newspapers that supported Lincoln; the third was John J. Hughes, Catholic archbishop of New York who had been sent as a mediator to England by Lincoln.[333]

Blythe's works gave the fair at once a lighter tone, but at the same time they proposed quite complex messages to the audience leading them to contemplate the problems in American society, and the larger national concerns that were brought to the forefront because of the Civil War. Blythe's art reveals his strong individualism in commenting upon very important issues in American society but in such a way that perhaps only the most erudite and sophisticated in his audience could benefit from his witticisms.[334]

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[333] For the work see Chambers, The World of David Gilmour Blythe (1815-1865), 103-105.

[334] Blythe's most controversial work on view was his Democratic Convention of 1864(no. 79 currently unlocated), that depicted a parade of the members of the local Democratic party. The controversy and the criticism against the work is discussed in the next chapter.

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Not unlike the art committees at all other Midwestern cities, that at the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair strove to create a gratifying but educational experience for all the visitors to its art gallery. The largest art committee of all the Sanitary Fairs collected more than 340 art works, primarily of local artists, but also of a considerable number of old master works or copies thereof.[335]

For a city such as St. Louis, which served as the gateway to America's wilderness, its art gallery indicated the diversity of its artistic population, and the generous patronage that the mercantile and professional class offered its local artists. While preparations for the fair were under way, a newspaper notice acknowledged with gratitude Julius Hermann Kummer's (1817-after 1869) contribution of a "fine picture" entitled A Thunderstorm on the Prairie, (no. 177) and encouraged the artists of St.

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[335] Lincoln Bunce Spiess suggests that there were "at least two exhibitions for the benefit of the sick and wounded during the conflict: one in 1861 for the Western Sanitary Commission,..., and one in 1864 for the same purpose called the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair." "St. Louis Women Artists in the mid-19th Century," 14. I was unable to find any references to this first fair.

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Louis to "contribute liberally in the way of pictures, as well as money for the coming Fair.[336]

Yet again, it was noted with pride that many "paintings have been loaned for this exhibition never before shown in public, and to the lover of art, whether connoisseur or amateur, the variety and beauty of the exhibition promises to be a rare treat."[337] The make up of the art gallery was quite diverse and included a number of portraits by Ferdinand Thomas Lee Boyle (1820-1906), Alban Jasper Conant (1821-1915) Chester Harding (1792-1866) and Henry Seibert (1824-1911), landscapes by local as well as nationally known artists such as Sonntag, Champney and Gifford but also, appropriately, images of adventurous pioneers and Native Americans on the verge of extinction. Charles Wimar (1828-1862), one of the most prominent local artists, whose work decorated the Saint Louis Courthouse, was well represented by many of his famous scenes of Native Americans. His premature death and his contributions to American art, were recognized generously by the reviewer of The Daily Countersign, the fair newspaper:

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[336] "Pictures for the Fair," Daily Missouri Democrat, 21 April 1864, 4, 3.

[337] "The Great Fair: The Fine Art Department," Daily Missouri Democrat, 17 May 1864, 4, 3.

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> We must especially call the attention of all to the paintings of Charles Wimar, both because he has exercised so vast a knowledge on Western Art-which he might have brought to the highest perfection, had not an untimely death blasted his own high hopes and those of many of his friends-and because of the richness and beauty of his coloring.[338]

Elaborating further, he distinguished his Indians Crossing Upper Missouri River of c. 1859-1860 (Amon Carter Museum) and his Moonlight Scene on the Missouri (no. 34) as "two beautiful views of the Missouri river, … so familiar to most persons in St. Louis… [which] give such a vivid idea of the striking character of his coloring," He also singled out his portrait of the Indian chief Bear Rib of 1862 (no. 160 Missouri Historical Society), which he thought "highly illustrative of his peculiar genius."[339]

Wimar's teacher Leon Pomerade (c. 1807/11-1892), exhibited a comparable theme entitled Indian Horse Fight (no. 19), and Charles Deas (1818-1867) was represented by his Canadian Voyagers of 1847 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) and his Last Indian (no. 69) which was recognized as "a bold and grand one" although the only reference to Deas

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[338] "The Fair," The Daily Countersign 1, (28 May 1864): 1.

[339] Ibid.

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acknowledged him as "an old St. Louis artist now insane."[340]

Interestingly enough, George Caleb Bingham, perhaps St. Louis' most popular artist, was represented by three landscape paintings and only one of his much more popular genre works, his Checker Players of 1850 (no. 192, Detroit Institute of Fine Arts.) In view of Bingham's reputable presence in American art and his unconditional devotion to the Union, his meager artistic presence at the fair is rather peculiar, particularly since none of his most popular or his politically charged works were on exhibition. Bingham, in spite his mature age, volunteered and enlisted early on in a Federal Reserve regiment where he served as a captain until early 1862. That year he became state treasurer, a post he kept until 1865, thus ensuring some income for his family when practicing his art was rather difficult because of the war.[341]

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[340] "The Great Fair" The Fine Art Hall," Daily Missouri Democrat, 19 May 1864, 4, 3.

[341] For Bingham's activities during the Civil War see Nancy Rash, The Painting and Politics of George Caleb Bingham (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), Paul Nagel, "The Man and his Times," in Shapiro et al., (Saint Louis: The Saint Louis Art Museum, 1990) 41-43, and Barbara Groseclose, "The 'Missouri Artist' as Historian," George Caleb Bingham, 80-89. As noted earlier, he suffered hardship because of the war and early on in 1861 confessed: "I am ready to turn my attention … to any thing by which I can keep from sinking into debt, and secure the bare necessaries of life for those who have a right to look to

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During the tense political climate in Germany in the mid-nineteenth century a number of artists immigrated to St. Louis, prominent among them landscapists Paulus Rotter (1806-1894) and Louis Schultze (1820-?). Rotter, who had immigrated from Germany to St. Louis in 1845, and became a successful teacher of drawing at Washington University, exhibited foreign landscapes while other examples of his work were loaned by local collectors. Schultze, who arrived in St. Louis in the mid-1850's, showed a variety of local landscapes as well as European landscapes, a genre work entitled Grandmother Returning from Town, (no. 211 E) and two portraits with characteristic costumes, but he also showed a work entitled Negro Camp Meeting (no. 195). Another local artist Joseph R. Meeker (1827-1889), who arrived in St. Louis in 1859, was represented by both local landscapes, and his Lake George (no. 63) and View off Staten Island (no. 76).

Remarkable was the very visible presence of women artists in the art gallery, although not all of them were professional artists; Sarah Miriam Peale (1800-1885) was represented by one of her portraits and Hannah B. Skeele

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me for support." Cited in Alberta Wilson Constant, Paintbox on the Frontier: The Life and Times of George Caleb Bingham (New York: Thomas Y. Cromwell Company, 1974) 48.

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(1829-1901), by two still-lifes and a genre piece entitled Market Woman (no. 322). Skeele's work was distinguished by the press: "In addition to her masterly game piece, greatly admired, Miss H. B. Skeele, of our city, has placed in the gallery two pictures of commanding merit. One is "The Market Woman," at her stand piled high with vegetables for sale, and the other the "Cat and Kittens,"- each piece wrought with astonishing naturalness and felicity."[342]

Aline Subit (1819-1896) who at one time was the owner, along with her husband of a "young ladies' Academy," but was a practicing painter by the mid-1860's, showed a Portrait, Boy and Landscape (no. 167), Dog and Game (no. 230) and Dog's Bath (no. 307) and a Miss Glover, and Lydia Stedman Alleyne (1804-1871) showed landscapes.[343]

The only notable contribution from outside the city was Rossiter's and Mignot's Washington and Lafayette at Mount Vernon, that arrived at the art gallery following its exhibition at the Northern Ohio Sanitary Fair in

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[342] "The Great Fair: The Art Gallery," Daily Missouri Democrat, 24 May 1864, 2, 3.

[343] For these women artists see Spiess, "St. Louis Women Artists in the mid-19th Century," 10-23.

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Cleveland.[344] The picture was deemed "worthy of a great deal of study and careful examination." In a description of the work, the reviewer noted the "noble Lafayette," listening attentively to his host, George Washington, … while upon the lawn two children, one white, the other black, are sporting, and in the distance gleam the pleasant waters of the Potomac." [345] Another noted that "the management of perspective, and of stereoscopic effects, and the warm and generous treatment of the subject, are highly artistic and impressive."[346]

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[344] The picture was noted on many occasions see "The Great Fair," Daily Missouri Democrat 25 May 1864, 4, 3. A newspaper notation cites that "twenty-nine rare and beautiful paintings" were contributed from the Metropolitan Fair, but there is no further reference to this matter see "Third Day of the Fair: New York Department," Daily Missouri Democrat 21 May 1864, 4, 3. Apparently these works were sold to the fair, because in a statement of the art department of the Metropolitan Fair it is noted that $1,742.60 was raised by the sale of art works to the Mississippi Valley Fair and the Great Central Fair see, Statement of the Art Department of the Metropolitan Fair in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission (New York, 5 August 1864) Kensett Papers, Collection of the Museum of the City of New York.

[345] "The Fair," The Daily Countersign 1, (28 May 1864): 1.

[346] "Fourth Day of the Fair: Important to Artists," Daily Missouri Democrat 22 May 1864, 4, 3. Another foreign contribution was noted in the press, although no catalogue exists, of one hundred "oil paintings on wood that were contributed from Liverpool, England." These were landscape oil sketches and watercolors and local artists were encouraged to purchase "these artistic studies for their own galleries and contemplation." "Third Day of the Fair:

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Whereas most mid-western cities depended on local talent and the munificence of local art collectors, the organizers of art galleries in the east could invite the participation of many artists and avail themselves of many more and diverse collections. The New England Sanitary Fair in Boston appears to be the exception to this general rule, because unlike New York, Brooklyn, Baltimore and Philadelphia where artists and art collectors cooperated to organize impressive art galleries for their fairs, Bostonians relied largely on the collections of the Athenaeum with an additional 170 works contributed by local painters and art patrons, and exhibited expressly for the fair.

The sparsity of information and documentation regarding the art gallery reflects the understated style of the rest of the Sanitary Fair in that city. The diversity though of the Athenaeum's large collection of casts of antique statues, copies of European paintings, as well as of original American sculptures and paintings provided a virtual history of art and particularly of American art. Praise was given to the managers of the Athenaeum

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At the Art Hall," Daily Missouri Democrat, 21 May 1864, 4, 4.

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> for throwing open their galleries to so worthy an object as contributing to the Sanitary Commission. In so doing they have sub served patriotism and the fine arts at the same time. So rare a collection of choice paintings, (by old and modern artists,) as has been loaned for this exhibition, has never before been seen in Boston.[347]

In 1863, the Athenaeum collection included John Neagle's (1796-1865) Patrick Lyon, of 1825-26, Thomas Cole's massive The Angel appearing to the Shepherds, of 1833-1834, Trumbull's Sortie at the Siege of Gibraltar of 1789 and his Priam Receiving the dead body of Hector of 1785 Stuart's Athenaeum portrait of Washington, of 1796, as well as paintings by Allston, Sully, Henry Inman, Chester Harding, Bierstadt and others. [348]

Among the 170 art works lent by collectors for the benefit of the fair, the most prominent artist was Washington Allston, whose widow lent his monumental Belshazzar's Feast of 1817/1843, (no. 141) and others sent many of his portraits. With the exception of few American paintings such as portraits by Stuart, Copley's Epes

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[347] "The Paintings at the Athenaeum," Boston Evening Transcript, 18 December 1863, 3, 6.

[348] Catalogue of Pictures Lent to the Sanitary Fair for Exhibition … with catalogue of Paintings and Statuary of the Athenaeum Gallery, … Boston 1863 (Boston: Fred Rogers, 1863).

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Sargent of 1756 (no. 140) and works by Kensett, Thomas Hewes Hinckley (1813-1896), Church, John Gadsby Chapman (1808-1889), Inness, Martin Johnson Heade (1819-1904), John Rollin Tilton, Staigg, Gilbert Stuart Newton (1794-1835), Edward Gay (1838-1928), Paul Weber and few others, the majority of the contributions were either copies of Old Masters or European works primarily by Dutch, Flemish and French artists.[349] The small size of the collection was considered rather curious by the Boston correspondent of The Round Table who acknowledged "the gathering together of some chosen pictures from the private collections" of Boston, but also noted that

> Such a call in New York would doubtless produce more choice production than these two hundred specimens afford; for we are not perhaps rich in proportion to our pretensions in the higher spheres of pictorial art. There are doubtless many more specimens of Stuart, Copley, and Allston among our households than this collection affords,….; while it is not by any means certain that the committee in charge would not have shown more taste in gathering more of such, than giving place to some here, that are supposed to bear such name names as Domenichino, Salvator Rosa, and the like. They will doubtless excuse themselves on the score of the variety, and the need of increasing receipts by appealing to the popular glorification of old masters.[350]

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[349] Ibid.

[350] W., "Boston," The Round Table 1, (26 December 1863): 28.

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Of the American works, special mention was given to the Madonna del Sasso on Lake Maggiore by Paul Weber (no. 315), the paintings of Allston, the smaller of which such as The Sisters ca. 1816-1817 (no. 175, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University) Lorenzo and Jessica of 1832 (no. 172, private collection) and two landscapes were exhibited all together, as well as the works of Newton.[351] Lengthy praise was also bestowed on Robert Charles Leslie's (1794-1859) portrait of Sir Walter Scott, which was admired as a much more successful interpretation of Scott than any other likeness of his.[352]

In the Boston Music Hall, which housed the fair proper, there were a few more paintings distributed at the various tables and combined with other exhibits; there was

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[351] "The Paintings at the Athenaeum," Boston Evening Transcript, 18 December 1863, 3, 6. William Gerdts has suggested that The Sisters, one blonde and another brunette, "represented cultural and geographic comparisons between northern and southern cultures," thus anticipating similar themes as those expressed in Rossiter's Italy and America, which were exhibited at the 1863 North-Western Sanitary Fair in Chicago, see William H. Gerdts, Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr. "A Man of Genius" The Art of Washington Allston (1779-1843) (Boston: Boston Museum of Fine Arts, 1979) 95.

[352] W., "Boston," The Round Table 1, no. 2 (26 December 1863): 28.

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a landscape by Hinckley, still lifes by Henry Cheever Pratt (1803-1880), a "picture of flowers painted by [John O'Brien] Inman and contributed by him," that would be disposed by raffle, and William Bradford's (1823-1892) "splendid work" of The Iceberg that was valued at $500. Also on view was "a superbly mounted and carved portfolio, containing forty small oil paintings, the gifts of Boston and New York artists." The intent was to raffle off this album and by one account "shares in this elegant contribution [were] in brisk demand."[353] The album was indeed sold in this manner and the recipient was a Patrick T. Jackson, Esq, "who was so fortunate as to draw the 'Artist's Album,'' that he agreed to put it for exhibition at the Athenaeum.[354] As it would be the case with many subsequent fairs, the art gallery was so popular that it was kept open for two additional weeks past the week long duration of the fair.[355]

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[353] "Sanitary Commission Fair!" Boston Evening Transcript, 18 December 1863, 3, 4. Craig's painting which raised $75, was given by draw to a lucky winner see "Drawings," Boston Evening Transcript, 18 December 1863, 3, 7.

[354] "About Home Matters: The Great Sanitary Fair," Boston Post, 22 December 1863, 4, 2.

[355] "Boston Atheneaum," The Knapsack 1, no. 7 (21 December 1863): 2.

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In that same month of December of 1863, the citizens of Rochester enjoyed the collection of more than 139 art works exhibited at their Christmas Bazaar. The art exhibition was located in the library of the local Athenaeum and newspapers recorded with pride that

> the display is made up from the most valuable private collections in Rochester and embraces some of the finest originals of Lilly Spencer, Hart, Rossiter, Beard and other distinguished artists. The collection... [was] arranged under the supervision of a thoroughly competent committee in the manner best calculated to reveal in the best advantage the merits of each production.[356]

The art show also attracted the attention of

> Ladies of Buffalo [who] entered most enthusiastically into this new feature of [the] Bazaar, and with hearty generosity ... contributed fifteen or twenty very beautiful works from the pencils of some of the first American artists ...-Sonntag, whose delightful little renderings of scenery among the White Hills make him a general favorite-Beard, who is almost inimitable in his little animal subjects-

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[356] "The Grand Bazaar and Some Account of It: The Art Gallery," Rochester Democrat 16 December 1863, 1, 2. In this citation there is reference to an art catalogue that was given gratis with the admission fee, but I have not located one. This may have been a variation of the art catalogue that was included in the "Catalogue of the Pictures," Report of the Christmas Bazaar Held under the Auspices of the Ladies Hospital Association, from December 14 to December 22, inclusive at Corinthian Hall, Rochester, N.Y. (Rochester: Benton & Andrews, 1863) 19-24. Although 139 pictures are listed in the catalogue, there are accounts that there were more than 150 on view and in the catalogue it is noted that art works were donated too late to be included within.

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> Geo. H. Hall, whose fruit is always so luscious and tempting-….

There were also many European works including what were thought to be "original Hogarths, from his celebrated series, "The Rake's Progress'," copies of old masters and works by German artists.[357]

The collection was rich in works by local artists and women artists in particular; Helen Searle contributed six still-life paintings, more than any other woman artists in any of the fairs, followed by another local artist, Emily Smith who was represented by a variety of genres. Equally prominent were the works of Josiah Humphrey, Henry van Ingen, a Dutch artist who had lived in Rochester since 1851, Johnson Marchant Mundy (1831-1897), Thomas J. Moore, and John Lee Douglas Mathies (1790-1834) whose two works of local as well as national significance were loaned by Horatio G. Warner, editor of the Rochester Daily Courier and Republican; his portraits of the Seneca Chief Red Jacket of 1820 (Private Collection) and of Jemima Wilkinson of 1816.

Red Jacket (ca. 1758-1830) was a well-known Seneca chief, who proved his oratorical skills against another

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[357] "Catalogue of the Pictures," Report of the Christmas Bazaar, 19.

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Native American chief, Cornplanter. At issue was the relationship between whites and Native Americans; Cornplanter advocated for assimilation into the western culture, whereas Red Jacket supported the maintenance of distinct Native American customs. Ultimately there was reconciliation between the two largely because of Red Jacket's remarkable speaking skills; the agreement between the two men is depicted on a medallion worn by the chief in Mathies' portrait, providing thus meaningful parallels and models for a divided nation being redirected towards conciliation.[358]

Another interesting work on exhibition was The Power of Fashion of 1851 (fig. 56, unlocated) by Lilly Martin Spencer who was considered "unrivalled in her rendering of every-day life." The Power of Fashion was the pendant to the Height of Fashion that was exhibited at the Great Central Fair and at the 1865 Northwestern Fair in Chicago,

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[358] For Mathies and his work, including his portrait of Red Jacket see, Herbert A. Wisbey, Jr. "J. L. D. Mathies, Western New York Artist," New York History 39 (April 1958) 133-150. Jemima Wilkinson (1752-1819), also known as the Universal Friend, was another influential figure and controversial figure in New York State, who in the late-eighteenth century was responsible for a popular religious movements in New England and Pennsylvania. For Mathies' portrait of Jemima Wilkinson see Herbert A. Wisbey, Jr., "Portrait of a Prophetess," New York History 38 (October 1957): 387-396.

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and portrayed a jovial African American boy who looked happily at the viewer.

Many reviews testified to the "universal expression of satisfaction and delight from all who visited the Gallery, and the many pleasant hours enjoyed in the quiet study of so much beauty, after spending a time amid the Babel of the Grand Bazaar, …." But, as it would be the case with so many other art exhibitions that followed, there was a concern over its impermanence and the hope expressed by many was "Would that it might be permanent!."[359]

Undoubtedly, the great number of fairs that took place in the East during February 1864, made it quite difficult for the organizers of the art galleries to petition artists and art collectors outside their cities proper for contributions. For that reason, the art gallery of the Yonkers Sanitary Fair is all the more remarkable not only for its size, 173 works in all, but also because many works were loaned by New Yorkers.

In January 1864, an invitation was extended to "merchant princes whose beautiful villas overlook the Hudson and the Sound [to] loan or give in patriotic rivalry, their paintings and other works of art for a

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[359] Report of the Christmas Bazaar, 21.

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single week, and no gallery in the country will surpass that of the Committee on Art and Paintings."[360]

The result was a collection particularly rich in American works, mostly landscapes and genre, by many contemporary artists including Casilear, Beard, William and James Hart, Sanford Gifford, McEntee, Lang, Mount, Rossiter and others.[361] Eastman Johnson, Kensett, William H. Beard and others sent their works in support of the fair, and collectors from Yonkers, and the surrounding areas of Riverside, Scarsdale and New York City enriched the exhibition with their offerings which according to The Yonkers Statesman, were valued at $35,000. Local collectors, Frederick S. Cozzens, Lyman Cobb, Jr., E. C. Moore, and Horace J. Moody, who served on the art committee gave generously to the art gallery, while notable among New York contributors were Marshall O. Roberts, dealer Michael

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[360] "The Yonkers Sanitary Fair," The Statesman, 14 January 1864, 1, 1.

[361] Yonkers Sanitary Fair. Catalogue of Paintings, on Exhibition in National Guard Armory, Farrington Building, Commencing Monday, February 15th, 1864. The only copy of this catalogue is available at the Archives of American Art but portions of it are illegible.

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Knoedler and from Brooklyn, Reverend Henry Ward Beecher who offered a landscape by George Loring Brown (no. 32).[362]

As was the case with many other fairs, there were a couple of portraits of Washington, one by Jane Stuart (1812-1888) and another crayon portrait by Sharplees, but portraits in general were scarce; noted examples were Lang's Henry Kirke Brown and his Friends (no. 169) and Johnson's Self-Portrait of 1863, (fig. 57) (no. 58, The Art Institute of Chicago) which was described as "a capital portrait," in which the artist depicted himself almost melancholic, reluctantly popping open a bottle of champagne, his features softly illuminated by a warm glow.[363] Curiously, there are two glasses at the table, perhaps indicating an anticipated guest or an absent friend

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[362] Knoedler's 12 contributions are recorded in his Stock Books for February 1864. His most expensive contribution estimated at $500 was Lang's Rhymes in the Woods, followed by Weir's Niagara Falls valued at $300. For this information, I am indebted to Melissa Medeiros, Librarian, M. Knoedler Gallery.

[363] According to Kirk Savage, Henry Kirke Brown was an ardent abolitionist, so the exhibition of his portrait was particularly significant, see Kirk Savage, "Molding Emancipation" John Quincy Adams Ward's *The Freedman* and the Meaning of the Civil War," in "Terrain of Freedom," 31. Eastman's portrait is discussed in Teresa E. Carbone, "The Genius of the Hour: Eastman Johnson in New York, 1860-1880," in Carbone, Hills, Eastman Johnson: Painting America, 57.

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and his palette is hanging on the wall, just at the upper right corner of the work.

Another genre painting by Johnson, Card Players (no. 18) was recognized as "a most valuable painting artistically, the expression of the picture being almost wonderful."[364] Also on view were "two inimitable winter and skating scenes"' by George H. Boughton, a "splendid picture of Niagara Falls," by Robert Weir, and "An Indian Encampment in the Far West," by Bierstadt.[365]

The hope was that "the brave soldiers themselves, for whose benefit the use of the paintings is tendered, would scroll for once through scenes which would contrast pleasantly with their bleak surroundings," and that this would be an uplifting and gratifying experience.[366]

The same effect was noted in relation to the art gallery of the Army Relief Bazaar in Albany.

> Going from the bustling crowd in the Bazaar, with its noise and confusion, its oddities and fantastic effects, one enters the Studio [of Palmer] with a perception of sudden charm in its prevailing atmosphere of beauty and silence. The

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[364] "The Gallery of Art," The Statesman-Daily Extra for the Sanitary Fair, 1, 1, (15 February 1864): 3.

[365] Ibid. Bierstadt's work in not listed in the catalogue.

[366] Ibid.

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> picture-hung walls, the statues placed here and there, make a place of enchantment.[367]

The appeal of the exhibition extended beyond Albany and articles singing its praises were published as far as Utica, New York.[368]

The popularity and position of Erastus Dow Palmer, was the driving force behind the art gallery of the Army Relief Bazaar in Albany, which was held in his studio. Palmer not only arranged the exhibition but also donated some of his most popular works such as his White Captive of 1857(no. 145), his Angel of Peace Bound (no. 71) and his Indian Maiden or the Dawn of Christianity of 1856, (no. 146), which were sold by lot.[369] His works attracted the attention

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[367] "The Art Gallery," The Canteen 1, 11 (4 March 1864): 1. The money raised from entrance fees and the sale of catalogues is indicative of the popularity of the exhibition. From 24 February until 8 March 1864, $1303 was raised from admission tickets at $0.25 each and more than $390 from the sale of art catalogues at $0.10 each, see "Army Relief Bazaar," Morning Express [Albany] 10 March 1864, included in Army Relief Bazaar Collection, FZ 1100, F-7, item 87, Albany Institute of History and Art.

[368] The editor of the Utica Herald, named Roberts published an article on the art gallery which was then reprinted in "Army Relief Bazaar: Art Gallery," Albany Evening Journal 9 March 1864, 2, 4.

[369] Palmer's popularity is attested by the fact that more than 5000 tickets had been sold for the marbles only two days after the opening of the fair, see "The Army Relief Bazaar," Albany Evening Journal 25 February 1864, 2, 3. Bids for the statues came from New York as well; Henry S.

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of Alfred B. Street who published a poem on the occasion acknowledging Palmer's extraordinary skills:

> Oh, thou whose radiant brain,/ As from some starred domain,/Bid these white shapes of grace and grandeur rise,/Before thy power we bend!/We see thy fame ascend/And take its station in immortal skies![370]

His Indian Maiden depicted

> the impression made upon an Indian girl by the sudden discovery of the crucifix while wandering alone in the forest. The most beautiful and refined of her tribe, she was stolen away from the vulgar and cruel sports of her companions, and ranges through the wood paths with half conscious delight, ….[371]

Visitors to Palmer's studio saw this work opposite his White Captive, two completely contrasting views of womanhood, the White Captive demure and pure while the Indian Maiden "gazing with those defiant eyes and quivering

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Sanford, a New York collector, purchased three hundred tickets hoping to earn one of Palmer's works see "The Tickets for Palmer's Statuary all Taken," Albany Evening Journal 19 March 1864, 2, 4.

[370] Army Relief Bazaar. Poem by Alfred B. Street, delivered by Miss Annie Waite, at the Distribution of Prizes in the Palmer Marble Contributions. April 6th, 1864. (Albany: Weed, Parsons and Company, 1864).

[371] Catalogue of the Palmer Marbles, at the Hall Belonging to the Church of the Divine Unity, … New York, November 1856 (Albany: J. Munsell, 1856) 11. Alfred B. Street had written a lengthy poem extolling the virtues of the Indian maiden see Catalogue of the Palmer Marbles, …, 14-17.

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lips, that wonderful expression of Christian fortitude and womanly timidity which exchains [sic] every beholder with the witchery of its complex beauty."[372]

Palmer also offered liberally from his important art collection works by Church, Casilear, and by both James and William Hart. Two of the most important works in the show were Church's View in Maine (no. 14), and his Home by the Lake (Scene in the Catskill Mountains) of 1852 (no. 50, listed as Home of the Pioneer) which was given by Church to Palmer in exchange for one of his marbles, Spring of 1855. This last painting celebrates the pioneering spirit of the early settlers who were able to tame and conquer the rugged landscape of the Catskills, and use its resources to their benefit, as is evidenced here by the tree stumps in the foreground from which the log cabin has been built. This panoramic landscape accommodates all the details of a land of peace and plenty that is able to sustain the needs of the young settlers.[373]

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[372] "Army Relief Bazaar: The Art Gallery," Albany Evening Journal 8 March 1864, 2, 4.

[373] For a discussion of the work in relation to Palmer see Franklin Kelly and Gerald L. Carr, The Early Landscapes of Frederic Edwin Church, 1845-1854 (Fort Worth, Texas: Amon Carter Museum, 1987) 120-122.

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A comparable emphasis on the nurturing quality of American nature characterized the landscape paintings contributed by the Reverend Elias Magoon, who lived in Albany from 1857 until 1867. Almost one third of his collection, 24 paintings in all, was on view for the benefit of the fair.[374] One of the most sophisticated art patrons of his time, whose collecting patterns were based on a firmly established philosophy as to the purpose and impact of art, Magoon favored contemporary American artists, although his holdings were equally rich in European works.

An astute observer of art, well informed and well connected within the American art community, he purchased art with great deliberation aiming to satisfy his belief that a good collection should include "at least one hundred oil paintings," in which landscapes were the dominant theme. Furthermore, Magoon bought American landscape

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[374] This was one of the last public showings of Magoon's collection, who in June of 1864, would begin negotiations to sell his collection to Matthew Vassar who intended to install it at Vassar College see Foshay and Mills, All Seasons and Every Light, 7. Magoon also contributed a statue by Rogers entitled Fairy's Whisper, which however is not identified in the art catalogue see "Contributions to the Army Relief Bazaar," Unidentified article, Army Relief Bazaar Collection, FZ 1100, F-7, item 11, Albany Institute of History and Art.

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paintings that depicted various locations "along the Hudson, Lake George, New Hampshire, and Vermont."[375]

Indeed, his contributions to the fair covered a variety of New England landscapes, particularly the region of the White Mountains in such interpretations as Samuel Lancaster Gerry's (1813-1891) The White Mountains from Shelburne of 1860, and Albert Fitch Bellows' (1829-1883) The Franconia Notch and Mount Fayette, the Autumnal Snow on Mount Washington of 1856 by Aaron Draper Shattuck (1832-1928), (listed as Mount Washington, no. 84), Mount Madison (no. 42) by William Hart (1823-1894), a couple of views of the White Mountains by Henry Augustus Ferguson (1842-1911) including his On the Androscoggin (no. 52) and Samuel Colman's Meadows and Wild Flowers at Conway of 1856 (no. 91, listed as Conway Meadows).[376]

The dominance of White Mountains scenery clearly underscored Magoon's affection for the region but also its ideological significance for American audiences in mid-nineteenth century. As the setting of legendary efforts on

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[375] Foshay and Mills, All Seasons and Every Light, 19.

[376] Besides these works in Magoon's collection, many other works on view were depiction of White Mountain scenery, the most singular such thematic concentration in any of the Sanitary Fairs.

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the part of early pioneers in settling the rugged region, the White Mountains identified for American audiences the steadfast perseverance of their ancestors in their effort to settle this land against all adversity.[377]

Bellows' The Franconia Notch and Mount Lafayette (fig. 58, listed as Mount Fayette no. 69, erroneously by Fitch W. Bellows) represents the "King of Franconia" as the protective backdrop for the sole fisherman who is returning to his humble cottage nestled in the expansive meadows in the shade of the massive mountain.[378] Similarly picturesque was Colman's Meadows and Wild Flowers at Conway, (fig. 59) which is dominated in the foreground by subtle foliage and towering trees, while in the middle distance the fecundity of the land is emphasized by the crop laden cart bathed in

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[377] The early history of the region in the 1740's related to the conflict between the French and the Indians, and the English settlers who attempted to establish themselves in the mountains. Important figures associated with the early settlement of the mountains included Abel Crawford, after whom Crawford Notch was named, a rugged pioneer who was known to have captured live bears and deer, but who was also elected in the state legislature. His two sons, Thomas J. Crawford and Ethan Allen Crawford were able innkeepers in the area. Crawford Notch was associated with one of the most tragic incidents of local history when in August of 1826, the Wiley family was killed by a landslide. For the history of the region see Keyes, The White Mountains: Place and Perception 17-38.

[378] Foshay and Mills, All Seasons and Every Light, 33.

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the warm light of the late summer.

Likewise, Samuel Lancaster Gerry's (1813-1891) The White Mountains from Shelburne of 1860, (no. 19, listed as White Mountains,) a work that Magoon commissioned expressly from the artist, depicts the meadows in front of the towering Presidential Range and is punctuated by a homestead in the middle distance and the collection of crops in the broad plain.[379] The Presidential Range more than any other location in the White Mountains identified America's earliest historical achievements and helped reinforce for mid-nineteenth century audiences the direct and immediate connection between American nature and its glorious political past and provide them with much needed reassurance for the present.[380]

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[379] The location shown in the painting, as well as the mountains were described by Gerry in a letter to Magoon. In it he identified the mountains within the work; "the highest is Jefferson, the one on the right is Adams and all below is Madison. The mountain on the left is Washington." Cited in Foshay and Mills, All Seasons and Every Light, 54.

[380] Angela Miller has suggested that

> As emblems of permanence and unsaying majesty, the Presidential peaks symbolized a new secular order as stable as the 'everlasting hills.' There were constant reminders of what the republic meant. Their associations with both patriarchal power and revolutionary energies gave substance to the idea of mountains as symbols of an older generation that had 'fathered' the present order.

Miller, The Empire of the Eye, 268.

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Magoon's desire was to have in his collection representative aspects of diverse features of American nature, not only because of their distinctive character but also because he saw in them reflections of the complexity of divine creation. He had postulated his aesthetic ideology in a collaborative effort among various authors and clergymen entitled The Home Book of the Picturesque.[381] The book, which was published in 1852, was a collection of essays by influential figures in the mid-nineteenth century that included Washington Irving, William Cullen Bryant, Fenimore Cooper, Bayard Taylor, Reverend George Bethune and Magoon.

As a cleric, particularly intuned to the workings of divine wisdom and benevolence, Magoon felt perfectly prepared to describe and analyze in his writings "the book of nature, which is the art of God."[382] In his essay entitled "Scenery and Mind," he explored the beneficent and indeed transforming power of nature, but also its

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[381] The Home Book of the Picturesque; Home Authors and Home Artists; or, American Scenery, Art and Literature (New York: Leavitt and Allen, 1852).

[382] Magoon, "Scenery and Mind," in the Home Book of the Picturesque, 5, cited in Foshay and Mills, All Seasons and Every Light, 14.

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inextricable connection to national politics: "The diversified landscapes of our country exert no slight influence in creating our character as individuals, and in confirming our destiny as a nation."[383] He felt however, that on a personal level the ameliorating effect of contemplating nature, either directly or in its visual substitutes, helped the audience "acquire a corresponding clearness of spirit."[384]

Although many works in Magoon's collection expressed his strong nationalism, his love of nature and its varied tastes led him to expand his collection beyond the North-American continent with works such as Colman's Coast of Spain, (no. 119) Cropsey's Evening at Paestum of 1856 (cited as Paestom, no. 92) while Huntington's Sybil (no. 55) revealed his occasional excursion outside the landscape genre. At the Albany fair, Magoon's contributions enjoyed critical attention, and Cropsey's Evening at Paestum "a small picture of rare beauty," was judged "so exquisitely managed, the light left in the sky AFTER sunset, is so

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[383] According to Angela Miller, one particular work in Magoon's collection Inness's Twilight of 1859 (no. 26) may have prefigured the civil conflict see, Miller, The Empire of the Eye, 129.

[384] Foshay and Mills, All Seasons and Every Light, 15.

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perfect, and the desolation is so complete, that one is deeply touched."[385]

Church's notable works received accolades in the press and were praised over and over again for their brilliant and sensitive colors. His Coast Scene, Mount Desert (no. 10, listed as Coast of Maine), contributed by Marshall O. Roberts, was considered "admirable, … the great triumph of the artist is the coloring and effect of sunlight. … The tints in the clouds are soft and warm and rich, and so true to nature."[386] Equally admired was his work Cayambe of 1858 (no. 114, listed as In the Tropics, The New York Historical Society) thought to be a most characteristic work of Church's style, and his Home by the Lake was deemed "singularly striking in its fidelity to Nature."[387]

The critical emphasis on landscape paintings was reflective of the dominance of such themes within the art gallery. There were far fewer genre pictures by Boughton,

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[385] "The Art Gallery," The Canteen, 1, no. 11 (4 March 1864): 1.

[386] "Army Relief Bazaar: The Art Gallery," Albany Evening Journal 26 February 1864, 2, 4.

[387] "The Army Relief Bazaar: Art Gallery," Albany Evening Journal 27 February 1864, 2, 5. The correspondence between contemporary titles and these currently used is based on Kelly, Frederic Edwin Church, 165.

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Eastman Johnson and others. Boughton, who until 1861 lived in Albany, was well patronized by local collectors who loaned ten of his works to the fair. It was Johnson's The Blacksmith of 1863, (fig. 60, no. 100, New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown) though that was distinguished by critics as

> a wonderfully faithful picture of a homely scene. Nothing can be more natural than the smithy with its old bellows, the glowing fire, the anvil and splinters of iron that besprinkle the floor; while the brawny master and the barelegged little one, are such as none but a true artist can draw.[388]

In nearby Buffalo, visitors to the Great Central Fair, were allowed access to the Art Gallery of the Academy of Fine Arts. On this occasion though, in addition to the fine art, the gallery included "an extensive display of curiosities, consisting of war relics-both Revolutionary and contemporary-articles of Japanese workmanship and other foreign rarities."[389] The exhibition was under the direction of Lars Sellstedt, who was serving as the superintendent of

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[388] "Army Relief Bazaar," Unidentified article, Army Relief Bazaar Collection, Albany Institute of History and Art, FZ1100, folder 7.

[389] "The Great Central Fair: The Art Gallery," Morning Express, [Buffalo] 24 February 1864, 3, 4.

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the Academy, and was able along with "his amiable lady [to] render a visit to the art gallery doubly pleasant by their courteous explanations and untiring efforts to make it for the nonce an art home."[390]

For the duration of the fair, the collection was enriched with the contributions of local collectors who lent mostly copies after old masters, as well as engravings. Paintings, were also shown in the main building of the fair, and there is a reference to "a suggestive painting by a Mr. Wm C. Stebbins, entitled 'The Spirit of 1863,' and a large oil picture of 'The Battle of Pittsburgh Landing,' painted by Mr. Machen, of Toledo, and donated by him to the Fair."[391]

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[390] "The Great Central Fair: The Art Gallery," Morning Express 26 February 1864, 3, 1. I have not seen a catalogue for the 1864 season of the Buffalo Fine Arts Academy but in 1863, the collection was made up of 169 paintings and sculptures many of which were offered for sale. It featured works by local artists William H. Beard, one of the earliest showings of his March of Silenus, Sellstedt and Le Clear but also Thomas P. Rossiter's large, and very well known, religious works such as his Noah and his family Watching the Return of the Dove to the Ark of 1848, his Miriam Exulting Over the Destruction of Pharaoh's Hosts of that same year, and his Babylonian Captivity of 1853, all of which were published in the catalogue with extensive commentary. The Buffalo Fine Arts Academy Catalogue of Paintings and Sculpture... Third Season of Exhibition (Buffalo: Joseph Warren & Co., 1863).

[391] "The Great Central Fair: Seventh Day," Morning Express [Buffalo] 1 March 1864, 3, 1.

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Local artists and collectors were also responsible for the small collection of paintings at the Ladies Christian Commission Fair in San Francisco that was housed in the same area as the relics of war. Although accounts of the exact number of works vary from 50 to 100, what was readily attested to was the "great success" of the art gallery "aesthetically and financially." The admission receipts at $0.25 brought $69.50, the first day, $134 on the second and $140 on the third.[392] The collection was made up of numerous copies of European works but also paintings by well known local artists Enoch Wood Perry (1831-1915) Frederic Butman (1820-1871), William Smith Jewett (1812-1873), Virgil Williams (1830-1886) and Thomas Hill (1829-1908).

Williams' Roman Pilgrims and the Inquisitive Chambermaid by Perry, two of the few genre works in the show attracted "attention immediately," as they stood apart from many local landscapes.[393] One reviewer commented on the

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[392] "The Christian Commission Fair," Daily Evening Bulletin [San Francisco] 27 August 1864, 5, 3. In this review it is noted that there was a catalogue of the art gallery in preparation, but there is no evidence that one was indeed published.

[393] "Christian Commission Fair," Alta California [San Francisco], 27 August 1864, 1, 1. The Fourth Industrial Fair of the Mechanics Institute of San Francisco opened on 3 September 1864, and at least for a few days the two fairs run concurrently, and indeed were housed in the same

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difficulty of recognizing contributions by local artists whose names were not identified and proposed that a catalogue would be helpful to the visitor. Among the various indiscriminate contributions of "old pictures, Madonnas, Magdalenas, dead Christs, etc…" he noted "several fine California landscapes, the best being a view of Mount Shasta," by Butman.[394] Perry was represented by "a small oil painting of Mount Diablo at sunset-a purple mountain before a golden sky, with the level valley and winding San Joaquim Valley in the foreground." Also on view was an "oil sketch of Oak Knoll, in Napa Valley," and a "richly colored view of the Roman Campagna, towards sunset, with an exceedingly well drawn and effective group of peasants in the foreground," by Williams, a "cool Sierra Nevada lake scene, with Indians in the foreground and a snow peak in the distance," by Thomas Hill and a "careful study of 'Chaparal

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quarters. Many of the same artists whose work was shown for the benefit of the Christian Fair were mentioned in relation to the art gallery of the Mechanics Fair. It is unclear whether art works were moved from one fair to the other. For a lengthy review of the art gallery of the Mechanics fair see "The Industrial Fair," Daily Alta California [San Francisco] 11 September 1864, 2, 2.

[394] "The Christian Commission Fair," Daily Evening Bulletin 25 August 1864, 3, 3.

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in the Coast Range,'" donated by Butman.[395] Also distinguished for mention was a "rich golden moonlight scene, in oil, by [Oscar Brousse?] Jacobson." Loaned belatedly to the show were "two small Yosemite sketches in oil, by the masterly hand of Bierstadt," and "two large views of Yosemite waterfalls," by Jewett.[396]

The two last art galleries held in conjunction with a Sanitary Fair could not have been any more dissimilar. Whereas the art gallery of the St. Paul Sanitary Fair that was held in January of 1865 was an entirely local venture, the art gallery of 1865 Northwestern Fair in Chicago featured works of local and national renown. The St. Paul Sanitary Fair lasted only four days from 9-13 January 1864, and for that brief time 190 works were collected and put on exhibition.[397] The art gallery was without a doubt, the most impressive feature of this modest fair.

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[395] "The Christian Commission Fair," Daily Evening Bulletin 26 August 1864, 3, 4. All these works were for sale, the first three for $50 each, while Butman's work, the most expensive, was offered at $125. None sold apparently during the fair and they were auctioned off at a later time, see "Closing of the Ladies' Christian Commission Fair," Daily Evening Bulletin [San Francisco] 8 September 1864, 3, 4. Other works offered at auction were A Run for Life by Jewett and a Scene on Walker's River by G. L. Denny.

[396] "The Christian Commission Fair," Daily Evening Bulletin 26 August 1864, 3, 4.

[397] Admittedly many of the works were of an amateur nature

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"No other department of our Fair has succeeded more gratifyingly," exclaimed a local reporter and he continued that this was a "department … of which every citizen should feel proud, from the artistic taste displayed in its arrangement, and it's evidence that art is cherished by our people."[398] Attendance to the art gallery was truly impressive; at $0.25 for a single entry, and $0.50 for a season ticket, $944 was recorded in the second day of the fair, and although attendance dropped significantly by the third day when only $186 was taken in, it picked up again on the last day when receipts from the art gallery amounted to $270.[399]

The exhibition reflected the thematic preferences of local artists and collectors; as was common with many mid-Western cities there were "a number of valuable and old, rare paintings" such as "a Leda and the Swan, said to be a genuine Correggio, and is consequently very valuable," as well as copies of Renaissance works such as one of a

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and the art gallery also included numerous photographic and colored portraits.

[398] "The Fair: The Art Gallery," The Saint Paul Pioneer, 11 January 1865, 4, 3. (The newspaper has no pagination, but all reviews of the fair appeared on the fourth page).

[399] These amounts were reported in The Saint Paul Pioneer from 11-14 January 1865.

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Madonna and Child "a copy of Raphael, by an Italian artist."[400] Photographic portraits were particularly popular but there were also a few creditable art works offered by local collectors; a fine portrait by Huntington (no. 165) and others by Robert Street (1796-1865) of Philadelphia, a Winter Scene (no. 177) by Thomas Lochlan Smith (1835-1884), A Trout Stream in the Alleghenies (no. 7) by George Hetzel, Ophelia (no. 83) by Thomas Buchanan Read, and landscapes by Henry Kent.

The collection though was distinguished among all others of the Sanitary Fairs for its emphasis upon the work of women artists, whose contributions were recorded in detail by local reporters. Most likely these were amateur efforts but their presence indicates the cultivation of the arts in this remote community. These women artists covered all subject matter; Miss Fanny A. Goodrich contributed a work entitled The Power of Music (no. 193) that showed "a boy listening to a fiddler. The position and expression are faithful, and the picture is one much prized by the owner." Mrs. Julia Willey, showed a landscape (no. 174) and an

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[400] "The Sanitary Fair: The Art Gallery," The Saint Paul Pioneer 12 January, 4, 1-2. There is no catalogue of the art gallery, but its contents were analytically listed in the above newspaper on 8 and 10 January 1865.

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artist identified only as Mrs. E. O. Shaw "a large and showy composition," entitled The Lost Child (no. 150).[401] Lastly, Miss Sarah Townsend, "an Artist of great talent-graduated from Cooper Institute in 3 years' time," who had painted "many fine pictures" contributed a still life with fruit valued at $30.[402]

The reaction of all visitors to the art gallery, according to one reporter was "surprise …, that so many fine paintings could have been secured, almost without effort."[403] Another reiterated the sentiment and suggested that the art gallery was comparable to

> the extent of some first-class galleries of paintings in Eastern cities. Many of the paintings are large and valuable. Altogether they constitute an attractive feature of the Fair, as the crowds … testified. All expressed wonder that such a superb collection could have been gathered in a frontier city like St. Paul, and is an evidence of the culture of our citizens in the fine arts.[404]

Unlike the art gallery in the St. Paul Fair, that of

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[401] Ibid.

[402] "The Fair: The Art Gallery," The Saint Paul Pioneer, 11 January 1865, 4, 3.

[403] Ibid.

[404] "The Fair: Art Gallery," The Saint Paul Pioneer 10 January 1865, 4, 3.

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Chicago's 1865 Great North-Western Fair was decidedly more expansive and it included more than 320 works. At the conclusion of the war, the gallery gave artists the chance to promote their work for their own benefit as well as that of the Fair. This was hoped to be "the most extensive and magnificent exhibition of art ever witnessed in this country."[405] A reviewer noted that "the contributions of art to the Fair will be on a larger and grander scale than on any previous gathering on the continent. The best artists of the East are entering heart and soul in this work, and their brains and fingers have been busy for months in preparing the beautiful for us."[406] The greatest number of art works came from New York artists, including Bierstadt, Church, William Holbrook Beard, Lang, Gignoux, Casilear, Cropsey, Kensett, Whittredge and others. Fewer works came from Boston and Philadelphia, and the number of collectors

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[405] "Magnificent Art Gallery of the Coming Fair," The Voice of the Fair 1, 4 (18 May 1865): 2. There were at least two editions of the art catalogue see Catalogue of Paintings, Statuary, Etc. in the Art Department of the Great North-Western Fair, 2nd ed. (Chicago, 1865) Not all art works are listed even in this second catalogue. For example there is a portrait of "Miss Hooper" by Copley, however no such portrait appears in the catalogue.

[406] "The Sanitary Fair: Art Department," Chicago Tribune, 26 May 1865, 4, 2.

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who loaned works was rather small; Joseph Harrison of Philadelphia offered one, and his friend James Claghorn sent only two paintings. From Albany, Erastus Dow Palmer sent a relief, and from Pittsburgh both George Hetzel and Trevor McClurg sent representative examples of their work.[407] The art gallery was deemed "the feature of the Fair, not alone in the extent of the collection but in its choiceness. … As a whole, the collection is a superb representation of American Art …."[408]

Meaningful paintings that had been exhibited at the larger fairs on the eastern seaboard, were reassembled once again here in Chicago, and now their critical reception recognized more openly their national significance. Credit for the successful arrangement of the Hall was given to George P. A. Healy and Leonard Volk, who

> arranged the pictures with ultimate fairness, endeavoring always, and generally succeeding in placing the distinctive features of the style of each artist in the most favorable light, assigning to their work positions so unobtrusive, that our complaint should rather be of the

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[407] Catalogue of Paintings, Statuary, Etc. in the Art Department of the Great North-Western Fair, (Chicago, 1865).

[408] "The Great Fair: Art Hall," Chicago Tribune, 29 May 1865, 4, 1.

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> modesty which keeps works so meritorious in the background.[409]

The first few paintings listed in the catalogue expressed all too clearly the ideological significance of the art gallery; a visitor to the fair contemplated the historical past of the United States, acknowledged its present and hopefully anticipated its promising future. The first work in the catalogue was Bierstadt's Rocky Mountains, followed by Leutze's Departure of Columbus of 1855 (unlocated), and the third was Rothermel's Patrick Henry before the Virginia House of Burgesses lent by Joseph Harrison. The last telling image in the group was Louis Lang's The Soldier's Widow (no. 6).

Bierstadt's Rocky Mountains placed in its own separate alcove, dominated the show and many of the reviews. The reviewer for The Voice of the Fair, the fair newspaper, recognized in this painting a view characteristic of "the American Alps, … a level park surrounded with the most rugged and wild mountain scenery." But then he declared that Bierstadt's work revealed the divine creation as he perceived the natural elements to be "but screens behind which, could we only reach with our eyes, are beauties

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[409] "Art Sketches, no. 2," The Voice of the Fair, 1, 12 (7 June 1865): 2.

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greater than those distinctly visible." Furthermore, elaborating on the iconography provided by Bunyan's poetry he recognized that, "the snow peaks losing themselves in the pure white clouds, intimidating not in all places distinctly a sky-line, reminds one who has wandered through these palaces of nature, of a very common, oft-noticed effect, and recalls again the vision of the land of Beulah which Christian saw through the prospective glass."[410] At a time of national mourning, but also of celebration at the war's end, Bierstadt's work gave audiences the chance to rejoice at the generous divine dispensations evident in nature, which sustained them and brought them through the national crisis, scathed perhaps, but firm in their belief of future prosperity.

Rothermel's Patrick Henry before the Virginia House of Burgesses, was a scene that depicted the "speech familiar to every school-boy's mouth. The lofty appeal recalling familiar sentiments in stirring language, the denunciation of attempted wrong, the statement of grievances burdening the people, the faces of the few who sympathized and the

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[410] "Art Sketches, no. 1," The Voice of the Fair 1, 9 (3 June 1865): 3. For the position of Church's work see "Art Sketches, no. 2," The Voice of the Fair 1, no. 15 (10 June 1865): 2.

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many who would choke his utterances are finely expressed in the grouping, coloring, handling and general management of the story."[411]

Whereas these first grand manner paintings told of events of national merit and impact, and ultimately affirmed personal and national aspirations for success and achievement, Lang's The Soldier's Widow reminded everyone of the extraordinary toll of the recent conflict on a personal level; this was a work that was "altogether different in story, style and treatment-a subject deeply pathetic, … the deep seated grief of the mother and exuberant delight of the child, unconscious what orphanage means, are finely expressed …."[412] Equally solicitous of the audience's sympathy was Lang's The Departure for the War (no. 148) in which a young soldier is setting off for the front leaving behind his beloved family, including his parents and grandparents and his siblings, while his regiment is eagerly awaiting him.[413] The work was described

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[411] Ibid.

[412] Ibid.

[413] Five other paintings were war-related; Charles Highwood exhibited On the Battlefield (no. 88) and Henry Chapman Ford contributed the Grave of John Brown. Also on view was The Soldier's Orphan by Robert M. Pratt (1811-1880) and John William Casilear (1811-1893) showed Burning of the

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at length and although it was criticized for its lack of stylistic strength, it was nevertheless recognized as an important tribute to those enlisted in the war.

> Technical skill may be wanting, and artistic merit of low grade take its place, but truth of representation and power of expression will more than make up for these defects and paintings of this class be more highly valued and oftener visited as time bears us farther away from the momentous scenes they commemorate. We have yet got to see whether they can embody in enduring form for after generations the great works and heroic incidents of the mighty conflict that has just closed.[414]

But, as in all previous exhibitions themes relevant to the war were very few, a fact that was noted by the writer of the Voice of the Fair:

> As yet there seems to be no grand historical pictures on a subject suggested by the war; perhaps it is necessary that time should elapse and the memory of many incidents to die out, for their redundance is apt to confuse history; then when the great mass of the common people have selected some particular occurrence, as of importance to them and their interests, the dear chosen collection will be seized by some artist and married to immortal canvas, and perpetuate the heroism, self-denial and patriotism of these noble men, who at the crying of the loud voice which seemed like the giving up of the country's

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Homestead (no. 155) while Thomas Buchanan Read contributed a drawing entitled Sheridan's Ride (no. 315) and George P. A. Healy painted a portrait of Sherman expressly for the Fair.

[414] "The Art Gallery," Chicago Tribune 11 June 1865, 2, 2.

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> life offered their own bodies to her successful defiance.[415]

Indeed, the majority of paintings on view were landscapes, many of which were contributed by local artists including works by Henry Chapman Ford (1828-1894) and Peter Fiske Reed. Some other popular works on exhibition included Spencer's Height of Fashion (no. 41, though her other contributions were all fruit pieces), Eliza Greatorex's depiction of a Hudson River view, while Beard offered for sale his March of Silenus and The Fox Hunter's Dream of 1859. Beard's paintings although considered as "two odd concerns," were nevertheless praised as "splendidly painted."[416]

Contrary to the unfavorable reception that Beard had faced at the Metropolitan Fair in New York, here he was recognized as "a genius for representing this kind of human or animal habits and practices," as those depicted in his March of Silenus (no. 13). Furthermore, he was credited

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[415] "Art Sketches no. 2," The Voice of the Fair 1, no. 15 (10 June 1865): 2.

[416] "The Great Fair: Art Hall," Chicago Tribune 29 May 1865, 4, 1. In addition to Lilly Martin Spencer and Eliza Greatorex, there were few other women artists; a Miss E. M. Gore contributed a genre work entitled Little Housekeeper (no. 166), and a work entitled Nooning (no. 157) by a Miss Emile Lepaire was donated by a private collector for sale.

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with having "succeeded in giving human peculiarities and expression to animals," that were "considered by some fully the equal of the great German artist, Kaulbach, and some of his works pronounced no way inferior to that distinguished painter's remarkable illustrations …."[417]

Hart's A Harvest Field in New England (no. 97), which hung opposite Bierstadt's massive Rocky Mountains, received accolades as "a very cheerful, bright colored landscape, carefully drawn," indeed "the second best picture in the collection." The interaction between these two images, one celebrating the fecundity of the New England landscape, seen against the wilderness in Bierstadt's work, communicated telling messages at the end of the war as western territories lay ripe for exploration. The third best received work in the collection was George Inness's The Shipwreck, while Sanford Gifford's Kauterskill Glove of 1862 (no. 150, Metropolitan Museum of Art) was thought "full of strange effects that grow upon you." Other artists mentioned in the daily newspapers included J. Foxcroft Cole (1838-1892), "a young artist, who affects the French school of school of glittering generalities for the taste of bringing out masses of color," and whose two landscapes

[417] "The Art Gallery," Chicago Tribune 9 June 1865, 2, 3.

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were considered "fine specimens of this style of painting, much admired by many."[418]

The small collection of statuary included The Freedman, of 1863 (no. 320) by John Quincy Adam Ward (1830-1910), Hosmer's Zenobia of 1859, Leonard Volk's original portrait of Lincoln, for which he had sat in 1860, and two pieces by Erastus Dow Palmer. Undoubtedly, the most pertinent to contemporary events work was Ward's The Freedman (fig. 61, The Art Institute of Chicago) that the artist himself offered for sale. Ward had already exhibited the plaster cast of this work at the National Academy of Design in 1863, and its fame quickly spread across the nation and persisted even after the war. This was the first sculpture in bronze to depict an African American and the first that was widely exhibited and attracted considerable critical attention.

The sculpture presents a partially clothed young African American, his broken manacles still attached to his wrist, resting cautiously on a tree stump and looking away from the viewer.[419] Kirk Savage in his study of the work

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[418] "The Great Fair: Art Hall," Chicago Tribune, 29 May 1865, 4, 1.

[419] The work and its ideological impact is discussed extensively in Kirk Savage, "Molding Emancipation: John

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asserts that in his reluctant attitude, the figure represents his "liminal position, neither completely beyond the realm of slavery nor entirely within the world of freedom." He also proposes that the idealism of the figure and his lack of clothing indicate his disengagement from his previous state as a slave and his anticipated induction into the Union Army, his "new social identity."[420] Curiously enough this most meaningful art work at the fair was not reported in the press perhaps indicating the uncertainty, or the discomfort that this ideal representation of the man presented for contemporary audiences.

On the contrary Harriett Hosmer's statue of Zenobia in Chains of 1859, which was then on a tour in the United States and was exhibited at the fair for a separate charge

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Quincy Adams Ward's *The Freedman* and the Meaning of the Civil War," Terrain of Freedom, The Art Institute of Chicago Museum Studies, 27, no, 1 (2001): 26-39. Savage though curiously suggests that in the exhibition catalogue of the 1865 Chicago Fair, the work was entitled The Slave, and he proposes that the change in the title, in the aftermath of the war, may have been intended to accommodate the man's ambiguous identity in the Post-Civil War era. It may be that Savage is looking at a different edition of the catalogue, because in the second edition the work is indeed listed as "The Freed-man" see, Catalogue of the Paintings, Statuary, Etc., in the Art Department of the Great North-Western Fair, … Second Edition. 11.

[420] Savage, "Molding Emancipation: John Quincy Adams Ward's The Freedman …," 32-33.

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of $0.25, was praised at length by critics. They recognized her contribution as a very important one, because such a work "feeds and expands a part of our natures, kept dwarfed in comparison with the rapidity of our growth in other directions," but also because the subject was considered "a noble one for sculpture, especially so for a woman to handle, as suited to express the more intense and finely strung temperament of the feminine nature and worthy to be the exponent of a woman's thoughtful life …. In dealing with the subject, Miss Hosmer has united womanly dignity and delicacy, with the best qualities of the firm masculine hand." Hosmer's skills were admired in the treatment of the drapery, "her great command of anatomy," as well as her sense of proportion and balance.[421]

In addition to the paintings and sculptures on view, there was also an artist's album that contained 52 sketches donated by New York and Boston artists for the benefit of the fair. Individual sketches were valued as high as $250, and the total contribution amounted to $5,000; the works were shown separately, although the intent was to place them in a case at the conclusion of the fair and dispose of

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[421] "Miss Harriett Hosmer's Statue of Zenobia," Voice of the Fair 1, no. 15 (10 June 1865): 3.

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them as a group. Landscapes were the dominant theme, besides works such as George H. Yewell's (1830-1923), sketch entitled Between Life and Death, (no. 237) and William Rimmer's (1816-1879) Falling Angels (no. 251) that was based on Milton. [422]

The value of the art gallery was to be found, once again, in its educative impact:

> If the Sanitary Fair indirectly will accomplish no other result then the exhibition of these works of art, it will have accomplished much. It will have brought the people into contact with the works of our best artists of all schools. It will have given them food for thought, a new and more intimate acquaintance with the beauty of nature and life, and a knowledge of the various styles of our painters.[423]

Indeed, so successful was the art gallery that it remained open for two more weeks following the close of the fair, "enabling all to visit this superb collection of art treasures, and this opportunity should not be lost, as it will not soon occur again, when such a varied and choice

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[422] Few women artists also contributed sketches to the album, landscape and floral themes and they included Rosa Towne and Ellen Robins see "The Artist's Album," Catalogue of Paintings, Statuary, Etc. in the Art Department of the Great North-Western Fair, 8-9.

[423] Ibid. One of the most distinguished visitors to the art gallery was William Tecumseh Sherman who is recorded as having visited the "arms and trophies and art gallery," as the two most remarkable features at the fair see "General Sherman," Chicago Tribune, 10 June 1865, 4, 3.

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collection by all eminent artists of the country will be brought together."[424]

Besides the gallery at the fair, visitors to Chicago had the opportunity to enjoy more American and European works at the gallery of Giles Brothers, who had on exhibition The Iceberg by William Bradford, a study of Newport Rocks by William Stanley Haseltine (1835-1900), and works by Eugene Benson (1839-1908) and many Flemish artists. Of particular interest to visitors because of its temporal significance and because it was "a genuine piece of reality," was Thomas Nast's Soldiers Halt, which depicted a company of soldiers resting by the wayside, while one of them enjoyed the attention of a mother and her child. The sentimentality of the picture was judged as perfectly appropriate for the times.[425]

The art gallery of this last Sanitary Fair in Chicago was seen as yet another step indicative of the cultural strides of the young city. One reviewer recognized the invaluable contribution of Healy who made his art

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[424] "The Fair: Fine Art Gallery," Chicago Tribune 22 June 1865, 4, 4.

[425] "More New Pictures," Chicago Tribune, 23 June 1865, 4, 4. It is not clear whether Nast's work was a painting or a drawing.

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collection available to "persons of taste and culture, at any reasonable hour of the clock," but noted that

> Four years ago this ambitious city, which means one day to be the first city in the Union, could not boast the possession of a single picture gallery, properly such, which was thrown open to the public. … We are fast coming to it, however. A great change has crossed the spirit of our commercial dreams since then, and they have become transfigured as it were, with the beauty and glory of Art. We have among us a little brotherhood of true artists, who are hard at work all the time, and who get well paid on the whole, for their productions. Better still, as a proof of the local refinement and cultivation, these productions are, for the most part purchased by Chicago merchants- and there is not a home in the city of any pretensions to intellect, sensibility and taste, which is not adorned with pictures of more or less worth. … A profound respect for art is taking root among us, and every good picture that is exhibited, whether for love or money, is a public benefaction, which no man can measure by weights and yardsticks.[426]

This was an important undertaking towards further advancements for the solidification of Chicago's position in the national artistic arena. One reviewer acknowledged that although the city possessed "no school of art, and no school for artists; no central art-gallery and artist's exhibition," it prided itself on an enviable number of local artists and art connoisseurs, who attempted to

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[426] January Snarle, "Art in Chicago," Evening Journal [Chicago] 10 June 1865, 4, 3.

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elevate local tastes and effect "a great and momentous change which our enterprising community is taking, from the arts which feed and sustain to those which ennoble and refine. We have in our new opera-house one floor exclusively devoted to artists' studios, connected with which is a spacious public hall designed for a free gallery of art."[427]

Whereas the art gallery of the 1863 Chicago fair was the hopeful expression of its organizers to bestow an air of aesthetic refinement upon their patriotic enterprise, that of the 1865 fair was a secure affirmation of the promotion and recognition of art that the Sanitary Fairs offered. The art galleries were recognized as having

> served a grateful purpose in popular art-education. From this [the 1865 fair] until the disposal of the Opera House and the formation of the Art-Gallery connected with that structure, the auction-rooms were fairly flooded with pictures. The Sanitary Fair collections had created a taste for pictures and awakened a desire upon our wealthy citizens to purchase.[428]

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[427] "Chicago," The Round Table, New Series, no. 3 (23 September 1865): 44.

[428] George P. Upton, Art In Chicago," The Western Monthly 4 (December 1870): 403.

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FOR "THE BOYS IN BLUE": THE ART GALLERIES OF THE SANITARY FAIRS

By

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Volume II

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CHAPTER VI: APPRAISAL AND CRITICAL CONTROVERSY IN THE ART GALLERIES

Most reviews of the art galleries extolled the art works exhibited as excellent examples of the achievements of American art. Reporters waxed rhapsodic over the size of the art exhibitions and their content, and the majority of them ultimately produced largely lists of the art works, punctuated by rather florid criticism. Characteristic in that respect is the review of the New York World on the art gallery of the Metropolitan Fair, which was deemed "a most brilliant strike upon the eye, Bierstadt's 'Rocky Mountains,' Church's 'Niagara Falls,' and other pictures, 'Washington Crossing the Delaware,' 'Eugenia and the Ladies of her Court,' and hundreds of similar and perfectly charming little pictures attract the attention."[1] This was

> the cream of all exhibitions that have been held in aid of native genius, side by side in friendly contrast and competition with the precious waifs of European travel; and whatever master is represented, appears under the most favorable conditions; for it is by those products of his

[1] "The Sanitary Fair," New York World 5 April 1864, 10, 1. Eugenia and her Ladies of her Court, is listed in error. On exhibition was Franz Xavier Winterhalter (1805-1873), Florinde rather than the work cited.

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> pencil which have secured the largest amount of appreciation and reward that he will, with perhaps an occasional exception, have to be judged.[2]

The art exhibit of the Metropolitan Fair, gave laymen and critics alike the opportunity to compare American and European art and the

> "result of the comparison was so satisfactory to most observers, that one constantly heard the most hopeful auguries respecting our artistic future, and the assertion often made before, now came to be commonly believed, that in landscape painting, at least, our National Academicians were in advance of all Europe, to say nothing of the rest of the world.[3]

The exception however to the avalanche of so much approbation was the spirited, critical commentary that Clarence Cook (1828-1900) published in the New York Daily Tribune. Cook generously acknowledged that the collection was the result of a concerted effort on the part of artists and collectors alike "acting together in a large and liberal spirit free from all small motives, and private or personal considerations," managed to present an exhibition

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[2] "The Fair as a School of Art," New York World, 7 April 1864, 1, 3.

[3] A Record of the Metropolitan Fair, 99. For another celebratory review of the show that amounts to little more than a mere list of the main works see "The Great Fair," New York World 9 April 1864, 1, 1-(3).

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remarkable in its comprehensiveness. He further attested that the "number of excellent works and of works which, from the wide interest and discussion they excite, are entitled to serious consideration, far surpasses that of the positively bad and of the indifferent."[4]

In spite of the amicable tone of his introduction, he continued in his evaluation treating in the harshest manner the major art works of the show. He castigated Washington Crossing the Delaware by suggesting that the Art Committee was motivated by its desire to "appeal to our patriotism," and thus placed in the most conspicuous location a work that Cook considered "so essentially commonplace, not to say vulgar." He found the painting representative of a moribund style. He proposed that "such a splendid manifestation of national vigor and buoyant life and spirit as this Fair of ours, ought to have put in its place of highest honor, not a drop scene with the mythical Washington striking an attitude, but something more real and smacking of the time." Cook continued his vehement

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[4] Clarence Cook, "The Exhibition of Pictures at the Metropolitan Fair," New York Daily Tribune 9 April 1864, 12, 1-2. The whole issue and the lengthy reviews are cited in John P. Simoni, "Art Critics and Criticism in Nineteenth Century America," Ph. D. Dissertation (The Ohio State University 1952) 240-264.

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attack on Leutze by suggesting that his "'Florence Nightingale in the Hospital at Scoutari'-is beneath contempt; it is absurd in conception, melodramatic in treatment, and, in the badness of its drawing, a comprehensive miracle."[5]

Leutze was not the only artist who attracted Cook's severe criticism. Thomas Hicks' Edwin Booth as Iago, was deemed as painted "in the coarsest, crudest way, without any technical skill; in raw, harsh colors, without gradations, and with neither delicacy nor richness in tone." Lastly Cook thought that the work represented "an indifference to the truth."[6]

As one of the proselytizers to the Pre-Raphaelite aesthetic, Cook used his column in the New York Tribune, not only to criticize traditional academic paintings, but also as a forum for the promotion of the new ideal that was expressed by the Society for the Advancement of Truth in Art, an association that promoted the Pre-Raphaelite ideal

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[5] Cook, "The Exhibition of Pictures at the Metropolitan Fair," New York Daily Tribune 9 April 1864, 12, 1.

[6] Ibid. The work is listed as no 146, in the Exhibition Catalogue and was located just before the exit along with the works by Hübner, Leutze, Beard and Mount discussed earlier.

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in American art. He advocated a "great revolution" of "truth and nature" in which art "responds to the demand of humanity, for whose culture and education in all noble thoughts and purpose she alone exists, …."[7] Against this main criterion of fidelity to truthful interpretation of visible reality, Cook measured the deficiencies of many works in the art gallery.

Cook recognized that Bierstadt's Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak was "well hung, in a commanding position, [and it enjoyed] a good deal of deserved attention." On the contrary however, he found Church's Heart of the Andes "an incoherent jumble of incidents; there is but little truth in the conception, and it is lamely carried out. The whole perspective of the picture seems to us worse and worse, every time we study it, and we find the same fault with it that we do with Leutze's work that the aim seems to be merely to produce a striking, melodramatic effect." Cook accorded Church praise for his Niagara as a work "greater than any yet painted in America" and although he found it lacking in color, he asserted that "it and no other, ought to have had, the place of honor in the room; it is the result of serious, profound, and laborious study, every bit

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[7] Ibid.

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of it painted, from finished, elaborate studies-not mere sketches, but carefully studied, conscientious, loving and true;"[8]

Cook bestowed his most generous comments on Eastman Johnson whom he considered "thus far almost the only painter of the figure in America, who shows both depth of feeling and skill in execution." He admired Johnson's Savoyard, but lamented the fact that it was hung too high, and he also recognized Working for the Fair, "a charming picture of the young girl knitting," two examples that made Johnson's work of such high caliber as to compare them to those of Edward Frère.[9]

The artist that invited Cook's harshest criticism was William Holbrook Beard and his March of Silenus. Cook hoped that his words might be severe enough "to nip such atrocities in the bud." So unabashedly uncompromising was Cook's criticism of the work that it deserves to be cited in its entirety.

> We should think we deserved well of the people if we could make a man afraid and ashamed to paint such loathly things any more. Fortunately for our young people, no such unclean work of his, as has

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

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> of late defiled the walls of one or two public exhibitions, disfigures these. But if anybody can look with pleasure, with satisfaction even, on such work as this- if his gorge does not rise when he looks at these obscene, goatish faces, then he may hope to look at anything the world can show him without winking. Power these pictures show, power to seize all that is animal and bestial in beasts, and, by an infusion of human expression, makes us recoil, with disgust from the suggested relationship. But if this is all that this man's art can do for us, we wish that we may never have the discomfort of seeing any more of it. Nothing so low as these pictures has ever, to our knowledge, been deliberately and habitually painted by any other man sinon pagan days.[10]

Cook continued his review in a follow up article in which he looked with kind generosity at a small work by Thomas C. Farrer, one of the lesser-known artists on exhibition. The work entitled Twilight (c. 1864, Collection of Mr. And Mrs. Wilbur L. Ross Jr.) was placed according to Cook in an inconspicuous position,

> upon the screen directly opposite the door, in company with all the odds, and ends of nameless contributors; and its consignment to this artistic limbo seems to be cordially consented to by the verdict of a good portion of the public; it is more laughed at, sneered at, and quizzed that could be survived by any but a picture of substantial merit.[11]

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[10] Ibid. The heated controversy and the reaction that ensued, as well as the criticism towards The March of Silenus, prior to, and following the Metropolitan Fair is discussed in Gerdts, William Holbrook Beard, 17-19.

[11] Farrer's work was not listed in the exhibition catalogue and appears only in the sale catalogue, no. 96 in Catalogue of Paintings and Other Works of Art, Presented to The

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Then he took it upon himself to save the work from disregard "as a stout defender, who knows something of nature, and is able to take up the cudgels, manfully, in defense of truth and pains-taking [sic] fidelity" and published a lengthy accolade by suggesting that "few pictures have been painted in America more true, more solemn, or more earnest," than this little work by Farrer. He suggested that critics found fault with the exaggerated description of the brightly lit sky and maligned Farrer for

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Metropolitan Fair …, to be Sold at Auction, 8. An alternative title for it An Hour After Sunset in the Catskills appears in "Art-Criticism, Harper's Weekly (30 April 1864): 274-75. Farrer was a driving force behind the formation of the Association for the Advancement of Truth in Art which was created in January 1863, and its publication The New Path. For Farrer and his relationship to Cook see William H. Gerdts, "Through a Glass Brightly: The American Pre-Raphaelites and Their Still Lifes and Nature Studies," in Linda S. Ferber and William H. Gerdts, The New Path. Ruskin and the American Pre-Raphaelites (Brooklyn, N.Y.: The Brooklyn Museum of Art, 1985) 57-68. In this catalogue a painting listed under no. 10, Twilight is proposed as the possible painting of the Metropolitan Fair see, p. 164. Cook provided a detailed description of the work in his review in which he mentioned "the solemn ramparts of the Catskills" in the background, and "in the middle distance, the houses, barns and outbuildings of a farm, and the cattle settling to their rest." "The Exhibition of Pictures at the Sanitary Fair," New York Daily Tribune, 16 April 1864, 12, 1. Cook though does not mention the couple that is embracing in the foreground of the catalogue painting, a rather prominent omission, which leads me to believe that this may by a different work than the one shown at the Metropolitan Fair.

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exactly the same elements that they admired in comparable works by better-known artists, such as Gifford and Kensett. He criticized American artists for having

> strayed so far away from the pursuit of truth as an end of Art; they have so universally accepted the dogma that a something called Beauty is the end, and not Truth; they are so unanimously agreed that nature is to be idealized, generalized, bettered; shown not as she is, but as (they think) she ought be ….

And although he recognized in Farrer's work "a certain hardness and stiffness" he thought that greater practice would certainly remedy it.[12]

Cook complimented Kensett, particularly his Morning in the Valley of Conway, (no. 104, Conway Valley, New Hampshire) as a "very delicate and graceful" work of a man of more than ordinary delicacy of feeling" but he continued by proposing that the artist concentrated on the external characteristics of nature, "rather than those moods of hers which waken serious thought." The work was satisfactory for those tastes "whose ignorance of a deeper sense in Nature it does not fret by any puzzling suggestions,…." For Kensett "it is in vain that [he] tried to escape from his

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[12] Clarence Cook, "The Exhibition of Pictures at the Sanitary Fair," New York Daily Tribune 16 April 1864, 12, 1.

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art, and to convince the world or himself that the slightness of his subject and the absence of a great motive is an excuse for want of knowledge, it makes truth and earnestness unnecessary."

His ultimate conclusion was that although Kensett's early work showed promise of future excellence, it was never realized. He criticized Kensett for "a standard [that] was never a high one" of complacency and of repeatedly depicting standard, formulaic views of nature instead of challenging himself towards a renewed appreciation of the distinct characteristics of the American landscape.[13]

Cook considered similarly inadequate the works of Asher B. Durand and Daniel Huntington as representative of "a past age, and a dead system; an age whose spirit will never return; a system that can never again be revivified;" He finally consented however, that Durand's two large paintings, The Beeches, Sunset (no. 27), and Forest Scene (no. 44), deserved "diligent study" as they "cannot fail to prove instructive."

Cook found an antidote to Durand's "timid naturalism

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[13] Ibid.

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and respectable dullness" in October, 1863 by William Trost Richards (1833-1905). His work was indicative "of the renewal of life, and earnest feeling and purpose of art," that Cook saw lacking in most of the landscape works on exhibition. But in the end he deemed that Richards was adversely affected by the aesthetic of the Düsseldorf School and "every year shows him growing not broader and broader, but more limited in his range, deficient in sentiment, and mannered in his style." Cook rejoiced though at the fact that the influence of the Düsseldorf school and of its New York gallery with "all its vices and all its virtues. And, in spite of its learning, its technical skill, its positive strength," had but a brief influence on American art.[14]

Equally harsh was the criticism addressed to Daniel Huntington's works, The Good Samaritan and Mercy's Dream. Cook considered the first devoid of "any force of originality," merely a work that demonstrated only "knowledge of the figure, and of drapery, and of picturesque effect," but lacked in color or a believable interpretation of action. Even more caustic was his criticism of Mercy's Dream which he found "painted with an

[14] Ibid.

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inexcusable but habitual coarseness, … neglect of drawing, dull and dingy color, and affected or unmeaning attitude;…"[15]

Cook's acrimonious and lengthy diatribe created much stir among New York art artists and critics, who took it upon themselves to defend the organizers of the art gallery of the Metropolitan Fair, and the art works included therein. Cook's provocative commentary caused a spate of reactions by writers and artists alike.[16] "A Lover of True Art," rebattled against Cook's mercurial comments by asserting that Cook's criticism was

> Oracular, pedantic, self-sufficient, supercilious, his back-bone stiffened up by some half-truth theory or other, the unfortunate manufacturer of this sort of critique stalks grimly through the galleries, with eyes that seem to see and brain that pretends to know--a sort of divinely inspired owl. With one sweep of his pen he consigns to oblivion line after line of canvasses, which, even if his extreme near-sightedness permitted him to see, his narrow perception of what is good in art would in no wise capacitate him to judge of.

Cook was accused of playing "at bowls with the pates of the luckless artists from which he strips the crowns."[17]

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[15] Ibid.

[16] see "Art Antics," New York Leader 2 April 1864, 2, 3.

[17] A Lover of True Art, "A Word of the Art-Critics," Evening

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One critic however, George William Curtis (1824-1892), the editor of Harper's Weekly, came to the defense of the embattled Cook. He admired Cook for his "conviction, and so clear an understanding" of American art and he continued; "For whether our art be mannered, conventional and false, or not, certainly our criticism has often enough been weak, unintelligent, and flat, and as little independent or sincere as an ordinary book-notice."[18]

However, he challenged Cook's assertion that the end in art should be truth rather than beauty, by questioning whether there is "any other criterion of this truth than individual experience? Can it be so inevitable, palpable and universal as to justify a tremendous vociferation of any individual judgment as of necessity the true judgment?" Curtis, a more temperate voice than Cook, recognized that

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Post [New York] 21 April 1864, 1, 2-3, cited in its entirety in Simoni, Art Critics and Criticism, 251-254.

[18] "Art-Criticism," Harper's Weekly 8, 383 (30 April 1864): 274-275. Although the author of this article is not identified, it is evident from subsequent articles that he was George W. Curtis. Curtis was an artist and a writer, who was well connected with American artists and intellectuals, many of whom had strong anti-slavery sentiments. He had known Kensett since the late 1840's, when the two were in Rome. For Curtis see Driscoll and Howat, John Frederick Kensett, 32-35, and for his anti-slavery beliefs Husch, Something Coming, 177-178.

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an artist's perceptions of natural fact are very distinct and individualistic and no one artist's appreciation of nature is less valid than that of another. Furthermore, he countered Cook's caustic criticism of Beard's March of Silenus (identified by this critic as Goat Revel) by suggesting that "instead of seeming to us too indecent to mention, is not without a startling strain of Rabelaisque satire and warning."[19]

Curtis felt obligated to come to the defense of Cook who had been "insulted, if not threatened, in private speech and in published communications, for a faithful performance of his duty."[20] He asserted that Cook did not intend any "personal attack" against any particular artist, but rather an earnest criticism of their work. He also reproached the rejoinders to Cook's criticisms as "petulant and contemptuous." Ultimately, he defended Cook's right to express his opinion and suggested that "If he have insufficient knowledge-if he be merely presumptuous, shallow, and conceited, he writes himself down an ass much

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[19] "Art-Criticism," Harper's Weekly 8, 383 (30 April 1864): 274-275.

[20] "Art-Criticism," Harper's Weekly (7 May 1864): 290.

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more emphatically than any one else can write him by calling him so."[21]

He also responded to criticism that Cook's remarks were injurious to the reputation of such venerable artists as Huntington and Durand, by suggesting that Cook intended no disrespect to these individuals but rather, an honest opinion of their art. He asserted that "every man who attacks any established reputation does so at the risk of annihilating himself."[22]

Curtis vehemently rebuked suggestions that through his severe criticism, Cook compromised the chances that artists had to sell their works for such a worthy cause. "The community of buyers, who are not very sure of their own taste, are alarmed, and they refrain from buying, lest they should make themselves ridiculous." Artists, he countered, should welcome sincere criticism of their work so as to guarantee "that the prices of the pictures, so far as possible, shall have some relation to the their excellence." Curtis recognized that "there has been really very little art criticism in the country at any time, and we ought to welcome heartily any effort at it …. For all

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[21] Ibid.

[22] Ibid., 291.

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the signs show that criticism as an art is beginning in this country, and 'Notices of Pictures' are hereafter to be something else than a weak wash of compliment."[23]

William Holbrook Beard though, did not consider Cook's criticism a fair evaluation of his work, nor did he appreciate Curtis' support of Cook's reportorial rights, and made his feelings public at an address to a group of artists at the Studio Building in New York City, and thereafter had his complaints published in the New York Daily Tribune.[24]

Beard addressed his letter to Curtis rather than Cook, and asserted that Cook's criticism was nothing else but a personal vituperation not only on his art but most importantly on his "moral character," and accused Cook of artistic ignorance. He defended his work by explaining that it "was painted as a satire," and that the painting had been seen on numerous occasions "by thousands of honorable men and women," and none had identified in it the vicious or demoralizing intent that Cook recognized. Beard took

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[23] Ibid.

[24] See William H. Beard "Art Criticism," New York Daily Tribune, 21 May 1864, 6,3. The letter is cited in its entirety in Simoni, Art Critics and Criticism, 261-262.

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offense at being identified as "the boldest, most persistent corruptor of public morals," and denied Cook's right to criticism since he was "an ignoramus."[25] He also faulted Curtis for affirming Cook's right to his opinion. Curtis held firm on his ground, and in his final response to the issue concluded that Beard and the other artists misunderstood the spirit in which the criticism was offered.[26]

Cook's sentiment though, was echoed by the reviewer of the art gallery of the Metropolitan Fair in The Round Table

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[25] William H. Beard "Art Criticism," New York Daily Tribune, 21 May 1864, 6, 3.

[26] George Curtis, "Art Criticism," Harper's Weekly 8, 388 (4 June 1864): 354-55. This response was also printed in New York Daily Tribune, 28 May 1864, 3, 5-6. Cook's comments were castigated for their "uncalled for savageness," but it was later recognized that

> since the opening of hostilities criticism of pictures in all the journals has become noticeably freer and severer. The Academy Exhibition of 1865 called forth many criticisms that were much more careful and impartial, even if they were exacting, than any which appeared before 1864. … We indeed count it as by no means among the least of the services which the Metropolitan Fair did for the people of New York, that its Art Gallery furnished the text for such severe comment,-harsh comment if you will, for we can see now that a new period of independent criticism was then begun, and we can hope that it was the dawn of a brighter day then Americans art has yet seen.

A Record of the Metropolitan Fair, 101-102.

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who recognized that

> The throngs that crowd, comment, and wonder at the art-wealth represented on the walls bear witness to the spontaneous interest which pictures excite in all classes. But if we were asked to overlook superficial aspects and consider the effect of this collection of paintings on the well-cultured and lovers of the meaning and purpose of art, there would not by much to gratify, still less to encourage. For this collection is nothing more than a huge and successful advertisement of a few notorious names in American art, of two or three private galleries …. What must we infer when we behold immense spaces taken up by pictures that have been recently exhibited and are familiar to the public, while not so much as three feet is left for painters whom we might mention? This exhibition was not gotten up for the glory of the men who have covered the largest canvases and are in the flood tide of popularity; it was gotten up for the benefit of the soldier, and every artist had a claim upon the committee to be among his brother painters in offering worthy and sufficient examples of his skill …. We are making ourselves the exponents of many artists who are rightly offended and indignant at the spirit which directed the hanging and rejection of the pictures offered for the Sanitary Fair Exhibition.[27]

Although he recognized that the exhibition was "one of great interest and of distinguished excellence," its size and the crowds prevented an "occasion to enjoy and understand the best pictures."

> Sight-seers gulp and bolt everything. Pictures prove no exception, and therefore the purest

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[27] "Pictures at the Metropolitan Fair," The Round Table 1, no. 18 (16 April 1864): 280.

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> elements of art are ineffective. With the best intentions, it is impossible to examine the paintings and look at them in a spirit essential to appreciation or criticism …. The crowd pushes one along in the heat and confusion, and the exhibition proves a great blur of color, in which Leutze, Church, Huntington, and Bierstadt strangely struggle for supremacy of impression. We go away thinking that the exhibition may be good to the unhesitating public, but to the artist and critic and lover of the excellent, it is weariness and vexation of body and spirit.[28]

Contrary to the praise that the recognized masters had received in other reviews, the criticism accorded to them by the reviewer of The Round Table was quite severe. Leutze's Washington Crossing the Delaware was deemed "pretentious and commonplace;" his "'Venice Victorious,' scenic, in a certain sense magnificent, but glaring and superficial, showing great talent, cleverness, and invention, but nothing that would entitle Leutze to rank with painters worthy of love and enduring fame." His Belated Venetian Maskers was thought to be "vulgar and uninteresting."[29]

Frederic Church fared equally poorly, when his work was compared to that of fellow artists. His critical success was attributed to "the vicious results of separate

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[28] Ibid., 281.

[29] Ibid.

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exhibitions, to which Mr. Church in a great measure owes his signal success." Echoing Cook, the reviewer admired in the Heart of the Andes the treatment of color, particularly in the waterfall, but found the overall effect of the work "most pretentious and least worthy of its fame. It is a complex jumble of littlenesses, showing no greatness in treatment, …." Church's Niagara was esteemed a "much finer and nobler picture, … simple, conscientious, devoid of anything meretricious, and wonderfully drawn" but lacking nevertheless "emotional elements" that "should quicken in us rare and exceptional feelings of awe and delight in the beauty or grandeur or sweetness of this fair world."[30]

Eastman Johnson's contributions were once again recognized as "admirable pieces of painting and expression, [which] have that simple and domestic look that wins our love and makes us feel grateful to the artist for so affectionately rendering subjects that are closely connected with the heart of to-day." Equally well regarded was the work of Durand whose In the Woods (Forest Scene) was admired as a "true and noble landscape, full of large feeling and dignity …. A little monotonous in color and texture, but on the whole a most meritorious example of

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[30] Ibid.

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landscape art, … free from triviality, prettiness, and foreign art, the three greatest faults of some of our landscapes."[31]

But the reviewer concluded on a pessimist note evaluating the art gallery of the Metropolitan Fair as nothing

> but a show, and offers no occasion for profitable study of less important pictures than those we have mentioned, expressing our regret that many American painters are insufficiently represented, and yet also congratulating them that their works are not exposed to the profanation of a merely sight-seeing multitude, and that they have been judicious enough to keep good art in its place-a place where lovers of nature, studious, and cultivated men can linger before their works long enough to understand and appreciate them…. The richest treasures are not found in the market-place. And the best of art must not be looked for in the noise and confusion of Sanitary Fairs.[32]

Neither the audiences who attended the Great Central Fair, nor the artists of Philadelphia had to contend with the turmoil that enveloped the art exhibit in New York.

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[31] Ibid.

[32] Ibid. The allusion might be to the 1864 show at the National Academy of Design that ran almost concurrently to the Metropolitan Fair, and was also reviewed by The Round Table. Indeed, the public was encouraged to visit the exhibition of the National Academy of Design, rather than that of the Fair, because it was at the academy exhibition that they would enjoy "the latest phases of thought in the development of art in this country." "National Academy of Design," The Round Table 1, 17 (9 April 1864): 265.

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Most critics recognized the extraordinary undertaking as an indication of the vitality of the artistic establishment in Philadelphia and as an earnest demonstration of the patriotism of all its members.

While Philadelphians enjoyed the positive criticism of the art gallery of the Fair, the art world in Pittsburgh was exposed to the debate generated by Blythe's Democratic Convention, creating a controversy comparable to that over Beard's March of Silenus. James P. Barr, the editor of the Pittsburgh Post, who was satirized in the painting, accused the organizers of the Fair of allowing "Partisan pictures… to disgrace the walls of the Fair …. Certain insults enough have been heaped upon the Democracy, by the highest member of the Administration down to its lowest adherent, without it becoming necessary to prostitute the soldiers' public charity to the base use of selfish demagogues." Barr hoped that the painting would be removed, but when that did not happen, he published another article protesting vehemently "against a repetition of the outrage upon the persons of Democrats as represented in this caricature." He also expressed his frustration with the fact that members of the Democratic party were "made the subject of sneers and jibes

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of the thousands who visit the Art Gallery of the Great Sanitary Fair, …."[33]

Blythe, much like Beard, could not help but answer the acrimonious attack, and responded in the most spirited manner to the criticism of his work; he informed Barr that the work was the result of a commission to paint the procession, but that he had been unable to attend the actual event. Therefore the final product was the result of past experience with similar processions that, according to Blythe, usually included the "washed, unwashed, and unterrified." He further stated that his intend was "not to cross the threshold" of propriety and rebuked Barr for accusing him of having "respectable gentlemen… made to figure as drunken loafers." Evidently, Blythe's verbal talents were comparable to his artistic wit and he responded to this point that "it might be a question of grave doubt, here, if the "wish be not father to the thought."[34]

A staunch Unionist and a supporter of Lincoln, Blythe retaliated by reproaching Barr for

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[33] 'A Few Words of Criticism," Pittsburgh Post 10 June 1864, 2 and "That Picture," Pittsburgh Post 11 June 1864, 2, cited in Chambers, The World of David Gilmour Blythe, 170.

[34] "That Picture," Pittsburgh Gazette 14 June 1864, 3, 2.

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> over three years issuing daily papers…, each containing a column or two of garbled calumny and *insult* (italics in the text) to the President, the army, and to the great loyal sentiment that prevails in the north, and especially in this community, and yet prates over a picture about "intolerance."

Lastly, Beard indicated that, were the picture to be taken down in satisfaction of Barr's request, it would "only furnish [his] spleen a new 'subject'."[35] Apparently the comment was enough of a warning to put an end to the debate.

In most cases critics looked approvingly not only at the general arrangement of the art galleries, but upon the works of artists as well, because any other reaction would have been considered blasphemous to the generosity of artists and committee members alike. Some critics however felt obligated and comfortable enough to balance their generous praise of some works by other more insightful and critical commentary of others.

That was clearly evident with the critical reception of some art works at the 1865 Northwestern Sanitary Fair in Chicago. A reviewer suggested that Thomas Buchanan Read was a better poet than painter and declared that his Undine

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[35] Ibid.

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"and the fame which his waterfall picture has secured him [was] due more to the exquisite and tender poetical vein which runs through his composition than to handling or coloring."[36]

Similarly, Jarvis McEntee's In the Catskill (no. 51) was recognized for its "truth and fidelity of expression, so sympathetic with the sentiments of that season," although the artist was deemed "without any great reputation for unusual skill…, and scarcely ever attempting any extraordinary efforts,…." On the contrary, Sanford Gifford was admired as an artist who "ranks high among artists," but his Kauterskill Clove (no. 151) of 1862, was thought of as a distinctively individualistic interpretation of the regional landscape that caused one reviewer to wonder "by what peculiarity of vision the artist was able to get precisely the remarkable view of the Clove, and by what very odd fortune he chanced to see it in such a strange atmosphere and light, when the valleys and hillsides were so overwhelmed and submerged in one universal yellow." The reviewer encouraged Gifford to concentrate on "images of nature in her every day light,

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[36] "The Great Fair: The Art Hall," Chicago Tribune 29 May 1865, 4, 1.

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and in her familiar array, and avoid the eccentric, the grotesque, and the really unnatural."[37]

The same reviewer reiterated other critics' commentary that Jasper F. Cropsey's "best landscapes are liable to objection for the unnatural tints which too often pervade them, and sometimes badly mar their, in other respects, great merit." His Vernon Valley, with Mountains (no. 107) which because of its panoramic view of the expansive landscape provided "no opportunity for finish in detail of anything," was critiqued for its "somewhat peculiar" coloring but thought to be a work that was representative of Cropsey's style and a fitting counterpart to Bierstadt's minutely rendered and highly detailed landscapes.[38]

The majority of reviews of the art galleries of the fairs, with the few exceptions noted, reflected the immaturity of American art criticism at mid-century. Cook's writings certainly anticipated the more insightful and certainly more objective, less flattering and much more meaningful art commentary that was slowly developing and would be realized in the second half of the nineteenth century by professional art critics, but it stands out as

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[37] "The Art Gallery," Chicago Tribune 7 June 1865, 2, 3.

[38] Ibid.

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an exception.

There is though another equally important factor that accounts for the generally flattering responses that critics offered towards the art galleries of the fairs; in the sensitive climate of the Civil War any truly unfavorable or merely critical reaction was seen as un-patriotic and perhaps as judgmental of the motives of the committees, and thus was avoided. This point was made all too clearly evident in the following commentary in reference to the art gallery of the 1865 Northwestern Fair in Chicago:

> If, among the two hundred [works] that will kindle the dead walls into life and beauty, there shall be any obnoxious to criticism, let it be dumb before the thought that all these works of art are disguised for once into the grander region of works of heart; that in these offerings the patriotism of the painter has wrestled with his pride, like Jacob wrestled with the angel, wrestled and prevailed.[39]

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[39] "Glimpses of the Fair: The Gallery of Art," Evening Journal (Chicago) 27 May 1865, 4, 2.

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The Sale of Art Works

Besides their intellectual impact the art galleries of the Sanitary Fairs had a measurable economic significance for American artists, collectors and dealers alike. At a time of declining fortunes for many artists, the fairs provided an opportunity for exposure but also for much needed income.

The sale of art for the benefit of the Metropolitan Fair attracted a large audience and the bidding was quite spirited particularly for the most important works.[40] The sale was a decidedly sophisticated affair, which "attracted a large number of the elite both of fashion and art."[41] Present were important collectors such as Robert Oliphant, Stewart, Marshall O. Roberts, Jonathan Sturges and Kensett who patronized actively the auction. More than $22,000 was raised and although the majority of the art works sold for

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[40] The event though was a rather exclusive affair as season ticket holders were prevented from attending and the price for the event was set at $0.50, see "The Art Auction," New York Tribune 21 April 1864, 4, 5.

[41] "Sale of Paintings in the Art Department," New York Herald 20 April 1864, 4, 5.

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modest prices, there were a few that brought respectable amounts.[42]

Apparently Cook's stern commentary did not affect the enthusiasm, or the tastes of collectors, who bid generously for the works of many of the censored artists. Leutze's The Unexpected Friend (no. 194, Galerie der Stadt Stuttgart) which Tuckerman referred to as "representing a wounded knight, imprisoned in a tower by a neighboring prince," where an older man and his raven come to his aid, was bought for $475.[43] Marshall Roberts showed, yet again, his support for Leutze by purchasing his Florence Nightingale at Scoutari, (no. 66) for $310. Additionally he paid $100 each for William H. Powell's (1823-1879 Scott's Entry into Mexico (no. 169) and his Landing of the Pilgrims (no. 166).[44] Even the most vilified, William Holbrook Beard saw admirable success when his Commissary Stores Abandoned (unlocated, no. 171) sold for $320. The Head of a Young

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[42] I consulted the following two sources for sale prices: "Sale of Paintings in the Art Department," New York Herald 21 April 1864, 1, 5-6 and Catalogue of Paintings and Other Works of Art … in Aid of the Metropolitan Fair, annotated copy, New York Public Library, under *ZH-IKM p.v. 3 #15.

[43] Cited and discussed in Groseclose, Emanuel Leutze, 1816-1868, 97-98.

[44] "Sale of Paintings in the Art Department," New York Herald, 20 April 1864, 4, 5.

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Girl (no. 177) by George A. Baker (1821-1880) was sold for a remarkable $1,300, one of the most expensive art works at the auction, only surpassed by Bierstadt's Valley of the Yosemite (1864, no. 163) which was purchased for $1,600 by Charles Augustus Davis, a successful writer, merchant, and an active patron of the arts.

Both Bierstadt's The Setting Sun and Huntington's Venice, Sunrise (no. 180) were sold for $650.[45] Landscape works by popular artists fared very well; works by William Stanley Haseltine, Sanford R. Gifford, Whittredge, James Suydam (1819-1865), Gignoux, by both William and James Hart brought more than $300 each.[46]

The few Civil War themes brought respectable prices; Victor Nehlig's Rebel Prisoners went for $150, William T. Hugo's The Approaching Combat (no. 71) for $200, Louis

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[45] "Sale of Paintings in the Art Department," New York Herald, 21 April 1864, 1, 5-6. William Blodgett is listed as the purchaser of Church's Setting Sun in the annotated Catalogue of Paintings and Other Works of Art... in Aid of the Metropolitan Fair ..., 13.

[46] William S. Haseltine's Sunrise from Indian Rock sold for $350, Sanford Gifford's Loss of the Gonda brought $390, Whittredge's View from Baveno Lago Maggiore (no. 189) reached $375, and Gignoux's Island of Grand Manan, Coast of Maine sold for $325, James Hart's Berkshire Scenery (no. 175) sold for $375, and William Hart's Landscape (no. 160) for $450.

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Lang's Soldier's Widow for $220, only to be slightly surpassed by Francesco Augero's ambitious Goddess of Union, attended by Peace and Plenty, dismissing the Fury of Rebellion and her Victims which sold for $275. Figural works sold equally well; William Sydney Mount's Right and Left (no. 85) brought $125, and Eastman Johnson's The Young Sweep (no. 275) was one of the more expensive works at $275.

The most problematic issue in the larger Sanitary Fairs was the disposition of the albums of sketches. At the Metropolitan Fair, two albums, each containing 55 sketches by well known and rising American artists, were handsomely presented in carved and gilded black walnut caskets. The first set featured works by Kensett, Arthur F. Tait, Platt Powell Ryder, Haseltine, Hicks, Samuel Colman, Whittredge, Seymour Guy and Thomas C. Farrer, and the second comprised of contributions by Eastman Johnson, Huntington, Gignoux, Casilear, Sonntag, Champney, John O'Brien Inman, Edward Lamston Henry and others.[47] The frontispiece for both was

[47] Broadside, Two Black Walnut Caskets, Each Containing 55 Sketches by American Artists, to Be Sold … at the Art Gallery of the Metropolitan Fair. Metropolitan Fair Collection, McKinney Library, Albany.

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created by Charles M. Jencks (active 1840s-1890s), a well known watercolorist in New York.

The intent initially was to dispose of the albums through a lottery system; one thousand shares would be sold at $5.00 to subscribers who would then vote as to the disposition of the albums.[48] Unfortunately, this scheme caused extreme reaction among ministers who pressured the organizing committee to conform with the anti-raffling provision of the Fair. Since raffling and any form of gambling was prohibited, the sale of the albums became a major issue. The debate was duly cited in daily reviews and

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[48] "Troublesome Albums," New York Herald 11 April 1864, 4, 6. The problem as to the disposition of a similar album had already taken place at the Brooklyn and Long Island Fair. In that case it was decided that the album, its carved case and its stand would be sold to subscribers for $10 a share, and that it would be then up to them to decide as to the disposition of the album. The public though expressed suspicion as to this plan, but they were reassured that "the whole arrangement will be a perfectly *bona fide* transaction, the shareholders to decide at a meeting, and by their own votes, what shall be done with their property." "Our Daily Record," The Daily Morning Drum Beat 1, 10 (3 March 1864): 4. There are many articles that debated this issue at the Brooklyn Fair see "The Great Fair: The Artist's Album," Brooklyn Daily Eagle 3 March 1864, 2, 3, and Samuel P. Avery's response in "The Great Fair: The Artist's Album," Brooklyn Daily Eagle 5 March 1864, 2, 6. Finally the sketches were not sold together but rather divided in six groups, separated from their carved container and stand and dispersed by lot to seven different individuals, see History of the Brooklyn and Long Island Fair, 62.

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was recorded for posterity in the official Record of the Metropolitan Fair.[49] It was decided finally that the subscription list would be continued, but ultimately the albums would be donated to a recipient that would be chosen unanimously.[50] But, Joseph Choate, the secretary of the Art Committee, found the whole affair rather injurious to the integrity of the members and declared that

> Everyone knows that there is no such intention, but that the sole object of the 500 or more who have subscribed is to secure for himself or herself the much-courted prize. We have proceeded with the full sanction of the executive committee (for every member of it knew what we were doing) until nearly $4000 of tickets were sold- and now they seek to impose upon us a change of plan which involves, if adopted, a manifest fraud upon every person who has taken a ticket. In my part, I can see but two courses which would be proper and honest for us to pursue, viz: either to go on (of course with the permission of the Executive Committee) with the sale of tickets according to the original plan, without any new terms or conditions, or to abide by our Resolution by Monday night and return the money to the subscribers. The subscribers will of course regard the latter course as dishonest, but the

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[49] For a lengthy account of the issue of raffling in relation to the albums see A Record of the Metropolitan Fair in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission, 126-136.

[50] It was noted that "no raffling is intended by the form heading their subscription paper. That it is the intention of the subscribers to vote the albums to some institution, or individual of note." See Minutes of the Joint Executive Meeting, 13 April 1864, Metropolitan Fair in aid of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, Museum of the City of New York.

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> responsibility of that will rest upon those under whose arbitrary orders we act.[51]

A humorous, but obviously critical poem, by George W. Curtis added fuel to the debate. Curtis composed a short operatic exercise in which the choir proclaimed:

> Some sins are venial, so the Doctors say
> But this debauching Raffle,-well-a day!
> The Fair is foul; I will not be its prey.

Thereafter the main protagonist, Enrico, invited his beloved Clara to the Fair, but she refused:

> Enrico! How great is your power!
> But I cannot consent to such sin!
> The Fair may be bright as a flower,
> But oh! There's a serpent within-

Finally, Clara is reassured that "a Seventy-reverend-Doctor Power has pulled the serpent out.[52]

The operetta concluded with a *tableaux vivant* in which Enrico and Clara appeared subscribing to the Artist's Albums. Finally, the albums and the walnut caskets in which they were presented sold at auction, to Charles M. Oliphant

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[51] Joseph H. Choate, letter to Kensett, 14 April 1864, Kensett Papers, Correspondence, Reel 1533. By one account the more than $3,500 collected was to be returned to the subscribers se "Raffling," New York Tribune 12 April 1864, 1, 3.

[52] George William Curtis, "Gems from the New and Admired Opera of Raffleletto," Spirit of the Fair (13 April 1864): 91.

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and Charles Gould respectively for $2,600 and $3,000.[53]

Problematic as well, was the sale of the contributions by the German artists that had caused so much ill feeling to John R. Tait. Because of their late arrival, the works could not take advantage of the excitement and the enthusiasm attached to the Metropolitan Fair; prospective patrons had left the city on their summer vacation and the many sales of European works in the winter and spring of 1864 had satiated the market. When the works were finally auctioned off in June they sold for relatively modest prices, although Carl Hübner's God Save the Union brought $500.[54]

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[53] The total amount from the sale of the two albums is finally recorded as $4,500 see Statement of the Art Department of the Metropolitan Fair, ….. This source records the sale of the album that was contributed by Philadelphia artists and which sold for $811. An additional $1,742.60 was collected from the sale of drawings and pictures to the Mississippi Valley and Philadelphia Fairs.

[54] At the same sale 30 sketches that Philadelphia artists had contributed to the Metropolitan Fair in a "superbly decorated and embossed album," sold for $800, see "Art. Sale of the Sanitary Fair Pictures," The Round Table 2, 28 (25 June 1864): 26. Prior to the opening of the Sanitary Fair a collection of paintings was on exhibition and sale for the benefit of the Sanitary Fair at the Derby galleries. The works are listed in Catalogue of Valuable Oil Paintings of the American, Dűsseldorf and French School,… in Aid of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, at the Derby Galleries, … February 27th to March 13th, 1864 (New York: Sanford, Harroun & Co., 1864). The sale of these works brought $12,893.95 to the coffers of the Metropolitan

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Surprisingly, puritanical Bostonians felt none of the qualms that plagued fair organizers in New York and Brooklyn in reference to the morality of raffling; a great number of items, including art works, were thus disposed of raising respectable amounts for the fair. Many of the art works that were exhibited at the Boston Music Hall were sold by raffle including "a fine bas relief by [William Wetmore] Story, and sent by him from Rome. The tickets for chances sold readily at five dollars each." Finally the work raised $350 for the coffers of the fair. Other paintings offered for sale in the same manner included "a painting of flowers by [John O'Brien] Inman, of New York," "a large painting by Tait 'Sporting Scene,'" for which $2.00 raffles were sold, as well as Rogers' statuettes.[55]

Also sold through lottery, Bradford's The Iceberg raised $425 for the fair, while another work identified only as a painting by George F. Higgins brought $417. Equally profitable for the fair was a work by Augustus Hoppin that was raffled off at $250, whereas Rogers' more

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Fair see Statement of the Art Department of the Metropolitan Fair, ….

[55] "About-Home Matters: Appearance of the Tables," Boston Post 16 December 1863, 4, 2.

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popular works such as his Post Office and his Union Refugee brought much smaller prices.[56]

The album of sketches that was contributed by New York artists was sold by lot and by one account "shares in this elegant contribution [were] in brisk demand."[57] The recipient Patrick T. Jackson, Esq., who "consented to put that on exhibition" at the Athenaeum.[58]

Similar to the measure that had been taken at the auction of the art work in New York, it was decided that an admission charge of $0.50 would be imposed at the art sale at the Great Central Fair so as

> to prevent the crowd that would otherwise collect, and greatly hindering if not stop the sale. We expect a spirited competition for the many valuable works of art contributed for the benefit of the Sanitary Commission, and we now see no way in which bona fide [underlined in the original] buyers can be

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[56] "About Home Matters: The Sanitary Fair," Boston Evening Transcript 21 December 1863, 4, 2. For Story's contribution see "The Sanitary Fair," Boston Post 18 December 1863, 4, 2.

[57] "Sanitary Commission Fair!" Boston Evening Transcript 18 December 1863, 3, 4.

[58] "About Home Matters: The Great Sanitary Fair," Boston Post 22 December 1863, 4, 2. Chances for the album were sold at $5.00 and it was originally hoped that it would bring $2,000 to the fair but it raised $4,000 see "About Home Matters: The New England Sanitary Fair," Boston Post, 16 December 1863, 4, 2, and "About Home Matters: The Sanitary Fair," Boston Evening Transcript 21 December 1863, 4, 2.

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> accommodated, unless [underlined in the original] the above rule is carried out.[59]

Unfortunately, the anticipated "spirited competition," was not realized and the majority of the art works, with only a few exceptions, brought modest prices. At the auction many more works, which did not appear in the original catalogue, were offered for sale, an indication that there were additions to the art gallery. However, apart from fine art there were a number of photographs, a picture of the New Ironsides "worked in wool by the Crew [of the ship]) and even four "fire poker" drawings, which were the first items to be auctioned.[60]

One reviewer asserted that "the sale of pictures for the Sanitary Fair, … was hardly a success," and attributed

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[59] Joseph Harrison, letter to John Welsch, n.d. Furness Papers, May-June-July 1864, Box 8/folder 4, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. The rule was made public in the newspapers. In one such announcement of the sale it was noted that "To prevent a crowd of persons not intending to bid, a charge will be made of fifty cents for admission, and season and committee tickets will not be good at the sale.' "City Affairs," North American and United States Gazette 18 June 1864 1, 6.

[60] Catalogue of Paintings, Drawings, Statuary, &c. to be Sold at Public Sale…. 271 works are listed in all. An annotated copy of this catalogue with prices marked for many of the works sold is located in the Sartain Collection. Papers Relating to the Sanitary Fair, 1864, Mss. Division. The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

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this failure not only to the postponement of the sale until July 1864, but also to the "very bad management of the sale." For him the heterogeneity of the sale was largely to blame because "when good works are mingled with, and preceded by, trash of various kinds, colored photographs, fire-board landscapes, and even 'poker pictures,' it is asking too much of the bidders to rise at once from tens to hundreds, when a picture somewhat better than these is put among them."[61]

Although the reviewer noted that he "missed many of the gentlemen best known to artists as bona fide buyers of pictures," James Claghorn must have been there as he noted in his catalogue the sale prices of the major pieces.[62] Works by German artists fared the best; Hübner's The Forbidden Lover (no. 17) sold for $1500, whereas a landscape by Andreas Achenbach entitled Coast of

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[61] "Philadelphia Art Notes," The Round Table 2, 31 (16 July 1864): 74.

[62] Ibid. I have not found a complete published account of the sale of the pictures, but my observations are based on the annotated copy of the art catalogue by James C. Claghorn see Catalogue of Paintings Drawings Statuary Etc. of the Art Department in the Great Central Fair, Copy of James L. Claghorn-Price Catalogue, Philadelphia Historical Society-Reading Room under Wq* 999 v. 1. It appears that many more works than were originally marked for sale, were auctioned off.

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Scheveningen (no. 38, The Shore, Scheveningen, 1849, Saint Johnsbury Athenaeum, Saint Johnsbury, Vermont) although not marked for sale in the catalogue sold for $750, and an equal amount was raised by The Pastor's Visit (no. 496) by H. Soderman.[63] Henry Peter Gray's The Origin of the American Flag (no. 49) fetched $250, the same price as Homer's Playing Old Soldier (no. 203). Joseph Harrison, the only buyer identified in Claghorn's catalogue, bought a small work by Arthur F. Tait (1819-1905) entitled Quail Chickens (no. 507) for $130. Works with Civil War subjects brought only moderate prices primarily due to the fact that many of them were smaller sketches; Alfred Fredericks' The Goddess of Liberty and Spirit of Secession sold for $100, while Peter Rothermel's sympathetic portrayal of The Soldier's Widow went for $250.

Landscapes by both American and European artists were quite appealing to prospective buyers; Bierstadt's The Wetterhorn (no. 597) sold well for $500, but most impressive was the $1500 paid for a preparatory study (no. 374) for The Monastery "Madonna del Sasso," by Paul Weber (1823-1916). The two most expensive works at the sale were

[63] Achenbach's work was also exhibited at the Metropolitan Fair and is listed under no. 96 in the catalogue.

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Thomas Buchanan Read's Undine (no. 611) and Hübner's The Emigrant's Last Visit to the Family Grave (no. 656) both of which sold for $2,500.[64]

Contrary to the large number of works available at the Philadelphia Fair, at the Maryland State Fair, only 20 out of 120 works were for sale, many offered by the artists themselves; Samuel Colman showed On the Mediterranean (no. 16), Sanford R. Gifford hoped to appeal to local audiences with his Fort Federal Hill, Baltimore, 1862, and Alfred Miller counted on his local popularity and listed the availability of Indian Shooting a Cougar. Unfortunately, Homer was unable to find a purchaser for his Playing Old Soldier and he would offer the work again for sale at the Great Central Fair, where as noted above it finally found a buyer. None of the local collectors listed works for sale at the Maryland Fair, but interestingly both Michael Knoedler and the Philadelphia firm of J. S. Earle & Son, offered European works, and Samuel P. Avery tried to

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[64] Most likely the two albums of sketches, one by Philadelphia artists and another by New York artists, were disposed by subscription. One reporter stated on 2 July 1864, that "The two albums, or collections of sketches … are still open to subscription, having each, … some three hundred subscribers, and happy he whose five dollars bring him an entire little gallery." "Philadelphia Art Notes," The Round Table 2, (9 July 1864): 59.

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promote Gifford's work by offering Old Sycamores, Gennessee, New York.[65]

The exposure that art works received at Sanitary Fairs, particularly those exhibited in more than one, certainly enhanced their chances of finding a purchaser. Most characteristic in that respect was the case of Washington and Lafayette at Mount Vernon by Rossiter and Mignot, which was essentially taken on a tour of mid-western states with the hope that it would sell. At the North-Western Fair in Cleveland, Rossiter, failed to find a buyer for this large picture, but was able to attract others for his Domestic Life, a genre work of a family group for $75 and his Sleeping Innocence, for $35.

In that fair, patrons were generous to local artists and all of Clough's works sold, albeit for modest prices; the most, $55, was paid for a rocky landscape identified as John Brown's Tract (no. 81).[66] Although the sale prices were

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[65] Unfortunately, there is no record of the sale of these art works, nor any specific information as to how their sale would benefit either the fair revenues or the owners.

[66] There are many references to the auction sales at the art galleries of the Northern Ohio Fair see "The Sanitary Fair. The Sale of Paintings," Daily Cleveland Herald 4 March 1864, 3, 4. It was noted that Mignot and Rossiter's Washington and Lafayette at Mount Vernon failed to sell because of the high reserve, which had been set at $6,000.

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much lower in comparison to those achieved in larger cities, they do indicate nevertheless a desire on the part of collectors to enrich their holdings with contemporary art works and demonstrate their support for local artists.

Occasionally, private collectors saw the Sanitary Fairs as an excellent opportunity to sell their works and at the same time benefit a good cause. In connection to the Great Western Sanitary Fair in Cincinnati, Lewis C. Hopkins proposed that should the works that he had contributed sell during the fair, twenty percent of the sale price would be donated to the fair, whereas if they sold at auction following the conclusion of the fair, then only ten percent would be turned over. The audience was encouraged to consider purchasing works from this "most sumptuous collection," early on so as to benefit the fair the most.[67]

It seems that Hopkins was unsuccessful in disposing of his works during the fair, but most sold at an auction following the conclusion of the fair. Works by local artists brought small sums, such as a landscape by one of the Frankenstein brothers entitled View-Bank Lick that sold for $33.50, and a Sunset by Thomas Corwin Lindsay for $30,

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[67] The Sanitary Fair: Gallery of Paintings," Cincinnati Daily Commercial 29 December 1863, 3, 8.

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neither of which was listed in the art catalogue. Thomas Moran's works in general sold better, as did one view of Minnehaha Falls by Robert S. Duncanson, while Thomas Prichard Rossiter's Such is Life brought $60. Leutze's original sketch of Westward the Course of the Empire Takes its Way brought $250, one of the most expensive prices of the auction only to be surpassed by Joseph Oriel Eaton's North and South, a work that was not listed in the art catalogue for the fair, but which sold for $400, the highest price for an American painting at this sale. Duncanson's The Lotus Eaters brought $200.[68]

European artists fared much better and Rosa di Tivoli's The Goatherd, which purportedly had been purchased from the collection of Joseph Bonaparte, brought $300 for Hopkins. Judging by their sale prices, works by Düsseldorf artists were quite popular, only surpassed by Reynolds, Charity, the most expensive work at the auction at $800.[69] The sale obviously indicates a certain preference towards European works, but the remarkable price paid for Eaton's

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[68] See "Great Sale of Western Sanitary Fair," Cincinnati Daily Gazette 11 January 1864, 2, 4.

[69] "Large Sale of Paintings," Cincinnati Daily Commercial 31 December 1863, 2, 2.

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painting reveals his popularity or perhaps the importance of the work.

The organizers of the art gallery of the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair were quite successful in selling art works during the fair and indeed by 2 June, two weeks after the opening of the fair about $600 worth of paintings had been sold. But in keeping with the popularity of the raffles at the fair, a number of paintings were offered to prospective buyers for a $1.00 ticket. The arrangement was announced in the newspapers where it was noted that a "grand raffle of choice art works will be made up, consisting of about one hundred and fifty paintings, some of which are worth $300, and among which we notice the fine new painting entitled a 'Thunderstorm on the Prairie' 'Diana and Ceres,' a game picture by Miss Skeele,' 'Dog and Game,' and any amount of landscapes and engravings."[70] At least fifty art works were disposed of in that manner, and an Illinois resident won a large wooden crucifix by an artist identified as W. Franquinet.[71] Also on sale were

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[70] "The Great Hall: Art Hall," Daily Missouri Democrat 2 June 1864, 4, 2.

[71] "The Sanitary Fair," Daily Missouri Democrat 17 June 1864, 4, 2 and "The Great Fair: The Other Prizes," Daily Missouri Democrat 7 June 1864, 4, 3. The crucifix had already raised $11,000 for the fair in Cincinnati, and its new owner donated to the Mississippi Valley Fair see "The

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Wimar's two views on the Missouri that were offered for sale by his widow in order to raise much needed funds for her family.[72]

Undoubtedly the artist who benefited the most from the enthusiasm generated by the Sanitary Fairs was John Rogers. As was already noted with the Metropolitan Fair, Rogers actively pursued organizers to have his work included in the art galleries. His small, sentimental, easily understandable, views of life at the front appealed to patrons. Furthermore, the affordable prices made his work even more accessible to broader audiences. His 13 works on view at the Pittsburgh Sanitary Fair, readily found purchasers, and equally popular were his works at the Great Central Fair in Philadelphia. The relevancy of his themes to the issues of the times, made his works the most appropriate mementoes of the Sanitary Fairs.

By June of 1865, with the Civil War over, artists, art collectors and art dealers counted on the exuberance and the optimism of the period in order to invite purchasers

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Great Fair: The Fine Art Hall," Daily Missouri Democrat 19 May 1864, 4, 3.

[72] "The Great Fair: The Fine Art Hall," Daily Missouri Democrat 19 May 1864, 4, 3. The works were in the collection of a local judge, R. E. Rombauer, but apparently he was not the owner.

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for their works and the last Sanitary Fair in Chicago provided ample opportunity. Of the 324 art works, 161 were offered for sale, the largest number in any Sanitary Fair.[73]

Many local artists including Peter Fiske Reed and William Gogswell listed their works for sale, while Henry C. Ford donated to the fair his Grave of John Brown (no. 135) The works of Alexander Helwig Wyant and Thomas Buchanan Read from Cincinnati were also listed for sale, while George Sharples from the same city offered his work Morning (no. 182) with the stipulation that should it be sold half of the proceeds would benefit the fair.[74] Few in the large contingency of Bostonian artists participated in the sale, an indication perhaps that the strong patronage base in Boston was sufficient to sustain them.

Both successful and lesser-known New York artists gave their works for sale in large numbers. All of William

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[73] Although the sale of art works was scheduled for 3 July 1865, no further reference to the sale was made in the news. "The Sanitary Fair: Art Department," Chicago Tribune 22 May 1865, 4, 2.

[74] This notation appears in Catalogue of Paintings, Statuary, Etc. in Art Department of the Great North-Western Fair, 1865, 7. Only three such notes appear in the catalogue. The other two refer to the works by I. Underhill of Chicago, and Maria L. Wagner. Ibid. The exact arrangement as to the distribution of funds earned by the sale of art works is not recorded.

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Holbrook Beard's works on view were for sale, as were those of Lilly Martin Spencer, Worthington Whittredge, Jasper F. Cropsey, Thomas Lochlan Smith (1835-1884), Robert M. Pratt (1811-1880) and others. Although Frederic Church shunned the fair altogether, Albert Bierstadt thought it an excellent promotional opportunity and offered two White Mountain views.

Of note is the large number of art works for sale by established New York and Boston art dealers; Samuel Avery listed ten works, most by American artists, and John Snedecor six American and German works. The Boston firm of Williams and Everett was well represented with a total of twelve, and a smaller number was shown by Sowle's Gallery of the same city. Certainly not in need of funds, New Yorker Marshall O. Roberts generously donated to the fair for sale, Leutze's very topical Florence Nightingale (no. 128), while John Wolfe also of New York, who had already disposed of the majority of his collection because of economic hardship in 1864, offered for sale two works including Rossiter's Twilight Hours (no. 62).

Such a large offer of art works for sale clearly signifies the esteem that the art galleries of the fairs enjoyed among artists and art dealers. The excitement

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generated by them brought in many already established patrons, but most importantly made less expensive works available to the larger public in an often less intimidating setting than that of private galleries. Furthermore, the particular means employed by many organizers such as subscription lists and lotteries allowed even less affluent citizens to have a chance at owning a creditable work of art. The eagerness with which artists exhibited their works was an indication of their patriotic support of the cause of the fairs, but it also affirmed their faith in the art galleries to promote their work to a large and varied public, and possibly attract new patrons.

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CHAPTER VII: LESSONS LEARNED

The Impact of the Sanitary Fairs on the Establishment of American Museums

The common element in many of the reviews of the art galleries of the Sanitary Fairs is the emphasis placed on their educational and moralizing influence, their position apart from other attractions of a sensational or merely enjoyable nature, and the expression of a desire to have increased and free access to comparable art exhibits on a permanent basis. In variations these sentiments are expressed on many occasions, and they are clearly indicative of an awareness that was well established by mid-century that public art galleries should become an essential part of the cultural life of every American city.

Writing during the New York Metropolitan Fair, Henry T. Tuckerman recognized that

> The surprise and delight exhibited by the thousands of all degrees, who visited the Picture Gallery of the Metropolitan Fair, has suggested to many, for the first time, and renewed in other minds more emphatically, the need, desirableness, and practicability of a permanent and free Gallery of Art in our cities. The third metropolis of the civilized world should no longer be without such a benign provision for and promoter of high civilization. Within the last few years the advance of public taste and the

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> increased recognition of art in this country, have been among the most interesting phenomena of the times.[1]

Its importance was recognized yet again by the writer of the official Record of the Metropolitan Fair who reaffirmed that the art gallery of the fair

> was one that we have reason long to remember. It was not only a collection of peculiar value in itself, but it marked an epoch in the art history of this country. We find artists and critics in 1866 recognizing, even more fully than in 1864, its importance that future years will develop yet more indubitably that importance. Why this is so, will be so easily seen that we need not devote many words here to setting forth the cause; though the plainest history could scarcely tell of the Art gallery without dwelling somewhat upon its probable bearing upon American art.[2]

The impact of the art gallery of the fair on art in general was realized just a few years later by the creation of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the name of which may have been indeed inspired by the Metropolitan Fair.[3] Many of the leading men who were responsible for the fair were involved with the creation of the museum; Kensett, Whittredge and Avery were on the Art Committee of the Union

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[1] T[uckerman] "A Metropolitan Art Gallery, New York Tribune 23 April 1864, 9, 4. A large portion of this article was reprinted in Henry T. Tuckerman, Book of the Artists (1867, reprint, New York: James F. Carr, 1966) 11.

[2] A Record of the Metropolitan Fair ..., 97.

[3] The suggestion is made by Driscoll, Kensett, 45.

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League Club, members of which enthusiastically supported the idea of a permanent art gallery for New York.[4]

The origination of the Metropolitan Museum of Art lay with members of the Union League Club, who had been instrumental in the success of the Metropolitan Fair. In 1866, John Jay, then president of the Union League Club, on the occasion of a Fourth of July celebration by American expatriates at the Pré Catalan, the trendy restaurant at the Bois de Boulogne, in Paris, suggested that America great as it was, had neglected the arts and its citizens had now a responsibility to undertake their promotion by establishing public galleries.[5]

Indeed, his directive was taken up by the art committee of the Union League Club, which began to take steps "for the foundation of a permanent national gallery

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[4] The other members of the committee were G. P. Putnam, the founder of the publishing house, and artists John Q. A. Ward, and Vincent Colyer (1825-1888). For the seminal involvement of Union League members in the creation of the Metropolitan Museum of Art see Irwin, May, Hotchkiss, A History of the Union League Club, 87-90. Details are also discussed in Winfred E. Howe, A History of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York: n.p., 1913) 99-140. Kensett was ultimately elected on the first Board of Trustees for the Metropolitan Museum in 1870 and kept this post until his death in 1872.

[5] Howe, A History of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, 99-100.

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of art and museum of historical relics, in which works of high character in painting and sculpture and valuable historical memorials might be collected, properly displayed, and safely preserved for the benefit of the people at large."[6] The art committee called a meeting in New York for 23 November 1869 in the Theatre of the Union League Club, which was attended by some of the most influential artists, art collectors, architects, merchants, and New York intellectuals. The president of the meeting was William Cullen Bryant, and its vice presidents included Daniel Huntington, Richard M. Hunt, Marshall O. Roberts and Henry Bellows, while Samuel Avery and Alfred J. Bloor served as secretaries. Church and Bierstadt, Kensett, Cranch, Gifford, Tait, McEntee and others were present as well.[7]

Bryant excited the crowds with his spirited oration and supported unequivocally the idea of a public museum, not only as a repository of American art but also as the final custodian of private collections, because "when the owner of a private gallery of art desires to leave his treasures where they can be seen by the public, he looks in

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[6] Ibid, 101.

[7] Ibid., 104.

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vain for any institution to which he can send them." Echoing the comments of so many reviews of the art galleries of the fairs, Bryant suggested that in a city like New York that accommodated all that was "eminent in talent, all that [was] splendid in genius, and all that [was] active in philanthropy; but also all that [was] most dexterous in villainy, and all that [was] most foul in guilt," an art gallery would provide "attractive entertainments of an innocent and improving character."[8]

The Metropolitan Museum demonstrates directly the connection between the Sanitary Fairs and the creation of American museums, but the effect of the art galleries for the promotion of the arts in other cities is equally notable. The educational impact of the 1863 Northwestern Sanitary Fair in Chicago was clearly evident to one reporter who noted that

> Besides the simple gratification of taste and passing pleasure of inspecting the productions of genius, a gallery like the varied and beautiful

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[8] Ibid, 108, 111. Bellows also delivered a well received speech in which he prophetically wondered whether Americans would not "be able to outbid the world in any market for those great recondite works of Art which are so necessary to the cultivation of people? Who can say how soon we may find ourselves the largest and the safest officers for the custody and protection of the highest of all works in the world?" Ibid., 115.

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> one now opened is a *school of art*, where one may study the characteristics of artists, and become familiar with the excellencies and artistic qualities of each;[9]

Although, Chicago would ultimately be enriched by its Art Institute, a more immediate response to the influence of the Chicago fairs was the establishment in March of 1867 of the Academy of Design. The institution was founded by some of the same men who had were responsible for the successes of the art shows of the fairs, with the intent of providing a permanent art gallery for Chicago. Volk, Ford, Crosby, Reed, Cogswell and others wrote its constitution; "Its main object shall be the encouragement of the true and the beautiful in the Arts of Design; and its duties shall be to extend all possible encouragement and protection to the interests of the Artist, the Fine Arts, and its votaries."[10] In its dual role as an art school and an art museum, the Academy of Design served well the artistic community and the art lovers of the city and in 1870 a writer asserted that "with an Academy thoroughly organized, and with a public ready to patronize, there seems to be no

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[9] "The Art Gallery," The Evening Journal [Chicago] 5 November 1863, 4, 3.

[10] George Upton, "Art in Chicago," The Western Monthly 4 (December 1870): 406.

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reason why art should not now advance in a legitimate direction."[11]

Similarly the art gallery of the Albany Army Relief Bazaar was described in glowing terms, and the suggestion was put forth that "Such a chance for inspection of some of the rarest gems of art in this country should be improved."[12]

The art galleries were advertised as schools of art that afforded audiences a singular opportunity to study the comparative qualities of American and European Art. Referring to the art gallery of the Great Western Fair in Cincinnati, one reviewer asserted that

> The Great Fair has brought to light the productions of an army of home genius, and an opportunity is now presented for forming an acquaintance with Western art and artists, which will not soon be repeated. Let every one who enters the Gallery not fail to procure a catalogue and in it write against the name of the artist extended comments upon his work, and he will possess a fund of materials for many learned and sagacious conversations with his admiring friend upon the subject of American art![13]

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[11] Ibid., 407.

[12] "Art Gallery at Palmer's Studio," Evening Journal [Albany] 24 February 1864, 2, 4.

[13] "The Sanitary Fair. Gallery of Paintings," Daily Commercial [Cincinnati] 29 December 1864, 3, 8.

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Equally hopeful was the reporter of the art gallery of the Pittsburgh Sanitary Fair that its impact might be longer than the brief duration of the fair.

> The example of this exhibition has created within us a wish to have a permanent public institution of Art in our city, and a school connected with it so that in all respects it might be an Academy like that our sister city-Philadelphia. Our State can boast of the first and only Academy of Fine Arts in the United States, and we possess the finest allegorical painter in the country-P. F. Rothermel- a native of Pennsylvania, Sully, Nagle [sic], Peale, and others who are not surpassed even by the great metropolis; and why should not Pittsburgh follow the example of other cities? Thus, while art spreads its beauties for the noble purpose of giving aid and comfort to our nation's defenders, it also, by refining our natures, prepares a happy condition at home.[14]

A comparable and broad educational mission was attached to American museums of the later nineteenth century, at least early on. Characteristic in that respect is the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, which was incorporated in 1870 and opened to the public in 1876. Its primary mission was "be a popular institution, in the widest sense of the term," available to the public for free. Its collections were to include "a comprehensive gallery of reproductions, through plaster casts of the many treasures

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[14] "Art Gallery at the Fair," Pittsburgh Commercial 10 June 1864, 2, 5.

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of Antique and Medieval Art, or photographs of original drawings by the most renowned artists of all periods."[15]

Its diverse Board of Trustees intended to prevent the new museum from becoming an elitist institution addressing only the needs of Boston's upper classes. Its main purpose, rather, according to Charles C. Perkins, one if its founders, was "collecting material for the education of a nation in art."[16] Moreover he declared:

> In regard to the class of art objects with which we should propose to stock the proposed Museum, there can be but one opinion. As its aims are educational, and its funds are likely to be for some time limited, these objects must be such as are to be obtained at once at a moderate expense, and of such a nature as to place the institution on a high ground in the esteem of the community

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[15] Cited in Levine, Highbrow/Lowbrow, 151. For an extensive account of the museum's history see Walter Muir Whitehill, Museum of Fine Arts Boston: A Centennial History 1 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970) 1-39. Interestingly, the museum early on accepted collections of curiosities that included Egyptian mummies, a Philippine chain cutlass, a buffalo horn and Zulu weapons.

[16] Its first Board of Trustees comprised of very wealthy Bostonians and leading educators but also five ex officio members that included the mayor, the chairman of the Trustees of the Boston Public Library, the Secretary of the State Board of Education and the Boston Superintendent of Schools. For the museum's early measures to satisfy its educational purpose, by means of installation of clear labels, and publication of guides, lectures, and the establishment of a library and art schools see Neil Harris, "The Gilded Age Revisited: Boston and the Museum Movement," American Quarterly 14, 4 (Winter 1962): 555.

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> as means of culture to the public, of education to artists and artisans, and of elevated enjoyment to all.[17]

At the museum's inauguration in July of 1876, Boston's mayor, reiterating many of the messages that were so popular with the art galleries of the Sanitary Fairs, asserted that "all classes of people will benefit and pleasure" from this new institution.[18]

The Sanitary Fairs also provided the example for yet another development that would affect the future of American museums; their distinct separation of curiosities and other heterogeneous exhibits from the fine arts proper. Although many museums in the eighteenth and early nineteenth century displayed a sensational accumulation of oddities along with paintings or sculptures, late nineteenth century museums quickly progressed towards an exclusive concentration on the superior arts of painting and sculpture.

Peale's museum exemplified well the form of early museums, but there were numerous other such examples throughout the Eastern states but also in Pittsburgh,

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[17] Walter Muir Whitehill, Museum of Fine Arts Boston: A Centennial History, 9-10.

[18] Levine, Highbrow/Lowbrow ,151-152.

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Cincinnati and St. Louis. Boston's first museum for example, renamed the Columbian Museum in 1795, exhibited wax figures of John Adams, Washington and Benjamin Franklin, along with paintings, a live rattlesnake, an alligator and an eagle. Even in 1819, the Boston Gallery of Fine Arts, a year after its exhibition of a collection of engravings by Hogarth, attempted to increase its revenues by engaging the services of two musically inclined dwarfs who entertained the public with their performances.

Various New York museums such as the Tammany American Museum in the 1790's and the New American Museum in the 1810's, interspersed paintings with African, Indian and Chinese curiosities, natural history specimens, as well as innovative products of a technological nature.[19] As Neil Harris has observed "museums were not, in the antebellum period, segregated temples of the fine arts, but repositories of information, collections of strange or doubtful data."[20] Therefore, the Sanitary Fairs represent a midway point between the multiplicity of early museum

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[19] For these early museums see Levine, Highbrow/Lowbrow, 148-9.

[20] Neil Harris, Humbug: The Art of P. T. Barnum (Chicago, 1973) 73, cited in Levine, Highbrow/Lowbrow, 147.

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exhibits and the exclusivity of those of the Gilded Age.

The fairs obviously entertained audiences with the multifarious nature of their displays but always stressed the rarified atmosphere and impact of the art galleries, by setting them apart from more popular exhibits. The boundaries imposed between relics and curiosities and didactic, yet enjoyable, paintings and sculptures, were to define the institutional promotion of the fine arts within the museum context. As Paul Di Maggio has asserted the "distinction between high and popular culture, in its American version, emerged in the period between 1850 and 1900 out of efforts of urban elites to build organizational forms, that, first, isolated high culture and, second, differentiated it from popular culture."[21] The Sanitary Fairs can thus be seen as an important transition towards what many scholars have defined as this "sacralization" of high art and culture.

The sophisticated organizers of the art galleries of the Sanitary Fairs, and of later museums, wished to nurture the intellectual, and aesthetic elevation of their audiences, regardless of their class origin, by providing

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[21] Paul di Maggio, "Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston: The Creation of an Organizational Base for High Culture in America," Media, Culture & Society 4, 1 (January 1982): 33.

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them with the opportunity to partake of an experience heretofore available largely to the few chosen. For fairgoers, the obvious lesson noted again and again, was that a visit to the art galleries provided an escape for minds hardened by the conflict, and most importantly taught lessons about American culture and its achievements, but it also encouraged the appreciation of commonly shared aesthetic ideals.

At a time of great division, art could provide the link that would extinguish cultural, political and economic distinctions. Likewise, turn of the century museums intended to create a cultural consensus based on aesthetic refinement in hopes of minimizing tensions brought upon American society by the dramatic economic and cultural changes that were set into motion in the aftermath of the Civil War.[22]

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[22] Many scholars have noted a quite reverse movement in the relationship of American museums to their public by the early twentieth century, when they became enclaves of exclusivity addressing the tastes of the elite few and distancing themselves from their original educational missions, see di Maggio, "Cultural Entrepreneurship in Nineteenth-Century Boston: The Creation of an Organizational Base for High Culture in America," 35ff and Levine, Highbrow/Lowbrow, 152 ff. Already in 1903, Matthew Stewart Prichard, assistant director of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, declared that the museum's educational mission was not nearly as important as its duty "to establish and maintain in the community a high standard of

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The Significance of the Sanitary Fairs for the 1876 Philadelphia Centennial

In the size, complexity, ideological impact and financial importance, Sanitary Fairs, were unprecedented enterprises in the history of the United States. Their specific aim was, obviously, to raise money for Union soldiers but their most influential impact was the unification of large segments of local populations, and on occasion the cooperation among various states for the achievement of a common goal. Although the financial basis for the Philadelphia Centennial was much broader, and included the backing of international governments as well as the reluctant financial support of the American government, its success, much like that of the Sanitary Fairs, depended on the enthusiasm and support of hundreds of volunteers. As Matthew Gallman has observed, the 1876 exhibition like its wartime predecessors "relied on the direction of Philadelphia elites, the voluntary efforts of hundreds of local men and women, and the financial support

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aesthetic taste." Cited in Levine, Highbrow/Lowbrow, 152.

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of the city's businesses, fraternal societies, and private citizens."[23]

Much like the Sanitary Fairs, the Philadelphia Centennial was intended to rally audiences around this national celebration and to demonstrate to everyone, America's competitive presence in an international arena.[24] The Centennial celebrated not only the birth of the nation, but also its rebirth following the Civil War and the devastating economic depression of 1873.

Although Americans had experienced the organization of a World's Fair with the Crystal Palace in New York in 1853, many of the characteristic features of the Philadelphia Centennial had more to do with the Sanitary Fairs rather than with the Crystal Palace, although all exhibitions intended to nurture American nationalism and give a sense of well being, intellectual enrichment and enjoyment.[25] With

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[23] Gallman, "Voluntarism in Warime," 115.

[24] The impact of the Sanitary Fairs upon the Philadelphia Centennial is discussed briefly in Gallman, "Voluntarism in Wartime," 112-116.

[25] For the Crystal Palace see Charles Hirshfeld, "America on Exhibition: The New York Crystal Palace," American Quarterly 9, 2, part 1 (Summer 1957): 101-116. The Crystal Palace was a celebration of "the intimate union of Liberty and Labor," and the majority of the exhibits promoted the ingenuity and inventiveness of Americans as demonstrated by efficient and fast machinery that would dramatically alter patterns of production. In anticipation of some of the

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the Crystal Palace the emphasis was primarily on technological and industrial achievements, although prefiguring the Sanitary Fairs it included a large art collection, indeed the largest ever seen in this country. The majority of the works however, with the exception of sculptural works by Hiram Powers (1805-1873) were by European artists, thus forcing American artists to consider their shortcomings in comparison with their more sophisticated counterparts, rather than feel pride in their accomplishments.

The Centennial of 1876 was a combination of all lessons learned both from the Crystal Palace as well as from the Sanitary Fairs, but now the scale was enormous. The magnitude of the overall exhibition site at more than 240 acres, as well as the main building of the Centennial, made of a skeletal structure and covered with glass, had an impact comparable to that of the Great Central Fair; the sheer size of the structure and the variety of the exhibits fascinated and overwhelmed its visitors.

Extraordinary festivities marked the opening of the

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messages promoted at the Sanitary Fairs, Crystal Palace was recognized as "a Republican lesson of the capacities off man, the dignity of labor, and the obligation of society to genius and toil." Ibid., 114.

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fair and president Grant attended its inauguration that was so expressive of a national "earnest desire to cultivate the friendship of our fellow-members of this great family of nations, the enlightened agricultural, commercial and manufacturing people of the world … to exhibit in equal terms in friendly competition with our own."[26]

The small international exhibitions that had attracted so much attention in the Sanitary Fairs at Pittsburgh, Albany and Rochester now were expanded in size both in the main building as well as in the independent national buildings. The Turkish divan that was a popular feature at the Great Central Fair was now enlarged to a full scale Turkish Café and there was also a Tunisian café, both of them well patronized by fairgoers. Native American culture that had attracted large audiences in Sanitary Fairs in New York and elsewhere, was presented in a quite different manner with much of the theatricality removed, and the emphasis placed on the educational impact of the exhibit. The Smithsonian Institution loaned to the fair "totem posts" by native Americans of the Northwest Coast, which

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[26] Frank H. Norton, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Historical Register of the Centennial Exposition 1876, reprint, introduction by Richard Kenin (New York: Paddington Press, 1974) 77.

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were identified as "curious specimens," but their instructional value was clearly recognized as they were evidence of the genealogical customs of the native tribes.[27] Another exhibit indicative of American culture that had already marked its presence in so many of the fairs, the New England kitchen, was reconstructed here as well, although in this case it was shown only as an ethnographic exhibit devoid of contemporary actors in colonial costumes, or a restaurant.

Even though "the Centennial belonged to the steam age and the Corliss engine," its crowing feature was the art gallery, and as one critic noted "The pictures have formed the central, dominant point of attraction, every day, from the beginning to the end."[28] Although exceedingly rich in European works, the exhibition featured a large number of American works collected under the direction of John Sartain.

John Sartain who was so instrumental in the success of the Great Central Fair, now served as the Chief of the Art

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[27] Ibid., 106.

[28] Cited in 1876: American Art at the Centennial (Washington, D. C.: National Collection of Fine Arts, 1976) 23, note 1. The comment on the art galleries was from "American Art," Scribner's Monthly 13 (November 1876-April 1877): 126, cited above, 5.

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Department of the American art exhibit.[29] He also relied on the assistance of committees that included many of the seminal figures who had worked assiduously for the success of the major art galleries of the Sanitary Fairs. From Philadelphia, Claghorn and Rothermel served on the advisory council along with John Taylor Johnston, William J. Hopin and Whittredge, then President of the National Academy, who also served as a member of the arrangement committee. The selection committee included Huntington, McEntee, Thomas Hicks, Henry K. Brown and John Q. A. Ward from New York, along with other artists from Philadelphia and Boston.[30]

The extensive knowledge, connections and zeal of these members was instrumental in their collection of 760 paintings and 162 sculptures, among them many well known works, some of which had been exhibited at the Sanitary Fairs; here was Leutze's The Iconoclast, and Vanderlyn's Ariadne, as well as Beard's controversial March of Silenus, Rothermel's Christian Martyrs in the Colosseum, and Johnson's Old Kentucky Home which was recognized "as an old

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[29] Norton, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Historical Register of the Centennial Exposition 1876, 109.

[30] The members of the art committee are listed in 1876: American Art at the Centennial, 23, note 5. For the selection process of the American art works see Ibid., 7-8.

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favorite. It is a picture full of genuine interest to every American, although artistically it is by no means up to the excellence of the artist's later work; the composition is faulty, the points of interest being diffused in several directions instead of being concentrated in one."[31]

Naturally, tastes had changed and art works that were often praised at the Sanitary Fairs were now criticized; Bierstadt's works were deemed "sensational and meretricious," while Church's views were seen as lacking "the fullness of sentiment," although other artists such as Sanford R. Gifford, Mauritz Frederick De Haas, Cropsey and Whittredge continued to be popular and were well represented at the Centennial.[32] More in keeping with contemporary aesthetic credos though, and representative of a new direction in American art, were the works of William Merritt Chase (1849-1916), William Trost Richards (1833-1905) Thomas Eakins (1844-1916) and John La Farge (1835-1910) and others who demonstrated a more cosmopolitan

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[31] Norton, Frank Leslie's Illustrated Historical Register of the Centennial Exposition 1876, 188.

[32] John Ferguson Weir, "Plastic and Graphic Art, Painting and Sculpture," Reports and Awards, ed. Francis A. Walker, vol. 7, Group 27: 2 (Washington, D.C.: United States Centennial Commission International Exhibition, 1880) 26-27, cited in 1876: American Art at the Centennial, 13.

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aesthetic that would dominate American art in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

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CONCLUSION

At the most divisive time in the history of the United States, when the sanctity of the Union was seriously imperiled and the loyalties of people to different ideological factions often challenged a harmonious cooperation towards a common resolution, the Sanitary Fairs brought together thousands of people who strove for similar goals. The most evident achievement of the fairs was indeed their remarkable financial contribution to the war effort, but their ultimate success lay in uniting Americans of various classes, opposing political leanings, tastes and outlooks towards a shared purpose. Even in the most factious cities such as St. Louis and New York, Baltimore and Philadelphia, the fairs stirred widespread enthusiasm and encouraged all, American-born and immigrants, to participate in order to demonstrate their patriotism and their uncontestable, collective faith in the future prospects of the United States.

The healthy competition generated by the fairs revitalized communities by promoting the strengths of their citizens, who undertook with unending energy the multifarious tasks required of these extensive organizations. Whereas many regional centers may have felt

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their cultural and artistic inadequacies in comparison to the larger urban centers of the East, the noble purpose of the fairs and the exposure that their cities received certainly reaffirmed the significant strides they had made and their important contribution to this ennobling cause.

Problems and adversities notwithstanding, fair organizers managed to coalesce an impressive array of diverse exhibits aimed to satisfy every curiosity and taste, entertain and delight, but also incite thoughtful contemplation and beneficial instruction. Through their dependence on a proven combination of the unusual, amusing, and edifying, the fairs appealed to the popular as well as the exclusive and sophisticated audience. The patriotic purpose of the fairs brought culturally and economically disparate groups in close proximity as they all aimed to support the practical needs of the Union soldiers and the lofty ideals of the sacred union of the states.

Participants were allowed a proud ownership of the organizational and financial successes of the fairs. Women with visionary optimism, shouldered remarkable responsibilities within the fairs, and brought into fruition tasks that required skill and dedication all the while battling often onerous opposition. Although credit was due to the organizers for putting these complex

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enterprises together, visitors were the ones who were responsible for the remarkable revenues realized at the fairs, the measurable evidence of their patriotic sentiment and dedication to national unity.

The fairs were instrumental for subsequent American international exhibitions, as they provided the prototypes for many of the features that would be later appropriated on a much larger scale; the exhibitions of Native Americans, their customs and artifacts, the presentation of other cultures both western and non-western, the colonial kitchens that were repeated at the Philadelphia Centennial and the Chicago World's Fair in 1893, and the large scale art exhibits.

The art galleries celebrated the achievements of American artists but at the same time provided the opportunity of comparisons between American and European works. A wide audience gained access to private collections reserved for the most part for the eyes of art patrons and connoisseurs. Collectors received the accolades of their peers, and of the community at large for so generously opening their private art treasures to the public. Private and public pride commingled, as they were praised in their press for their discerning tastes, but also for their magnanimity in offering invaluable works for the

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delectation of their fellow citizens and for the good of their country. Critics and audiences alike claimed private collections as a manifestation of the sophistication and cosmopolitanism of individual collectors and as proof of their support of American artists, of local as well as national reputation.

The patriotic purpose of the fairs encouraged everyone to visit the art gallery who would otherwise not venture into an art exhibit. This achievement of the art exhibits was noted by a reporter of the Pittsburgh Commercial: "The effect upon the public taste is … worthy of consideration, for thousands could never feel art's refining influence were it not for such public displays as this."[33]

The remarkable attendance records provided the means by which the public appeal of the art galleries was measured. But of greater ideological value was their educational and moralizing effect that set them apart and on a higher level from many of the other exhibits. Their proximity though to practical, amusing and even curious and bizarre exhibits certainly facilitated and indeed encouraged the transition towards the elevated realms of

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[33] "Art Gallery at the Fair," Pittsburgh Commercial 10 June 1864, 2, 4.

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artistic experience and made the experience all the more poignant and meaningful.

By combining the high-minded ideals of historical and landscape works with more approachable genre, still-lifes and portraits, the galleries appealed to varied tastes and levels of understanding. They encouraged a visual discourse that furnished audiences with the necessary historical evidence that sustained their faith in the capabilities of their nation to emerge triumphant from the Civil War. By providing visitors with meaningful links to historical experience, the art galleries situated the current conflict in a larger sequence of events that tested America's destiny, but ultimately helped affirm its perseverance against all oppositions, internal and external. Veiled and overt nationalistic associations expressed in well known art works, reinforced in weary audiences their belief in the strengths of their national identity.

Organizers and visitors alike considered the art galleries of the fairs as the most tangible evidence of the refinement and culture that their cities demonstrated. Audiences enthusiastically embraced the art exhibits in their desire to be enlightened, benefit from their elevated messages, but also because of their sense of duty towards the financial success of the shows. In the end, the art

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galleries contributed significantly to the pecuniary success of the fairs, and provided visitors with the means for intellectual, aesthetic and moral improvement.

The social and ethical values promoted within the art galleries distinguished them from all other exhibits and underscored their didactic mission. The careful deliberation and the exalted commentary with which reporters described the art galleries situated them in the minds of the audience as absolutely necessary components of a successful fair visit, which any patriotic and refined citizen would do well not to omit.

Obviously, the art galleries benefited patrons, artists and collectors alike. The eagerness with which many artists, particular younger or less successful ones, and women artists pursued participation in the art galleries of the fairs, is an indication of the significance that they held for the American art community at mid-century. Artists had the opportunity to showcase their works to a large and quite receptive audience and perhaps benefit from the patronage that these venues provided for them. By accommodating a wide range of subject matter and broad stylistic approaches, the art galleries of the fairs gave visitors the opportunity to acquaint themselves with American art, and since the majority of the works on view

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in most of the fairs, dated from the 1840's until the 1860's, they were also able to get an overview of relatively "modern" works.

Commentary in newspapers and in the specialized magazines issued for the fairs, helped visitors, particularly those unaccustomed to art, navigate the often overwhelming exhibitions. Although the critical reaction to most of the art galleries was positive, the few debates, such as those in New York and Pittsburgh, focused attention on the complex social and political dimensions implicit in art works and art exhibitions. They also revealed the need for more insightful and truly discriminating commentary that became increasingly the characteristic of art criticism in the post-war years.

The financial support that the art galleries offered to American artists was quite significant. Undoubtedly though, their most significant contribution was the discussion they fueled as to the need of permanent public art galleries. In 1862, James Jackson Jarves had argued passionately for the need for such public displays.

> Talk of Art during a civil war? Why not? War is fleeting, Art is permanent. … Therefore we may even now talk of Art, and with a practical end in view. … And as war is a vigorous stimulant to intellectual activity, it may be hoped that, among the many changes in our ideas and enterprises which it may eventually produce, art

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> itself may take firmer root here, as it has under similar conditions among other nations claiming to be civilized and refined. Timid minds might suggest waiting for a more propitious moment to urge its claims. … More than ever do we require the refining and ennobling influences of high art to counteract the too rigid strain of the mind tending almost exclusively toward the development of material strength. … The most common means of popularizing art and cultivating a general taste is by galleries and museums.[34]

Jarves's claims were reiterated by many reviewers of the art galleries of the Sanitary Fairs in cities large and small. The organizers of the art galleries, as well as those artists and collectors who contributed art works, demonstrated their belief in the potential of the arts to instruct and gratify, and their commitment was acknowledged and celebrated by the thousands of visitors to the art shows. They provided much needed proof that public displays of art would be viable venues for aesthetic education, and moral and social improvement.

Although neither Jarves's endorsement of the value of art appreciation for the intellectual and moral well-being of the American public, nor the commitment of so many to the success of the art galleries of the Sanitary Fairs brought immediate results in establishing public museums, they undeniably set into motion the energies that came into

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[34] James Jackson Jarves, "Can we Have an Art Gallery," The Christian Examiner 72 (March 1862): 204-208.

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fruition with the institution of the major American museums in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

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MAIN BUILDING OF
THE GREAT NORTH WESTERN SANITARY FAIR
CHICAGO.
OPENED MAY 30th 1865

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1. Main Building of the Great North-Western Sanitary Fair, Chicago- Opened May 30th, 1865. North-Western Sanitary Fair, Collection of the Chicago Historical Society.

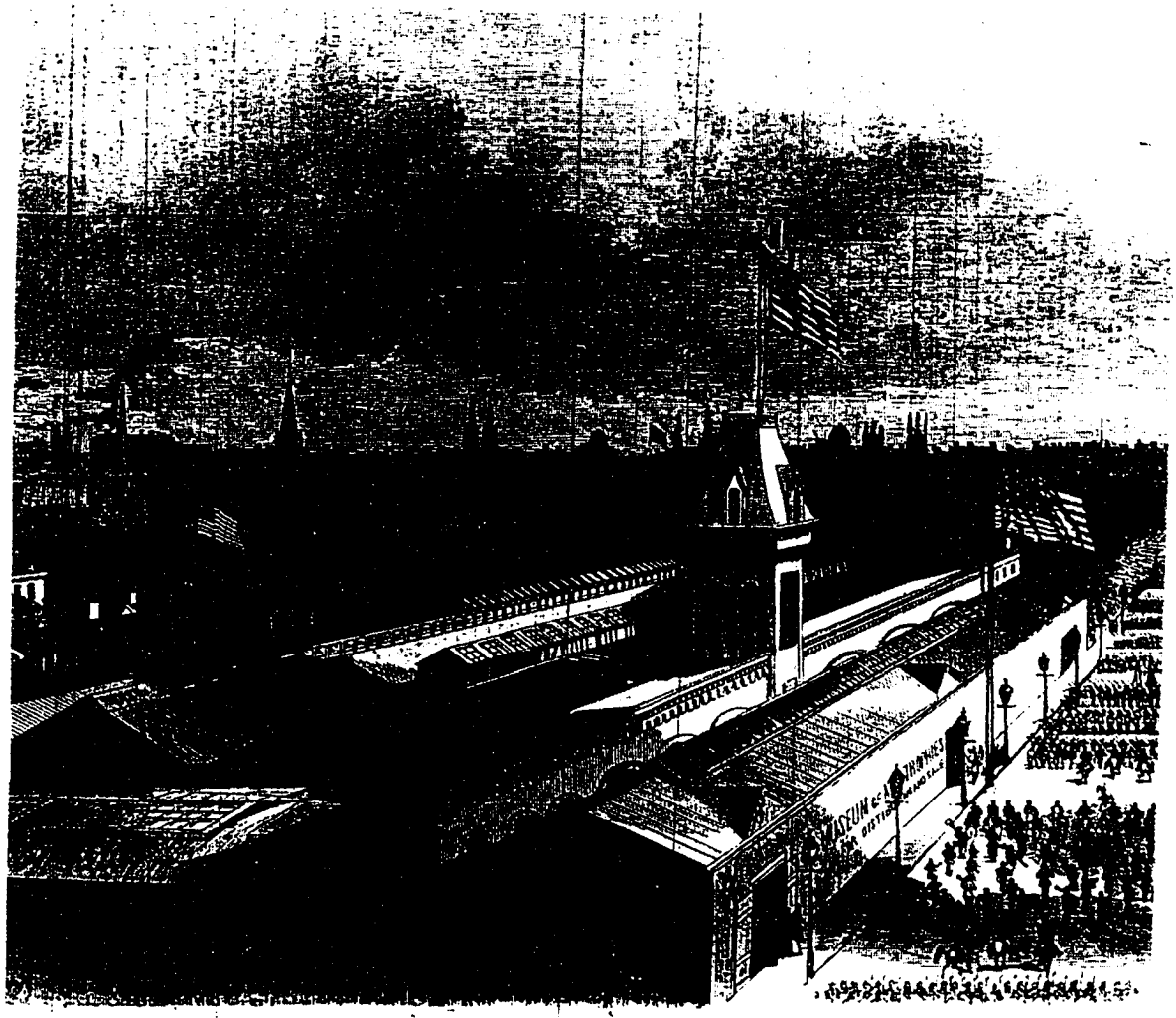
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INTERIOR VIEW OF THE UNION HALL. NORTH-WESTERN SANITARY FAIR BUILDING, CHICAGO, ILL.—From a Sketch by Mr. L. Ross.

2. North-Western Sanitary Fair Building-Interior of Union Hall-May 1865. Collection of the Chicago Historical Society.

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THE OPENING OF THE METROPOLITAN SANITARY FAIR—BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF FOURTEENTH STREET.

3. "The Opening of the Metropolitan Sanitary Fair-Bird's Eye View of Fourteenth Street," Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper (April 16, 1864): 61.

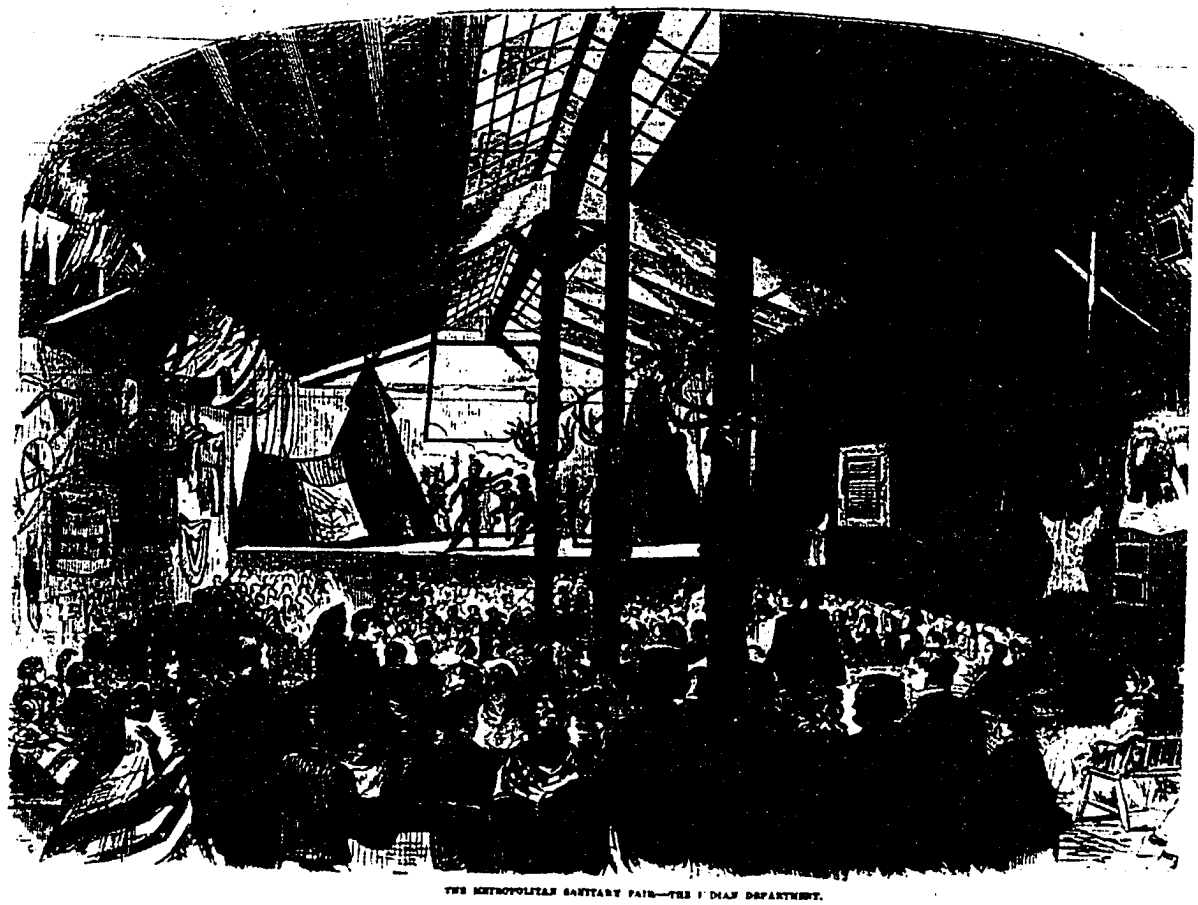
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THE METROPOLITAN SANITARY FAIR—THE ART GALLERY.

4. "The Metropolitan Sanitary Fair-The Art Gallery," Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper (April 23, 1864): 69.

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THE METROPOLITAN SANITARY FAIR—THE INDIAN DEPARTMENT.

5. "The Metropolitan Sanitary Fair-The Indian Department," Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper (April 16, 1864): 49.

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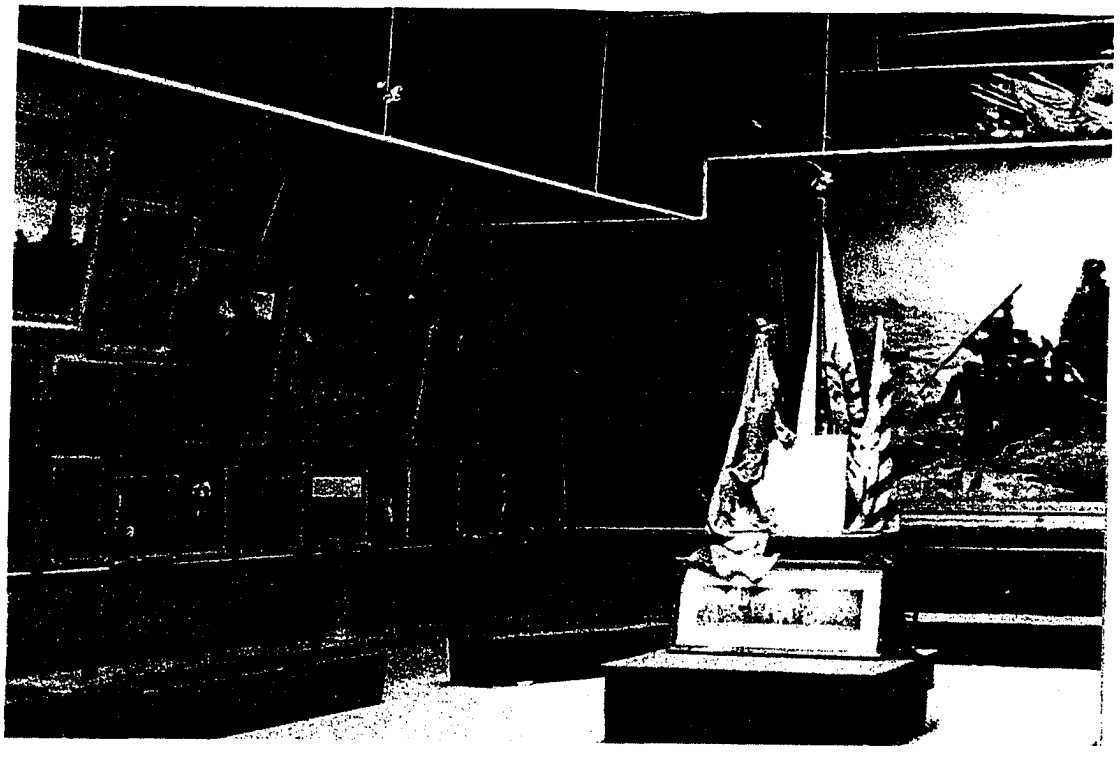
6. "Great Central Fair-Art Gallery." Great Central Fair Collection, Pennsylvania Historical Society, Philadelphia.

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7. "Picture Gallery of the Fair, Fourteenth Street," Harper's Weekly (April 16, 1864): 244.

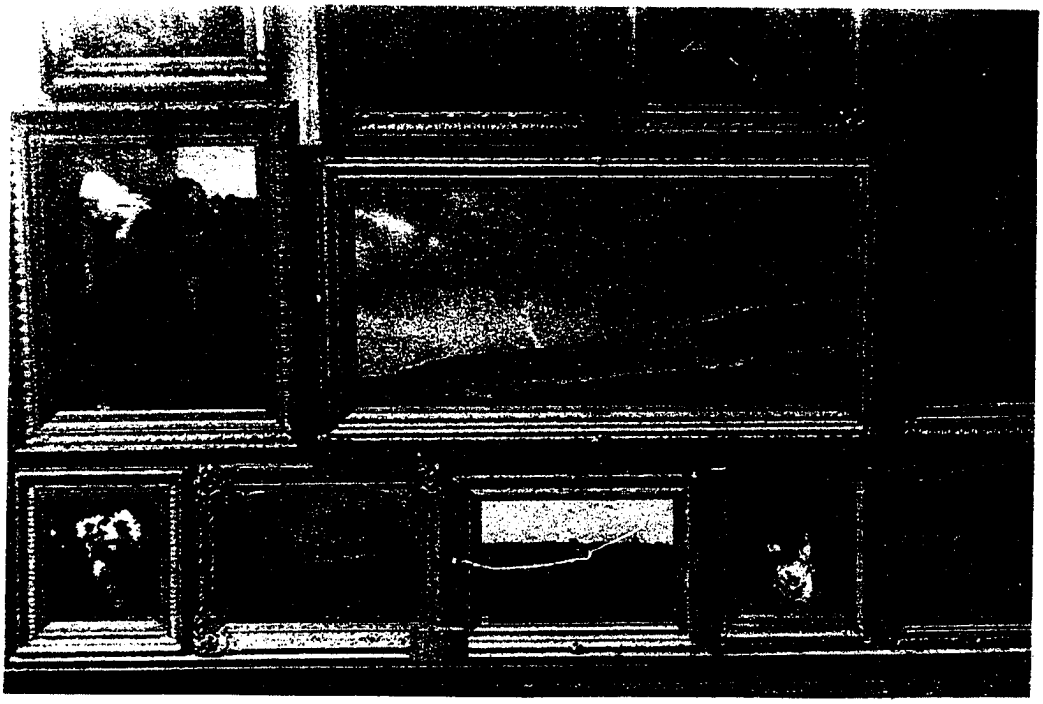
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8. Photo by Matthew Brady, Recollections of the Art Gallery of the Metropolitan Fair, New York, Whittredge Papers, Archives of American Art.

Emanuel Leutze, Washington Crossing the Delaware, 1851.
Regis Gignoux, Niagara in Moonlight, 1859.
Carl Müller, The Roll Call of the Last Victims of the Reign of Terror, 1850.
Frederic E. Church, Niagara, 1857.
Charles Deas, Long Jakes, 1844.
Richard C. Woodville, Mexican News, 1848.

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9. Photo by Matthew Brady, Recollections of the Art Gallery of the Metropolitan Fair, New York, Whittredge Papers, Archives of American Art.

Center: Frederic E. Church, Niagara, 1857.
Lower Right: Richard C. Woodville, Mexican News, 1848.
Middle, underneath Niagara, Jules Breton, Reapers.
Left: Thomas Cole, North Mountain and Catskill Creek, 1838.

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10. Inman, Henry. The News Boy, 1841. Addison Gallery of American Art, Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts.

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11. Cole, Thomas. North Mountain and Catskill Creek, 1838. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.

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12. Photo by Matthew Brady, Recollections of the Art Gallery of the Metropolitan Fair, New York, Whittredge Papers, Archives of American Art.

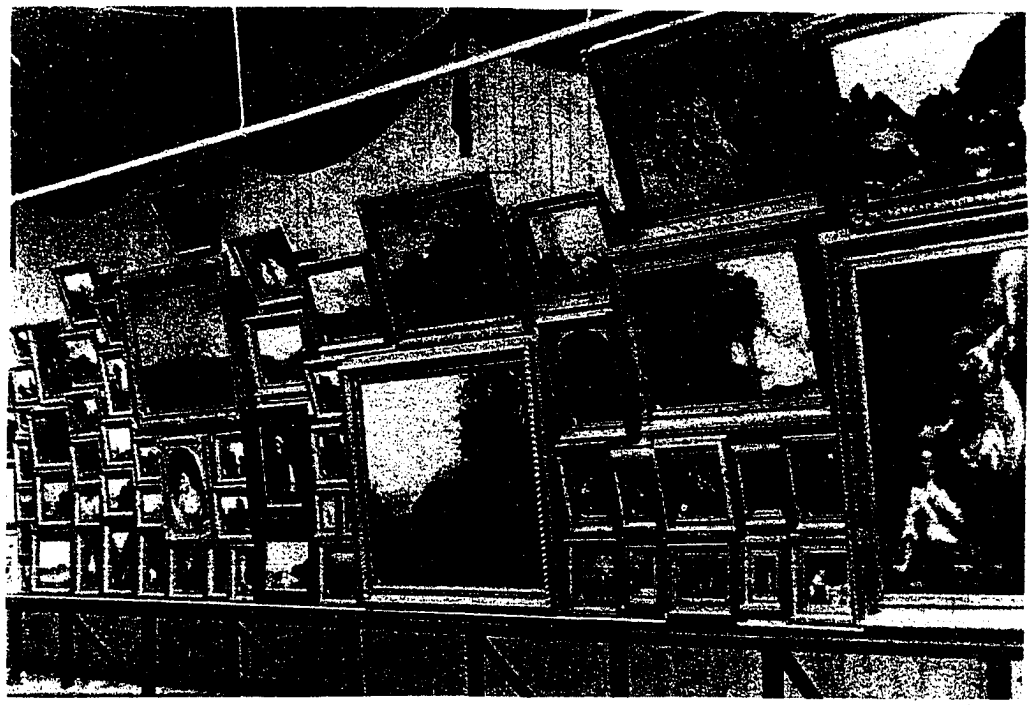
Albert Bierstadt, Rocky Mountains, Lander's Peak, 1863.
Thomas Cole, Italian Scene, Composition, 1833.

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13. Cole, Thomas. Italian Scene, Composition, 1833. The New York Historical Society.

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14. Photo by Matthew Brady, Recollections of the Art Gallery of the Metropolitan Fair, New York, Whittredge Papers, Archives of American Art.

D. Huntington, Mercy's Dream, 1858.

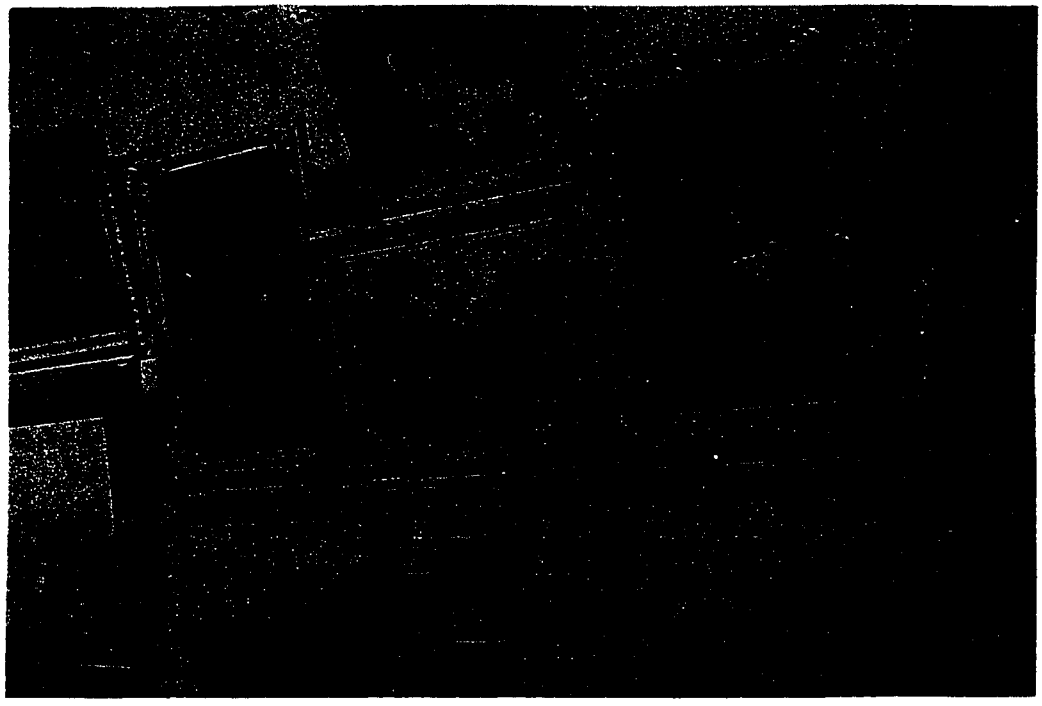
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15. Photo by Matthew Brady, Recollections of the Art Gallery of the Metropolitan Fair, New York, Whittredge Papers, Archives of American Art.

Far Left: Frederic E. Church, The Heart of the Andes, 1859.
On top: Gilbert Stuart, John Adams.
Gilbert Stuart, George Washington.
Rembrandt Peale, Thomas Jefferson.

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16. Photo by Matthew Brady, Recollections of the Art Gallery of the Metropolitan Fair, New York, Whittredge Papers, Archives of American Art.

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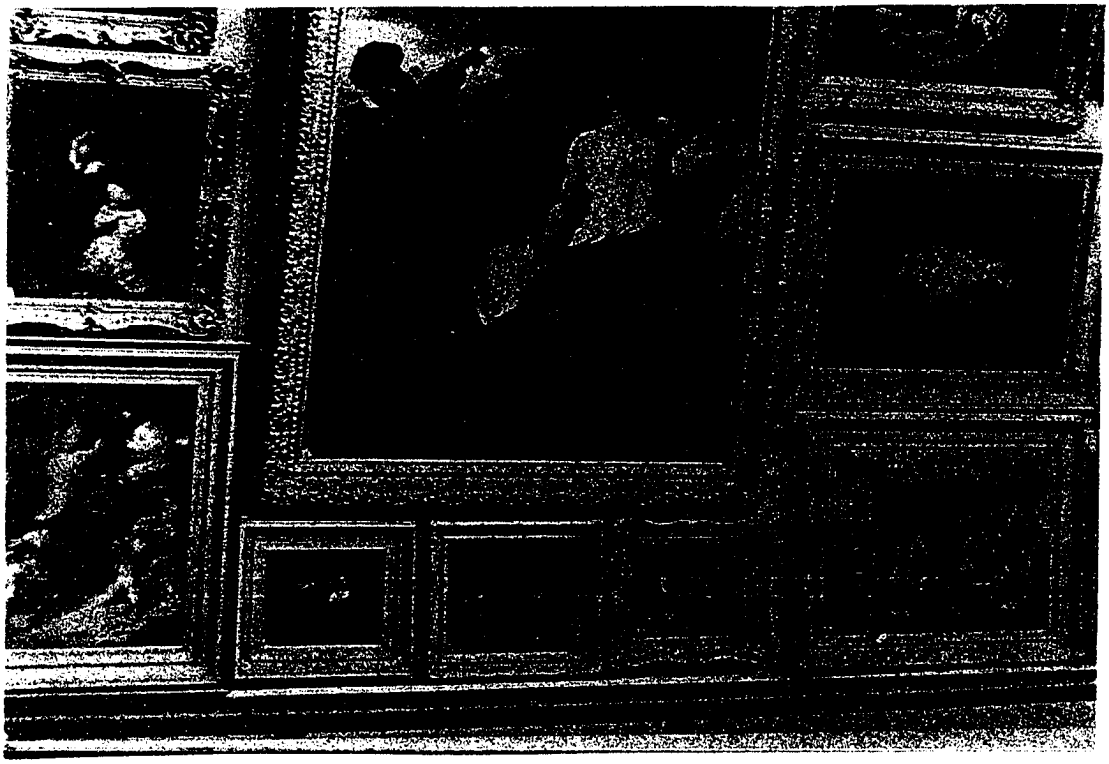
Thomas F. Kensett, Andirondak Scenery, 1854.
Thomas Cole, The Past, 1838.
Thomas Cole, The Present, 1838.
William T. Ranney, Marion Crossing the Pedee, 1850.
Emanuel Leutze, Venice Victorious.

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17. Ranney, William Tylee. Marion Crossing the Pedee, 1850. Amon Carter Museum, Fort Worth, Texas.

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18. Photo by Matthew Brady, Recollections of the Art Gallery of the Metropolitan Fair, New York, Whittredge Papers, Archives of American Art.

From the right:

Center: Daniel Huntington, The Good Samaritan, 1853.
Underneath Right: William S. Mount, The Power of Music, 1847.
Underneath Left: Eastman Johnson, Working for the Fair.

Left Middle: Emanuel Leutze, The Puritan, 1847.
Left Lower: William H. Beard, The March of Silenus, 1861.

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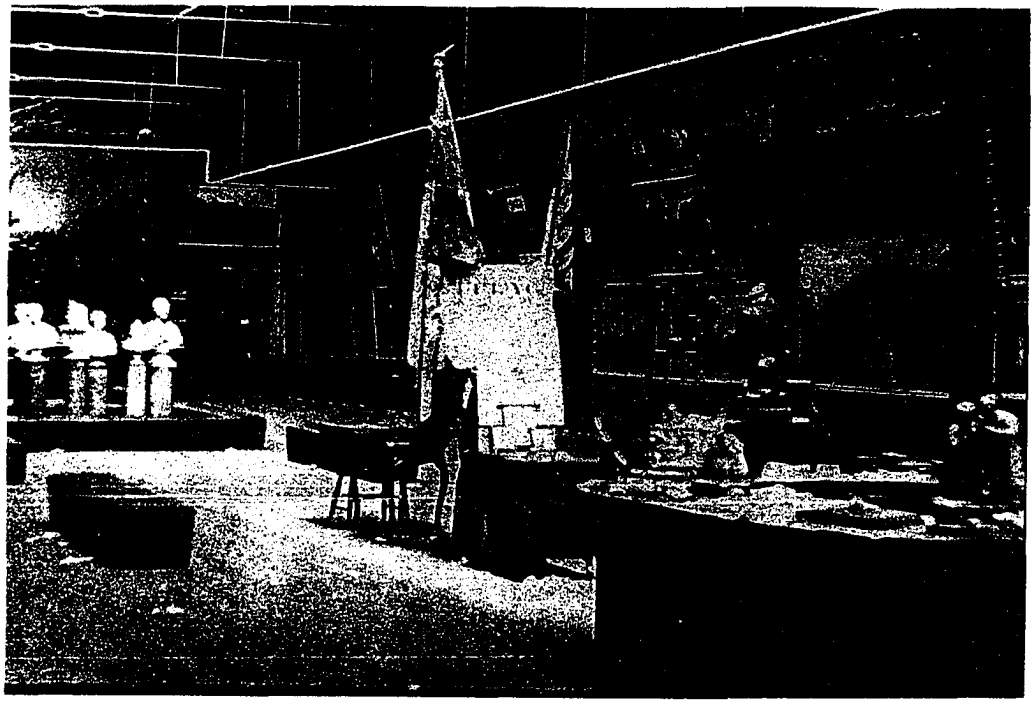
19. Leutze, Emanuel. The Puritan and his Daughter (The Image Breaker), 1847. Collection of Noah Cutler.

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20. Hübner, Carl Wilhelm. The Silesian Weavers, 1844. Kunstmuseum, Düsseldorf.

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21. Photo by Matthew Brady, Recollections of the Art Gallery of the Metropolitan Fair, New York, Whittredge Papers, Archives of American Art.

To the Right of the Door: Thomas Hicks, Edwin Booth as Iago.

Visible Above the Door:

Victor Nehlig, Gallant Charge of Lieutenant Huidden at Sangster's Station, Virginia, 1862.

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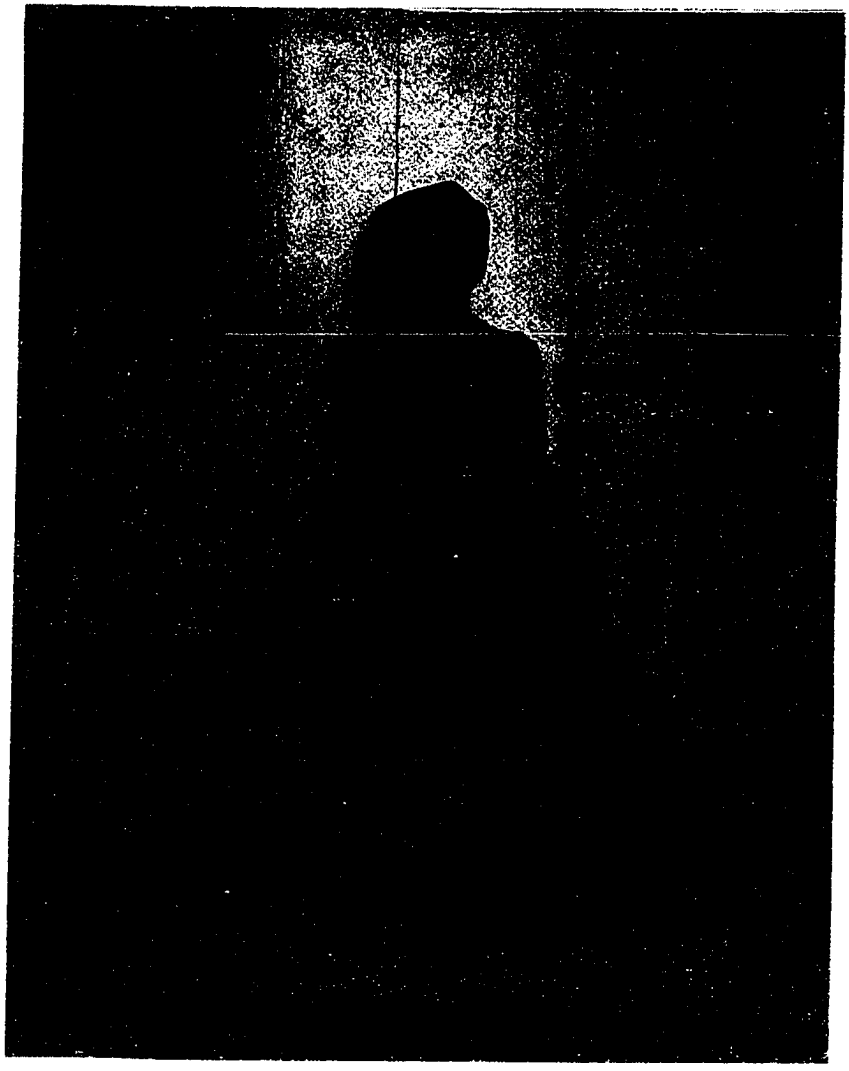
22. Nehlig, Victor. Gallant Charge of Lieutenant Henry Hidden, at Sangster's Station, Virginia, 1862. New York Historical Society.

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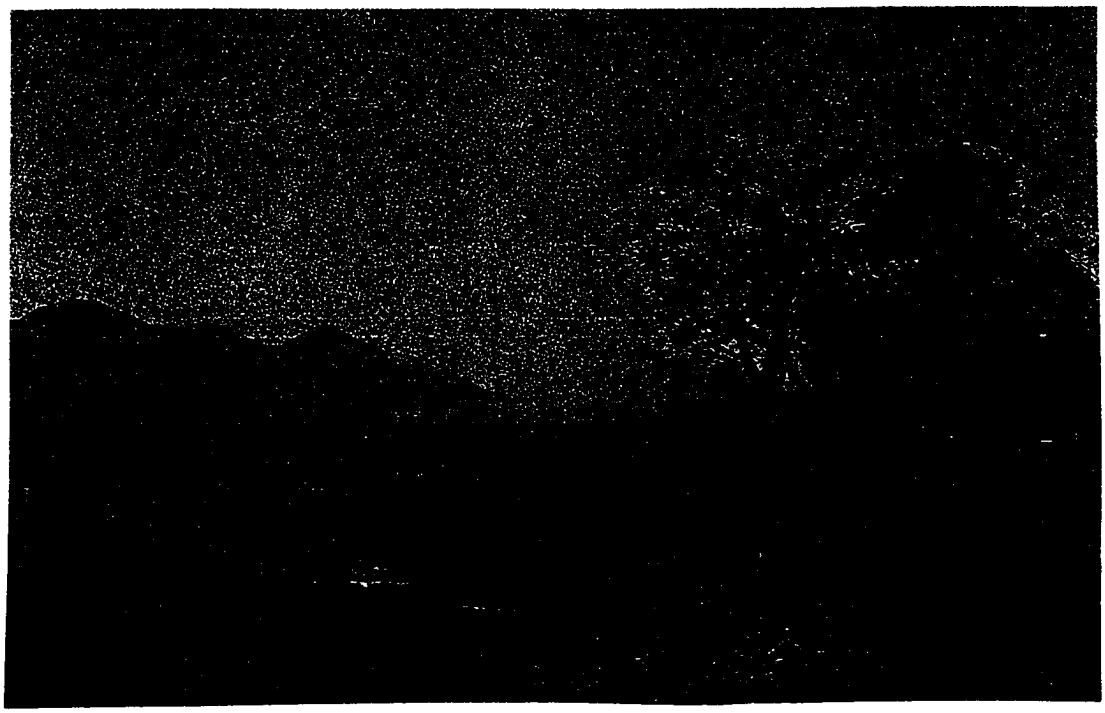
23. Mount, William Sydney. Right and Left, 1850. The Museums at Stony Brook, New York.

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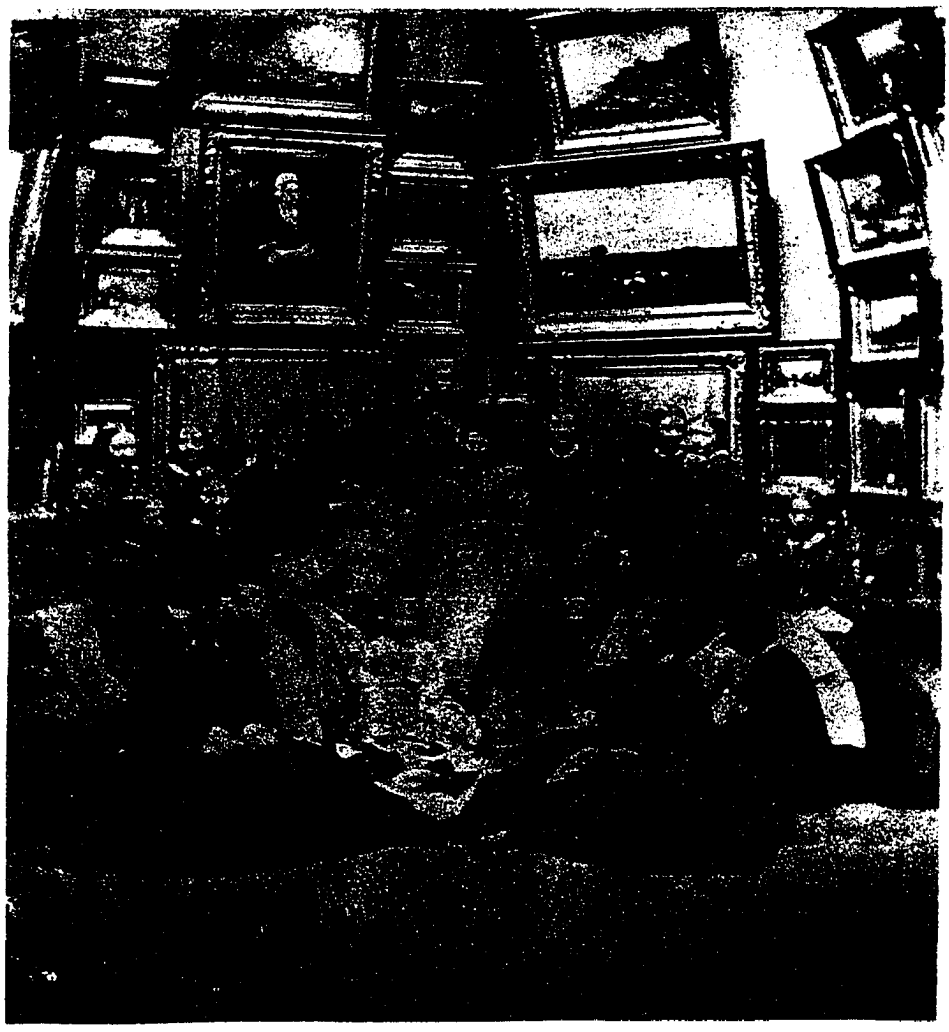
24. Johnson, Eastman. The Young Sweep, 1863. Private Collection.

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25. Kensett, John Frederick. October Afternoon-Lake George, 1864. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

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26. Brooklyn Sanitary Fair, Picture Gallery, Taylor House, War Fund Collection, Brooklyn Historical Society.

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27. Johnson, Eastman. Old Kentucky Home (Negro Life in the South), 1859. New York Historical Society.

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28. Johnson, Eastman. Mating, 1860, Current Location Unknown.

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29. Woodville, Richard Caton. Politics in an Oyster House, 1848. Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore.

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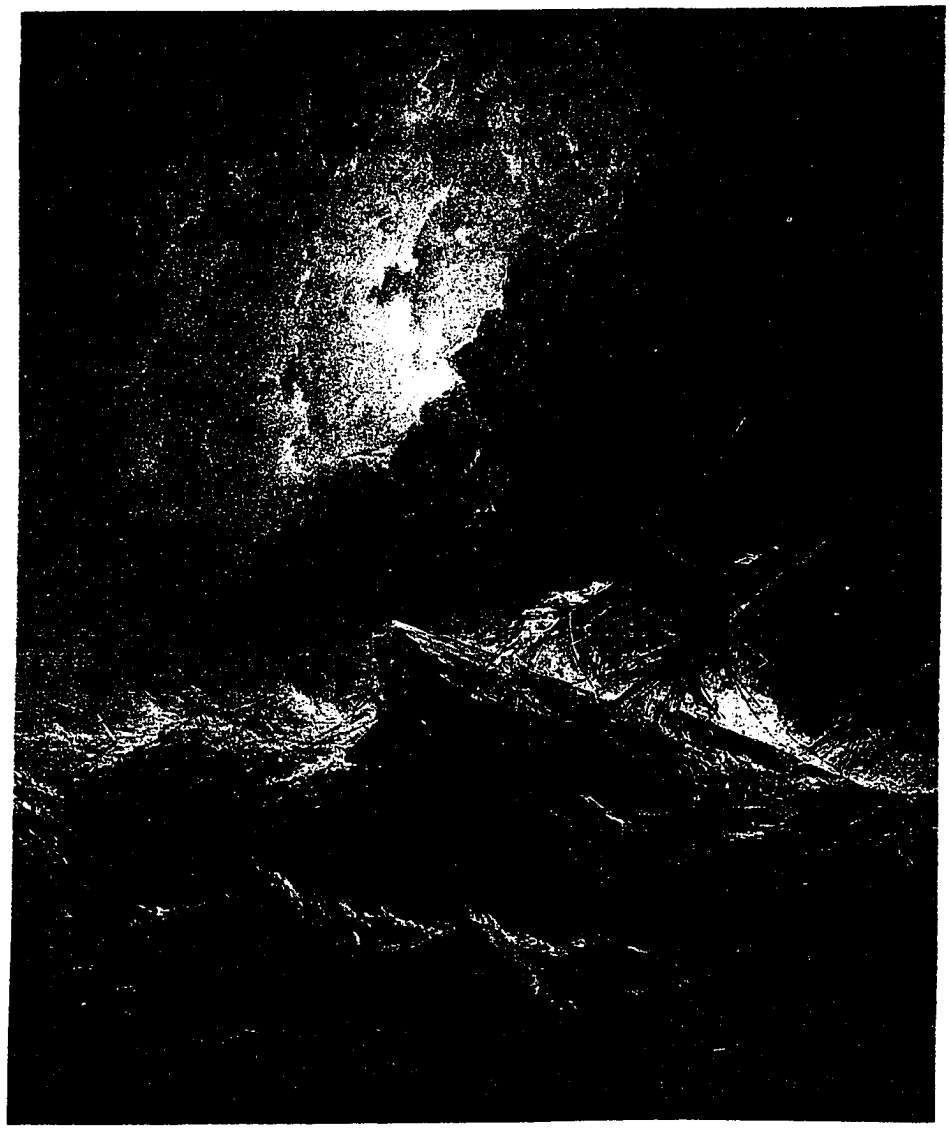
30. Rothermel, Peter. The Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth Rock, 1854. Kirby Collection of Historical Paintings, Easton, Pennsylvania.

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31. Ranney, William Tylee. Veterans of 1776 Returning from the War, 1848. Dallas Museum of Art.

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32. Hamilton, James. Old Ironsides, 1863. The Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

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33. Birch, Thomas. Perry's Victory on Lake Erie, 1814. Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

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34. Rothermel, Peter Frederick. State House, Day of the Battle of Germantown, 1862. Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

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35. Lang, Louis. Return of the New York 69th Regiment, 1862-1863. New York Historical Society.

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36. Gray, Henry Peters. The Wages of War, 1848. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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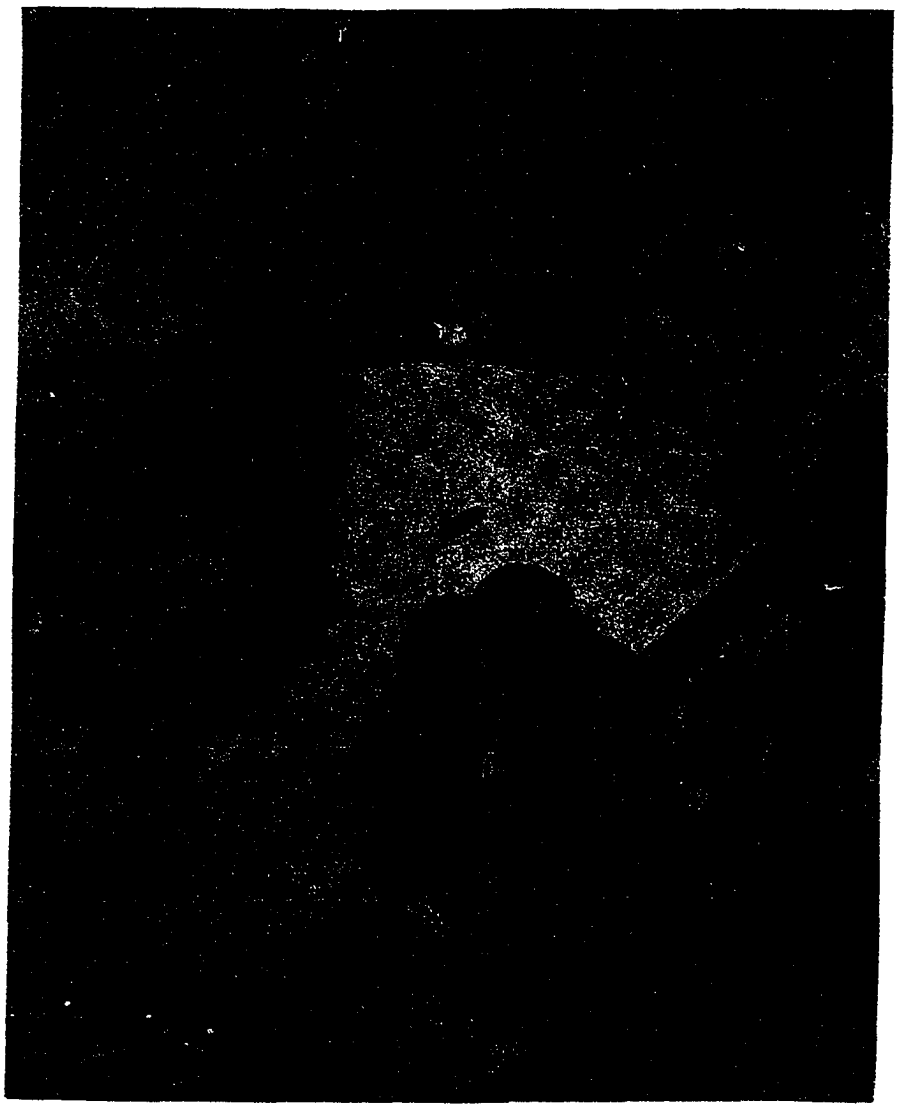
37. Schussele, Christian. Young Patriots, (Mock Army), 1855. Mint Museum of Art, Charlotte, North Carolina.

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38. Spencer, Lilly Martin. Height of Fashion, ca. 1854. Current Location Unknown.

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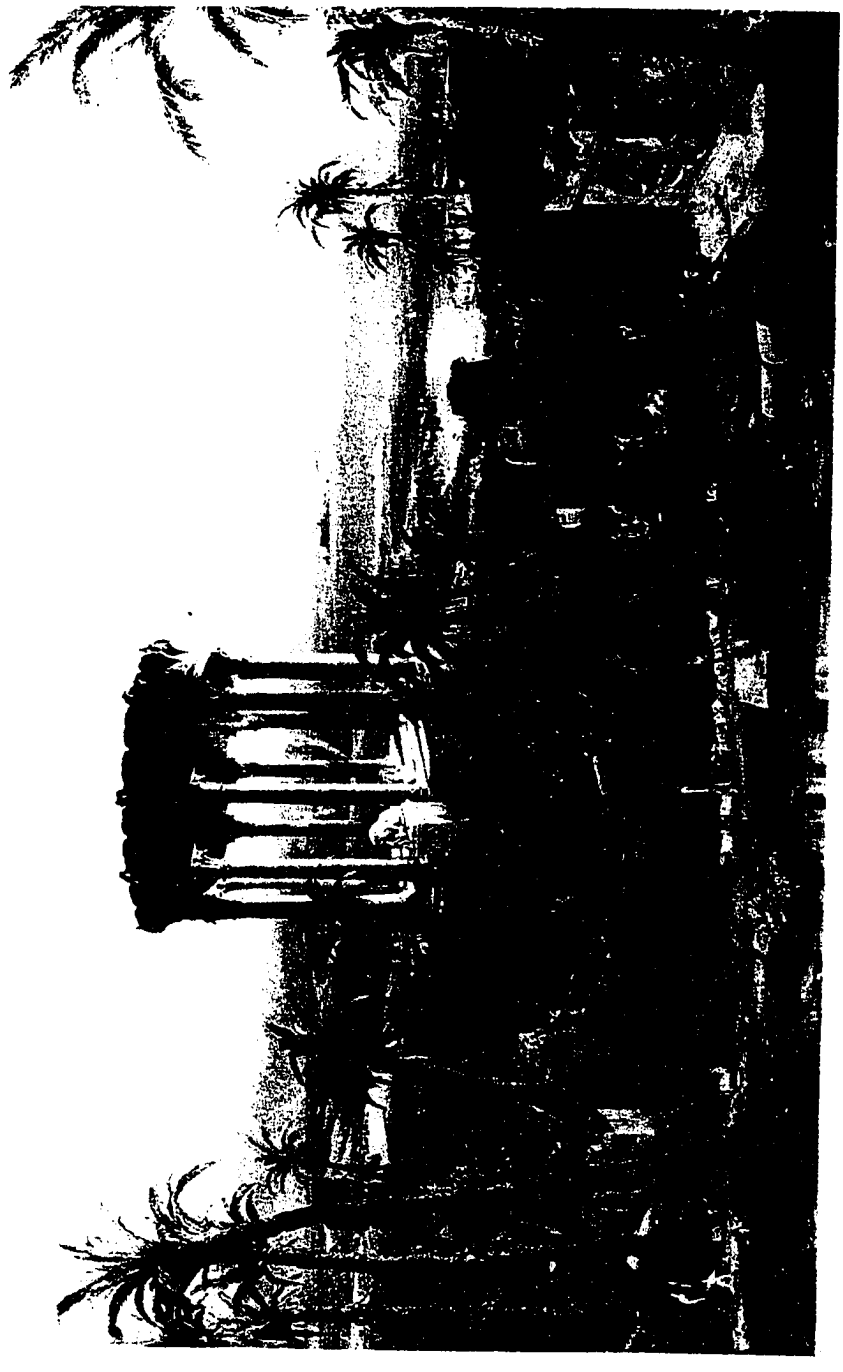
39. Ferris, Stephen. About to Change his Tune, n. d. Scwartz Gallery, Philadelphia.

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40. Cropsey, Jasper Francis. The Spirit of War, 1851. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C.

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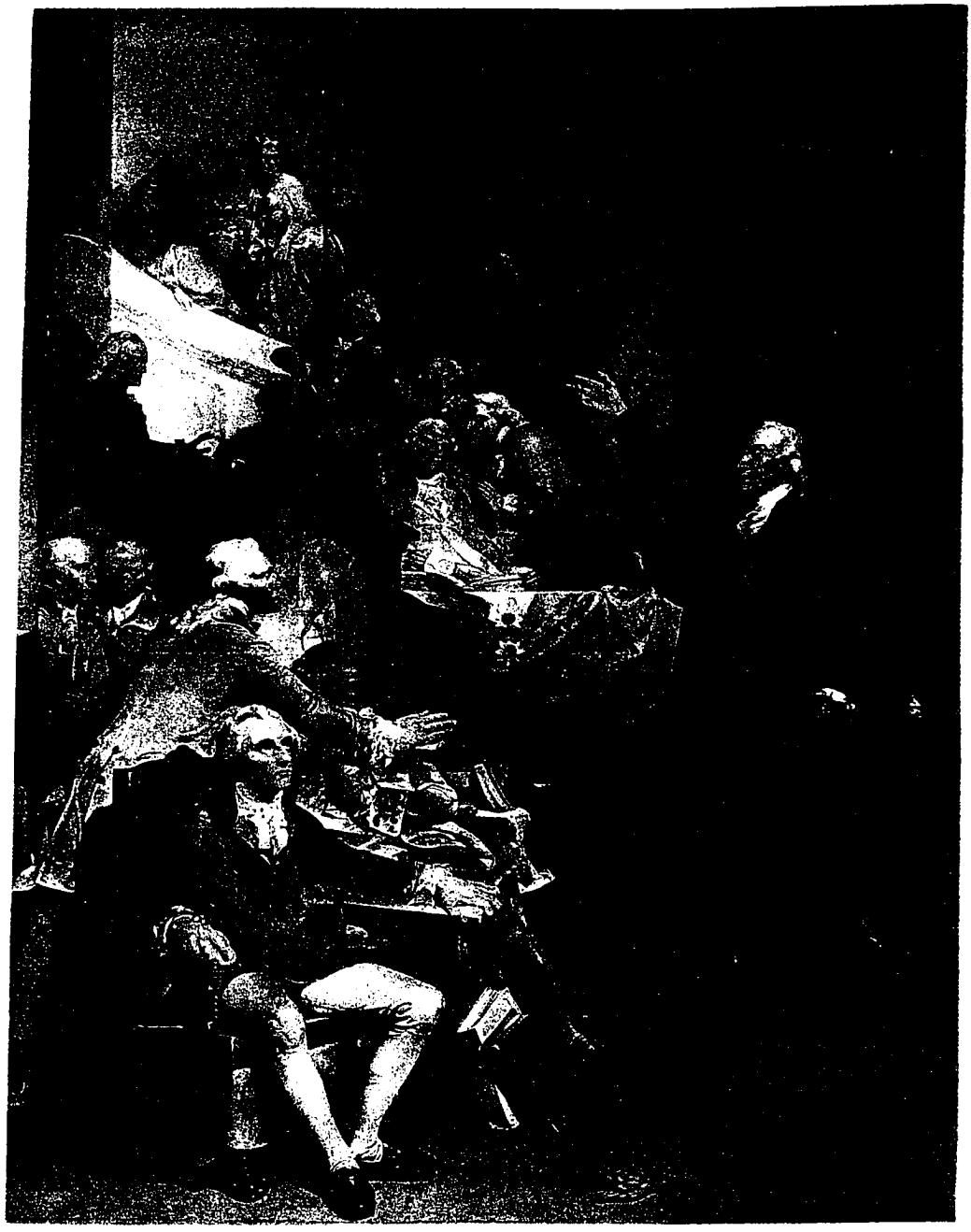
41. Cropsey, Jasper Francis. Spirit of Peace, 1851. Woodmere Art Museum, Philadelphia.

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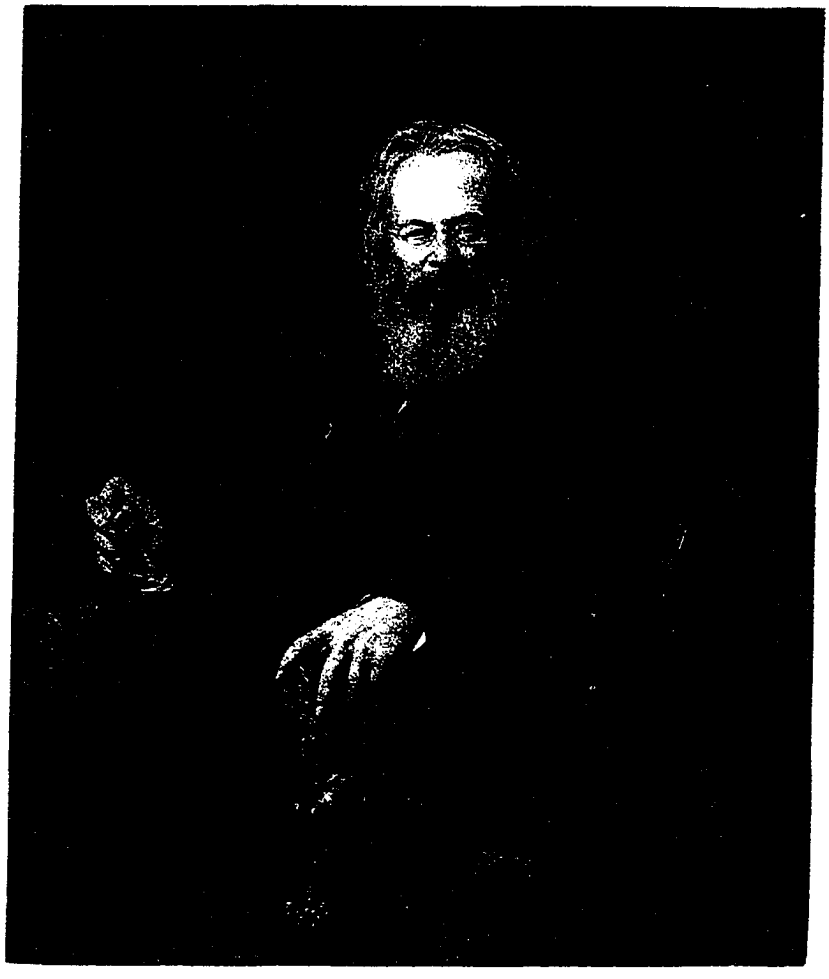
42. Cropsey, Jasper Francis. The Millenial Age, 1854. Newington-Cropsey Foundation.

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43. Rothermel, Peter Frederick. Patrick Henry Before the Virginia House of Burgesses, 1851. The Patrick Henry National Memorial, Brookneal, Virginia.

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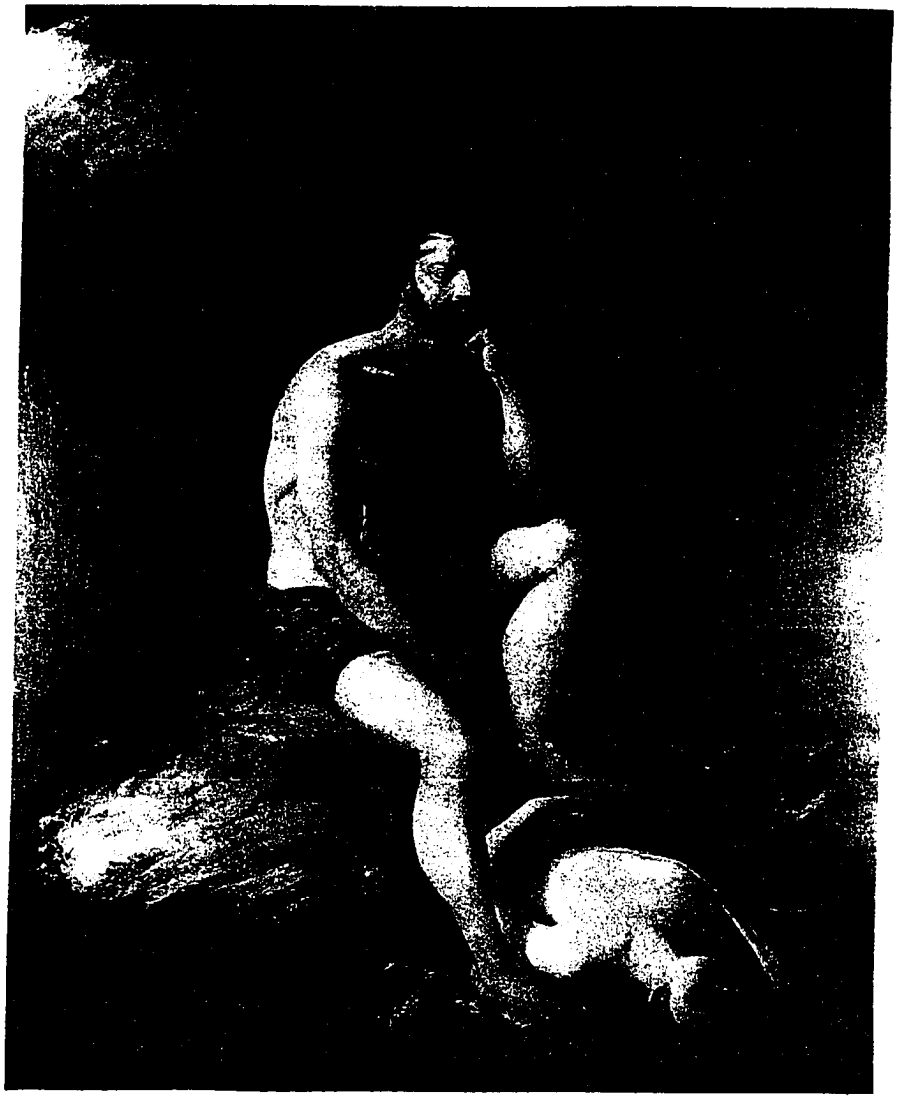
44. Healy, George Peter Alexander. Orestes Brownson, 1863. Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

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45. Rossiter, Thomas Pritchard. Such is Life-A Scene During the Crimean War, 1855. The Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey.

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46. Beard, James Henry. The Last Victim of the Deluge, 1849. Cincinnati Art Museum.

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47. Golman, Julius. An Evening at the Ark, 1859. The Western Reserve Historical Society, Cleveland.

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48. Rossiter, Thomas Pritchard and Louis Mignot. Washington and Lafayette at Mount Vernon, 1784, ca. 1859. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

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49. Blythe, David Gilmour. Abraham Lincoln Writing the Emancipation Proclamation, 1863. The Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh.

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50. Art Gallery, Pittsburgh Sanitary Fair, Collection of the Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh.

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51. Art Gallery, Pittsburgh Sanitary Fair, Collection of the Carnegie Library, Pittsburgh.

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52. Blythe, David Gilmour. Lawyer's Dream, 1859. Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh.

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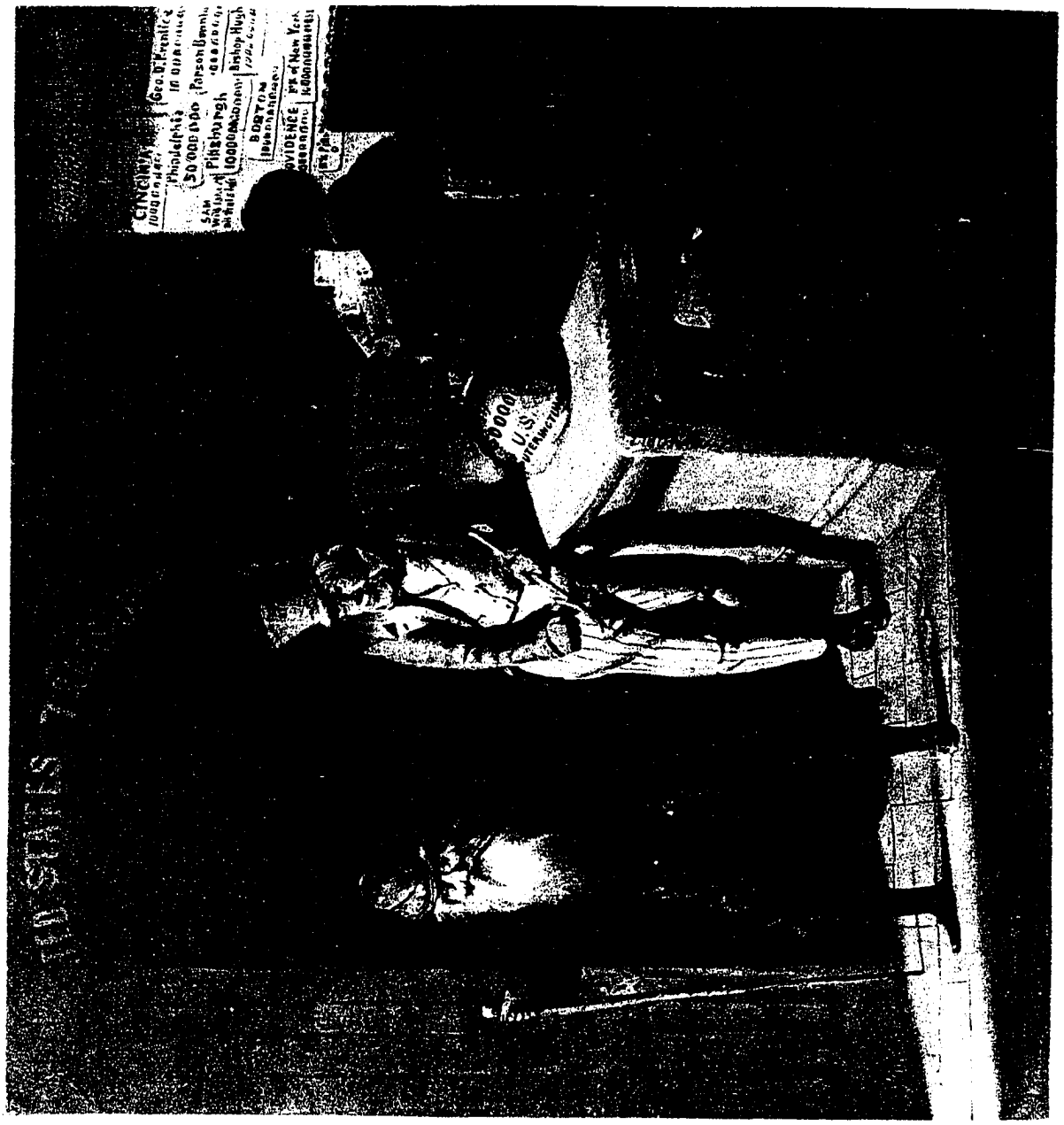
53. Blythe, David Gilmour. Libby Prison, 1863. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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54. Blythe, David Gilmour. Old Virginia Home, 1864, Art Institute of Chicago.

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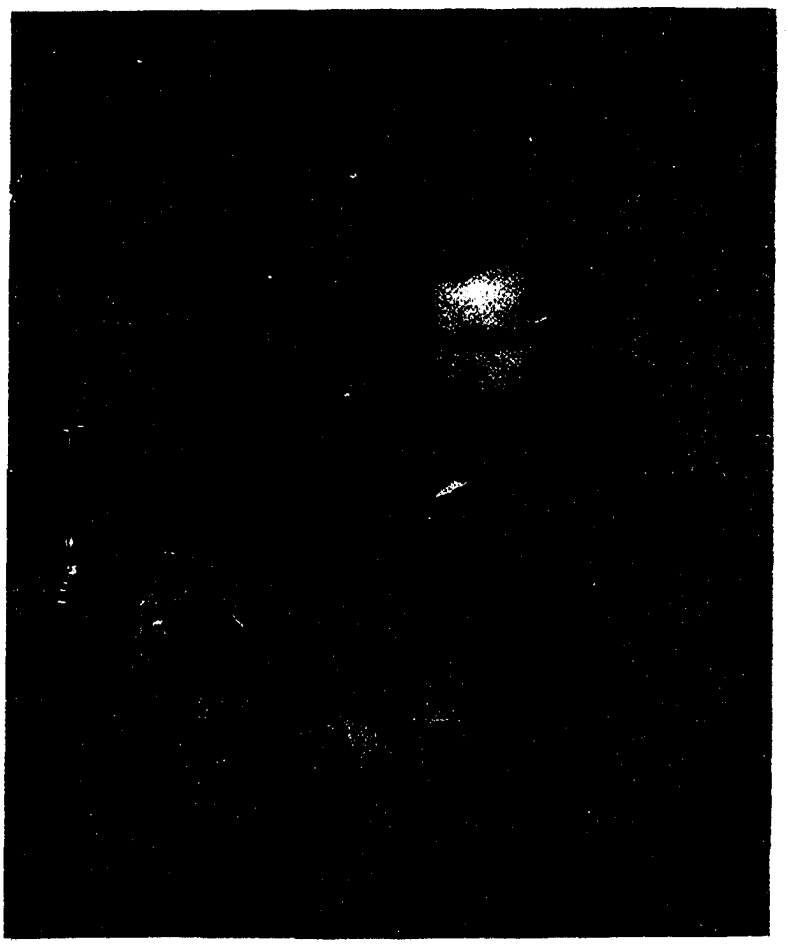
55. Blythe, David Gilmour. Foreign Loans, c. 1863. Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh.

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56. Spencer, Lilly Martin. Power of Fashion, 1851. Current Location Unknown.

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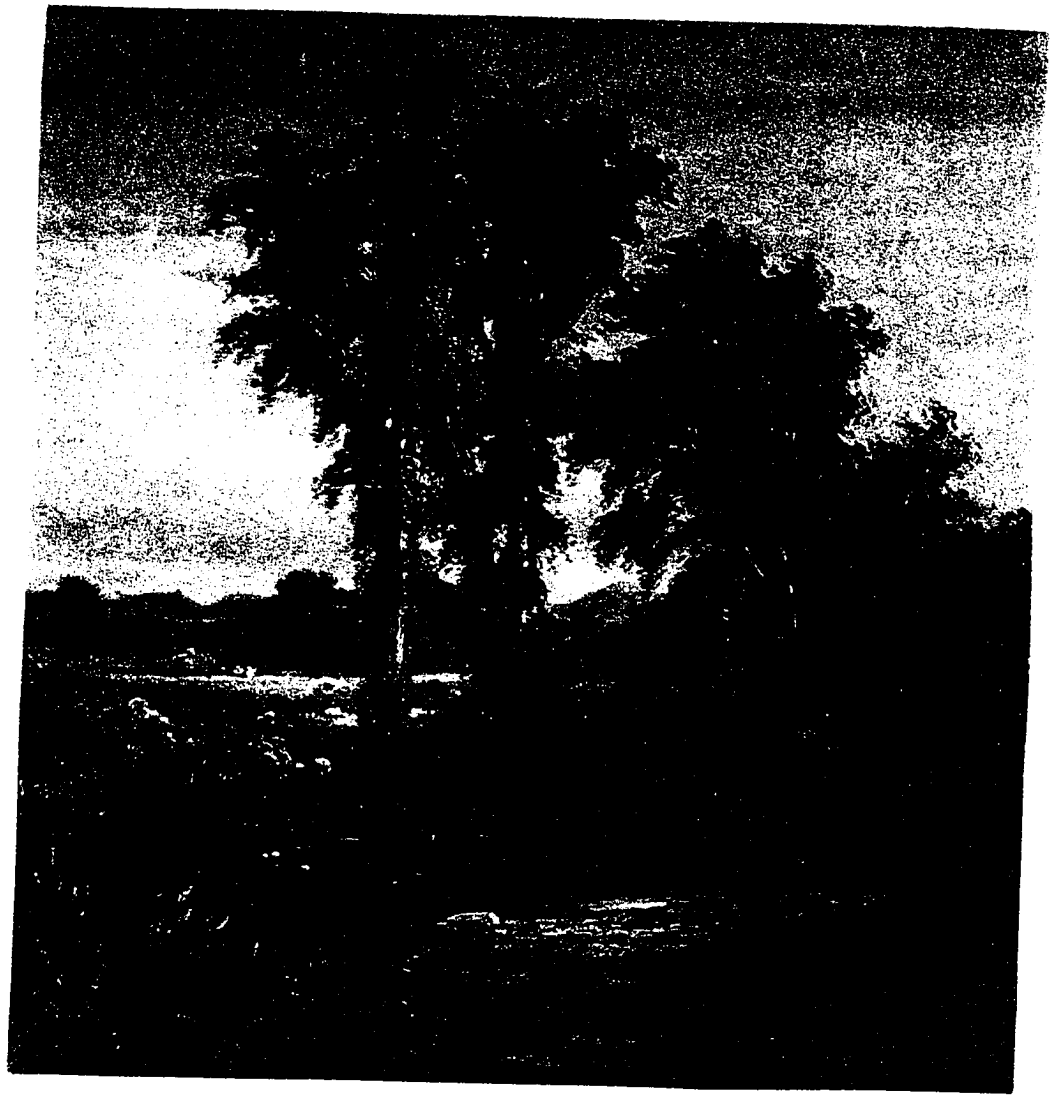
57. Johnson, Eastman. Self-Portrait, 1863. The Art Institute of Chicago.

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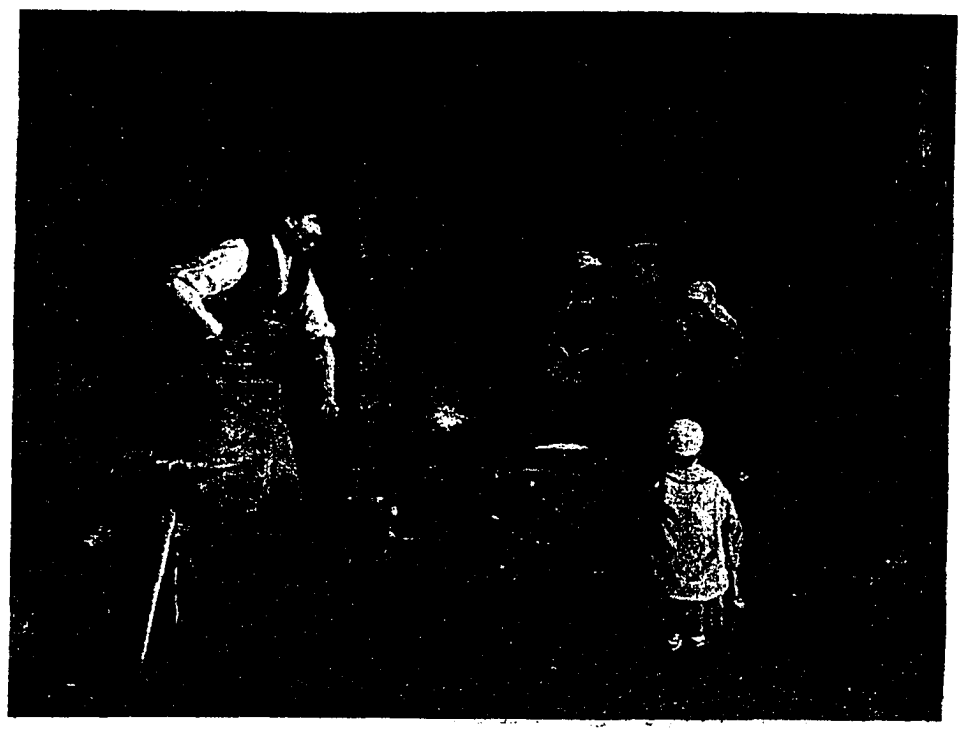
58. Bellows, Albert Fitch. The Franconia Notch and Mount Fayette. Art Gallery, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York.

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59. Colman, Samuel. Meadows and Wild Flowers at Conway, 1856. Art Gallery, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, New York.

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60. Johnson, Eastman. The Blacksmith Shop, 1863. New York State Historical Association, Cooperstown.

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61. Ward, John Quincy Adams. The Freedman, 1863. The Art Institute of Chicago.

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APPENDIX I: LIST OF USSC, WSC and CC Fairs

The following major fairs either had an art gallery or provided access to an art gallery.

Albany, NY, Army Relief Bazaar, 23 February-15 March 1864.
Baltimore, MD, Maryland State Fair, 18-30 April 1864.
Boston, MA, New England Sanitary Fair, 14-21 December 1863.
Brooklyn, NY, Brooklyn and Long Island Sanitary Fair, 22 February-11 March 1864.
Buffalo, NY, Buffalo Great Central Fair, 22 February-2 March 1864.
Chicago, IL, Great Northwestern Sanitary Fair, 27 October-7 November 1863.
Chicago, IL, Northwestern Sanitary Fair, 30 May-25 June 1865.
Cincinnati, OH, Great Western Sanitary Fair, 21 December 1863-9 January 1864.
Cleveland, OH, Northern Ohio Sanitary Fair, 22 February-10 March 1864.
New York, NY, Metropolitan Fair, 4-23 April 1864.
Philadelphia, PA, Great Central Fair, 7-28 June 1864.
Philadelphia, PA, Christian Commission Fair, 1864.
Pittsburgh, PA, Pittsburgh Sanitary Fair, 11-18 June 1864.

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Poughkeepsie, NY, Dutchess County and Poughkeepsie Fair, 15-19 March 1864.

San Francisco, CA, Ladies Christian Commission Fair, 24 August-8 September 1864.

St. Louis, MO, Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair, 17 May-18 June 1864.

Yonkers, NY, Yonkers Sanitary Fair, 15-20 February 1864.

Smaller fairs for both commissions were held in the following cities. In some of them art was exhibited, but it is often difficult to determine the exact nature of the art exhibitions, due to the lack of specific information.

Burlington, IA, Southern Iowa Sanitary Fair, 26 February-2 March 1864.

Dubuque, IA, Northern Iowa Sanitary Fair, 22 June-1 July 1864.

Indianapolis, IN, State Sanitary Fair, 3-8 October 1864.

Kalamazoo, MI, Michigan State Sanitary Fair, 20-23 September 1864.

Muscatine, IA, Iowa Central Sanitary Fair, 13-17 September 1864.

Nantucket, MA, Nantucket Sanitary Fair, 3-7 August, 1864.

Quincy, IL, Western Illinois Sanitary Fair, 11-15 October 1864.

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Stamford, CT, Metropolitan Fair, 29 July-5 August 1864.

St. Paul, MN, St. Paul Sanitary Fair, 9-13 January 1864.

Washington, D.C., Christian Commission Fair, 22 February-March 22 1864.

Westfield, MA, New Years Festival and Fair, 28-29 December 1864.

Wheeling, W. VA., Soldier's Festival, 28 June-9 July 1864.

In various citations there are references to the following Sanitary Fairs, but I was unable to uncover any specific information about them. Lawrence and Manchester, MA; Rockford and Warren, IL; Illinois State Fair at Decatur, IL; and Marshalltown, IA.

Other Civil War Fairs

Boston, MA, National Sailor's Fair, 9-19 November 1864.

Rochester, NY, Christmas Bazaar, 14-22 December 1863.

Springfield, MA, Fair for the Soldier's Rest, 19-21 December 1864.

Detroit, MI, Fair for Freedmen and Refugees, 28 February-2 March 1865.

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APPENDIX II: LIST OF EXHIBITED ART WORKS

The lists are arranged alphabetically by the name of the fair. Within each fair, artists are listed alphabetically, beginning with American artists. Full names and dates, whenever possible are provided for American artists only. When more than one artists share the same name, and no first name or initial was cited in the catalogue, the name is followed by a question mark. Artists, other than American, appear as in the catalogues. In all cases, the owners or donors of the works are listed in the right-hand column. Numbers in parenthesis refer to the numbers of the works in the catalogues. Foreign-born artists who worked in the United States are listed under American artists.

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Army Relief Bazaar, Albany, 23 February-15 March 1864.

Catalogue of Painting and Sculpture, Exhibited Palmer's Studio in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission, February 22, 1864. Albany: Van Benthuysen's Steam Printing House, 1864.

American Paintings

Baker, George Augustus Jr. (1821-1880)	The Old Baron (22)	G. M. Vanderlip
	The Fair Student (41)	G. M. Vanderlip
	Summer Rose (72)	E. L. Magoon
Beard, William Holbrook (1825-1900)	The Astronomer (23)	S. P. Avery
	Stratagem (44)	S. P. Avery
Boughton, George Henry (1833-1905)	Bridge at Leeds (27)	T. S. Lloyd
	The Helping Hand (32)	J. M. Falconer
	Winter-The Desolate Homestead (68)	S. H. Ransom
	Spring-"Coming thro' the rye" (80)	S. H. Ransom
	Christie Johnstone (83)	T. S. Lloyd
	By the Sad Sea Wave (95)	W. B. Sprague
	The Sere and Yellow Leaf (105)	S. H. Ransom
	Spring (106)	S. H. Ransom
	The Dead Prisoner (123)	C. Calverly
	The Walk in the Wood (127)	C. Calverly
Casilear, John William (1811-1893)	Lake Como (18)	E. D. Palmer
Cole, Thomas (1801-1848)	Catskill Falls (135)	J. V. L. Pruyn
Church, Frederic Edwin (1826-1900)	Sunset (5)	E. D. Palmer
	Coast of Maine (10)	M. O. Roberts

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	View in Maine (14)	E. D. Palmer
	Home of the Pioneer (50)	E. D. Palmer
	Autumn (90)	E. L. Magoon
	The Evening Star (103)	E. D. Palmer
	Scene in South America (111)	E. D. Palmer
	In the tropics (114)	R. L. Stewart
	Study of Sunset (122)	E. D. Palmer
Colman, Samuel (1832-1920)	Willy Ravine (77)	E. L. Magoon
	Conway Meadows (91)	E. L. Magoon
	Coast of Spain (119)	E. L. Magoon
	Indian Summer (125)	E. L. Magoon
	Conway Elms (129)	C. Calverly
Cropsey, Jasper Francis (1823-1900)	Bareford Mountains (8)	J. V. L. Pruyn
	Sunset, After a Rain, (45)	T. S. Lloyd
	Paestom [sic](92)	E. L. Magoon
Durand, Asher Brown (1796-1886)	Reminiscences of an Old Man (1)	No Owner
Edmonds, Francis William (1806-1863)	Commodore Trunnion and Jack Hatchway (29)	W. Olcott
Elliott, Charles Loring (1812-1868)	Portrait of Erastus Corning (46)	E. Corning, Jr.
	Falstaff (70)	E. L. Magoon
	Portrait of E.D. Palmer (139)	No Owner
Ferguson, Henry Augustus (1842-1911)	The Old Orchard (43)	E. D. Palmer
	White Mountains (73)	E. L. Magoon
	On the Androscoggin (52)	E. L. Magoon
Freeman, James Edward (1808-1884)	Italian Patriarch (3)	E. Corning
	Head of St. John (66)	T. W. Olcott
	The Italian "Nooning" (67)	P. Gansvoort
Gay, Edward (1838-1928)	Gems (131) & (132)	C. Calverly
Gay, Winckworth Allan (1821-1910)	Cohasset Rocks (51)	E. L. Magoon

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Gray, Henry Peters		
(1819-1877)	Self-Satisfaction (31)	G. M. Vanderlip
	First Lesson in Prayer (133)	E. L. Magoon
Gerry, Samuel Lancaster		
(1813-1891)	White Mountains (19)	E. L. Magoon
Gifford, Robert Swain		
(1840-1905)	Coming Storm (116)	E. D. Palmer
Gignoux, Regis François		
(1816-1882)	Moonlight (53)	E. L. Magoon
Hart, James McDougal		
(1828-1901)	Morning in the Northern Wilds (21)	G. M. Vanderlip
	The Dairy Farm (63)	Isabelle M. Palmer
	Lake Placid (64)	E. D. Palmer
	Aurora on Lake Cayuga (85)	The Artist
	The Valley Farm (89)	E. D. Palmer
	Loon Lake (128)	C. Calverly
	Landscape (137)	L. M. Palmer
Hart, William M.		
(1823-1894)	Peaceful Fields-The Cayuga in the distance (15)	S. P. Avery
	Pencil Drawing (25)	C. W. Davis
	Mount Madison (42)	E. L. Magoon
	The Vale of Conway (62)	E. D. Palmer
	Esopus Creek (65)	E. D. Palmer
	Coast (108)	E. D. Palmer
	On the Coast (138)	L. M. Palmer
Hennessy, William John		
(1839-1917)	Maiden Meditation-a Study (17)	E. D. Palmer
Hubbard, Richard William		
(1816-1888)	Children Fishing at the Ford (61)	E. D. Palmer
	Twilight (130)	C. Calverly
Huntington, Daniel		
(1816-1906)	Piety and Folly (9)	R. H. Pruyn
	Catrina van Tassel (20)	G. M. Vanderlip
	Sybil (55)	E. L. Magoon
Inness, George		
(1825-1894)	Twilight (26)	E. L. Magoon

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Johnson, Eastman		
(1824-1906)	Old Joe (88)	J. T. Johnston
	The blacksmith (100)	P. Morgan
	Morning News (113)	The Artist
Kensett, John F.		
(1816-1872)	Memory of the Catskills (54)	S. P. Avery
	Newport Castle (76)	E. L. Magoon
	A Study (110)	E. D. Palmer
Kidd, James Jr.		
	The Cows (140)	J. Kidd
	Cruiser (141)	J. Kidd
Lambdin, George Cochran		
(1830-1896)	Family Cares (16)	S. P. Avery
Lane, Fitz Hugh		
(1804-1865)	Boston Harbor (2)	D. L. Boyd
Le Clear, Thomas		
(1818-1882)	The Young Musician (28) S	
Martin, Homer Dodge		
(1836-1897)		
	Berlin Falls (49)	C. W. Davis
	Scene in Main (79)	T. Olcott
	In the White Mountains (87)	T. Olcott
	Study-Moose River (112)	E. D. Palmer
Matteson, Tompkins Harrison		
(1813-1884)	The Support of Age (126)	C. Calverly
McEntee, Jervis		
(1828-1891)	Twilight Catskills (40)	E. D. Palmer
Moore, Charles Herbert		
(1840-1930)	Upper Palisades (82)	E. L. Magoon
	Indian Summer (125)	C. Calverly
Morse, Samuel Finley Breese		
(1791-1872)	The Shrine (97)	D. L. Boyd
Nichols, Edward W.		
(1820-1871)	Warwick Castle (58)	E. L. Magoon
Oertel, Johannes Adam Simon		
(1823-1909)	The Morning Nap (120)	E. D. Palmer

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Peele, John Thomas		
(1822-1897)	The Daisy (78)	P. Monteath
	The Old Oaken Bucket (86)	P. Monteath
	Red Riding Hood (93)	E. Corning Jr.
Richards, William Trost		
(1833-1905)	The Blackberry Bush (56)	E. L. Magoon
	The Spring (104)	S. P. Avery
Shattuck, Aaron Draper		
(1832-1928)	The Lake (47)	S. P. Avery
	Mount Washington (84)	E. L. Magoon
	Sunset (107)	E. L. Magoon
	Upper Connecticut (109)	E. L. Magoon
Shayer, William		
(1788-1879)	The Gypsies (75)	J. F. Rathbone
Smith, Thomas Lochlan		
(1835-1884)	Winter-Valley of the Mohawk (81)	T. P. Crook
Tait, Arthur Fitzwilliam		
(1819-1905)	Doe and Fawn (118)	E. D. Palmer
Terry, Luther		
(1813-1869)	Ruth and Naomi (24)	R. H. Pruyn
Winner, William E.		
(1815-1883)	The Tiny Court (94)	J. H. van Antwerp
Wust, Alexander (1837-1876)		
	New York by Moonlight (60)	E. L. Magoon
Yewell, George Henry		
(1830-1923)	The Top (102)	S. P. Avery
Anonymous		
	Child's Head-a sketch (99)	J. Kidd
	Amsterdam Holland (121)	S. H. Ransom
	The Power of Music (136)	T. Olcott
After Guido	Magdalen (142)	Mrs. J. Rathbone
After Riedel	Judith (143)	Mrs. J. Rathbone
Flemish School	Frugal Repast (144)	Mrs. J. Rathbone

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European Paintings

Ansdel	Autumn in England (117)	R. L. Banks
Constable	Landscape with Cattle (4)	J. F. Rathbone
Engelhart	View in the Alps (7)	S. H. Ransom
	Alpine Scenery (11)	S. H. Ransom
German	The Widow's Mite (13)	J. H. Antwerp
Lemmens	In Clover (59)	E. D. Palmer
	A Happy Home (101)	E. D. Palmer
	The farmyard (134)	J. Kidd
Meyerheim	Woodcutter's Repast (48)	Mrs. J. Rathbone
Meyer von Bremen	The Wreath of Flowers (57)	A. van Santford
Reynolds	Nell Gwynne (96)	J. F. Rathbone
Roff	Sheep and Goats (12)	S. H. Ransom
Rubens	Saint Peter (74)	J. V. L. Pruyn
Walffaeri	Rescue from Inundation (30)	J. V. L. Pruyn
Wittemacher	The Companions (115)	S. H. Ransom

American Sculpture

Palmer, Erastus Dow (1817-1904)	White Captive (145)
	Indian Maiden (146)
	Bust, Alexander Hamilton (147)
	Bust, Little Peasant (148)

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Brooklyn and Long Island Sanitary Fair, 22 February-11 March 1864.

Catalogue of Works of Art Exhibited at Brooklyn and Long Island Fair in Aid of the United States Sanitary Commission, February 22, 1864. Brooklyn: The Union Steam Presses, 1864.

American Paintings

Baker, George H.		
(1821-1880)	Sweet Sixteen (91)	R. Stuyvesant
Banta, Weart		
(1826-1892)	Fruit and Flowers (143)	The Artist
Barrow, John Dodgson		
(1824-1906)	Green Mountains (103)	The Artist
Beard, William Hollbrook		
(1825-1900)	Wood Scene (46)	The Artist
	Bears on a Bender (113)	S. B. Caldwell
Bellows, Albert Fitch		
(1829-1883)	The Bye-Path (132)	W. Hatfield
Benson, Eugene		
(1839-1908)	Autumn Walk (97)	The Artist
Bierstadt, Albert		
(1830-1902)	Rocky Mountains (60)	S. B. Caldwell
	Rocky Mountains (78)	No Owner
Boughton, George Henry		
(1833-1905)	"Comin' thro' the Rye" (117)	S. P. Avery
	The Old Homestead (126)	R. H. Maning
Brown, John George		
(1831-1913)	The Ducking (81)	The Artist
Bridges, Fidelia		
(1835-1923)	Willows (84)	The Artist

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Bristol, John Bunyan		
(1826-1909)	Housatonic (14)	Waters
	Twilight (100)	W. Banks
Carmienckie, Johann Hermann		
(1810-1867)	Lago di Gardi (12)	C. Graff
	Coast of Sweden (94)	The Artist
Casilear, John William		
(1811-1893)	June (116)	The Artist
	Autumn (129)	W. Hatfield
Chapman, Frederick A.		
	The Lovers (173)	W. H. Snyder
Church, Frederic Edwin		
(1826-1900)	The Meteor (73)	The Artist
Cole, Thomas		
(1801-1848)	View near Naples (76)	J. H. Prentice
Colman, Samuel		
(1832-1920)	Lake George (25)	J. T. Howard
	Street Scene, Seville (72)	The Artist
	Conway Valley (140)	
	Lake George (154)	J. S. Morgan
Cropsey, Jasper Francis		
(1823-1900)	Grapes (37)	W. H. Husted
	Study from Nature (50)	G. G. White
	View of the Arno (59)	W. I. Steele
	Scene in New Jersey (172)	The Artist
Darley, Felix Octavius		
(1822-1888)	Leap Frog (168)	J. C. Henshaw
Davis, William T.		
	"Done Gone" (34)	N. Wiard
	The Neglected Picture (86)	N. Wiard
	Mephistophiles (70)	N. Wiard
De Keyser, Nicaise		
(1813-1887)	The Love Test (18)	J. T. Sanford
De Peyster, Gerard Beckman		
(1834-1870)	Landscape (147)	The Artist
Dodge, John Wood		
(1807-1893)	Henry Clay in 1843	The Artist

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Durand, Asher Brown (1796-1886)	On the Pemmigewassett (17)	G. S. Stephenson
	Composition (61)	A. A. Low
Ehninger, John Whetten (1827-1889)	Washington's first interview with Mrs. Custis (22)	W. Pate
Fisher, A.	Fruit (83)	The Artist
Fox, R.	The Gleaners (280)	I. Sargent
Gifford, Sanford Robinson (1823-1880)	Near Genoa (119)	S. P. Avery
	Mount Washington (127)	R. H. Manning
	Schoarie Kill (139)	G. S. Stephenson
Gignoux, Regis François (1816-1882)	Alps at Sunrise (23)	A. A. Low
	First Snow (40)	S. Hallett
	Niagara-Winter (49)	A. T. Steward
Greatorex, Eliza (1820-1897)	Fruit (75)	The Artist
Greene, Edward D. E. (1823-1879)	Repose (128)	R. H. Manning
Griswold, Casimir Clayton (1834-1918)	December Morning (101)	The Artist
Guy, Seymour Joseph (1824-1910)	"Can't See Me" (134)	W. Hatfield
	Refractory Sister (151)	W. J. A. Fuller
Hall, Elisha W. (1833-1905)	On the Saco (27)	The Artist
Hall, George Henry (1825-1913)	"Elaine" (9)	G. G. White
	Flowers (20)	Mrs. J. C. Henshaw
	Grapes (63)	Mrs. J. C. Henshaw
	Fruit (80)	Mrs. J. C. Henshaw
	Currants (87)	S. J. Eastman
	Grapes (90)	S. J. Eastman

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Hart, James McDougal		
(1828-1901)	Landscape (7)	Mrs. J. Bullard
	Landscape (29)	J. B. Blossom
	Heidelbergh [sic] Mountains (137)	W. Hatfield
Hart, William		
(1823-1894)	Near Hurley (120)	S. P. Avery
	Red, White and Blue (141)	E. S. Mills
Heade, Martin Johnson		
(1819-1904)	Coast Scene (291)	T. Wigglesworth
Hennessy, William John		
(1839-1917)	First Day Out (135)	W. J. Hatfield
Henry, T. L.	Old Homestead (92)	The Artist
Hicks, Thomas		
(1823-1890)	Devotion (71)	The Artist
Homer, Winslow		
(1836-1910)	Berdan Sharp-Shooter (85)	The Artist
Hubbard, Richard William		
(1816-1888)	Morning on the Mount (124)	S. P. Avery
	The Dell (142)	E. S. Mills
Huntington, Daniel		
(1816-1906)	Coast of Maine (4)	G. S. Stephenson
	The First Lesson of Charity (11)	G. B. Carhart
Inman, Henry		
(1801-1846)	Portrait (16)	H. E. Pierrepont
	De Witt Clinton (106)	
Inness, George		
(1825-1894)	Summer Afternoon (19)	H. W. Beecher
	Light Triumphant (38)	Mrs. E. T. H. Gibson
	Sunset (98)	H. W. Banks
	Twilight (166)	H. W. Beecher
Johnson, David		
(1827-1908)	Indian Falls (130)	W. Hatfield
Johnson, Eastman		
(1824-1906)	Kentucky Home (2)	No Owner
	Albino Girl (167)	H. W. Beecher

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Kensett, John Frederick		
(1818-1872)	Study (66)	The Artist
	Study (115)	The Artist
	Hudson River (171)	R. L. Stuart
Kittell, Nicholas Biddle		
(1822-1894)	Ideal Head (11)	No Owner
Lambdin, George Cochran		
(1830-1896)	Blowing Bubbles (93)	J. B. Murray
	Little Knitter (95)	J. B. Murray
	Flowers (125)	R. H. Manning
Lang, Louis		
(1814-1893)	Indolence (65)	The Artist
Le Clear, Thomas		
(1818-1882)	The Truant (77)	The Artist
McEntee, Jervis		
(1828-1891)	Wynkoop House (118)	S. P. Avery
McEwan, William		
	Troublesome Visitors (112)	The Artist
Matthews, William T.		
(1821-1905)	Flowers (82)	The Artist
	Flowers (88)	The Artist
Mignot, Louis Remy		
(1831-1870)	Passiac[sic] Falls (3)	R. Stuyvesant
	Twin Elms (43)	G. G. White
	On the Passaic (67)	Cyrus Butler
Miller, [?]	Landscape (162)	C. H. Baxter
Mount, William Sidney		
(1807-1868)	What Have I forgotten (122)	S. P. Avery
Nehlig, Victor		
(1830-1909)	Courage and Fear (131)	W. Hatfield
Parker, John Adams Jr.		
(1827/29-c. 1905)		
	Moonlight (39)	The Artist
Pratt, Robert M.		
(1811-1880)	Flowers (64)	The Artist

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Richards, William Trost (1833-1905)	Study (121)	S. P. Avery
Robbins, Horace Wolcott (1842-1904)	Study (99)	The Artist
Rossitter, Thomas Pritchard (1818-1871)	Old Dutch Porch (170)	G. G. White
Ryder, Plat Powell (1821-1896)	Summer Reverie (138)	Stephenson
Shattuck, Aaron Draper (1832-1898)	Landscape and Cattle (42)	No Owner
Shaughnessey, S. T.	Landscape (35)	No Owner
	Hudson River (102)	The Artist
Shayer, William (1788-1879)	Swann Inn (45)	S. B. Chittenden
	Crown Inn (52)	A. A. Low
	Roadside Inn (155)	W. J. A. Fuller
	Landscape and Cattle (156)	W. J. A. Fuller
Smith, Thomas Henry	Columbus and the Cardinals (47)	S. J. Eastman
Smith, Thomas Lochlan (1835-1884)	Winter (146)	The Artist
Stuart, Gilbert (1755-1828)	Washington (1)	H. E. Pierrepont
	Mrs. Lea (6)	N. Luqueer
Tait, Arthur Fitzwilliam (1819-1905)	Partridge and Young (21)	J. B. Blossom
	Interior (150)	W. J. A. Fuller
Thorpe, Thomas Bangs (1815-1878)	Niagara Falls (159)	W. J. A. Fuller
Trumbull, John (1756-1843)	Col. Trumbull (69)	D. T. Lanaman
Vedder, Elihu (1836-1923)	The Knight's Signature (136)	W. Hatfield

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Warren, Andrew W. (?-1873)	Fisherman (74)	The Artist
Weir, John Ferguson (1841-1926)	The Studio (114)	The Artist
Weir, Robert Walter (1803-1889)	The Mother (79)	No Owner
	Drawing (107)	No Owner
Whittaker, John Bernard (1836-1916)	Crayon Study (163)	The Artist
	Crayon Study (164)	The Artist
White, Edwin (1817-1877)	Requium of De Soto (48)	The Artist
Whittredge, Worthington (1820-1910)	Interior (57)	R. L. Stuart
Williams [?]	View on the Thames-Hunting (160)	W. J. A. Fuller
	View on the Thames-Fishing (161)	W. J. A. Fuller
Williamson, John (1826-1885)	Calla, Ethiopia (10)	H. Allen
	Indian Corn (165)	S. J. Eastman

American Sculpture

Jones, Thomas Dow (1811-1881)	A. Lincoln (68)	N. Wiard
Mozier, Joseph (1812-1870)	Pocahontas (62)	A. M. White

European Paintings

Adolph	Game (24)	No Owner
Batti	Lace Maker (31)	S. McLane
Baumgartner	Auction in the Studio (58)	J. T. Sanford
Boddington	Landscape (51)	H. E. Pierrepont
Couture	The Indolent Scholar (5)	J. T. Sanford
De Giorgi	Fraternal Love (30)	E. Dodge

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De Keyser	The Love Test (18)	J. T. Sanford
Dommerhuysen	Stiff Breeze (158)	W. J. A. Fuller
Ferrari	Valley in the Tyrol (32)	S. McLane
Fraure	Apple Gathering (153)	W. J. A. Fuller
Hasenclever	The Student's Departure (54)	J. T. Johnston
	The Examination (55)	J. T. Johnston
	The Return (56)	J. T. Johnston
Koekeok & Verbockhoven	Landscape and Sheep (41)	J. T. Howard
Michalom	Summer (53)	J. T. Howard
Patrois	Forbidden Fruit (28)	S. U. F. Odell
Pritchett	Grand Canal (149)	W. J. A. Fuller
Robbe	Sheep (36)	C. Butler
Spitzweg	Book Worm (13)	L. G. Lockwood
Springer	View in Holland (44)	S. U. F. Odell
Van Limpertt	Fowls (157)	W. J. A. Fuller
Van Severdonck	Sheep and Fowls (148)	W. J. A. Fuller
Von Schendelq	Market Scene, Amsterdam (169)	L. G. Lockwood
Wappers	The Confidante (26)	J. T. Sanford
Winnegardt	Apple Gathering (153)	W. J. A. Fuller

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Sanitary Fair. Catalogue of Arts, Relics and Curiosities, on Exhibition at the Taylor House, …. Brooklyn: Daily Eagle Print, 1864.

D- indicates donated to the fair.

S- indicates that the work was for sale.

American Paintings

Barrow, John Dobson (1823-1907)	Beach Scene (30) S	The Artist
Carmiencke, Johann Hermann (1810-1867)	Landscape (42) S	Shirk Brothers
Cass, George Nelson (1831/32-1882)	Landscape (81) S	S. Walters
Copley, John Singleton (1738-1815)	Portrait of Jane Brown (307) S	Mr. Ford
Gifford, [?]	Landscape (2) S	E. S. Mills
Farrer, Thomas Charles (c. 1840-1891)	Pen and Ink Sketch (872) D	The Artist
Hall, George Henry (1825-1913)	Flowers (39) S	G. S. Stephenson
	Lillies (43) S	W. H. Miller
Hall, J. W.	Watercolor Drawings (873) D	The Artist
Hart, William (1823-1894)	Landscape (102) S	The Artist
Inness, George (1825-1894)	Landscape (68) S	H. W. Beecher
Kensett, John Frederick (1818-1872)	Coast Scene (5) S	E. S. Mills

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Lane, Fitz Hugh			
(1804-1865)	A Calm (14)	S	G. G. White
	Marine View (42B)	S	W. H. Miller
Moran [?}	Marine View (13)	S	C. Parsons
Mount, William Sydney			
(1807-1868)	Little Girl (65)	S	The Artist
Oddie, Walter Mason			
(1805-1865)	Landscape (72)	S	The Artist
Page, William			
(1811-1885)	Female Head (61)	S	S. J. Eastman
Powell, R. J.	Landscape (71)	S	The Artist
Rondel, Frederick			
(1826-1892)	Landscape (1)	S	R. W. Ropes
	Landscape (10)	S	R. W. Ropes
	Landscape (42A)	S	W. H. Miller
Ryder, P. V.	Female Head (70)	S	P. V. Ryder
Tait, Arthur Fitzwilliam			
(1819-1905)	Young Quail (58)	S	J. B. Murray
	Young Quails (74)	S	J. B. Murray
	Goat and Ducks (98)	S	The Artist
	Young Chickens (100)	S	The Artist
	Young Chickens (101)	S	The Artist
Thompson, Jerome			
(1814-1886)	Landscape (38)	S	C. Butler
Williamson, John			
(1826-1885)	Flowers, Wisteria (17)	S	J. Barker
	Melon (36)	S	The Artist
	Sunset (63)	S	J. Barker

European paintings

Lemmon	Farm Yard (73)	S	No Owner

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Christmas Bazaar, Rochester, NY, 14-22 December 1863.

Report of the Christmas Bazaar, Held under the Auspices of the Ladies' Hospital Relief Association, … Rochester, NY.

Rochester: Benton & Andrews, 1863.

S= indicates that the work was for sale.

American Paintings

Arnold, George		
	Lady Playing Guitar	No Owner
	Landscape	No Owner
	Grandfather's Pet	No Owner
Beard, William Holbrook		
(1825-1900)	Owl	Mrs. Gilman
	Pet Kitten	H. W. Rogers
	Pussy's Delight	Mrs. S. Watson
	The Startled Buck	H. W. Rogers
	The Hunter	H. W. Rogers
	Prospective Breakfast	Mrs. S. Watson
Brent, Henry Johnson		
(1811-1890)	Marine View	No Owner
Coe, David	The Spinster	Mrs. Hunter
Dennis, James Hogarth		
(1839-1914)	Niagara	No Owner
Gibson, George		
	Portrait of a Lady	D. M. Dewey
Gilbert, Grove Sheldon		
(1805-1885)	Magdalen after Carlo Dolce	E. M. Moore
	Portrait of Bishop Whitehouse	D. M. Dewey
Hall, George Henry		
(1825-1913)	Raspberries	Mrs. S. Watson
Harris, James		
	Indian Summer	No Owner

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Hart, William (1823-1894)	Morning	Mrs. Ellwood
	Night	Mrs. Ellwood
Hilgers, F.	Winter S	No Owner
Humphrey, Josiah	The Ravine-Eagle River-Lake Superior S	No owner
	View at Marquette Lake Superior S	No Owner
	Pic Nic Party S	No Owner
Kellogg, Miner Kilbourne (1814-1889)	Portraits of Children	No Owner
	Portrait of Dr. Coit	No Owner
Kimball, Colby Kimble (active c. 1835-1867)	Portrait of a Gentleman	No Owner
Krieghoff, Cornelius (1815-72)	Salmon Spearing by Torch-Light	J. M. Whitney
	The Russ Sleigh	J. M. Whitney
	Indians on the Rock	J. M. Whitney
Mathies, John Lee Douglas (1780-1834)	Red Jacket	H. G. Warner
	Jemima Wilkinson-A Portrait from Life	H. G. Warner
	Portrait of Mr. Roberts, and Editor of Masonic Notoriety	Miss Mathies
Moore, T. J.	View in Orange County, NY	S
	View in Orange County, NY	S
	View Near the Hudson	S
Mundy, Johnson Marchant (1831-1897)	Crayon Portrait of Reverend Dr. Pease	S
	Crayon Portrait of Children	Mrs. S. Hargous
	Medallion Portrait in Plaster	D. M. Dewey
Nast, Thomas (1840-1902)	New York Street (sketch)	No Owner

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Nehlig, Victor (1830-1909)	Winter		
Nichols [?]	Flora, after Titian		Mrs. Hunter
	Portrait of Titian, after Titian		Mrs. Hunter
	Water Nymph		Mrs. Hunter
Page, William (1811-1885)	Portrait of William Page		Miss Mathies
Rossiter, Thomas Pritchard (1818-1871)	Pic Nic Party		Mrs. S. Watson
Searle, Helen (1827-1884)	Study of Grapes		W. A. Reynolds
	Field Flowers S		The Artist
	Fruit Piece		The Artist
	Quail	Mrs.	M. F. Reynolds
	Pelargoniums	Mrs.	B. D. McAlpine
	Fuschias		A. Wright
Smith, Emily L.	A Landscape		No Owner
	Fruit Piece S	T. J.	Southworth
	Wood Scene S		No Owner
	Scene in the Country	T. J.	Southworth
	Group of Children S		
Sonntag, William Louis (1822-1900)	View on the Shenandoah		Dorr
	Ossipee Valley (New Hampshire)		Dorr
	Eagle Cliff, New Hampshire		Dorr
	The Mill		Dorr
Spencer, Lilly Martin (1811-1902)	The Power of Fashion		Mrs. Williams
Vance, Frederick T.	Jefferson Davis S		No Owner
Van Ingen, Henry A. (1833-1899)	The Three Friends S		W. A. Reynolds
	The Poor Man's Cellar		W. A. Reynolds
	Farm Yard	Mrs.	G. J. Whitney
	The Two Friends	Mrs.	G. J. Whitney
	Making Hay	Mrs.	G. J. Whitney
	The Pet Spaniel		W. A. Reynolds

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Wallace [?]	Haying	S. Wilder
Wilbur, Isaac E.		
	Morning	No Owner
	Evening	No Owner
Williams, S.	Sunset S	

Anonymous

	St. Catherine, after Correggio	D. W. Powers
	Madonna and Child, after Raphael	E. M. Moore
	Magdalen, after Carlo Dolci	E. M. Moore
	Magdalen after Correggio	Mrs. Hunter
	The Banished Lord, after Rembrandt	H. P. Brewster
	Guardian Angel	Miss Shaw
	An Italian Scene	Miss Shaw
	La Fornarina, after Raphael	Mrs. G. H. Mumford
	Aurora, after Guido	Mrs. G. H. Mumford
	Good Night	Mrs. G. H. Mumford
	The Music Lesson	E. M. Smith
	The Deer Chase	Mr. Hazard
	The Spanish Chief	Mrs. Watson
	Head of Christ	J. A. Biegler
	The Old Homestead S	No Owner
	Beatrice Cenci, after Guido	Mrs. Biegler
	Lot and his Daughters	Mrs. Biegler
	Crossing the Ford, after Paul Potter	W. A. Reynolds
	Summer	No Owner
	Madonna, after Correggio	S. Wilder
	Game	L. W. Clarke
	Game	L. W. Clarke
	Death of Queen Elizabeth, after Delaroche	
	Game Piece	J. H. Brewster
	Caesar Borgia	E. K. Warren
	Highlander	No Owner
	Winter S	General Williams
	Beatrice Cenci	Palmer
	Morning in the Highlands, after Rosa Bonheur	F. Glenn
	The Shepherd's Prayer, after Landseer	F. Glenn
	Mule Drivers, after Rosa Bonheur	F. Glenn

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European Paintings

Allori	Head of Judith	E. M. Smith
Burchmiel	The Stages of Life	Mrs. O. Gaffney
Guyer	Near Lucerne, Switzerland	No Owner
	View in the Tyrol S	
Hogarth	The First of Hogarth's The Rake's Progress	Mrs. J. Stilson
	The Marriage from the Rake's Progress	Mrs. J. Stilson
Isabey	The Fisherman's Home, after Noterman	D. W. Powers
Jacquarde	The Curious One Caught	D. W. Powers
L'Enfant de Metz	Steeple Case	Mrs. Watson
Le Pre	Wood Scene	No Owner
Notterman	Reading the News	Mrs. Hunter
Romanelli	Innocence	Mrs. Hunter
Rustige	The Toilette	G. Ellwanger
Steinbruck	Rossylyn Chapel	D. M. Dewey
Thibon	The Poultry Yard	D. W. Powers

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Fair for the Soldier's Rest, Springfield, MA, 19-21 December 1864.

Catalogue of Paintings, Contributed by the Citizens of Springfield, for Exhibition at the Soldier's Fair, … December 19, 1864.

American Paintings

Ames, Joseph (1816-1872)	Head of Our Saviour (25)	T. Chubbuck
Andrews [?]	Fete Champetre (89)	C. Ely
Bellows, Albert Fitz (1829-1883)	Landscape (19)	C. W. Bryan
Boughton, George Henry (1833-1905)	The Helping Hand (40)	J. A. Rumrill
Brown, William H	Marine View-Mount Desert (113)	W. Conner, Jr.
Carter [?]	A Scene from the "Deserted Village" (50)	C. Ely
Collins, George	Fishing Scene on the Coast of Asia Minor (98)	C. Ely
Dassel, Mrs.	Italian Girls (28)	A. D. Chapin
Drummond, B.	Waltham Cross (27)	C. Ely
Durrie, George Henry (1820-1863)	Landscape (21)	W. Conner, Jr.
	Landscape (26)	W. Conner, Jr.
	Autumn (110)	C. Merriam
	Summer (116)	C. Merriam
	Winter (133)	C. Merriam
	Summer [?](136)	C. Merriam

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Eastman, Seth (1808-1875)	Landscape (9)	J. Barnes
Eaton, Miss	Wild Flowers (17)	J. A. Rumrill
Elwell, William S. (1810-1881)	William Pynchon (copy, 56)	City of Springfield
	Portrait (61)	The Artist
	View of Springfield (63)	T. W. Carter
	Winter Scene (71)	J. Brewer
	Portrait of Dr. Osgood (83)	The Artist
	Interior (95)	The Artist
	Member of the Royal Humane Society (96)	The Artist
	Jacob (102)	The Artist
Fordham [?]	Holy Family, after Murillo (88)	D. L. Harris
Frost, F. S.	Lake George in Autumn (20)	G. Walker
Gignoux, Regis Françcois (1816-1882)	Winter (34)	C. W. Chapin
George, Thomas	Portrait of Benjamin Rotch (107)	Mrs. E. Farrar
Harding, Chester (1792-1866)	Daniel Boone (59)	The Artist
	Portrait of Daniel Webster (85)	J. M. Thompson
Hart, William (1823-1894)	Autumn in the White Hills (100)	B. F. Bowles
Hennesey, William John (1839-1917)	French Cattle (23)	R. G. Shurtleff
Hodgdon, Sylvester Phelps (1830-1906)	Lindenwald, after Lindlar (37)	W. C. Sturtevant
Kimberly, Denison (1814-1863)	Venice, (copy, 10)	J. B. Stebbins
	Lake Thun in Switzerland (copy, 14)	J. B. Stebbins
	Copy after Troyon (22)	H. Foot
	Shepherd Dogs (74)	A. D. Briggs

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	The Nativity, after Salvator Rosa (87)	Mrs. S. Merrick
	Lunch (copy, 101)	H. Foot
Lewis, Henry (1819-1904)	The Wetterhorn of the Alps (1)	S. Bowles
	Castle Elz on the Mosel (2)	The Artist
	Landscape in Westphalia (5)	The Artist
	Castle of Callenfelz (29)	The Artist
	Castle Elz and Environs (49)	The Artist
Marston, William	View on the Elbe, copy after Ruysdael (77)	A. Lambert
	View in Whitton Valley, near Birmingham, England (93)	A. Lambert
Merwin, N. H.	Sketch (46)	G. M. Atwater
	Indian Summer (79)	G. M. Atwater
Oddie, Walter Mason (1805-1865)	Vevey on Lake Geneva (6)	C. W. Chapin
Peel, John Thomas (1822-1897)	Landscape in England (31)	C. Ely
Rhoner, W.	New England Farm House (66)	M. Bradley
Rogers [?]	Haymaking, after Rosa Bonheur (30)	J. B. Stebbins
Rouse [?]	George W. Curtis (18)	G. Walker
Scott, John White Allen (1815-1907)	View on the Avon (41)	T. Chubbuck
	Outlet of Loch St. Mary (42)	T. Chubbuck
Stewart, Joseph (1753-1822)	Portrait of Captain Orne (36)	Mrs. W. Orne
Stotthart, Thomas	Characters of Shakespeare (106)	C. Ely
Tiffany, William Shaw (1824-1907)	Arabian Horsemen (12)	C. W. Chapin
	Forrest Scene (69)	The Artist

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Weber, Paul (1823-1916)	Berchtesgarten in Tyrol (82)	H. Foot

Anonymous Paintings

Rebecca (8)	S. Bowles
Washington (15)	C. C. Chaffee
Head of St. Peter (39)	J. B. Stebbins
The Lunch (45)	S. Bowles
Beatrice Cenci (48)	B. F. Bowles
Landscape (51)	No Owner
Landscape (52)	J. G. Holland
View of Salem (62)	Mrs. W. Orne
Bunch of Grapes, Chromo (64)	H. Foot
An Interior (65)	J. Barnes
Candle-Light (68)	No Owner
Italian Landscape (70)	Mrs. J. Childs
St. John (72)	C. Harding
View on the Hudson (73)	No Owner
Head of Christopher Columbus (75)	C. Harding
Grapes, Chromo (80)	H. Foot
Mater Coloroso, after Sassoferato (81)	G. Bliss
Adoration of the Virgin, after Correggio (84)	G. Bliss
Landscape, after Salvator Rosa (86)	G. Bliss
The Little Dog Trainer (90)	J. D. Brewer
Music has Charms (91)	J. D. Brewer
Hagar (92)	C. W. Bryan
Magdalene, an old Spanish Picture (94)	G. Bliss
Winter Scene (97)	No Owner
Marriage of St. Catherine, after Correggio (103)	G. Bliss
Landscape (105)	No Owner
Landscape (108)	A. H. Avery
John Hampden (109)	Masonic Lodge
Bay of Naples (111)	H. C. Lee
The Letter (112)	J. D. Brewer
The Cook (114)	B. F. Bowles
Moonlight near Naples (115)	J. D. Brewer
A Monk in Meditation, after Spanish Original (117)	A. Lambert
St. Catherine (119)	Mrs. E. Ferrar
Christ Blessing Little Children (120)	

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	The Confessional (121)	J. D. Brewer
	Group of English Physicians (122)	D. L. Harris
	Game of Chess (124)	J. D. Brewer
	Charity (125)	J. D. Brewer
	Sibyl, after Guercino (126)	G. Bliss
	Street Scene in Rouen (127)	H. Foot
	Chinese Painting (128)	H. Smith
	Landscape (129)	No Owner
	General A. B. Dyer (130)	No Owner
	View in the Netherlands (131)	Mrs. J. Childey
	The Random Shot, after Landseer (132)	G. Walker
	Ancient Portrait (137)	J. Ingraham
	Ancient Portrait (138)	J. Ingraham
	Christ Walking on the Sea, glass painting (139)	G. M. Atwater
	Christ Stilleth the Tempest (140)	G. M. Atwater
	Landscape (142)	No Owner
	Prize Durham Cow (144)	G. M. Atwater

European Paintings

Buncher	Fishermen Riding Out a Gale (141)	W. Dearden
De Chens	Portrait from Life of Norman Horse, Dilligence (134)	G. M. Atwater
	Portrait of Norman Mare, Jean D'Arc and Colt (135)	G. M. Atwater
Delacroix	Group of Peasants (4)	J. Barnes
Dolce, Carlo	Magdalen (7)	C. W. Chapin
Hübner, Carl	The Examination (99)	B. F. Bowles
Mazzolini	Cupids of Correggio (3)	J. B. Rumrill
	Madonna, after Carlo Dolce (32)	J. B. Rumrill
	Italians at Prayer (38)	J. B. Rumrill
	Turkey Boy (44)	J. B. Rumrill
Meyer of Bremmen	Grandmother's Pet (47)	J. B. Rumrill
Stocks	The Millenium (118)	E. Trask

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Themmen	Landscape (51)	A. L. Soule
	Winter Scene in Flanders (78)	G. E. Howard
	Portrait of "Pedro"	H. Foot
	French Inn-Yard and Diligence (143)	T. Chubbuck
Troyon	Wood Scene (33)	W. S. Tiffany
Wydervelt	Strawberries (24)	No Owner

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Great Central Fair, Philadelphia, 7-28 June 1864.

Catalogue of Paintings Drawings Statuary Etc., of the Art Department in the Great Central Fair. 2nd Ed. Philadelphia: n. p., 1864.

D=indicates work donated for sale by the artist or the owner.

D/AFS= indicates works donated for sale by the Artists' Fund Society of Philadelphia.

S=indicates that the work was for sale.

American Paintings

Adam, B.	Dog (347)	J. W. Bates
	A Horse and Dogs (254)	No Owner
	The Three Friends (625)	S. B. Caldwell
Alaine, E. Miss	Orange with Blossoms (705) D	The Artist
Allston, Washington (1779-1843)	Mother and Child (321)	McMurtrie
Anker, Albert (1831-1910)	The Knitting School (86)	J. T. Johnston
Atkinson, D. Miss	Landscape, pastel (708) D	The Artist
Audubon, John James (1785-1851)	Armadillo (639) D	Mrs. D. Harland
Bakhuysen, Miss	Flowers (457)	H. G. Sharpless

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Baker, George Augustus, Jr. (1821-1880)	Head of a Girl (502)	J. M. Burt
	June Blossom (550)	S. Gandy
Barrington, Rebecca Petunia (703)	D	School of Design
Baugh, S.	Ferry on the Clyde (509)	J. W. Bates
Beard, William H. (1824-1900)	Bears on a Bender (146)	S. B. Caldwell
	The March of Silenus or "We Wont Go Home 'till Morning" (201)	The Artist
	The Startled Buck (262) S	The Artist
	Jealousy (287)	J. Kinnard
	White Squirrel (341)	Miss Bohlen
Becker, C.	Petitioning the Doge (69)	W. H. Webb
	The Acceptance (512)	E. W. Bailey
	The Proposal (528)	E. W. Bailey
Bensell, George Frederick (1837-1879)	Hubert and Arthur (138)	The Artist
	Curiosity (423)	H. Seligman
	A Calm (518)	H. Seligman
	A Storm (580)	H. Seligman
	Children (589)	C. F. Haseltine
	The Shelter (736) D/AFS	
	The Little Gleaner (765, sketch) D	
Bewer, Clemens (1820-1884)	Festival of Song (349)	A. Campbell
Bierstadt, Albert (1830-1902)	The Rocky Mountains (84)	E. Seitz
	The Wetterhorn (597) S	J. Sowle
Birch, Thomas (1779-1851)	Perry's Victory (227)	T. Birch, Jr.
	Shipwrecked Sailor (360)	T. Birch, Jr.
	Landscape (433)	T. Birch, Jr.
	Ferry House (628) D	J. L. Claghorn
	River Bank (629) D	J. L. Claghorn
Bishop, Thomas	Crayon Sketch (688) D	T. Bishop

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Bispham, Henry Collins		
(1841-1882)	Landscape with Cattle (553)	A. S. Robinson
	The Phrenologist (722) D	AFS
	Lion and Tiger (784, sketch) D	
Blauvelt, Charles F.		
(1824-1900)	Waiting for the Stage (498)	The Artist
	Culinary Preparations (739 ½) D	AFS
	Too Hot (763, sketch) D	
Blythe, David Gilmour		
(1815-1865)	The Repetant Irishman (171)	W. P. Wilstach
	Morning of Life (427)	W. F. Leech
	Evening of Life (431)	W. F. Leech
Bonfield, George R.		
(1802-1898)	Scene on the Delaware (2)	J. Patterson
	Sea Beach (200)	W. H. Dougherty
	The Wreckers (208)	C. Macalester
	Coast Scene (340)	C. G. Childs
	Mediterranean Port (463)	M. W. Baldwin
	A Lone Shore (777, sketch) D	
Bonfield, William Van		
	Winter (759, sketch) D	
Boughton, George Henry		
(1833-1905)	Winter (605)	J. A. Suydam
Boutelle De Witt Clinton		
(1820-1884)	By the Creek (757, sketch) D	
Bridges, Fidelia		
(1834-1923)	Study of Ferns (506)	Mrs. J. Haseltine
Bright [?]	View in Westmorland (181)	Mrs. Still
Brown, John George		
(1831-1913)	The Young Widow (47) S	J. Snedecor
	A Flower Among the Weeds (130)	G. B. Coale
	"I See You" (164) S	J. Snedecor
	Solitude on the Mediterranean (172) S	The Artist
	Six Year Old (185)	G. B. Coale
	"As the Old Cock Crows, the Young Ones Learn" (195)	J. L. Claghorn
	Christmas (310)	J. B. Wellington
	"Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star How I Wonder What You Are" (535)	J. Bohlen

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Burns, C. M.
Allegorical Illumination (747, sketch) D

Busby, M. K. Miss
Studies in Indian Ink (702) D
School of Design

Casilear, John William
(1811-1893) Landscape (243) R. Olyphant
Landscape (582) Mrs. J. Haseltine

Chapman, John Gadsby
(1808-1889) Jealousy (668) D J. F. Fisher
Going to the Shrine at Lake Albano (671) D
J. F. Fisher

Colman, Samuel
(1832-1920) Landscape (561) J. M. Burt

Coulter, Thomas H.
The Soldier's Wife (Drawing 633) D
The Artist

Conarroe, George W.
(1803-1882 or 1884)
Fancy Head (107) The Artist
Sappho (133) The Artist
Waterfall (727) D AFS
Landscape (790, sketch) D
Child and Dog (1017) D The Artist

Cranch, Christopher Pearce
(1813-1892) Landscape (426) J. W. Field

Cresson, W. E. The Corsair (754, sketch) D

Cresswick, T.
Landscape (588) M. O. Roberts

Cropsey, Jasper Francis
(1823-1900) The Olden Times, Evening (187)
W. T. Blodgett
The Olden Times, Morning (194)
W. T. Blodgett
View Near Rome (508) W. P. Wilstach
Near Newport (594) J. W. Field

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Dana, William Parsons Winchester			
(1833-1927)	The Boat Race (87) C.		H. Luddington
	Morning on the Coast of Normandy (235)		G. T. Elliott
	Blondine (372)		Mrs. W. Murry
Darrach, Mrs.			
	Landscape (646) D		Mrs. Darrach
De Haas, William Frederick			
(1830-1880)	Coast of France (223)		M. O. Roberts
	Marine (298)		C. Wright
De Haas, Maurice Frederick Hendrick			
(1832-1895)	Marine (103)		J. Kennard
	Marine (403)		J. Kennard
	Marine (478)		Mr. Eastman
	Marine (583)		C. Wright
Doughty, Thomas			
(1793-1856)	View on the North River (262)		E. G. Cornell
	North River (353)		M. Baird
Durand, Asher Brown			
(1796-1886)	Landscape (114)		M. O. Roberts
	Landscape (587)		S. B. Caldwell
Dyke, L. P.	On the Susquehanna (788, sketch)	D	
Eagles, John			
(1783/84-1855)	The Return of the Contadina (355)		Miss Bohlen
Evans, J. R.	Sent on an Errand (16)		J. R. Evans
	Dog's Head (769, sketch)	D	
Fennimore, T. J.			
	Spring Landscape (738 1/2)	D	AFS
	Spring (772, sketch)	D	
Ferris, Stephen James			
(1835-1915)	The Blind Harper (713)	D	AFS
	About to Change his Tune (755, sketch)	D	
Fletcher, Veron			
(1848-1870)	The Beggar (24)		Mrs. Vansyckel
Fowler, Trevor Thomas			
	The Cedar Bucket (71)		M. W. Baldwin
	The Young Recruit (732)	D	AFS

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Frank [?]	Skating (560)	G. A. Conover
Fredericks, Alfred		
	The Goddess of Liberty and Spirit of Secession (667) D	The Artist
Furness, William Henry Jr.		
(1827-1867)	Study (520A)	J. W. Field
	Female Head (733) D AFS	
	Female Head (752, sketch) D	
Fussell, Charles Lewis		
(1840-1909)	Italian Musician (768, sketch) D	
Gifford, Sanford Robinson		
(1823-1880)	Camp Cameron (74)	S. B. Caldwell
	Peak of Green Mountains (322)	G. Whitney
	Landscape (401)	W. H. Packer
	Marine and Landscape (578)	E. S. Mills
Gignoux, Regis Francois		
(1816-1882)	Alps by Sunrise (20)	A. A. Low
	New Hampshire (175)	C. Christmas
	The First Snow (303)	T. Polhemus
Graeff, Mary and Master		
	Indian on Horseback (663)	Graeff
Gray, Henry Peters		
(1819-1877)	Origin of the American Flag (49) S	H. P. Gray
	The Pride of the Village (93)	W. H. Osborne
	The Apple of Discord (190)	R. Olyphant
	Spirit of the Times (545)	S. B. Caldwell
	The Wages of War (612)	The Artist
Green Charlotte		
	Torrenia Asiatica (701) D	School of Design
Greene, Edward D.		
(1823-1879)	Minora (624)	The Artist
Grünewald, Gustavus		
(1805-1878)	Arctic Regions (1050)	The Artist

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Hall, George Henry
(1825-1913) Strawberries (115) J. Bohlen
Grapes and Pommegranates (465) J. Snedecor
Uvas de Sevilla (606) W. T. Blodgett
Uvas de Sevilla (617) W. T. Blodgett

Hamilton, James
(1819-1878) Shipwreck of Old Ironsides (25)
J. T. Taitt
"What are the Wild Waves Saying?" (41)
H. C. Gibson
Lorenzo" On Such a Night
Did Jessica steal from the wealthy
Jew,
And with an unthrift love did run
from Venice
As far as Belmont
Merchant of Venice Act V, Scene I (55)
H. C. Gibson
The Sceptre of Egypt Shall depart Away,
Zachariah, 10 c. 11v. (89)
H. C. Gibson
Liverpool (636) D M. Meiggs
The False Beacon (666) D W. Bucknell
The Terrace (717) D AFS
Marine (778, sketch) D
Niagara (780, sketch) D

Hart, William
(1823-1894) Landscape (556) E. S. Mills

Hart, James MacDougal (1828-1901) and Arthur Fitzwilliam Tait (1819-1905)
Landscape with Deer (570) J. M. Burt

Hartwick, Charles
Near West Orange, N.J. (673) D
Mrs. C. Taylor
Landscape (677) D Mrs. C. Taylor
On the Wissahickon (680) D Mrs. C. Taylor

Hartwick, George J. The Eger, Switcherland (674) D
Mrs. C. Taylor

Haseltine, William Stanley
(1835-1900) Amalfi (9) F. Rogers
The Seven Mountains (183) W. B. Haseltine
Ruins of Nero's Villa (193) E. W. Clark
Willow Swamp (233) Miss Bohlen

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	Narragansett (311)		J. B. Wellington
	Amalfi (393)		B. F. Gardner
	Bay of Baie (593)		C. Macalester
Hayhurst, E. K. Miss			
	Rose, watercolor (698)	D	School of Design
Hays, William Jacob			
(1830-1875)	Dog's Head (170)		S. B. Caldwell
	Setter Dog (325)		W. D. Lewis
	Deer (359)		J. L. Claghorn
	Partridge (399)		The Artist
	Stampede of Buffaloes (437)		The Artist
Healy, George Peter A.			
(1813-1894)	Daniel Webster (685)	D	Healy
Hearn [?]	News from the Field (288)		J. B. Wellington
Heaton, Augustus Goodyear			
(1844-1931)	Sunshine and Shadow (451)		The Artist
Helmick, Howard			
(1845-1907)	Out in the Cold (714)	D	AFS
	A Little Girl (753, sketch)	D	
Hennessy, William John			
(1839-1917)	Carrying Brushwood (515)		J. Snedecor
Henzell [?]	Fisher Girl (302)		J. B. Wellington
Herring, J. F.			
	Interior (444)		F. J. Dreer
Hewitt, W. K.	Taking a Doze (767, sketch)	D	The Artist
Hicks, Thomas			
(1823-1890)	Edward Booth as Iago (471)		The Artist
Hilgers, C.	Winter Scene (543)		W. F. Leech
Hill, John S.	Terrier Dogs (284 1/2)		A. S. Robinson
	Terrier (438)		A. S. Robinson
Hilton	The Love Letter (523)		McMurtrie

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Homer, Winslow (1836-1910)	Playing Old Soldier (203) S	The Artist
Hood, Miss	The Water Carrier of Venice (670)	Miss Hood
Howell, Joseph B.	Charging the Rebels (740) D AFS	
	The Volunteer's Return (745, sketch) D	The Artist
Howland, Alfred Cornelius (1838-1909)	Golden Horn (446)	C. Macalester
Hoyt, Mrs.	Marine (655) D	Mrs. Hoyt
Hubbard, R. B.	Landscape (432)	E. S. Mills
Hubbard, Richard William (1816-1888)	Lake Dunmore (428)	G. B. Coale
Huntington, Daniel (1816-1906)	Ichabod Crane and Katrina van Tafel (95)	W. H. Osborne
	The White Plume (132)	McMurtrie
	Dr. La Conte (660) D	The Artist
Inman, Henry (1801-1846)	Imogene (159)	J. Patterson
	Landscape (339)	C. G. Childs
	Incident in the Life of Washington (384)	C. G. Childs
	Portrait of Bishop White (522)	McMurtrie
Inness, George (1825-1894)	Landscape (279)	O. Haggerty
	Evening (505)	J. M. Burt
James, Anne	A Slight Collation (747 ½, sketch) D	
James, B.	Landscape (746, sketch)	D
John, Joseph	Sheep (785, sketch) D	
Johnson, Eastman (1824-1906)	Prayer (117)	J. M. Burt
	Shelling Corn (162)	J. M. Burt
	Writing his Lesson (178)	R. Olyphant
	A Drop on the Sly (197)	J. L. Claghorn
	Working for the Fair (328)	S. Gandy

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Johnson, H. J.			
	Gulf of Salerno (369)		Henry Seligman
Jones, William Foster			
(1815-?)	The Old Cavalier (719)	D/AFS	
Jordan, Professor			
	Nemesis (316) S		J. S. Earle & Son
Kalbfus, H.	Snow Scene (116)		S. W. Lewis
Kensett, John Frederick			
(1816-1872)	Morning on the Coast (53)		S. Gandy
	Landscape (128)		J. Suydam
	Landscape (246 C)		P. F. Rothermel
	Landscape (304)		J. M. Burt
	Hill and Valley (386)		W. P. Wilstach
	Landscape (410)		R. Olyphant
	Landscape (521)		J. M. Burt
	Lake George (544)		J. W. Field
King, Charles Bird King			
(1785-1862)	Very Cold (22)		Mrs. Vansyckle
	The Artist's Closet (346)		Mrs. Vansyckle
Knight, Daniel Ridgeway			
(1840-1924)	The Roman Peasant Boy (721)	D	AFS
	On the Grand Canal, Venice (774, sketch)	D	
	Time Raising Truth from the Well (637)	D	W. W. Knight & Son
Krimmel, John Lewis			
(1787-1821)	Return from the Market (376)		J. A. Brown
	Interior of the Inn (387)		C. Macalester
Lambdin, George Cochran			
(1830-1896)	The Convalescent (99)		E. D. Lockwood
	Baron Humboldt (139) S		The Artist
	In the Conservatory (305)		E. W. Clark
	Blossoms (726)	D	AFS
	Major-General Meade (742)	D	AFS
	Sylvia (751, sketch)	D	
	Blowing Bubbles (761, sketch)	D	
Lang, Louis			
(1814-1893)	The Departure for War (13)		L. Lang
	The Widow or Spirit of 1864 (18)		

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		L. Lang
	Sybil (135)	W. G. Swann
	Rhymers in the Woods, (182)	J. L. Claghorn
	Return of the New York 69th; (491)	The Artist
Lawrie, Alexander (1828-1917)	Watering flowers (728)	D/AFS
Leutze, Emanuel Gottlieb (1816-1868)	Mother and Child (66)	G. W. Snyder
	Hope and Memory (98)	McMurtrie
	The Blind Girl of Pompwii (253)	Mrs. Sill
	Columbus Before Ferdinand and Isabella after his Return from America (334)	J. T. Furness
	Landing of the Northmen, Vinland (315)	J. H. Towne
	Cromwell and Daughter (406)	W. P. Wilstach
	Departure of Columbus (419)	B. Fordsham
	Portrait in Costume (493)	W. Whittridge
	Melanie (539)	M. W. Baldwin
	Columbus Landing in America (551)	W. F. Leech
	Prince Hal at this Father's Deathbed (563)	Mrs. Sill
	Mountain Scene (596)	M. O. Roberts
Lewis, C. J.	Playing School (250)	F. D. Lewis
Lewis, Edmund Darch (1835-1910)	Morning in the Catskills (80)	S The Artist
	Landscape (184)	M. W. Baldwin
	The Wilds of Lake George (219)	C. H. Clark
	Early Autumn in White Mountains (586)	S The Artist
	Lake George (731)	D AFS
	Lake George (789, sketch)	D
Logue, John James (1810-?)	Fruit (791, sketch)	D
	A Peach (792 sketch)	D

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Luckenbach, Reuben
(1818-1880) The First House Built at Bethlehem, PA, A.D. 1741 (710 ½) D R. Luckenbach

Magg, John Goethe's Fisher Boy (1049) E. Pobst

Martin, William A. K.
(1817-1867) Missing (363) A. S. Robison

Mason, George A Sketch, Italy (48) S J. W. Field

Mason, William Sanford
(1824-1864) Christ Teaching Humility (495) S The Artist
Gathering flowers (762, sketch) D

May, Edward Harrison
(1824-1887) Lady Jane Grey Presenting her Tablets to the Constable of the Tower, as she goes to Execution (246) J. Harrison, Jr.

Mayer, Francis Blackwell
(1827-1899) Elihu Burritt in his Study (599) W. Whittridge

McDowell, E. Landscape (647) Mrs. C. J. Brown

Mc Entee, Jervis
(1828-1891) Early Sunrise; Mist Rising in the Adirondacks (240) A. D. Jesup
Landscape (609) J. L. Claghorn

Meadows, J. Marine (308) J. B. Wellington

Merry, J. K. Mrs.
Autumn Leaves and Grasses (681) D Mrs. J. K. Merry

Miles, Mrs. Edward River Scene (676) D Mrs. Edward Miles

Miller, George L.
View near Rondout (709) D G. L. Miller

Mignot, Louis Remy
(1831-1870) Chimborazo (326) W. S. Stewart

Moon Miranda (After Sully) (683) D No Owner
Raising of Lazarus (1053) Swayze

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Moran, Edward (1829-1901)	Bay of Fundy (142)		F. J. Dreer
	Sailor's Requiem (267)		J. Richardson
	Windsor Castle (469)		J. Richardson
	Sunrise off Hastings (529)		H. B. Fry
	The Sinking of the Cumberland (738)		D/AFS
	The Shrimp Gatherer (781, sketch)	D	
	Marine (1018)	D	J. Harrison
Moran, Peter (1841-1914)	Cattle (773, sketch)	D	
Moran, Thomas 1837-1926)	Autumn in the Wisahickon (19)		A. J. Drexel
	Creisham Creek (26)		G. F. Tyler
	Reminiscence of the Passaic (513)		H. B. Fry
	Fall Scenery (734)	D/AFS	
	The Cost of Loyalty in East Tennessee (782, sketch)	D	
Moss, Frank (1838-after 1905)	On the Ice (635)	D	F. Moss
Mount, William Sidney (1807-1868)	Esquimaux Dog (418)		G. A. Conover
Mulready, D. H. Mrs.	Marine (665)	D	Mrs. D. H. Mulready
Müller, Carl	Scene at the Conciergerie Prison During the Roll Call of the Last Victims of the Reign of Terror, 9th Thermidor, 1793 (263)		J. T. Johnston
Nahl, Christian (1818-1878)	The Finding of Moses (14)		C. Macalester
Nechol, A.	Italian Girl (67)	S	W. Blasius
Nehlig, Victor (1830-1909)	The Night After a Battle (234)		The Artist
	Flower Girl (429)	S	J. Snedecor
Nicol or Nichol, E.	Irish Merry Making (356)		J. W. Bates
	My Beggared Neighbor (335)		J. W. Bates
	A Fine Day Barring the Weather (514)		F. J. Dreer
	The Duet (603)		J. W. Bates

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Nichol, M.	Shepherdess with Flock (191) S	J. M. Blasius
Noteman, E.	Dog Vender (348)	G. A. Conover
Oertel, Johannes Adam Simon (1823-1909)	Cattle (520 B)	J. W. Burt
Orchardson [?]	Morning and Evening (500)	F. J. Dreer
Otter, Thomas P.	River by Moonlight (199)	W. P. Wilstach
	Moonlight (246 B)	M. W. Baldwin
	Delaware Bay by Moonlight (280)	M. Baird
	Sea Coast by Moonlight (345)	M. Baird
	Evening (562) S	The Artist
	Landscape (576) S	The Artist
	Landscape (691) D	The Artist
	Twilight on the Beach (692) D	The Artist
	Charcoal Burners (693) D	The Artist
	Landscape (694) D	The Artist
	Landscape (695) D	The Artist
	Landscape After a Shower (696) D	The Artist
	In Tow (737) D AFS	
	Moonlight on the Bay (749, sketch) D	
Parrish, Isaac	Composition (710)D	I. Parrish
Parton, Arthur (1824-1914)	Landscape (246 D)	C. F. Haseltine
	Landscape (337)	C. F. Haseltine
	Landscape (516)	C. F. Haseltine
	Landscape (604)	C. F. Haseltine
Peale, Mary (1827-1902)	Cherries (286)	C. W. Peale
	Still Life, Strawberries (338)	C. W. Peale
Peale, Raphaelle (1774-1825)	Fruit (461)	Mrs. J. W. Paul
	Fruit (462)	Mrs. J. W. Paul
Peale, Rembrandt (1778-1860)	Washington and Lafayette (379)	E. G. Cornell

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Pettit, George W.
Slain for his Country (715) D AFS

Pine, Robert Edge
Portrait of Garrick (160) W. G. Swann

Ranney, William Tylee
(1813-1857) The Traveler (90) M. O. Roberts
Revolutionary Hero's Return (134) H. P. Beck
Catching Wild Horses (213) M. O. Roberts
Duck Shooting (510) F. J. Dreer

Read, Thomas Buchanan
(1822-1872) Portrait of James Murdoch (94) No Owner
Undine (611) S The Artist

Reed, R. Heber
In the Sunshine (764, sketch) D

Richards, Frederick De Berg
Moonlight (720) D/AFS
River Scene (786, sketch) D

Richards, William Trost
(1833-1905) Landscape (217) J. A. Brown
View in the Adirondacks (291) E. Greble
Near Atlantic City (383) H. Davids
Landscape (396) H. G. Sharplees
Path in the Woods (357) H. Davids
Pleasant Valley, Adirondack Mts. (361) E. W. Clark
Adirondack Mountains (686) D J. Leidy
Spring Time (725) D/AFS
Twilight (771, sketch) D
Twilight in the Adirondacks (1041) Mrs. Edward Mitchell

Robinson, Thomas
(1834-1888) Landscape (177) The Artist
The String Team (239) A. Sprague

Roesen, Severin
(active c. 1847-c.1871)
Fruit (643) D W. Colden

Rosenthal, Max
(1833-1918) In Camp (775, sketch) D

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Rothermel, Peter Frederick (1817-1945)	Christian Martyrs in the Coliseum (3)	The Artist
	Scene from "As You Like It" (10)	E. W. Clark
	Lear and Cordelia (28)	C. G. Childs
	Sir Walter Raleigh Spreading his Cloak for Queen Elizabeth to Walk Upon (85)	Mrs. Vansyckel
	Ruth and Boaz (108)	Mrs. Sill
	Queen Elizabeth Signing the Death Warrant of Essex (127)	H. C. Gibson
	Franklin at Verseilles [sic] (147)	S. H. Rothermel
	Paul Before Agrippa (156)	J. Rice
	Lear and Cordelia (210)	W. P. Wilstach
	The First Reading of the Declaration of Independence (255)	The Artist
	The Virtuoso (388)	The Artist
	Napoleon at Moscow, Murat and Ney (441)	C. Macalester
	Off Duty (407)	M. Baird
	Landing of the Pilgrims (479)	M. Baldwin
	Christ in the Temple (530)	Mrs. Vansyckel
	Catharine and Petruchio (598 1/2)	P.F. Rothermel
	Judgement of Solomon (600)	J. Patterson
	The Soldier's Widow (712, sketch)	D/AFS
	Rose Bradwardine (766, sketch)	D
Salmon, Robert (1775-c. 1848/51)	Guarding Turkeys (173)	W. F. Leech
Sanford, F. N. Miss	On the Schuylkill (760, sketch)	D
Sartain, John 1808-1897)	Engraving of Sir Thomas Lawrence (25 copies,744)	D/AFS
	Power of Love (748, sketch)	D
Sartain, Samuel (1830-1906)	Engraving of Abraham Lincoln (743)	D/AFS

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Schussele, Christian		
(1824/26-1879)	The Contrast (12)	J. Patterson
	Washington (136)	E. W. Clark
	Evangeline (150)	W. E. Lockwood
	Franklin (306)	E. W. Clark
	Raw Recruits (381)	C. Macalester
	Franklin before the Privy Council (382)	J. M. Butler
	Organ Grinder (613)	H. H. G.
Sellers, Anna		
	Alpine View (After Weber) (661) D	The Artist
Sharples [?]		
	Jackson Before Judge Hall (626)	C. J. Hedenberg
	Maternal Solitude (735) D/AFS	
Shaw, Joshua		
(1776/7-1860)	Coast Scene (483)	C. Macalester
Shayer, William Sr.		
	Coast Scene (137)	J. R. Robinson
	Fisherman and Teams (281)	Mrs. Vansyskel
	Halt at the Inn (272)	Mrs. Vansyckel
	English Scene (294)	E. G. Connell
	Landscape and Horses (442)	F. J. Dreer
Seligman, E.	Mrs. Fruit (672) D	Mrs.E. Seligman
Sell, C.	Going to the Hun (129) S	Dolph
	Return from the Hunt (131) S	Dolph
Smith, Russell		
(1812-1896)	Landscape (177)	P. F. Rothermel
	Devil's Bridge, St. Gottard Pass D/AFS	
	Lake George (779, sketch) D	
	Landscape (1051)	
Smith, Collingwood		
	Coast Scene (632) D	J. A. Clay
Smith, E.	High-Mettled Confederates Going to Northern Pastures (684) D	E. Smith
Smith, Mary	Little Chicks (669) D	J. L. Claghorn
	The Rival Chieftains (718) D/AFS	

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Smith, Thomas Henry		
	Speculation (657) D	R. S. Sturges
	Reflection (730) D/AFS	
	The Terrace at Haddon Hall (750, sketch) D	
Smith, Xanthus Russell		
(1839-1929)	View at Tacony (424)	M. W. Baldwin
	Contraband Huts (741) D/AFS	
Sommerville, Max		
	Heidelberg (758, sketch) D	
Sonntag, William Louis		
(1822-1900)	The White Mountains (7)	J. S. Earle and Son
	Landscape (186)	M. W. Baldwin
	Landscape View on the Shenandoah (260)	W. Langton
Spencer, Lily Martin		
(1811-1902)	Height of Fashion (568)	G. A. Conover
Standbridge, Frances		
	Lily in Indian Ink from the Cast (699) D School of Design	
Staigg, Richard Morrell		
(1817-1881)	Love and Skates (615)	J. L. Claghorn
Storey, J.	Moonlight on the Beach (783, sketch) D	
Stuart, Gilbert		
(1755-1828)	Portrait of Monroe (91)	A. A. Low
	Portrait of Madison (97)	A. A. Low
	Washington (391)	J. P. Beaumont
	Mrs. Robert Morris (511)	J. P. Beaumont
	Miss Elizabeth Bordley (524)	Miss Mifflin
	Mrs Judge Hopkinson (525)	Mrs. W. Biddle
	Mrs. Thos. Hopkinson (526)	Mrs. W. Biddle
Sully, Thomas		
(1783-1872)	Mother and Child (81)	W. P. Wilstach
	Portia and Shylock (82)	H. C. Baird
	Country Girl (149)	No Owner
	The Gipsy (158)	H. C. Baird
	The Rosebud (230)	M. W. Baldwin
	Head of a Child (408)	J. W. Paul
	The Little Wanderer (634) D	No Owner

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Suydam, Henry
Chapel of my Lady (6651/2) D The Artist

Tait, Arthur Fitzwilliam
(1819-1905) Chicks (51) E. S. Mills
Hunter and Dogs (52) E. S. Mills
Quail Chickens (507) S J. Snedecor

Taylor, S. A. Group of Apples from the Cast (700) D School of Design

Thom, James Crawford
(1835-1898) The Wheelbarrow (592) J. L. Claghorn

Thorn, J. C.
(1835-1898) Punch and Judy (143) M. Knoedler

Tilton, John Rollin
(1828-1888) Venice (297) W. T. Blodgett
Rome (377) C. Macalester

Towne, Rosalba M.
(1827-?) Schohani Creek (630) D J. H. Towne
Wild Flowers (631) D J. H. Towne

Trego, Jonathan K.
(1817-1868) A Visit to the Old Hunting Grounds (212) J. Snedecor
The Roost (770, sketch) D The Artist

Vanderlyn, John
(1775-1852) Ariadne, listed separately at the end of the catalogue. J. Harrison

Van Starkenburgh Jacobus N.T.
(1822-1895) Castle (5) J. B. Wellington

Wedding Procession in Thuringen (229) S J. S. Earle & Son
On the Brandywine (251) E. W. Clark
Beach Scene, Morning (554) M. Baird
View in Cleve, Prussia (623) E. Langton

Vickers, Alfred
(1786-1868) Marine (232) C. Macalester

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Weber, Paul (1823-1916)	Sunset at Fontainebleau (88)	C. H. Clark
	Landscape (161)	M. W. Baldwin
	Landscape (169)	J. B. Myers
	The Original Study of the Madonna del Sasso (30)	J. Sowle, Boston
	Landscape (392)	J. B. Myers
	Landscape (402)	J. B. Myers
	Lock Katrine (454)	M. Baird
Wenzler, Anthony Henry (?-1871)	Study from Nature	The Artist
Wilcox, William H. (1831-?)	The Walk by the River (724)	D/AFS
	Rocky Mountains (787, sketch)	D
Wild, H. E.	Gondolier (601)	J. W. Field
	Venice (602)	J. W. Field
Wild, H. G.	Nana (33)	J. W. Field
	Sierra Nevada (467)	J. W. Field
Williams, A. G.	Hastings (264)	F. W. Lewis
Williams, Isaac L. (1817-1895)	On the Juniata (711)	D/AFS D. H. Dougherty
	The Shore of Lake Champlain (756, sketch)	D
Winner, William E. (c. 1815-1883)	The News Boy (460)	C. Macalester
Wittcamp, J. B.	The Spirit of Reflections for over the Way (54)	H. C. Gibson
	The Impiety of Adolph towards his father Arnoud, duc de Gelder (1468) (262 B)	The Artist
	The Widow (331)	W. P. Wilstach
	Confidence (405)	J. S. Skiring
	The Beggar's Petition (619)	J. A. Taitt
Whittridge, Thomas Worthington (1820-1910)	Landscape (385)	Mrs. J. Haseltine

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Wood, George Bacon Jr. (1832-1910)	Study from Nature (105)	The Artist
	Study from Nature (581)	The Artist
	Among the Violets (739) D	/AFS
	The Mill Stream (776, sketch)	D
Woodville, Richard Caton (1825-1855)	The Cavalier (21)	W. H. Aspinwall
Wylie, Robert (1839-1877)	Death of Secession (682)	W. Stuthers
Wust, Alexander (1837-1876)	Coast of Norway (269)	The Artist
Anonymous	Duke Wellington (336)	W. C. Swann
	Florentine Costume in the 13th Century (23)	No Owner
	George Washington (675) D	Dr. Swayze
	Head of Herod (517)	J. Harrison
	Love's Whisper (649) D	W. S. Stewart
	On the Susquehanna (662) D	Elizabeth Donnell
	The Proposal (499)	J. Kennard
	Swiss Village by Moonlight (654)	D. T. Hilson
	Timon of Athens and Apamantes (no. 148)	H. C. Baird
	Marine (1046)	No Owner
	Marine (1047)	No Owner

European Paintings

Achenbach	Coast of Schveringen (38) S	Bailey & Co.
Arons	Swiss Girl (42) S	J. S. Earle & Co.
Bassano	Adoration of the Shepherds (659) D	I. Lea
Becker, Carl	The Acceptance (512)	E. W. Bailey
Beranger [?]	Meditation (176)	A. E. Borie
	The Love Letter (226)	A. E. Borie
Burger, A.	The Sewing Girl (248)	W. T. Blodgett

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Blieck, F.	Singing Lesson (504)	G. A. Conover
Boddington	The Sweet of Idleness (45)	J. T. Furness
	English Lane Scene (46)	J. T. Furness
	Landscape, Village Scene (73)	J. T. Furness
	View on the Thames (167)	C. Macalester
	The Village School (312)	H. Paul Beck
	Water Mill, Bagtown, South Devon (330)	H. P. Beck
	Peep into a Village in Yorkshire (412)	J. Bohlen
Brillouin	The Recruit (37) S	Bailey & Co.
	The Amateurs (119) S	J. Hoey
	Halberdier, time of Louis 13th (216)	A. E. Borie
Brion	The Ferry (538)	M. W. Baldwin
Bruls, L.	Innocence and Fidelity (34)	G. A. Conover
Burges, A.	The Young Navigator (247)	M. Knoelder
Caille	Convalescent (342)	J. L. Claghorn
Callcot	City of Rouen (252)	W. C. Swann
Carre, Michael	Landscape and Cattle (475)	W. C. Swann
Carre, Victor	French Picnic (295)	W. F. Leech
Castan	Morning Prayer (532)	S. Gandy
Chamerlat, Jules	The Widow's Prayer (206)	J. Bohlen
Cobbett	The Gleaner (174)	J. W. Bates
Comte Calix	The Lost Child (519)	J. Kennard
Corica, Sebastian	Adoration of the Cross (494)	W. C. Swann
Couture	Day Dreams (397)	J. T. Sanford
Coypel	Feast of Flora (415)	W. C. Swann
	Feast of Bacchus (417)	F. J. Dreer

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Cresswick, T.	Landscape (588)	M. O. Roberts
De Beul, H.	The Coming Storm (77)	J. S. Earle & Son
	Peasant Children with Sheep (192)	C. H. Clark
	The Barn Door (640, D)	J. B. Beaumont
De Beul & Danweter	Cattle Returning Home (608) S	J. S. Earle & Son
De Dreux, Alfred	The Bone of Contention (121)	J. Hoey
	Hyde Park (292)	J. W. Field
Delattre	Preparing for the Market (43) S	Mrs. Vansyckel
De Loose	The Burgomaster's Proposal (179)	C. H. Clark
	Flemish Interior, Mother and Child (317)	M. Baird
Develin	Landscape (678) D	Rosa McCall
	Landscape (690) D	Mrs. R. Nichols
Diaz	Fidelity (144)	J. A. Suydam
	Deserted Maidens (472)	H. Tyndale
Diday	Alpine Scenery (422)	C. Macalester
Dubufe	Spring (65)	J. Kennard
	Autumn (72)	J. Kennard
D'Unker, C.	Thieves in a Village Inn (244)	J. Bohlen
Duverger	Feeding the Pet (155)	S. Gandy
	The Foster Brother (414)	J. Bohlen
	Charity (503)	G. B. Coale
Eickhout	Sparkling Champagne (371 ½)	J. A. Brown
Englehardts	Valley of the Oertz (585) S	J. S. Earle & Son
Enhouer	Toy Maker in Nuremberg (242)	No Owner
Faller	The Street Sweeper (31)	G. A. Conover
Fichel	The Dancing Lesson (104)	J. Kennard

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Fluggen	The Convalescent Mother (198)	W. H. Webb
Frére, E.	Kept in (113)	M. Knoedler
	The Breakfast (202)	J. A. Suydam
	A Cold Morning (411)	J. T. Sanford
	Fisher Boy (413)	W. T. Blodgett
	"Warm Me" (534)	S. Gandy
	The Young Gleaner (571)	J. M. Burt
	Winter (575)	J. M. Burt
Frère, T.	Ruins of Thebes (375) S	M. Knoedler
	Landscape	J.B. Wellington
	Washhouse on the Bosphorus [sic] (154)	S. Gandy
Frith, W. P.	Derby Day (569)	J. S. Earle & Son
Gabriel, P. F.	Landscape and Cattle (638) D	J. L. Claghorn
Gavin	The Gleaner (319)	J. W. Bates
Genison	Cathedral in Strasbourg (299)	F. J. Dreer
	Interior of the Cathedral at Liege (622)	J. S. Earle & Son
Geselschap	Saturday Night (83)	J. M. Burt
	Grandpa Watching his Pet (204)	G. A. Conover
	Father's Return (265)	W. F. Leech
	Evening Vespers (301)	Bailey & Co.
Giles, J.	Still Life (409)	J. Gibson
Greuze	Female Head (32)	J. Kennard
Gripps, G. J.	Lady Sewing (476)	
Gude	Norwegian Scenery, Early Morning (8)	J. Bolen
	Scene in Norway (417)	F. J. Dreer
	Rocks and Foliage (443) S	M. Knoedler
Guercino	St. Paul (157)	W. C. Swann
Guillemin	Grandmother's Birthday (79)	J. M. Burt
	The Bird Cage (11)	J. A. Suydam
	The Image Dealer (122)	J. Hoey
	The Village Musicians (237)	J. Bohlen

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Hargett	View on Fifeshire (318)	J. W. Bates
Hasenclever, Johann P.	The Workingmen's Petition to the Council of 1848, for Political Rights (214)	F. J. Dreer
Hasenpflug	City Gate (224)	F. G. Dreer
Henzell	Fisher Girl (302)	J. B. Wellington
Hermann	Scene in Holland (453)	M. W. Baldwin
Herring J. F.	Interior (444)	F. J. Dreer
Hersent, F.	The Surprise (651) D	H. Earl
Herzog	Norwegian Landscape (15)	W. F. Leech
	Landscape (555)	W. Sellers
Hiddeman	Storm of Sicily (436)	F. J. Dreer
Hildebrandt	Ice-Bound (165) S	E. W. Bailey
Hilderman, F.	The Surprise (313)	G. A. Conover
Hoffe, Carl	The Epicure's Supper (215)	J. Snedecor
Hoffler, A.	A Village Scene (488)	J. Kennard
Hübner, C.	The Forbidden Lover (17) S	J. S. Earle & Son
	Reading the Scriptures (56)	G. A. Conover
	The First Baby (390)	J. W. Bates
	Family Devotion (470)	G. A. Conover
	Swabian Peasant Girl (552)	W. Sellers
	The Emigrant's Last Visit to the Family Grave (656) D	Miss S. Stevens
Huguet, Vicot	On the Nile above Girgeh (366)	W. F. Leech
Isabey	Tower in North of France (241)	H. Tyndale
	Storm and Wreck (378)	H. Tyndale

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Jacques	Flock of Sheep (370)	A. E. Borie
	Stable Scene (489)	A. E. Borie
	Ducks (549)	A. E. Borie
Jernberg, A.	The Philosopher (531) S	Bailey & Co.
Jouay	Martyrdom of Granier (445)	H. Tyndale
Kalbfus	Snow Scene (116)	J. W. Lewis
Kate, Ten	Golden Pleasant Shooting (452) S	J. S. Earle & Son
Kels	The Departure (11) S	Bailey & Co.
Kindler	Disappointed Hopes (559)	J. L. Claghorn
	Old Woman Reading Her Bible (547)	J. L. Claghorn
	The Love Letter (573)	J. L. Claghorn
Korr	The Unwelcome Guest (6)	Bailey & Claes
	The Little Coward (27)	No Owner
Kruseman	Partridge and Flowers (64)	J.B. Wellington
Lambinet, E.	Landscape (548)	C. Day
Landelle	Beatitude (371)	M. Knoedler
Laineau	Moro Castle (282)	C. Macalester
Lassale	Brushwood (591)	J. L. Claghorn
Lawrence	Canova (140)	W. H. Aspinwall
Leighton, Frederick		
	Music (567)	No Owner
	The Music Lesson (598)	No Owner
Leray	The Indiscreet (218)	M. Knoedler
Le Poittevin, E.		
	Light House Coast of Holland (362)	J. T. Johnston
Le Roy	The Pages (196)	J. Kennard
Lessing	Moonrise (245)	F. Rogers

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Le Sueur	Holy Family (477)	W. C. Swann
Linkert	Dutch Landscape (689) D	J. W. Bates
Litschauer	The Old Huntsman (58)	M. Baird
	The Copper Smith [sic] (61)	Baird
Lorch	On Shore (209)	J. Harrison
	Aboard (211)	F. Frodsham
Loutherburg	Landscape (231)q	E. G. Cornell
	Landscape (420)	E. G. Cornell
MacFarland, S. S.		
	The Tied Rover (653) D	Nine Little Girls of N. Broad Street
Mardeux	Flowers and Fruit (644) D	J. L. Claghorn
Martins	Mother and Child (78)	J. S. Earle & Son
Meissonier	The Standard Bearer (110)	I. Couse
Merle	Sister Tending Baby (109)	Healy
Meyerheim	Lady Abbess Going to Market (344)	G. F. Tyler
	Family Scene (434)	W. H. Webb
	Winter Scene (595)	E. S. Mills
Michaelis	Laban in Search of his Idols (439)	C. Macalester
Millner, C.	Reuter Alps Bavaria (448)	G. Whitney
Moritz, L.	Carnival in the City of Arras (464)	J. Richardson
Muhlig	The Sleighing Party (100)	W. F. Leech
	Armor Smiths (327)	W. F. Leech
Murillo	Madonna (323)	Meigus
Noteman, E.	Dog Vender [sic] (348)	G. A. Conover
Ord, J. B.	Fruit (455)	M. Baird
Pagani, C.	Guido Painting the Cenci (290)	W. F. Leech

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Patrois	The Little Seamstress (120)	J. Hoey
	The New Gaiter (574)	J.B. Wellington
Petit	Looking at Pictures (163)	J. L. Claghorn
Peri de Jaut	Guido Painting the Portrait of the Cenci (189)	G. A. Conover
Plassan	The First Proposal (112)	J. Gandy
Plathner, H.	Fortune Teller (373)	Miss Bohlen
Poittevin	On Lookout (572)	J. B. Wellington
Preyer, A. W.	Fruit (546) S	Bailey & Co.
Preyer	Fruit (123)	W. H. Webb
Queran	Immurazi (273)	F. Rogers
Reisna	Storm on a Coast (687) D	B. J. Leedom
Rembrandt	Princess Charlotte (220)	W. C. Swann
	Portrait of a Burgomaster (221)	W. C. Swann
	The Head of an Old Man (222)	W. C. Swann
	Mother of Rembrandt (324)	W. C. Swann
Rauppe, C.	Mother's Joys and Mother's Sorrow	J. T. Sanford
Riedle	Judith (607)	A. S. Robinson
Robbe, Louis	Sheep and Goats (4)	No Owner
	The Happy Family (29)	E. W. Clark
	Tending Sheep on the Campagna (168)	Mrs. E. W. Clark
	Valley of the Vieche (266)	J. A. Brown
	Sheep and Goats (278)	W. C. Swann
	Cattle (257)	No Owner
	Sheep and Goats (456)	C. Macalester
	Sheep Going to Water (474)	C. Macalester
Rolfe	Salmon and Trout (421)	F. J. Dreer

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Romako	Nun at Prayer, Interior of St. Mark's, Venice	W. F. Leech
Rousseau	Landscape (59)	J. W. Field
	Lanscape (225)	A. E. Borie
	Landscape (350)	C. Day
Roqueplan	Female Head (430)	J. W. Field
	Landscape (536)	A. E. Borie
Ruyten	A Street in Antwerp (249)	No Owner
Scheffer, Ary	La Fayette (101)	W. H. Aspinwall
Schenck,	Entangled Sheep (648) D	Hilson & Co.
Schendy	Strassburgh (468)	F. Rogers
Schlesinger, H.	The Little Penitent (1)	A. Blight
	Passport and Police Office (276)	C. Macalester
Schotel	Marine, Wreck off Lucour (262)	C. Macalester
Schubach, E.	Grandmother's Story (620)	W. F. Leech
Schuster	Videttes (307)	W. F. Leech
Sebald, Hugo	Landscape (697) D	No Owner
Sefisch	Lago Maggiore (466)	M. W. Baldwin
Seignac	Petty Larceny (153)	W. T. Blodgett
	Little Soldiers (166)	C. H. Clark
Sell	Going to the Hunt (129) S	Dolph
	Return from the Hunt (131) S	Dolph
Sevedeux	The Siesta (284)	J. L. Claghorn
Shalders	Landscape with Cattle (270)	W. C. Swann
	Scottish Hills (533)	H. G. Sharpless
Siegert	The Artist's Studio (36) S	J. S. Earle & Son
	Child in an The Artist's Studio (236)	C. H. Clark

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Smirk	Love's Labor Lost (564)	J. Kennard
Solimene [sic]	An Angel Introducing the Genius of Painting to Cardinal Orsini, afterwards Benedict XIII (641) D	Mrs. Henry Becket
Sonderman	Children in the Field (63) S	Bailey & Co.
	The Pastor's Visit (496) S	Bailey & Co.
Spitzweg	The Alchemist (205)	W. P. Wilstach
Stammel	Love's Pavillion (62) S	Bailey & Co.
	Dolce Far Niente (76) S	Bailey & Co.
	"Partie Marriage" A Game of Cards (258)	W. P. Wilstach
Stange	Moonlight (274)	McMutrie
Steinbruck	Paul and Virginia (268)	Mrs. E. W. Clark
	Rustic Toilet (271)	Mrs. E. W. Clark
	The Supper (473)	J. T. Furness
	Genevera (566)	A. Blight
Sukkert	Rialto (329) S	J. S. Earle & Son
Tennent,	Landscape (141)	Mrs. Sill
Tom, B.	Landscape and Cattle (425) S	M. Knoedler
Toussaint, L.	The Blacksmith (283)	Bailey & Co.
Trayer	The Tangled Skein (124)	J. Hoey
Ulysse	Sewing Girl (537)	F. J. Dreer
Troyon, Carl	Morning (40)	J. W. Field
	Cattle (106)	J. M. Burt
	Fowls (207)	A. E. Borie
van Deventer	Dutch Fishing Smack (484)	H. G. Sharpless
Vandyke [sic]	Children of Charles I (354)	J. Kennard
Vanloo	The Prince of Orange (332)	F. J. Dreer
Van Hamm	Lady and Page (458)	C. Macalester
Vennerman	Curiosity Show (285)	G. A. Conover

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Verboeckhoven	Cattle (57)	J. B. Wellington
	Landscape and Cattle (246 A)	J. Brown
	Cattle (394)	F. J. Dreer
	View near Ostend (497)	J. W. Bates
	Sheep (520)	S. B. Caldwell
	Sheep (579)	J. W. Bates
	Sunset on the Rhine (590)	J. W. Bates
Verlat	Dog (440)	W. T. Blodgett
Vernet	Interior (351)	W. C. Swann
Volker, Emile	Preparation of Circus (343)	W. F. Leech
Van Bremen, Meyer	Girl Knitting (610)	G. A. Conover
V. Sand Backhuysen	Landscape and Cattle, a View of the Rhine	C. Macalester
Von Schendel	Market Scene (320)	W. D. Sherrerd
Von Seben	Children in the Wheat Field Catching Butterflies (92)	J. L. Claghorn
	Blind Man's Bluff (314)	J. L. Claghorn
	Bubbles (565)	J. B. Wellington
Von Severdock	Judgment of Solomon (364)	J. A. Brown
Von Wille	Evening in the Park (584)	Bailey & Co.
Wainright	Dead Plover	G. A. Conover
Walraven	Marguerite (618)	J. L. Claghorn
Ward, E.	Giotto and Cimabue (296)	Mrs. Sill
Watelet	Near Interlaken (616)	W. P. Pepper
Waugh, S. B.	Thorwaldsen (658) D	S. B. Waugh
Webb, Carl M.	Reading the News (125)	J. Hoey
	Welcome and Unwelcome (300)	W. F. Leech
Weber, Anton	Peasants Gathering Oranges (145)	W. F. Leech

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Werner	Gleaners After Dinner (621)	J. S. Earle & Son
Wille	Hungarian Woodland & Gypsies (126)	G. A. Conover
Wilms	Wine and Fruit (75) S	Bailey & Co.
Wilson	English Hay Making (238)	J. R. Richardson
Zahner	Roman Grandmother (60)	J. W. Field
Zimmerman	Too Late for the Cars (96)	W. P. Wilstach

Sculptures

Anonymous	Bust of Millard Fillmore (795)	Viti Bros
	Diana, Bronze (810)	H. Davids
	Infant Bacchus (804)	J. Harrison, Jr.
	Marble Bust of Napoleon (805)	W. H. Ashurst
	Marble Group. The Golden Age (807)	E. W. Clark
	Venus de Milo, Bronze	H. David
	Ulysses Bending his Bow, Bronze (809)	H. Davids
	Child and Dog, Marble (1054)	John Baird's Marble Works
	Diana (1055)	John Baird's Marble Works
Bailly, J. A.	6 Busts of General Grant (800)	J. A. Bailly
	6 Busts of General Meade (801)	J. A. Bailly
	Marble Bust of General Grant	Mrs. W. Struthers
Benzoni	St. John and the Lamb, Marble Group (1058) S	J. E. Caldwell
	Spring-Marble Bust (1059) S	J. E. Caldwell
	Summer-Marble Bust (1060) S	J. E. Caldwell
	Autumn-Marble Bust (1061) S	J. E. Caldwell
Geyelin, E.	The Lion in Love (810 ½)	E. Geyelin

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Nicolls, G. A.	Marble Design for a Soldier's Monument (802)	
	Marble Design for a Soldier's Monument (802 ½)	G. A. Nicolls
Palmer, Erastus Dow (1817-1904)	Good Morning (879) Bas relief	G. Whitney
Rogers, John (1829-1904)	Union Refugees (803 A)	The Artist
	Country Post Office (803 B)	The Artist
	Returned Volunteer (803C)	The Artist
	Wounded Scout (803D)	The Artist
	Mail Day (803E)	The Artist
	Picket Guard (803F)	The Artist
	Slave Auction (803G)	The Artist
	Town Pump (803H)	The Artist
	Camp Fire (803I)	The Artist
	Checker Players (803K)	The Artist
	Sharpshooters (803L)	The Artist
	Card Players (803M)	The Artist
	Village Schoolmaster (803N)	The Artist
Roberts, Howard	The May Queen (797)	The Artist
	The May Queen (799)	The Artist
Waugh, Ida	The Contraband (796)	O. W. Davis
Wylie, Robert	Grief, Bas Relief (794)	W. Struthers
Steinhauser,	Agnus Dei (793)	

Watercolors, Drawings and other Works of Art

American

Bensel, E. B.	An Attack on Rebel Raiders (835)	The Artist
Brinton	Eugenie (1020)	The Artist
Cox, David	Beach Scene, near Hastings (998)	G. H. Kirkham
Croasdale, Miss	Flowers (1034)	The Artist

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Dallas	The French Market at New Orleans(817)	J. L. Claghorn
Darley, Felix Octavius Carr (1822-1888)	Washington Quelling a Disturbance at Cambridge (833)	F. J. Dreer
	Washington Visiting the Sick at Valley Forge (842)	J. L. Claghorn
	Scene from Cooper's Headsman (859)	J. M. Burt
	Barnyard Scene (870)	J. M. Burt
	Study of Horses (861)	J. M. Burt
	The Reapers (872)	J. M. Burt
	Husking Corn (884)	J. M. Burt
	From Cooper's Pilot (894)	J. M. Burt
	From Cooper's Mercedes of Castile (896)	J. M. Burt
	From Cooper's Satanstoe (905)	J. M. Burt
	A Foraging Party (915)	J. M. Burt
	Comrades True and Tried (906) S	The Artist
	Homeward Bound (922)	John Bohlen
	A Cavalry Charge (942)	W. F. Blodgett
	Dorcester Heights (955)	J. L. Claghorn
	Pets of a Country House (1013)	T. Kimber, Jr.
Ferris, Stephen James (1835-1915)	Youth's Happy Hours (860)	The Artist
	Resignation (895)	F. J. Dreer
Hamilton, James (1819-1878)	River Scene(818)	W. P. Wilstach
	Coast Scene (834)	A. S. Robinson
	Port-Foulke-Dr. Hays' Winter Harbor (851)	L. I. Hays
	Marine (927)	J. A. Clay
	A Ruin (936)	W. P. Wilstach
	A Wild Sea Shore-Sunset (947)	E. S. Clarke
	Near New York (953)	W. P. Wilstach
	The Embarkation of Evangeline (954)	J. A. Clay
	Marine (1011)	H. Tyndale
	Open Polar Sea (1016)	J. M. Butler
Harrison, Mrs.	Reflection (908)	J. Harrison, Jr.
	Flowers (951)	J. Harrison, Jr.

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Heaton, Augustus Goodyear (1844-1931)	Time and Eternity (966)	The Artist
Inman, Henry (1801-1846)	Medallion Head (943)	C. G. Childs
Johnson, Eastman (1824-1906)	The Culprit (907)	J. M. Burt
	The Prisoner (1009)	J. M. Burt
Jutsum, Henry	Landscape(819)	J. W. Bates
	Landscape (867)	J. W. Bates
	Landscape-Mill (971)	J. L. Claghorn
Lewis, Edward D.	Lake George (829)	E. S. Clarke
	Landscape (846)	H. B. Fry
	Lake George (950)	A. S. Robinson
Littell, E. T.	Landscape with Illuminated Letters and Easel (1031)	The Artist
Martin [?]	A Portrait in Crayon (967)	W. D. Lewis
Moran, Edward (1829-1901)	Scenes from the Tempest (898)	C. F. Haseltine
	Marine Sketch (904)	W. P. Tatham
Moran, Thomas (1837-1926)	The Susquehanna (848)	W. P. Wilstach
	Ascending a Greenland Glacier (920)	L. I. Hayes
	A Ruined Fortress (939)	L. I. Hayes
Nicol, E.	Landscape (937)	J. W. Bates
Pearson, C.	A River Scene (830)	M. W. Baldwin
	Waterfall (838)	M. W. Baldwin
	The Lime Kiln (841)	M. W. Baldwin
	Landscape-Wales (977)	J. W. Stone
	On the Conway (991)	J. A. Clay
Price, Martha	Landscape-West Point (1032)	The Artist
	Landscape-Lake Winnepisseogee (1033)	The Artist

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Smith, Russell (1812-1896)	Llanberis Pass-Wales-Sketch in oil (972)	The Artist
	The Castle of St. Angelo-Rome-sketch in oil (995)	The Artist
Snyder, L. A. Miss	Flowers (1024)	The Artist
Spearman (F)	Fruit (1029)	The Artist
S., H. M. Mrs.	Loyalty and Disloyalty (1021)	Mrs. H.M.S.
Snyder, G. A.	Cedar Bird (1025)	The Artist
	Humming Birds (1026)	The Artist
Towne, Rosa (1827-1867)	Flowers (916)	Rev. W. H. Furness, Jr.
	Rocks and Flowers (918)	The Artist
	Autumn Leaves (1023)	The Artist
Wagner, Maria L.	A Dish of Fruit (864) S	The Artist
	Morning Glories, Miniature on Ivory (909) S	The Artist
	Virginia (911) S	The Artist
Weber, Paul (1823-1916)	Forest of Fontainebleau (822) S	J. S. Earle & Son
	Near Baden Baden (847) S	J. S. Earle & Son
West, Benjamin (1738-1820)	Birth of Jacob and Essau (812)	McMurtrie
Wunderlich	Maryland's Dam (1035)	The Artist

European and British Watercolors, Engravings and other Works of Art.

Absolon, J.	The Field at Agincourt (828)	E. S. Clarke
	The Field of Crecy (845)	J. A. Clay
	May Day (910)	J. M. Burt
Beauboeuf	At the Fountain (997)	J. A. Clay
Bentley, C.	Mt. St. Michael, Cornwall (821)	J. Kinnard

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Branwhite, C.	A Black Frost (880)	E. S. Clarke
	Malvolio and the Countess, Twelfth Night (914) S	J. S. Earle & Son
	Beatrice and the Messenger from Much Ado About Nothing (941) S	J. S. Earle & Son
Brochart	Les belles francaises (871)	W. P. Wilstach
	The Empress Eugenie, pastel (881)	M. Knoedler
	Les belles Espagnoles (883)	W. P. Wilstach
Calame, A.	Pencil Drawing (865)	J. W. Field
Callow, J.	A Hulk new Lowestoffe (854)	F. W. Lewis
Chisholm,	The Antiquary at Elspeth's Cottage (982)	J. A. Clay
Clerget, H.	Street Scene-Bruges	H. Tyndale
Corbould, E.	The Bell (813)	J. Kennard
	Surprise (1000)	J. Kennard
Creyvanger	A Flemish Interior (827)S	J. S. Earle & Son
David, J. L.	A Man-at-Arms- of the Middle Ages (873)	J. A. Clay
Delacroix, E.	Monks (985)	H. Tyndale
Dibdin	Old Mill in Sussex (981)	J. S. Earle & Son
Dodgson, G.	Procession in a Cathedral(823)	W. Cadwalader
Duncan, E.	Crumlin Viaduct on the West Midland Railway (837)	J. Kennard
Faed, Thomas	Scene from the Gentle Shepherd (935) S	J. S. Earle & Son
Fielding, Copley		
	Landscape (900)	G. H. Kirkham
	In Monthoushire (1007)	J. A. Clay
Foster, Birket	Woodcutter's Children (928)	F. Warren, Jr.

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Gavarni	Sketch (1003)	R. Smith
Gempt, B.	The Carnival of the Rats (876) S	J. S. Earle & Son
	The Attack on Sebastopol (887) S	J. S. Earle & Son
Ghirardi	Landscape (948)	J. W. Bates
Gulagher,	Eddystone Light (1019)	Gulagher
Haghe, Louis	Gateway at Huy, near Liege (814)	
Harding, J. D.	Landscape (899)	R. Smith
Hardy, James Jr.	The Bird's Nest (875)	J. W. Stone
	A Hamper of Game (983)	E. W. Clark
	Rustic Life (988)	E. W. Clark
Hardy, James Sr.	The Farmer Boy (892)	J. L. Claghorn
Harpignies	The First Fish (843)	J. W. Field
Herbert, A.	Fishing Boats in a Calm (913) s	J. McArthur, Jr.
	Towing a Dismantled Fishing Smack into unkirk Harbor (24)	E. S. Clarke
	Yarmouth Pier (933)	J. A. Clay
	Schevening Beach	J. L. Claghorn
Hildebrandt	Sunset (931)	E. W. Bailey
Hime, H. G.	Into Mischief (868) S	J. S. Earle & Son
Holland, T.	Flowers (901)	J. L. Claghorn
	Flowers (957)	J. A. Clay
	Pelargoniums (1002)	J. A. Clay
Houston, J. A.	Port Appin, Scotland (856)	E. S. Clarke
	Near Cummeer, Cornwall (866)	E. S. Clarke
	A Crossbowman (965)	J. Harrison, Jr.
	A Church Porch (968)	J. L. Claghorn
	Ben Nevis (969)	E. S. Clarke
Howse, G.	Homeward Bound (922)	E. S. Clarke

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Jackson, S. P.	Ilfracombe, Devon shire (869)	J. A. Clay
	Barmouth and Cader Idris (893)	J. A. Clay
	Coast Scene (902)	W. P. Tatham
Lee, W.	The Gleaners(816)	J. M. Burt
	A Flower Girl (885)	E. W. Clark
Leitch, W.	Tower Near Naples (986)	R. Smith
Maroney, J.	The Bad Boy (973)	J. L. Claghorn
Maroney, S.	The Good Boy (994)	J. L. Claghorn
Marony, F.	Preparing Dinner (853)	H. Tyndale
McKewan, D. H.	In Dovedale, Derbyshire (858)	J. A. Clay
Midy, A.	Antiquaries (963)	J. Bohlen
Mole, J. H.	The Fagot Girl (815)	T. Kimber, Jr.
	Harvest Time (824)	J. L. Claghorn
	Gleaners (889)	C. Day
	The Little Gleaners (919)	Mrs. J. Sill
	A Highland Spring (938)	E. W. Clark
	Prawn Fishers (976)	J. Bohlen
Murillo	Holy Family (989)	Mrs. B. Henry
Ockert	Lammergeyer and Dead Stag (978)	J. Lambert
	A Deer (1001)	J. Lambert
Pearson and Wainright	Landscape with Cattle (849)	C. H. Clark
Pelletier, Louis	Solitude (929)	J. W. Bates
Penley, A.	Lake Mwyngil (840)	M. W. Baldwin
Pierron	Street in Cairo (891)	J. A. Clay
Prout, S.	Wicklow Mountains (930)	W. S. Lewis
Pyne, J. B.	On the Nile (960)	R. Smith
	A Mill (993)	R. Smith
Retzsch, M.	Pencil Sketch (858 ½)	J. Bohlen

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Richardson, T. M.		
	Glen Cluny, Scotland (820)	E. S. Clarke
	Lago Maggiore (832)	T. Kimber, Jr.
	Capri (874)	J. Bohlen
	Lago Lugano (925)	F. W. Lewis
	On Lago Maggiore (934)	F. W. Lewis
	Landscape (944)	J. McArthur, Jr.
	Head of Loch Avenue (970)	E. S. Clarke
	Landscape (996)	J. L. Claghorn
Robbins, T.	Off the Nore (912)	W. P. Tatham
	Marine (999)	T. Kimber, Jr.
Roberts, T.	Glory (886)	F. W. Lewis
Rowbotham, T. L.		
	A Bridge in Wales (888) S	J. McArthur
	Caernarvon Castle (959) S	J. McArthur
	After Sunset (974)	J. A. Clay
	Lago Garda (975)	J. Bohlen
	Ben Dearg (980)	E. S. Clarke
	The Junghfrau from the Wengren Alp (987)	J. Bohlen
Stanfield, C.	Tritons (956)	J. M. Burt
	Marine (962)	J. L. Claghorn
	Lago Maggiore (964)	R. Smith
	The Castle of Epstein (1005)	J. A. Clay
Stepanoff, J. P.		
	The Iconoclasts (903)	J. Harrison, Jr.
Taylor, C.	Brig under Sail (979)	J. W. Stone
	A Pilot Boat (990)	J. W. Stone
	A French Gunboat off Yarmouth (1012)	J. Bohlen
Tenkate	Stolen Sweets (825)	F. J. Dreer
	Happy as a King (850)	F. J. Dreer
	The Cottage Door (946)	J. S. Earle & Son
Troyon, F. C.	A Courtyard at Barbazon [sic] (984)	J. W. Field
	Landscape (1004)	J. W. Field
Turner, J. M. W.		
	Marine (811)	McMurtrie
	Italian Landscape (890)	R. Smith
	Dolbadera Tower (1006)	R. Smith

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Vautier	Collecting Alms (945)	B. F. Frodsham
Warren, Henry	The Peddler (831)	T. Kimber, Jr.
	The Unjust Judge (1008)	J. A. Clay
Wattelet	In the Tyrol (926)	W. P. Pepper
Wehnert, E. H.	John Pounds, Original Ragged School (836)	J. Harrison, Jr.
Willis, H. B.	Interior with Cattle (857)	W. P. Wilstach
Wittcamp, J. B.	Datheen Preaching (917)	W. P. Wilstach
Woolnoth	Scene in Scotland (826)	J. W. Bates

Anonymous

Washington-on Silk (921)	W. S. Lewis
The Imperial Family-on Silk (1010)	J. W. Stone
Countess of Blessington, miniature (1014)	S. W. Lewis
The Mask (1015) miniature	S. W. Lewis
Rain Storm-crayon (1027	
A Shower-crayon (1028)	
Moonlight-crayon (1030)	
Autumn Leaves (1036)	
Autumn Leaves (1037)	
Autumn Leaves (1038)	
Still Life-Peaches (1039)	
The Water Side (1040)	
Still Life-Pine Apples [sic] (1042)	
Lookout Mountain (1043)	
Rustic Bridge (1044)	
Landscape (1045)	

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Great North-Western Fair, Chicago, 30 May-25 June 1865.

Catalogue of Paintings, Statuary, Etc. in the Art Department of the Great North-Western Fair. 2nd Ed. Chicago: n. p., 1865.

S=indicates works for sale.

American Paintings

Antrobus, John (1837-1907)	Lieutenant General Grant (268)	J. R. Jones
Beard, William Holbrook (1825-1900)	Red Deer (13) S	The Artist
	March of Silenus (43) S	The Artist
	Good Little Boy (55) S	The Artist
	Guardians of the Flag (104) S	The Artist
	The Fox Hunter's Dream (163)	The Artist
Beest, Albert van (1820-1860)	Marine (38) S	R. Hawkins
Bellows, Albert Fitz (1829-1883)	Twilight (14) S	Winslow
	Morning (271) S	W. H. Hamilton
	Evening (272) S	W. H. Hamilton
Bierstadt, Albert (1830-1902)	The Rocky Mountains (1)	The Artist
	Conway Meadows, Mohawk River (86)	The Artist
	Mt. Chicorua, N. H. (83)S	The Artist
Bicknell, Albion Harris (1837-1915)	Alone (288) S	The Artist
	Moss Gatherers (298) S	The Artist
Billings, Edwin or Edward T. (1824-1893)	Wheelwright Shop (290) S	The Artist
Boardman William G. (1815-1895)	Indian Rendezvous (299)	The Artist

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Bradford, William G. (1827?-1892)	Coast (312)	The Artist
	Sunset in the Bay of Fundy (263)	The Artist
	Indian Rendezvous (299)	The Artist
	Autumn (307)	The Artist
Brandt, Carl	Blackberry Gatherers (168) S	S. P. Avery
Bricher, Alfred Thompson (1839-1908)	Moonlight (28) S	Williams & Everett
	Sundown, Doublehead Pond (292)	The Artist
Brown, George Loring (1814-1889)	Morning, Norwalk Islands (295)	The Artist
	Subiaco in the Apennines (309)	The Artist
Brown, John Appleton (1844-1902)	Morning (301)	The Artist
	Evening (302)	The Artist
Brown, Harry	Sea Coast (16)	Williams & Everett
Carmiecke, Johann H. (1810-1867)	Lake Geneva (36) S	Chittick
	Sunset on the Hudson (60)	L. W. Volk
Carpenter, Ellen Maria (1836- c. 1909)	Study of Birch (286) S	The Artist
Cass, George Nelson (1831/32-1882)	Landscape (303)	The Artist
Casilear, John William (1811-1893)	Summer Storm (94)	The Artist
	Gleam of Sunshine (153)	The Artist
	Burning of the Homestead (155) S	R. Booking
Church, Frederic Edwin (1826-1900)	Twilight (53)	E. D. Palmer
Cogswell, William (1819-1903)	Cabinet Port. Lincoln (201) S	The Artist

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Cole, J. Foxcroft	Gale on the Coast of Normandy (187) S	The Artist
	Summer Afternoon in New England (188) S	The Artist
Coleman, Charles Caryl (1840-1928)	Study from Nature (177) S	S. P. Avery
	Evening Mount Desert (276)S	ibid
Colman, Samuel (1832-1920)	Genesee Meadows	G. Conover
	Midsummer (81) S	Hatfield
Conant, C. W.	Weary and Worn (156) S	The Artist
Cooper, Ella	Zingareas' Dream (265) S	R. C. Garrabrant
Copley, John Singleton (1738-1815)	Miss Hooper (308)	The Artist
Crafton, E. B.	Portrait of Thomas B. Read(Drawing)	T. B. Read
Cranch, Christopher Pearce (1813-1892)	Venetian Boats (110) S	S. P. Avery
	Italian Peasant (173) S	The Artist
Cropsey, Jasper Francis (1823-1900)	Vernon Valley (107) S	The Artist
Dana, William Parsons Winchester (1833-1927)	Heart's Ease (125)	The Artist
Darling	Gen'l Ransom	The Artist
Darrah, Anna Sophia Towne (1819-1881)	Lake Champlain (118)	Sowle's Gallery
	Landscape (120)	Sowle's Gallery
De Blois Francois (c. 1829-1913)	Fruit (65) S	The Artist
De Haas, Mauritz Frederick Hendrick (1832-1895)	Marine (74) S	The Artist
	Marine (293)	The Artist

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Doughty, Thomas (1793-1856)	View on the Hudson River (191)	A. L. Rawson
Drury, John H. (1816-?)	Old Mill (90)	The Artist
	Flowers (92)	The Artist
	Study of a Deer (283)	The Artist
Elliott, Charles Loring (1812-1868)	Portrait of Palmer (54)	E. D. Palmer
Fairman, James (1826-1904)	Mansfield Mountains (77) S	The Artist
Forbes, James	Portrait (134)	The Artist
	Portrait (136)	The Artist
Ford, Henry Chapman (1828-1894)	Sunset in the Adirondack Forest (133) S	The Artist
	Grave of John Brown (135)D	The Artist
	View near Greenbush, NY (137)	A. G. Morey
	Beech Forest, Ohio (139) S	The Artist
Fredericks, Alfred	Milliner (72) S	The Artist
	Soap Bubble (73) S	The Artist
Freeman, Blatchford	Appenines, Lake Como (304) S	The Artist
Frost, F. S.	Little Boy (294)	The Artist
	Landscape (305)	The Artist
Fuller, George F.	Bayou Bartholomew (297) S	The Artist
Gerry, Sanuel Lancaster (1813-1891)	Wilderness in October (310)	The Artist
Gifford, L. R.	Kauterskill, Clover Catskill Mts. (150)	D. Willis James
Gifford, Robert Swain (1840-1905)	Eastport, Maine (291) S	The Artist
Glew	Donnybrook Fair (140) S	The Artist

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Greatorex, Eliza (1820-1897)	Moodna [sic], Hudson River (147)S	The Artist
Guy, Seymour Joseph (1824-1910)	Frosty Pane (158)	Hamilton
Hall, George Henry (1825-1913)	Red Raspberries on Cabbage Leaf (9) S	William & Everett
	Grapes (20) S	William & Everett
Hart, James M. (1828-1901)	In the Adirondacks (91)	U. H. Crosby
	Harvest Field in New England (97) S	Sowle's Gallery
Hart, William (1823-1894)	Mountain Torrent (105)	The Artist
	Summer Storm (115)	The Artist
Hays, William Jacob Sr. (1830-1875)	Stampede of Buffaloes (185) S	The Artist
Hazeltine, William Stanley (1835-1900)	Nahant Rocks (109)	S. P. Avery
Healy, George Peter Alexander (1813-1894)	Lieut. Gov. Bross of Illinois (56)	Bross
	Archbishop McCloskey (68)	The Artist
	Henry D. Gilpin (132)	CHS
	Little Annie (204)	M. D. Ogden
	Portrait of a Gentleman (205)	E. B. McCagg
	Maj. Gen. Hooker (206)	The Artist
	Maj. Gen' Rosencranz	The Artist
	Major Scammon (264)	J. Y. Scammon
	Portrait (267)	The Artist
Henry, Edward Lamson (1841-1919)	Rail Road Station (260)	J.P.G. Foster
Hess, B.	Strawberries (164) S	R. L. Menger
	White and Red Raspberries (165) S	R. L. Menger
	Apples from Nature (171) S	Menger
Hicks, Thomas (1823-1890)	View in Lubica (116)	The Artist
	Study in Florence (174) S	S. P. Avery
	Gateway in France (176) S	S. P. Avery

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Highwood, Charles			
	On the Battlefield (88)		The Artist
	Flora Page (89)		The Artist
	In Church (130)	S	The Artist
Hill, John William			
(1812-1879)	Androscoggin River (180)	S	The Artist
Hubbard, Richard William			
(1816-1888)	Lake George (103)	S	S. P. Avery
Huntington, Daniel			
(1816-1906)	Martin van Buren (102)		The Artist
Inness, George			
(1825-1894)	The Wreck (10)	S	Williams & Everett
	Landscape (75)	S	J. Snedecor
Johnson, David			
(1827-1908)	Sourpis Creek (82)	S	J. Snedecor
Lambdin, George Cochran			
(1830-1896)	The Young Truant (15)		Chittick
	Autumn Grasses (169)	S	S. P. Avery
	Flowers (181)	S	S. P. Avery
	Autumn Grasses (275)	S	S. P. Avery
Lang, Louis			
(1814-1893)	The Soldier's Widow (6)	S	The Artist
	Departure for the War (148)	S	The Artist
Le Clear, Thomas			
(1818-1882)	Itinerants (52)	S	The Artist
Leutze, Emanuel			
(1816-1868)	Departure of Columbus (2)	S	C. L. Darby
	Secretary William H. Seward (61)		The Artist
	Florence Nightingale, (128)	S	M. O. Roberts
Lindsay, Thomas Corwin			
	The Narrows of Lake George (270)	S	W. H. Hamilton
	The Rustic Style (273)	S	W. H. Hamilton
Loop, Henry Augustus			
(1831-1895)	Wood Nymph (117)	S	The Artist

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McClurg, Trevor
(1816-1893) Home Again (127) S The Artist

McEntee, Jervis
(1828-1891) In the Catskill (51) S Chittick

Moore, Charles Herbert
(1840-1930) Catskill Mountains (170) S Menger

Moorehouse, M. P.
Reminiscences of Vermont Scenery (262)
S The Artist

Morgan, William
(1826-1900) The Spinner (66) S The Artist

Morviller, Joseph
Autumn (121) S Sowle's Gallery

Nichols, Edward W.
(1820-1871) Twin Lakes (261) S The Artist

Oddie, Walter Mason
(1805-1865) New River, near Long Bridge, VA (151)
The Artist
New River, Giles Co. VA. (152)
The Artist
Early Morning, New River, VA (160) S
L. R. Menger
After a Shower (162) L. R. Menger

Ogilvie, Clinton
(1838-1900) View on the Hudson (22) S The Artist

Ordway, Alfred T.
(1819-1897) Landscape (106) The Artist
Landscape (119) The Artist

Page, William
(1811-1885) Flight into Egypt (84) J. R. Stafford

Parker, John Adam Jr.
(1829-1900) Scene in the White Mountains (85) L. W. Volk

Peele, John Thomas
(1822-1897) Girl and Rabbits (103) S L. R. Menger

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Perry, Enoch Wood (1831-1915)	"Who will change Old Lamps for New Ones?" (179)	S	The Artist
Phillips, W.	Courtship (47)	S	The Artist
Pratt, Robert M. (1811-1880)	Paul and Virginia (96)	S	The Artist
	Fast Friends (98)	S	The Artist
	The Soldier's Orphan (101)	S	The Artist
Rawson, Alfred Leighton (1829-1902)	Rutland, Vt. (192)		The Artist
	Gate of Sorrento (193)		The Artist
	Ancient Dandy (copy) (194)		The Artist
Read, Thomas Buchanan (1822-1872)	J.E. Murdock (184)		The Artist
	Spirit of the Waterfall (142)		J. L. Claghorn
	Portrait of a Gentleman (143)		The Artist
	The Roman Model (144)		The Artist
	Portrait (145)		The Artist
	Hero Holding the Beacon (146)		The Artist
	Sheridan's Ride (315) drawing		The Artist
Reed, John H. S.	Fruit (198) & (202)	S	The Artist
Reed, Peter Fiske (1817-1887)	View on the Au Sable River (196)	S	The Artist
	Long Pond in the Adirondacks (197)	S	The Artist
Rondel, Frederick (1826-1892)	Enjoying his Pipe (18)	S	The Artist
	Children Singing (33)	S	Williams & Everett
Rossiter, Thomas Pritchard (1818-1871)	Twilight Hours (62)	S	J. Wolffe
Rothermel, Peter Frederick (1817-1895)	Patrick Henry Before the Virginia House of Burgesses (3)		J. Harrison, Jr.
	Italian Girl (178)	S	S. P. Avery

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Ruggles, Edward (1814-1867)	Bay of Venice		A. D. Frye, Jr.
Ryder, Platt Powell (1821-1896)	Female Head (123)	S	S. P. Avery
Sharples, George	Morning (182)	S	The Artist
Shattuck, Aaron Draper (1832-1928)	Coming Shower (42)	S	G. Conover
	Of Mt. Desert (80)	S	Hatfield
	Berkshire Co. (149)		The Artist
Sloan, Junius R. (1827-1900)	Landscape (87)	S	The Artist
Sommer, Otto	Deer Attacked by Wolves (108)		The Artist
Sonntag, William Louis (1822-1900)	Sunset on Laurel River (126)	S	The Artist
	White Mountains (129)	S	The Artist
Smith, A. Cary	Newark Bay, N.Y (124)	S	The Artist
Smith, Thomas Lochlan (1835-1884)	The Mill Stream in Winter (93)		The Artist
Spencer, Lilly Martin (1811-1902)	Height of Fashion (41)	S	G. Conover
	Fruit Pieces (70)	S	The Artist
	Fruit Pieces (71)	S	The Artist
	Cherries (79)	S	The Artist
Stearns	Portrait of a Lady (282)		The Artist
Stetson, S. C.	White Azalias (285)		The Artist
	Shore Birds (287)	S	The Artist
	Game (300)		The Artist
Sully, Thomas (1783-1872)	Mother and Children (8)		J. L. Claghorn
Tait, Arthur Fitzwilliam (1819-1905)	Ruffled Grouse (25)	S	J. C. Force

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Underhill, I.	Portrait of Lincoln (189) (If sold half to the Fair)	S	The Artist
Voss	Flower Piece (78)	S	The Artist
Wagner, M. L.	Rural Reminiscences (172) (if sold half of the proceeds to the Fair)	S	The Artist
	Childhood (277)	S	R. L. Menger
Webb, C. M.	Politician (44)		G. Conover
Weber, Paul (1823-1916)	Souvenir of the Alps (141)		J. L. Claghorn
	Sunset (311)		The Artist
Wenzler, Anthony Henry (?-1871)	A Brunette (111)	S	S. P. Avery
Wenzler, Miss	Flowers (114)	S	The Artist
White, Edwin D. (1817-1877)	Hop Scotch (95)	S	The Artist
	Thoughts of the Absent (175)	S	R. L. Menger
	Sabbath of the Emmigrants (186)	S	The Artist
Whittredge, Thomas Worthington (1820-1910)	New England Interior (99)	S	The Artist
	Rhode Island Coast (113)	S	The Artist
	Rhode Island Coast (122)	S	The Artist
	Back Woods (274)	S	Avery
Williams, Frederick Dickson (1829-1915)	Sultry August Morning (284)		The Artist
	Coming Showers (289)	S	The Artist
	Yankee Scullery (296)	S	The Artist
Woodman, S. J.	Head of a Pointer (199)	S	The Artist
	Sheep (200)	S	The Artist
Wyant, Alexander Helwig (1836-1892)	Clifton Glen (183)		The Artist
Yewell, George Henry (1830-1923)	Harvesting near Moret, France (112)	S	S. P. Avery

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The Artist's Album

All the works were donated by the artists.

Appleton, T. S.
Wood Cutters of Savoy (208)

Beard, William Hollbrook
(1825-1900) Deer Feeding (228)

Bellows, Albert Fitz
(1829-1883) Mountain Lake (232)

Brown, George Loring
(1814-1889) Gulf of Salerno (229)

Casilear, John William
(1811-1893) Moonlight (239)

Codman, John Amory
(1824-1886) Rocks, Nahant (215)

Cropsey, Jasper Francis
(1823-1900) Among the Thousand Isles, St. Lawrence River (227)

Darrah, Anna Sophia Towne
(1819-1881) Acutney Mountain (214)

De Haas, Mauritz Frederick Hendrick
(1832-1905) Marine (212)

Frost, T. S. Rocky Mountains (221)

Fuller, Richard Henry
(1822-1871) Landscape, Study (223)

Gay, Winckworth Allan
(1821-1910) Cohasset Beach (231)

Gifford, Sanford Robinson
(1823-1880) Winter Sunset, Boys on Ice (238)

Greene, Edward B.
(1823-1879) Dolce Far Nienta (234)

Griggs, L. W. River Scene (216)

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Hart, James McDougal
(1828-1901) Departing Shower (213)

Hart, William
(1823-1894) Landscape (225)

Hazeltine, William Stanley
(1835-1900) Roman Campagna (226)

Marquand, Mrs. Coast Scene (235)

Munger [?] Pen and Ink Drawing (224)

Ordway, Alfred T.
(1819-1897) Landscape, Study (222)

Robbins, Ellen
(1828-1905) Flowers, Oxalis, Partridge, Berries and Flowers, and Ferns (219)

Shattuck, Aaran Draper
(1832-1928) Landscape (211)

Staigg, Richard Morell
(1817-1881) "Just Three Years Old, To-Day" (233)

Suydam, James Augustus
(1817-1865) Brant Rock, Mashfield, Massachusetts Bay (236)

Taylor Bayard Falls of Badminton (218)
(1825-1878)

Towne, Rosa Cardinal Flowers and Everlasting (220)
(1827-?)

Vautin, N. Valle Crucis Abbey (209)

Wight, Moses
(1827-1895) Neapolitan Fishermen (210)

Williams, F. B.
Landscape (217)

W. R. C. Original Pencil Sketch (House of Martin Luther from the window of which he used to preach to the people). (240)

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Yewell George Henry (1830-1923)	Between Life and Death (237)	

American Drawings

Grafton, E. B.	Portrait of Thomas Buchanan Read (316)	T. B. Read
Read, Thomas Buchanan (1822-1872)	Sheridan's Ride (315)	The Artist

European Paintings

Antwerp, L.	Interior (19)	S	Chittick
Becker, Carl	Lover's Signals (976)	S	Hatfield
Bendorf	Miser (45)	S	Chittick
Brandt, Carl	Clackberrey Gatherers (168)	S	S. P. Avery
Brellonin	Rembrandt in Studio (48)	S	Chittick
Burgh, Jud	Cattle Piece (63)	S	J. Snedecor
Carolus, J.	Selecting the Bridal Dress		U. H. Crosby
Carter	Battle of Monmouth (59)	S	J. Snedecor
Conig & Rabbe	Landscape and Cattle (58)	S	J. Wolffe
Coutourier	Poultry (167)	S	S. P. Avery
De Brylant	Landscape with Horses (27)	S	Williams & Everett
De Buel, L.	Sheep (11) S		Williams & Everett
De Lonkin, Jules	The Lovers (17)	S	Chittick
De Soubrin	Lovers (281)		Snedecor
Geyer	Columbus and the Egg (5)		J. Harrison Jr.

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Grafle, A.	Raspberries (64)	S	Skaats
Hiddeman	School Examination (29)	S	G. Conover
Hübner, Carl	Reading Scripture (30)	S	G. Conover
Lamputter	Chickens (32) S	Williams & Everett,	
Leickert	Winter Scene, Holland (24)	S	Chittick
Linnig, W.	Charity (279)		Snedecor
Litschal, K. T.	Dog Vender (21)	S	J. Snedecor
Martin	Acrobat Family (25)	S	Areferman
Pleurot, A.	Picking Wild Fowls (69)	S	Chittick
Ronner, G.	Setter and Game (40)	S	Chittick
Youngheim, C.	Lake of Luzurne (46)	S	J. Snedecor
Van Elten, W. D. K.	Dutch Landscape (154)	S	R. Booking
Vanseverdonk	Sheep and Fowl (37)	S	L. W. Volk
Veweer	View Near Amsterdam (23)	S	Chittick
Von Bremer	Little House Keeper (39)	S	G. Conover
Von Ingen	Coast of Norway (49)	S	J. Snedecor
	Blacksmith's Shop (50)	S	J. Snedecor
Von Leben	Walnut Gatheres (26) S	Williams & Everett	
Welsh, F. C.	Early Morning (34) S	Williams & Everett	

Sculpture

Anonymous	Marble Bust of Franklin (324)	
Baratta, E.	Cupid and Dog (319)	L. W. Volk
Hosmer, Harriet Godhue (1830-1908)	Zenobia	Griswold

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Palmer, Erastus Dow			
(1817-1904)	The Little Peasant (317)	S	The Artist
	Good Morning (321)	S	The Artist
Volk, Leonard Wells			
(1828-1895)	Model of the Statue of a Fireman for the Firemen's Monument (318)		The Artist
	President Lincoln, Plaster Model (323)		The Artist

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Great Western Sanitary Fair, Cincinnati, 21 December 1863- 9 January 1864.

Descriptive Catalogue of Paintings, Drawings, Engravings & Photographs, Now on Exhibition for the Benefit of the Great Western Sanitary Fair. Cincinnati: Joseph B. Boyd, 1863.

D/S= Indicates works donated for sale. Some donations were listed in the main catalogue and again separately under donations. The list of donated paintings began with a new number one.

S=Indicates works for sale.

American Paintings

Andrews [?]	Village Blacksmith (122)	Andrews
Andrews, H.	Royal Pastime (17)	W. Wiswell
	Royal Pastime During the Reign of Louis XIV (18)	W. Wiswell
Andrews, Eliphalet Frazer (1835-1915)	Standard-bearer in Blusher's Army at Waterloo (55)	E. F. Andrews
Andrews E. T.	A Monk Illuminating an Old Missal(23)	E. T. Andrews
Bamborough, W.	Nun Taking the Vail (101)	Mrs. W. Bamborough
	Monks at the Devotion (102)	Mrs. W. Bamborough
Beard, James Henry (1812-1893)	Last Victim of the Deluge (50)	T. P. Saunders
	General Harrison (43)	E. C. Middleton

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Beard James Carter			
(1837-1913)	Culprit Fay (75)	D/S	R. Clarke
	Angel of Mercy D/S 23)		J. C. Beard
Beard, Frank	The Volunteer's Return (100)	D/S	J. C. Merriam
Beard, William Holbrook.			
(1824-1900)	The Unwelcome guest		
Brannan, William P.	Tidings from the Battlefield (16)		
(?-1866)			W. Garrison
	Rag Pickers(21)		No Owner
	Portrait, Dr. Lyman Beecher (38)		Mrs. D. B. Lupton
	The Lady of Shallot (98)		G. Galleher
Bott, Emil			
(1827-1908)	The Old Mill(25)		A. Baldwin
Boutelle, De Witt Clinton			
(1820-1884)			
	View near Morristown, N. J.	S	L. C. Hopkins
Buzelle, S. M.	Maple Leaves (103)	D	
	Maple Leaves (104)		G. B. Buzelle
Duncanson, Robert S.			
(1821-1872)	Lotos Eaters (15)		Dr. Knowlton
	Oenone (77)		E. C. Middleton
	Niagara Falls (81)		E. C. Middleton
	Mount Mitchell, North Carolina(65)		E. C. Middleton
Eaton, Joseph Oriel			
(1829-1875)	Moral Lesson (36)		L. C. Hopkins
	Mental Lesson (41)		L. C. Hopkins
	View near Yellow Springs(67)		The Artist
	View near Yellow Springs (114		Mr. Harrison
Gookins, James Farrington			
(1840-1904)	Flowers and Fairies (32)		W. Wiswell
Healy, George Peter Alexander			
(1813-1894)	Archbishop Kendrick (115)		A. Healy
	H. W. Longfellow (116)		A. Healy
	Portrait (117)		A. Healy

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Kemper [?]	Landscape D/S, 22		The Artist
Lang, Louis (1814-1893)	Gathering Poppies (83)		L. C. Hopkins
Leutze, Emanuel (1816-1868)	Ocean Spray (9)	S	L. C. Hopkins
	"Westward the Course of the Empire Takes its way (6)		L. C. Hopkins
Lewis [?]	View on Laurel Lake (42)	S	L. C. Hopkins
Lindsey, Thomas Corwin (1839-1907)	The Artist's Brook (71)		Owned by Sanitary Fair
	Scene in New Hampshire (73)		N. S. Foster
Maltby, Julia	Landscape, with Figures and Animals (49)		G. Burton
Moran, Edward (1829-1901)	Composition Group (40 marine sketches)	S	L. C. Hopkins
	Off Sandy Hook (54)	S	L. C. Hopkins
	View of the Navy Yard, Philadelphia (62)	S	L. C. Hopkins
Mosler, Henry (1841-1920)	A Picket on the Look-Out at Midnight (26)		W. Wiswell, Jr
	Falls near the source of the Kanawha, Virginia (27)		W. Wiswell, Jr.
	General Scott (45)		E. C. Middleton
Pedretti, F.	Allegorical D/S 17		
Plimpton, C. A. Mrs.	Guarding a Pass in Western Virginia India Ink D, 8		The Artist
Porter, T.	Assault on Fort Sumter D/S 24		The Artist
Read, Thomas Buchanan (1822-1872)	Excelsior(8)		C. Stetson
	Portrait of a Lady (48)		S. F. Cary
	Portrait of A young Lady(56)		
	Three-fourths Lenght of James Murdoch, the Great Tragedian Portrait (76)		

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Rossiter, Thomas Prichard (1818-1871)	"Such is Life" (5)	S	L. C. Hopkins
Richards, William Trost (1833-1905)	View of the Lehigh (37)	S	L. C. Hopkins
Smith, Bell E.	Vegetable Piece (29) D/S		The Artist
	Fruit Piece (30) D/S		The Artist
Sonntag, William Louis (1822-1900)	Landscape(10) D/S		S. S. Smith
	A Ruin (11) D/S		S. S. Smith
	Scene on the Susquehana (22)		S. S. Hale
	Landscape (66)		A. Burt
	Pogress of Civilization (118)		T. Day
Strauss, Raphael	Full Length of a Lady (51)		Poor
	Full-length portrait (63)		Poor
Von Starkenborg, Jacobus N. T. (1822-1895)	Scene in Prussia (78)	S	L. C. Hopkins
Von Starkenborg, William T.	Landscape and Animals (84)	S	L. C. Hopkins
Whittredge, Thomas Worthington (1820-1910)	Landscape (31)		A. Burt
	Early Morning (39)		Mrs. D. B. Lupton
Wickersham, Thomas	Portrait of General Grant (82, in don.25)		The Artist
Wyant, Alexander Helwig (1836-1892)	Mount Pitt(46)		Dr. Newberry
	Cathedral (47)		Dr. Newberry
Young, William	Landscape (74)		E. C. Middleton
	Twilight Musings D/S (2)		The Artist

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American Sketches

Beard, James Carter
(1837-1913) War (96) D/S Sketch Club

Denise, Ira Condit
(1840-?) War (94) D/S Sketch Club

Jones, Theodore War (86) D/S
Sketch Club

Kemper, Henry W. War (95) D/S
Sketch Club

Noble, William P. War (87) D/S
Sketch Club

Pedretti, F. War (90) D/S Sketch Club

Porter, T. War (97) D/S Sketch Club

Stoengel, W. War (88) D/S Sketch Club

Strauss, Raphael
(act. 1859-1897)
War (91) D/S Sketch Club

Winder, Samuel J.
War (93) D/S Sketch Club

Worrall, Henry
(1825-1902) War (89) D/S Sketch Club

Wyant, Alexander Helwig
(1836-1892) War (92) D/S Sketch Club

Anonymous

A Southern Landscape (19)	D. A. Hartzell
Old Landscape with Figures (20, D/S, 9)	G. Taylor
Suicide of Lucrece(24, D/S 7)	W. McGrew
The Isle of Patmos (28)	D. A. Hartzell
Simon Kent (44)	R. J. Clarke
After Vandyke (52)	C. C. Hine
Moonlight Scene (64)	E. C. Middleton
Christ Before Pilate (69)	J. O. Woodside

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European Paintings

Achenback, O.	Reviera [sic] di Chiaja (70)		L. C. Hopkins
Di Tivoli, Rosa	*The Goatherd (1) S*		*L. C. Hopkins*
Franquinet, W.	Crucifixion (99)		S. S. Smith
Gude, Hans	Sea Coast (113, wc)		W. Karrmann
Heps, Francis	Dead Game (35)		L. C. Hopkins
Hildebrandt,	View near Marseilles		J. A. Frazer
Jacobs, E.	Hungarian Girl Reading a Letter (125)		H. Henbach
Lossing,	Cardinal Mussing on Better Days (108 wc)		W. Karrmann
Mazzalia, G.	Italian Mendicants (4)	D/S	W. McGrew
Mazzolina,	Iris (after Guido Head 59)		J. A. Frazer
Musin, F. E.	View off the Coast of France(12)		W. Wiswell, Jr.
	Storm Clearing Off (13)		W. Wiswell, Jr.
Reynolds, J.	Charity	S	L. C. Hopkins
Scheuren	Old Mill (61)		W. Karrmann
	Landscape with Waterfall (105 wc)		W. Karrmann
	Warrior in Skiff (106 wc)		W. Karrmann
	Burial and Requiem of the Queen of Portugal (107 wc)		W. Karrmann
	A Stormy Evening (109 wc)		W. Karrmann
	Forest Scene (110, charcoal drawing)		W. Karmann
	My Tour through Italy (111 wc)		W. Karrmann
	Wood Songs (112 wc)		W. Karrmann
Teniers	The Carousal (123)	S	L. C. Hopkins
Vander Klerk	Landscape with Cattle (33)		W. Wiswell, Jr.
	Landscape with Cattle (34)		W. Wiswell, Jr.
Wendler	Scene in a German Beer-House (72)		T. Day

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Ladies North-Western Fair, Chicago, 27 October-7 November 1863.

Catalogue of Paintings, Statuary, Etc. Exhibited for the Benefit of Ladies' North-Western Fair, In Aid of the Chicago Branch of the U.S. Sanitary Commission, for the Relief of Soldiers. Chicago: n. p., 1863.

S=indicates works for sale.

D= indicates donated works.

American Paintings

Alexander [?]	Children's Heads(91)	Mrs. J. S. Colt
Antrobus, John (1837-1907)	Gov. Yates(55)	Company of Citizens
	J. L. Scripps(56)	J. L. Scripps
	R. Jones, Esq.(57)	R. Jones
	Mrs. Jones(58)	R. Jones
	Miss Annie Sproul(122)	R. Forsyth
	Mr. Forsyth, Sen.(123)	R. Forsyth
	J. Medill, Editor (124)	J. Medill
	J. V. Farwell (126)	C. B. Farwell
	Mr. Underbill (127)	Mr. Underhill
	Thomas Hoyne (135)	T. Hoyne
	Mrs. Hoyne (136)	T. Hoyne
	Portrait of a Gentleman (137)	The Artist
	Jas Rutter (138)	J. Rutter
	Mrs. S. H. Kerfoot (144)	S. H. Kerfoot
	Mountain Pass in Mexico (145)	The Artist
	Snow Mountain if Orizaba, Mexico (146)	J. L. Scripps
	Scene in Mexico (147)	Donated to the USSC
	Portrait of Randolph Rogers, Sculptor (164)	The Artist
	Portrait of a Gentleman (220)	No Owner
	Judge J.M. Wilson (226)	The Artist

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	Cortez in Mexico (281)	The Artist
	Judge Menierre (283)	Law Library
Blythe, David G.		
(1815-1865)	School Boy (261)	M. Tiernan
	School Companion (262)	M. Tiernan
Brown, George Loring		
(1814-1889)	Garden of the Capuchins, Rome (24)	Healy
Boutelle, De Witt Clinton		
(1820-1884)	Scene in the Catskill (173)	C. H. Ray
	La Granda Marina (25)	Healy
Cameron, Miss	The Picket (185)	Donated to USSC The Artist
Chapman John Gadsby		
(1808-1889)	Ruth and Naomi (297)	
Church, Frederick Edwin		
(1826-1900)	South American Scene(2)	E. B. McCagg
	South America (200)	Walter Wright
Cogswell, William		
(1819-1903)	Portrait of a Boy(302)	No Owner
	Master Woodworth (304)	No Owner
Cranch, Christopher Pearce		
(1813-1892)	Lake George (34)	M. D. Ogden
	Lake Geneva (68)	E. I. Tinkman
Cropsey Jasper Francis		
(1823-1900)	Morning, Mt Washington (31)	
	Catskill Mountain House (239)	E. H. Sheldon
	Greenwood Lake (241)	M. Skinner
	Summer (242)	M. Skinner
	Autumn (243)	M. Skinner
Culverhouse, Johann Mongles		
	Market Scene in Holland (35)	W. B. Ogden
	Candle Light (153)	U. H. Crosby
	Scene in the Time of Louis XIV (202)	G. F. Rumsey
	Flemish Inn (203)	G. F. Rumsey
	Fisherman's Funeral (204)	W. B. Ogden
	Moonlight on the Shelde (257)	E. B. McCagg
	Merrymaking in Holland (258)	E. B. McCagg
	Procession of Monks (259)	E. B. McCagg

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Dana, William Parsons Winchester (1833-1927)	Excelsior (86 for sale)		The Artist
Drury, John H. (1816-1905)	Maryland Farm Scene (170)	S	The Artist
	Nine Miles from Washington (171)	S	The Artist
Durand, Asher Brown (1796-1886)	Stratton Gap, Manchester, Vt. (95)		
	Landscape after a Shower (205)		W. B. Ogden
Durrie, George H. (1820-1863)	Winter Scene (244)		M. Skinner
Ford, Henry Chapman (1828-1894)	The Jungfrau (37)	S	The Artist
	Picket Duty on the Missouri(99)		The Artist
	Scene near Florence (163)	S	The Artist
	Illinois Prairie Scene (172)		The Artist
	The Mill at Valambrosa (306)		C. N. Holden
Fraser, Thomas	An Eastern Scene (74)		U. H. Crosby
Gifford [?]	Scene on the Hudson (201)		Mrs. I. McCagg
Gould [?]	Magdalen after Titian(97)		H. O. Stone
Hall, George Henry (1825-1913)	Muscatelle Grape (70)		U. H. Crosby
	Fontignac Grape (71)		U. H. Crosby
	Raspberries (72)		U. H. Crosby
	Strawberries (73)		U. H. Crosby
	Spanish Lady (140)		U. H. Crosby
Heade, Martin Johnson (1819-1904)	Mary Queen of Scots (284)		T. J. Ely
Healy, George Peter Alexander (1813-1894)	Thos. Hoppin, the Artist of R. I. (3)		Healy
	Major G. Rosecranz (4)		Association of Citizens
	Parson Brownson(6)		Healy
	Spring (18)		Association of Citizens
	The Late Arch. of Baltimore (19)		Healy

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	Governor Yates of Illinois (20)	Healy
	Dr. E. C. Rogers (27)	Dr. Rogers
	Mrs. L. W. Volk and Child (85)	L. W. Volk
	Nellie Kinzie (98)	J. H. Kenzie
	Portrait of a Lady (106)	No Owner
	Portrait of a Gentlemen (107)	No Owner
	Maj. Gen. Fremont (108)	Association of Citizens
	Montelambert (109)	Healy
	Gen Cass (118)	Healy
	Webster's Reply to Hayne (119)	Healy
	Gen. Jackson (120)	Healy
	Marshal Scout (121)	Association of Citizens
	Miss Snead, English Belle (155)	Association of Citizens
	The Two Misses Thorne (156)	Healy
	Girl and Flowers (Portrait 157)	E. B. McGagg
	Daniel Webster (158) D	Healy
	Portrait of a Lady (216)	Association of Citizens
	Portrait of a Lady (219)	Healy
	Portrait of a Lady (224)	J. H. Kenzie
	A Child (225)	M. D. Ogden
	Family Group (235)	E. H. Sheldon
	Prescott (238)	T. B. Bryan
	Thomas Sully, the Artist (250)	Healy
	Child's Head (251)	T. B. Bryan
	Douglas (260)	T. B. Bryan
	The Quadroon (276)	Healy
	Mrs. Healy (282)	Healy
	Portrait of a Gentleman (288)	Healy
	Group of Children (289)	Turnley
	Portrait of a Gentleman (290)	Turnley
	The Trobadour (292)	Healy
	The Two Philosophers (26)	after Couture
		Association of Citizens
Henry [?]	Farm Yard (17)	U. H. Crosby
Herring, James (1794-1867)	"Going to the Fair (1)	E. B. McCagg

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Highwood, Charles		
	Portrait of a Gentleman (209)	The Artist
	Faith (210)	The Artist
	Portrait of a Lady(211)	The Artist
Hubbard, Richard William (1816-1888)	Sunset (69)	E. I. Tinkman
Inman, Henry (1801-1846)	General Colt (92)	Mrs. J. S. Colt
Jenks, Albert	Portrait of a Gentleman (101)	No Owner
Kensett, John Frederick (1818-1872)	View on the Hudson (237)	I. N. Arnold
McClurg, Trevor (1816-1893)	Peaches and Grapes (294)	The Artist
Meadows, J. E.	"The Red Lion" 30 miles from London, on the Great North Road (49) (figures by J. F. Herring)	W. Bross
Ogle, J. C.	Early Morning. Scene of Gray's Elegy (129)	G. Stevens
Pool [?]	Near St. Montgomery, on the Hudson	
Rawson	Farm Yard Scene (162)	L. W. Volk
Reed, Peter Fiske (1817-1887)	View in Penn.(166)	The Artist
	Landscape (167)	Mr. Seavy
	Mt. Wachuset (168)	The Artist
	Killington Peak, Vt. (305) S	The Artist
	View in Indiana (178) S	The Artist
	Sable Mountain, Vt. (179)S	The Artist
	New England Autumn (181) S	The Artist
	New Hampshire Scenery (184)	The Artist
Ropes [?]	Scene in Italy (180)	J. Y. Scammon
	Italian Scene (182)	J. Y. Scammon
Richards Thomas Addison (1820-1900)	American Scene (78)	B. Whitehouse
Robertson, John	Resignation (84) S	The Artist

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Rositter, Thomas Pritchard		
(1818-1871)	America (28)	D. Brainard
	Italy (29)	M. D. Ogden
	Twilight in the Forest (43)	B. Whitehouse
	Joan of Arc in Prison (116)	W. B. Ogden
Shayer, William		
(1788-1879)	The Gipseys (104)	U. H. Crosby
Spencer, Lillie Martin		
(1811-1902)	The Young Students (208)	M. O'Brien
St. Clair, Thomas		
	Portrait of a Gentleman (87)	J. F. Stafford
St. John, Susan Hely		
(1833-1913)	Mand Muller (47)	The Artist
	Preparing for Christmas (212)	The Artist
	Reed's House by the Sea after Rothermel (213)	The Artist
	Rat Catching(268)	The Artist
	Our Bully"(277)	The Artist
Sonntag, William Louis		
(1822-1900)	Scene in Virginia (150)	U. H. Crosby
Stuart [?]	Horses's Heads after Herring (131)	G. Stevens
Wall [?]	Scene on the Allegheny, where Washington cros'd [sic] on the Raft (65)	M. Tiernan
	Scene on the Monongahela (66)	M. Tiernan
Weber, Paul (1823-1916)	Landscape and Cattle (103)	U. H. Crosby
West, Benjamin		
(1738-1820)	Washington after Stuart (83)	T. Allen
Wilson	The Murder of Marat by Charlotte Corday (38) (copy after the original at the Tuilleries)	J. L. Reynolds
Wust, Alexander		
(1837-1876)	Sunset Scene (149)	U. H. Crosby

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Anonymous

Düsseldorf School

Scene on the Rhine(80)	B. Whitehouse
Reading Magdalen, after Murillo(9)	W. L. Newberry
Madonna and Child, after Murillo (48) S	J. H. Hoes
Madonna and Child, after Murillo (110)	J. H. Hoes
Madonna, after Perugino (11)	W. L. Newberry
Sybil, after Raphael (10)	W. L. Newberry
Dresden Madonna, after Raphael(111)	J. H. Hoes
Rebecca (30)	M. D. Ogden
Fruit (77)	B. Whitehouse
Storm off the Coast Good Hope (79)	B. Whitehouse
Marine View(89)	Carbut
Italian Shrine (94)	H. O. Stone
Napoleon's Aids (112, 113) S	J. H. Hoes
Aurora after Guido (115)	E. B. McCagg
The Schoolmaster after Dow (159)	J. H. Hoes
The Doctor after Dow (160)	J. H. Hoes
Holy Family(176)	C. H. Ray
Music after Carlo Dolce (186)	J. W. Smith
Love Letter	J. W. Smith
Basket of Peaches (194)	J. Y. Scammon
Strawberries and Grapes(195)	J. Y. Scammon
Pleasant Night Dream (196)	J. H. Hoes
Child and Cat (221)	No Owner
Holy family (223)	No Owner
Madonna after Gemmon (227) S	J. H. Hoes
Child and Flowers (228)	No Owner
Head of a Child (229)	No Owner
Unknown View in Italy (231)	Stevens
Madonna after Raphael (232)	J. Y. Scammon
Landscape (246)	No Owner
Cliff and Indians (247)	No Owner
Fireside Sleeping (270)	No Owner
First Prayer (271)	No Owner
Portrait of a Lady (273)	Mrs. Baker
The Pets (280)	No Owner
Holy family (285)	B. Whitehouse
Magdalene (298) D	E. Peck

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European Paintings

Ademolio	Garibaldi Sleeping (139)	W. L. Newberry
Bischey	Descent from the Cross after Rubens (114)	J. Carbut
Bruga, G. A. Vender	Group of Dogs (46)	U. H. Crosby
Canaleto	View in Venice(183)	J. Y. Scammon
Couture	The Prodigal Son (21)	Association of Citizens
De Buel, L.	Hen and Chickens (141)	U. H. Crosby
Dietrecy	Italian Landscape (174, 175)	C. H. Ray
Dievold	Up the English Channel (117)	W. B. Ogden
Frampton	Democritus. (133)	G. Stevens
Geyer, H.	Blackberry Gatherers (148)	Antrobus
	Lecthenstine [sic], Switzerland (169)	S Foster, Jenkinson & Co.
Hideman	School Examination(14)	U. H. Crosby
Jourdan	Fisherman Knitting (15)	U. H. Crosby
Kauffman A.	Comedy (81	J. Carbut
	Tragedy (82)	J. Carbut
Kretzschmer	The Double Treat (12)	U. H. Crosby
	Returned from the Fair (13)	U. H. Crosby
Le Drouyn,	Landscape and Encampment of Travelers (53)	W. Bross
Lemmens, E.	The Calvacade (45)	U. H. Crosby
	Chickens (74)	No Owner
Luini	The Assumption of the Virgin (60)	G. Stevens
Malbranch	Winter Scene(90)	Carbut
Melby, G. F.	Maiden Cliff, Norway, by Moonlight (52)	W. Bross

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Melchoir,	Cattle (33)	M. D. Ogden
Monginot	French Flower Garden(22)	Association of Citizens
	Decline of Roman empire (23)	after Couture Association of Citizens
Nieman, E. J.	Modern Italy (128)	G. Stevens
	Pastina, Lake Nemi (96)	G. F. Rumsey
Procanni, C.	Mater Dolorosa (61)	G. Stevens
Reynolds, J.	Self-Portrait (130)	G. Stevens
Schreinfurt	Scene on the Campagna (67)	W. L. Newberry
Scudders,	Partridge Shooting (51)	W. Bross
Seignac, P.	The Reprimand (152)	U. H. Crosby
Tempesta	Italian Landscape (134)	G. Stevens
Teniers,	Horse Fair (132)	G. Stevens
Tintoretto	Christ and Disciples at Emmaus (59)	G. Stevens
van Harp	Adoration of the Shepherds(50)	W. Bross
Vanseverdonk	Sheep and Lambs (142)	U. H. Crosby
Verkat	The Greyhound (105)	U. H. Crosby
Wauright	Primroses and Apple Blossoms (143)	U. H. Crosby
Weinherdt	The Lost Lenore (8)	A. Cowles
Williams G. A.	Stoke Pogis Church Yard, scene of Gray's Elegy (7)	A. Cowles
	English Farm Scene Landscape (54)	No Owner

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Maryland State Fair, Baltimore, 18-30 April 1864.

Catalogue, Art Exhibition, Maryland State Fair.

Maryland: J. B. Rose & Co., n.d.

S=indicates works for sale.

American Paintings

Baker, George Augustus Jr.		
(1821-1880)	"Forget me Not." (54)	The Artist
Beard, William Holbrook		
(1825-1900)	Bears on a Bender (65)	S. B. Caldwell
Blauvelt, Charles F.		
(1824-1900)	Reading the News (53)	T. Kensett
Boughton, George Henry		
(1833-1905)	A Big Team (55)	T. Kensett
	Wealth of Wood Violets (63)	S. R. Gifford
Brown, John George		
(1831-1913)	Six Years Old (42)	G. B. Coale
	Flower Among the weeds (56)	G. B. Coale
	Twinkle, twinkle, little Star, (61)	J. Bohlen
	The First Step (94)	T. Kensett
	The First Cigar (119)	No Owner
Casilear, John William		
(1811-1893)	Lake Lucerne (10)	D. L. Bartlett
	Landscape (24)	Thomas Kensett
Colman, Samuel		
(1832-1920)	On the Mediterranean (16) S	The Artist
	Old Sycamores, Genessee NY (28) S	S. P. Avery
Cropsey, Jasper Francis		
(1823-1900)	Stoke Pogis Church (15)	B. F. Gardner
	On Lake Ontario (77)	B. F. Gardner
De Haas, Mauritz Frederick Hendrick		
(1832-1895)	Coast of Cornwall (107) S	The Artist

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Durand, Asher Brown		
(1796-1886)	Lake George (8)	B. F. Gardner
	Landscape (104)	T. Kensett
Edmonds, Francis William		
(1806-1863)	Waiting for Dinner (13)	T. Kensett
Gignoux, Regis		
(1816-1882)	View near the Hudson (29)	B. F. Gardner
Gifford, Sanford Robinson		
(1823-1880)	View from the Berskshire Hills (22)	D. L. Bartlett
	Lake Maggiore (48)	J. Hoey
	Mansfield Mountain (50)	R. Gordon
	A Thunder Storm in the Catskills(60)	E. Booth
	Fort Federal Hill, Baltimore, 1862(76) S	
	Kauterskill Clove, from Sunset Rock, (98)	G. B. Coale
Gray, Henry Peters		
(1819-1877)	"In Maiden Meditation Fancy Free"(89)	D. L. Bartlett
Guy, Seymour Joseph		
(1824-1910)	Catching Rain Drops, (120) S	The Artist
Hart, William		
(1823-1894)	Coast of Mount Dessert, (44)	E. G. McDowell
	Landscape (113)	C. M. Jackson
Haseltine, William Stanley		
(1835-1900)	Amalfi (93)	B. F. Gardner
Hennessy William John		
(1839-1917)	Gathering Flowers (4)	D. L. Bartlett
	Departure (51)	T. Kensett
	Getting Himself Up (62)	R. L. Stuart
Homer, Winslow		
(1836-1910)	Playing Old Soldier (97)S	The Artist
Hubbard, Richard William		
(1816-1888)	Lake Dunmore (12)	G. B. Coale
	Landscape (114)	C. M. Jackson
Huntington, Daniel		
(1816-1906)	The Chaplet (90)	D. L. Bartlett

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Johnson, Eastman
(1824-1906) Mating (66) General Dix
The Home Studio (105) J. McEntee
Country Lad (112) J. A. Hoogewerff

Kensett, John Frederick
(1818-1872) Red Bank, on Shrewsbury River, near Long Branch (30) T. Kensett
Sea Coast Near Newport (38) J. H. Latrobe
Landscape, Ulster County, NY (39) C. Harvey
Indian Rock, Naragansett, (72) T. Kensett
Highlands on the Hudson (79) T. Kensett
Sea Coast, near Salem, MA (102) D. L. Bartlett

Lambdin, George Cochran
(1830-1896) Making Bouquets (27) Mrs. Brady
"He Loves me, He Loves me Not" (52) G. B. Coale
The Young Mother (68) Mrs. Conner

Loop, Henry Augustus
(1831-1895) The Playmates (83) T. Kensett

McEntee, Jervis
(1828-1891) Twilight (88) J. A. Suydam
Virginia (103) C. Butler
Late Autumn (108) R. Gordon

Meyer, Frank Blackwell
(1827-1899) The Fiddle (47) J. Bohlen
Once on a Time … When the Swallows Built their Nest in the Old Men's Beard." E. G. McDowell

Miller, Alfred Jacob
(1810-1874) After the Battle (73) S The Artist
Indian Shooting a Cougar (82) S The Artist

Oertel, Johannes Adam Simon
(1823-1909) John the Baptist (7) Miss Johnson

Parker, John Adams Jr.
(1829-1900) The Old Man of the Mountain, White Mountains, N.H. (116) S Butler, Perrigo & Way
A Winters evening (117) S Butler, Perrigo & Way

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Robbins, Horace Wolcott (1842-1904)	Landscape (35)	D. L. Bartlett
Rothermel, Peter Frederick (1817-1895)	Paul Before Agrippa (21)	J. L. Claghorn
Richards, William Trost (1833-1905)	The Harvest Moon Valley of Wyoming (5)	J. Bohlen
Schussele, Christian (1824/26-1879)	Reading the Scriptures (57)	J. Hoey
Staigg, Richard Morell (1817-1881)	The School Girl (17)	T. Kensett
Stuart, Gilbert (1755-1828)	Portrait of Timothy Pickering (9)	T. Donaldson
Sully, Thomas (1783-1872)	Mother and Children (45)	J. L. Claghorn
Von Starkenborg [?]	Scene in Thauringen, with Portrait of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg (36)	H. Earle
Wagner, Miss	America (91)	J. L. Claghorn
Warner, Alfred	On a Lee Shore, (115) S	Butler, Perrigo & Way
Weber, Paul (1823-1916)	Landscape (40)	B. F. Gardner
White, Edwin D. (1817-1877)	The Little Model (67)	The Artist
Williams, E. A.	English Landscape (41)	J. Hoey
Woodville, Richard Caton (1825-1855)	Pot-House Politics (118)	J. H. B. Latrobe

European Paintings

Antigna	Crossing the Stream (81)	J. Hoey
Becker, C.	Signal in the Park (46)	H. Earle

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Berchers	Crossing the Dessert (18)	J. Hoey
Berlin, F.	Street Scene (2)	J. Richardson
Calame, A.	An Old mill, Canton de Vaud, Switzerland (58)	J. Bohlen
Chamerlat, J.	The Widow's Prayer (69)	J. Bohlen
Chaplin	The Toilet (74)	J. Hoey
Couturier	Poultry Yard (59)	J. Hoey
De Beul, L.	Feeding Ducks (14)	J. Richardson
	Coming Storm (87) S	J. S. Earle & Son
Detouche	The Miser Surprised (33)	J. P. Kennedy
Duvergerq	Charity (101)	G. B. Coale
Ferre, M.	A Rainy Night in Milan (31)	J. H. Meredith
Frere Theodore	Near Cairo (95)	J. Hoey
Greuse	Portrait of Henri de la Rochejacquelin (71)	J. P. Kennedy
Grund, F.	Roman Girls Going to Bathe (19)	B. F. Gardner
Harris	English Birds (78)	J. Richardson
Hildebrandt	Desdemona (1)	Miss J. Bohlen, Philadelphia
	Juliet (6)	J. Bohlen
Hubner, Carl	Sunday Evening in Norway (106)	C. Harvey
Lambinet, E.	Village of Dachet (11)	J. A. Suydam
Lemmens	Poultry Yard (43)	J. C. Coale
Ommeganck	Landscape and Sheep (86)	G. B. Coale
Percy, Sydney	Lake on Snodoun (32)	J. Hoey

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Severdonk	Sheep (70)		J. Richardson
Soyer, P.	The Reward of Merit (34)		C. Harvey
Trayer	Young Mother (96)		J. Hoey
Van der Waarden	Flowers and Fruit (75)	S	J. S. Earle & Son
Van Marke	The Cattle Path (26)		J. Hoey
Van Seben	Girl at the Spring (23)	S	M. Knoedler
	The Milk Maid (25)		M. Knoedler
Verboeckhoven & Vervay	Cattle and Landscape (37)	S	J. S. Earle & Son
Verschner, W. Jr.	The Hay Cart (85)		M. Knoedler
Vigée-Lebrun	The Dauphin Louis XVII (111)		J. P. Kennedy
Warner, A.	On A Lee Shore (115)	S	Butler, Perrigo & Way
Webb, C. M.	The Alchemist (84)		H. Earle
Weber, O.	The Horse Market (49)		J. H. Meredith

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Metropolitan Fair, New York, 4-23 April 1864.

Catalogue of the Art Exhibition at the Metropolitan Fair, in Aid of the U.S. Sanitary Commission. New York: n. p., 1864.

D-indicates that the art works were donated to the fair for sale by artists or collectors.

American Paintings

Anderson, F.	Hudson River (181)	D	The Artist
Atwood A. M. Mrs.			
	After Titian (265)	D	The Artist
	After Reynolds (301)	D	The Artist
Augero, Francesco			
	Goddess of Union Attended by Peace and Plenty, Dismissing the Fury of Rebellion and her Victims (185)	D	The Artist
Baker, George Augustus Jr. (1821-1880)	June Blossom (115)		S. Gandy
	Head (Young Girl) (177)	D	The Artist
Baker, Charles	The Basin (262)	D	The Artist
Barrow, John Dobson (1823-1907)	Green Mountain Brook (160)	D	L. Lang
Barrow, J. D. (1823-1907)	An Autumnal Walk (242)	D	The Artist
	Moonlight (243)	D	The Artist
Bates, J.	Camoen's Catarina (201)	D	The Artist
Beard, William Holbrook (1825-1900)	The March of Silenus (140)		No owner
	Commissary Stores Abandoned (171)	D	The Artist

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Beecher, Amarrah Dwight (1839-?)	Knitting (222)	D	The Artist
Beker	At the Fountain (203)	D	The Artist
Bellows, Albert Fitch (1829-1883)	The Berry Field (298)	D	The Artist
Benson, Eugene (1839-1908)	The Orchard (192)	D	The Artist
Bidwell, M. S. Jr.	Sunrise (204)	D	The Artist
Bierstadt, Albert (1830-1902)	The Rocky Mountains (50)		E. Seitz
	Valley of the Yosemite, California (163)	D	The Artist
Boughton, George Henry (1833-1905)	Repose (69)		R. M. Olyphant
Boutelle, De Witt Clinton (1820-1884)	Landscape (157)	D	The Artist
	Scene on the Lehigh (215)	D	The Artist
Brandt, Carl Ludwig (1831-1905)	Winter Scene (197)	D	The Artist
Brevoort, James Renwick (1832-1918)	The Meadow Lands (218)	D	The Artist
Brown, John George (1831-1913)	Daisy (187)	D	The Artist
Burger, A.	Sewing Girl (4)	D	W. T. Blodgett
Butler C. B. Jr.	"The Thing Won't Go." (195)		The Artist
Carter, D. M.	Decatur's Attack on Tripoli (220)		The Artist
Carvalho, S. N.	Maj. Gen. Fremont (267)	D	The Artist
Casilear, John William (1811-1893)	Swiss Lake (60)		R. M. Olyphant
	Autumnal Landscape (186)	D	The Artist

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Champney, Benjamin (1817-1907)	White Mountain Scene (241)	D	The Artist
Chubb, Frederick Y.	A Coast Bit (193)	D	The Artist
Church, Frederic Edwin (1826-1900)	Niagara (14)		J. T. Johnston
	The Andes of Ecuador (89)		W. H. Osborne
	The Heart of the Andes (111)		W. T. Blodgett
	The Setting Sun (165)	D	The Artist
Cole, Thomas (1801-1848)	Catskill Creek and North Mountain (13)		A. M. Cozzens
	Italy (49)		New York Galley
	The Past (112)		Mrs. P. G. Stuyvesant
	The Present (126)		Mrs. P. G. Stuyvesant
Coleman, Charles Caryl (1840-1928)	Interior (147)		No Owner
	Autumn (150)		No Owner
Colman, Samuel (1832-1920)	Coast of Spain (291)	D	The Artist
Cranch, Christopher Pearce (1813-1892)	Venice (88)	D	The Artist
Cropsey, Jasper Francis (1823-1900)	Coast of Genoa (94)		M. H. Grinell
	Winter Scene (155)	D	The Artist
Deas, Charles (1818-1867)	Long Jakes (10)		M. O. Roberts
De Haas, Maurice Frederick Hendrick (1832-1895)	Coast Scene (280)	D	The Artist
Derry, F.	Flower Piece (264)	D	The Artist
De Shaye [?]	Eastern Scenery (249)	D	The Artist
Durand, Asher Brown (1796-1886)	The Beeches, Sunset (27)		A. M. Cozzens
	Forest Scene (44)		J. Sturges
	Esopus Creek (162)	D	The Artist

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Edmonds, Francis William			
(1806-1863)	Espeth Mucklebackit and Lord Glenallan (Antiquary) (7)		Mrs. Gideon Lee
Ehninger, John Whetton			
(1827-1889)	The Sword (62)		R. M. Olyphant
Field, G. Miss Cherries (272)		D	The Artist
Flagg, George Whiting			
(1816-1897)	The Match Girl-London (46)		NY Gallery of Fine Arts
Fredericks, Alfred			
	October Evening (276)	D	The Artist
	Landscape (282)	D	The Artist
Fuechsel, Hermann T. L.			
(1833-1915)	On the Saco (277)	D	The Artist
Geisler, Joseph			
	Landscape (273)	D	The Artist
Gifford, Sanford Robinson			
(1823-1880)	Pass of the Gonda-Simplon (289)	D	The Artist
Gignoux, Regis François			
(1816-1882)	Niagara (3)		A. T. Blodgett
	Indian Summer in Virginia (82)		M. O. Roberts
	Island of Grand Manan, Coast of Maine (190)	D	The Artist
Glass, James W. Jr.			
(1825-1857)	Horse Guard (6)		W. T. Blodgett
Gray, Henry Peters			
(1819-1877)	The Pride of the Village (93)		W. H. Osborne
	American in 1862 (164)	D	The Artist
Greatorex, Eliza			
(1820-1897)	Kate Kearney's Cottage on the Banks of Killarney (246)	D	The Artist
Greene, Edward D. E.			
(1823-1879)	Contemplation (232)	D	The Artist
Guy, Seymour Joseph			
(1824-1910)	Taking Breath (279)	D	The Artist

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Hall, George Henry			
(1825-1913)	Uvas de Seville (53)		W. T. Blodgett
	Uvas de Seville (57)		W. T. Blodgett
	Spanish Girl (161)	D	The Artist
Hart, James McDougal			
(1828-1901)	Morning in the Adirondacks (74)		M. O. Roberts
	Berkshire Scenery (172)	D	The Artist
Hart, William			
(1823-1894)	Landscape (179)	D	The Artist
Hays, William Jacob, Sr.			
(1830-1875)	The Approaching Combat (198)		The Artist
Haywood, J.	Good Morning (245)	D	The Artist
Hennessy, William John			
(1839-1917)	Prayer (148)		R. M. Olyphant
	Autumn Pastime (191)	D	The Artist
Herring, J. F. Sr.			
	The Farmyard (67)		M. O. Roberts
Hicks, Thomas			
(1823-1890)	Italy (22)		W. H. Appleton
	Edwin Booth as Iago (146)		No Owner
	A Woman of Sommo (295)	D	The Artist
Hillyer, Henry Livingston			
(1840-1886)	Sketch from Nature (253)	D	The Artist
Homer, Winslow			
(1836-1910)	Study from Nature (212)	D	The Artist
Hotchkiss, T. H.			
(?-1869)	Lake Scene-Sunset (156)		R. M. [sic]
	Catskill Mountain (223)	D	R. M. [sic]
Hubbard, Richard William			
(1816-1888)	Landscape (199)	D	The Artist
	Lake Scene (210)	D	R. M. [sic]
Huntington, Daniel			
(1816-1906)	The Antiquary (16)		W.H. Osborne
	The Page (35)		W. H. Webb
	The Sacred Lesson (45)	D	A. M. Cozzens
	A Shepherd Boy of the Campagna (51)		

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			A. M. Cozzens
	Mercy's Dream (66)		M. O. Roberts
	The Good Samaritan (139)		M. O. Roberts
	Venice-Sunrise (180)	D	The Artist
	The Sibyl (142)	New York Gallery	
Inman, Henry			
(1801-1846)	The News Boy (5)		J. Sturges
Inman, John O'Brien			
(1828-1896)	News-Boy (214)	D	The Artist
Insley, Albert B.			
(1842-1937)	In the Woods (260)	D	The Artist
Jenkins, G. W.			
	Cherries (269)	D	The Artist
Johnson, David			
(1827-1908)	Lake George (228)	D	The Artist
	Landscape (233)	D	The Artist
Johnson, Eastman		The Postboy (84)	
	M. O. Roberts		
(1824-1906)	Working for the Fair (138)		S. Gandy
	The Young Sweep (213)	D	The Artist
Kensett, John Frederick			
(1818-1872)	Niagara (37)		A. M. Cozzens
	Morning on the Massachusetts Coast (40)		S. Gandy
	Morning in the Valley of Conway (104)		J. A. Robinson
	White Mountain Scenery (124)		M. O. Roberts
	Coast Scene (173)		The Artist
Kieffer, Louis			
	The Dying Bird (208)	D	The Artist
Lang, Louis			
(1814-1893)	Mary Queen of Scots Dividing Her Jewels and Garments Among her Attendants (133)		R. L. Stuart
	The Soldier's Widow (290)	D	The Artist
Lazarus, Jacob Hart (1822-1891)			
	Falstaff-Scene from the Merry Wives of Windsor (275)	D	The Artist

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Leutze, Emanuel (1816-1868)	Washington Crossing the Delaware (1)		M.O. Roberts
	Belated Venetian Maskers (43)		G.W. Riggs
	Hester Prynne and Little Pearl (113)		A. M. Cozzens
	John Knox Admonishing Mary (127)		M. O. Roberts
	Venice Victorious (128)		J. H. Shoenberger
	The Puritan and his Daughter (141)		A. M. Cozzens
	The Breaking-up of the Cardinal's Ball-The First Interview of Henry VII and Ann Boleyn (143)		D. Leavitt
	Florence Nightingale at Scutari (178)	D	The Artist
	The Unexpected Friend (194)	D	W. H. Webb
McEntee, Jervis (1828-1891)	Landscape (154)		The Artist
Mayer, Constant (1832-1911)	Hon. C. Godfrey Gunther (234)		J. Gurney & Son
Mooney, Edward Ludlow (1813-1887)	General Fremont (244)	D	The Artist
Mount, William Sidney (1807-1868)	The Power of Music (136)		Mrs. Gideon Lee
	Right and Left (238)	D	The Artist
	Sunrise (283)	D	The Artist
Müller, Carl	Scene at the Conciergierie Prison During the Roll Call of the Last Victims of the Reign of Terror, 9th Thermidor, 1793		J. T. Johnston
Murtrie, Annie J.	Flowers (28)		S. Gandy
Nast, Thomas	Drummer Boy Writing Home (285)	D	The Artist
Nehlig, Victor (1830-1909)	Gallant Charge of Lieut. Harry B. Hidden at Sangster's Station, Virginia (151)		W.H. Webb
	Rebel Prisoners (270)	D	The Artist

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Nelson Edward D.
(?-1871) The Shady Brook (239) D The Artist

Newton, Gilbert Stuart
(1794-1835) The Merry Wives of Windsor (137) Mrs. Coles

Nichols, Edward W.
(1820-1871) A Mountain View (205) D Mr. Haskell

O'Brien, R. High Bridge (261) D The Artist

Oertel, Johannes Adam Simon
(1823-1909) Father Time and his Family (75) M.O. Roberts

Ogilvie, Clinton
(1838-1900) Early Summer (170) D The Artist
View near Hyde Park, Dutchess Co, NY (292) D
The Artist

Osgood, Samuel Stillman
(1808-1885) A Roman Peasant (175) D The Artist

Peale, Rembradt
(1778-1860) Thomas Jefferson (108) T. J. Bryan

Perkins, Granville
(1830-1895) Off Baracoa, Cuba (287) D The Artist

Phillips, John
(1822-?) Marguerite from Faust (237) D The Artist

Pine, Robert Edge
(1730-1788) Portrait of D. Garrick (59) A. M. Cozzens

Pope, John
(1821-1881) New York Harbor (200) D The Artist

Powell, William Henry
(1823-1879) Landing of the Pilgrims (166) D
National Bank Note Co.
Scott's Entry into the city of Mexico (169) D
National Bank Note Co.

Pratt, Robert M.
(1811-1880) Pond Lilies (250) D The Artist

Ranney, William Tylee
(1813-1857) Marion and his Men Crossing the Pedee (129)
W. H. Webb

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Richards, William Trost (1833-1905)	October 1863 (80)		M. O. Roberts
Richardson, Andrew (1799-1876)	Scene in Scotland (219)	D	The Artist
Robbins, Horace Wolcott (1842-1904)	Landscape (268)	D	The Artist
Rosiers, J.	Candle Light (247)	D	The Artist
Rothermel, Peter Frederick (1817-1895)	Beggar Girl (23)		M. O Roberts
Shattuck, Aaron Draper (1832-1928)	A Summer Afternoon (299)	D	The Artist
Smilie, George Henry (1840-1921)	Hudson Rive Scene (248)	D	The Artist
Smillie, James David (1833-1909)	Lunch Time (206)	D	The Artist
Smith, Thomas Lochlan (1835-1884)	Winter Scene (240)	D	The Artist
Sommer, Otto	Landscape with Deer (300)	D	The Artist
Sonntag, William Louis (1822-1900)	The Potomac (288)	D	The Artist
Stephens, F.	The Convalescent (125)		M. O. Roberts
Stone, William Oliver (1830-1875)	The Morning Lesson (196)	D	The Artist
Stuart, Gilbert (1755-1828)	Washington (109)		T. J. Bryan
	John Adams (110)		T. J. Bryan
Suydam, James Augusts (1817-1865)	Spouting Rock Beach, Newport (278)		The Artist
Terry, Eliphalet (1826-1896)	Stag's Head (258)	D	The Artist
Voigt, S.	Fruit (216)	D	The Artist
	Apples (272)	D	The Artist
	Fruit (281)	D	The Artist

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Waldo, Samuel Lovett (1783-1861)	The Independent Beggar (207)	D	The Artist
Warren, Andrew W. (?-1873)	The Young Artist (209)	D	The Artist
Weir, John Ferguson (1841-1926)	The Microscope (102)		A. M. Cozzens
	Knitting (297)	D	The Artist
Welby, F. C.	Mountain Pass between Guarra and Caraco (266)	D	The Artist
West, Benjamin	An Illustration of the Iliad (152)		W. H. Webb
	An Illustration of the Iliad (153)		W.H. Webb
Whelpley, Philip M.	New England Meeting House (176)		Mrs. Clark
White, Edwin D. (1788-1857)	The Sacred Lesson (15)		R. M. Olyphant
	The Prayer (252)	D	The Artist
Whitley, T. W.	Landscape (286)	D	The Artist
Whittredge, Thomas Worthington (1820-1910)	View from Baveno, Lago Maggiore (189)		The Artist
Woodville, Richard Caton (1825-1855)	Mexican News (8)		M. O. Roberts
Wright, James Henry (1813-1883)	Landscape (271)	D	The Artist
Yewell, George Henry (1830-1923)	On the Shore (221)	D	The Artist

Anonymous Paintings

After Monginot	Fruit and Vegetables (259)		Mrs. W. Lngdon

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European Paintings

Achenbach, Andreas		
	Coast Scene-Mediterranean (48)	A. T. Stewart
	Coast of Holland (61)	W. P. Wright
	Port at Scheveingen (96)	H. L. Jacques
	Off Ostende (100)	J. A. Suydam
Baudit, A.	Landscape (182)	W. Langdon
Becker, C.	A Petition to the Doge (131)	W. H. Webb
Breton, Jules	The Harvest (12)	W. P. Wright
Bouguereau	Idylle (17)	M. O. Roberts
Breton, Jules	The Cabaret (144)	John Hoey
Brion, G.	Brittany Peasants at Prayer (26)	J. T. Johnston
Buhler Zuber	Just Awake (123)	H. L. Jacques
Burger, A.	Sewing Girl (4)	W. T. Blodgett
Camphausen	A Castle Invaded by Puritans (33)	H. L. Jacques
	Marauders (135)	W. H. Webb
Castan	Morning Prayer (116)	S. Gandy
Couture, Thomas		
	Day Dreams (97)	J. T. Sanford
De Dreux, A.	The Bone of Contention (19)	J. Hoey
Delaroche, P.	Napoleon at Fontainebleau (32)	M. O. Roberts
De Metz, Lanfant		
	The Cavalier (86)	J. Hoey
Dubuffe, E.	The Return (9)	E. Saportas
	The Departure (18)	E. Saportas
Duverger	Feeding the Pet (77)	S. Gandy
Enhuber	Post House (90)	W. H. Webb

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Fichel	Un Repas de Corps (20)	J. Hoey
	The Dancing Lesson (72)	J. Hoey
Frère, E.	Dressing a Doll (31)	J. A. Suydam
	Fisher Boy (71)	W. T. Blodgett
	Warm Me (118)	S. Gandy
Gallait, L.	Egmont and Horn (63)	W. P. Wright
Geyer,	The Rejected Bouquet (54)	W. M. Webb
Georadi, G.	Florence (236)	Miss Glover
	Florence (256)	Miss Glover
Gerome, Jean-Leon		
	Egyptian Conscripts (34)	M. O. Roberts
Gude	Reindeer Hunters at Sunrise (91)	H. L. Jaques
Hasenclever	The Village School (130)	W. H. Webb
Herzog, H.	Norway Scenery (64)	W. M. Webb
Hildebrandt, Ed.		
	Sunset (132)	W. H. Webb
Hübner, Carl	The Interrupted Couple (95)	M. O. Roberts
	The Surprise (101)	M. O. Roberts
	The Weavers (145)	H. L. Jacques
Knarrio, P.	The Jeweller (24)	W. H. Webb
Lemmens	Ducks (114)	J. Hoey
Le Poitevin	Sea-side (78)	W. Niblo
Meissonier	The Trooper (76)	M. O. Roberts
Noterman	The Disputed Breakfast (68)	M. O. Roberts
Ortinans, Auguste		
	Lord Hereford's Park (42)	W. H. Webb
Patrois	The Young Dressmaker (29)	J. Hoey
Peyrol-Bonheur	The Playful Kittens (52)	W. T. Blodgett

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Plassan, A. E.	The Flower Girl (70)	W. T. Blodgett
	Hesitation (149)	S. Gandy
Preyer	Wine and Fruit (73)	W. H. Webb
Retzsch, Moritz		
	The Game of Life (105)	D. Elliot
Robb	Cattle Piece (159)	W. H. Webb
Ronver, Henriette		
	Scotch Terrier and Puppies (119)	W.T. Blodgett
	Skye Terrier and Puppies (120)	W.T. Blodgett
Schulten	Konigs Lake in Tyrol (83)	H. L. Jacques
Seignac	Petit Larceny (87)	W. T. Blodgett
	Preparing Dessert (116)	J. Hoey
Tassaert	Frozen to Death (58)	J. A. Suydam
Trayer	The Bracelet (30)	J. Hoey
	The Bouquet (79)	W. Niblo
Troyon	Landscape and Cattle-Normandy (88)	A. T. Stewart
Van Dyck	Ecce Home (251) D	W. H. Aspinwall
Van Schendel, P.		
	Marcet Scene by Candlelight-Amsterdam (55)	M. O. Roberts
Vautier, B.	The Proposal (25)	M. O. Roberts
Verboeckhoven	Sheep (81)	W. Niblo
	Sheep (99)	M. O. Roberts
Verlat	Dog (122)	W. T. Blodgett
Veyrassat	The Ferry (41)	J. Hoey
Vintabole	Village on the Coast of Normandie (174)	W. Langdon
Volmering	Landscape (255)	H. Havemeyer

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Willems, F.	The Guitar (11)		M. O. Roberts
	The Portrait (56)		M. O. Roberts
	Love and Fidelity (106)		M. O. Roberts
Winterhalter, Franz Xavier (1805-1873)	Florinde (107)		W. H. Webb
Zwengauer	Sunset with Deer (293)	D	W. H. Webb

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New England Sanitary Fair, Boston, 14-21 December 1863.

Catalogue of Pictures Lent to the Sanitary Fair for Exhibition. Together with Catalogue of Paintings and Statuary, of the Athenaeum Gallery. Boston: Fred Rogers, 1863.

American Paintings

Allston, Washington (1779-1843)	Belshazzar's Feast (141)	Mrs. Allston
	Lorenzo and Jessica (172)	Mrs. J. P. Jackson
	Sunset (173)	J. M. Codman
	Valentine (174)	George Ticknor
	The Sisters (175)	W. Gray
	Beatrice (176)	Mrs. S. A. Eliot
	Italian Landscape (177)	Mrs. S. A. Eliot
Chapman, John Gadsby (1808-1889)	The Vintage (250)	G.W. Wales
Church, Frederic Edwin (1826-1900)	Landscape (221)	H. D. Clary
	Twilight-New England (233)	T. J. Coolidge
Copley, John Singleton (1738-1815)	Epes Sargent, 1756 (140)	J. J. Dixwell
	Mrs. C. Osborne, 1764 (143)	J. J. Dixwell
Charles Ist	The Impeachment of the Five Members by in Parliament (255)	Public Library
Curtis [?]	Coasting Craft (297)	T. Wigglesworth
Doughty, Thomas (1793-1856)	Landscape (276)	T. D. Shimmin
Downard, E. N.	Katherine and Patricia (259)	I. Sargent
Earl, George W.	Mountain Pets (229)	A. Adams

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Fisher, Alvan (1792-1863)	Farmyard (289)	Dr. Miffin
Fox, R.	The Gleaner (280)	I. Sargent
Gay [?]	The Alps (299)	G. B. Upton
Hamilton, James (1819-1878)	Marine View (266)	T. D. Slimmin
Herring [?]	The Farm Yard (273)	Mrs. B. D. Green
	The Farm Yard (295)	I. Sargent
Hinckley, Thomas Hewes (1813-1896)	Deer at Gaze 215	T. Wigglesworth
	Setter Dogs (241)	O. Brewster
	Cattle and Landscape (245)	D. Sears Jr.
	The Sultan (301)	O. Brewster
Hunt, Charles D. (1840-1914)	Bringing in the Deserter (270)	T. Wigglesworth
Hunt, William Morris (1824-1879)	Roman Peasant (224)	T. Lee
Inness, George (1825-1894)	Landscape (244)	T. J. Coolidge
Jones, S. F.	Horses at the Ford (222)	W. H. Gardner
Kensett, John Frederick (1818-1872)	Beverly Shore (227)	C. G. Loring
	Beverly Shore (243)	C. G. Loring
Lang, Louis (1814-1893)	The Bride (262)	Mrs. Wm. Shimmin
Lehmann, R.	"The Winnower" (235)	G. H. Shaw
	Roman Fruit Seller (236)	T. B. Wales
	Barca with Peasants of Procids (262)	G. W. Wales
Leslie, Charles R. (1794-1859)	Sir Walter Scott (137)	G. Ticknor
	Sterne and the Grisette (252)	I. Sargent
Lewis, Charles	Hawthorne Gathering (296)	I. Sargent

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Morse, Henry Dutton (1826-1888)	The Terrier (230)	Morrill
Newton, Gilbert Stuart (1794-1835)	The Coquette (178)	Wm. Gray
	The Mantilla (179)	Wm. Gray
	The Importunate Author (180)	E. N. Perkins
Passmore	Attendant at the Old Inn (284)	T. Wigglesworth
	Scene from Woodstock (285)	T. Wigglesworth
Smith, Bell	The Prophesy of the Flower (294)	I. Sargent
Staigg, Richard Morrell (1817-1881)	Anglers (271)	R. M. Staigg
Stanfield [?]	The Castle (272)	I. Sargent
Stanley, C.R.	English Lake Scenery (223)	W. H. Gardner
	View on the Avon (246)	W. H. Gardner
Tilton [?]	Lake of Nemi (228)	G. Ticknor
	Venetian Barque (242)	C. C. Perkins
Weber, Paul (1823-1916)	Loch Awe and Kilchren Castle (247)	A. C. Baldwin
	Monastery of Madonna del Sesso (315)	No Owner
Williard, J. Mrs.	View in Boston (305)	Mrs. J. Willard
Williams, W. [?]	Landscape (225)	Mrs. Hayward

Anonymous Paintings

After Correggio	Marriage of St. Catherine (160)	R. E. Apthorp
After Couture	The Page (288)	A. C. Baldwin
After Slingelandt	Dutch Interior (Lace Making) (286)	G. W. Wales
Copy of Stuart	Commodore S. Decatur (263)	S. Decature
	Battle Piece (146)	A. C. Baldwin
	Musicians (197)	Mifflin
	The Flower Girl (202)	D. Sears, Jr.
	Sybil (203)	I. Sargent
	Boy's Head (212)	Mifflin

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	Maternal love (249)	A. Hardy
	Portrait of Angelica Kauffmann (254)	R. E. Apthorp

European Paintings

Albano	Triumph of Love (150)	W. C. Green
Benouville	Roman Bridge of the Campagna (313)	C.C. Perkins
Berghem	Cattle Piece (182)	C. G. Loring
Blaas, C.	Adam & Eve after the Expulsion (310)	C. C. Perkins
Brueghel, J.	Interior, Hotel de Ville, Ghent (156)	J. M. Beebe
Budemann	The Rehearsal (268)	J. M. Beebe
Buhler, L.	The Little Coquette (231)	H. J. Gardner
	The Little Rogue (239)	H. J. Gardner
Calvert	Eternity (169)	G. W. Wales
Canaletti	The Mountebank (170)	I. Sargent
Cignani, Carlo	Magdalen (149)	Mrs. S. Cabot
De Heem	Still Life (210)	O. Codman
De Heres, W.	Cattle Piece (181)	Mrs. Hayward
De Laer, P.	Hunting Scene (195)	R. C. Winthrop
Del Sarto, Andrea	St. John (168)	P. C. Brooks
Del Vaga, P.	Madonna (154)	J. M. Codman
Demarne	The Market (185)	O. Codman
Diddeart	Interior of a Castle (253)	H. J. Gardner
Domenichino	Repose in Egypt (163)	R. C. Winthrop
Filardeau	The Veiled Lady (265)	A. Hardy
Frère, Ed.	Winding the Skein (219)	H. J. Gardner

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Ghirlandaio, Domenico	Holy Family (167)	P. C. Brooiks
Greuze	Female Head (204)	J. M. Codman
	Girls' Head (211)	I. Sargent
Heilbuth	The Dancing Lesson (264)	H. J. Gardner
Herbert	English Girl (237)	I. Sargent
Humbert	Afternoon (274)	T. D. Shimmin
Joy, B.	Scene from the Barber of Seville (214)	T. Wigglesworth
Kauffman, Angelica	Portraits (142)	R. E. Apthorp
Le Baron, A.	Love-Letter (216)	I. Sargent
Le Duc, Jean	A Musical Party (159)	J. M. Beebe
Le Prince	Halt of Cavaliers (191)	C. R. Codman
Linnig	Interior of Inn (258)	H. J. Gardner
Luca of Leyden	Descent of the Holy Ghost (312)	C. C. Perkins
Maratti, Carlo	Nativity (148)	W. C. Green
	Madonna and Child (157)	C. G. Loring
Matsys, Quentin	The Cardinal (145)	C. R. Codman
Mengs, Raphael	Holy Family (166)	G. Ticknor
Mignard, P.	Louis Xiv (162)	A. C. Baldwin
Mirevelt	Jan van Olden Barneveld (144)	W. C. Green
Mommers	Roman Riuns (152)	W. C. Green
Montzepat	Return from Hunting (251)	H. J. Gardner
	The Morning Drive (260)	H. J. Garnder
Murillo	"La Purissima Concepcion" (278)	F. Cunningham

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Ortelli	Going to Church (287)	A. Hardy
Ostade	Village Inn (193)	C. R. Codman
Pater	The Guitar (209)	R. Codman
Patrois, J.	The Drawing Lesson (218)	H. J. Gardner
	The Reading Lesson (220)	H. J. Gardner
Robbe	A Cow (238)	A. C. Baldwin
Rollman	Berchtensgarten, Bavaria (240)	A. Adams
Romako	Beatrice Cenci (298)	A. Adams
Rosa, Salvator	Landscape (136)	O. Brewster
Ruysdael	Landscape (187)	J. M. Codman
Schaeffer, A.	Dante and Beatrice (290)	C. C. Perkins
Schalken	Candlelight (155)	J. M. Codman
Schidone	Charity (153)	W. C. Green
Seignac, P.	The Letter (226)	I. Sargent
Solario	Ecce Homo (161)	R. C. Winthrop
Steen, Jan	The Dr. and Lovesick Lady (248)	J. M. Beebe
Stocks	Cow and Calf (267)	C. G. Loring
Scheinfurt	Campagna Scene (282)	G. W. Wales
Schwanevelt	Landscape (309)	G. Ticknor
Teniers, David	Landscape (186)	J. M. Codman
Terburg	Lady (199)	G. W. Wales
Toemer	Italian Girl (292)	E. N. Perkins
	Last Hours of the Abbess (307)	C. C. Perkins
	The Returned Crusader (308)	C. C. Perkins
Vaccaro, A.	Children in a Tub (200)	A. C. Baldwin

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Vallati	Roman Bride (275)	W. R. Lawrence
Vander Does, J.	Sheep and Goats (188)	J. M. Codman
Vandermeuelen	Camp Scene with Price of Orange (194)	W. C. Green
Vanderneer	Moonlight (183)	C. G. Loring
Vandervelde	Marine (189)	R. Codman
Van Marcke	Sheep and Cows (232)	T. J. Coolidge
Van Severdonck	Sheep and Fowls (213)	T. Wigglesworth
Vautin	Cathedral in Normandy (304)	Mrs. J. Willard
Vecchio, Palma	Holy Family (171)	T. G. Appleton
Vertunni, A.	Italian Scenery (217)	P. C. Brooks
	Coast of Amalfi (300)	P. C. Brooks
Veronese, P.	Marriage of Cana (151)	J. M. Beebe
Viliverti	Marriage of Tobias and Sara (158)	G.W. Wales
Woppus	Chapeau de Paille (after Rubens) 277	Mrs. Rollins
	St. Cecilia (279)	Mrs. Rollins
Wynants	Hunting Party (198)	S. Blake

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Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair, St. Louis, MI, 17 May-18 June 1864.

Catalogue of the Art Gallery of the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair. Saint Louis: R. P. Studley, 1864.

D=Indicates works donated for sale.

American Paintings

Alleyne, Miss	Southern Mississippi (17)		The Artist
	Landscape, Falls (199)	D	The Artist
	Landscape (245)		The Artist
	Chapel of William Tell (292)	D	The Artist
Beard, William Hollbrook (1825-1900)	Sunset (71)		M. Schuyler
	Portrait of Henry Clay (100)		B. F. Troxell
Bingham, George Caleb (1811-1879)	Landscape (77)	D	Oglesby
	Landscape (87)	D	M. De Franca
	Landscape (88)	D	The Artist
	Checker Players (192)		N. J. Eaton
Boyle, Ferdinand Thomas Lee (1820-1906)	Saturday Frolic (Portrait) (57)		Mrs. H. T. Blow
	Portrait-Hazard (120)		Mrs. A. S. Dean
	Portrait-Lady (139)		H. C. Marston
	Study -Gen. F. P. Blair (147)		No Owner
	Passing Away (224)		Pearce
	Portrait-Willie (229)		Cheener
	Portrait of Rev. Brooks (336)	D	Boyle
Brooks, Mrs.	Flower Piece (295)		The Artist
Buhler, E.	Church in Winter		The Artist
Chaimbeaux	View on the Hudson (176)		C. Belcher
	View on the Rhine (180)		C. Belcher

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Champney, Benjamin		
(1817-1907)	Landscape (218)	Miss Cragin
	Landscape (220)	Miss Cragin
Chapman, Conrad Wise		
(1842-1910)	Monk (51)	Yeatman
	Roman Peasant (61)	Yeatman
Collins [?]	Cherry Seller (208)	Mrs. T. M. Post
Connant, Alban Jasper		
(1821-1915)	Portrait (110)	S. C. Davis
	Portrait (114)	J. H. Louderman
	Portrait Lady (119)	J. M. Brown
	Portrait-Three Heads (134)	A. F. Shapleigh
	Portrait of a Lady (335) D	The Artist
Cranch, Christopher Pearce		
(1813-1892)	Landscape (304) D	T. L. Elliot
Deas, Charles		
(1818-1905)	Canadian Voyagers (42)	J. E. Yeatman
	The Last Indian (69)	Mrs. Treat
	Elijah at Horeb (146)	Catherwood
Dewey, Mrs.	Fruit (40)	Mrs. Dewey
Ellard, Mrs C.	Fruit and Flowers (226)	Mrs. C. Ellard
Gifford, Sanford Robinson		
(1823-1880)	Early October in White Mts. (266)	J. R. Shepley
Glover, Jeannie		
	Infant Christ (46)	The Artist
Granger, Mrs.	Portrait (9)	M. Schuyler
Harding, Chester		
(1792-1866)	Portrait Girl (65)	J. M. Krum
	Novel Reader (78)	J. M. Krum
	Portrait-Mrs. Lamb, Boston (116)	Mrs. W.G. Elliot
	Portrait-Rev. W. G. Elliot (117)	Mrs. W.G. Elliot
	Boy (124)	J. M. Krum
	C. Harding (138)	J. M. Krum
	E. Bates (143)	J. M. Krum
	Landscape (310) D	Huntington

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Healy, George Peter Alexander (1813-1894)	Col. O'Fallon (123)		O'Fallon Inst.
Herrzinger, Emil S.	War in Missouri (155)	D	Herzinger
	Portrait-Gov. Gamble (292)	D	Herzinger
	Sister of Charity (298)		Herzinger
Kirby Edward B.	Spirit of 63	D	Mrs. E. B. Kirby
Kauffmann, Theodore	Gen. Fremont (133)		The Artist
	Origin of Prayer (145)		The Artist
	Etiam Hereticus (222)	D	The Artist
Kummer, Julius Herman (1817-1869)	Falls of Chaudiere (172)		The Artist
	Thunder storm on the Prairie (177)	D	The Artist
La Pierre, Miss	Landscape (315)	D	The Artist
Lewis, Henry (1819-1904)	Reingrafenstein (3)		O. D. Filley
Lynd, Miss	Flowers (299)		The Artist
Meeker, Joseph Rusling (1827-1889)	Cahokia Creek (49)		E. Richards Jr.
	Landscape Lake George (63)		Spore
	View off Staten Island (76)		E. Richards Jr.
	Owaska Lake, Cayuga Co. NY (96)		E. Richards Jr.
	Summer Morning (173)		E. Richards Jr.
Mignot, Louis Remy (1831-1870)	White Mountains (161)		G. W. Harding
Peale, Rembrandt (1778-1860)	General Eaton (118)		N. J. Eaton
Peale, Sarah Myriam (1800-1885)	Portrait (113)		Mrs. Mills
Pearson [?]	Scene in Barrowdale, England		(21, wc)

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			J. R. Shepley
	Helen Crag and Grassmere Lake (24)		
			J. R. Shepley
	Landscape wc (179)		Mrs. Hitchcock
	Landscape wc (185)		Mrs. Hitchcock
	Landscape (190)		Mrs. Collier
Pomerade, Leon (c.1807/11-1892)			
	Indian Horse Fight (19)		The Artist
Reid, John (1832-?)	Portrait-child (122)		
	Portrait-Boy (341)		Reid
Roetter, Paulus (1806-1894)	Black Rock Castle (70)		Jones
	Swiss Landscape (86)		The Artist
	Landscape (91)	D	Roetter
	Landscape (95)		N. D. Tirrell
	Mount Eiger (128)		E. Jones
	Staubach, crayon (148)		S. A. Ranlett
	Water Fall (217)		Jones
	Lake Thun (219)		Jones
	American Scenery, shore opp St.Louis (262)		
			N. D. Tirrell
	Wellhorn & Wetterhorn (328)	D	Roetter
	Valley of Lauterbrunnen (330)		N. D. Tirrell
	American Scenery, Cahokia Creek (331)		
			N. D. Tirrell
Rossiter, Thomas Pritchard (1818-1871) & Louis Remy Mignot (1831-1870)	Home of Washington (308)		
Schultze, Louis (1820-?)	Head Waters Missouri (55)		Mrs. H. T. Blow
	Negro Camp Meeting (195)		G. M. Harding
	Grandmother returning from Town (211)		
			E. Richards Jr.
	Taylor's Falls (227)		G. M. Harding
	Scene in Bavaria (293)	D	L. Schulze
	Portrait-Fancy Costume (296)		G. M. Harding
	Portrait-Highland Costume (297)		
			G. M. Harding

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Seibert, Henry			
	Portrait of Col. Stafford (85)		J. A. Seibert
	General Grant (121)		J. A. Seibert
	Portrait-Kummer (137)		J. A. Seibert
	Portrait Gen'l McPherson (274)	D	J. A. Seibert
	Photo Por. Grant	D	J. A. Seibert
Skeele, Harriet B.			
(1829-1901)	Game (54)	D	The Artist
	Basket of Cake (67)		L. Eaton
	Market Woman (322)		The Artist
	Cat and Kittens (323)		The Artist
Sonntag, William Louis			
(1822-1900)	Landscape in Kentucky (8)		J. R. Shepley
	Landscape-Valley of Shenandoah (235)		Mrs. Blow
Stetson	Autumn Leaves (198)		L. Eaton
Subit, Aline	Dog and Game (230)		The Artist
Titcomb, William Henry			
(1824-1888)	Mount Onancock (244)		L. Eaton
	Sunset Sketch (270)		Mrs. Partridge
	Old Homstead, Templeton, Mass. (309)		G. Partridge
	Landscape (332)	D	Titcomb
Tucker, Mrs. A. M.			
	2 Pastel Heads (66)	D	The Artist
Van Starkenborg			
	Landscape in Germany (178)		Mrs. H. T. Blow
	Landscape in Germany (228)		Mr. H. T. Blow
Wilkins, James F.			
	General Rosecrans (142)		No Owner
Ward [?]	Cattle Piece (84)		G. M. Harding
Wimar, Charles Ferdinand			
(1828-1862)	Indians Crossing Upper Missouri (33)		Rombauer
	Moonlight Scene on the Missouri (34)		Rombauer
	Buffaloes Drinking (48)		Conant

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Buffalo and Wolves (53) E. J. Clark
Bear Rib Chief (160) Rombauer
Indian on War Path (wc) (191) Wimar
Grizly on dead Elk (196) Wimar

Anonymous Paintings

Adoration of the Holy Trinity, after A. Durer
D I. Rosenfeld
Bay of naples and Capri (92) J. Ridgeway
Beatrice Cenci, After Guido (82)
Mrs. J. W. Brown
Cenci, after Guido (202) C. L. Richards
Cenci, after Guido (252) Mrs. Skinkle
Chanting Cherubs, After Raphael (273)
W. Crow
Descent from the Cross, After Rubens (89)
Mrs. Lewis
Evening (25) T. L. Eliot
Faust and Margaret (83) D C. Gray
Flight into Egypt (18) Mrs. W. G. Eliot
Fruit Piece (28) J. M. Krum
General Balearics (74) O. D. Filey
Head of a Saint (216) C. S. Pennell
Holy Family, after Raphael (238)
A. J. P. Garesche
Innocence, After Sully (14)
Mrs. J. M. Taylor
Judith and Holofernes (90) J. M. Krum
Landscape, Lake Windermere (126)
D Miss Cochran
Madonna, After Raphael (200) Mrs. McCreery
Madonna and Child on porcelain (72)
J. E. Yeatman
Madonna di Foligne, After Raphael (12)
G. S. Blake
Madgalen, after Correggio (232)
J. E. Yeatman
Magdalen, After Correggio (290)
S. A. Ranlett
Market Piece (111) No Owner
Medallion, Lady (27) Mrs. W. G. Eliot
Meeting in the Upper Room, after Rubens (164)
Mrs. Lewis
Morning (26) T. L. Eliot
Napoleon Crossing the Alps by Lawrence[?]
after David (62) G. K. Budd
Nativity (206) Mrs. Lewis
Old Mill (136) Christian Brothers

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	Poesy [sic], After Carlo Dolce (258)		Mrs. A. S. Dean
	Portrait of a Lady (193)		Michell
	Suonatore, or Violin Player, After Raphael (10)		C. L. Richards
	Titian's Daughter (74)		Mrs. A. S. Dean
	Washington, after Stuart (131)		T. H. Larkin
	Washington Crossing the Delaware (260)	D	E. Buhler
	Winter on the Alps (342)	D	Isabel Hadley

European Paintings

Achenbach [?]	Falls of Terni (1)		W. Crow
	Sunrise (189)		Spore
	Falls of Tivoli (272)		W. Crow
Brandt, Otto	Jesuit (6)		E. Cushman
	Italian Inn (7)		E. Cushman
	Roman Campagna (264)		E. Cushman
Clayter	Saturday Night (45)		C. Belcher
Cooper	Cattle (225)		No Owner
Crelius	The Tribute Penny (204)	D	W. Einstein
De Cinque, Antonio	Italian Scene (231)		C. L. Richards
Dolci, Carlo	Magdalen (2)		Mrs. Hitchcock
	Magdalen (32)		Mrs. McCreery
	Magdalen (94)		Mrs. Emmons
Domenichino	Sibyl (223)	Mrs.	P. R. McCreery
Franquinet	Crucifixion (201)		R. W. Burnet
Hildebrandt	Boys Fighting (31)		Buhler
Hoffman	Magdalen (163)		J. E. Yeatman
Greuze	Peasant Girl (259)		Mrs. Brown
Guercino	Aurora (263)		W. Crow

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Guido	Hope (4)	Mrs. McCreery
	Aurora (5)	Mrs. Hitchcock
	Vanity (233)	C. L. Richards
	Cenci (271)	Mrs. Hitchcock
Kaulbach	Destruction of Jerusalem (250)	E. Buhler
Merati	St. Luke (207)	M. De Franca
Orlandi	Madonna and Angels (50)	Mrs. A. S. Dean
Ostade, Adriaen van (1610-1684)		
	Druggist (300)	Mrs. L. B. Prout
	Lawyer (301)	Mrs. L. B. Prout
Poittevin, E. J.	Landing of Vandervelde on Flemish Coast (237)	J. R. Shepley
Raphael	Madonna de Gran Duca (93)	Mrs. A. S. Dean
Rembrandt	The Philosopher (312)	W. N. Macqueen
Romako	Landscape (22, wc)	E. Cushman
	Oil Sketch (240)	C. Cushman
Sassoferato, Il (1609-1685)	Madonna	J. R. Yeatman
Schlegel, Born	Matching Colors (68)	J. R. Shepley
Teniers	Ale House (197)	C. Belcher
	Fiddler Boy (215)	A. J. P. Garesche
Tilten	Interlachen Swiss (212)	E. Cushman
Van Sculer	Market by Candle Light (183)	Mrs. Brown
Vernet	Ariadne (80)	Mrs. Brown
	Storm at Sea (187)	Catherwood
	Interior (209)	M. De Franca
Zeitter	The Old Bridge (247)	J. R. Shepley

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Northern Ohio Sanitary Fair, Cleveland, 22 February-10 March 1864.

Catalogue of the Paintings, Statuary, &c. in the Fine Art Department of the Cleveland Sanitary Fair …. Cleveland: E. Cowles & Co., 1863.

S=Indicates works that were for sale.

American Paintings

Bakewell, Robert			
	Rydal Mount, England (53)		W. H. Goodrich
	West Rock, New Haven (57)		W. H. Goodrich
Beard, William Holbrook (1825-1900)	Invaded Home (16)		R. K. Winslow
	Poor Relations (117)		F. W. Green
Boughton, George Henry (1833-1905)	View in Cumberland, England (67)		T. A. Starkey
	Landscape (80)		T. A. Starkey
Brown [?]	Marine (43)		R. K. Winslow
Buchanan [?]	Old Oaken Bucket (30)		J. F. Clark
	Saint Simon (32)		J. F. Clark
Chaudler	Daniel Webster (83)		M. R. Keith
Choate, Mrs.	Wolf and Lanb, after Gray (37)		J. Perkins
Cleveland, Miss			
	Sybil (44)		J. D. Cleveland
Clough, George L. (1821-1901)	Lake George (25)		B. F. Peixotto
	Camel's Back Mount, Pennsylvania (26)		The Artist
	Sunset (42)		R. K. Winslow
	Susquehanna River (58)	S	The Artist

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	Scene near Auburn (74)		W. D. Cushing
	John Brown's Tract (81)	S	The Artist
Cogswell, William			
(1819-1903)	Pastime (18)	S	J. Park, Jr.
	Work and Play (40)	S	J. Park, Jr.
	The Schoolmaster (75)	S	J. Park, Jr.
Crocker [?]	Landscape (92)	S	The Artist
Doughty, Thomas			
(1793-1856)	Coast of Cornwall (14)		T. P. Handy
Durrie, George Henry			
(1820-1863)	Winter Scene (17)		W. J. Boardman
	Basket of Raspberries (48)		W. J. Boardman
Fuechsel, Hermann T. L.			
(1833-1915)	Moonlight on the Hudson (20)		R. K. Winslow
Flagg, George Whiting			
(1816-1897)	Reproof (24)		S. Witt
French, Mrs. L. B.			
	Blind Child (65)		The Artist
Gave S. F.	Spirit of 1864 (130)	S	The Artist
Gollman, Julius (?-1898)			
	The Arkites-Portrait (10)		L. Case Jr.
Hale, Henry	Family Group (85)	S	The Artist
	Scepter and Cross (123)	S	The Artist
Hamilton, James			
(1819-1878)	Marine (64, wc)		H. M. Chapin
	Egyptian Ruin (90, wc)		H. M. Chapin
	Marine Moonlight (91, wc)		H. M. Chapin
	Moonlight (94, wc)		H. M. Chapin
Hart, James McDougal			
(1828-1901)	Landscape in Connecticut (7)		R. K. Winslow
Hart, William			
(1823-1894)	Autumn in the White Mountains (11)		R. K. Winslow
	Moonlight (17)		R. K. Winslow

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Hastings Miss	Fog on the Coast of Maine (97)	S	The Artist
Humphrey Miss	Blannerhassett's Island (104)	S	Pupils
Inness, Charles	The Old Mill (66)		J. Perkins
Kauffman, Alice	The Nativity (140)		J. Perkins
King [?]	Judge Calvin Pease (112)		J. Erwin
Kittell, Nicholas Biddle (1822-1894)	Three Children-Portrait (77)		E. B. Hale
Knapp, Charles W. (1823-1900)	Study from Nature (88)		T. Walton
	Scene near Leeds (106)		W. D. Cushing
Markillie, J.	Landscape (102)	S	The Artist
Martin, Homer Dodge (1836-1897)	View of Poesten Hill (27)		T. A. Starkey
Mason, Sanford (c. 1798-after 1862)	Chicken Coop		T. A. Starkey
Mignot, Louis Remy (1831-1870)	Sunset on White Mountains (3)		H. F. Clark
	Twilight (120)		J. Perkins
Nasmith, P.	English Landscape (56)		J. F. Clark
Noble, Miss	Connecticut River (114)		J. Perkins
Patton, W. H.	Nameless Rill (73)		P. I[illegible]
Peale J. F.	Girl and Guinea Pigs (28)		J. F. Clark
Peale, Rembrandt (1778-1860)	Washington-Portrait (23)		J. Perkins
	Portrait (125)		Mrs. Weddell
Pratt [?]	Otter Creek, Vermont (51)		W. H. Goodrich

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Quick [?]	Two Children-Portrait (78)		Colonel Stager
Rossiter, Thomas Pritchard			
(1818-1871)	Washington and Lafayette at Mount Vernon (33)		
		S	The Artist
	Domestic Life (34)	S	The Artist
	Shakespeare and Ann Hathaway S(36)		
	Autumn Scenery (45)	S	The Artist
	Sleeping Innocence (46)	S	The Artist
	Brunette (49)	S	The Artist
	Devotee (50)	S	The Artist
	In the Garden (54)	S	The Artist
	Mrs. D. Sterling and Child (101)		
			E. Sterling
	Nathan Perry-Portrait (131)		
			Mrs. H. B. Payne
Sharples, James			
(c.1751-1811)	Landscape (2)		T. Walton
	Sunny Dale (38)		B. F. Peixotto
	Mrs. N. Tery portrait (59)		C. A. Terry
	Landscape (89)		H. L. Frisbie
Shattuck, Aaron Draper			
(1832-1928)	Valley of Connecticut (82)		W. H. Goodrich
Smith, Allen Jr.			
(1810-1890)	Dr. Delamater (29)		Medical College
	Dr. Kirkland-Portrait (109)		Medical College
	Dr. Ackley (110)		Medical College
	Prof. St. John (113)		Medical College
	Stag at Bay after Lancier (115)		
			H. P. Wendell
	Dr. Cassells (119)		Medical College
Sonntag, William Louis			
(1822-1900)	Hunter's Lunch (41)		F. W. Green
	View of the Kanawha (135)		T. P. Handy
Spencer, Lilly Martin			
(1811-1902)	Child's Sorrows (87)		J. Perkins
Sullidge, W. H.			
	Castle on the Rhine (100)	S	The Artist
Van Starkenberg, William F.			
	Landscape and Cattle (15)		J. F. Clark
	Storm of Wind on the Moor (69)		T. Starkey

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Weber, Paul (1823-1916)	Landscape (105)	J. Perkins
Weir [?]	Why Don't You speak for Yourself John? (31)	J. F. Clark
Whittredge, Thomas Worthington (1820-1910)	Robbers of Albino (21)	R. K. Winslow
Williams, J. F.	Susquehanna River (58)	T. A. Starkey
Wilson [?]	Sunrise on the Hudson (124)	C. J. Bunker
Winters, G. W.	Wabash River (121)	J. Perkins
Wood, J.	Practicing (76)	J. F. Clark
Wyant, Alexander Helwig (1836-1892)	Klamamth River & Lake, and Mt. Pitt, Oregon (6)	Newberry

Anonymous Paintings

Adoration	W. J. Boardman
Assumption of the Virgin (72)	Bishop Rappe
Italian Landscape (111)	C. J. Woolson
Happy Family (138)	No Owner
King Lear (139)	F. W. Green
Landscape (93)	J. Perkins
Landscape (108) S	Douglass & Co.
Landscape (145)	J. W. Sargent
Madonna after Carlo Dolce (144)	T. T. Seelye
St. Catherine (136)	L. Carter
St. Columba (128)	L. Carter
Still-Life- Rescued from the Great London Fire (107)	Mrs. Brayton
Susannah and the Elders (116)	H. B. Perkins

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European Paintings

Arcot	English Scenery (4)	H. F. Clark
Cortona	Head of St. Paul (126)	J. Mason
De Berg	Giant of the Alps (133)	D. H. Beckwith
De Faux	Durham, England (12)	T. Walton
Den Bleeck	Snow Scene (137)	T. A. Starkey
Griffin	Heidelberg (22)	Mrs. Weddell
Guercino	Madonna and Child (52)	J. Perkins
	Magdalen (141)	L. Carter
Guillaume, D.	Marine Fisherman (63)	J. F. Clark
Holbein	Mary, Queen of Scots (13)	J. H. Rylance
Lemmens, E.	Poultry (5)	R. K. Winslow
Manzoni	Dutch Interior (132)	T. A. Starkey
Michant	Horse Fair, after Rosa Bonheur (39)	J. F. Clark
Muller	Swiss Mountain Scenery (134)	Heman Ely
Sanaw, A.	Tea Party (84)	J. F. Clark
Shotel	Port of Amsterdam (61)	J. F. Clark
Teniers	German Interior (62)	J. Perkins

Sculpture

Gardner, Theodore Y.		
	Reverend Dr. Aikin-Medallion (11)	The Artist
	Reverend Mr. Goodrih-Medallion (12)	The Artist
Anonymous	Louis Xiv-Bronze Statuette (1)	R. C. Parsons
Anonymous	Small Bust of Henry Clay (7)	A. B. Stone

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Anonymous	Cinq Mars-Bronze Statuette (9)		R. C. Parsons
Anonymous	Ecce Home, after Canova (10)		W. C. Cooley
Rogers, John (1829-1904)	The Town Pump (2)	S	The Artist
	Mail Day (3)	S	The Artist
	Union Refugee (4)	S	The Artist
	Country Post Office (5)	S	The Artist
	The Picket Guard (6)	S	The Artist
	Camp Fire (8)	S	The Artist

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Pittsburgh Sanitary Fair, Pittsburgh, 11-18 June 1864.

Catalogue of Works of Art. Exhibition of Paintings and Statuary in Aid of the Pittsburgh Fair Fund of the United States Sanitary Commission, … June 1, 1864. Pittsburgh: Barr & Myers, 1864.

D=Indicates works donated by the artists.

S=Indicates that the work was for sale.

American Paintings

Andrews, [?]	The Blacksmith (181) (valued at 300 half the proceeds to the Fair).	S	The Artist
Anderson, Mrs.	Crayon Head (60)		T. Bell
Bell, Mason T.	Landscape and Figures	D	The Artist
Blythe, David Gilmour (1815-1865)	Conestoga Wagon (25)		J. R. Kerr
	United States Treasury (33)		C. W. Batchelor
	Guilt and Innocence, (39) & (39-½)		No Owner
	The Schoolmaster (68)		J. Park, Jr.
	Democratic Convention (79)		J. Scott
	Auld Clay Biggin and Robt' Burns (99)		J. J. Harper
	Lincoln Writing his Eman' Proc'n (135)		J. Scott
	Southern Attack on Liberty (146)		No Owner
	Richmond Bastille (172)	S	The Artist
	The Olden Time (273)		No Owner
	Old Virginia Home (240)	D	The Artist
	Lawyer's Dream (269)	D	The Artist
Bott, Emil (1827-1908)	View of Beaver (50)		W. Thaw
	Landscape (57)		W. Thaw
	Alpine View (71)		J. Abel

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	Landscape (73)		W. Thaw
	Landscape (102)		W. Thaw
	Landscape (109)		W. Thaw
	Storm on the Ohio (124)		W. Thaw
Bonfield, George R.			
(1802-1898)	Marine (42)		G. B. White
	Nantasquam Beach, New Jersey (185)		J. Harper
Bowman, James			
(1793-1842)	Italian Boy (1)		Dr. Gazzam
	Portrait of Hon. James Ross (127)		E.D. Gazzam
	Portrait of Father M'Guire (253)		Mrs McCullough
Boyd, Mrs J. L.			
	Madonna (copy, 2)		Mrs. J. L. Boyd
	Fairy Tales (116)		No Owner
	A Copy from Blythe (233)	D	The Artist
	Head (236)	D	The Artist
Broome, John			
	Portrait (55)		No Owner
	Wounded Soldier (232)	D	The Artist
Brown, John George			
(1831-1913)	The Orange Girl (193)		C. Wolff
Buhler [?]	Sly-Boots, the Fools-Cap (76)		C. Wolff
Carson, Paul	Landscape (261)	D	The Artist
Chislett, J. Miss			
	Madonna (Copy after Guido, 225)		The Artist
	Madonna and Child (254)		No Owner
	Young Samuel (268)		The Artist
Cogswell, William			
(1819-1903)	School Boy (101		J. Park
	School Boy (108)		J. Park
Cole, Thomas			
(1801-1848)	Copies after the Voyage of Life(111), (112), (113), (114),		W. S. Haven

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Cowley, M. Miss			
	Landscape (139)		The Artist
	Landscape (241)	D	The Artist
Craig, Isaac Eugene			
(1830-?)	Evening Rest (120)		G. W. Hailman
	Sewing (copy) (140)		W. Bagaley
	Studious Child (145)		E. Tetedeux
Dalbey, C. L.	The Young Highlander (179)		The Artist
	General Grant (228)	D	The Artist
De Haas, J.	Young Bulls (156)		C. F. Spang
Forester [?]	Grecian Head (56)		C. W. Batchelor
	Shipwreck (235(	D	The Artist
Francis, John F.			
(1808-1886)	Dessert (31)		W. Bagaley
	Fruit (51)		W. Bagaley
	Still Life (54)		W. Bagaley
	Apples (216)		W. Bagaley
Hamilton, James			
(1819-1878)	Sunset (95)		C. H. Wolff
	Marine (Moonlight) (107)		C. H. Wolff
Hamlin, A.	Cats (61)		W. Bagaley
	Rabbits (62)		W. Bagaley
Harper, John	Portrait of Stephen A. Douglas		John Harper
Hetzel, George			
(1826-1899)	Strawberries (21)		T. Bell
	Game (Ducks) (28)		W. Darlington
	Game (43)		W. Bissell
	Landscape (72)		Florence Kramer
	Landscape (82)		W. Thaw
	Landscape (87)		W. Darlington
	Landscape (93)		G. W. Hailman
	Landscape (100)		C. H. Wolff
	Dead Game (103)		F. Brunot
	Slippery Rock Creek (122)		W. Bagaley
	Dead Game (136)		J. Scott
	Landscape (142)		T. Bell
	Landscape (173)		G. Anderson
	Dead Game (174)		W. Thaw
	Trout (182)		Mr. Brook
	Spring (187)		T. Bell

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	Landscape (203)		T. Bakewell Jr.
	Game Piece (204)		G. W. Hailman
	Fruit (207)		G. W. Hailman
	Washington Crossing the Delaware after Leutze (209)		G. W. Hailman
	Landscape (221)		T. Bell
	Fruit (278)		G. R. White
	Dead Game (279)		Mr. Book
	Kittanning Point (231)	D	The Artist
Holmes, J. K.	Old Farm House (256)	D	The Artist
	Setter and Snipe (258)	D	The Artist
	Landscape (259)	D	The Artist
Johns, Clarence M.			
	Friend in Adversity (77)		The Artist
	The Post-man (234)	D	The Artist
Johnston [?]	Landscape (96)		T. Bell
	Summer (130)		T. Bell
Lambdin, George Cochran (1830-1896)	The Sisters (20)		R. T. Kennedy
	Spring Time (131)		W. Thaw
	Blowing Bubbles (218)		C. H. Wolff
Lawman, Jasper (1825-1906)	Light and Shadow (copy) (3)		Florence Kramer
	Landscape (11)		The Artist
	Landscape (94)		W. Bagaley
	Pet lamb (copied by Lawman) (214)		Dr. Wilson
	At the Spring (copy) (275)		No Owner
	Col. Clarke (230)		Wall and Lawman
McEntee, Jervis (1828-1891)	Autumn (9)		C. H. Wolff
McClurg, Trevor (1816-1893)	Lady Reading (22)		The Artist
	Music, Painting, Poetry (66)		W. Bissell
	Tintoretto and his Daughter (183)		W. Bissell
	The Falconer (copy from Couture) (199)		Mellor
	Paul and Virginia (copy after Muller) (208)		W. Thaw
	Pioneer's Defense (220)		G. W. Hailman
	The Offering (229)	D	

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Meadows [?]	Landscape (90)		W. Day
Oertel, Johannes Adam Simon (1823-1909)	The Farmer's Return (148)		C. Wolff
Parker	Burns and his Highland Mary (91)		E. D. Gazzam
Peale [?]	General R. Knox of the Revolution (29)		
	Mrs. General Knox (32)		
Pears, Thomas C.	Landscape (255)	D	The Artist
Roberts, Joseph	Fruit (24)		W. Bagaley
	Dead Game (280)		W. Bagaley
Rossitter, C.	Too Hot (13)		Mr. Wolff
Rothermel, Peter Frederick (1817-1895)	Francis I Parting from His Children as hostages to Charles V (195)		C. F. Spang
Scaife, Emma B.	View on the Ohio (277)		No Owner
Sheriff, Miss	General Grant (270)	D	The Artist
	General Hays (271)	D	The Artist
Shinn, M. Miss	Landscape (242)	D	The Artist
Smith, Russell (1812-1896)	View on the Wissihickon (129)		W. Bissell
Sully, Thomas (1783-1872)	Portrait of Richard Biddle (26)		Wilkins
	Red Riding Hood (211)		C. Wolff
Tait, Arthur Fitzwilliam (1819-1905)	Pic Nic (149)		C. Wolff
Urban, F.	Flowers (47)		Dr. Wilson
Van Starkenburg [?]	The Ferry Boat (189)		T. Bell

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Wall, Alfred (1809-1896)	Landscape (7)		Mrs. Laughlin
	Landscape (17)		T. Bell
	Fawns (106)		T. Bell
	Winter evening (276)		No Owner
	Sketch After Nature (267)		D
Wall, William Coventry (1810-1886)	Landscape (4)		Thompson Bell
	Landscape (15)		Charles Knap
	Landscape (30)		C.H. Paulson
	Landscape (38)		C. H. Paulson
	Scene on the Susquehanna (45)		Moorhead
	View of the Monongahela (58)		Moorhead
	Landscape Autumn (134)		T. Bell
	Allegheny Mountains (137)		No Owner
	Pack Saddle Gap (201)		C. Knapp
	Landscape (238)	D	The Artist
Wall [?] & Jasper Lawman	Colonel Clarke (230)	D	The Artists
Waugh	Faith (175)		Yeager
Webb,	Dice on the Drum Head (151)		C. F. Spang
Weber, Paul	Lake Interlachen (138)		W. Thaw
	Landscape on Juniata (200)		T. Bell
Williams, Miss	General Banks (227)	D	The Artist

Drawings and Watercolors

Hardy, J.	The Shooting Season (244)		C. Wolff
Johns, Clarence M	Jubal (243)		No Owner
	David (251)		No Owner
Newel, H.	Lake Como (248)	D	
	Lake Maggiore (249)	D	
Parker	Sully's Three Daughters (245)		
Pearson, C.	Landscape, Porterscale Bridge (246)		
Sean, Edmond D.	Landscape, Rustic Bridge (252)		No Owner

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American Sculpture

Powers, Hiram D. (1805-1873)	Bust of Benjamin Franklin	J. Patterson

Rogers, John (1829-1904)	Union Refugees (1)	
	Country Post Office (2)	
	Returned Volunteer (3)	
	Wounded Scout (4)	
	Mail Day (5)	
	Picket Guard (6)	
	Slave Auction (7)	
	Town Pump (8)	
	Camp Fire (9)	
	Checker Players (10)	
	Sharp Shooters (11)	
	Card Players (12)	
	Village Schoolmaster (13)	

Anonymous Paintings

View in Rome (5)	Dunlap
Aurora and the Hours (14)	Dunlap
Madonna (copy from Murillo, 34)	Dunlap
Still Life (35)	E. D. Gazzam
View on Lake Briens (36)	Bruce
The Return (Flemish Picture, 40)	E. D. Gazzam
Swiss Village (46)	Mrs. A. Patrick
Madonna (59)	W. Bissell
Flowers (64)	W. Bissell
Flowers (65)	W. Bissell
Marine (65)	W. Bagaley
Landscape (copy, 74)	T. W. Day
Landscape (copy, 75)	T. W. Day
Fruit (104)	E. D. Gazzam
The Carnival at Rome (110)	G. W. Hailman
Voyage of Life (after Cole)	W. S. Haven
Landscape with Cattle (117)	Mr. Purviance
Landscape with Cattle (117)	Mr. Purviance
Still Life, Fish (118)	R. T. Kennedy
Hope (after Guido, 119)	
Turks (121)	G. W. Hailman
The Singing School after Correggio (123)	Wilson
Madonna after Murillo (125)	Bruce

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Dead Game (126)	R. T. Kennedy
Marine Sunset after Vernet (128)	G. W. Hailman
Night School (133)	G. W. Hailman
The Prodigal's Return (141)	G. W. Hailman
Travellers after Overran (143)	F. Brunot
Death of Lucretia (144)	
Landscape with Cattle (147)	
Head after Murillo (176)	J. Harper
The Chocolate Girl (copy, 178)	Mr. Rahm
Old Acquaintance (192)	C. Wolff
Landscape (237)	Bishop Bowman Institute
Old Portrait, 130 Years Old (239)	Craft
Washington and his Mother (255)	Mr. Young
Wounded Soldier (257)	D
Missing (260)	D
Six Engravings, Trout (262)	D
Reading Music (263)	D
Hope after Guido (264)	D
Fancy Head (271 ½)	D

European Paintings

Achenbach, O.	Landscape (164)	C. F. Spang
Brandt, O.	The Roman Third Story (165)	C. F. Spang
Col David	Coquetting (196)	C. F. Spang
Corbens, J.	The Jealous Wife (198)	C. F. Spang
Coriez, T.	The Feret (188)	T. Bell
Debrackeleer	Who Wins (162)	C. F. Spang
Eschke	Elizabeth Castle (84)	W. Darlington
Hoeffler	Wood Scene near Paris (202)	C. Wolff
Gabe	Forest of Fontainebleau (81)	F. Kramer
Gerard	The Lazy Girl (150)	C. F. Spang
Herzog, Herman	Norwegian Ford (160)	C. F. Spang
Hoff, C.	Don't Know His Lessons (152)	C. F. Spang

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Hunton, E.	Videttes Asking Information (155)	C. F. Spang
Huguet, Victor	Caravan in the Dessert (168)	C. F. Spang
Hunzinger	Winter Scene (85)	W. Darlington
Kneabel, F.	The Coliseum at Rome (180)	G. W. Hailman
Kuwassy	Coast Scene (206)	C. Wolff
Lacrox	Fruit (97)	W. Bagaley
Lange	Winter (83)	W. Darlington
Leickert, C. H.	Winter in Holland (205)	C. Wolff
Maes, Dirk	A Street in Amsterdam (37)	Wilkins
Masson, Benedict	The Pet Lamb (153)	J. Harper
Moehey, H.	The Toilet (213)	C. Wolff
Peganni	Beauty of Albano (219)	J. Harper
Planthner, E.	The Pets (163)	C. F. Spang
Robitzer	Apples (86)	E. Lappe
	Strawberries (88)	E. Lappe
Sassaferato	Head (70)	W. Bissell
Schlosser	Old Batchelor Threading a Needle (161)	C. F. Spang
Scholtz	Mother and Child (224)	C. Wolff
Seefisch, H. J.	Landscape (19)	W. Thaw
	Landscape, Switzerland (67)	W. Thaw
Seel, E.	The Vidette (166)	J. Harper
	Huguenot Scouts (212)	J. Harper
Seigert, A.	The Young Student (169)	C. F. Spang

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Sinkel	Annie the Prophetess & Little Mary (159)	C. F. Spang
Stammel	After a Jolly Night (154)	C. F. Spang
	Landscape, Switzerland (67)	W. Thaw
Snyders	Dogs and Cats (69)	Wilkins
Steffeck	Fox (226)	W. Darlington
Sureau	Chickens (223)	J. Harper
Teniers	The Smokers (53)	Bruce
Toussaint, Louis		
	The Antiquary (170)	J. Harper
Verbockhoven, J.		
	Cattle Piece (158)	C. F. Spang
	Sheep and Donkey (167)	C. F. Spang
Verheyden	The Conspiracy (197)	C. F. Spanf
Veyrassut	Landscape with Horses (6)	T. Bell
Virdort	Still Life (98)	W. Wilkins
Wagner	The Singing School (184)	C. Wolff
Wauters, C.	Flower Girl (18)	C. Wolff
Webb	Dice on the Drum Head (151)	C. F. Spang
Willems, J.	Still Life (157)	C.F. Spang
Wouverman	Louis XIV and Marshal Turenne (27)	Wilkins

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Yonkers Sanitary Fair, Yonkers, NY, 15-20 February 1864.

Catalogue of Paintings, on Exhibition in National Guard Armory. Yonkers, NY: Henry Spear, 1864.

(The single copy of this catalogue in the collection of the Archives of American Art is a poor copy and large portions of it are illegible).

American Paintings

Andrews, Ambrose	Near Rochester (92)	G. F. S. Arnold
Baker, George Augustus Jr. (1821-1880)	Portrait (171)	G. H. Lilenthal [?]
Beard, William Holbrook (1825-1900)	White Fox (19)	The Artist
	Naughty Cub (102)	The Artist
Bierstadt, Albert (1830-1902)	Landscape (65)	H. N. Camp
Brevoort, James Renwick (1832-1918)	Morning-Early Winter (122)	The Artist
	Early Morning (133)	E. C. Moore
	Twin Lake (165)	H. F. Brevoort
	After a Shower (166)	H. F. Brevoort
	Landscape (167)	H. F. Brevoort
Boughton, George Henry (1833-1905)	Winter (137)	E. C. Moore
	Winter (154)	W. Hart
Brown George Loring (1814-1889)	Coast of Italy (6)	J. Gibon
	Landscape (32)	H. W. Beecher
Burton, Mungo	The Relic (30)	J. B. James

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Cafferty, James (1819-1869)	Portrait of George Loden (157)	J. R. Tellah
Carter [?]	Early Recollection (77)	J. R. Whiting
Casilear, John William (1811-1893)	Way Side (22)	A. Jones
	Swiss … [?]	A. Jones
	Landscape (101)	E. D. Nelson
Cobb, Mrs. L.	Glenwood (143)	L. Cobb, Jr.
Colman, Samuel (1832-1920)	Landscape (120)	E. C. Moore
	Lake George (162)	J. Dunham
Cranch, Christopher Pearce (1813-1892)	View on the Housatonic(62)	F. A. Coe
Darley, Felix Octavius Carr (1822-1888)	Cornelis van Tienhoven and Prisoners (127)	E. S. Cozzens
	The Deck Fight (131)	A. Jones
	Rottissini (147)	F. S. Cozzens
De Haas, Maurice Frederick Hendrick (1832-1895)	Hay Sloops, East River (86)	E. C. Moore
	St. Brelades Bay, Isle of Jersey (99)	E. C. Moore
Duggan, Peter Paul (c. 1810-1861)	Felix Before Paul (119)	F. S. Cozzens
Dunlap, William (1766-1839)	George Frederick Cook as Hamlet (7)	C. Cleveland
Durand, Asher Brown (1796-1886)	Landscape (10)	H. N. Camp
	Landscape (20)	E. D. Nelson
	Fishkill Mountains (108)	F. A. Coe
Edmonds, Francis William (1806-1863)	Time to Go (135)	E. D. Nelson
Elliot, Charles Loring (1812-1868)	The Student (106)	E. S. Cozzens

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Gifford, Sanford Robinson (1823-1880)	Mt. Merino (13)	H. J. Moody
Gignoux, Regis François (1816-1882)	Sunset (126)	H. N. Camp
	Under the Trees (160)	E. C. Moore
Glass, James W. Jr. (1825-1857)	Wellington-His Last Portrait (116)	M. Knoedler
Hall, George Henry (1825-1913)	Head (75)	M. Knoedler
	Page (129)	E. C. Moore
Hart, James McDougal (1828-1901)	Study (21)	H. J. Moody
	Reverie (40)	E. C. Moore
	Hamilton Co.-Foggy morn9ing (125)	E. C. Moore
	Landscape (132)	H. N. Camp
Hart, William (1823-1894)	Mount Desert (5)	E. C. Moore
	The Coming Wave (44)	E. C. Moore
	Autumn (69)	The Artist
	Mount Desert (89)	The Artist
Hays, Edwin	Wreck of the Killarney (84)	S. Contes
	Cork Light House (85)	S. Contes
Hays, W. L.	Cat (48)	W. Hart
	Prairie Hens (83)	H. N. Camp
Hennessy, William John (1839-1917)	Sketch (128)	M. Knoedler
Hicks, J.	The Dead Artist (93)	F. S. Cozzens
Ingham William	Ready to Move (59)	J. R. Brevoort
Inman, John O'Brien (1828-1896)	Flowers (63)	M. Knoedler
Inness, George (1825-1894)	Twilight-Catskill (97)	Mrs. S. Cobb Jr.
Jarvis [?]	Sensitive Plant (98)	J. R. Whiting

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Johnson, David (1827-1908)	Head Waters, Catskill Lake (153)	F. C. Oakley
Johnson, Eastman (1824-1906)	Girl with Flowers (16)	E. C. Moore
	Card Players (18)	H. N. Camp
	Portrait of the Artist (58)	F. S. Cozzens
Kensett, John Frederick (1818-1872)	Mountain Cataract (17)	F. S. Cozzens
	Sea Coast (170)	The Artist
Lambdin, George Cochran (1830-1896)	Autumn Leaves (28)	H. J. Moody
	Alone (46)	H. J. Moody
	Head (57)	H. J. Moody
Lang, Louis (1814-1893)	Expectation (37)	F. S. Cozzens
	Rhymes in the Woods (55)	R. Hoe
	Mrs. Flanigan Thinking of Getting a New Place (168)	The Artist
	H. K. Brown and his Friends (169)	The Artist
Le Clear, Thomas (1818-1882)	Arabian Nights (87)	C. Cleveland
Martin, Paul	Acrobat Family (88)	W. Ackerman
McEntee, Jervis (1828-1891)	Winter (39)	The Artist
	November (73)	E. C. Moore
	October in the Catskills (142)	E. C. Moore
	Summer (156)	The Artist
Moran [?]	Landscape (13)	M. Knoedler
Mount, William Sidney (1807-1868)	Boy with Conch Shell (47)	J. R. Whiting
Oertel, Johannes Adam Simon (1823-1909)	Mother and Baby (110)	E. C. Moore
Peele, John Thomas (1822-1897)	Bud and Blossoms (61)	H. H. Wolcott

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Ranney, William Tylee		
(1813-1857)	Cattle (9)	
		J. R. [illegible]
Rondel, Frederick		
(1826-1892)	Landscape (82)	H. J. Moddy
	Landscape (148)	E. C. Moore
	Landscape (149)	E. C. Moore
Rossiter, Thomas Pritchard		
(1818-1871)	The Serenade (76)	E. S. Cozzens
Rothermel, Peter Frederick		
(1817-1895)	Mary Queen of Scots (26)	H. N. Camp
Sharpless [?]	George Washington-Originial Portrait in Crayon (134)	H. Bowres
Smillie, James David		
(1833-1909)	Landscape (64)	W. J. Terrell
	Landscape (95)	H. J. Moody
	Landscape (96)	H. J. Moody
Sonntag, William Louis		
(1822-1900)	In the Alleghenies (145)	E. C. Moore
Stuart, Jane	George Washington (3)	S. J. Jacobs
(1812-1888)	Martha Washington (4)	S. J. Jacobs
Sully, Thomas		
(1783-1872)	Stokepogis Church Yard (1)	S Contes
	Stokep[ogis Church Yard and Gray's Monument (2)	S. Contes
Tait, Arthur Fitzwilliam		
(1819-1905)	Cattle Piece (100)	H. N. Camp
	Young Quail (103)	E. C. Moore
	Young Grouse (104)	E. C. Moore
	Ducks (117)	H. J. Moody
	Ducks (118)	H. J. Moody
	Cattle Piece (123)	H. N. Camp
Thom, James Crawford		
(1835-1898)	Barnaby Rudge (24)	E. C. Moore
	Head (155)	E. C. Moore
Thompson, Jerome		
(1814-1886)	Miller's Return (23)	W. Bell
	Landscape (74)	W. Bell

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Tyler, George Washington (1805-1833)	Landscape (140)	H. J. Moody
Wagner, Maria L.	Flower Girl (138)	J. H. Morris
Ward, Edgar Melville (1839-1915)	Ross Castle-Lakes of Killarney (115)	W. Bell
	Irish Scenery (141)	W. Bell
Weir, Robert Walter (1803-1889)	Niagara Falls (15)	M. Knoedler
White, Edwin D. (1817-1877)	Sam (33)	E. C. Moore
Whittredge, Thomas Worthington (1820-1910)	Landscape (139)	E. C. Moore

Illegible Artists

F[?}	Coming from the Bath (41)	H. H. Wolcott

Anonymous

	Vesper Hymn (29)	E. Clapp
After Raphael	Violin Player (109)	E. B. Strange
	Magdalen (124)	E. Clapp
After Church	Our Banner in the Sky (144)	M. Knoedler
	Child Learning to Read (150)	H. N. Camp
	Sleeping Fisher Boy (151)	E. B. Strange
	Beatrice Cenci (158)	E. Clapp

European Paintings

Becker, C.	The Toilet (60)	E. C. Moore
Caracci	Madonna (31)	S. Contes
Chambdin, G.	Reading Party (50)	E. C. Moore
Compte Calix	Illustrations (Gil Blas)	H. E. Sneider
	Illustrations (Gil Blas)	H. E. Sneider
De Beul, L.	A Sheep Fold (45)	J. P. Beaumont
	Landscape with Cattle (91)	J. P. Beaumont

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Delisard	Sunrise (70)	H. J. Moody
	Sunset (70)	H. J. Moody
De Loos, B.	Tuning the Guitar (36)	J. P. Beaumont
	An Interior (56)	J. P. Brevoort
Deutschroeder [?]		
	William of Orange (38)	H. N. Camp
Ecole de Fabrique, Lyons		
	Humboldt (163)	G. S. Hawes
	Napoleon (164)	G. S. Hawes
Escher	Mount Saint Michael (49)	W. Ackerman
Hurlstone	Boys Playing (111)	J. Snedecor
Kohlman	Fruit (68)	B. F. Bunker
Le Cour [?]	Pastel (172)	C. H. Lalenthal
		Pastel (173)
	C. H. Lalenthal	
Lemmens, E.	Fowl (79)	E. C. Moore
Marable, C.	Head of the Virgin (67)	F. S. Cozzens
Marsillian	Young Sultan (136)	J. R. Telfair
Mazzolini	Linda di Chamois (8)	E. B. Strange
	Peasant of Albano (54)	E. B. Strange
Meadows	English Landscape (25)	H. H. Wolcott
Meyerheim, W.	Wood Chopper (90)	E. C. Moore
Michaels, Max	Artist's Studio (27)	M. Knoedler
Miller [?]	Fruit (81)	M. Knoedler
Moreland, G.	English Farm Scene (14)	H. H. Wolcott
Patrois	The Prayer (72)	A. Jones
Potter	Landscape (105)	M. Knoedler
Robb	Cattle Piece (53)	H. N. Camp

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Rolfe	Fish (107)	H. J. Moody
	Salmon and Trout (130)	H. H. Wolcott
Schwartz	Babes in the Woods (34)	F. A. Coe
Vallence	The Combat (94)	T. Gray
Van Hamme, A.	Lady with Parrot (121)	J. P. Beaumont
Van Marcke. E.	Cattle (114)	E. C. Moore
Verhoeven	Poultry Seller (146)	J. P. Beaumont
Vickers, A. H.		
	Landscape (112)	H. H. Wolcott
	Landscape (113)	H. H. Wolcott
Webb, A.	Herring Fishing, British Channel (80)	
Weiman, H.	Snow Scene (78)	J. B. James
Willems, F.	The Good Mother (12)	J. P. Beaumont
Wyderveld	Fruit (35)	M. Knoedler

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United States Christian Commission Fair, Philadelphia, June 1864.

Catalogue of the Exhibition of a Private Collection of Works of Art, for the Benefit of the United States Christian Commission, Held at the Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Sherman & Co., 1864.

Also on exhibition were 39 engravings by American and European artists that are not listed in the following.

American Paintings

Bensel, George Frederick (1837-1879)	Hubert and Arthur (169)
Bingham, George Caleb (1811-1879)	Cows in Stable (142)
Birch, Thomas (1779-1851)	On the Delaware (150) Land's End Lighthouse (158) Off Portsmouth (191)
Bispham, Henry Collins (1841-?)	The Phrenologist (149)
Blanchard, T.	The Idle Fisherman (67)
Bonfield, George R. (1802-1898)	Going Out To Sea (79) Coast of Maine (123) Narragansett Bay (160)
Brooke, E.	The Truant (185)
Brooke, T.	Children at Play (115)

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Brown, George Loring
(1814-1889) Moonlight on the Mediterranean Coast (121)
"As the Old Cock Crows Young ones Learn" (197)

Casilear, John William
(1811-1893) In The White Mountains (68)
The Coming Storm (72)
Moonlight (91)
Lake George (152)

Church, Frederic Edwin
(1826-1900) On the Connecticut (59)
The Old Mill (65)

Cropsey, Jasper Francis
(1823-1900) Return from Hawking (162)
Twilight in the Adirondacks (187)

Danby, J. Castle of Chillon (45)

Durand, Asher Brown
(1796-1886) In the White Mountains (19)
Summer-time (78)

Eddis, E. U. The Bird's Nest (62)

Edmonds, Francis William
(1806-1863) A Dance in the Kitchen (128)

Gennison Interior of Church at Liege (33)

Gifford, S. R.
(1823-1880) Autumn in the Catskills (184)

Gignoux, Regis François
(1816-1882) The First Snow (194)

Hall, George Henry
(1825-1913) Tea Rose (73)
Flowers (118)
Basket of Flowers (126)

Hamilton, James
(1819-1878) Wreck on Coast (15)
On the Thames (90)

Haseltine, William Stanley
(1835-1900) Near Mount Desert (134)

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Hays, William Jacob Sr.
(1830-1875) Mule Deer and Fawn (16)
Fallow Deer (18)

Holland, John Joseph
(c. 1776-1820) Gipsy Camp (66)

Inness, George
(1825-1894) Noontime (190)

Johnson, Eastman
(1824-1906) A Drop on the Sly (178)

Jordan, Professor
Nemesis (138)

Jutsum, Henry The Ford (103)

Kubler Robin (4)
Meadow Lark (5)
Snipe (6)
Blackbird (7)
Swamp Robin (8)
King-Bird (9)

Lang, Louis
(1814-1893) Rhymes in the Wood (49)

Leutze, Emanuel
(1816-1868) A Cromwelian Trooper (61)

Lewis, Edmund Darch
(1835-1910) Monument Mountains, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.
The Cottage of James, the Novelist (145)

Mason, William Sanford
(1824-1864) The Rustic Bridge (64)

May, Edward Harrison
(1824-1887) Lade Jane Grey, Presenting her Tablets to the Constable of the Tower, as She Goes to Execution (47)

McEntee, Jervis
(1828-1891) Autumn Haze (180)

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