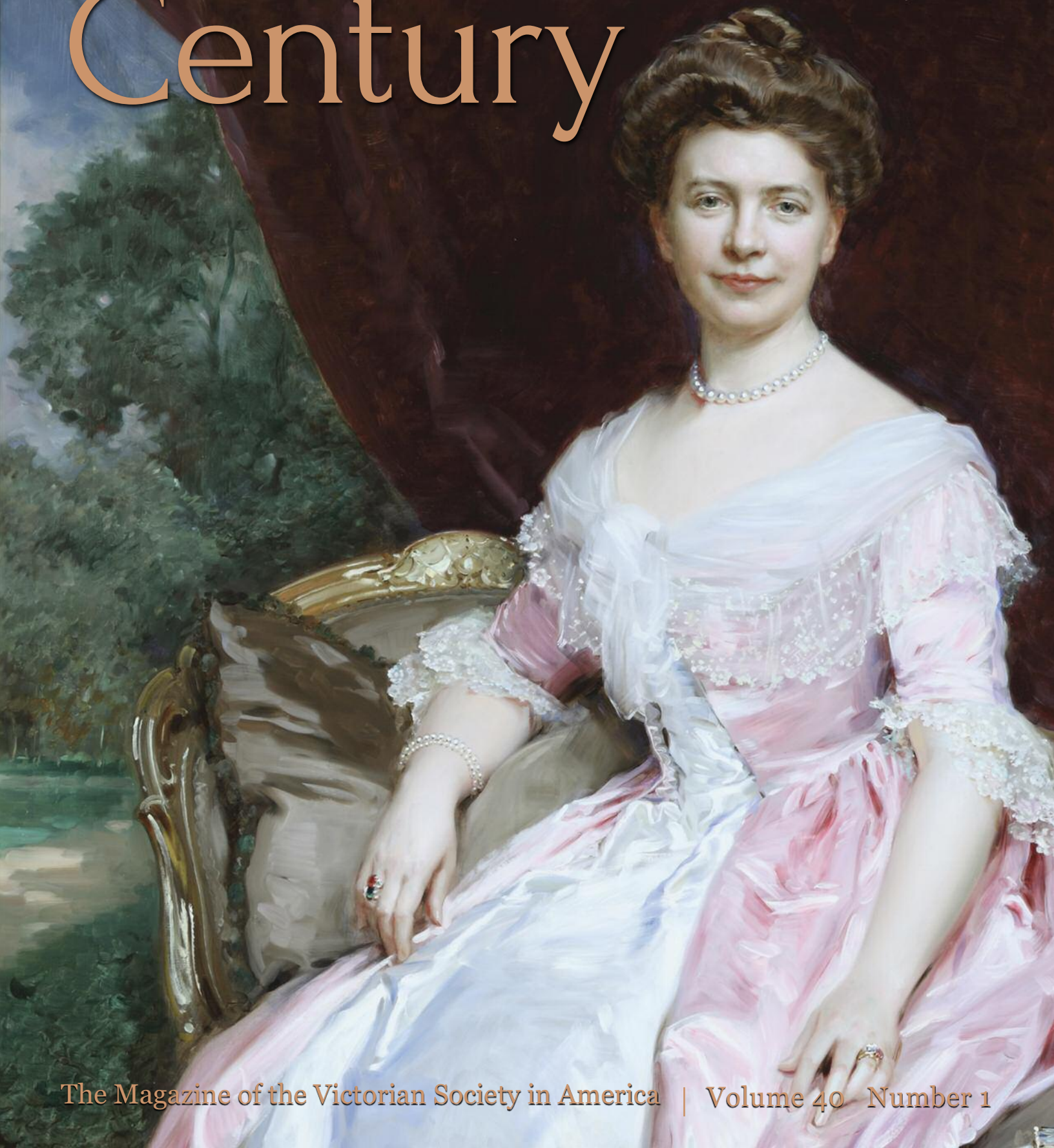


Nineteenth Century



The Magazine of the Victorian Society in America | Volume 40 Number 1

Editorial

The Artist's Shadow

The Winter Show at the Park Avenue Armory in New York City is always a feast for the eyes. Dazzling works of art, decorative arts, and sculpture appear that we might never see again.

During a tour of this pop-up museum in January I paused at the booth of the Alexander Gallery where a painting caught my eye. It was an 1812 portrait of two endearing native-New Yorkers Schuyler Ogden and his sister, the grand-nephew and grand-niece of General Stephen Van Rensselaer.

I am always sure that exhibitors at such shows can distinguish the buyers from the voyeurs in a few seconds but that did not prevent the gallery owner from engaging with me in a lively conversation about *Fresh Raspberries*. It was clear he had considerable affection for the piece. Were I a buyer, I would have very happily

bought this little confection then and there. The boy, with his plate of fresh picked berries, reminds me of myself at that very age. These are not something purchased at a market. These are berries he and his sister have freshly picked just as they were when my sisters and I used to bring bowls of raspberries back to our grandmother from her berry patch, which she would then make into jam. I have no doubt Master Ogden and his beribboned sister are on their way to present their harvest to welcoming hands.



As I walked away, I turned one last time to bid them adieu and that is when I saw its painter, George Harvey. Or rather, his shadow.

Do you see it now? The artist's shadow in the left foreground? It can be none other to whom Master Schuyler directs his gaze. I have never seen a painter put their shadow in a work and yet, why not, for surely if the painter was standing in that foyer on that bright day, so was his shadow.

If I was smitten before I was dumbstruck now. The gallery owner smiled as he watched me take this in. I asked him if that was what I thought it was. He said yes, that was indeed the painter's shadow in the foreground and allowed as how very few viewers notice it.

Each of the pieces in *Nineteenth Century* is the work of an author you do not see. But, in honor of their shadows, we have asked each for a longer bio. We honor them and have made their shadows bigger.

Warren Ashworth

Nineteenth Century

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Editor

Warren Ashworth

Consulting Editor

William Ayres

Book Review Editor

Karen Zukowski

Managing Editor / Graphic Designer

Wendy Midgett

Printed by Official Offset Corp.
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Committee on Publications

Chair

Warren Ashworth

Dennis Andersen
William Ayres
Anne-Taylor Cahill
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Sally Buchanan Kinsey
Michael J. Lewis
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Jaclyn Spainhour
Karen Zukowski

*For information on The Victorian
Society in America, contact the
national office:*

24 Wilkins Avenue
Haddonfield, NJ 08033
(856) 216-8124
Fax (856) 216-8125
info@victoriansociety.org
www.victoriansociety.org



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Raimundo de Madrazo
(1841-1920), *Portrait
of Mrs. Irene M.
Peacock*, (detail) 1902.
Oil on canvas. Frick Art
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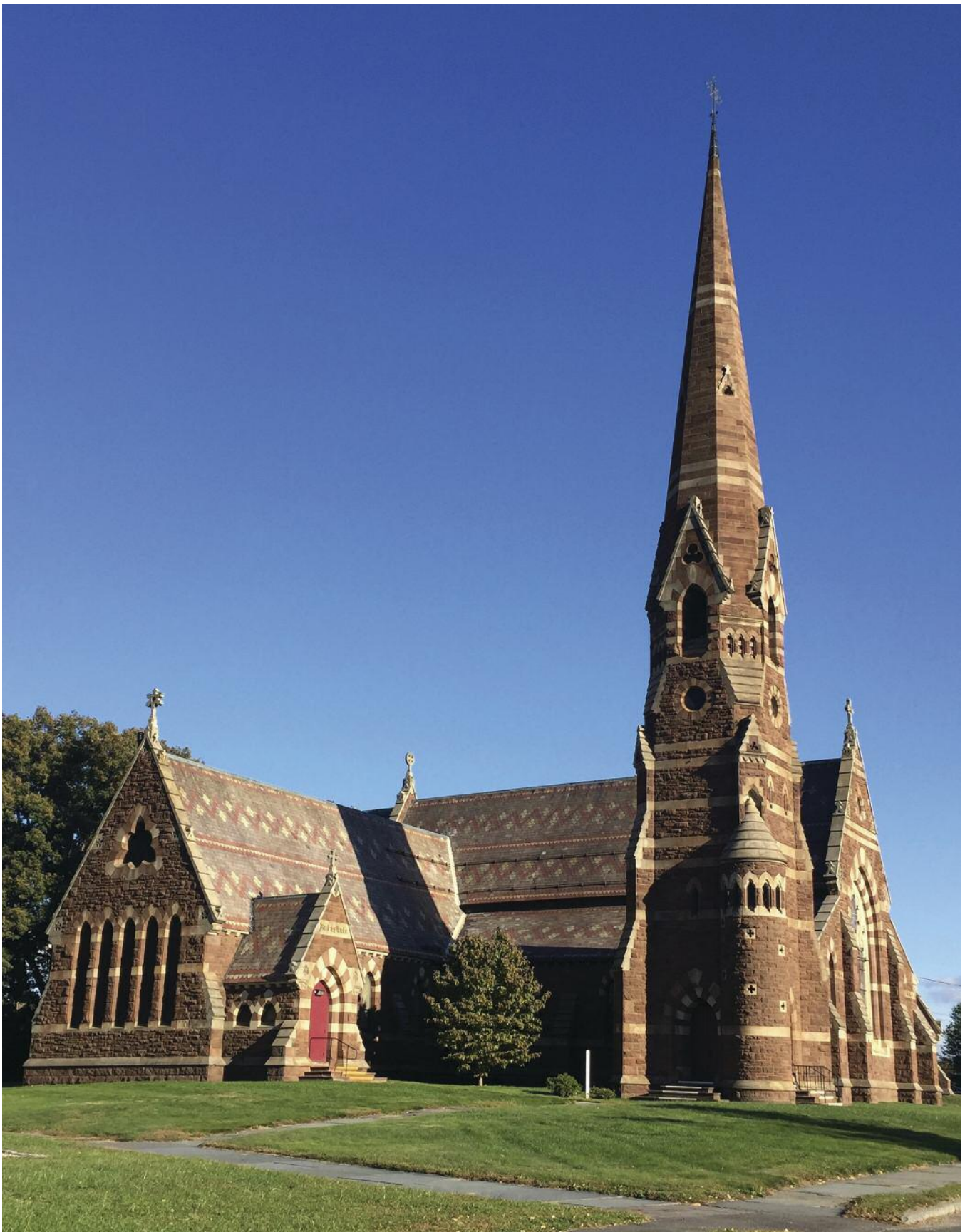
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Eve Kahn
Karen Zukowski*

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HIS GARDEN
Anne-Taylor Cahill

THANK YOU TO OUR PEER REVIEWERS

Nineteenth Century would like to acknowledge our peer reviewers. We at the editorial board are, as always, deeply grateful to this group of anonymous scholars who review all our author submissions for accuracy of content and application of up-to-date methods of research and scholarship.



Church of the Good Shepherd, Hartford, Connecticut, 1866-1869. Edward Tuckerman Potter, architect. Photograph by author.

Memory, Materiality, and Meaning:

HARTFORD'S CHURCH OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD

David W. Granston III

On August 24, 1905, the *Hartford Courant* devoted valuable front page space to cover the death of Elizabeth H. Colt, the widow of Hartford's famed gunmaker, Colonel Samuel Colt. Accompanying a photograph of Mrs. Colt, who passed away the previous day at age 79, the *Courant's* obituary traced her genealogy, her munificence in Hartford, and included eight tributes written by friends. In the final section, under the heading of "First Lady in the State," Elizabeth Colt's life and legacy was most succinctly summarized:

Mrs. Colt was democratic and dignified. She had a strong social nature and liked to be surrounded by her friends. To her was accorded the honor of being the first lady of the state. For many years she was the leader of society in this city...What stood out most prominent in the life of Mrs. Colt was the affection with which she treasured the memories of her husband and her son.¹

But Mrs. Colt's losses extended beyond the deaths of her husband and son. Between December, 1858 and January, 1862, Elizabeth H. Colt (1826-1905) suffered the losses of three young children, in addition to her husband. Widowed at age thirty-five, she was left with just one son, Caldwell, who ultimately predeceased his mother by eleven years. Following the deaths of Samuel Colt and her young children, and after Caldwell's death decades later, Elizabeth turned to material objects to preserve the memories and legacies of her deceased family members. At Armsmear, her grand Hartford home, Mrs. Colt cherished mementoes, souvenirs, and relics that reminded her of her loved ones. Viewing objects as devices capable of preserving the memories of her husband and children, she converted Armsmear's large ballroom into a "picture gallery and repository of arms, family portraits, memoranda, and scrapbooks of personal history" in the 1860s.² Beyond these private memorials, Elizabeth constructed public monuments, ensuring that her husband and young children would not be forgotten by the citizens of Hartford. Among the most conspicuous of these was the Church of the Good Shepherd, built between 1866 and 1869.³

Born into a family with strong connections to the Episcopal church, Elizabeth Colt was devoted to her faith. Her father, Reverend William Jarvis, served parishes in East Haddam, Hebron, and Portland, Connecticut, and her great uncle, Abraham Jarvis, was among those involved in establishing the Episcopal Church in America, and later served as the second Episcopal bishop of Connecticut.⁴ As she planned her first public monument, Elizabeth envisioned a new church given to "the glory of the Blessed and Undivided Trinity, and in memory

of a husband and children deceased," one article asserted as construction began.⁵ In the Church of the Good Shepherd, Elizabeth Colt drew from location, design, materials, and use to create a structure that memorialized her husband, Samuel Colt, and their three deceased children, Samuel, Elizabeth, and Henrietta.



Charles Loring Elliott (1812-1868), *Mrs. Elizabeth Hart Jarvis Colt and Son Caldwell*, 1865. Oil on canvas, 84" x 66". Wadsworth Atheneum Museum of Art, The Elizabeth Hart Jarvis Colt Collection, Hartford, Connecticut.

Interested in all elements of the new church, Mrs. Colt was actively involved in the selection of a building site. Writing to a relative in the spring of 1867, Elizabeth's father, Reverend William Jarvis, noted his daughter's recent cold and blamed the illness on time spent in inclement weather determining the ideal location for the church she planned to build.⁶ Constructed on Colt property in Hartford's South Meadows, the Church of



Armsmear, Hartford, Connecticut, c. 1907. Octavius Jordan, architect. Detroit Publishing Company. Courtesy Library of Congress.



Grounds of Armsmear, 1869. R. S. De Lamater, photographer. Courtesy New York Public Library.

the Good Shepherd stood out against the industrial buildings of the nearby Colt Armory complex. But this location was carefully chosen by Elizabeth Colt, and situated the building within a landscape created by her late husband. Not far from Armsmear, and close to the Colt Armory, the Church of the Good Shepherd was carefully sited between two buildings integrally connected with the legacy of Samuel Colt.⁷

Designed by Scottish-born architect Octavius Jordan, Armsmear, the Colt family home, was constructed between 1855 and 1858.⁸ The immense Italianate structure, with its expansive gardens, orchards, greenhouses, and a deer park, was widely viewed as material evidence of Samuel Colt's devotion to his family. In the 1866 biography of Colt, a project overseen by his widow, Henry Barnard wrote that Samuel:

...began, though a bachelor, to build him[self] a house, and improve his grounds. When he became a family-man, and children were born to him, his cares for domestic surroundings increased tenfold. Indeed, he was never so active at adorning the paradise of his home as when surprised by death.⁹

Not far from the site selected for the new church, the Colt Armory was the center of Colt's gun-making operations. The original brownstone factory, with its blue onion dome, was completed in 1855 and figured prominently in the marketing and identity of Colt's Patent Fire Arms Manufacturing



The reconstructed Colt Fire Arms Manufacturing Company, c. 1900. Detroit Publishing Company. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Company. Following Samuel Colt's death, the armory complex was widely viewed as a tangible component of his legacy. It was, one article claimed,

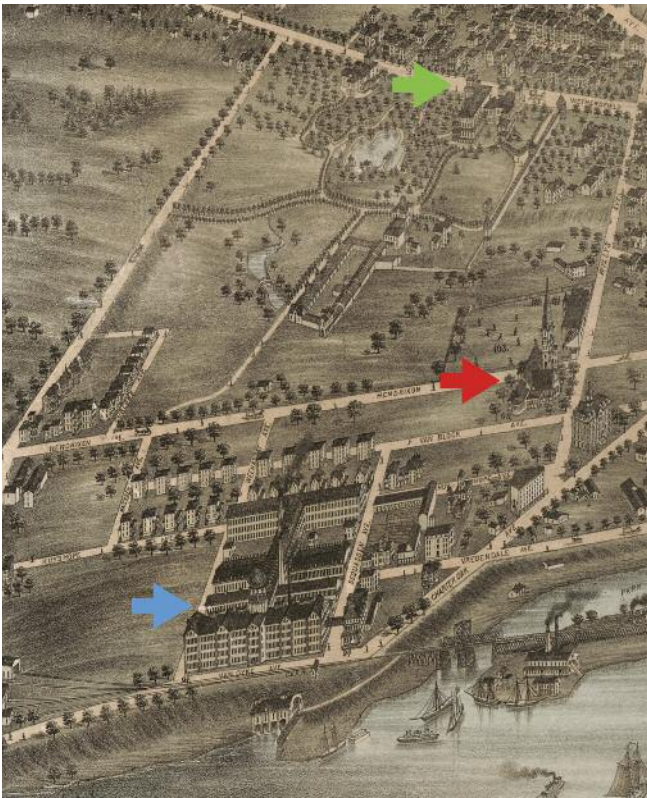
the monument to his [Samuel Colt's] extraordinary genius; the witness to what can be achieved by the strong will, earnest purpose, clear judgement, and persevering decision of a single man.¹⁰

Destroyed by fire in 1864, the loss of the original armory was a calamitous event for Elizabeth Colt and her family. Writing to her sister a day after the fire, Elizabeth described the destruction of the building in detail, as well as its effect on her personally: "It seems as if another link between him + us was broken," she lamented.¹¹

Almost immediately, the decision was made to rebuild the destroyed structure. Having lost her husband, several of her children, and now the Colt Armory, Elizabeth's decision to support the rebuilding illustrated not only her confidence in the company, but also her dedication to the workers employed there, her desire to uphold the reputation of the Colt name, and her devotion to her husband and his legacy. Using fire insurance purchased after the death of Samuel Colt, the reconstructed armory, upon its completion, had much in common with the original structure, but made use of brick as a primary building material and included an additional story.¹² There, in the reconstructed building, beneath a new blue onion



The original Colt Fire Arms Manufacturing Company, after it was destroyed by fire, February 1864. Courtesy Connecticut State Library.



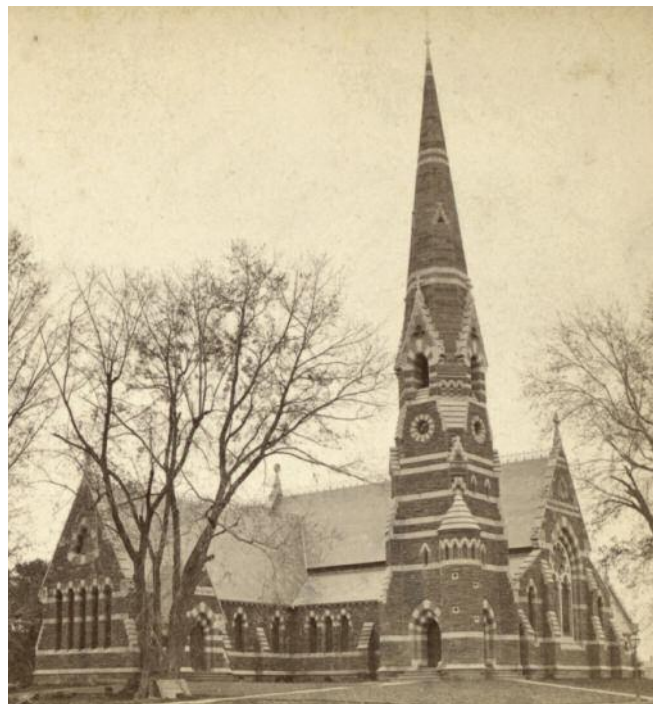
Above: *The City of Hartford* (detail), O. H. Bailey & Co., 1877. Courtesy Library of Congress. Armsmear is marked by a green arrow, the Colt Armory is marked by a blue arrow, and the Church of the Good Shepherd is marked by a red arrow to the right of center.



dome, hundreds of employees made the firearms bearing Samuel Colt's name. Located within a landscape of memory, between the house her husband constructed, and the armory that led to his fame, Elizabeth drew from the established associations between these structures and her late husband as she created a church that would further memorialize him.

Similar to her involvement selecting a site, Elizabeth took an active interest in the design process. In the summer of 1865, she traveled around New Jersey and Connecticut, examining churches that could serve as potential models for the building she envisioned. By the summer of 1866 the New York firm of Vaux, Withers & Co. presented Mrs. Colt with a complete set of drawings for a church to be called the Church of the Holy Innocents.¹³ These drawings, for a Gothic Revival structure with seating for nearly four-hundred parishioners, and space for a Sunday School room, made clear Elizabeth's drive to create an impressive monument to her deceased family members. Describing the proposed church in 1873, Frederick Withers recalled:

This building was designed to be erected in an eastern city, as a memorial church, the north transept being set apart especially for that purpose, the tower occupying the center of it, with a private entrance from the west, and a small chapel on the east, in which it was intended to place the monument to the deceased.¹⁴



Top to bottom: *Church of the Holy Innocents*, 1866. Vaux, Withers & Co., architects. Courtesy Morris Library, University of Delaware; *Church of the Good Shepherd*, c. 1870. Edward Tuckerman Potter, architect. R. S. De Lamater, photographer. New York Public Library Digital Collections.

Despite having engaged an architectural firm known for its impressive churches, Mrs. Colt was apparently unsatisfied with the proposed building. Though she purchased and saved the drawings, the staid design, described by *The Ecclesiologist* as resembling “an average specimen of an English church of fifteen years ago,” failed to capture Elizabeth’s interest.¹⁵

Instead Mrs. Colt accepted a design presented by Edward Tuckerman Potter later in 1866, and construction of the church, renamed the Church of the Good Shepherd, began the next year. Unlike Withers, who was English by birth, Edward Tuckerman Potter was an American, a graduate of Union College, and honed his skills in the office of Richard Upjohn. Potter seems to have learned much about church architecture from his mentor, who designed many religious buildings, and by the time he was engaged by Mrs. Colt, Potter’s own architectural oeuvre included nearly twenty different ecclesiastical commissions.¹⁶ While the form of the church Potter proposed was not entirely dissimilar from that suggested by Vaux, Withers & Co., the decorations and details of the Church of the Good Shepherd made it entirely unique. While Vaux, Withers & Co. proposed a church ornamented with expected religious symbols including crosses, carved doves, Gothic arches and windows, and a cock weathervane, Edward Tuckerman Potter included Colt-specific elements within the carved decorations of the church, which was completed in 1869.¹⁷

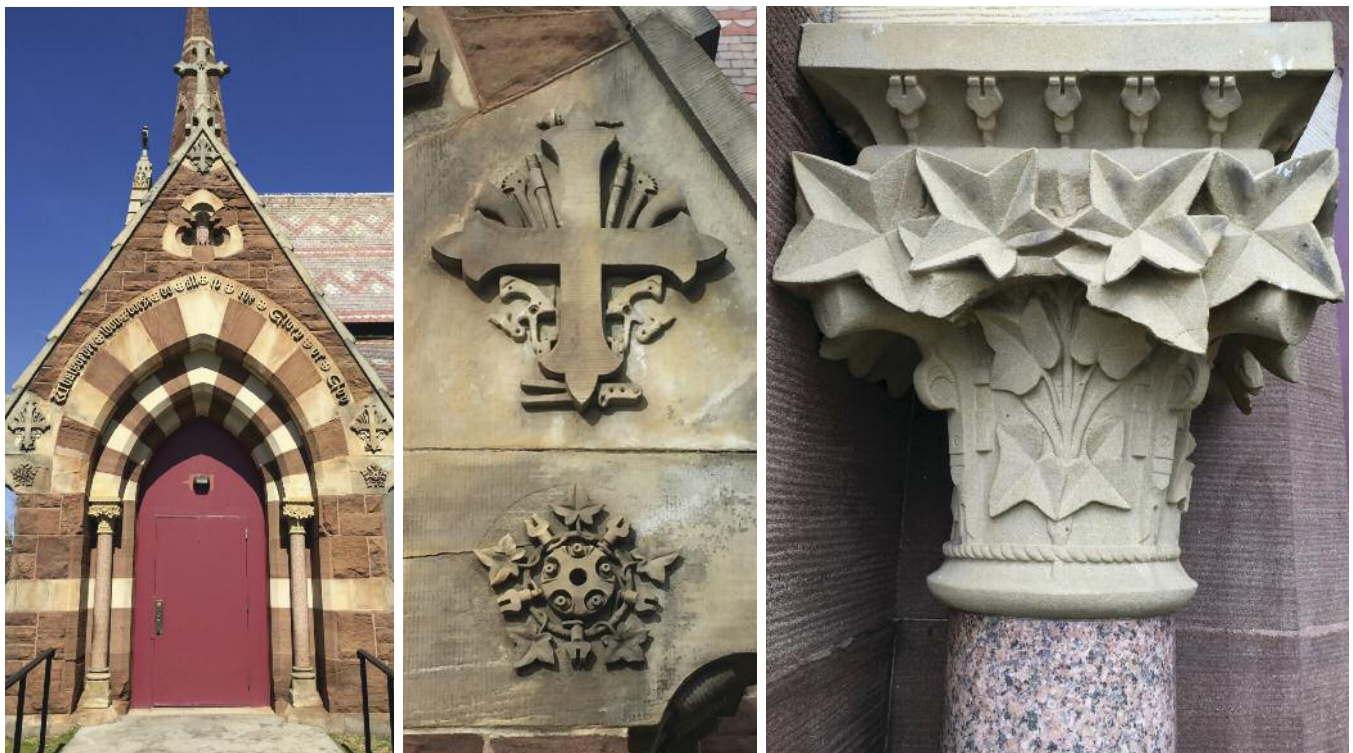
Among the most evident were those included on the Armorer’s Porch, the church’s primary entrance. Facing the Colt Armory, Potter designed an entry flanked by columns,

crosses, and rosettes, all surmounted by a quote from I Corinthians. Though it initially appears to have much in common with other examples of postbellum church architecture, closer inspection reveals several surprising features. Surrounding the crosses, tools of the gun-making industry, as well as bullet molds and disassembled guns, referenced the products made nearby. What, from a distance, appear to be rosettes are actually revolver chambers, and tucked into the foliage of the column capitals, downward-turned guns supplant the expected vegetal elements. Carved alongside sacred symbols, these secular components referenced the work taking place in the Colt Armory, created a definite connection between the church’s design and the gun-making legacy of Samuel Colt, and reflected the creativity of both the architect and his patron.

While the choice of design and location for the Church of the Good Shepherd created direct associations with Colonel Colt, so too did the materials used in its construction. Built primarily of Portland brownstone, the stones used for the exterior walls further connected the new structure with Samuel Colt. As an article in *The Churchman* noted soon after the building’s consecration,

Very significantly have the stones of the former Armoury [sic] that was destroyed by fire been worked into the walls of this church; for so the lively stones of God’s Temple are daily transferred and glorified...¹⁸

Originally quarried and used to build Colt’s 1855 armory building, but not needed when the armory was rebuilt after the



L to R: Armorer’s Porch, Church of the Good Shepherd. The original door is no longer in situ. Carved details of the Armorer’s Porch featuring tools of the gun-making industry and revolver chambers. Photographs by author.

fire in brick, the use of these brownstone blocks added to the memorializing efforts of the church due to their history with Samuel Colt and his gun-making empire.

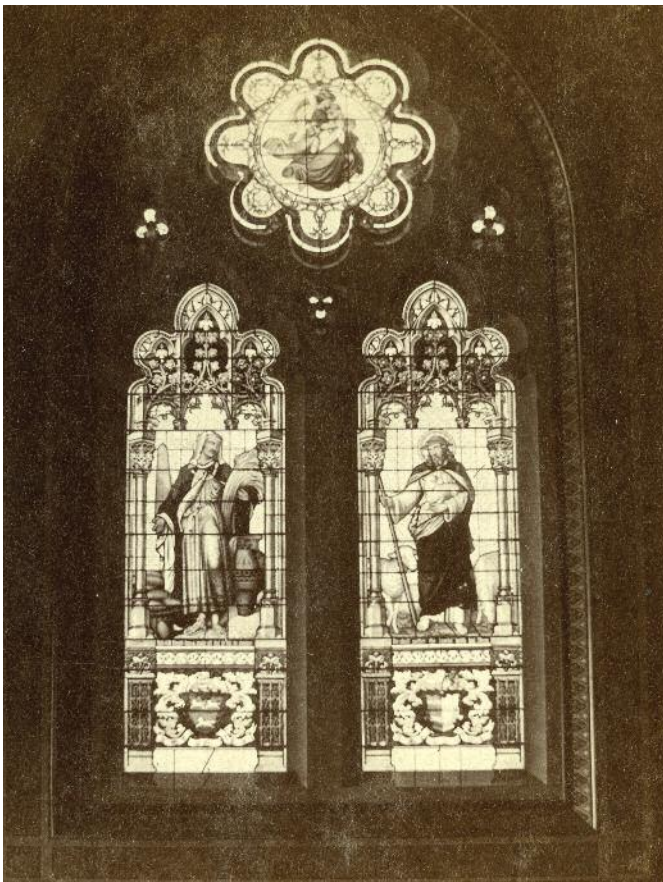
Relics and mementoes were part of nineteenth-century culture in America, and thus the reuse of these stones fit into a broader constellation of efforts to preserve memories and create associations through tangible objects. As Teresa Barnett argues, relics were

specifically selected for their personal histories and meanings and ... were one of the primary means through which sentimental values were transmitted in daily life.¹⁹

Following the 1864 Colt Armory fire, Elizabeth saved several fused metal objects composed of melted gun parts, bullet molds, and other pieces of the gun-making industry, souvenirs from that catastrophic day on which “perished the whole original erection of Colt, the chief basis of his fortune and fame.”²⁰ Displayed at her house, these were tangible reminders

Colt made sure that even before going into the Church of the Good Shepherd, those who came to worship would be reminded of Colonel Colt. But the building was not solely a monument to Samuel Colt’s memory; it was also a monument to the three Colt children who died young, and whose memories were evoked within the sanctuary. An immense stained-glass window on the western wall was immediately visible upon entering the building. The Memorial Window, as one period newspaper correspondent wrote, was an impressive reminder of the individuals whose deaths led to the construction of the church:

It is divided into two compartments, in one of which is represented Joseph dispensing corn to his brethren, and in the other Christ as the Good Shepherd, surrounded by sheep. In the arched top is the figure of an angel holding a babe and followed by two children, the whole typical of the three children, two of which died before Col. Colt, and one, the infant, a few days after...²²



L to R: Memorial Window, Church of the Good Shepherd, January 15, 1873. H. D. Udell, photographer. Author’s collection. John M. Moffitt, Baptismal Font, 1869. Carved marble. Church of the Good Shepherd. Photograph by author.

of her husband’s original armory and mechanical genius.²¹ Like the objects preserved at Armsmead, the stones salvaged from the armory rubble and used in the church walls carried similar connotations, and thus established a material connection between Elizabeth Colt’s new church and her late husband.

Through location, design, and building materials, Elizabeth

Aligned with the altar, the Memorial Window, with its dedicatory panels, clearly referenced the memories of Elizabeth’s loved ones. Depicting Jesus with three sheep, the Memorial Window reminded viewers of her beloved children, Samuel, Elizabeth, and Henrietta, who were, in death, in the care of the Good Shepherd. Likewise, the depiction of Joseph,



Francis W. Cooper, Church of the Good Shepherd Communion Silver, 1869. Photograph by author.

placed above a verse from Genesis, “And God blessed him and made all that he did to prosper,” paid homage to her husband, who cared for his employees, sharing food from his gardens, and whose God-granted prosperity enabled his widow to finance the church project. A focal point of the new building, the Memorial Window illuminated the sanctuary while making direct references to Elizabeth’s deceased husband and children.

Parishioners were further reminded of the Colt children through church furnishings, including the baptismal font and the communion silver. Placed not far from the altar, the font, carved by John M. Moffitt, was presented to the church by Mrs. Colt’s sister and brother-in-law. Following a design suggested by Elizabeth herself, the font featured three young children supporting a shell intended to hold the baptismal water. With a form inspired by Renaissance examples, the Church of the Good Shepherd font eschewed conventional putti or angels in favor of specific individuals. Standing on a plinth carved with their names, parishioners encountered Samuel, Elizabeth, and Henrietta Colt holding the basin of water. Through Moffitt’s talent as a stone carver, and following Elizabeth Colt’s guidelines, the carved representations of the Colt children became active participants in baptisms held at the Church of the Good Shepherd.

But it was not only in the midst of baptisms that the Colt children were remembered. Their memories were also evoked in the most holy of church rites: the Eucharist. Executed by the New York silversmith Francis W. Cooper, the communion set commissioned by Elizabeth Colt was an impressive work of craftsmanship, but also served as a meaningful memorial to her three children. Comprised of two chalices, two patens, a large flagon, and a stand, each piece within the set was engraved with an inscription reading, “In memory of the

precious ones whom the Good Shepherd has folded in His blessed arms.”²³ While this inscription, like the stained-glass window, recalled the role of the Good Shepherd in caring for Elizabeth’s deceased children, the raw materials used for the communion set added significantly to its meaning as a memorial. Instead of purchasing silver, Elizabeth chose to repurpose the silver baby toys that had been gifted to Samuel, Elizabeth, and Henrietta. Melted down, Cooper used this silver to create the church’s communion set, ensuring that souvenirs of the Colt children would be part of all services.²⁴ Born out of a rupture, souvenirs fill the “insatiable demands of nostalgia,” argues Susan Stewart, and thus this silver communion set connected Elizabeth with her children long after the rupture of their premature deaths.²⁵

While Cooper executed other communion sets, including one nearly identical for the Cathedral of St. Luke in Portland, Maine, the silver used to create the communion set for the Church of Good Shepherd made it unique.²⁶ Though its connection to Samuel, Elizabeth, and Henrietta Colt was not readily apparent, Elizabeth’s choice to repurpose the silver once enjoyed by her children created a powerful memorial from expected church elements.

In the Church of the Good Shepherd, Elizabeth Colt crafted an object of intense personal meaning, a monument that memorialized her husband and children while also serving the needs of a congregation. Working with Edward Tuckerman Potter, Mrs. Colt crafted a building that recalled and memorialized her deceased family members in its siting, construction, and decoration. Commercially-produced stereo views often mistakenly called the building the “Memorial Church of the Good Shepherd,” but correctly acknowledged the patron of the new structure: Mrs. Samuel Colt. Published descriptions drew attention to the resources and careful



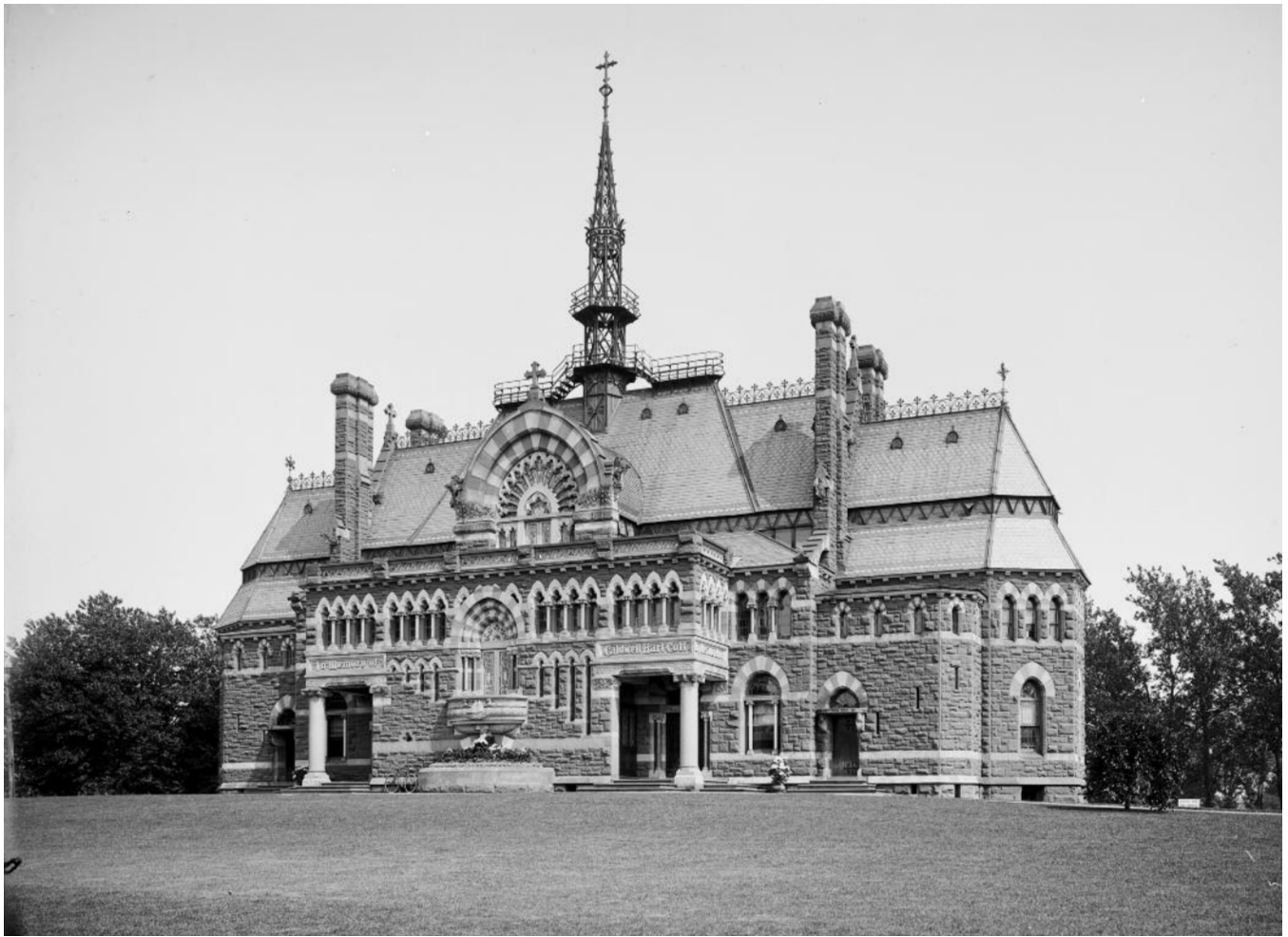
Church of the Good Shepherd (1866-1869) and Caldwell Hart Memorial House (1894-1896), Hartford, Connecticut. Edward Tuckerman Potter, architect. Photograph by author.

consideration involved in the creation of such an impressive and meaningful edifice, and lines such as “Mrs. Samuel Colt erects this church entirely at her own expense,” became almost ubiquitous in articles related to the structure. In one description, printed in a Georgia newspaper, the writer noted,

It has been reserved for a New England wife to give a tangible proof of her esteem and veneration for her dead husband by building a meeting-house to his memory. And a right noble mausoleum it is, too.²⁷

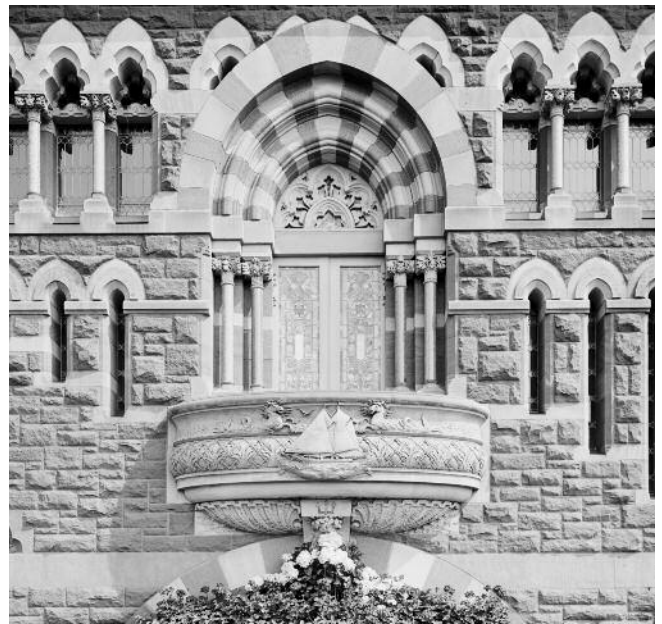
Drawing from site, design, materials, and use, careful choices ensured that worship at the Church of the Good Shepherd was intrinsically connected with the memories of Mrs. Colt’s husband and her three deceased children, and this still remains true today. Going to the church, parishioners traverse a landscape created by Samuel Colt, arriving at a structure whose location was carefully chosen by his widow, between the Colt Armory and Armsmear, prominent buildings associated with Colonel Colt’s memory. Entering the church, individuals encounter carved representations of the products once made in the nearby armory, and arrive in a structure whose very walls are materially are connected with Samuel

Colt’s original gun-making factory. Inside, light streams through stained glass referencing Colt and his children, reminding parishioners of the losses that led to the building’s construction. The baptismal font depicting the Colt children, Samuel, Elizabeth, and Henrietta, remains in place, and they are still evoked during the eucharist as well.²⁸ The memories of Samuel Colt and his three young children permeate all aspects of the church and worship experience, a conscious desire of the patron. Expanding the concept of church memorials, from a singular plaque or furnishing, Mrs. Colt instead created a monument to her family: a building that shaped the experience of the parishioner while memorializing her deceased husband and children. At the Church of the Good Shepherd, Elizabeth Colt worshipped, with members of her family, friends, employees of the Colt Armory, and the memories of her loved ones. Although she died more than a century ago, and firearms are no longer produced at the Colt Armory, Elizabeth Colt’s Church of the Good Shepherd remains active, and a diverse and multicultural congregation still worships in the building she erected to ensure that the memories of her husband and three young children would not be forgotten by the citizens of Hartford.



The Caldwell Hart Colt Memorial House, Hartford, Connecticut, c. 1900. Detroit Publishing Company. Courtesy Library of Congress.

At the time the Church of the Good Shepherd was consecrated, following the deaths of her husband and three young children, Elizabeth Colt did have one remaining child: a son named Caldwell. Born in 1858, Caldwell Colt and his mother forged a very close bond, and Elizabeth made every effort to ensure that he enjoyed life to the fullest, enabling him to follow his passions of hunting and sailing instead of working in the firearms industry.²⁹ But Caldwell's life was cut short, and he died in 1894, at age thirty-five, eleven years before his mother.³⁰ Following his funeral at the Church of the Good Shepherd, Elizabeth began considering ways by which she could memorialize her only child to reach adulthood. Within four months of Caldwell's death she accepted plans by Edward Tuckerman Potter for a building that would preserve her son's memory in his native city.³¹ Given the speed with which this design process progressed, it is clear that Mrs. Colt and her architect understood exactly what was necessary to make this memorial building resonant. The Caldwell Hart Colt Memorial House was dedicated on September 10, 1896 and, like the nearby church, it was thoroughly imbued with symbolism. Inside, cannons and the bell from Caldwell's yacht *Dauntless*, as well as a full-length portrait by Eastman Johnson, situated



Carved details on the exterior of the Caldwell Hart Colt Memorial House, c. 1900. Detroit Publishing Company. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Caldwell Colt as a yachtsman and sailor. Elsewhere, elaborate stone carvings commemorated his love for hunting, fishing, and time spent at sea. Speaking at the dedication ceremony, Elizabeth described the structure and its very personal meaning. “The stones,” she said “tell the story of sunshine and shadow, of life and love and death, and of eternal hope.”³²

But the stones used to build the new memorial told of more than just Caldwell Hart Colt’s life story. Elizabeth made sure that the new building also told of a mother’s love. On massive lintels over the main entrances, with letters nearly three feet high, visitors were reminded of the loss that led to the building’s construction:

Erected A.D. MDCCCXCV
In Memory of
Caldwell Hart Colt
by his mother

Elizabeth’s assertion of her own agency in this project was a first in terms of her memorializing efforts. While newspapers in the 1860s recounted her role in the construction of the Church of the Good Shepherd, Elizabeth chose to prominently include her participation in the creation of her son’s memorial where it could be seen by all who entered the building. Just as they had been integrally associated with one another during

Caldwell’s life, these architectural elements ensured that Elizabeth’s devotion to her son would be recalled even after his death. Like the church next door, the Caldwell Hart Colt Memorial Hall is still used for both religious and social purposes.



David W. Granston, III, is a native of Mount Desert Island, Maine, and is a Ph.D. candidate in the History of Art and Architecture Department at Boston University. His studies focus primarily on American architecture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and his dissertation examines the relationship between New England resort architecture and period environmental awareness. He obtained a B.A. from Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut, and has an M.A. from the University of Delaware, where he studied in the Winterthur Program in American Material Culture and wrote his thesis on Elizabeth Colt’s role in crafting the Colt legacy in Hartford. Willie has written articles on maritime transportation in Maine, as well as architectural history along the coast of Maine, and was also interviewed for the *Architectural Digest* podcast, *The AD Aesthete*. He also serves on the board of the directors of the Great Harbor Maritime Museum, where he has curated several exhibits pertaining to the history of the Maine coast.

Notes

1. “Mrs. Colt Dies of Paralysis,” the *Hartford Courant*, August 24, 1905.
2. Henry Barnard, *Armsmear: The Home, the Arm, and the Armory of Samuel Colt, A Memorial* (New York: Alvord 1866) 115.
3. For more on Elizabeth Colt’s efforts to shape the Colt legacy, see David W. Granston III, “A Story of Sunshine and Shadow: Elizabeth H. Colt and the Crafting of the Colt Legacy in Hartford,” (M.A. Thesis, University of Delaware 2016). For more on the larger Colt story see William Hosley, *Colt: The Making of an American Legend*. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, in association with the Wadsworth Atheneum 1996) and Herbert G. Houze, *Samuel Colt: Arms, Art, and Innovation* (New Haven: Yale University Press in association with the Wadsworth Atheneum 2006).
4. George A. Jarvis, et al, *The Jarvis Family; or, the Descendants of the First Settlers of the Name in Massachusetts and Long Island, and Those Who Have More Recently Settled in Other Parts of the United States and British America* (Hartford: Case, Lockwood & Brainard Company 1879) 22, 56.
5. Undated clipping from *The Churchman*, likely fall 1867. Jarvis-Robinson Family Papers. Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.
6. William Jarvis to William Jarvis, May 9, 1867. William Jarvis Letters, 1838-1889. Connecticut Historical Society.
7. Often called Coltsville, Colt’s extensive property holdings in Hartford’s South Meadows provided ample space for the family’s home and gardens, as well as the gun-making complex, worker housing, social and recreation spaces, and the church erected by Elizabeth Colt. In 2014 Congress approved the creation of Coltsville

- National Historical Park, the boundaries of which include Armsmear, its grounds (now called Colt Park), the Colt Armory complex, and some of the worker housing. As a park containing both public and private buildings, services remain limited, but walking tours are held in the summer months, and a visitor’s center and exhibition space will be added in the future.
8. “Wethersfield Avenue,” the *Hartford Daily Courant*, July 16, 1855. Richard W. H. Jarvis to Elizabeth Miller Jarvis, January 22, 1857. Jarvis-Robinson Family Papers. Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.
9. Barnard 71.
10. “The Burning of the Colt Armory,” undated newspaper clipping likely cut and preserved by Elizabeth Colt. Jarvis-Robinson Family Papers. Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.
11. Elizabeth Colt to My Dear Sister [Hetty Jarvis], February 6, 1864. Jarvis-Robinson Family Papers. Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. Workers battling the blaze were unable to save the original armory, but were able to save other parts of the complex, and some employees were able to resume work just days after the fire.
12. The rebuilding of the destroyed armory building overlapped with the design development and construction of the Church of the Good Shepherd.
13. Exactly which churches Mrs. Colt visited is not recorded, though William Jarvis’ letters do note a trip to Greenwich, Connecticut for this purpose. William Jarvis to William Jarvis, June 27, 1865 and July 13, 1865. William Jarvis Letters, 1838-1889, Connecticut Historical Society.

14. Frederick Clarke Withers, *Church Architecture* (New York: A. J. Bicknell & Co. 1873) description of design 12.
15. "New Churches: The Church of the Holy Innocents," *The Ecclesiologist* CLXXX (June 1867): 185. Forty-nine sheets of drawings, including elevations, floor plans, and full-size detail drawings executed by Vaux, Withers & Co., between March and June 1866, remain in the care of the Trustees of the Colt Bequest, Hartford, having been saved by Elizabeth H. Colt.
16. Sarah Bradford Landau, *Edward T. and William A. Potter: American Victorian Architects* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc. 1979) 86. Several of Potter's church designs were published in contemporary architectural journals. Perhaps most interesting among these was the First Dutch Reformed Church in Schenectady, which featured a screen constructed using twelve columns, the capitals of which were carved to represent the months of the year. Edward Tuckerman Potter is perhaps best-known today as the architect of the Mark Twain House in Hartford, Connecticut.
17. A copy of the dedicatory service leaflet is found in the Jarvis-Robinson Family Papers. Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.
18. "Hartford—Church of the Good Shepherd," *The Churchman*, February 6, 1869. This article was clipped and saved, likely by Elizabeth Colt, and is now in the Jarvis-Robinson Family Papers. Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.
19. Teresa Barnett, *Sacred Relics: Pieces of the Past in Nineteenth Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press 2013) 99.
20. Barnard 251. In his text, with which Elizabeth Colt was directly involved, Barnard describes the fused gun pieces as "relics of the fire, which on the fifth of February 1864, consumed half of the Arms-factory." Barnard 130. These fused metal objects survive today in the collection of the Wadsworth Atheneum.
21. In a letter to her sister following the armory's destruction by fire, Elizabeth Colt referred to the machinery within the building, calling it "...the living representations of my dear husband's great mind + genius..." Elizabeth Colt to My Dear Sister [Hetty Jarvis], February 6, 1864. Jarvis-Robinson Family Papers. Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library.
22. "Church of the Good Shepherd: A Full Description of the Finest Church in America—The Consecration Thursday," unidentified newspaper clipping, circa 1869. Jarvis-Robinson Family Papers. Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library. It should be noted that Joseph is actually depicted with wheat, not corn.
23. This communion set is still used by the Church of the Good Shepherd and is stored in its original mahogany case at Armsmear, under the care of the Trustees of the Colt Bequest.
24. Rev. Samuel Hart, D. D., *In Memoriam: Samuel Colt and Caldwell Hart Colt* (Springfield: under the supervision of Clifton Johnson 1898) 22.
25. Susan Stewart, *On Longing: Narratives of the Miniature, the Gigantic, the Souvenir, the Collection* (Durham and London: Duke University Press 1993) 135.
26. Charles P. M. Outwin, "The TenBroeck Communion Set, by F. W. Cooper," *The Cathedral of St. Luke, Portland, Maine: Memorial of the Month*, May 2014.
27. "Laying of a Corner Stone," the *Hartford Daily Courant*, September 5, 1867. Reports of this type were carried in newspapers around the country. "The Richest Widow in the World" the *Georgia Weekly Telegraph*, August 1, 1871.
28. This communion is not used regularly, but it is used for certain liturgical holidays throughout the year.
29. Elizabeth Colt's brother, Richard Jarvis, wrote that Caldwell was "quite gentlemanly and unassuming and quite disposed (I may say too much so) to leave the management of his affairs to his mother and myself." Richard W. H. Jarvis to William Jarvis, January 3, 1880. William Jarvis Letters, 1838-1889. Though he was named vice-president of Colt's Patent Fire Arms Manufacturing Company in 1888, Caldwell never developed a deep interest in the factory's operations. Hosley 161.
30. Reports of Caldwell's death have been greatly exaggerated; while some claim he drowned while sailing, others assert he was shot by a lover's jealous husband. His burial certificate lists his cause of death as heart disease, while newspapers at the time attributed his death to tonsillitis. Hosley 206. Caldwell Hart Colt, Burial Record obtained from Cedar Hill Cemetery.
31. "Memorial to Commodore Colt," the *New York Times*, May 29, 1894. Though he was largely retired, Elizabeth Colt convinced Potter to design this building, and he used it as a chance to experiment with modern building techniques. The completed building used both structural masonry and an iron frame, and is discussed in "The Colt Memorial Buildings, Hartford," the *American Architect and Building News* LXXVII, no. 1386 July 19, 1902): 23. A thorough description and analysis of the Caldwell Hart Colt Memorial House is included in Samuel Hart, *In Memoriam: Samuel Colt and Caldwell Colt* as well as Sarah Bradford Landau, *Edward T. and William A. Potter: American Victorian Architects*.
32. "The Colt Memorial: Handsome Building Erected by Mrs. Samuel Colt," the *Hartford Courant*, September 11, 1896. Elizabeth Colt's full speech, as well as others given at the dedicatory ceremonies, is included in Samuel Hart, *In Memoriam: Samuel Colt and Caldwell Colt*.



Raimundo de Madrazo (1841-1920), *Portrait of Mrs. Irene M. Peacock*, 1902. Oil on canvas. Frick Art & Historical Center.

Mrs. Peacock Returns to Society:

A GILDED AGE PORTRAIT BY RAIMUNDO DE MADRAZO

Dawn R. Brean

An opulent example of Gilded Age portraiture recently emerged from conservators' studios to take the spotlight in a focus installation at The Frick Art Museum in Pittsburgh. The story behind the full-length society portrait parallels the history of Pittsburgh—its golden era as an industrial powerhouse, the collapse of the steel industry, and its recent renaissance as a technological, arts, and cultural center. Created during a period that witnessed the amassing of enormous fortunes built by iron and steel, the portrait of Mrs. Irene M. Peacock (1864-1947) completed by Raimundo de Madrazo (1841-1920) in 1901 is a captivating study of Gilded Age portraiture used as social capital in the performance of gentility.

Mrs. Peacock made frequent appearances in the society pages of Pittsburgh at the turn of the twentieth century. The smoky city, once described as “hell with the lid taken off,” had blossomed into the industrial capital of the world, centered on the steel industry. Pittsburgh's population boomed, growing six-fold between 1870 and 1910. The city was host to titans of industry including Andrew Carnegie, Henry Clay Frick, Andrew and Richard Beatty Mellon, George Westinghouse, and H. J. Heinz to name just a few. The steel industry produced more than just railways and skyscrapers; it also generated “masters of incredible wealth,” as described by Herbert Casson in his industrial history *The Romance of Steel: The Story of a Thousand Millionaires*.¹ Mrs. Peacock and her husband were among the city's many millionaires, although little in her background portended the society lady she would become.

Mrs. Peacock was born Irene May Affleck in Brooklyn in 1864. Her parents, Ida E. Allen (c. 1847-1916) and Stephen Doan Affleck (1842-1921) separated when she was a teenager. Newspapers aired scandalous details of the messy proceedings.² Incidents recorded in court documents at the time included disturbing allegations of emotional abuse, physical violence, infidelity, and abandonment.³ The records indicate a troubled home environment that would be difficult for a child of any era to endure, and one can't help but feel sympathy for Irene and her younger brother, Elmer. Her mother would eventually remarry in 1888 to a police detective named Charles Bedell.⁴ The wedding announcement referred to her as a widow, a more socially accepted position than divorcée, although the historical record suggests that Affleck was in fact still living.⁵ Irene remained close with her mother and named one of her children after her stepfather, so clearly he was a formative presence in her life.

In 1885, at the age of twenty-one, Irene married Alexander

Rolland Peacock (1861-1928), a native of Dunfermline, Scotland, which was also the birthplace of Andrew Carnegie (1835-1919). At the time of their marriage, Peacock was working as a linen salesman in a New York department store. The nineteenth-century gossip mill would have one believe that Irene worked as a shop girl at that same department store and that is how she met her future husband.⁶ Although no details have been found to substantiate those claims, it is certainly plausible that she might have worked to support her mother's single-income household.

Legend has it, the recently married Mrs. Andrew Carnegie (née Louise Whitfield) entered the store one afternoon (most stories contend Peacock waited on her, while some allege it was Irene) and her attention was drawn to Peacock's Scottish accent. Upon learning the salesman was from her husband's hometown, she mentioned him to Carnegie, who was immediately impressed with his enterprising ability.⁷ Peacock joined Carnegie Steel Company in 1889 as a clerk in the purchasing department after being officially hired by chairman Henry Clay Frick.⁸ The Peacocks moved to Pittsburgh that same year.

Peacock quickly proved his worth to Carnegie. In a laudatory volume containing the accomplishments of Scots and their descendants in America, Peacock was described thus:

He early acquired a thorough knowledge of the steel business; his energy knew no bounds; he worked day and night to devise new methods of securing trade; it was no exaggeration to say that his labour, energy, and ability resulted in his being known as the most successful salesman in the steel industry.⁹

Early in his career, Peacock secured large contracts with the Canada Pacific railroad line and New York subways.¹⁰ He went on to ascend the ranks of the steel empire, becoming head of the sales department and eventually a vice president and shareholder.

While Peacock climbed the corporate ladder, Irene spent much of the next decade raising their children. They had three boys and two girls born between 1886 and 1910: Clarence Neilson, Rolland Bedell, Grant Allen, Irene Margaret, and Jean Alexander. From 1897 to 1901, the Peacocks lived in Point Breeze, a fashionable suburb four miles east of downtown Pittsburgh. The neighborhood, home to Henry Clay Frick, George Westinghouse, and H. J. Heinz, was far removed from the din and grime of the city's steel mills, adjacent to undeveloped woods and rolling hills but offered easy access to the city via the railroad. The Peacocks' position would again



Rowanlea, the Peacock residence, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, c. 1904. Alden & Harlow, architects. R. W. Johnston, photographer.

rise considerably at the start of the twentieth century. Peacock became one of the city's many newly minted millionaires overnight when Carnegie Steel Company was sold to form United States Steel Corporation in 1901. His worth was estimated to be approximately \$15,000,000 (for reference, the same article cited Frick's wealth at \$75,000,000; Carnegie's wealth was estimated to be \$380 million at its peak).¹¹

At the start of the twentieth century Peacock and his wife began appearing even more frequently in the society columns, enjoying the prosperity that Peacock's business success brought them. As Casson relayed, "Alexander R. Peacock was one of those who were swept off their feet by the sudden flood of gold."¹² The new millionaires of the smoky city were often regarded with derision (not necessarily deservedly). In his seminal history of the city, Stefan Lorant wrote,

The image of Pittsburgh millionaire was that of a nouveau riche with low tastes and ostentatious habits, vulgar and uneducated, coarse and without refinements, freewheeling and free spending.¹³

Peacock in particular earned a reputation for lavish and eccentric habits. They traveled to Europe and vacationed in the Thousand Islands in New York, where they eventually built a summer home and yacht house.¹⁴ They hosted extravagant entertainments, including a stable warming party in which their guests dined and ate in horse stalls.¹⁵

In 1901, the Peacocks embarked on the construction of a new home in Highland Park, a newly fashionable neighborhood in Pittsburgh's sprawling East End. The palatial estate, to be christened Rowanlea and designed by Pittsburgh's



Living Hall of Rowanlea, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, c. 1904. Alden & Harlow, architects. R. W. Johnston, photographer.



Entrance Hall of Rowanlea, with portraits of Alexander and Irene Peacock by Raimundo de Madrazo, c. 1904. R. W. Johnston, photographer.



Josep Maria Cañellas (1856-1902), *Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta*, c. 1900. Gelatin print on paper. Courtesy Museo Nacional del Prado.

renowned architectural firm Alden & Harlow, occupied an entire city block. The structure consisted of a four-story brick home ornamented with flush quoins and stone trim, a steep hipped roof, iron balconies, and a two-story portico with six marble columns that dominated the façade. The interior contained more than forty rooms laid out around a grand atrium hall with a central staircase, arcade, and gallery.¹⁶ Images of the structure, interior rooms, and grounds were captured in a bound souvenir album, a copy of which was recently donated to The Frick Pittsburgh. Rowanlea was deemed “dazzling” and “showy” by Casson; a half century later, Lorant reproached it as “elephantine.”¹⁷ It was considered to be one of the most flamboyant mansions built during Pittsburgh’s Gilded Age, a mark of distinction at a time when extravagant mansions were being built on seemingly every corner of Pittsburgh’s choicest neighborhoods.¹⁸

In 1902, as Rowanlea was being completed, the Peacocks commissioned Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta (1841-1920) to paint their portraits, cementing their position among the cultured, affluent elite of Pittsburgh. Madrazo was a celebrated artist at the turn of the twentieth century. He worked in numerous genres, but his greatest financial success came from his extraordinary capacity to portray his wealthy patrons with elegant refinement. His talents rivaled those of contemporaries Giovanni Boldini (1842-1931), Carolus-Duran (1838-1915), and Théobald Chartran (1849-1907). He had clients on both sides of the Atlantic. The Peacocks’ selection of Madrazo was an interesting one, for Chartran dominated much of Pittsburgh society’s portraiture through the 1890s. As



Raimundo de Madrazo (1841-1920), stages of the *Portrait of Mrs. Irene M. Peacock*, as published in the *Pittsburg Index*, June 28, 1902.

Europeans, both artists lent an air of panache to their clients, but art historian Alison McQueen posited that the Peacocks might have “preferred Madrazo’s fluid brushstroke over Chartran’s more academic and severe style.”¹⁹ By the late 1890s, Madrazo’s reputation as a society portraitist in America was on the rise as admiration for his masterful brushwork and rich portrayal of color and textures grew.

Born in Rome and trained in Paris, the Spanish artist hailed from an artistic family. His father, grandfather, and brother were painters, as was his brother-in-law; his son became an artist and his nephew was the famous fashion designer Mariano Fortuny. Madrazo began his formal education from his father, Frederico de Madrazo y Küntz (1815-1894), at the Royal Academy of San Fernando in Madrid. He later moved to Paris where he was a pupil of Leon Cogniet. A frequent exhibitor at the Paris and London Salons, Madrazo won a gold medal at the 1878 Paris Exposition Universelle. His own art collection purportedly contained examples by Peter Paul Rubens, Jean-August-Dominique Ingres, and Jean-Antoine Watteau, as well as Grecian pottery and antique bronzes.²⁰

Madrazo traveled frequently between Rome, London, New York, and Buenos Aires, securing portrait commissions from the aristocratic elite in each city. Madrazo likely came to the attention of a wealthy American clientele through the patronage of noted art collector William Hood Stewart (1820-1897) and he embarked on a series of extended stays in the United States in 1896, painting portraits in temporary studios.²¹ He was represented in New York by Julius Oehme Galleries, which often mounted displays of his recent portraits.²²

As a portrait artist, Madrazo was distinguished by his fine sense of color and fluid brushstrokes, which imparted an air of spontaneity to his likenesses. Critics praised his ability to capture the natural expressions of his subjects:

The portraits of Senor de Madrazo are moving breathing thing[s]—the eyes sparkle, the pose is always seemingly relaxing, never stiff and ungraceful.²³

Several critics suggested that he was particularly suited to paint portraits of women. A 1902 article in *Munsey’s Magazine* reported,

He seems to have a real understanding of their various moods and tempers, and to be able to transfer them to his canvas. Close, fine work is the characteristic feature of all his feminine portraits.²⁴

Madrazo’s American clients included Mrs. Cornelius Vanderbilt II (Alice Claypoole Gwynne), Harry Flagler, Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney (Gertrude Vanderbilt), Miss Anne Morgan (daughter of J. P. Morgan), Mrs. Edward C. Post (Emilie Thorn King), Mr. and Mrs. Ferdinand W. Roebbling (Margaret Allison), and Mrs. and Mrs. Charles P. Taft (Anna Sinton).²⁵

The portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Peacock were undertaken in Madrazo’s temporary studio in New York in the spring of 1902. Irene’s likeness was the cover image of the June 1902 edition of the *Pittsburg Index*, the city’s foremost society paper.²⁶ The sittings were extensively illustrated in an article detailing the

artist’s process, with in-progress images and a photograph of Irene posing in the studio with Madrazo standing at the canvas. These images, accompanied by supplementary descriptions, are enormously valuable in understanding Madrazo’s technique. He began his portraits with a crayon sketch:

The fleeting expression which is the charm and frequently the index to the character of the face, is caught and reproduced almost before it has had time to pass—certainly before it has lapsed from animation into weariness.²⁷

The sketch was then transferred in charcoal to canvas before painting, focusing on the sitter’s face and working outward with broad, confident strokes. In an article on Madrazo’s technique in the December 21, 1902 issue of the *Pittsburgh Weekly Gazette*, critic William G. Kaufman wrote,

He delights in warm, rich textures, and these he expresses rapidly and forcefully. Sometimes his brushwork is a little too broad and generous, but his canvases are always agreeable in their color scheme and splendidly brilliant in pictorial effect.²⁸

The depictions of the couple were typical of the period, as art historian McQueen wrote, “His portrait emphasizes his career and character, while hers focuses on her physical beauty and refinement.”²⁹ Irene’s pose is stately and polished; the image



Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788), *Mary, Countess of Howe*, c. 1764. Oil on canvas. Kenwood House, English Heritage, Iveagh Bequest.

duly conveys her style, wealth, and prosperity. She appears caught in a moment of dignified repose, sitting elegantly (but somewhat stiffly) on a gilded French-style sofa, adorned in pearls, jewels, lace, and satin. A gracious smile plays on her lips but the overall effect is one of poised grace. She seems every part the aristocratic lady she is striving to portray.

The graceful expression, dazzling colors, and impressive scale embody the opulence of the Gilded Age and harken back to the masters of eighteenth-century portraiture. Interestingly, her dress looks nothing like contemporary fashion of 1902. Instead of a modish S-bend corseted silhouette, she dons a garment more akin to a *robe à la française* straight out of the eighteenth century. Her pink fitted overdress is open at the front displaying the voluminous drapery of an underskirt structure. The fabric has a rich sheen and is adorned with cascading lace sleeves and a collar. One Pittsburgh paper described it as a “Gainsborough costume of pink and white satin,” referencing Thomas Gainsborough, one of the leading portrait painters in England during the late eighteenth century.³⁰ Indeed, examples of eighteenth-century portraiture provide interesting comparisons to Irene’s 1902 portrait as

evidenced when examining Gainsborough’s depiction of Mary, Countess of Howe completed circa 1764. The distinctive pink shade evokes the hue made fashionable by Madame de Pompadour, the chief mistress of Louis XV, in eighteenth century France; the color carried connotations of aristocracy and style. Long white evening gloves and a decorative fan, accoutrements of an upper-class woman, sit beside her on the sofa. Pearls drape across her neck and wrist and two large rings are prominently painted on her hands.

These baubles, along with the gilded sofa and the bright palette, call to mind “the gaudy showiness associated with his late portraits,” as one art historian termed it.³¹ Occasionally contemporary critics vociferously decried these overly pretty details as “glittering toilettes [that] suggest the decoration of a bonbon box.”³² These details however, are no doubt part of Madrazo’s concentrated effort to position Mrs. Peacock with the European aristocracy with which she would have undoubtedly wanted to be aligned. America was experiencing radical social changes propelled by the industrial expansion after the Civil War and the result was a rigid hierarchical class structure bounded by complex rules of etiquette. America’s



Mrs. Irene M. Peacock sitting for her portrait in Raimundo de Madrazo’s studio, with Alexander Peacock’s unfinished portrait behind her, as published in the *Pittsburg Index*, June 28, 1902.

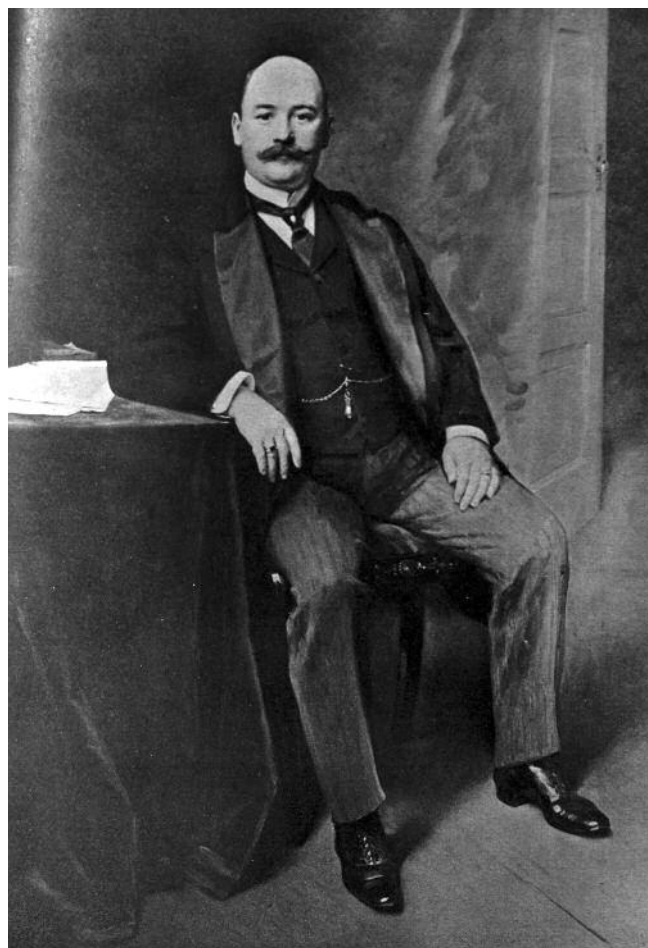
nouveau riche—the nation’s own version of aristocracy as it were—looked for ways to demonstrate and affirm their gentility. Portraiture, a medium long associated with aristocracy, was one way of doing just that. As art historian Barbara Dayer Gallati wrote in *Beauty’s Legacy: Gilded Age Portraits in America*,

The late nineteenth-century patrons who sat for their portraits recognized that the paintings they commissioned were, in fact, cultural capital, valuable embodiments of how they wished to be seen and remembered.³³

In addition to her dress, the theatrical backdrop and romantic landscape behind her further the connection to the iconography of eighteenth-century British portraiture. During the early 1900s, eighteenth-century portraits were in vogue among American collectors, a demand fed by a growing slate of international art dealers and a profusion of available artworks hastily sold by cash-strapped European families. Gilded Age portraitists were often compared to the leaders of the previous era such as Gainsborough, Sir Joshua Reynolds, or George Romney and many of these artists likely exaggerated these similarities in order to attract patrons. The desire to be depicted like European aristocracy would have been particularly appealing to America’s *nouveau riche*. It was a conceit Madrazo employed often and his genre paintings demonstrate his facility with historic dress styles. It is highly probable that the artist, alongside his sitter, purposefully chose to create those visual connections.

Madrazo’s portraits of Mr. and Mrs. Peacock were briefly exhibited at J. J. Gillespie’s art gallery on Wood Street in downtown Pittsburgh before moving to the Peacocks’ new home on North Highland Avenue. The portraits were unveiled at a housewarming reception for Rowanlea on November 10, 1902, where they hung in a conspicuous position in the entry hall. Standing under them, Irene received her guests wearing the same rose colored gown in which she had sat for her portrait.³⁴ She was joined by her guests of honor—Madrazo and his wife, Maria Hahn Madrazo. Numerous newspapers reported on the extravagant party, for which 800 invitations were purportedly issued.³⁵ Attendees had the chance to ogle the mansion’s many rooms as well as the grounds, stables, and a well-stocked conservatory filled with exotic flowers and plants. Clearly, no expense had been spared in planning the party, or in building the opulent mansion.

The portraits, as well as Madrazo’s portraits of their five children, joined the Peacocks’ art collection, which included Barbizon landscape artists favored by Pittsburgh’s Gilded Age collectors such as Charles François Daubigny, Jean-Baptiste-Camille Corot, Narcisse Virgile Diaz de la Peña, and Jules Dupré, as well as works by Joseph Mallord William Turner, Fritz Thaulow, George Innes, William-Adolphe Bouguereau, Eugene Boudin, and Henri Fantin-Latour.³⁶ The Peacocks’ also owned an intricately-detailed genre painting by Madrazo, *A Little Princess in the Gardens at Versailles*. Sadly, this rich collection was dispersed in 1921 after the Peacock fortune had dwindled. Peacock had lost most of his wealth after attempting



Raimundo de Madrazo (1841-1920), *Portrait of Mr. Alexander R. Peacock*, as published in the *Pittsburg Index*, 1902. The whereabouts of this work remain unknown and it is likely no longer extant.

to reenter the steel business on his own. Some paintings, at least those by Madrazo, remained in the family; the majority was sold by the American Art Association in New York in 1922.³⁷ Rowanlea’s interior furnishings were sold at auction in 1921.³⁸

Sometime around 1920, the couple returned permanently to New York. Peacock exchanged Rowanlea in a speculative real estate deal in 1921.³⁹ The structure eventually landed in the possession of a developer and newspapers reported plans to convert the home into a luxury apartment hotel.⁴⁰ Numerous apartment listings for “Rowanlea Apartment Hotel” can be found in the advertisements for furnished rooms in Pittsburgh papers of 1924, although it appears the home was razed shortly thereafter, like so many other estates of Pittsburgh’s ephemeral golden age.

Peacock died of pneumonia in 1928 at the age of 65. Notices of his death proffered the then familiar and infamous rumors of his lavish spending following his overnight wealth. A curious accounting of his will hints at acrimony between the couple, leading one to speculate on the happiness of their later years together, but offers no contextual details. In a move Pittsburgh papers called “as eccentric as any of those of his life-time,” Peacock willed his wife \$5.⁴¹ In stipulating the amount, Peacock wrote in his will,

I make only this provision for reasons well known to her, including the fact that I have amply and liberally provided for her during my life time.

Peacock bequeathed the nominal sum of \$100 each to his sons and eldest daughter; he gifted \$10,000 to his secretary and \$2,500 to his valet. The younger daughter, Jean Alexander, received the bulk of the estate. Intriguingly, Peacock is buried in a private mausoleum in Homewood Cemetery, constructed years before his death, alongside Irene's parents and an infant child, interred in 1897. Irene herself, who lived to be 83 and passed away in 1947, is buried near her hometown in Brooklyn.

Recent research has led to some exciting revelations regarding the painting's provenance since its creation in 1902. Images of Mr. and Mrs. Peacock's portraits, along with the in-process images from the 1902 *Index* article, were published in *Collecting in the Gilded Age: Art Patronage in Pittsburgh, 1890-1910*, a major catalogue-exhibition organized by the Frick Art & Historical Center in 1997. At the time, the location of the portraits and whether or not they even still existed was unknown. Irene's portrait was purportedly owned by the Pittsburgh History and Landmarks Foundation (PHLF), based on a glancing mention by architectural historian James D. Van Trump in his collection of essays and memories, *Life and Architecture in Pittsburgh*; however, it could not be located in 1995 when research was being completed for *Collecting in the Gilded Age*.⁴² A few years later, Irene's portrait was indeed discovered in the collection of PHLF, but the story of how she arrived there has only recently been pieced together and involves another cultural institution in Pittsburgh.

Irene's portrait was initially in the collection of the Carnegie Museum of Art, having been gifted in 1939 by none other than the woman herself.⁴³ In late May of 1939, Irene wrote to several old friends in Pittsburgh, including Samuel Harden Church, then president of Carnegie Institute, informing them of her desire to find a permanent home for her portrait. It hung at her daughter's house, but the family was moving to Texas and the canvas' large size prohibited the family from moving it with them. Her language is emotional. In a letter to Church, she wrote, "I spent the best days of my life in Pittsburgh and Mr. Peacock made his money there."⁴⁴ On the same day, she wrote to Homer Saint-Gaudens, director of the department of fine art, "Oh! So many beautiful memories as I have of Pittsburgh, I hope you will accept my portrait."⁴⁵ She expressed similar thoughts in multiple other letters. Upon receiving news that the committee had accepted her gift, Irene replied to Saint-Gaudens, "When I opened and read your wonderful words, I burst into tears of happiness."⁴⁶ Her desire to place her portrait in a museum demonstrates another facet of the performative aspect of portraiture. Acceptance by a highly-regarded cultural institution was another marker of status.

Irene's letters were full of other fascinating tidbits, including details of her curious costume which was still in her possession in 1939: "Dear Madrazo and his beautiful wife selected the materials and saw it fitted to me."⁴⁷ She confirmed that their portraits were painted in a studio rented by Madrazo in New York and that he later visited Pittsburgh "with his beautiful

wife" for the Rowanlea housewarming.⁴⁸ Although her letter insists the painting was completed in 1901, Madrazo's signature includes a clearly legible date of 1902. She mentioned that Madrazo completed other portraits while in Pittsburgh, including those of her three sons and eldest daughter, then three years of age.⁴⁹ Irene's correspondence gives no indication of her husband's portrait and its whereabouts remain unknown today. It is likely no longer extant.

Though Irene was happy to gift her portrait to Carnegie Institute, it is not known whether or not the artwork was ever on view. It was listed in storage in 1939, 1948, and again in 1972. The painting was deaccessioned in 1978 and transferred to PHLF where it would not be discovered until 2000 when it was transferred to The Frick Pittsburgh's permanent collection.

When Mrs. Peacock's portrait arrived at the Frick, the painting and the frame were in poor condition. Both were covered in one hundred years of soot and grime. The canvas was torn and punctured in several places and the deteriorating varnish had cast a yellow pall over the surface. The frame had large sections of broken and missing decorative elements. Careful and extensive conservation treatments were necessary before the artwork could go on display, the goal being to preserve and stabilize the existing elements while helping the artwork look its best, with consideration of its age. These treatments were finally completed in 2018, restoring the painting and its frame to their original splendor in time for a focus installation at The Frick Art Museum. Though she is not at the Carnegie Museum of Art, as was her original intent, one hopes that she is happy nonetheless to be hanging again in Pittsburgh.

Van Trump described Mrs. Peacock's portrait in his book, *Life and Architecture in Pittsburgh*, as "a very large painting showing the erstwhile chatelaine of Rowanlea, enthroned in pink satin; it is an expansive document of Edwardian luxe."⁵⁰ Indeed, Mrs. Peacock's portrait is a sumptuous example of the Gilded Age, a period that witnessed a resurgence in the taste for portraiture. Portraits were a form of social capital for those with the money, time, and wherewithal to commission them—a way to document and highlight their status, affluence, and influence. This particular portrait of Irene Peacock and its fascinating history illuminate a rich period in American art and social history, providing a vivid vignette of a time when patrons were obsessed with image, beauty, and social standing.



Dawn R. Brean, joined the Frick Art & Historical Center as associate curator of Decorative Arts in 2015. Dawn develops thematic tours for Clayton, the home of Henry Clay Frick, and contributes to exhibition programming for the Frick Art Museum. Past projects include *Memory & Mourning: Death in the Gilded Age*, *Duty and Devotion: The Women of Clayton*, *Revive, Remix, Respond: Contemporary Ceramics and The Frick Pittsburgh*, and *The Industrialist Landscape: Henry Clay Frick's Career and Collecting*. Before joining the Frick, Dawn was curatorial assistant of Decorative Arts and Design at the Carnegie Museum of Art, where she contributed to the 2012 exhibition *Inventing the Modern World: Decorative Arts at the World's Fairs, 1851-1939*. Dawn received a master's degree in Museum Studies from the Cooperstown Graduate Program and holds a B.A. in English and History from the College of William and Mary.

Notes

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Caspar Buberl, Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument, Lafayette Square, Buffalo, New York, c. 1905. George Keller, architect. Detroit Publishing Company. Courtesy Library of Congress.

Mismanagement, Ineptitude, Chicanery—and Success:

THE SAGA OF THE BUFFALO CIVIL WAR MONUMENT, 1878-1891

Daniel D. Reiff

One of the most artistically successful of the “elaborated type” of column monument—the traditional column monument model dating to Roman times, but with figures on bastions or pedestals around the base—commemorating the Civil War was erected in Buffalo, New York.¹ But like so many of these major commissions, conducted by groups who had little or no experience in undertaking a large public enterprise of this sort, there were often problems along the way, including lack of sufficient funds, mismanagement, ineptitude, poor artistic judgment,² political machinations, and even chicanery. A case in point is the saga of erecting the impressive commemorative column monument in Buffalo, New York.

Buffalo became a prosperous city by the mid-nineteenth century thanks to its location at the eastern end of Lake Erie, near the Buffalo River, which connected Lake Erie (and all the Great Lakes to the west) to Lake Ontario; although the river itself was not navigable due to Niagara Falls a few miles to the north. From its beginnings in the early nineteenth century, Buffalo was a major ship-building center, and a jumping-off point for settlers going westward. After the opening of the Erie Canal, in 1825 (Buffalo was its western terminus), the city became a busy trans-shipment port. All the goods, mainly lumber and grain, from the Great Lakes basin had to be unloaded at Buffalo and sent eastward by canal barge or train. In the 1870 census, the City of Buffalo recorded a population of 117,714 persons (with another 60,000 in the surrounding Erie County). The prosperous and sophisticated city had grand plans too: Buffalo’s parks and parkway system was designed by Frederick Law Olmsted in 1868 and carried out in subsequent decades; major architectural projects such as the huge Buffalo State Hospital (asylum) was designed by H. H. Richardson in 1870 (and completed in 1895).

During the Civil War, Buffalo and Erie County contributed 15,249 men to the Union armed forces—the largest number being in the infantry and cavalry. At the end of the war, the toll of death was significant: 4,704 dead or missing—almost 31% of the volunteers.³ Clearly, a suitable memorial was essential, and efforts to build one began in the early 1870s. But getting a large memorial commissioned, funded and erected was not an easy task.

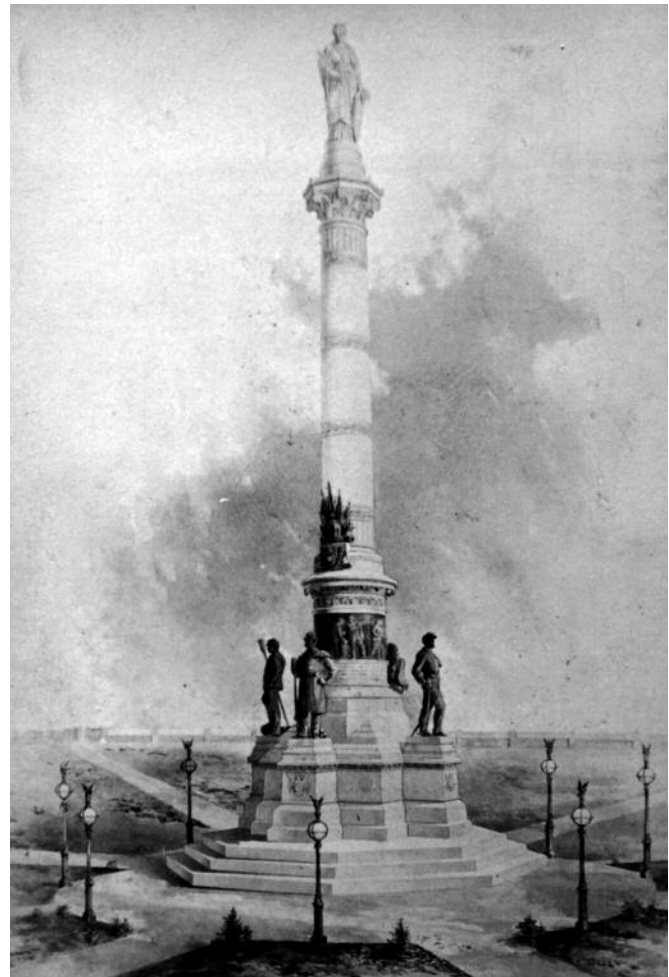
Often it is hard to follow all the ins and outs of such planning and building campaigns, but fortunately, a reporter—or a stringer—for the professional journal the *American Architect and Building News* kept track of the business in Buffalo, and provided a unique account of the whole story. Although the *American Architect and Building News* was ostensibly a

professional journal for architects and builders, it also carried a great amount of material, in articles and illustrations, that would also appeal to sculptors. Commemorative column monuments appeared frequently. Between 1877 and 1904 there were at least thirty-nine articles and numerous illustrations regarding commemorative columns in the United States; and, between 1881 and 1904, thirty-eight articles, again often with illustrations, on European examples. Two, from Mexico and Peru, appeared in 1887 and 1893. Clearly the journal had a vivid interest in memorial projects on both sides of the Atlantic.

Buffalo’s monument resulted from competitions held in the 1870s, which were won by noted Hartford, Connecticut architect George Keller (1842-1935), with sculpture by New York City sculptor Caspar Buberl (1834-1899). But the difficulties in arriving at the finished product as reported by the *AABN* echo the complexities of such large-scale public works and make the Buffalo monument an example of a common situation.

The first effort in erecting a Civil War memorial for Buffalo was inaugurated by the local Ladies’ Union Monument Association; the group had raised some funds, and even obtained a design for a memorial arch from H. H. Richardson in 1874. There was a groundbreaking in 1876, but the impressive stone “triumphal” arch proposed proved too costly to build and had to be abandoned.⁴ But Buffalo was determined to have its own Civil War monument. The *AABN* editors’ account of the subsequent developments in this quest is worth quoting in detail:

In 1878 the city authorities took the matter [of a Civil War memorial] up and invited designs in competition for a monument to cost not over twenty thousand dollars. Thirty or forty plans were submitted, and that of Mr. George Keller of Hartford, whose eminence in this class of design is familiar to all our readers, was selected as the best. The committee, however, as they naively asserted, were ‘unanimously of opinion that designs submitted by Buffalo talent were in no wise satisfactory, and that others more artistic could be prepared, and that the work should not go out of the city if they could obtain designs here that would insure the creation of a monument which would not only be a fitting memorial to the soldiers and sailors who died in defence [sic] of the Union, but the pride of every citizen as being evidence of what can be provided here by home talent;’ and they therefore kept Mr. Keller’s drawings, and invited the resident architects to submit new designs ‘which,’ as they say, ‘should compare favorably with the designs prepared by the more experienced monument builders of



L to R: The first Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument design, as built in Manchester, New Hampshire. George Keller, architect. *The American Architect and Building News*, September 13, 1879. The revised design, which omitted the fountain. Courtesy Buffalo History Museum.

the East.' The Buffalo architects were apparently too honorable to take advantage of such a questionable invitation, for nothing was received in response to it except a drawing from a co-operative stone company, and after waiting for six months in vain, Mr. Keller's design was definitely adopted.

Two years more passed away, and a new city government came into office, of which the most prominent was one of the unsuccessful architects in the competition of 1878... [Funds from the Ladies Association, and city funds were available] so that there was nothing in the way of carrying out the selected design into execution, when for some unexplained reason the previous action of the City Council was rescinded...and [they decided] to advertise for new designs on their own account; which has accordingly been done, in spite of Mr. Keller's very justifiable protest.⁵

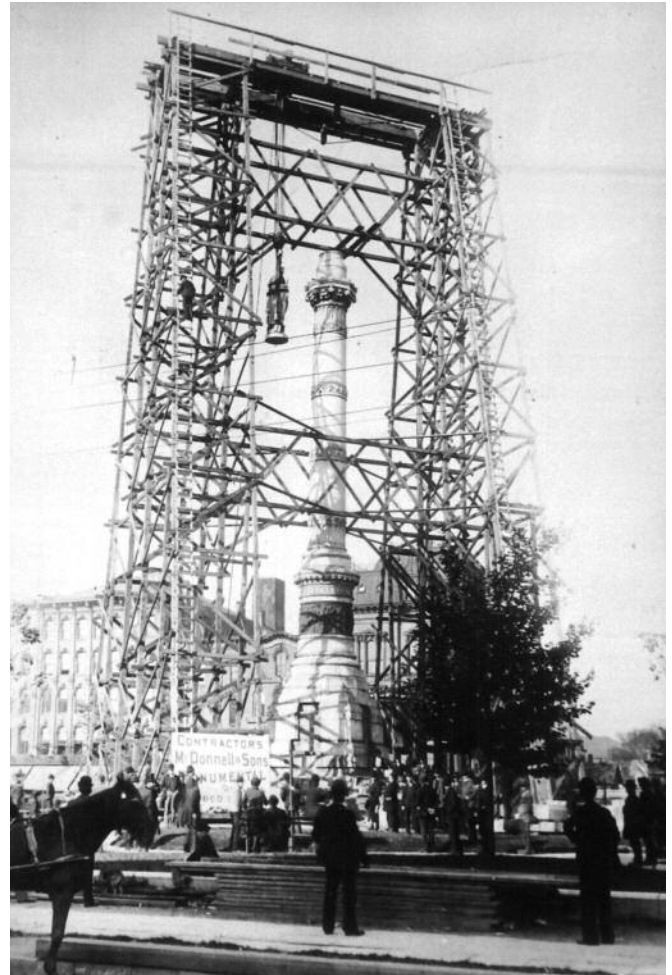
So in 1881 the City Council had a second competition and received additional submissions. To this maneuver Keller took umbrage. He recruited the assistance of the American Institute of Architects, which from its headquarters...in New York issued a statement that the Buffalo Common Council was honor-bound

to proceed with the Keller plan. All designs of the 1881 competition were thrown out.⁶

The *AABN* kept a close eye on all these events in Buffalo (apparently to inform their readers of how *not* to conduct such a competition) and reports on its "progress" appeared regularly in the journal during the summer.⁷

Finally, in September, the *AABN* could report that "the long discussion about the Soldiers and Sailors Monument has come to an end, by the adoption of Mr. Keller's design," and provided a summary report. It had not been smooth sailing: after the designs from the second competition had been rejected,

a committee was appointed to go to New York and solicit designs from eminent sculptors there.⁸ The committee called upon Mr. St. Gaudens and Mr. White, the sculptor and architect of the Farragut monument, and upon Mr. Le Brun, a well-known architect of New York. These gentlemen declined to enter into any competition, but were willing to accept the commission if it should be entrusted to them. One of the special committee...argued that...[St. Gaudens] was becoming so famous that a monument now made by him for fifty thousand dollars would some day cost a hundred and fifty thousand but this aspect of the matter was quite lost upon his follows,



L to R: The Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument, as originally built, 1882-84, and being rebuilt with a more substantial base, 1891. George Keller, architect. Courtesy Buffalo History Museum.

who gave much more attention to the remark of Mr. Alderman Beebe, that the payment to Mr. St. Gaudens for the sum which he demanded for a sketch would 'eat up' one-quarter of the funds available to pay for such a work.⁹

Aldermen Benzinger stated that the design by Keller was indeed "good enough for him or for the people of Buffalo." Benzinger had traveled "extensively about the country, and in almost every town and village he had seen soldiers' monuments 'sticking out of the ground,'" and felt that it was time to have one sticking out of the ground in Buffalo. So Keller's design was at last unanimously adopted.¹⁰

Architect George Keller was indeed well known for his Civil War monuments, the most famous probably being his Gettysburg Soldiers National Monument (1865-69), and one at the Antietam battlefield (1867, dedicated 1880). Interestingly enough, according to his own account, Keller prepared two designs for the 1878 Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument in Buffalo. As Keller wrote,

My original design for Buffalo was a monumental column in the center of a fountain having four statues of bronze distributed around the margin of the basin. It

received the majority of the votes of the committee, but failed of adoption on account of objections to a fountain—and a new competition was ordered.¹¹

For the new competition and second "final" version, his design was revised (the fountain component was eliminated) and enlarged from 50 to 85 feet. To assist him with the sculptural components of the monuments Keller enlisted noted New York City sculptor Caspar Buberl, who had made the Fulton Memorial in Brooklyn (1872), worked with Keller on the monument in Manchester, New Hampshire (1878-79) and, beginning in 1882, was sculpting the colossal frieze for the Pension Building in Washington, D. C.¹² Despite this big Federal project, Buberl was the sole sculptor for the Buffalo column. In the same year as the Buffalo Monument, Keller and Buberl also worked on the Soldiers and Sailors Memorial Arch in Hartford (1885), with Buberl doing the south frieze and angels at the pinnacles.

The contract for constructing the monument was given to the Mt. Waldo Granite Company of Bangor, Maine. Work on the monument, located at the center of Lafayette Square in front of the Court House, was begun in 1882, with the ceremonial laying of the cornerstone. As A. W. Hengerer, the Masonic Grand



The completed Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument, Lafayette Square, Buffalo, with expanded base. Courtesy Buffalo History Museum.

Master stated,

This monument, while it will be inanimate, will not be mute, for it will tell the generations to come of the men who in their death, took with them immortal glory and the gratitude of a great nation.¹³

As originally built, the foundation of the monument was an octagon made up of three tall steps, which still exists but has been modified. On top of this is a rectangular base with half-pyramids on its corners and podia extended from its four sides. On these stand six-foot tall bronze statues representing the four branches of the military: an infantryman holding his rifle in his right hand, and a laurel wreath at his side in his left; a sailor, one foot resting on a tackle block; an artilleryman holding a cannon ram-rod; and a cavalryman in broad-brimmed hat with his left hand on the pommel of his sword. All are well-crafted figures in naturalistic poses and authentic uniforms.

On the front of each podium is a bronze relief of a spread-winged eagle, with a shield on its chest. The device on the shield is appropriate for each figure: a bugle for the soldier, crossed sabers for the cavalryman, an anchor for the sailor, crossed canons for artilleryman. Behind the statues rises the cylindrical pedestal for the column. Incised at the base of the pedestal, just

below the bronze frieze, are two texts: on one side, a long dedication; on the other, an excerpt from President Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address. Who selected the texts is not known.

The dedication speaks eloquently of the sacrifice of the citizens of Buffalo: The monument was built "in grateful remembrance of the soldiers and sailors who in the war to maintain the Union laid down their lives in the cause of their country and of mankind," and that "the coming generations, taught by their example, will cherish the fruits of their valor and devotion, and make their memory immortal." The bronze relief above shows President Lincoln and his generals.

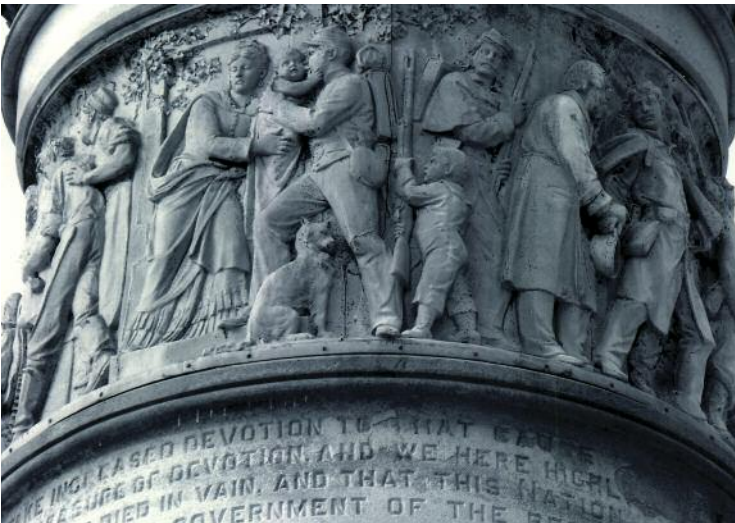
The words of Lincoln, adapted from the solemn end of his Gettysburg Address, are on the other side of the pedestal:

From these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they give the last full measure of devotion, and we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain, and that this nation, having had under God, a new birth of freedom, government of the people, by the people, and for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

Above the band of text is a special feature: a sculpted frieze in bronze, similar to the sort of relief frieze that Buberl was making for the Pension Building. It depicts Lincoln holding the scroll of the original call for 75,000 Union troops, and scenes of the men responding to the announcement. Some of these are touching vignettes drawn from real life: one that is particularly poignant shows a man—apparently a mechanic or blacksmith—reading a newspaper bought from a newsboy who marches off to the left while to the right a woman, most likely the man's wife, buries her face in the hem of her skirt. Another realistic scene shows a soldier taking leave of his wife and two children (and faithful dog). Sculpted narrative vignettes such as this (and the Soldiers and Sailors Arch in Hartford) that show the reactions of common people to Lincoln's call to arms, are certainly rare.¹⁴

Above the frieze rises the column, made of several unfluted drums, with bands of bound bay leaves disguising the joints. The lowest drum has classical fluting at the base as does also the topmost drum directly under the capital. This treatment of the shaft has antecedents in one of Robert Mills' designs for the Washington Monument in Baltimore, Maryland, and the July Column in the Place de la Bastille in Paris, France, by Louis-Joseph Duc. At the base of the shaft is a bronze still life with military flags behind a spread-winged eagle perched above the seal of Buffalo resting on two shields.

The capital is an original creation by Keller, stylistically closer to Gothic than to classical examples. At the summit is a figure usually identified as the Genius of Buffalo. The crenellated mural crown that she wears suggests that she is a personification of the city, like the classical Tyche or Roman city goddesses. In her right hand she holds a sheathed short sword across her torso, and her left hand, grasping two laurel wreaths, rests on a shield ornamented with the seal of Buffalo at her side. From the ground below to the top of the head of the crowning figure, the total height of the original Buffalo monument was 85 feet.



Caspar Buberl, Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument (detail).
 Lafayette Square, Buffalo, New York. George Keller, architect.
 Photographs by author.

The dedication ceremony on July 4, 1884 was a signal event. Nearly 200,000 people attended and there was a three-mile long procession of dignitaries, regiments, and, most notably, members of the Grand Army of the Republic, survivors of the great war. As the reporter for the *Buffalo Evening News* observed, “Women held up their children and men shuddered as these men and relics of that fearful time passed, and the soldiers reminded all of the large number who marched to their death 20 years ago.”¹⁵

Unfortunately, there was a great downpour, and the ceremonial speeches were presented in the nearby opera house. The unveiling also did not go quite as planned, as the canvas draped over the monument would not fall off (it was later removed by hand).

Keller’s and Buberl’s monument is certainly one of the finest of the elaborated type of the basic commemorative column monument. The stepped substructure and figures close to the column pedestal help give the silhouette of the composition the unity that (according to the *AABN* critics) was essential. Equally important, the memorial is not overly freighted with plaques and detailed ornamental carving. Keeping in mind the opinion of the *AABN* editors in their 1877 essay “The Designing of Monuments,”¹⁶ the success of the Buffalo monument was due to the fact that it was indeed designed by an experienced architect—who was used to working in multiple materials, and unifying many elements into a coherent whole.

But the Buffalo saga was hardly over. The *AABN* had kept readers apprised of the monument’s progress; mention of it could be found in several issues subsequent to the first article in

May 1881.¹⁷ The final account was to report its unfortunate and embarrassing aftermath:

The Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Monument at Buffalo, which was designed by Mr. George Keller, of Hartford, after a peculiar competition which some of our readers will remember, and erected under the supervision of Mr. Beebe,¹⁸ of Buffalo, has been found to lean badly, and an examination by expert architects and masons has shown that the foundation, which is said to be of small stones, in mortar of rather inferior quality, has given way. Of course there is nothing to be done except to take the whole affair down, and re-erect it upon a proper foundation, and a contract has already been made for this work. Naturally, there is a certain amount of dissatisfaction [*sic!*] among the persons interested at having to spend five or six thousand dollars in repairing damage caused by the original failure to put two or three hundred dollars in the proper place. But no one seems to know who is to blame. As usual in such cases, the most conspicuous person concerned, Mr. Keller, who was the author of the design, is the one most violently attacked, although he had nothing to do with its execution, and everything indicates that the trouble is not due to any defect in the plans. Fortunately, some of the Park Commissioners are fair enough to say that they themselves furnished the foundation; that if it had been built of proper materials it would have been strong enough, and that they supposed it was so built...¹⁹

The 1890 annual report of the Park Commission goes into greater detail. They discovered:

[the] stones were of small size, uneven in shape, the beds undressed, and laid to a large extent without proper bond or a full bed of mortar. Above the ground level the masonry behind the granite facing was of still more inferior character.²⁰

They also found:

[the] whole foundation settling and the shaft of the monument several inches out of plumb...the damage was not confined to the foundation. Serious damage of a nature very difficult to repair had also been done to several of the largest circular blocks of the shaft. At the joints the granite had chipped off all around the drum from one to two inches in breadth. This was caused by cutting the center of the beds of these cylinders so concave that the mortar did not fill the joints except at the outer edge, which thus bore the whole weight. The important inscription cut on the chief member of the shaft has been partly obliterated by the chipping extending to the lettering of the lowest line. The burden of the great cost of reconstruction which the community must bear is of small account compared with the weight of indignation and mortification felt by our citizens because of so shameful a failure.²¹

Obviously, although the pieces shipped to Buffalo from the granite company in Maine were beautifully carved, it was local labor contracted by the Park Commission that had botched the job of putting it all together.²²



L to R: Drawing of the top of the Buffalo monument, as published in the 20th Annual Report Buffalo Park Commission, 1890, showing the pieces numbered to assist in assembly. The top of the monument, as seen today. Photograph by author.

As rebuilt, the base was somewhat altered. An additional course of masonry was inserted below the statue pedestals, and the three-stepped foundation was replaced by an octagonal plinth, of the same size, below which a wider terrace was constructed with, at each face, six steps with side bastions. With these additions, the monument was now 100 feet tall. It may have been at this time that pairs of canons were added to the four walkways leading up to the monument from the corners of the square. A second terrace and steps were added in the late twentieth century.²³ While the Boston and Worcester monuments were completed a little earlier, the many illustrations of the Buffalo monument in the *AABN* gave it wide exposure.

Hopefully the detailed account of the difficulties in planning and erecting, the Buffalo memorial that the *AABN* provided was a cautionary tale that would prevent equally disappointing, and expensive, errors in other Civil War monument projects.

The Buffalo monument, well-known nationally by the texts and multiple illustrations provided by the *American Architect and Building News*, provided a model for many similar memorials both north and south—as did two other distinguished contemporary monuments of this same type, that in Boston, Massachusetts (Millard Milmore, 1870-77) and in Worcester, Massachusetts (Randolph Rogers, 1871-74).²⁴ Because of the variations that were possible in the “elaborated column” format, artists and architects could devise formal and iconographical programs that satisfied patrons who wished to see special features in the homage they paid to those who fought, were wounded, and died in the Civil War.

The Buffalo monument did seem to have a national fame, for at least one “twin” (or at least “cousin”) of it was erected a few years later—the Confederate Memorial in Montgomery, Alabama, on the capitol grounds, built in 1886-98.²⁵ What may seem unusual is that the Alabama Ladies Memorial Association who spearheaded the project selected a designer from New York City, Alexander Doyle. But given the fact that the infrastructure of the South was badly damaged by the war, the economy was in a desperate state (with Emancipation, there was no longer “free”—i.e. slave—labor in abundance), and that the first priority was recovering the Confederate dead and burying them in appropriate cemeteries, such a grand memorial could not be done locally.

Finding a firm to build their monument was, however, straightforward: New York was a center for artists, architects, contractors, and foundries which were familiar with designing and building war memorials. A search of references to builders of such monuments during this era mentioned or discussed in *Column Monuments*, discovers that at least 43 were located in “New York” (most of whom were probably in the New York City area) and at least 19 are specifically identified as being in “New York City.”²⁶ Quite a number of monuments in the Southern states were in fact built by New York firms, such as ones in Georgia, Kentucky, and South Carolina²⁷ (and the first two prize winners—skipped over as not being “local”—for the Jefferson Davis monument in Richmond, Virginia were from New York City).

The Alabama group’s choice of Alexander Doyle was also

logical: he has previously worked in the South, on the Robert E. Lee Monument in New Orleans (1877-84) for which he sculpted the figure of Lee on top of the Doric column.²⁸ Besides the Lee statue in bronze, Doyle designed the stone figure of *Liberty* for the 1881 monument in Peabody, Massachusetts, and did four bronze figures, and the capping stone statue, for the New Haven, Connecticut monument of 1886-87.

Doyle’s design for the Alabama monument echoed the Buffalo monument in several key ways: the stepped base has figures of the four military branches on bastions attached to the column pedestal; just below the column is a bronze relief of military figures; the column consists of three drums separated by decorative bands—and both monuments are just 85 feet tall. Not only did Doyle have good illustrations of it from the *AABN*, he could also have traveled to Buffalo to see it if he needed to. Thanks to the detailed coverage of its creation, and vicissitudes, Keller’s Buffalo memorial had a surprisingly wide influence.



Alexander Doyle, Confederate Memorial, Montgomery, c. 1886.

Coda

One appeal of column monuments is that beyond being interesting, and often beautiful, works of art and architecture in themselves, they are not “abstract beauty;” they commemorate or memorialize events, people, disasters and triumphs of history, which at one time were of profound importance to the instigators of the project. But in most cases, their meaning has been lost or obscured; a level of meaning not at once apparent

has faded, or has disappeared. Of course, one could propose the question: Are such memorials—now, or in the past—really necessary?

Memorials have been part of the cultural expression, the history, of mankind for thousands of years. What does a look at historical monuments tell us about their purposes? Take the American Civil War, for example. Hundreds and hundreds of memorial monuments exist across the face of America, both in the North and South, and they tell us much about the purposes and limitations of memorials.

The earliest Civil War memorials, erected when the wrenching carnage of the internecine war was fresh to the memory of thousands upon thousands of families, were often the simplest. The sudden loss of brothers and fathers, the destruction of families—and their hoped-for futures—were a living reality for those who visited monuments set up to memorialize the tragedy. Many of these early monuments had only lists of names, dozens and dozens of names, of the fallen heroes of a county, names that authenticated, in a way, their existence—and their loss.

As years wore on, Civil War monuments erected by the next generation often had additional figures of soldiers, of symbolic “Victory” figures, and other iconographic emblems which helped make specific the appearance and details of the war—but it was the lists of names that helped the children of the slain to connect to dimly remembered fathers and uncles.

Monuments erected around 1900, two generations after the Civil War, often have elaborate sculptural tableaux of soldiers in action, and reliefs of military engagements, which served to illustrate, for viewers to whom the events were only “history,” the actuality of the war. With the passage of time, individuals, both great and humble, recede in memory, and even great cataclysms, like the Civil War, are supplanted by later cataclysmic events.

The modern viewer can, of course, assess monuments with historical perspective. Is it mere hagiography? Have the builders attempted to “rewrite” history? A close examination of many Civil War monuments shows that Northern monuments, beyond honoring the memory of the slain soldiers, almost always explain the *reasons* for their sacrifices—such as “to preserve the union,” “that the republic might live,” “for emancipation,” “to make all men free,” “to abolish human slavery.” Southern monuments bowdlerized history, making no reference to the main cause of the war, the ubiquity of Southern slavery. They fought “to defend the rights of states,” and “their way of life.” Yet the hope for national unity after the Civil War was occasionally mentioned in Northern memorials; they fought “to make the Union one people.” At least one city enshrined that ideal in their monument: in Allentown, Pennsylvania, in addition to the usual four military figures, there is a sculpture group, located for visual emphasis on the front of the monument, that depicts a Union and a Confederate soldier standing proudly together on either side of an American flag. A text in raised letters on the statue base expresses the postwar yearning for reunification of the nation: “One Flag, One Country.”²⁹ However, this may be the only Civil War monument in the North that includes a

Confederate soldier, and an optimistic vision for the post-Civil War era.

Monuments, then, put history in permanent, corporeal form, become a mnemonic device for a past event, or idea, or person. Our sense of duty, honor, fairness—our grief—often commands us to do this, to memorialize those who died too young, who died without progeny, whose lives were expunged before their contributions to the chain of life could be fulfilled. The monuments stand as a rebuff to the lines of Isaac Watts: “Time, like an ever-rolling stream, bears all its sons away; they fly forgotten, as a dream dies at the opening day.”

As Henry James wrote, “The act of obliteration is breathlessly swift. However fast history can be made, it can be unmade still faster.” Are memorials necessary? Of course they are. Memorials provide a marker in time, in history, of human events, of human loss. For even if we must later look up their meaning in a book, they are perpetual records of a moment in time which often transformed untold lives.

Memory itself is perishable. Who today, for example, remembers the great *Slocum* disaster, a catastrophic steamboat fire in New York City on July 15, 1904 in which over *one thousand* New Yorkers died? A modest monument was indeed erected in a small New York City park: but the number of dead is not mentioned on it, nor is any list of those killed provided.³⁰ Unless the memory of the disaster was handed down within families—as it was in my father’s—those who died, died twice: once in the flesh, and again to history.

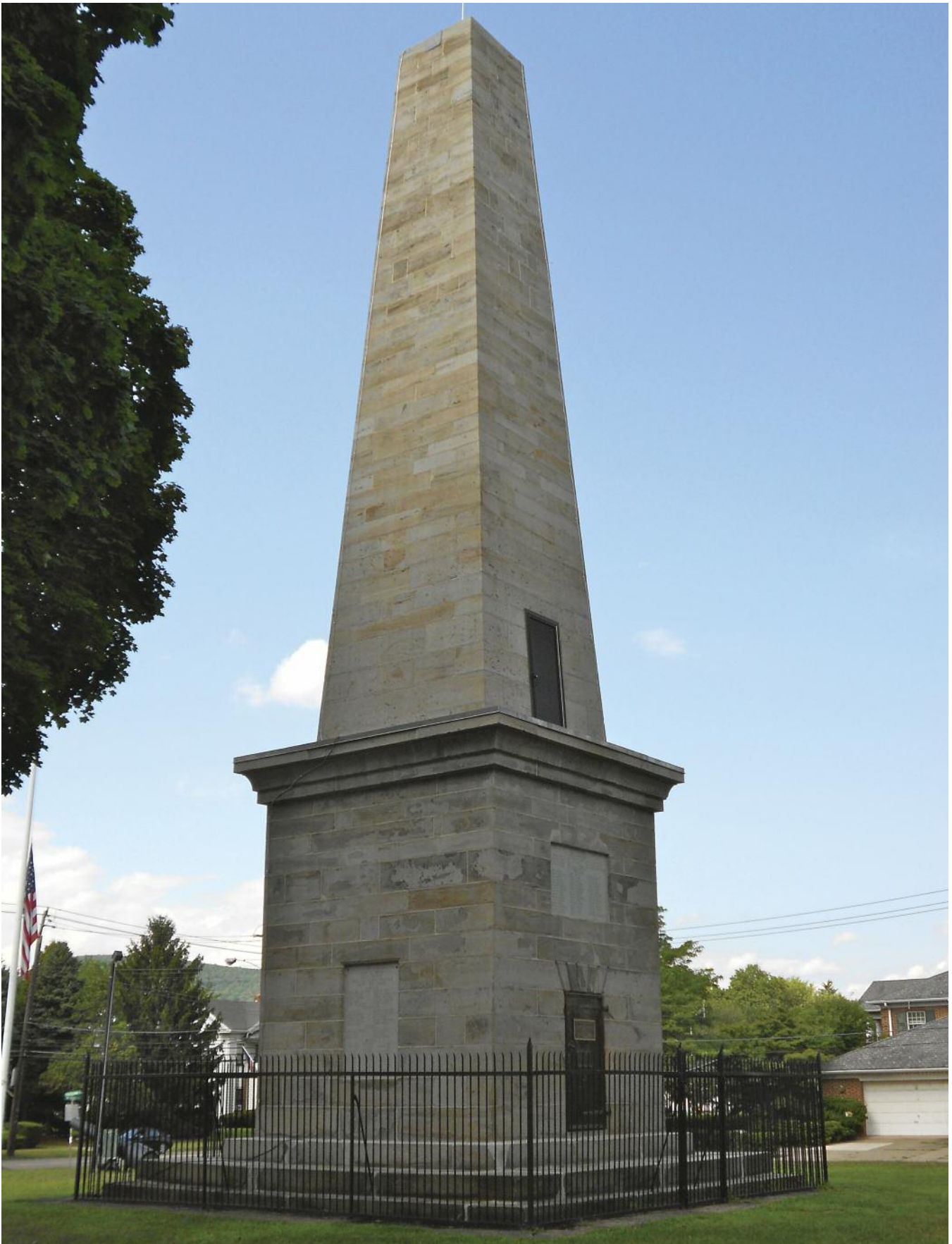
Memorials can have a salutary effect on the survivors, the witnesses, by recalling to mind the historic, or tragic, event. Such memorials to the untimely dead give us, the living, impetus for rumination. In the shadow of their extinction, we recall to mind the things we have done, and the things we have left undone. To paraphrase the Great Litany, such events “inspire us, in our several callings, to do the work” we are called to do, “with singleness of heart, and for the common good”—and, I might add, in fulfillment of the hopes and aspirations of those whose lives were snuffed out before their time.



Daniel D. Reiff (B.A., M.A., Ph.D., Harvard University) SUNY Distinguished Service Professor emeritus, who taught at Fredonia State University College for 34 years, is a specialist in American architecture. His publications include *Houses from Books: Treatises, Pattern Books, and Catalogs in American Architecture, 1738-1950* (2000); *Architecture in Fredonia, New York, 1811-1997: From Log Cabin to I. M. Pei* (1997); *Historic Camps of Mt. Arab and Eagle Crag Lakes* (1995); *Small Georgian Houses in England and Virginia: Origins and Development through the 1750s* (1986); and *Washington Architecture, 1791-1861: Problems in Development* (1971, 1977). He began his interest in commemorative and memorial column monuments as examples of the “progeny” of famous buildings and monuments (such as the columns of Trajan and Marcus Aurelius) in his art history classes—that students could find in their own travels. He began collecting examples, and researching them, in the late 1980s. On retirement in 2004, with a mass of photographs and data, he enlisted a co-author, Jania K. Darling, a classicist (recently retired from the University of California at Santa Cruz). The five volume study (see note 1), with over 1,000 pages of text and 917 illustrations, took them 5½ years to write. His two sons, in their peregrinations, took photos of many of the more remote columns, from Buenos Aires and Lima, to Kiev, Bishkek, and Kabul.

Notes

1. For a detailed study of the history of column monuments, see Janina K. Darling and Daniel D. Reiff, *Column Monuments: Commemorative and Memorial Column Monuments from Ancient Times to the Twenty-First Century, A History and Guide* (Lewiston, NY: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2018) in 5 volumes.
2. The first monument to John C. Calhoun in Charleston, South Carolina, a bronze statue (by sculptor Albert E. Harnish of Rome), was dedicated in 1887; it was considered artistically and historically unsatisfactory. It was removed, and a second one—a column monument—(by architects Renwick, Aspinwall & Renwick of New York City, and sculptor J. Massey Rhind, also of New York City) was commissioned, and dedicated in 1896. See Darling and Reiff, 838-40.
3. Henry Wayland Hill, ed., *Municipality of Buffalo, New York: A History, 1720-1923*. Volume 1 (New York and Chicago: Lewis Historical Publishing Company, Inc., 1923), 316.
4. See J. K. Ochsner, *H. H. Richardson: Complete Architectural Works* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1982) 144-146.
5. *AABN* (May 28, 1881) 253.
6. David F. Ransom, *Geo. Keller, Architect* (Hartford: The Stowe-Day Foundation, 1978), 125.
7. See the *AABN* issues of July 23, 1881, 33; July 30, 1881, 45-46; and Aug. 6, 1881, 58.
8. *AABN* (Sept. 17, 1881) 128.
9. *Ibid.*
10. *Ibid.*
11. Ransom, 121. The first Buffalo design was not “wasted,” however, for Keller submitted it to a competition in Manchester, New Hampshire, won it, and erected that monument between 1878-79. The sculptors for this original design were: Caspar Buberl for the cavalryman, artilleryman, and capping figure; the sailor and infantryman were by W. D. Richards; and the bas-relief by J. T. Hartley. These were the artists who worked on the monument as erected in Manchester.
12. For Caspar Buberl (1834-1899), who had been born in Königsberg, and studied in Prague and Vienna before coming to the United States in 1854, see his Wikipedia entry. The terracotta frieze for the Pension Building in Washington, D. C. (1882-85, designed by Montgomery C. Meigs) was 1,200 feet long, but composed of variants of Buberl’s “master” frieze, 69 feet long. See also D. Maddex, *Historic Buildings of Washington, D. C.* (Pittsburgh: Ober Park Associates, Inc., 1973) 126-129; J. M. Goode, *The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D. C.* (Washington, D. C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1974) 231; and Ransom, 13, 25, 121, 123, 127, 133, 139, 143, and 197. How Keller and Buberl became acquainted is not known, but according to Ransom, *Ibid.*, 123, “Buberl studied with Robert E. Launitz, who had been a member along with Keller’s father of a club that met at the Knickerbocker Cottage in New York.”
13. Unidentified local newspaper, July 4, 1882.
14. The sculpted frieze is four and a half feet tall and 30 feet long; Ransom, 127.
15. *Buffalo Evening News*, July 5, 1884, quoted in Fred Turner, “Liberty Blended With Unity at Unveiling of Soldiers’ & Sailors’ Monument in 1884,” *Buffalo Evening News*, June 28, 1947. The 1947 article reproduces a photograph of what must be Keller’s “final” presentation drawing of the monument. The eight lamps with glass globes and eagle finials, which ornamented the basin of his first design, are here repositioned in the grass at the edge of the circular walkway around the monument. But from early photographs of the monument, it seems that the lamps were never added.
16. *AABN* (Aug. 18, 1877) 262-63.
17. *AABN*, (July 23, 1881) 33; (July 30, 1881) 45-46; (August 6, 1881) 58; (September 17, 1881) 128 quoted above; (May 7, 1887) 222, illus. only; (July 16, 1887) as an illustration in the article “Sketches of Buffalo;” and (August 31, 1881) 93.
18. Alderman (and Civil War veteran) Milton E. Beebe subsequently, in 1885, left Buffalo and settled in Fredonia, New York, a village 50 miles to the south, where he continued his architectural practice and kept an office in Buffalo. His departure was not just due to the monument construction “scandal,” but probably because he ran for mayor of Buffalo in 1881, and was defeated by Grover Cleveland. See “Milton E. Beebe,” in Butler F. Dilley, ed., *Biographical and Portrait Cyclopaedia of Chautauqua County, New York* (Philadelphia: John M. Gresham & Co., 1891) 285-286. Special Collections, Reed Library, Fredonia State University.
19. *AABN*, (Aug. 31, 1889) 93.
20. See “Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Monument,” 11-14 in the *20th Annual Report, Buffalo Park Commission* (January 1890). A photograph of the monument as built is included. The cornerstone box had been inexplicably removed and put within the masonry below, which, in settling, had cracked the solder and “water entering the seams had soaked the contents, blackening the documents and partly reducing them to pulp.” The reconstruction would cost \$9,000.
21. *Ibid.* “Soldiers’ and Sailors’ Monument,” 11-14 in the *20th Annual Report, Buffalo Park Commission* (January 1890). A photograph of the monument as built is included. The cornerstone box had been inexplicably removed and put within the masonry below, which, in settling, had cracked the solder and “water entering the seams had soaked the contents, blackening the documents and partly reducing them to pulp.” The reconstruction would cost \$9,000.
22. A large-scale line drawing of the top of the monument, reproduced in Ransom, 126 and marked “Courtesy: Buffalo Department of Public Works” must be one of the “assembly guide” sheets that accompanied the granite, for each course is numbered (the fluted necking band is 29, the capital 30, etc.) so that it would be assembled in the correct order.
23. In the early twentieth century (according to vintage postcards) in deference to automobile traffic, the square was cut back to a circle, and the cannons disappeared. Photographs in the Buffalo History Museum show both the original form of the monument, a later photo of contractors McDonnell & Sons replacing the capping figure on the rebuilt monument (from a colossal scaffolding around and above the monument), and views of the rebuilt memorial at various subsequent dates. The monument was “cleaned” by sandblasting (masonry parts only) in 1942 and 1964, and cleaned and repointed in 1987. For a discussion, and illustrations, of the Buffalo monument and the Manchester one, see Darling and Reiff, 724-32 and 733-34.
24. For a discussion, and illustrations, of these two monuments, see Darling and Reiff, 715-20 and 721-24.
25. See Darling and Reiff, 736-738, and illustrations. The Montgomery monument is inscribed simply “1861-1865 Consecrated to the memory of the Confederate Soldiers and Seamen.”
26. This was achieved by a digital search of Chapters 43-54 in Darling and Reiff (603-1013, in volumes 3 and 4), covering nineteenth and twentieth century monuments.
27. For the Charleston, South Carolina monument, see note 2 above.
28. For the Lee Monument, see Darling and Reiff, 703, and illustrations. The monument is depicted prior to the recent removal of the capping statue of Robert E. Lee.
29. For a discussion of this monument, see Darling and Reiff, 755-56 and figs. 48-43 to 48-45. This study (*supra* n.1) includes sixty-four Civil War monuments (137 pp. text, 178 illus.), both North and South, and in most cases the commemorative texts are included. A survey of these would clearly show the “agenda” of those who erected them, in their own words.
30. The “Slocum Memorial Fountain” was dedicated in 1906 in Tompkins Square Park, Lower Manhattan, commemorating the approximately 1,300 passengers (and 35 crew) who died; most were from the St. Mark’s Evangelical Lutheran Church on 6th Street near 2nd Avenue. The marble monument *cum* drinking fountain (by sculptor Bruno Louis Zimm) was donated by the “Sympathy Society of German Ladies.”



Wyoming Monument, Wyoming, Pennsylvania. Thomas U. Walter, architect. 1833/1842-1843. Photograph by Smallbones.

The Wyoming Massacre

ON STONE AND IN MEMORY

Michael J. Lewis

On July 3, 1778, a force of some 400 armed Patriots marched toward the settlement of Wyoming, Pennsylvania, near modern Wilkes-Barre, where they met a larger party of English Loyalists and their Seneca Indian allies. After firing several volleys, the Patriots were surprised by a flank attack and utterly annihilated. Most were killed or captured (which invariably meant death by torture); no more than 70 survived.

Such was the Wyoming Massacre, one of the bloodiest defeats suffered by the American cause during the Revolutionary War. It was also one of the most traumatic: the widows and orphaned children of the slain settlers, given no time to grieve, were expelled from the Wyoming Valley and made to flee on foot through the surrounding mountains. Control of Northeastern Pennsylvania fell to the English, a strategic setback for the Continental Army. Although the settlement was eventually reestablished, the memory of the calamity would forever remain the central founding myth of the Wyoming Valley.

But before historical events can take on mythic status, the last eyewitnesses must first pass into history themselves. This takes half a century or more. In our own day it took until 2004 for World War II's "Greatest Generation" to get their national memorial, a full 59 years after the end of that war. So it was with the American Revolution's Greatest Generation. During the 1830s and 1840s there came a great wave of public interest in the Wyoming Massacre, which expressed itself in literature, architecture, and art. The first and most tangible sign is the Wyoming Monument (1833-1843), the combination sepulcher and obelisk in which were interred the bones of the dead, many bearing the marks of the tomahawk.¹ But it is the humble mass-market print that spoke most eloquently about the meaning of the Massacre—and how that meaning changed over the years.

F. O. C. Darley's *Wyoming* (1852) and Alonzo Chappel's *Massacre at Wyoming* (1858), the work of two popular illustrators, are the most ambitious and famous images of the events of 1778. Translated into steel engravings, and often tinted by hand, they carried the image of the battle to a national audience. They are similar, each showing a scene of murderous violence in which colonists face violent death, with no hope of quarter. Yet there are also curious differences. The monumental figures at the center of Darley's *Wyoming* have all the dignity and grandeur of classical statuary as they perform a noble act of sacrifice. But Chappel gives us a turbulent scene of scalping, tomahawking, shooting, and clubbing—with no central focus and no clearly marked central figures. Its action is dispersed, not concentrated.

How could two works of art, created but six years apart, show what is essentially the same scene in such different fashion? To answer this it helps to know what happened in 1778, but also what happened during those six years.

In the summer of 1778 the English army, reeling from its defeat at Saratoga the previous fall and France's subsequent (and opportunistic) declaration of war, changed its tactics. It turned to their Tory loyalists who with their Indian allies, would raid the frontier settlements. The force that entered the Wyoming Valley in late June, known as Butler's Rangers, consisted of Loyalists from upstate New York led by Colonel John Butler. With them was an auxiliary force of Iroquois warriors, most of them Senecas. They were led by two seasoned Seneca chiefs—a tough seventy-year-old warrior named Old Smoke (Kaieñākwahtoñ) and the younger Cornplanter (Gaiänt'wakê), whose likeness is recorded in a stunning portrait in the New York Historical Society. Old Smoke and Cornplanter had fought on opposite sides during French and Indian War but now united to fight on the British side. Estimates for the size of the combined Loyalist-Indian force range as high as 1100 to 1600, but the most accurate figure may be that found in the diary of one of Butler's Rangers, Richard Cartwright, who describes the force as consisting of 110 Rangers and 464 Iroquois. That is barely 600 men, but it would be enough.

Against them were the farmers of the Wyoming Valley. One sometimes hears that most able-bodied men had left to serve with in the Continental Army, leaving only the young, old, and infirm. This is not true. There were certainly enough armed men to defend the settlement but the problem was that they had to be concentrated decisively. Seven forts stretched out along a twelve mile stretch of the Susquehanna River, from West Pittston upriver to Hanover downriver, each its own little garrison. The stockade at Forty-Fort was largest, about 220 feet square and over an acre in size, and so it was here that most of the settlers gathered.² But not everyone came; the forty soldiers in Pittston, for example, were unwilling to cross the Susquehanna and leave their families undefended, and they remained in their fort.

Nonetheless, the stockade at Forty-Fort was able to assemble a substantial fighting force by July 3. Officially designated the 24th regiment of the Connecticut Militia (the northern tier of Pennsylvania was then claimed by Connecticut in a land dispute), it mustered perhaps 400 men in arms. So long as they stayed in their fort with their families, they were safe. But while they waited, the enemy would burn their



Felix Octavio Carr F. O. C. Darley (1822-1888), *Wyoming*, 1852. Steel engraving. Courtesy New York Public Library.

houses, seize their cattle, destroy their crops; all the backbreaking labor of five or more years would be lost in an afternoon, meaning starvation. This argument was persuasive. And so when Loyalist forces entered the valley on July 3, they marched out to meet them.

The Patriot forces spread themselves out in a long thin line, perhaps 300 or 400 yards across, approaching the Loyalists, who by order of their commander “lay flat upon the ground, waiting their approach.”³ The Patriots fired three volleys, at which point the large force of Seneca warriors, who had lain concealed in marshy wetlands, broke from cover and attacked the Patriot line from the left. A frantic order was given to turn, so as to protect the flank, but as the companies broke formation and tried to pivot, the line disintegrated. Their retreat turned into a terrified rout.

The company at the extreme left, from Plymouth, Pennsylvania, was cut off and its survivors captured. They, along with the other captives, were killed that evening; in some instances they were made to kneel in a circle and were tomahawked, one after the other; others they were tortured with fire. Witnesses heard and watched these atrocities from

across the river, in agony at their helplessness to intervene. It is these killings that caused the events of that day to be known as the Wyoming Massacre and not the Battle of Wyoming.

In recent years some scholars have begun to dismiss the eyewitness accounts of torture as mere wartime propaganda, with no factual basis. One well-reviewed book stated flatly that no torture took place at all, and that such accounts were “completely fictional.”⁴ But this is to overlook contemporary documents that frankly acknowledge the killing of captives. Colonel Butler, the Tory commander, who would have good reason to conceal atrocities that took place under his command, conceded the killings in his official letter:

in the destruction of this Settlement not a single Person has been hurt of the Inhabitants but such as were in arms, to those indeed the Indians gave no quarter.⁵

In fact, it was almost impossible for him to keep the Indians from slaughtering every prisoner that fell into their hands and of these he could rescue only five:

The Indians were so exasperated...that it was with the great difficulty I could save the lives of those few.



Alonzo Chappel (1828-1887), *Massacre at Wyoming*, 1858. Courtesy New York Public Library.

But one account of the battle and its aftermath was indeed fictional. This is the garbled report that the first exhausted refugees brought with them when they arrived in Poughkeepsie, New York, where it was published on July 20. According to it, Colonel Denison, the commander at Forty-Fort, approached the victorious Colonel Butler under a flag of truce to ask what terms of surrender he offered. The terse reply, supposedly, was “the hatchet.” Accordingly, Butler’s men and their Indian allies drove the survivors into the fort and set it on fire, killing everyone.

The story was reprinted in Philadelphia’s *Pennsylvania Packet* on July 30 and created a national sensation.⁶ It was absolutely false, for no women or children were killed at the fort, and as more refugees arrived, bringing equally horrifying but more accurate accounts of the battle, a fuller picture emerged. But the “hatchet” anecdote, once released, would not go back into the bottle. It continued to circulate throughout the Victorian era and, if anything, it gained a new lease on life, for commercial illustration now gave indelible images to what previously could only be imagined.

Most culpable for reviving the myth was the historian John

Frost (1800-1859) and his overworked illustrator, William Croome (1790-1860).⁷ Frost, a Harvard-trained teacher in Philadelphia, published a *History of the United States: For the Use of Schools and Academies* (1836) that gave a lurid summary of the Wyoming Massacre:

Colonel John Butler, their leader, with his Tories and Indians, to save themselves the trouble of murdering individually their vanquished enemies, with the women and children, shut them all up in the houses and barracks, set fire to the buildings, and with savage exultation, saw them all perish in the flames.⁸

Of course, this was nothing more than the discredited Poughkeepsie letter, still circulating a half century later. If this was history at its shoddiest, Frost compounded his offense by publishing an incendiary illustration of the massacre. His *Pictorial History of the United States* of 1846 showed only a vignette of the ruined settlement but two years later his *Thrilling Incidents of the Wars of the United States* presented a vision of demonic fury: women and children slaughtered, marauding Indian braves bearing torches and swinging hatchets, caught in the garish light of the burning fort.⁹

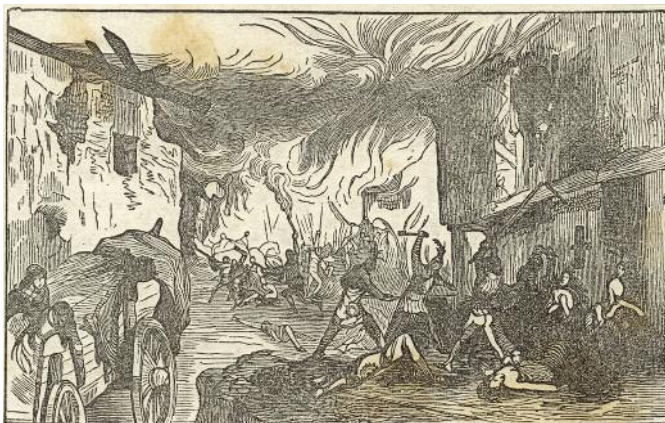
As Frost's books reached a national audience, they eventually reached those who knew the real story. After all, there were still a few aged survivors of 1778 to set him straight. Somebody must have done so, because a chastened Frost now gave a reasonably accurate account: after the stockade at Forty-Forty surrendered,

thirty men, and two hundred women then crossed the river, and commenced a distressing march through the woods to Northampton county.

Of course, this was utterly contradicted by Croome's image of a general slaughter. Were the overworked author and his overworked illustrator too busy to make their efforts harmonize? Or was Frost only too happy to contradict himself, knowing from personal experience that nothing sells like crude sensationalism? Whatever his scruples, his publishers had fewer, and as late as 1873 they repackaged Croome's gruesome illustration with Frost's earlier bogus account in his posthumous *Pictorial History of Indian Wars and Captivities*.¹⁰

The fact is, the false account of the Indians driving the women and children into the fort and then setting it ablaze was too good a story not to repeat. It is one of those false but indestructible stories we have learned to call "urban legends." And while, by 1845, the story had already been scrupulously corrected in Charles Miner's *History of Wyoming* (1845), authors and artists continued to dine out on the more exciting sham version. Worst was John L. Denison's *Pictorial History of the New World* (1863), which renders the scene as a macabre bodice-ripper: an attractive young woman in a low-cut gown is dragged by a fiendish Indian about to plunge a dagger through her heart, his bloodthirsty silhouette made all the more diabolical by the blazing cabin behind him.¹¹ This nightmare vision of the Wyoming Massacre as a frenzied orgy of murder and rapine was about as far as mid-Victorian taste was allowed to go.

A wood engraving is much cruder than an engraving on steel or copperplate. Not only are the lines themselves typically cruder but the small format (Croome's book illustrations were only a few inches in size) requires a cruder form of storytelling.



For a tiny image to be legible, it has to exaggerate and use gestures and symbols that can be easily read. And for sophisticated, artistically ambitious depictions of the Wyoming Massacre, one must turn to the steel engravings of Darley and Chappel. Darley's *Wyoming* measures 18 1/4" x 25 1/2" and was published in New York by W. H. Holbrooke; J. C. McRae was the engraver. Chappel's *Massacre of Wyoming* measures 5 1/2" x 7 1/4" and was published in New York by Johnson, Fry & Co. These are the most serious depictions of the events and deserve more serious attention than they have been given.

Felix Octavio Carr Darley (1822-1888) was one of America's great popular illustrators. He collaborated personally with such major authors as Edgar Allan Poe ("The Gold Bug") and Washington Irving (*Rip van Winkle*); when James Fennimore Cooper's novels were reissued in 1859, Darley was the designated artist. His *Wyoming* was billed as the "First in a Series of National Engravings" but the series seems not to have advanced beyond that first installment. Nonetheless it was widely distributed and since its re-publication as a halftone print by John D. Morris & Co., in 1905 as *The Wyoming Massacre*, it has served as the emblematic image of that massacre. Amusingly, it does not show the Wyoming Massacre at all.

Darley's print actually shows an earlier event that took place about twelve miles upriver that served as a kind of prelude to the events at Wyoming. On June 30, a party of farmers working in their fields was surprised by the advancing Tories and Indians. Having only a few guns between them, they were quickly cut down or captured, although a couple of the younger men managing to escape. The event became known as the Harding Massacre.¹² Darley depicts the scene as a heroic last stand, just at the moment when the defenders overwhelmed. The central figure stands upright and defiant, protecting his wounded brother with only a sickle, a poignant reminder that these men were peaceful farmers. As Indian warriors surge in irresistibly from the left, their agitated silhouettes emerged from the mists, the two farmers are bathed in clear white light, an island of calm amid the frenzy. Although they will perish their deaths have sacrificial meaning, and they buy time for the youths to escape and to alert the downriver settlements.



William Croome (1790-1860), *The Massacre of Wyoming*, c. 1848; *Massacre at Wyoming*, c. 1863. Courtesy New York Public Library.



John Rogers, *Massacre at Wilkesbarre*, 1856. Engraving after a painting by F. O. C. Darley. Courtesy New York Public Library.

It is curious that Darley chose to show an incident secondary to the Wyoming Massacre rather than the famous main event, but it was an incident suited to his gifts. Depicting the battle itself would have meant showing the confusion of a melee, where he preferred to show strong visual anecdotes with a few figures interacting meaningfully—with all the melodrama and exaggerated gesture of a silent movie. The Harding Massacre also appealed to his strong sentimental streak. Yet he titled his print *Wyoming*, letting it stand for the whole of the incursion of 1778.¹³

Chappel's massacre is different entirely. He shows the same battle, and the same disintegration of the settlers' line, but the attackers now come in three different varieties: the Mohawk warriors now fight alongside English soldiers (in blue and white uniforms) and Tory militia known as Butler's Rangers (in green coats). But there is neither dignity nor nobility, only wanton massacre. In the center foreground, a wounded Patriot is shown being scalped by a crouching Seneca warrior. To the lower left another Patriot is about to be shot as yet another is dispatched with a hatchet just above him. A hatchet is also the instrument of death at right. Behind these four distinct vignettes the background is a violent melee of clubbing, bayonetting, and stabbing. Their deaths are not heroic but plaintive, as the beseeching wounded are brutally cut down. Unlike Darley, we have only confusion and commotion, mayhem and death. Chappel's agonized scene of 1858 could

not differ more from Darley's noble sacrifice of 1852.

What happened in those six agitated years? The same year that Darley's engraving appeared saw the publication of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which pushed slavery to the center of American public life. Then in 1854 came the Kansas-Nebraska Act, which permitted slavery in new states if their inhabitants desired it. Fighting soon broke out between pro-slavery and abolition factions, culminating in May 1856 when the pro-abolition senator Charles Sumner was nearly bludgeoned to death on the floor of the senate by a congressman from South Carolina; two days later John Brown and his followers dragged five pro-slavery men from their homes in Kansas and hacked them to pieces. Finally, the Supreme Court's Dred Scott decision (1857), which held that blacks "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect," tore the country apart; civil war was now virtually inevitable.

And that is the essential difference between the two massacres. Darley gives us the cultural mood of the early nineteenth century, when the Indian atrocity—torture, scalping, outrages that could not be uttered in polite society—was a primal fear. His *Indian Massacre at Wilkesbarre* [sic.] distills that fear into its irreducible essence: ferocious Indians come exploding from out of the dark night, surprising a peaceful family asleep in their beds, bringing violence and death. Chappel reflects a different cultural mood, when that



Henry Warren (1794-1879), *The Fratricide*, 1856. Courtesy New York Public Library.

fear had been displaced by the looming specter of brother killing brother, a fear that events would soon prove eminently justified.

In fact, for a country terrified of the fratricide to come, the Wyoming Massacre presented the real thing: a literal example of brother killing brother. On the afternoon of July 3, 1778, as their line disintegrated, many fleeing Patriots swam toward Monockanock Island in the middle of the Susquehanna River; one was Henry Pensill (sometimes Pensil or Pencil), who concealed himself where he was found by his Tory brother John. As the account goes, John refused his brother's pleas for mercy, called him "a damned rebel," and shot him dead. The story was in circulation within a year of the battle but was never given much attention; Miner's 1845 *History of Wyoming* dispenses with it in a few lines.¹⁴ But now it became urgently important, and Bartlett and Woodward's *History of the United States* (1856) devoted more space to this incident than to the battle itself. Moreover they commissioned an engraving of the scene by the illustrator Henry Warren. Here all distractions were swept away—no fleeing soldiers, no storm of Indians, no smoke of battle—to concentrate the scene on its essence, the spectacle of one man killing his defenseless brother, a modern-day recapitulation of the first murder, Cain and Abel.

This is the fear that underlies Chappel's disturbing vision of a country destroying itself. Of course, changes in cultural mood

have aesthetic consequences. Darley's vision is directed backwards and is nostalgic; he knows the meaning of the historic events that he shows, and so he can resolve them in a heroic hierarchy. But Chappel cannot do this. He can hardly give a heroic shape to events whose outcome he does not know. His slaughter is a senseless chaotic maelstrom, the madness of fratricide. The Indian in the foreground with the scalping knife is not his subject but is there only to establish the historical time and place. It is this confused tumult that makes Chappel's massacre such a dramatic document of its troubled age, and so distressingly unsatisfying as a work of art.



Michael J. Lewis has taught since 1993 at Williams College, where he is Faison-Pierson-Stoddard Professor of Art. After receiving his B.A. from Haverford College, and two years at the University of Hannover Germany, he received his Ph.D. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1989. His books include *Frank Furness: Architecture and the Violent Mind* (2001), *American Art and Architecture* (2006), and the prize-winning *August Reichensperger: The Politics of the German Gothic Revival* (1993). He has been a Fellow of the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton and in 2008 he received a Guggenheim Fellowship. He is the architecture critic for the *Wall Street Journal*.

Notes

1. The Wyoming Monument was begun in 1833, abandoned, and then resumed in 1842 according to a different design. Seven proposals were submitted, at least two of them by architects of the first rank: William Strickland and Thomas U. Walter. Others include John Struthers, the Philadelphia marble mason who designed George Washington's mausoleum, and John D. Jones, the Philadelphia architect whose submission of June 1841 survives (Luzerne County Historical Society). The remaining competitors, named Douglas, Morehead, and Abbot, remain unidentified. See "Wyoming Monument," *Republican Farmer, and Democratic Journal*, Wilkes-Barre (March 30, 1842), p. 2.
2. Oscar Jewell Harvey, *A History of Wilkes-Barré, Luzerne County, Pennsylvania*, vol. 2 (Wilkes-Barre, 1909), pp. 982-983.
3. Harvey, p. 1047.
4. Barbara Graymont, *The Iroquois in the American Revolution* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1972), pp. 172-174.
5. Harvey, p. 1047.
6. *Pennsylvania Packet* (July 30, 1778), p. 1, p. 4.
7. Gregory M. Pfitzer, *Popular History and the Literary Marketplace, 1840-1920* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2008), pp. 47-54.
8. John Frost, *History of the United States: For the Use of Schools and Academies* (Philadelphia: Edward C. Biddle, 1836), p. 273.
9. John Frost, *Pictorial History of the United States*, vol. 3 (Philadelphia: Walker and Gillis, 1846), p. 71; John Frost, *Thrilling Incidents of the Wars of the United States* (Philadelphia: Carey & Hart, 1848), p. 375.
10. John Frost, *Pictorial History of Indian wars and Captivities* (New York: Wells Publishing, 1873) pp. 168-172.
11. John L. Denison, ed., *A Pictorial History of the New World* (New York: Henry Bill, 1863), p. 384. The image was reworked for a children's book, Caroline Clifford Newton's *Once Upon a Time in Connecticut* (1916), although in sanitized fashion: the writhing victims in the foreground were eliminated, leaving the burning buildings at a reassuringly safe distance.
12. Darley seems to have based his account on Charles Miner, *History of Wyoming* (Philadelphia: J. Crissy, 1845), p. 217. For a modern account of the incident, see Harvey, pp. 986-990.
13. "Mr. Darley's Wyoming," *Littell's Living Age*, no. 466 (April 23, 1853) p. 255.
14. Miner, p. 225. For the earliest account, see *Journals of the Military Expedition of Major General John Sullivan Against the Six Nations of Indians in 1779* (Auburn, N.Y. Knapp, Peck & Thompson Printers, 1887), p. 231.
15. W. H. Bartlett and B. B. Woodward, *History of the United States*, vol. I (New York: George Virtue, 1856), p. 466.



The Bibliophili



Votes for Women! A Portrait of Persistence

Kate Clarke Lemay, with Susan Goodier, Martha S. Jones, and Lisa Tetrault.

National Portrait Gallery/Smithsonian Institution in association with Princeton University Press, 2019.

Votes for Women! A Portrait of Persistence, the catalog for the National Portrait Gallery's 2019 exhibition, is a series of essays full of intriguing references to how much more there is to know. In culinarily metaphorical terms, it amounts to a feast of appetizers.

In the first third of the book, studies by Kate Clarke Lemay and each of her three main collaborators delve into issues with contemporary resonances, such as activists' covert and expressed prejudices and historians' politically motivated interpretations of archival records. Lisa Tetrault's chapter, "To Fight by Remembering, or the Making of Seneca Falls," fascinatingly builds on her 2014 book, *The Myth of Seneca Falls: Memory and the Women's Suffrage Movement, 1848-1898*. As Tetrault writes, Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony helped create a "tangle of fact and falsehood" over the decades that their multi-volume opus, *History of Woman Suffrage*, was published. The inseparable duo started work in the 1870s, as the movement splintered—disputes raged, for instance, over whether suffrage pressure should be placed foremost on state or federal officials. Stanton and Anthony created the misleading impression that the movement was born at the 1848 Seneca Falls convention—the event was Stanton's brainchild, but just one of many similar gatherings of its time. One influential activist who had been largely jettisoned from the Stanton-Anthony narrative, Lucy Stone, protested in print that the text was not "accurate or adequate," yet hardly anyone noticed. Tetrault adds texture to the suffrage story by shedding light on durable, pervasive legends.

As early as the 1830s, black female leaders including "preaching women" had publicly called for abolition and women's suffrage at co-ed gatherings, as Martha S. Jones observes in her essay, "The Politics of Black Womanhood, 1848-2008." By the early 1850s, Sojourner Truth was lauded for her mesmerizing speeches about injustice. However, Truth almost undoubtedly never said, "Ain't I a woman?" As Princeton University historian Nell Irvin Painter has been pointing out since she published her biography of Truth in the 1990s, the "ain't" myth was created in the 1860s in writings by the white abolitionist Frances Dana Barker Gage. (Truth had grown up in upstate New York, speaking Dutch, and did not use Southern black dialect. And yet, as I heard Painter

explain in a lecture in January 2020, many—including her Princeton students—still want to believe this myth.) Jones places Truth in the continuum that extends through formerly enslaved women helping Union forces at enemy lines and African-American female chaplains, clubwomen, and investigative journalists in the Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras. Some prominent figures mentioned, including the writers Ida B. Wells, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, and Nannie Helen Burroughs, have been the subject of recent scholarship, but mention of names of other nineteenth-century activists, like May Brown, had me web-surfing to find out more.

Susan Goodier's contribution, "A Woman's Place: Organized Resistance to the Franchise," is an even-handed look at reasons that women advocated against suffrage. Some reformers considered other battles more urgent, such as combating starvation among slum dwellers. Blueblood aesthetes like the artist Helena de Kay Gilder feared that granting votes to women would amount to an effort "to unsex them, so intensely inartistic." The anti-suffrage movement faded into irrelevance at the tail end of World War I, as Lemay explores in her chapter, "Où sont les dames?: Suffragists and the American Women's Oversea Hospitals Unit in France During World War I." Lemay provides thumbnail profiles of elite and working-class American women, black and white, who thronged ocean liners to serve as medical practitioners and even hospital plumbers at European battlefields. French officials showered them with honors, but none have "ever been recognized for valorous service by the American military," Lemay writes. I eagerly await someone's full-length biography of, for instance, Dr. Nellie N. Barsness, a Minnesotan who survived battlefield gas exposure and went on to postwar accomplishments including high-level medical advocacy posts and a patented design for a paper toilet seat cover.

Lemay devotes the rest of the volume to chronological descriptions of objects in the exhibition. A spirit of persistent joy comes through in the suffragists' colorful ribbons, posters, banners, maps, and even porcelain tea sets. Amid the handsome illustrations, the text repeats some of the previous chapters' material but also incorporates new insights into, for example, Native

American women's battles for voting rights, brutality to women protestors in jail, and bonfires made from the speeches Woodrow Wilson gave before he supported the nineteenth amendment.

I'm finishing this review in the Covid-19 shadow, as exhibitions nationwide celebrating the suffrage centennial have been prematurely closed down or will likely never open. While I am trapped in my Manhattan apartment, my reading material includes new biographies of the suffragists Adella Hunt Logan (by Adele Logan Alexander, from Yale University Press), Helen Hamilton Gardener (by Kimberly A. Hamlin, from W. W. Norton), and Clara Colby (by John Holliday, from Tallai Books). And I'm hoping that forthcoming related books, like Allison K. Lange's *Picturing Political Power: Images in the Women's Suffrage Movement* (due in May from University of Chicago Press), will actually make it to the printers and onto the market someday. How fortunate that the National Portrait Gallery show finished up its ten-month run in early January, just before viral

catastrophe struck, and that it has been documented in this thoughtful, appealingly-designed book.

Reviewed by Eve M. Kahn

Eve M. Kahn is a New York-based independent scholar (evekahn.com) who wrote the weekly *Antiques* column for the *New York Times* from 2008 to 2016. Her first book, *Forever Seeing New Beauties: The Forgotten Impressionist Mary Rogers Williams, 1857-1907* (Wesleyan University Press, 2019), won a 2019 Sarton Women's Book Award for nonfiction. Her nonprofit board service includes the Grolier Club (Council member), the Art Glass Forum | New York (president through 2021), Poster House (advisor), and the Victorian Society in America's New York chapter (second vice president). A member of CUNY's Women Writing Women's Lives seminar, she regularly contributes to the *Times*, *Apollo* magazine, *The Magazine Antiques* (she serves on its advisory board), and *Fine Books & Collections*. She is currently writing a biography of the Kentucky-born journalist Zoe Anderson Norris (1860-1914), who documented immigrant poverty in her own semi-monthly magazine and was known as the Queen of Bohemia.



Moved to Tears: Rethinking the Art of the Sentimental in the United States

Rebecca Bedell.

Princeton University Press, 2018.

What is more Victorian, and thus scorned, than a sentimental picture? In the modern era it was deeply unfashionable to enjoy Victorian art, epitomized by all those images of mothers in soft dressing gowns tenderly kissing their babies. It was thought that this sort of image offered predictable pabulum—nothing more. Now that we are well along in the post-modern era scholars are finding value in sentimentalism in literature, in music, and now in the visual arts. Rebecca Bedell's book, *Moved to Tears: Rethinking the Art of the Sentimental in the United States*, aims to “rehabilitate the sentimental.” Bedell gives some attention to the usual suspects, such as Thomas Hovenden's *Breaking Home Ties* (1890), voted the most popular painting at the World's Columbian Exposition, which shows a lad at his farmhouse hearth saying goodbye to his mother and his dog as he sets off to make his fortune in the world. But Bedell also finds sentimental strains in works by Americans who have entered the modernist cannon. For example, she analyses *Baby's First Caress* (1891) by Mary Cassatt, finding that the artist built fertile aesthetic and psychological tension between the stereotypically saccharine subject matter and sensuous handling of pastel that dissolves into abstract strokes. Bedell concludes that by making so many depictions of mothers with their children, Cassatt was able to reconcile market-demand with her artistic growth. Indeed, Bedell demonstrates many more ways that

American artists put sentimentalism to their own pragmatic, political, reformist and even aesthetic ends.

Sentimentalism is not any one style or subject; it is an attitude or tone. Bedell defines sentimental art as that which “employs a mode of address intended to develop empathetic bonds and to represent and elicit the ‘softer emotions,’ among them tenderness, affection, pity, compassion, patriotism and nostalgia.” Up until end of the nineteenth century, “sentimental” was a positive descriptor. With rise of modernism in the visual arts, the focus became objective excellence in pure form. Art should be self-contained, and elicit an individual's aesthetic response with no reference to anything beyond the boundaries of the physical object. Collective experience, much less collective emotion, was irrelevant. But as Bedell uncovers, sentimentalism was a critical force even as artists began exploring modernist aesthetics. She is particularly good at showing us how the original audiences for artworks understood its sentimental aspects; she puts the artworks in historical context, showing us hitherto unappreciated elements of familiar artworks.

Bedell proceeds roughly chronologically, dealing mostly with painting but also with other media. She begins by tying the material culture of pageantry celebrating Washington, such as flags and triumphal arches, to Charles Willson Peale's portraits depicting the

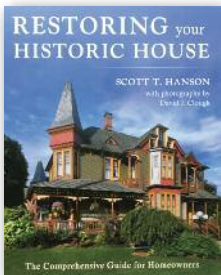
benevolent smile of the new president; all sought to awaken pride and affection for the new republic. In *The Architecture of Country Houses* (1850), Andrew Jackson Downing advised his readers to grow honeysuckle, wisteria and other clinging vines on their homes as “a labor of love offered on the domestic altar.” The vines would become metaphors for domestic attachment; home ties would counter the “spirit of unrest” that plagued Americans in the antebellum years. Many Hudson River School canvases, bought by the rising class of urban industrialists, were suffused with nostalgia for a dreamy countryside that they (mis?) remembered from their youth. As Reconstruction was unravelling Henry Ossawa Tanner portrayed black grandfathers tenderly teaching their grandsons to play the banjo, and during the Dreyfus affair, he depicted the tribulations of Jewish biblical figures with compassion. In Bedell’s words, such images “embrac[ed] the artistic strategies and emotional registers of the sentimental to insist upon universal human kinship and the necessity of feeling with and for each other.” Even so seemingly detached an image as John Singer Sargent’s *The Daughters of Edward Darley Boit* (1882) has an undertow of sentimental concern. The four girls in white pinafores are each isolated in their own

spaces, made into pretty objects like their companions, giant vases and a doll. They are helpless and vulnerable under our gaze. Occasionally, Bedell confuses sentimental art with something more visceral, as when she categorizes Marsden Hartley’s *Portrait of a German Officer* (1914) as a continuation of the tender emotionalism of the Victorian era into the modern era. The painting is widely seen as an abstracted, sublimated depiction of Hartley’s lover, killed in World War I; where does sentiment end and veiled passion begin?

But in many more examples Bedell shows how subtly and certainly sentimentalism pervades the work of nineteenth-century American artists. She shows that sentimentalism, by pulling on heartstrings, by creating sympathetic ties, was a force that artists used to their own ends as they went about their work of making appealing art.

Reviewed by Karen Zukowski

Karen Zukowski is an independent writer and a historian of nineteenth-century visual culture. She is the book review editor of *Nineteenth Century*.



Restoring Your Historic House: The Comprehensive Guide for Homeowners

Scott T. Hanson. Photography by David J. Clough.

Tilbury House Publishers, 2019.

There have been many good books over the years about restoring old houses but they become outdated; construction and preservation technology are ever-evolving. New approaches to old houses are essential and Scott Hanson’s book, *Restoring Your Historic House*, is an essential volume. Consider one innovation—the Tesla Solar Energy Shingles for roofing, introduced in 2017 but rolling out very slowly. Of these shingles he says: “As with any new technology, time alone will tell if it lives up to its potential,” adding, “I very much hope it does.”

It is that optimistic, open and very personal tone which makes this large compendium an accessible trove of information. Hanson has learned much from his experience as an architectural historian, carpenter, designer, municipal historic-district regulator and active historic preservation consultant. His own home, a fifteen-plus year restoration project, is among the many informative case-studies that pepper the book. For example, his experience enriches his discussion of “cold roofs” versus “hot roofs.” He examines both sides of the debate around a technology regarding the best replacement roofing for preventing ice dams, that scourge of Northern New England. He wraps up the detailed and informative section with, “I live in an area that’s prone to ice dams, but my historic house has had none since I

installed a cold roof.”

Hanson’s primary goal is “identifying character-defining features” of any historic house and preserving those features. This is the backbone of historic preservation and the author centers many of his discussions around this objective. Most helpfully, the encyclopedia-sized book is logically organized into the following parts: Project Planning; Under the Surface (demolition and structure); Systems (heating, ventilating, cooling, plumbing and electrical); Exterior Envelope; Interior Finishes; and Tools and Supplies. Inevitably, the book touches on some subjects that are more thoroughly addressed elsewhere such as house-style identification or how to determine the age of certain house elements. But the topics he does address encompass all those necessary to preserve the best features of an old house while making it suitable for contemporary living.

Restoring Your Historic House will be particularly useful for the first-timer considering acquiring an historic home in need of repair, rehabilitation or restoration. It has well-written chapters on topics such as how to decide to use an architect versus doing all the drawing and planning oneself. Hanson even goes into detail about how one may measure and draw-up their structure themselves. As an architect who has measured old houses

many times, and as the owner of a historic house, I found the step-by-step instructions clear and correct. Likewise, he delves into the question of whether to engage a general contractor or do all the work oneself. This need not be an either/or choice; Hanson shows that trades and services can be hired as needed, augmenting the homeowner's skill-set and time availability. I have never encountered these options so well laid out anywhere else.

Hanson includes a chapter on inserting contemporary kitchens into historic homes. While this is a typical subject for such a book, after discussing the history of the American domestic kitchen, this author drills down into making the critical choice between modular and custom cabinetry. What is less typical is his segue into why bankers may insist on a functional kitchen before granting a homeowner a mortgage for their historic house.

Another chapter with particular insight is directed at the first-time renovator/homeowner: whether or not to live in a construction site. The author encourages the reader to take the long view—the very, very long view. One of his case studies tracks a project that lasts forty years and many other case studies are multi-year works like his own. Forewarned is forearmed, and Hanson's reality checks are avuncular in the best sense.

The book is also rich in resources for the seasoned professional. I found his detailed analysis of a deep-energy retrofit of a Victorian cottage illuminating. Well-illustrated, with original diagrams, this chapter provides

answers to questions that architects' and contractors' clients often ask—how tightly sealed should my old house be and by what means can that be accomplished? And we might all have occasion to consult the excellent list of historic preservation resources in the last chapter of *Restoring Your Historic House*.

Clearly an experienced hand at writing grants and applications for work on historic homes, Hanson provides excellent advice on navigating one's own municipal regulatory system. With thousands of municipalities in the United States, each with its own rules, this advice is general by necessity. But he provides insights into how to cope with belligerent or stubborn authorities (every town has at least one) standing in the way of approvals. Writing from lengthy first-hand experience, his remarkable advice is thoughtful and sympathetic and might well mitigate an otherwise frustrating encounter.

Which could be said of this whole book. Restoring an old house that you own can lead to hair-loss, divorce, homelessness, despondency and heavy drinking. Reading this book at the outset of a project might well allow the homeowner to escape such dire consequences.

Reviewed by Warren Ashworth

Warren Ashworth is an architect and professor of design and design history at the New York School of Interior Design. He is a writer, house restorer, and the Editor of *Nineteenth Century*.



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Milestones

The World Was His Garden

Anne-Taylor Cahill

Very few of us are familiar with the name David Fairchild (1869-1954), yet every time we go to the grocery store we reap the benefits of his life's work. David Fairchild was a botanist, adventurer and food explorer. He brought many of the fruits and vegetables we eat today to America. He also brought the blossoming cherry trees to Washington, D. C.

When he was 10 his family moved to Kansas where his father became president of Kansas State Agricultural College. Growing up in an agricultural atmosphere, Fairchild began experimenting with flowering plants, fruits and vegetables. At age 20 he joined the United States Department of Agriculture and began a life of food exploration. His mission was to travel the world to find food-bearing and flowering plants that were not native to the United States. The idea of finding new food-bearing plants resulted from the boring American diet of the time, which was mostly comprised of bread, meat and cheese. Vegetables and fruits as we know them today did not abound or were non-existent in the United States.

Representing the USDA, Fairchild gave his first public presentation to the Horticultural Society of Western New York. His audience as he described them were "gray beards," and were fascinated by this young man who spoke so authoritatively on the topic of parasitic fungi of grapes. He was a great success as they kept him afterwards for one hour asking questions. Thereafter, Fairchild was in demand from New York to Virginia for his opinions on grape growing.

Despite all this Fairchild wanted to study abroad, where he felt he could learn even more about his field. Luckily, he secured a research position with the Smithsonian and headed for Europe. Aboard the ship, he met a wealthy Chicagoan named Barbour Lathrop who became interested in Fairchild's work and eventually became his travel sponsor.

Fairchild's first European adventure was in Naples. He arrived speaking no Italian and having no place to stay. Undaunted, he accepted the hospitality of a local journalist. Having been assigned to visit Corsica to obtain specimens of citrons indigenous to the island, he traveled by boat and donkey. After a long hot climb he arrived in Borgo, a small mountaintop town. The mayor greeted him somewhat hastily with a glass of wine and departed for a funeral. Left to his own devices, Fairchild amused himself by opening his accordion-like camera and began taking pictures. As he waited for the mayor to return, the villagers began to congregate. They all wanted to have their pictures taken. All was going well when Fairchild suddenly felt himself being grabbed by a policeman. Convinced he was a spy for the French, the police demanded his papers but Fairchild had none with him and he could not explain, as he did not speak Italian. He was carted off to jail.

After much drama and many gesticulations, Fairchild tried

one last ploy. Trying to prove he was an American, he showed the police an envelope from America with a stamp with the picture of Ulysses S. Grant on it. "Americano! Americano!" the police shouted. They slapped him on the back and let him go with a firm



David Fairchild (1869-1954), c. 1900. Courtesy Linda Hall Library.

warning to leave town. Getting on his donkey, he departed the mountain post haste. On the way down, Fairchild spotted an orchard of citron trees. Just in case he was being watched, he crouched down and broke off four small buds and several small citrons and these he sent home to America. His first mission was accomplished. The cuttings arrived in Washington, D. C. and were determined to be valuable to California citrus growers for years to come.

Fairchild had many more adventures traveling to Europe, South America and Asia to bring back watermelons and avocados. From Venice he brought red seedless grapes. From London and Croatia he brought kale and from Malta he brought pomegranates. He brought dates from Baghdad and nectarines from Afghanistan, peaches from China and papaya from Ceylon, mangoes from Vietnam and soybeans from India. Grocers slowly began to have an array of fruits and vegetables to offer American customers.

Most interestingly, Fairchild brought the famous blossoming Japanese cherry trees to Washington, D. C. Fairchild and his wife Marian (the daughter of Alexander Graham Bell) loved the trees and grew them abundantly in their Chevy Chase, Maryland garden. Enchanted by these trees, the Fairchilds donated one tree to each public school in Washington, D. C. One child from each



Blossoming cherry trees in Washington, D. C., c. 1910. Courtesy Library of Congress.

school was designated to receive a tree in a grand ceremony at the Franklin School on K Street. Fairchild gave a talk, and told the children how to care for their school's tree. So important was this endeavor that the D. C. Street Car Company provided free transportation for the students and their little trees. The *Washington Star* published a story with photos of the ceremony.

The First Lady, Helen Herron Taft, got wind of all this and became a promoter of the blossoming cherry trees for public spaces in Washington, D. C.; President Taft saw this as a diplomatic opportunity to draw Japanese and American cultures closer. For the Japanese it was an opportunity to demonstrate a beautiful aspect of their culture. The first shipment of trees arrived from the Yokohama Nursery Company to much excitement. Sadly they were diseased and had to be burned. It nearly caused an international incident. The mayor of Tokyo, the Honorable Ichiro Fujisaki, had arrived for the ceremonial planting and was on hand when the disaster occurred. He deftly stepped in with profuse apologies and the promise of more trees—healthy ones.

The second shipment of trees duly arrived—healthy and disease-free. They were accompanied by a note from the mayor of Tokyo's wife, describing the trees as a "memorial to national friendship between the United States and Japan." In return the U.S. sent a shipment of white flowering dogwood trees to Tokyo. Fairchild and Fujisaki exchanged photos of their respective trees once they had flourished and blossomed. Fairchild closes his story of the trees with a haiku by Frances Hodgson Burnett. She wrote this haiku on her place card after a dinner with the Fairchilds:

*Only in dreams of Spring
Shall I see again
The flowering of my cherry trees.*

The Fairchilds were delighted to note that she had written this poem in Japanese characters!

In 1938 Fairchild and his wife Marian moved to Coral Gables, Florida. Here they felt like they were in a tropical climate and Fairchild could continue to experiment with his beloved plants.

Today their home and extensive gardens are open to the public as the Fairchild Tropical Botanic Gardens, and are an enduring testament to David Fairchild and his love of all things beautiful in nature.



Anne-Taylor Cahill is a professor of philosophy at Old Dominion University in Norfolk, Virginia, and serves on the national board of the Victorian Society in America. She is also founding member and former president of the Eloise Hunter Chapter of the VSA.

For further reading:

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Submissions should be from 2,000 to 6,000 words in length, with illustrations and end notes as necessary. Manuscripts shall conform to the latest edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style*. Manuscripts should be submitted as a Microsoft Word document. Illustrations should be formatted and submitted as either .jpg, .tiff, .eps or .pdf, 300 dpi or greater. It shall be the responsibility of the author to secure the rights to publish all images. The Victorian Society in America and the editors assume no responsibility for the loss or damage of any material.

Deadlines for Submissions

January 1 for publication in the Spring issue, and **July 1** for publication in the Fall issue.

Email submissions to: Warren Ashworth, Editor
NineteenthCenturyMagazine@gmail.com

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