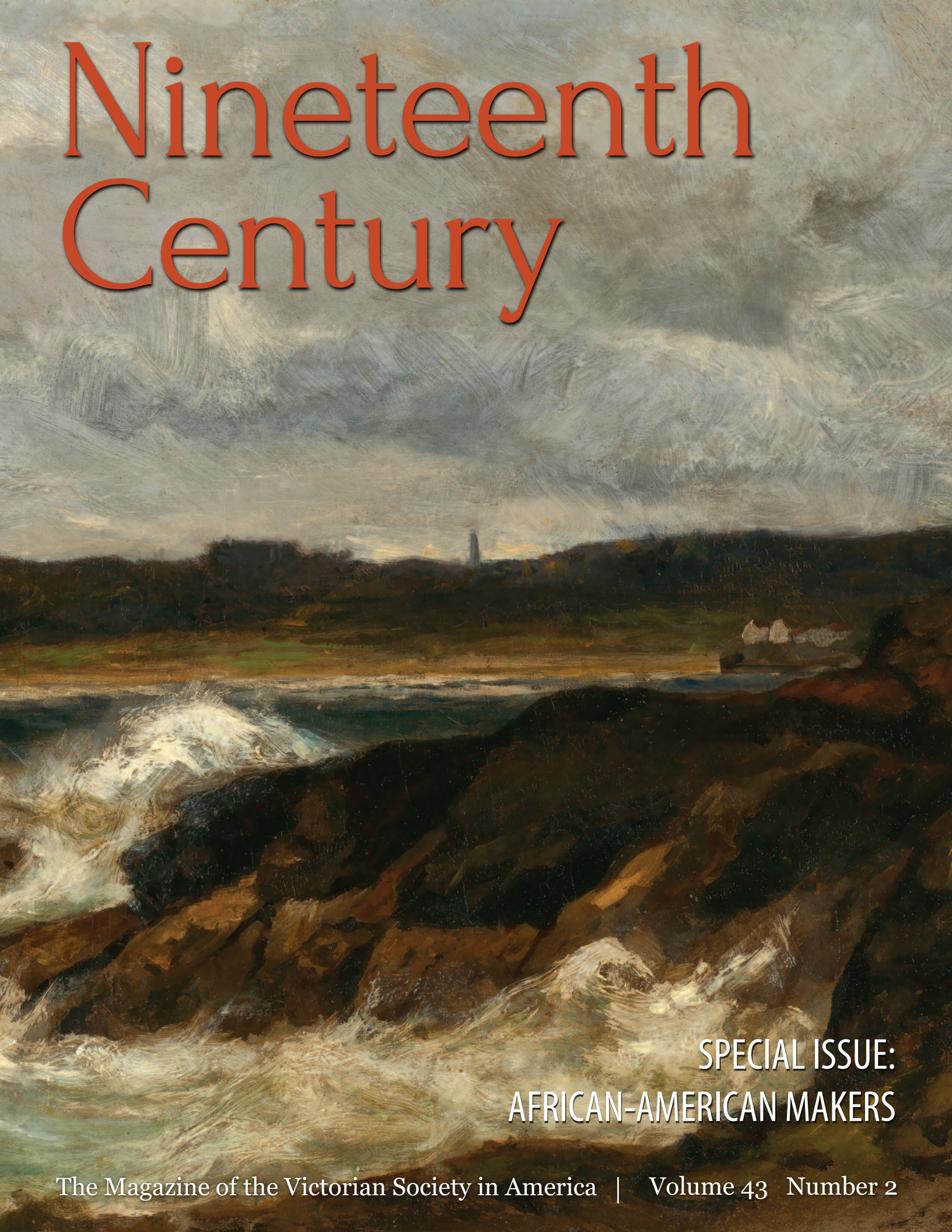
Nineteenth Century



SPECIAL ISSUE: AFRICAN-AMERICAN MAKERS

The Magazine of the Victorian Society in America | Volume 43 Number 2

Editorial

Listening to the Dead

In the last issue, the *Preservation Diary* column was about the amazing resurrection of the nearly lost Belmont Chapel set in the middle of Newport's Island Cemetery. The elaborate chapel was built as a memorial to August and Caroline Belmont's daughter Jane Pauline, who died at a young age.

This summer I had the opportunity to spend a few days visiting friends in Newport and I showed them the article. By some Kismet or other, they turned out to be close friends with its author, Pamela Kelley, and she happened to live just catty-corner. In less than half an hour, Pamela was sitting with us in the kitchen and a lively conversation ensued about life in Newport and death in Newport. Pursuant to that latter discussion, it was arranged for me to have a private tour of the Belmont Chapel with the cemetery's executive director, Sharon Hussey, and a young restoration specialist intimately involved in the project, Zachary Russell.

Adding further coincidence, before visiting the cemetery I met with Newport scholars Theresa Guzmán Stokes and Keith Stokes regarding their article about entrepreneurs of color in Gilded Age Newport, published in this issue. Keith said if I was going to the Island Cemetery I needed to stroll through "God's Little Acre," the large African heritage burial ground at the cemetery's southeast corner. One of Keith and Theresa's many research projects concerns establishing the identity and history of those buried there such as the individuals commemorated on the gravestone in the photograph below. This gravestone was most likely carved by a renowned stone carver of African heritage, Zingo Stevens. Stevens was also the husband and father of the deceased, interred together under this one headstone. It is not hard to imagine his tears drenching the stone as he carved the inscription that reads:

> In Memory of Phillis, a late faithful servant of
> Josias Lyndon, Esq. and wife of
> Zingo Stevens, died March 9th, AD
> 1773 Aged about 27 Years
> Also PRINCE, their son, who
> died March 22, 1773 aged 2 Months 27 days
> Life how Short, Eternity how Long.

Two memorials, not 500 feet from each other, erected by people at absolute opposite ends of the social spectrum, yet each – if we listen – evoke a plangent grief across the centuries.

Warren Ashworth, Editor

Nineteenth Century

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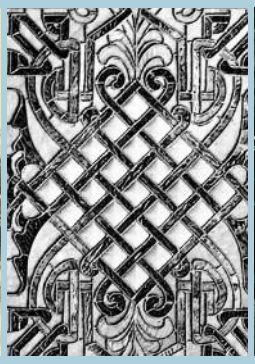
Cover: Edward Mitchell Bannister, *Newport*, (detail) c. 1877. Courtesy of the Smithsonian American Art Museum.



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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.

George Thomas Downing (center) and his family, c. 1885. Collection of the Newport Historical Society. Courtesy of the Rhode Island Black Heritage Society.

Gilded Age Newport in Color

Theresa Guzmán Stokes and Keith Stokes

Newport, Rhode Island, is internationally recognized for its Colonial Era architecture, Gilded Age mansions, historic landscapes, and deep maritime history that dates back to the seventeenth century. Newport would also host many crucial African heritage business entrepreneurs who would leverage their commercial enterprises to promote economic security and build wealth to invest in and advance African heritage civic, recreational, social, and political interests. Unsurprisingly, leaders in Newport's African-heritage commerce would also become leaders within their community to promote equal rights and civil and political leadership. Newport's earliest African heritage doctors, dentists, teachers, hospitality entrepreneurs, and elected officials appeared during the Gilded Age.

To understand the evolution of Newport as a Gilded Age center for African heritage commerce and culture, one must begin with its starting point in the eighteenth century when Newport, within the Colony of Rhode Island, was the most active slave trading port in British North America. Before the American Revolution, several thousand Africans lived, worked, and died in this New England seaport. At the peak of what historians commonly call the "Golden Age," Africans comprised nearly 18% of the town population, with one in three Newport families owning at least one enslaved person.

A pivotal historical moment and opportunity for enslaved and free Africans came on November 8, 1780. A group of African men met at the home of free African chocolate maker Abraham Casey to organize and charter America's first mutual aid society for Africans and later African Americans—known as the Free African Union Society. This new institution became a means for free Africans to embrace an African identity and a collective means of self-expression. By 1787, the Newport group would lead the establishment of similar African societies in Boston, Philadelphia, New York, and Providence. These societies would later help establish many of the earliest free African churches in America. In the case of Newport, the Free African Society led the way for the Union Colored Congregational Church. These early civic and religious organizations would initiate an early nineteenth-century information exchange network between Newport and other vibrant free African communities that would later, in the Gilded Age, anchor Newport's outsized presence as reported in 1886 by *The Colored American* newspaper:

> If there was a watering place in America where respectable, refined and well-bearing colored ladies and gentlemen have as little reason to feel their color as in Newport.

By 1868, three African heritage congregations, including the Union Colored Congregational Church (1824), Mt. Zion AME Church (1845), Shiloh Baptist Church (1868), were in Newport, and late in the era, the Mt. Olivet Baptist Church (1902), added to their number. These churches anchored the African-heritage neighborhoods and provided them with spiritual guidance and a safe place to congregate. In addition, social and political events brought their congregations together, and several clubs and organizations grew from those gatherings.

Gilded Age Newport also provided seasonal and expanded employment opportunities for African heritage men and women, many of whom were a part of the recent great migration of southern families to northern urban centers during the early twentieth century. The primary factor for migration among people of African heritage was to escape southern segregation, discrimination, and racial violence. According to a Tuskegee Institute study, during the time, 4,743 people (72% African heritage) were lynched between 1882 and 1968, and lynchings were the most frequent between 1890 and 1920. A haven from racial oppression and a source of good jobs would catalyze many families of color to relocate to Newport to advance into working- and middle-class status.

Despite a time known in history as the "Progressive Era," outward discrimination and restrictions on recreational activities were a genuine concern for Newport citizens of African heritage to overcome. The story of the evolution of the African heritage community within Gilded Age Newport is appropriately coined "Creative Survival." Despite the Jim Crow laws of the American South and the Jim Crow traditions actively prevalent in the North, African-heritage people came together to advance their economic and political rights through social interchange and recreational gatherings.

The outdoor and recreational activities that dominated the

Marathon Cheerleading Club, Newport. Courtesy of the Rhode Island Black Heritage Society.

Executive board of the Women's League Newport, c. 1899. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

Newport landscape of the Gilded Age era arose when African Americans were active inhabitants of a new type of urban setting –the resort community. People and their social and recreational activities came from all over the country, and in some cases, the world converged upon Gilded Age Newport. New and dynamic sporting events from tennis, golf, biking, automobile racing, fishing, and sailing were popular recreational pastimes during Newport's vibrant summers. The African heritage community participated in these pastimes, establishing clubs for sports, fishing, and social interaction.

Organized in 1905, the Marathon Club was part of a broader strategy within the African heritage community to improve Rhode Island's young men and women socially, culturally, and physically through early baseball, track, and football teams comprised of African heritage and Indigenous young men from Newport and Providence.

Fishing was popular in the seaside city, and many African-heritage people enjoyed the pastime. One humorously named club, the Ugly Man's Fishing Club, gave many community men a chance to enjoy the sport in the company of their friends. As recounted by Newport-born Arnold Barclay, the club's name came about because, as he stated, the white clubs barred African-heritage people from membership. "It isn't for lack of money or skill, so it must be because we're ugly." They created their own, either from an unwillingness to be deterred or from a lack of desire to join these white clubs. Women didn't let men have all the fun, though. They also enjoyed fishing and would often be seen carrying their poles and tackle along Ledge Road at Cliff Walk. Some women went so far as to leave their fishing paraphernalia to their daughters and nieces.

Blanche Forrester Walton fishing near Cliff Walk, Newport, c. 1915. Courtesy of the Rhode Island Black Heritage Society, the Stokes Family Collection.

After the Civil War and remaining strong through the early twentieth century, Newport, particularly during the Gilded Age

summers, became a magnet for leading African heritage families attracted to the numerous civil rights and social uplift organizations led by the Women's League Newport (1895), Senator Charles Sumner Political Club (1898), and the Newport Branch NAACP (1919). Men, women, and families of color would travel to Newport from Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington to participate in a rare opportunity for persons of color for unrestricted social and cultural interchange. During that time, Newport hosted abundant African heritage social and political gatherings that ran the broad spectrum of political rallies, social events, and religious revivals.

The Gilded Age also unveiled a new generation of influential African heritage men and women who would become leaders in medicine, the arts, and government.

Among them were Dr. Marcus Wheatland, born in Bridgetown, Barbados, on February 16, 1868. He attended private schools in Barbados and graduated with a medical degree from Howard University in 1895.

Soon after, he arrived in Newport to establish his medical practice, perhaps due to his association with two notable African heritage men, Dr. M. Alonzo Van Horne and George T. Downing. Wheatland married Irene De Mortie, the granddaughter of Downing. He would later inherit and manage a group of Bellevue Avenue businesses called the Downing Block.

Licensed to practice medicine in Rhode Island in 1895, he is considered the first known African-heritage physician to live and practice in Newport. He became the first doctor in Newport to use the X-ray machine as a diagnostic tool. In 1909, he lectured on using X-rays at the National Medical Association annual meeting in Boston, Massachusetts. That same year, he was also elected president of the National Medical Association.

Dr. Wheatland was a member of the American Electro-Therapeutic Association and the Newport Association for the Relief and Prevention of Tuberculosis. He was a Trustee of his alma mater, Howard University, and left $6,000 to the school in his will. He was also active in civic and political organizations, including the Union Congregational Church, Prince Hall Masons, and Odd Fellows, and served in public office on the Newport City Council. Today, Dr. Marcus F. Wheatland Blvd is named in his honor. At his funeral in 1934, it was said: "God's best gifts to men are men. There was a man sent by God, his name was Dr. Marcus F. Wheatland."

Dr. Alonzo Van Horne, son of Reverend Mahlon Van Horne, was born in Newport and graduated from Rogers High School. He graduated from Howard University College of Medicine in 1897 and became the first African-heritage dentist in Rhode Island, practicing at 47 John Street and 22 Broadway. He was also one of the most prominent leaders in early Masonic fraternities, including Grand Master of the Stone Mill Lodge, Commander of the Benjamin Gardner Commandery, Deputy Grand Master of the Eureka Lodge of Rhode Island, and Odd Fellows. He was one of the few men of color to receive the 33rd Degree of Masonry.

Both men were also active in civic and government affairs, with Wheatland becoming an early African heritage city council member and Van Horne leading the African Heritage Masonic order.

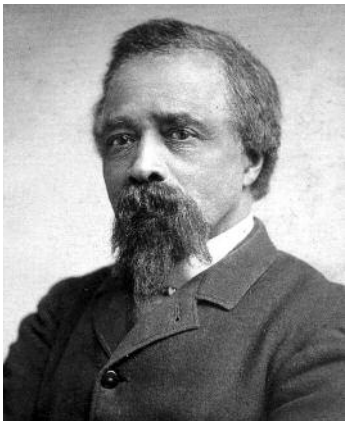
Dr. Harriet A. Rice was born in 1866 in Newport and lived much of her life in the family home at 75 Spring Street. She graduated from Rogers High School in 1882, and she went on to

L to r: Bellevue Avenue, Downing Block, Newport, Rhode Island. c. 1900. Courtesy of the Providence Public Library. Dr. M. Alonzo Van Horne, 1913. Courtesy of the Rhode Island Black Heritage Society.

Edward Mitchell Bannister, Untitled, 1893. Courtesy of the Smithsonian American Art Museum.

become the first woman of color to graduate from Wellesley College in 1887. Soon after, she attended the Michigan Medical School and received advanced medical training at New York Infirmary. She earned her medical degree from the New England Hospital for Women and Children in Boston around 1891. As an African-heritage woman and licensed physician, it was nearly impossible for Dr. Rice to practice medicine at any American hospital. She soon joined the famous social worker and women's suffrage leader Jane Addams at the celebrated Hull House in Chicago, providing medical treatment to poor families. Rice would later open a medical practice in Newport, operating out of her family home on Spring Street at the turn of the twentieth century.

At the start of World War I, she left for France to serve as a physician in French military hospitals. In July 1919, the French Embassy presented Dr. Rice with the National Medal of French Gratitude for her outstanding services in treating wounded French soldiers between 1915 and 1918.



Edward Mitchell Bannister (1828-1901).

Dr. Rice's extraordinary but continuously frustrating life as a talented woman of color during a time of significant challenges for all African-heritage people is best summarized by her response to a 1937 alumni questionnaire from Wellesley College that asked, "Have you any handicap, physical or other which has been a determining factor in your professional activity?" Her reply was direct and representative of all persons of color who dared to achieve and succeed during the turn of twentieth century America, stating: "Yes! I am colored which is worse than any crime in this God-blessed Christian country. My country tis of thee."

Newport's Gilded Age African heritage community also highly valued the arts. Artists like painter Edward Mitchell Bannister, the Providence Art Club and Rhode Island School of Design founder, would frequently summer in Newport, with Aquidneck Island landscapes becoming some of his most famous works. William Stanley Beaumont Braithwaite was a nationally renowned poet and literary critic who married Newporter Emma Kelly and had a summer family home on DeBlois Street off Bellevue Avenue. He would lead many academic and social discussions within Newport's trendy African heritage Men's Club. One meeting took place in 1902 as a group of club members discussed "Are the Mental Capacities of the Sexes Equal?" as part of a more extensive discussion of Women's Suffrage.

Many African-heritage men and women excelled in business and government, using their success to better their community.

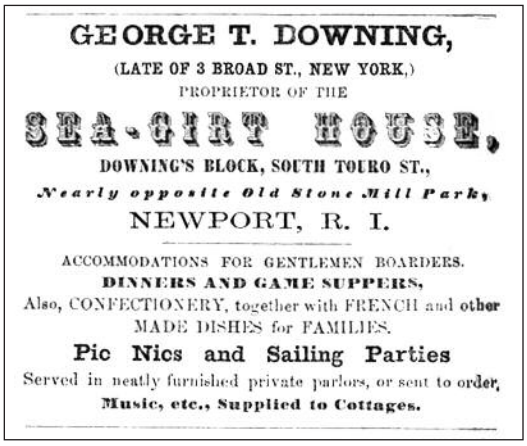
Andrew J. Tabb was born enslaved on August 15, 1842, in Petersburg, Virginia. At the start of the Civil War, he was conscripted into the Confederate Army, working as a waiter for General James Longstreet of the 12th Virginia Regiment. At the Battle of Fort Hell in 1863, he escaped to the Union Army and enlisted in the 114th Regiment of the U.S. (United States) Colored

Troops. Tabb was present in 1865 at the fall of Petersburg, Virginia.

After the war, Tabb became a private coachman and met Madame C. O'Donnell, who employed him as her coachman.

L to r: George Thomas Downing, c.1880. Engraving by Vogt, New York, N.Y. Courtesy of the New York Public Library, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Photographs and Prints Division. Mahlon Van Horne, c. 1901. Courtesy of the New York Public Library, Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Jean Blackwell Hutson Research and Reference Division.

Tabb traveled with O'Donnell and attended the funeral of Victor Hugo in Paris. He followed O'Donnell to Newport in 1881, managing her stables and the transportation needs of other summer residents. Tabb quickly became part of Newport's fast-emerging African heritage business and civic community. He became a deacon at Shiloh Baptist Church, and in 1895, he led the effort to establish the Mt. Olivet Baptist Church. He operated one of the city's most extensive livery stables next to his home at 28 Edgar Court, located off Bath Road and adjacent to historic Bellevue Avenue. Tabb's accomplishments represent the essence of African heritage, "Creative Survival," during a time of enslavement, discrimination, and isolation for many in America simply because of the color of their skin. Despite all challenges, he embodies the American ideal of the self-made man.


GEORGE T. DOWNING,
(LATE OF 3 BROAD ST., NEW YORK,)
PROPRIETOR OF THE
SEA-GIRT HOUSE,
DOWNING'S BLOCK, SOUTH TOURO ST.,
Nearly opposite Old Stone Mill Park,
NEWPORT, R. I.
ACCOMMODATIONS FOR GENTLEMEN BOARDERS.
DINNERS AND GAME SUPPERS,
Also, CONFECTIONERY, together with FRENCH and other
MADE DISHES for FAMILIES.
Pic Nics and Sailing Parties
Served in neatly furnished private parlors, or sent to order,
Music, etc., Supplied to Cottages.

Advertisement for the Sea-Girt House, Newport, Rhode Island. *Newport City Directory*, 1856-57.

Perhaps two of the best-known men in Newport's Gilded Age are the Reverend Mahlon Van Horne and entrepreneur George T. Downing. Together, these two men successfully worked towards the desegregation of schools and the civil rights for African heritage people in Rhode Island.

The Reverend Mahlon Van Horne was pastor of the Union Colored Congregational Church in Newport for thirty years, from 1869 to 1898. This historic church was organized in 1824 as a religious and civic evolution of Newport's Free African Union Society dating back to 1780.

Reverend Mahlon Van Horne was born on March 5, 1840, in Princeton, New Jersey, and graduated from Lincoln University in 1866, known as the first institution in the world to provide higher education in the arts and sciences for African heritage men and women. Van Horne arrives in Newport and is appointed Pastor at Union Congregational Church in 1868. He would continue in that position until 1896. The center of the African heritage community then and today is the church. Van Horne became a part of a new generation of post-Civil War African heritage leaders who would lead Black churches into significant leadership roles within the Reconstruction and civil rights movement of late nineteenth century America.

A religious and political trailblazer, Van Horne, in 1872, would become the first member of color elected to the Newport School Board. In 1885, he would become the first member of color elected to the Rhode Island General Assembly, leading the effort to pass the state's first civil rights legislation that same

Travers Block along Bellevue Avenue, Newport, Rhode Island, c. 1880. Clarence Stanhope, photographer. Courtesy of the Newport Historical Society.

year. In recognition of his significant civic accomplishments, President William McKinley appointed Van Horne to become General Counsel to the Danish West Indies during the Spanish-American War in 1898. The tireless work of Van Horne would propel him to become a leading local and national voice for racial and social justice during the Gilded Age.

George Thomas Downing followed in the entrepreneurial and activist footsteps of his father, Thomas Downing. Known as the "New York Oyster King," Thomas Downing operated a renowned oyster restaurant that attracted elite white customers near the New York Stock Exchange.

Arriving in Newport in the mid-1840s, George T. Downing would become one of nineteenth century Newport's most successful hospitality entrepreneurs. A nationally recognized Abolitionist, Downing also lobbied tirelessly to desegregate Rhode Island public schools, beginning in 1857 officially. By then, he was well-established in Newport as the Sea Girt House luxury hotel proprietor with confectionary and catering businesses on the Downing Block along historic Bellevue Avenue.

George T. Downing was one of the most recognized business and civil rights leaders during the Gilded Age. Downing would later lead the charge to repeal the state's ban on interracial marriage and racial discrimination in the reorganization of the Rhode Island militia. Downing also founded the American Colored Union Labor League in 1869.

In addition to his Rhode Island hospitality businesses, Downing was the U.S. House of Representatives dining room manager in Washington, D.C., befriending Senator Charles Sumner, a lifelong friend and political ally. This and other political contacts would help Downing in his effort to desegregate Rhode Island public schools in 1866.

Women also engaged in entrepreneurial and civic pursuits. One of the most successful women of the time was Mary H. Dickerson, born in Haddam, Connecticut, on October 22, 1830, and raised in New Haven. A widow, she arrived in Newport in 1872 and married Newport grocer Silas Dickerson. She established a "Fashionable Dressmaking Establishment" at 5 Travers Block along the historic Bellevue Avenue, providing the clothing needs of Newport's summer residents.

Dickerson's lasting legacy is the Women's League Newport, the oldest continually operating Black women's club in America, which she founded in 1895. In 1896, she was a founding member of the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs, and in 1903, she established the first African heritage Women's Club Federation in Rhode Island. A major political issue for Dickerson and the Women's Clubs was advocating for anti-lynching laws. Incidents of lynching were most frequent between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Perhaps no woman in New England has influenced the women's club movement more than Dickerson. Her work would inspire future civil rights organizations, including the NAACP and the Urban League.

During her life, Dickerson was considered one of the nation's most influential women of color, advancing issues that promoted the social uplift of women, children, and families. In her 1914 obituary in the *New York Age*, one of the nation's leading African-heritage newspapers, she was described as

> Her advocacy of social uplift, an equal standard of morals for men and women and the vital need of economy and thrift as the steppingstones of the race were her favorite themes of advice to young people.

The Gilded Age was a time of individual and social advancement for the African heritage community of Newport. While gentrification, market changes, and shifting employment opportunities have significantly reduced the African heritage presence in Newport, the legacy of that presence during the Gilded Age has been preserved through the research, documentation, and preservation by several historic institutions led by the Rhode Island Black Heritage Society. Today's historic Newport neighborhoods with names like Historic Hill, Bellevue Avenue, Top of the Hill, The Point, West Broadway, and the Yachting Village once comprised the heart of the early African heritage Gilded Age enclaves where people lived, worked, and worshipped. Each surviving historic building is a physical reminder of a local landscape once part of the "Gilded Age Newport in Color."

Keith W. Stokes, griot, historian, intellectual, convener, public policy wonk, father, husband, and son of Rhode Island. In his four decades of public service, he has been driven to create community for all who call the Ocean State home. From elected city official in Newport to statewide office as a gubernatorial appointment on economic development, to his service for the City of Providence, he sought to braid public dollars with private development to foster a beloved community. Keith obtained an undergraduate degree from Cornell University and his graduate work on public policy was obtained at the University of Chicago. He is vice president of the 1696 Heritage Group, and has been an advisor with the National Trust for Historic Preservation, serving on numerous boards, including Preservation Society for Newport County, Touro Synagogue Foundation, Rhode Island Historical Preservation & Heritage Commission Historical Review Board, Rhode Island Black Heritage Society, Rhode Island Economic Development Corporation, Quonset Development Corporation, Rhode Island Foundation, and the American Antiquarian Society. His current passion is borne of a heritage that extends before the republic and grounds his roots in Rhode Island. He frequently appears on national programs, including C-SPAN, Fox News *Legends & Lies*, and *Ted Talk*. He is the author of *A Matter of Truth*, examining and documenting the role of the City of Providence and State of Rhode Island in supporting a "Separate and Unequal" existence for African heritage, Indigenous, and People of Color. He is a ninth generation Rhode Islander and calls Newport home.

Theresa Guzmán Stokes, writer, mother, historian, community activist, editor, feminist, U.S. Military veteran, and storyteller, inspires and illuminates the complex and woven narratives of African heritage, Latin American and Jewish diasporic histories. Utilizing the tools of history, genealogy and cultural preservation, she is fiercely committed to bringing to light the untold stories of the State of Rhode Island. Theresa is an innovative leader and creator with two decades of service to causes, organizations and people that are committed to moving the needle on empowering communities of color, women and youth. After serving in the U.S. Navy, she centered her professional work on creatively presenting deeply researched stories and projects on Rhode Island and its historic roots. Theresa has participated in and supervised historic preservations, genealogical and cultural resource investigations throughout New England and Virginia. She is president and founder of 1696 Heritage Group, a historical consulting firm dedicated to helping persons and institutions of color to increase their knowledge and access to the light of truth of their unique American heritage. Stokes is the founder of Historical Writers of America. Her legacy is as the executive director of the Rhode Island Black Heritage Society (RIBHS), working to stabilize and preserve the organization through fundraising, grant writing and advocacy. Under her leadership RIBHS is in the vanguard of efforts to embed the stories of African heritage and Indigenous histories in all aspects of Rhode Island life. In her free time, Theresa explores her love of the written word, of nurturing all creatures as a rescuer of Pit Bulls. She is an avid herb gardener and collector of fine ink pens.

FOR FURTHER READING

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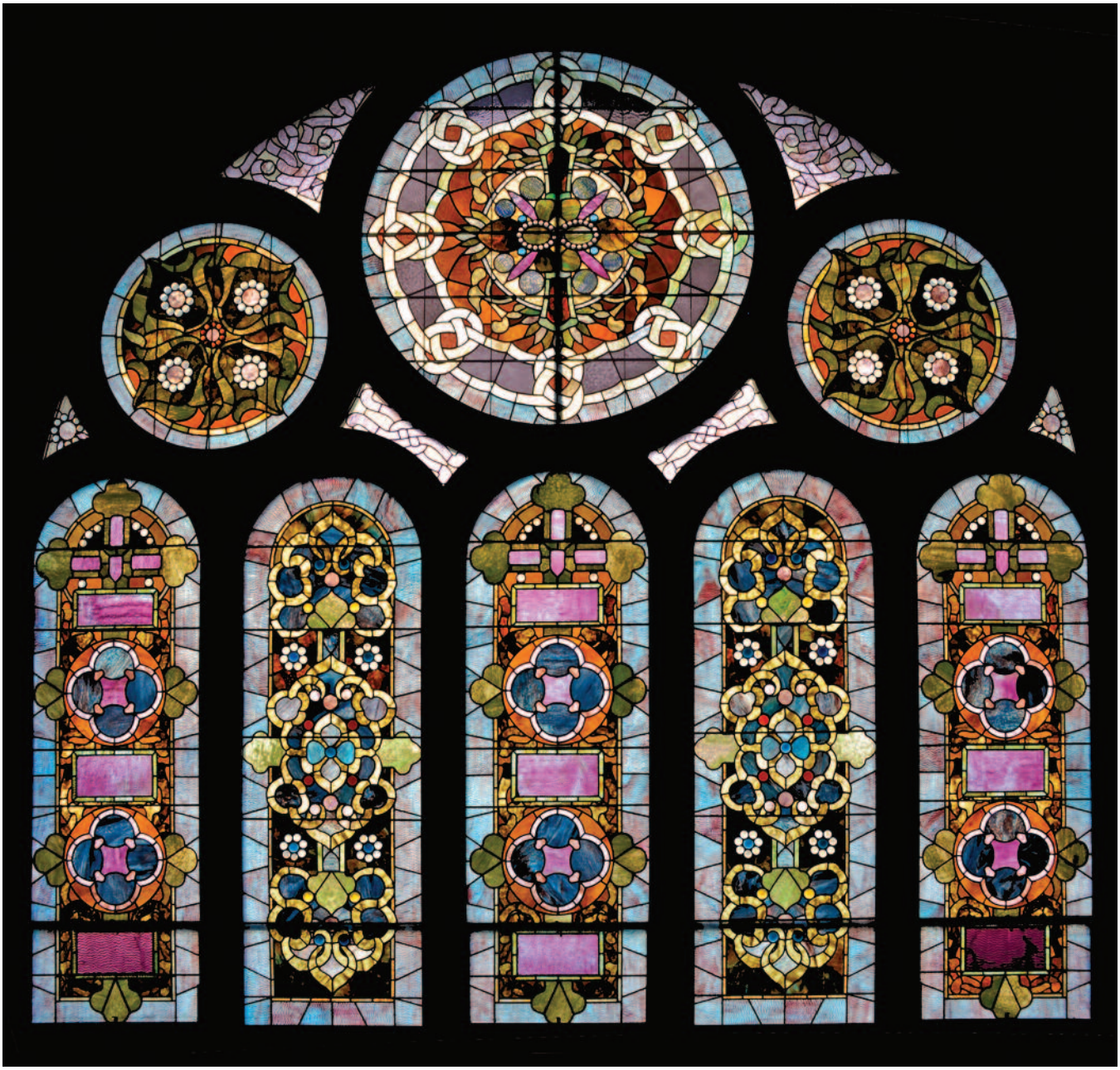
  Keith W. Stokes and Theresa Guzmán Stokes. Rhode Island Black Heritage Society, 2021.



William A. Hazel (1854-1919), South window, 1890. Union Congregational Church, Rockville, Connecticut. Photo by author.

William A. Hazel:

AMERICA'S FIRST KNOWN BLACK STAINED-GLASS ARTIST

Julie L. Sloan

The art and craft of stained glass as practiced in the U.S. have long been dominated by white artists and craftspeople. Today we have Kehinde Wiley's life-size figures in stained glass to fundamentally reshape this history. However, within my ongoing survey of stained glass in America, to date I have located only one Black artist working before the mid-1930s. He achieved rare success in stained glass for a man of any color.

William Augustus Hazel (1853-1929) was born in antebellum North Carolina but moved as a child to Ohio before for the outbreak of the Civil War.[1] By 1860, the family was ensconced among the ardent abolitionists of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and William grew up to be a fervent civil rights advocate.

Educated in Cambridge public schools until the age of 16, he began his working life as an "indoor servant" in the family of Charles Russell Lowell, a brother of the poet.[2] Hazel disliked being in service and became an assistant janitor in an unknown architect's office in Boston, where he was soon learning the trade after hours. Hazel stuck at this for seven years, or until about 1874. Determining that he would never be hired as an architect in Boston, he went to New York and worked for architect Charles D. Gambrill (1834-1880) for short period,[3] then to the Providence, Rhode Island office of Samuel J.F. Thayer (1842-1893) in 1875, where he met his wife.[4]

Hazel returned to Boston around 1876, where he worked for eight years in "one position continuously" in the "stained glass department of a large decorative establishment."[5] This was probably the W. J. McPherson Co., an important interior decorating concern with a large stained-glass department.[6]

William A. Hazel (1854-1919), as published in *The College of Life*, c. 1890.

In 1887 Hazel moved his family to Minneapolis to join Forman, Ford & Co., one of two stained-glass studios in that city.[7] Forman, Ford & Co. was primarily a "jobber" of window glass, but they began advertising "leaded work a specialty" in 1884.[8] The firm was fantastically successful, claiming they sold 90% of the plate and "fancy" glass in the Northwest.[9] They trumpeted the low cost of their stained glass.[10]

Hazel remained with Forman, Ford & Co. as a designer for three years, where he was touted as "the only Colored designer in the country, and…the best in the Northwest."[11] During this time, he probably designed the windows of the First Congregational Church in Appleton, Wisconsin, in 1887, designed by Warren H. Hayes.[12] These large Romanesque windows are ornamental, filled with vibrantly colored glass jewels. It is known that Hazel designed windows for St. Peter's African Methodist Episcopal Church in Minneapolis, Minnesota in 1888.[13]

First Congregational Church, Appelton, Wisconsin, c. 1897. Warren H. Hayes, architect. Author's collection.

In 1889, Hazel left Forman, Ford & Co. He may have been unemployed for a short time, since he advertised that he would receive "his former patrons at his residence…where he may be consulted in matters of interior remodeling, decorating and stained glass."[14] Around the same time, he became involved with the interior decoration of the Minneapolis Grand Opera House, doing his work at night for unknown reasons:

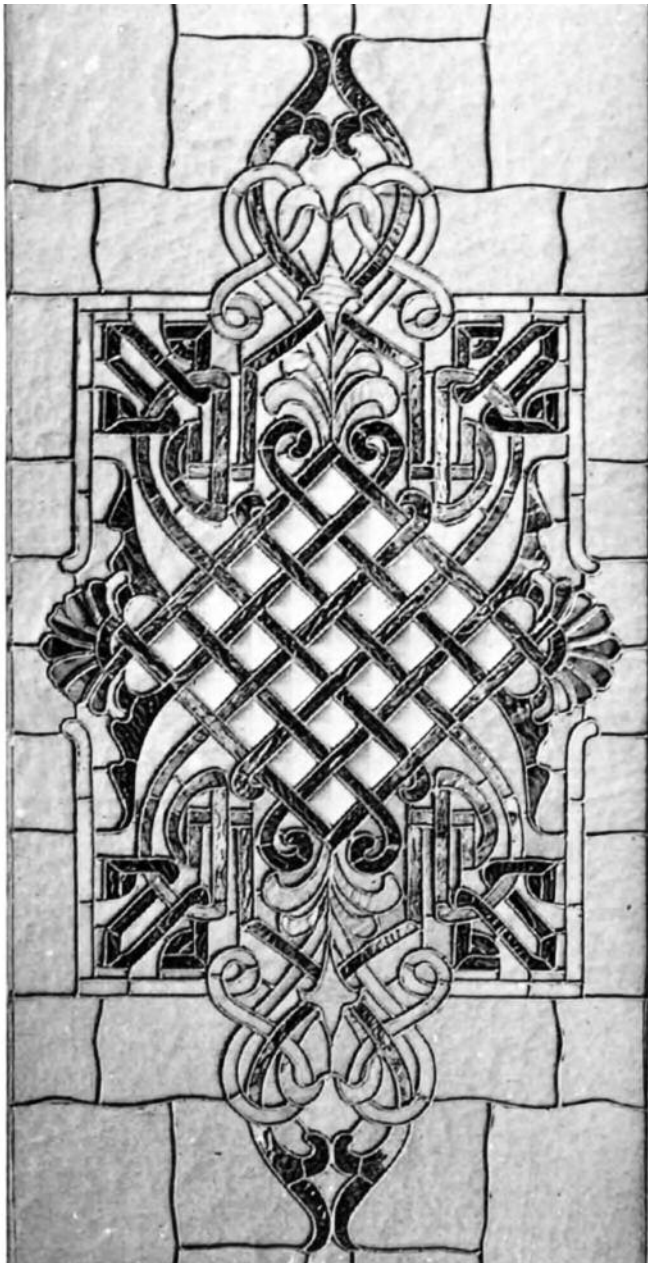
> The conditions under which Mr. Hazel assumed this work preclude him from receiving any formal recognition of his services, yet his connection with the work is a fact well known.[15]

He must have worked with decorator John Scott Bradstreet, who held the contract.

By February 1890, when a long biographical article appeared in the local African-American newspaper, *The Appeal*, Hazel worked for the other Minneapolis stained-glass house, Brown & Haywood, which opened in 1886. Owners Charles W. Brown and William F. Haywood came from Boston. Two of the members of the firm had worked at W. J. McPherson, where Hazel may have trained.[16] Hazel moved to St. Paul to operate Brown & Haywood's branch studio there.[17]

At some point during his tenure with Forman, Ford & Co., Hazel "made so good a reputation that 'The Tiffany Glass Co.,' of

New York appointed him their representative in Minneapolis," but he resigned this position when he joined Brown & Haywood.[18] The details of this appointment are not clear. Hazel was involved with two local buildings for which Tiffany provided windows, but that he was their representative in either is doubtful. The first was the Universalist Church of the Redeemer in Minneapolis in 1889. The congregation hired Bradstreet to beautify the interior of their new church, announcing that the new windows "will be made partly in New York and partly by Brown & Haywood."[19] Ultimately the windows were made by Paul, Minnesota, designed by Warren H. Hayes (1847-1899), a prolific church architect who had previously worked with Hazel on the Congregational Church in Appleton, Wisconsin. In March 1890, Brown & Haywood complained that although Hazel, their designer, had conceived the windows, the contract was let to Tiffany Studios "without the St. Paul manufactory being offered a chance to meet the price made by its eastern competitor."[21] It appears that the church took Hazel's designs to have Tiffany execute them. The church is listed in Tiffany Studios' 1910 list of commissions, although the windows do not look like the work of



L to r: William A. Hazel (1854-1919), South aisle window, 1890. Union Congregational Church, Rockville, Connecticut. Photo by author. Window exhibited at the Paris Exposition, 1889. Healy & Millet, Chicago, Illinois. As published in *Revue des Arts Decoratifs*, 1889-1890.

Herter Brothers, Tiffany Studios, and Brown & Haywood.[20] There is no record of Hazel having liaised with Tiffany.

The second project was the Central Presbyterian Church, St. Tiffany Studios.[22]

Hazel worked with Hayes on other projects around this time, including the Union Congregational Church in Rockville,

Connecticut in 1890.[23] Interestingly, a "memorial window" in this church is also included in the 1910 list of commissions by Tiffany Studios, although the church has no memorial windows.[24] The interior was described as

> harmonious and restful...The art glass in the windows, the carpet on the floor are in harmony, rich but not gaudy...[25]

The windows are similar in design to those of Central Presbyterian, with richly colored opalescent glass and jewels in ornate geometric designs. Hayes also designed Christ Presbyterian Church in Madison, Wisconsin, in 1892, decorating it with Hazel's windows.

> It was a marked example of [Hazel's] skill in producing eminently satisfactory results by the judicious use of simple and inexpensive materials.[26]

The designs of the churches in Appleton, Madison, St. Paul, and Rockville have a distinctive commonality with those of other Midwest studios. In particular around this time, the Chicago firm of Healy & Millet exhibited windows at the 1889 Paris Exposition that are strikingly similar to those in Rockville. After the turn of the century, the Suess Ornamental Glass Company, also of Chicago, created similar windows, although less original than either Hazel's or Healy & Millet's. Hazel's palette was quite different than the other studios' as well, with brighter colors including a cornflower blue and bubblegum pink at Rockville that are unusual. The juxtaposition of these with golds and ambers may reflect his respect for the work of John La Farge.

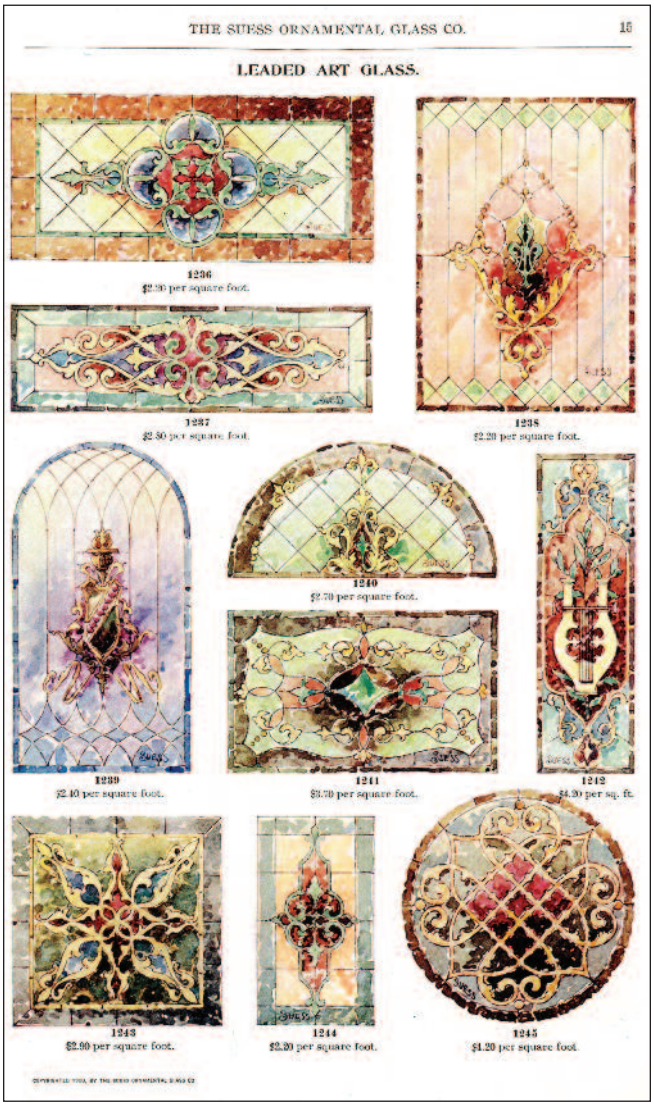
Hazel's excellent reputation led to a short-lived but bold speaking and writing career, beginning in 1891 when he gave a public lecture to architecture students at the State University in Minneapolis.[27] His most daring presentation was made in late 1892 or early 1893 to the newly founded Minnesota Chapter of the American Institute of Architects; it was subsequently published in the May issue of *Inland Architect and New Record*.[28]

The content of this article is intriguing. From the start, Hazel took the position espoused by E.E. Viollet-le-Duc that "Sculpture and painting are...but helpmeets of architecture." He maintained that the superiority of medieval stained glass was due to the quality of the material, which was available only in small pieces, necessitating the unapologetic use of the leadline as part of the design. The invention of enamel paints in the Renaissance led artists to paint on glass as though it were canvas, and stained glass "became thin, weak and monotonous." Only now, he continued, in the late nineteenth century, had Americans

> inaugurated a new era in the history of stained glass, and placed the art on a plane it had never before occupied. Returning to the antique mosaic method, American artists have made glass equal in every respect to that of the olden time....We not only abandoned the use of paint, which deadened the luster of the glass, but we reaffirmed the old truth–that stained glass is an accessory art, an architectural adjunct, designed to enrich that of which it is but an integral part; the architectural unit.

Hazel identified 1876 as the start of this new movement with the building and decoration of Trinity Church in Boston by Henry Hobson Richardson and John La Farge. La Farge, he wrote, had "revolutionized the process of glass-making" with his experiments that led to the development of opalescent glass:

> Improvement in the artistic quality of glass was at once manifest. The worthless stuff, which had supplanted the antique material, in its turn gave place to a new fabric having the same qualities possessed by the glass of the medieval craftsman. Material, which had been previously discarded as imperfect and worthless by



Leaded Art Glass, The Suess Ornamental Glass Company, Chicago. 1900. Author's collection.

> reason of accidents and miscalculations, was found to have just the variety of tone and color most desirable, so that the worst failure often included the greatest success. In the new we had rediscovered the old and in opalescent glass contributed a purely American product to art.

Following this exuberant praise, Hazel veered off on a harsh critique of his possible former employer, Tiffany Studios. Questioning whether American artists can resist the temptation

to go beyond the true principles of medieval stained glass, he asked:

> After having seen this rejuvenated art occupy the high place which La Farge gave it…shall we tempt the fate which blighted the art of the sixteenth century?…The tendency to overstep the prescribed bounds of accessory arts is noticeable in some of our most prominent work, and the cause is not far to seek.

That cause was money, and he lamented that the buying public was more interested in the "clever" and "ingenious" than it was in the artistic:

> We have the national fault of letting our cleverness carry us beyond legitimate bounds, partly in mere exuberance of cleverness, partly for mere display, or a desire to win vulgar applause by being thought more clever than our fellows. It requires considerable moral stamina to stop short when the artistic conscience says, 'thus far and no farther.'

The object of his criticism was Tiffany Studio's *Christ Leaving the Praetorium* based on the painting by Gustav Doré. It had been installed eight years earlier in St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Milwaukee.[29] It had garnered a great deal of attention as one of the largest opalescent windows made to this time.[30] Hazel named the window, but not its maker:

> One of the most ambitious, recent stained-glass windows, and one which is oftenest cited as a "splendid work of art" was made by a well-known firm of reputed artists. In this window is reproduced Doré's picture, "Christ Leaving the Praetorium," in which, in my opinion, every law which should govern true decorative work is transgressed; not through ignorance, but knowingly and willfully, for the sake of dollars and the applause of the multitude.

Hazel insisted:

> In stained glass, pictures should be rigidly excluded, because, upon principle, they are wrong…A painting which transmutes a solid wall into thin air is wrong in principle; its proper function is to beautify the wall, but not to make it a less substantial fact…Consequently the transference of a large canvas painting to a window, as in the "Christ Leaving the Praetorium," banishes the window plane and leaves in its place a vista of palaces and multitudes and all the illusion of sky and air which perspective and chiaroscuro can accomplish.

To add salt to the wound, he cited two La Farge windows as being superior decorations. He called on architects to help educate the public on the principles of decorative art, "that there is an absolute right and wrong in the realm of aesthetics."

As a *cri de cœur* for the art of stained glass, this is an impressive article. It also shows a man who was thoroughly versed in the artistic arguments of his day. Discussion of the value of "accidents" in the making of the glass had been cited before in critiques of La Farge's work.[31] Arguments about the correct design of American stained glass were beginning to burgeon in 1893, as the World's Columbian Exposition got underway in Chicago and Louis Comfort Tiffany came strongly to the fore with his impressive landscape windows. In an 1897 article stained-glass artist Otto Heinigke would pick up Hazel's call to design architectural decoration, not paintings in glass, although he did not cite Hazel.[32] This argument would be the underpinning of Ralph Adams Cram's successful efforts to reestablish a Gothic Revival in stained glass in the early twentieth century.[33]

Although its prescience is remarkable, it is Hazel's audaciousness in taking on Tiffany in this way that is particularly astonishing. It shows a man, an artist–irrespective of his race–with a degree of public approval that inspired extraordinary confidence in his own ideas and talent.

The publication of Hazel's critique coincided with the opening of the Columbian Exposition, where Tiffany Studios was the only American stained-glass company with a large display of three rooms, including the Columbian Chapel. Although the company had been making windows for over ten years by this time, the Columbian Exposition and Tiffany's new push to make their own glass and lampshades propelled the company into a new realm of success.

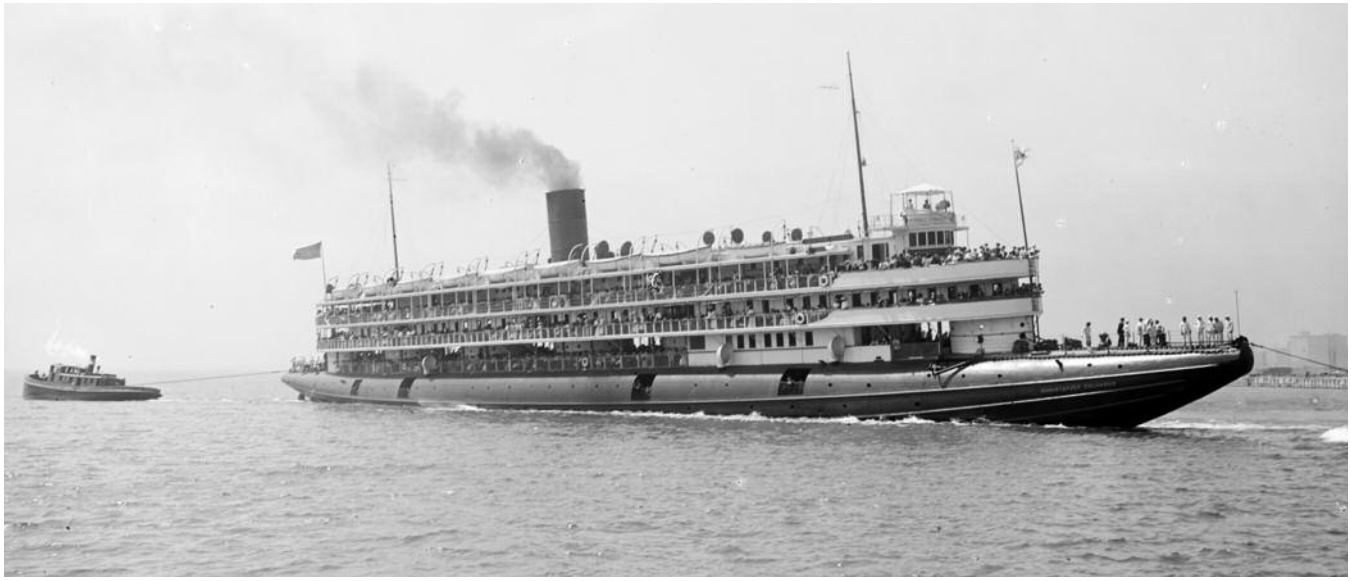
More interesting is the dispute that erupted between Tiffany and La Farge that year, both claiming precedence for the invention of opalescent glass.[34] Each published a long treatise in which many of the same arguments as Hazel's were presented, but with different conclusions. The similarities of the three pieces causes one to wonder if Hazel had seen preliminary drafts of the other artists' pieces.

Hazel gave another lecture the following year to the Minneapolis Fine Arts Society. His ostensible topic was the stained glass at the Columbian Exposition. In three notices of the lecture, he was described as a "practical worker in stained glass," rather than a well-known designer.[35] The full text of the lecture does not survive, but one article excerpted it in part. Interestingly, he seems to have left Tiffany and La Farge out of this one. According to the review, Hazel

> took a general view of esthetics [sic], and did not confine himself to his given subject, 'Stained Glass, Old and New.' Stained glass, however, came in for its share of attention.

No direct mention was made of windows at the Exposition in the review, although Hazel did assert that the Fair demonstrated that American stained glass "was far ahead of that of any other country," tacitly giving the nod to Tiffany despite his earlier denunciations.[36] Instead, Hazel was indignant that manual labor, even that used to create decorative art, was considered less valuable than the talent required to create fine art, a common theme as the Arts & Crafts Movement grew. He passionately advocated once again for the education of the buying public in the principles of "absolute right and wrong in the realm of esthetics."[37] In general, though, this lecture seems to have conveyed little of the fervidness of his earlier one. His fire seems to have been dampened, and one wonders if Hazel had received a rebuke for the earlier piece.

Hazel's only known contribution to the Columbian Exposition was indirect: the stained glass for the S.S. *Christopher Columbus*.[38] The whaleback craft was commissioned as an excursion boat by the Exposition organizers to ferry visitors between the fairgrounds and downtown Chicago. The saloon



S. S. *Christopher Columbus,* c. 1900. Detroit Publishing Company. Courtesy of the Library of Congress.

deck was lit by an enormous skylight, fifteen feet wide by one hundred thirty-eight feet long. There were two domes over the fore and aft staircases.[39]

In 1895, Hazel created a "beautiful window" for St. Mark's Episcopal Church in Minneapolis in memory of journalist Edward Bradford Barnes (1867-1895), a highly respected and widely known young man who had died of malaria or typhus at the young age of 28.[40] Barnes had worked for the Minneapolis and St. Paul newspapers and at his death was a correspondent for the *Northwestern Miller*. Two months later, the *Northwestern Miller* commissioned the window of "soft yellow merging into an equally soft green, relieved by occasional pieces of more pronounced color."[41] That same year, Hazel's designs were selected for the windows of the new Catholic Church in Austin, Minnesota, against a field of eight other studios.[42]

Hazel's first known figural composition is a group of three female Shakespearean characters made for the Public Library in Michigan City, Indiana in 1897. Chosen by competition, the window cost $1,000. Taking a page from east coast studios, Hazel designed a layered opalescent window depicting Ophelia, Rosalind, and Portia:

> The material of which they are composed is technically known as opalescent drapery glass, the richness of the finished work being due to the fact that the glass is corrugated on the surface. The window is made by bringing two plates of glass together, thereby giving character and depth to the work. They are finished in accordance with American principles, which are coming to be recognized as pre-eminent in the field of art.[43]

The state of Tennessee held an exposition in Nashville to mark the centennial of its statehood in 1897. Modeled on the Columbian Exposition with almost one hundred structures designed in the Classical style, it hosted a "Negro Building." The purpose of including African-Americans in the fair was to demonstrate "their industrial status," to "measure their strides and determine their progress," to show "what the negro race can do, and…we shall see what they have learned…"[44] The fair looked forward to "the aristocratic negro of the future," the man who succeeded by using "to its full limit every talent God has given him."[45]

The Negro Building, a large and impressive structure, was situated on the edge of the lake with a good view and within sight of the rest of the fairgrounds.[46] Over three hundred exhibits hailed from eighty-five different cities. Many came from educational institutions–the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute exhibit won a gold medal for "general industrial work." This may have been where Hazel was first introduced to the Institute, which would play an important part in his later career.

Hazel submitted sketches and cartoons to the fair, but not actual windows. Individual entries shown in the Negro Building were not included in the *Official Catalogue of the Tennessee Centennial and International Exposition*. They were listed only in cursory groups without giving any artists' names. The "exhibit from St. Paul, Minn." included Hazel's pieces.[47] This was rectified by *The Official History of the Tennessee Centennial Exposition*, published after the fair, which included all the medals and prizes awarded without noting their division or building. Hazel won a Silver Medal with the following commendation:

> The committee find this work perhaps the most remarkable that has come under their notice at this exposition. If the working drawings had been carefully carried out, showing all the lead lines and for the cutting of the glass, so as to leave no loophole for poor interpretation by the workmen who carry out the glass, this applying also to the design of the window having the figure of Jesus, the committee would have felt able to confer upon Mr. Hazel a gold medal. They heartily commend the artistic feeling displayed in the work, and trust that further study will correct the details spoken of.[48]

Despite the somewhat tepid award language, Hazel achieved a great deal of press. *The Appeal*'s correspondent specifically

L to r: *Interior of Hall for The Public Library of Michigan City*, 1897. Reed & Stem, architects. As published in the Michigan City Evening Dispatch, October 9, 1897. Courtesy of the Michigan City Public Library. William A. Hazel, *Portia, Rosalind, and Ophelia*. 1897. Interior hall of the former Michigan City Public Library as seen today. Photograph courtesy of VHT Studios, Inc.

named his work "in glowing terms," and its article noting the fair's close included Hazel's photographic portrait.[49] Shortly after the works returned to St. Paul, they were exhibited in town, and Hazel's prize was elevated in the press to a gold medal:

> The exhibit made by W. A. Hazel, of St. Paul, which took the first prize in open competition, will also be shown. Mr. Hazel has the reputation of being one of the best stained glass designers in the northwest, having been with a prominent St. Paul firm for many years in this capacity. In this competition there were entries made by prominent designers in the east, and Mr. Hazel's securing the first prize speaks of his ability as an artist...[50]

An article devoted to Hazel's exhibit appeared in no fewer than ten small-town newspapers in Kansas, Indiana, Pennsylvania, New York, and California the following February. The four-paragraph story provided some biographical background, including his birth in North Carolina to "slave parents" (an error), his architectural and stained-glass training in Boston, and his success in Minneapolis, where it was said (also erroneously) that he ran his own studio.[51]

After his success in Nashville, Hazel created a pair of memorial windows for the new Westminster Presbyterian Church in Minneapolis. The first of these was a figure of Christ (perhaps the drawing shown in Nashville) as a memorial to Samuel P. Farrington (1819-1897), founder of a major grocery store. The second was a rose window in memory of S.C. Culbertson and illustrated St. John's vision of Heaven.[52] These were Hazel's last known windows.

While he lived in Minnesota, Hazel was often described in the press. His portrait was published at least four times. The earliest in 1887 in an article about his first lawsuit alleging discrimination was a frontal line drawing showing a man with close-cropped hair and a mustache.[53] It is so simple that no one could have identified him from it. The others were based on the same professional photograph, showing him in left profile with a frock coat, celluloid collar, and an ascot with stick pin.[54]

His design talent was universally praised, if hyperbolically:

> As a designer of stained glass he is known among the craft all over the country and takes rank among the best as is attested by the fact that his designs are in demand in every city where stained glass is made.[55]

Another article called him "one of the leading artists of America." Yet there was a need to reiterate that he was "a colored man of intelligence," a "decent, respectable gentlemanly citizen," and "gentlemanly in his deportment, quiet and unassuming..."[57] His struggle to achieve acceptance was noted:

> Mr. Hazel says he has to work hard to "keep up with the procession [sic]," harder than he had to work to get into it, which is saying considerable [sic], and while admitting that a Colored man has an uphill road...Mr. Hazel's face shows that he has had no summer holiday since he started out to win a "place" in the world...He is of spare build, of average height and would be noted anywhere for just what he is, a gentleman–of African descent.[58]

Hazel was a staunch advocate for the civil rights, equal treatment, and enfranchisement of African Americans

Westminster Presbyterian Church, Minneapolis, Minnesota. William A. Hazel's rose window in memory of S.C. Culberton is seen centered above the entrance. Courtesy of Westminster Presbyterian Church, Minneapolis.

throughout his life. He was described in 1890 as

> a thorough race man, and every blow at the Negro comes home to him as though aimed at himself, and he is much given to hitting back when struck, regardless of consequences.[59]

While in Boston as a young man, he had belonged to several groups such as the Colored Republican Club and mixed with noted white advocates and former abolitionists. When he moved to Minneapolis, he joined similar groups, notably the American League, "an organization devoted to principles of justice and equity to our race, and to the uplifting of the Afro-American in all possible ways."

While living in Minnesota, Hazel was eager to bring public attention to the discrimination he received through the courts and newspapers. He brought legal action at least four times. The first came in 1887 when he was refused a room in several hotels in St. Paul and was arrested for bringing this to the attention of a hotel clerk, who summoned the police.[61] The story was broadcast by *The Appeal* and picked up in Chicago and other towns around the Midwest.[62] Although he was arraigned, the case against him was immediately dismissed. He then sued the hotels for $2,000 for alleged infraction of his civil rights.[63] During the trial, he was served in a restaurant food that was filled with salt.[64] He won his suit against the hotels but was awarded only $25, not enough to pay his attorney, but a notable victory just the same.[65]

The people of St. Paul continued to oppress Hazel's efforts to be treated as an equal. When lunching with the (white) bookkeeper of Brown & Haywood in 1891, he was refused service in a local restaurant, and filed suit.[66] Four months later, the owner of the restaurant apologized to Hazel in writing, published in *The Appeal*. While Hazel graciously accepted the apology and dropped legal charges, he noted acerbically that "the good faith of the statements therein contained would have been more apparent had they been made at an earlier date."[67] A similar event was reported in 1895 at a restaurant in Chicago where Hazel's wife was refused service. Hazel sued and won.[68] In 1897, he was once again refused service in a St. Paul restaurant and arrested for disorderly conduct. He brought suit and won again.[69]

By the end of the 1890s, Brown & Haywood was charting a different direction away from stained glass. Charles W. Brown, owner of the company, was beginning to see that financial success lay in plate glass, not leaded glass, and worked to develop a relationship with Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company, opening a store in Davenport, Iowa, to sell only window glass. In January 1898, Pittsburgh Plate Glass Company bought out Brown & Haywood.[70] Although notices of the sale assured customers that Brown & Haywood would continue providing the same materials and service, Brown moved to Pittsburgh in August and became secretary of Pittsburg Plate Glass Company.[71] The following November Hazel too left the company for New York and then Boston, leaving his family temporarily in St. Paul.[72] In January, he resigned his post as corresponding secretary of the American League, an African-American group in St. Paul. The League refused to accept his resignation and placed his wife, Rosa, as acting secretary. It appears that she left St. Paul sometime after May 1899, when her name stopped appearing in *The Appeal*, which had recorded her many social activities.

Hazel settled once again in Cambridge, Massachusetts, living with his parents, his brother (a painter and decorator), his

mother-in-law, his wife, and three of his five children. In 1900, the city directory recorded that he was working as a glass designer, but from the following year until 1909, he listed his occupation as a draftsman but included no employer. In 1901, he gave a lecture on stained glass in the Tremont Temple, but this was apparently his last effort related to the craft.[73] Although the 1903 book, *Evidences of Progress Among Colored People* (tenth edition) praised him as a decorator and designer of "some of the handsomest window glass used for churches," Hazel's stained-glass career was over.[74]

The years in Cambridge were emotionally hard for Hazel. A group of close family deaths may have saddened the designer. In March 1900, his mother-in-law died, and the following month took his father.[75] In 1901, his sixteen-year-old son died from unknown causes, and in 1904, his daughter Rosa died at eighteen from consumption.

Around 1909, Hazel moved from Cambridge to the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama.[76] There he taught mechanical drawing until 1918 and designed five campus buildings.[77] In 1915 he participated in a Tuskegee effort to provide school buildings for rural Black children in North Carolina, called the Rosenwald Schools.[78]

In 1919, Hazel moved to Washington, D.C. to set up the architecture program at Howard University. He taught both architecture and home economics.[79] The latter course covered architectural history and the planning and building of a home. He resigned in 1921.[80] Although there only two years, he designed the dining hall and the home economics building.[81] He also purchased two homes near the college.[82]

In 1922, he supposedly took part in the restoration of Frederick Douglass's home, Cedar Hall, in the Anacostia neighborhood of Washington, although no public record of this involvement was located.[83] It seems likely that he would have been involved, given that he was living in Washington at the time and seems to have been otherwise unemployed.

In 1927, he retired to Ridge, Maryland, where his daughter and son-in-law ran the Cardinal Gibbons Institute, a boarding school for African-American children. Hazel died there two years later, his stained-glass career having lapsed into obscurity.

Acknowledgements

I have been working with historic American stained glass for over forty years, overseeing restorations and collecting information on artists which I plan to assemble into a major reference book. I came across Hazel's name many years ago when researching the stained-glass work of John La Farge, but had no idea who was behind the rather shocking article in *Inland Architect* lambasting Tiffany. Later, I serendipitously found the biographical article in *The Appeal* from February 1890 and knew he had to be included in my book, not just as an artist of color but as an important contributor to the craft in the Midwest. It was only when I began researching his life and work that I put the two articles together and realized that his was such a fascinating story. Since Hazel was described as a Tiffany Studios representative, I reached out to Tiffany experts Wayne Boucher, author of the Tiffany Census, and Lindsy Parrott, executive director and curator of the Neustadt Collection of Tiffany Glass. Both had come across his name and shared research with me. Lindsy had recently posted images of his work on Instagram, identifying Union Congregational Church in Rockville, Connecticut (not named in historic articles). The church kindly allowed me access to photograph. The Michigan City Public Library in Indiana, which no longer occupies the building for which Hazel designed windows, led me to find the real estate listings that showed his windows today. The article was generously edited by my dear friend, material culturist Patricia Keller.

Julie L. Sloan

Notes

1. "Tell 'Em We's Risin'!," *The Appeal*, February 8, 1890, 1.
2. Ibid., 1. This claim is problematic–if Hazel began working around the age of 16, this would have been around the year 1869, but Lowell had died in the Civil War in 1864 and his widow lived on Staten Island in New York after his death.
3. Ibid., 1.
4. Louise Daniel Hutchinson, "William Augustus Hazel (1854-1919)," in *African American Architects*, ed. Dreck Spurlock Wilson, (New York: Routledge, 2004), 273.
5. "Tell 'Em We's Risin'!,"1; "Colored Artist in Stained Glass," *Longsport Pharos-Tribune* (IN), February 1, 1898, 20.
6. McPherson provided stained glass for Harvard University's Memorial Hall; H.H. Richardson's Brattle Square Church, Boston; the Connecticut State Capitol; and the dome of the Eisenhower Executive Office Building (formerly the State, War, and Navy Building), Washington, D.C., among many others.
7. It is not known how Hazel became known to the company, or they to him.
8. See, for example, "Steele, Forman & Ford [advertisement]," *Minneapolis Journal*, April 23, 1884, 2. This ad ran until October 16, 1884. Original partner William Steele left the firm in 1885.
9. "Steele, Forman & Ford…," *Minneapolis Journal*, May 2, 1885, 6.
10. "Stained Glass," *Minneapolis Journal*, May 28, 1886, 3.
11. "Minneapolis Matters," *The Appeal*, August 11, 1888, 1.
12. "Details of the Edifice," *Appleton Post* (WI), September 20, 1888, 1; "First Congregational Church, Appleton, WI," *Church Building Quarterly* Vol. 7 (July 1889), 154; "Warren H. Hayes, First Congregational Church," *American Architect & Building News* (February 18, 1888). The building was demolished in the late 1960s.
13. "Minneapolis Matters," 1; the church was destroyed by fire in 1898.
14. "Mr. William A. Hazel…," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, September 25, 1889, 3.
15. "Tell 'Em We's Risin'!," 1-2. The building was demolished in 1898.
16. This included William Haywood and Alfred McPherson Bell, William McPherson's nephew; "Brown & Haywood," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, October 2, 1887, 3.
17. "Mr. W. A. Hazel…," *The Appeal*, April 5, 1890, 1.
18. "Tell 'Em We's Risin'!," 1.
19. "Church of the Redeemer," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, February 10, 1889, 5; Hazel was working with Bradstreet on the Minneapolis Grand Opera House at the same time.
20. "Beauty for Ashes," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, November 24, 1889, 1;

none of these survived a tornado in 1903.
21. "Home Patronage," *St. Paul Globe*, March 11, 1890, 2.
22. Tiffany Studios, *Partial List of Windows* (1910), 77; Tiffany Census, http://www.cambridge2000.com/tiffany/. The church and its windows survive.
23. "Tell 'Em We's Risin'!," 1.
24. Tiffany Studio, *Partial List of Windows* (1910), 46; Tiffany Census, http://www.cambridge2000.com/tiffany/.
25. "Letter from Rockville," *Stafford Springs Press* (Connecticut), October 2, 1890, 2.
26. "For Service of God," *Wisconsin State Journal* (Madison), May 26, 1892, 3. The church burned in 1914.
27. "The City Itemized," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, November 19, 1891, 5; "Saint Paul," *The Appeal*, November 21, 1891, 3.
28. W.A. Hazel, "Stained Glass as an Architectural Adjunct", *Inland Architect and News Record* Vol. 21 (May 1893), 50-51.
29. A newer version of the window was installed in St. Mark's Episcopal Church in Washington, D.C., in 1890, but since it was the Milwaukee window that received great attention, this is probably the one he was referring to.
30. See, for example, C. Hanford Henderson, "Glass Making, Part II," *Scientific American Supplement* Vol. 25 (February 11, 1888), 10091.
31. See, for example, Architect, "Notes on Decoration," *Art Amateur* Vol. 12 (January 1885), 44.
32. Otto Heinigke, "Architectural Sympathy in Leaded Glass," *Architectural Review* Vol. 4 (December 1, 1897), 60-64.
33. See, for example, Ralph Adams Cram, "The Question of Ecclesiastical Stained Glass in the United States," *Christian Art* Vol. 1 (September 1907), 285-286.
34. Louis Comfort Tiffany, "American Art Supreme in Colored Glass," *Forum* 15 (July 1893), 621-628; John La Farge, "American Art of Glass" (unpublished manuscript, after July 1893), La Farge Family Papers, Yale University.
35. "The City in Brief," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, March 18, 1894, 5; "An Instructive Talk," Ibid., March 20, 1894, 5; "Aesthetics," Ibid., March 25, 1894, 3.
36. "An Instructive Talk," 5.
37. "Aesthetics," 3.
38. "Solving the Problem," *Plaindealer* (Detroit), March 17, 1893, 4; decorating steamships with stained glass on the Great Lakes, Mississippi, and Ohio Rivers had been done since the 1850s.
39. "Given to the Waves," *Chicago Tribune*, December 4, 1892, 4. No images of the skylights were located. The ship sustained three major accidents, any one of which could have destroyed the stained glass, and was scrapped in 1936.
40. "In Death Remembered," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, April 2, 1895, 7; "Newspaper Man Dead," *Turner Couth Herald* (Hurley, SD), April 4, 1895, 2; "In Memory of Barnes," *Minneapolis Daily Times*, April 8, 1895, 5.
41. "In Barnes' Memory" *Minneapolis Journal*, June 1, 1895, 6. The church was demolished in 1906.
42. Henry Davenport Northrop, Joseph R. Gay, and I. Garland Penn, *The College of Life* (Bessemer, AL: Hollingsworth & Porter, 189?), 157-158; Hutchinson, "William Augustus Hazel (1854-1919)," 274. The church was demolished and no photographs of it were located.
43. "Designed by Hazel," *Minneapolis Journal*, January 15, 1897, np. This window survives, although the building is now residential.
44. Herman Justi, ed., *Official History of the Tennessee Centennial Exposition* (Nashville, 1898), 193.
45. Justi, ed., Ibid., 194.
46. Justi, ed., Ibid., 198; *Official Catalogue of the Tennessee Centennial and International Exposition* (Nashville, 1897), 57. These books give slightly different dimensions.
47. Ibid., 59. The only stained-glass artist recognized in the catalogue was Clara Weaver Parrish (1861-1925), a native of Selma, Alabama, who sometimes designed windows for Tiffany Studios, and whose work was listed in the Department of Fine Arts, History, Architecture, and Antiquities.
48. Justi, ed., *Official History of the Tennessee Centennial Exposition*, 458.
49. "The Appeal's Representative…," *The Appeal*, September 25, 1897, 1; "Nashville, Tenn.," *The Appeal*, November 6, 1897, 2.
50. "Colored Folks' Craft," *St. Paul Globe*, November 28, 1897, 4.
51. "Colored Artist in Stained Glass," 20; see also: *Fort Scott Daily Tribune and Daily Monitor* (Kansas), February 2, 1898, 2; *Hazelton Plain Speaker* (Pennsylvania), February 4, 1898, 2; *Carbondale Daily News* (Pennsylvania), February 4, 1898, 4; *Leavenworth Evening Standard* (Kansas), February 8, 1898, 2; *Wilkes-Barre Times Leader* (Pennsylvania), February 9, 1898, 4; *Glens Falls Post-Star* (New York), February 9, 1898, 2; *Newton Daily Republican* (Kansas), February 14, 1898, 2; *Hamilton County Democra*t (Noblesville, Indiana), February 18, 1898, 6; and *Riverside Daily Press* (California), February 19, 1898, 6; curiously, this did not run in the St. Paul or Minneapolis papers.
52. "In Building and Realty," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, April 17, 1898, 20; "In Loving Memory," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, May 13, 1898, 7; "City News," *Minneapolis Daily Times*, May 14, 1898, 5. The church replaced the windows in the 1950s and 60s.
53. "Drawing the Color Line," *St. Paul Daily Globe*, May 15, 1887, 3.
54. "Tell 'Em We's Risin'!," 1; Northrop, Gay, and Penn, *The College of Life*, np.; "Nashville, Tenn.," 2.
55. Ibid., 1.
56. Ibid., "Colored Artist in Stained Glass," 20.
57. "Civil Rights," *The Appeal*, December 25, 1897, 4; "Minnesota–A Negro Arrested," *Chicago Tribune*, May 16, 1887, 3; "Outraged Again," *The Appeal*, January 10, 1891, 3.
58. "Tell 'Em We's Risin'!," 1.
59. Ibid., 1.
60. "St. Paul: American League Matters," *The Appeal*, January 21, 1899, 3. "'Cuba': A Drama of Freedom Presented by Local Talent," *The Appeal*, October 29, 1898, 4.
61. Ibid., "Drawing the Color Line," 3.
62. "Minnesota–A Negro Arrested," *Chicago Tribune*, May 16, 1887, 3; "Seems to be American, You Know," *Rockford Daily Register* (Illinois), May 17, 1887, 4.
63. "Minneapolis," *The Appeal*, May 21, 1887, 4; "St. Paul," Ibid., August 6, 1887, 5; "A Colored Man's Rights," *St. Paul Globe*, October 16, 1887, 2.
64. "St. Paul," *The Appeal*, October 15, 1887, 4.
65. "The case of William A. Hazel…," *The Appeal*, October 22, 1887, 1.
66. Ibid.,"Outraged Again," 3.
67. "Civil Rights," *The Appeal*, April 18, 1891, 3.
68. "American Notes," *Bond of Brotherhood*, April 1895, 48.
69. "Was Color Line Drawn?" *St. Paul Globe*, December 19, 1897, 4; "Which was Disorderly?" Ibid., December 22, 1897, 4; "Civil Rights," 4.
70. "Plate Glass," *Quad-City Times* (Davenport), January 7, 1898, 1; "A Trade in Glass," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, January 8, 1898, 9.
71. "Coming and Going," *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, August 21, 1898, 14; "Biographical," *National Glass Budget*, February 2, 1918, 10.
72. "Mr. W. A. Hazel…," *The Appeal*, October 29, 1898, 4.
73. "In the Women's Clubs," *Boston Herald*, March 24, 1901, 34.
74. G.F. Richings, *Evidences of Progress Among Colored People*, (Philadelphia: Geo. S. Ferguson Co., 1903, Tenth Ed) 342.
75. "Deaths," *Boston Evening Transcript*, March 16, 1900, 6; "Funeral of Benjamin C. Hazel," *Boston Globe*, April 16, 1900, 14.
76. Hutchinson, "William Augustus Hazel (1854-1919)," 275. Tuskegee Institute Annual Catalogues listed him as faculty until 1917-18.
77. *The Negro Rural School and Its Relation to the Community* (Tuskegee, AL: Extension Dept., Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, 1915), np; Julius Rosenwald was a philanthropist.
78. "Rosenwald Schools in North Carolina," National Register of Historic Places Multiple Property Documentation Form (July 9, 2015), 7.
79. Howard University, *Catalogue 1919-1920* (Washington, D.C.), 18, 128-131, 161, 164, 165.
80. Walter Dyson, *Howard University: The Capstone of Negro Education* (Washington D.C.: Howard University, 1941), 141.
81. Hutchinson, "William Augustus Hazel (1854-1919)," 275.
82. Last Will and Testament, William A. Hazel, February 9, 1929. Washington, DC Wills and Probate Records.
83. Hutchinson, "William Augustus Hazel (1854-1919)," 276.

Carducius Plantagenet Ream (1838-1917), *Dessert No. 5*, c. 1880. Chromolithograph. L. Prang & Co, Boston. Courtesy Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division.

Chromolithography:

ART FOR THE PEOPLE

Christopher W. Lane

One of the most beautiful prints I handled in my four decades as a print and map dealer was a print published about 1880 by Louis Prang after a painting by Carducius Plantagenet Ream. This was a large (about 20" x 25"), colored still-life image on canvas that appeared to be an oil painting. That appearance was in fact Prang's specific intent, to produce a print that looked exactly like a painting and in order to do that, he used the process of chromolithography.

I loved this print both because it was beautiful and also for Prang's impressive achievement in producing such an image. Thus, it was rather annoying when a client would walk into my shop, exclaim in delight when spotting this print, but then lose all interest once I explained that, no, it was not a painting, but instead a chromolithograph. To me that is one of the things that made it so special, but this reaction was a regular occurrence with this print, as well as other chromolithographs I had in my shop.

This general disdain for what I felt were wonderful prints is somewhat ironic given the fact that during the second half of the nineteenth century, chromolithography was very popular and indeed had a profound influence on American culture. This was so much so that the period from about 1860 to 1890 has been called the era of "chromo civilization."[1]

Chromolithography is a type of lithography, the printing process where images are transferred to paper from a flat surface. A chromolithograph is a lithograph printed from applications of a number of lithographic stones, each using a different color ink, where the primary image is composed from at least three colors. This process became the dominant method of making commercial prints in the last four decades of the nineteenth century.

The advantages of chromolithography, over hand-colored lithography, were considerable. It allowed for the making of colored prints without the time and risk of hand-coloring and enabled the inexpensive production of thousands of colored prints at one time. By the late nineteenth century, chromolithography was used to produce small cards—such as collectible album cards, business cards, and greetings cards; as well as book illustrations, posters and advertisements. The chromolithographs that are the focus of this article, however, are display prints—that is prints intended to be framed and hung in the home, office, or workplace for decoration.

The widespread use of chromolithographs for display in America began following the Civil War. The economic advantages of chromolithography allowed for the production of relatively inexpensive prints, bringing bright and attractive images within the reach of the masses. In the second half of the nineteenth century, millions of frameable chromolithographs were made and sold throughout the country, becoming the customary decoration in American homes everywhere.

William Sharp (1803-1875), *F.W.P. Greenwood*, 1840. Chromolithograph. Wm. Sharp, Boston. Courtesy National Portrait Gallery.

Chromolithography had first been developed in Europe in the early nineteenth century, coming to America initially through the talents of European trained lithographers. The first American chromolithograph was by William Sharp, an Englishman who emigrated to Boston and produced a portrait of Reverend F.W.P. Greenwood in 1840. While it is not very colorful, it was printed using three colors and so qualifies as a chromolithograph.[2]

Within a decade, American chromolithography had progressed considerably, in no small measure due to Frenchman Pierre S. Duval, who was brought to America by Philadelphia publisher Cephas G. Childs in 1831. Duval eventually took over Child's business and became the city's most important lithographic publisher. In the 1840s, Duval turned to producing chromolithographs and greatly advanced the medium. His portrait of the Marquis de Lafayette from 1851 was one of the first American chromolithographs to match the quality of the European prints.

Most of the early advances in chromolithography were made

in Europe or by European immigrants. The German revolutions of 1848 had a huge impact on American publishing, for as a result a number of German lithographers emigrated to the United States, including Julius Bien and Louis Prang, both important in the development of American chromolithography.[3]

John James Audubon (1785-1851), *Reddish Egret*, 1860. Chromolithograph. Julius Bien (1826-1909), New York. Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.

Julius Bien arrived in New York and founded a small print shop which he subsequently turned into a powerhouse, employing over two hundred workers and operating fifteen lithographic steam presses.[4] His greatest impact on chromolithography was the production of an American edition of John James Audubon's *Birds of America* in 1860.

The original 435 plates for the first edition of Audubon's monumental work, published between 1827 and 1838, were hand-colored aquatints made in England in a double elephant folio size so that the birds could all be shown life-size. After Audubon's death in 1851, his son, John Woodhouse Audubon, decided to issue a full-size second edition of the work in America using the relatively new process of chromolithography. To do the lithography he chose Julius Bien.

To reproduce, using chromolithography, the complexity and subtlety of color of Audubon's images in such a large size was a monumental task, but Bien was up to the challenge. Unfortunately, the advent of the Civil War essentially killed the market for this expensive production, especially in the South, and only 105 different plates were produced. Still, these were the first really large chromolithographs produced in this country and their quality demonstrated how chromolithography could be used to make prints of the highest quality.

By mid-century, Europeans had developed a special style of chromolithography, called oleography, using a process designed to produce prints that looked exactly like oil paintings. This process involved the use of oil-based inks, with the surface of the print varnished and then embossed or striated, so that the result very closely duplicated the appearance of a painting.

The first American publisher to produce oleographs was E.C. Middleton of Cincinnati.[5] Beginning in 1861, he published a series of chromolithographic portraits of American figures, including George and Martha Washington, Abraham Lincoln, Henry Clay, Daniel Webster, Ulysses S. Grant and eleven other individuals. Middleton was proud of these fine portraits, made with what he called "Warranted Oil Colors," claiming that

> these portraits combine all the qualities of the finest oil paintings... imprinted on canvas...in such a manner as to be faithful counterparts of oil paintings.[6]

In the following decades, a number of other American printmakers produced oleographs as well as other chromolithographs intended to duplicate the appearance of original art. One such publisher was Philadelphia's Joseph Hoover. One of his prints from 1867, entitled *American Fruit*,

James Fuller Queen (1821-1886), *American Fruit*, 1867. Chromolithograph. P.S. Duval Son & Co., Philadelphia. Published by Joseph Hoover, Philadelphia. Courtesy of the Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division.

won Hoover an award for excellence at the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia.[7]

The other print publisher who won an award for excellence for his chromolithography at that exhibition was one of the German "forty-eighters," Louis Prang.[8] What was special about chromolithography was that it allowed for the relatively inexpensive production of prints that at least approximately duplicated the appearance of paintings and watercolors and the main impact of this was that it allowed the middle and working classes to hang "art" in their homes and offices at an affordable price. It was Prang, more than anyone else, who help build and supply the demand for display chromolithographs in America.

Prang's firm became the most important chromolithographic business in America from the 1860s through the end of the century. Prang had begun his business by producing color album cards, business cards, and then greeting cards, especially Christmas cards. In 1881 alone, he produced almost 5 million Christmas cards[9] and became known as the "Father of the American Christmas Cards."[10]

However, it was not for the cards but for his production of display art prints that Prang was particularly influential. These were the prints that eventually formed the main part of his business. His first fine art reproductions were prints after two of Alfred Thompson Bricher's landscapes. Priced at the princely sum of $6 each, these prints did not sell terribly well, but Prang's next print, A.F. Tait's *Group of Chickens*, had over 30,000 copies distributed in two years, really launching this aspect of Prang's business.[11]

In a price list for *Prang's American Chromo* from 1869, he claimed:

> Our Chromo prints are absolute fac-similes of the originals, in color, drawing, and spirit, and their price is so low that every home may enjoy the luxury of possessing a copy of works of art which hitherto adorned only the parlors of the rich.

Because these prints were intended for display as art, they did not have titles on the front, but instead Prang mounted labels on

the back with the title and artist. For the same reason, these prints were intended to be put into frames, often quite elaborate, and often hung without any glazing. The whole idea was that the prints would look just like an original painting.

Top to bottom: Arthur Fitzwilliam Tait (1819-1905), *Group of Chickens*, 1864. Chromolithograph. L. Prang & Co., Boston. Courtesy Boston Public Library. Eastman Johnson (1824-1906), *The Barefoot Boy*, 1860. Chromolithograph. L. Prang & Co., Boston, c. 1867.

Between 1866 and 1897 Prang issued about 800 different chromolithographic copies of paintings and watercolors priced between $1.50 and $15. His business model was to either purchase an existing work of art or commission a new one to be used to make a print. It is estimated that between 1882 and 1892 Prang paid out almost half a million dollars to artists, and it is likely that for the entire post-Civil War period, Prang was the largest patron of American art.[12]

Prang claimed that his most popular print was *Barefoot Boy*, a twenty-six stone chromolithograph based on a painting by Eastman Johnson, which was sold in the thousands and was listed in his catalogues from 1867 to 1887.[13] Though he did produce copies of European paintings, most of Prang's subjects were American. He issued prints in many styles, including landscapes, still lifes, and religious subjects, intending prints to be hung in all rooms of the home. For instance, the still-life after C.P. Ream I mentioned at the start was part of Prang's "Dining-Room Picture" series.

While Prang was overall the best American chromolithograph printmaker, other publishers produced chromos of considerable quality on many different topics. A fine example is a print by Cincinnati publisher F. Tuchfarber after William Harnett's trompe l'oeil painting *The Old Violin*. Tuchfarber purchased the original painting specifically so that he could demonstrate the quality of his chromolithographic work with this large 34" x 23" print.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, chromolithographic prints in a new style began to appear. These were done in what was called the "French-style," where the intent was to duplicate watercolors rather than oil paintings. These prints used translucent inks in an attempt to create images that had an airy texture and soft blending of colors.

This type of print became especially popular with American artists beginning in the late 1870s. It was not easy for artists to earn a living by selling their watercolors, so publications which were based on their artwork offered a way for them to earn extra money.

Thus it was that in this period a number of portfolios of French-style chromolithographs were published, designed to help generate income for the artists and publishers. Many of these used sporting images and among the most famous of these series are:

- Alexander Pope, *Upland Game Birds and Water Fowl of the United States*, 1878.
- Frederic Cozzens, *American Yachts, Their Clubs and Races*, 1884.
- A.B. Frost, *Shooting Pictures*, 1895.
- An 1889-90 portfolio entitled *Sport, or Fishing and Shooting*, with prints by a number of important American sporting artists such as S.F. Denton, Henry Sandham, Frank H. Taylor and R.J. Zogbaum

These portfolios usually consisted of a series of loose prints enclosed by covers and accompanied by text. These prints sometimes were issued with titles printed on them, but more often the prints were published with the paper trimmed to the image and any title printed on the cover or a separate label. Similarly to the intent with the oil-painting chromolithographs, these prints were designed to be framed so that they looked like original watercolors.

The highpoint of this French-style chromolithography was

undoubtedly a portfolio of prints by Thomas Moran which resulted from a government expedition he accompanied to Yellowstone in 1871. Moran was sent by *Scribner's Magazine* to act as a correspondent/artist on Ferdinand V. Hayden's survey expedition to Yellowstone. Printed images of drawings Moran made on this trip appeared in Hayden's report as well as in *Scribner's*, and these illustrations, along with some of his watercolors, were circulated in Congress and they played an important role in having Yellowstone made into a National Park in 1872.[14]

Another significant result of Moran's visit to Yellowstone, though, was a portfolio of fifteen chromolithographs after his watercolors issued by Louis Prang in 1877, entitled *The Yellowstone National Park and the Mountain Regions of Idaho, Nevada, Colorado and Utah*. Knowing of Moran's abilities, Prang commissioned Moran to produce the watercolors for this portfolio, which Prang saw as a crowning example of the quality of his chromolithographic business.

These are among the finest chromolithographs ever produced, capturing with amazing verisimilitude Moran's watercolors. They were a critical success, with even the preeminent British art critic of the day, John Ruskin, purchasing a portfolio. Prang printed 1,000 copies of these prints and then destroyed the stones, the portfolios to be sold for $60. However only about 150 full sets and a limited number of single plates survived a fire in Prang's warehouse in 1877, so the prints today are as rare as they are desirable.

One impetus of the widespread dissemination of chromolithographs in the second half of the nineteenth century was part of a desire to democratize culture, one aspect of the drive to popularize intellectual life in the United States. As historian James Parton in wrote 1869,

> The art of chromo-lithography harmonizes well with the special work of America at the present moment, which is not to create, but to diffuse; not to produce literature, but to distribute the spelling-book; not to add to the world's treasures of art, but to educate the mass of mankind to an intelligent enjoyment of those we already possess.[15]

William Harnett (1848-1892) *The Old Violin*, 1886. Chromolithograph. Frank Tuchfarber, Cincinnati, 1887. Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.

There were many who applauded these prints becoming part of the life of Americans, with a number of editorials and published home guides lecturing homeowners on the virtues of chromolithography and encouraging the use of these prints for the decoration of the home and education of the family.

One example of this was in *The American Woman's Home*, written by sisters Catharine Esther Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, the latter best known as author of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*. As the subtitle states, their publication was designed as "a guide to the formation and maintenance of economical, healthful, beautiful, and Christian homes." Published beginning in 1869 and for many years thereafter, this book became the American woman's household bible.

The sisters believed that the home's physical environment helped mold its inhabitant's characters and they enthusiastically promoted chromolithographs as conveying the right atmosphere of education and refinement, "bringing beauty and pleasure to so many thousand homes that otherwise poverty would keep bare."[16] The authors lauded the effects of chromolithographs on the family:

Thomas Moran (1837-1926) *The Great Blue Spring of the Lower Geyser Basin, Yellowstone National Park*, 1875. Chromolithograph. L. Prang & Co., Boston, 1877. Courtesy of the Boston Public Library.

> Surrounded by such suggestions of the beautiful, and such reminders of history and art, children are constantly trained to correctness of taste and refinement of thought, and stimulated—sometimes to efforts at artistic imitation, [but] always to the eager and intelligent inquiry about the scenes, places and incidents represented.17

After the Civil War, the American middle and lower classes became eager to have attractive and "meaningful" decorations in their homes and to be exposed to the finer things in life, such as art. Chromolithographs offered them an opportunity to do so at a price they could afford, making art a part of the public's everyday life.

As written in an article published in 1869:

> If chromo-lithography is not an art, it is in one sense better, since it goes where pure Art cannot go, [into]... popular aesthetic culture, which the latter could never accomplish...For ten dollars the working man may glorify his house with one of Correggio's masterpieces; [and] for the same sum he may delight his eyes and his soul with the harmonious richness of Bierstadt's 'Sunset in California'; he may warm his patriotism and feed his ambition by contemplating 'The Boyhood of Lincoln;' or he may renew his youth in gazing on the inimitable portrait of Whittier's 'Barefoot Boy.'[18]

However, chromo civilization was not uniformly welcomed, for there were many critics who felt that chromolithographs perverted high culture by allowing the common folk to think they had achieved sophistication or knowledge, all the while they were dealing with mere counterfeits. E.L. Godkin, editor of the magazine *The Nation*, wrote that

> the chromo-lithographic imitation of oil-painting is a type of everything in bad art that is most disgusting to the artist and to the cultivated...At the bottom of this disgust we shall find the sensation of sham, of a swindle which disappoints even while it deceives.[19]

Art critic John Ruskin believed chromolithographs were a debased form of reproduction and should all be burned,[20] though as noted earlier he did purchase one of Thomas Moran's portfolios of Yellowstone.

As it happened, towards the end of the nineteenth century and into the next, chromolithography began to be used more and

more as simply a fast and inexpensive way to produce "cheap and cheerful" colored images. This created a bad name for the process, giving "chromos" a reputation as poor people's prints. The term "chromo" came to be used pejoratively, referring either to a completely useless individual, or in Australia, to a prostitute.[21]

About the same time, new printmaking processes, using photographic transfer techniques, came to dominate the production of decorative prints for the masses and soon few art chromolithographs were produced. It wasn't long before chromolithography was basically forgotten and today few know about the period of "chromo civilization" nor are even aware of the existence of these prints.

So how are we to judge chromolithographs today? Are they just antiquated reproductions or something more? Were they a means of broadening cultural awareness or degrading fakes. Personally, I agree with Peter Marzio who wrote the single best volume on the topic of American chromolithographs, *The Democratic Ar*t. He said of those who dismissed these prints:

> Critics who hated the chromo were elitists who dreamed up foolish arguments. They were afraid that the populace might invent an idea or two about art that did not coincide with upper-class wisdom.22

Beyond their important role in the democratization of American culture, chromolithographs are also wonderful original prints. They are by nature reproductive, but they are original prints in the sense that they were made by hand by skilled craftsmen using an elaborate process.

It is instructive to compare chromolithographs to the ubiquitous giclée reproductions. Giclée[23] prints serve many of the same purposes today as chromolithographs did over a century ago. For instance, many of the paintings in the fabulous Anschutz western art collection have been duplicated by full-size giclée copies and these have been hung both in the Broadmoor Hotel in Colorado Springs and University of Colorado Hospital in Denver. There these magnificent copies provide beauty and interest to those that visit.

However, giclées really are mere reproductions, as they were produced purely by mechanical means, no hand-craft being involved. In contrast, the chromolithographs of the nineteenth century were carefully made from hand-drawn limestone blocks. That makes them artifacts of not only historical interest, considerable attractiveness, and cultural significance, but also of substantial intrinsic value.

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Notes

1. Peter Marzio, *The Democratic Art: Pictures for a 19th-Century America*, 1979, 1.
2. Ibid, 17.
3. These are other refugees from the 1848 Revolutions, are often referred to as the "forty-eighters."
4. Ibid, 53.
5. Christopher W. Lane, "Middleton's National Oil Portraits," *Imprint*, Vol. 42, No. 1 (Spring 2017), 3-4.
6. Ibid.
7. "Art-Lithographers of the United States. Joseph Hoover." *Lithographers Journal*, September 1893, 52.
8. *International Exposition, 1876: Reports and awards. Groups I-XXXVI and collective exhibits*. U.S. Centennial Commission, 1880, 74.
9. Katherine Morrison McClinton, *The Chromolithographs of Louis Prang*, 1973, 81.
10. Larry Freeman, *Louis Prang: Color Lithographer, Giant of a Man*, 1971, 92.
11. Marzio, op. cit., 101-102.
12. Ibid, 94-95.
13. Ibid, 124.
14. Ron Tyler, *Prints of the West*, 1994, 144.
15. "Popularizing Art," *The Atlantic Monthly*, March 1869, 354.
16. Harriet Beecher Stowe, "What Pictures Shall I Hang On My Walls," *The Atlantic Almanac*, 1869, 44.
17. Catharine Esther Beecher & Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The American Woman's Home. Principles of Domestic Science*. Bedford, MA, 1869, 94.
18. Copied from Boston Commercial Bulletin, "Pictures for the People. An Art Workshop," *Manhattan Nationalist*. April 24, 1869, 1.
19. "Autotypes and oleographs," *The Nation*, November 10, 1870, 317.
20. Marzio, op. cit., 105.
21. Oxford English Dictionary https://www.oed.com/dictionary/chromo_n2
22. Ibid, 213.
23. Giclée is a modern digital printing process which uses an ink-jet printer to produce high quality reproductions.

Log structure, originally part of the ’49 Mining Camp exhibit at the California Midwinter International Exposition of 1894 at Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, California. The structure was later used as a gardener’s storage shed. Author’s collection.

Rustic Structures in the Landscape:

GOLDEN GATE PARK, SAN FRANCISCO

Christopher Pollock

Rustic is an uncelebrated part of the flamboyant Victorian era's many styles that stressed novelty in its use of unrefined construction materials. The Golden Age of rustic occurred between 1840 and 1930 in the United States. Even though the rustic idiom was part of the Victorian style's exuberance, it was not necessarily crude as the name might imply as many examples that decorated the landscape were well-crafted.

The genesis of European rustic style coalesced in the late eighteenth century when a taste-based movement known as *picturesque* came about. It sought to sharpen the aesthetic lens the world can be seen through, mainly in the art of illustration. An early discourse about the notion was when Englishman William Gilpin authored *Observations Relative Chiefly to Picturesque Beauty* published in London in 1792. A movement based on taste, it referred to the framing of a pictorial view where the rules of subject matter included the characteristics of roughness, sudden variation, and irregularity. The idea was to create the perfectly balanced picture using all the landscaping and structural resources available. With this, many European designers espoused their ideas about rustic embellishments such as furnishings, fences, bridges, or summer houses by publishing illustrations in books or journals. During the year of 1802 Dutchman Gijsbert van Laar published a series of periodicals illustrating his ideas about projects in the rustic style.[1] All this was seen as "a revolt against the excessive formalism of French and Dutch garden design."[2] One early designer of rustic structures and furnishings was English architect Thomas James Ricauti. His 1842 publication of *Sketches for Rustic Work* illustrated residences, furnishings, bridges, and fences in the rustic style. Realistically, Ricauti's drawings were quite fanciful as sourcing all the branches and logs to conform perfectly to his designs, would be a challenge. Additionally, the constructability of his designs as rendered was questionable. However, the overall designs were a great inspiration to designers and builders who followed.

The idea of rustic as carried out in the U.S. comes out of several different kinds of influences, some surrounding the preservation of nature. One is the written word where individuals wrote about their take on nature from a philosophical standpoint while others were pragmatic with specific ideas on how enhance the landscape. Andrew Jackson Downing's (1815-1852) *A Treatise on the Theory and Practice of Landscape Gardening* was originally published in 1841. Downing was America's first true landscape architect who considered all the facets of a landscape's construction. Rustic was just one of the many trends he engaged in. In a chapter titled "Embellishments" he included suggestions on how to position and construct rustic work. He espoused that this contrasts with architectural pieces, or more formal forms, which are more appropriately situated close to a building. His instruction is that rustic work belongs in outlying areas where "nature is predominant, (as the distant wooded parts, or walks of a residence,)... and appear but one remove from natural forms."[3] He considers seating pieces and shelter buildings, including a prospect tower, constructed of branches, twigs, and sometimes moss. Rockwork is used to augment these constructions or to produce a backdrop skeleton where picturesque plantings can grow. The notion of using natural bark-covered tree trunks combined with smaller branches was also bolstered by the emerging back-to-nature movement of the time, a reaction to the shortcomings of the polluted Industrial Age.

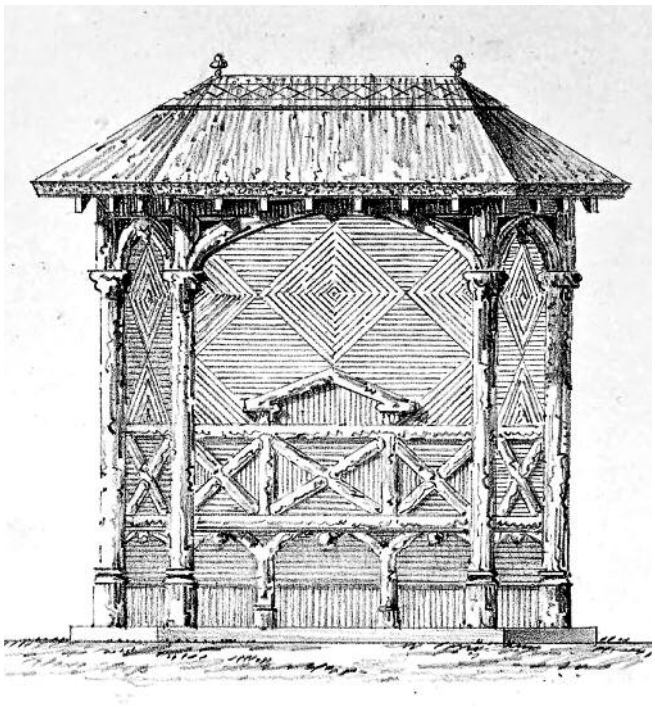
A notable figure in the construction of rustic work was Hungarian Anton Gerster (1825-1897). Seeking asylum in the United States in 1850 he worked for bridge builder John Augustus Roebling. Early in the U.S. Civil War, in 1861, he joined up to help the cause of the North. While on the front lines, his civil engineering experience garnered him a promotion to captain of sappers and miners. (Sappers are those who dug under the walls of fortifications, with the aim of either undermining those walls or placing an explosive charge; while miners were combat engineers who advanced with the front-line infantry and dug open trenches.) During the war he was initially commander of an independent military engineer company known as Gerster's Independent Company of Pioneers, which he organized in St. Louis in August of 1861. Subsequent assignments saw him supervising the building of many fortifications, bridges, and performing roadway repairs. After the war he settled in Brooklyn where he found employment with park designers Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux in New York.[4] The census lists Gerster plainly as a "carpenter" albeit one of extraordinary talents. His works were found throughout Central Park and Prospect Park.

For Central Park, Gerster created an enormous lacy and fanciful shelter 110 feet across, to the specifications of architect Vaux, that was called the Kinderburg; Dutch for "children's mountain." It was filled with integral benches and tables for children. This was but one of the many shelters pointed out by author and Central Park historian Sara Cedar Miller, in her *Central Park, An American Masterpiece*, who contended that Central Park originally had "more than one hundred rustic summerhouses, pergolas, boat landings, fences, seats, signs and birdhouses scattered throughout the park."[5]

One probable inspiration for Vaux was an illustration of a rustic covered seat from Ricauti's book.[6] The overall massing of an elongated octagon, hip roof, and bracketed columns is echoed in a rustic shelter built in Brooklyn's Prospect Park in 1872. In *Genius of Place* author Justin Martin states that "Vaux sketched

[rustic wood structures] by the dozen: fences, birdhouses, boat landings, and pergolas."[7] Gerster translated these into fantastic frothy confections.

When it came time for shelters in Golden Gate Park, a very similar design was built in varying degrees. It's no accident that an issue of San Francisco's *Pacific Rural Press* of 1875, delineated the Prospect Park shelter design.[8] The article was authored by F. (Frances) P. Hennessy who was newly transplanted to the West and had worked for Olmsted and Vaux in Central Park. Later he would become Acting Superintendent of Golden Gate Park in 1881.



L to r: Anton Gerster (1825-1897), The Kinderburg shelter, Central Park, New York City, N.Y. Calvert Vaux (1824-1895), architect. Published by G.W. Woodward, Rochester, N.Y. Courtesy of the Library of Congress. T.J. Ricauti, *Design for a Rustic Shelter with Seat*, 1842. Author's collection.

There are many different parallels between New York's Central Park and Golden Gate Park. One is the initial professional friendship between Frederick Law Olmsted, co-designer of Central Park and Golden Gate Park's designer and superintendent William Hammond Hall. Olmsted was instrumental in securing Gerster who agreed to work in San Francisco for a period of one year at salary of six dollars a day, plus one-way expenses.

Just before Gerster was brought to San Francisco in 1874 by the Park Commission, he was cited several times in the New York City Department of Public Parks annual publication of meeting minutes published in 1873. He was cited to have been involved with the construction and repair of rustic bridges, settees, and rustic work.[9]

In San Francisco Gerster built the four different rustic shelters in the city's then newest feature: Golden Gate Park. Hall later noted in an unpublished work about Golden Gate Park that

> Mr. Gerster was recognized as the foremost worker and designer in rustic wood-work in our country. He had planned and erected the works of the kind in both Central Park, New York and Prospect Park, Brooklyn, and our having him out here was the realization of another helpful favor from Mr. Olmsted.[10]

The creation of Golden Gate Park in the sand dunes of what was called the peninsula's Outside Lands commenced in 1870 when civil engineer William Hammond Hall was chosen initially as its surveyor, but then became its designer, and first superintendent.[11] Nineteen years later horticulturalist John McLaren followed as the fifth superintendent and carried on in that position for 53 years. All the park's rustic embellishments were constructed under their watch. During this period most of the dunes in the park's east half were clothed in a verdant English style natural appearing landscape–despite being in a Mediterranean climate.

Rustic elements were a natural part of the picturesque landscape as they bridged the gap between manmade and natural elements. An out-of-town visiting newspaper reporter remarked in an 1880 article about the park that that "there are footpaths and rustic seats and arbors everywhere."[12] Another mention in an 1899 magazine, *The Manufacturer and Builder*, stated,

> There is nothing that so completely satisfies the sense of harmony by its very simplicity and naturalness as the Rustic pavilion fashioned roughly of tree stems and branches, snugly embowered with wild climbers.[13]

The following explores the many functional wood rustic structures including shelters, benches, bridges, and log structures built during the park's early years. These examples primarily show those constructions based on the European

William Hammond Hall (life dates), Golden Gate park, eastern end, 1892. The locations of rustic shelters is noted in the dashed circles. This partial plan was published in the *Twenty-First Annual Report of the Board of Park Commissionsers of San Francisco, 1892*.

picturesque precedent, but there are also a few other examples that touch on the Asian tradition as well as the Scandinavian practice that spawned the romanticized log homestead of American patriotic tradition and later the U.S. Park Service's robust log structures. Although this essay is about those structures made of wood, there were many more masonry structures in the park, such as bridges and fences, crafted in the style of concrete in the form of *faux bois*, which imitated rough wood branches and are sometimes confused with the non-masonry version. Another purpose is to show how rustic has not been completely forgotten as it has influenced some constructions built within the park recently.

The first rustic style structures built within Golden Gate Park set the stage for others that would follow for another 40 years. In 1874 and through the next year four open-sided shelters of varying sizes and uses were built.[14] These initial structures were constructed in the park's east by Gerster. The overall structure of the shelters consisted of log columns, a gabled roof, which was clad in vertical logs, a balustrade, and spandrel brackets supporting the roof. Some had decorative crestings running along the roof ridge line. The source of the timber was the Aptos Ranch in Santa Cruz, which was owned by sugar magnate Claus Spreckels.[15] A second batch of timber was procured from the same source the next year.[16] Another shelter was built in the Sharon Children's Quarter playground in 1891.[17] A publication issued during the 1894 California Midwinter International Exposition noted one of the park's arbors to be twined with "nasturtium, honeysuckle and passion vine vying with one another in efforts to render the structure beautiful."[18] That same year the largest shelter was the meeting place of the State Floral Society where members from around the state held elections. Park Commissioner Irving Scott spoke to the group to encourage them to help with ongoing beautification efforts of the park.[19]

More shelters were built in 1902 in the more-wild western portion of the park, one near the Chain of Lakes, and another east of the bison paddock where the Model Yacht Club is sited today.[20] An unusual shelter was raised in 1912 at North Lake in the Chain of Lakes. It was an octagonal shape, had double-faced seating lining the exterior, and was topped by a double-tiered dovecote.[21] Its form is like Central Park's amusingly named Cop Cot, but has a closed roof with a dovecote cupola.

A claim about one of the shelters was made in print after the catastrophic April 18, 1906 earthquake, which displaced many citizens. Citizen Amilie Bartmann and friends, homeless refugees were living in the large shelter near the Conservatory of Flowers. But more interestingly, she was married in the shelter on the following May 6 to fiancée Rudolph Bossert. The *San Francisco Chronicle* claimed that this was "the first wedding ever celebrated in Golden Gate Park."[22]

The largest shelter was demolished in 1937 due to it being "termite-infested."[23] The last one was torn down sometime in the 1960s after termites and exposure contributed to its decay.[24]

All of the park's rustic benches exhibited a rectilinear and straightforward approach versus most common rustic seating,

Anton Gerster (1825-1897), shelter, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, C.A. William Hammond Hall, (dates), architect. This was the largest and most elaborate of the shelters, located northwest of the Conservatory of Flowers. The granite foundation still exists today. Courtesy of the Western Neighborhoods Project.

which is made of irregular-shaped tree sections. The first recorded mention of rustic type benches in the park was early in the 1874-75 *Report of the Park Commissioners* where it was cited that "eight large benches or settees of [rustic] character, have been made, and are ready for placing."[25] This was stated in the context of the work by Gerster to build rustic shelters.

There are some other specific mentions of benches built for the park but the lack any detail about who the makers were. One mention was in 1899 when the annual report stated that a walkway in the west end of the park had been extended and consequently "several rustic benches were built from the cuttings rooted out along the way."[26] A few years later, in 1904, "superintendent [McLaren] was instructed [by the Park Commission] to buy two-tons of logs for rustic benches for Park and beach."[27] From this a series of many double-sided rustic benches were constructed with their length parallel to Ocean Beach. This was along the Great Highway that ran along the west end of Golden Gate Park. However, one functional aspect was that they had a high back with closely stacked logs for those who wanted to get out of the afternoon winds coming off the ocean. Given the extreme exposure to wind, salt, and sun, the benches probably did not last very long. In 1912 "twenty-five rustic log benches [were] placed in the Park where most needed."[28] But this seems to have not been enough as there was a 1913 "communication from Edward Rainey [secretary to Mayor James Rolph], relative to a complaint about the condition of some rustic benches in various section of the park."[29] Time and wear took their toll.

Today's National AIDS Memorial Grove was the site of the park's first animal exhibit. The site was a linear depression that allowed the animals to be viewed by the public from the fenced perimeter rim. The initial animals were given by Alex Duncan in

Double-sided rustic benches were placed parallel to Ocean Beach. The high backs protected visitors from afternoon winds. Courtesy of the Western Neighborhoods Project.

1888. He was co-founder of the sawmill town of Duncans Mills in Sonoma County, who gave 10 black-tailed deer for display.[30] The animal shelter was a T-form plan constructed of logs and split logs were used for the gabled roof.

On the edge of Stow Lake, an artificial reservoir, sat a story-and-a-half over basement boathouse that was constructed in 1894. The building was designed by architect Arthur Page

Stow Lake Boathouse, front veranda with fretwork infill, 1894. Arthur Page Brown (1859-1896), architect. Photographer unknown. Courtesy of the Western Neighborhoods Project.

Japanese tea house, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, C.A. Toshio Aoki and George Turner Marsh, designers. I.W. Taber, photographer. Courtesy of the California State Library.

Brown. The main floor had a variety of public spaces, while upstairs there were four rooms for use by the attendant.[31] The building was faced in logs harvested in Mendocino County. It had a deep veranda that was supported by paired columns of logs that terminated at the overhanging roofline a pattern of logs reminiscent of Chinese Chippendale fretwork. Split shakes covered the roof. The building was ordered to be demolished in 1937 due to decay.[32] It was replaced with a Swiss chalet design building soon after.

Brown was known for his classically styled buildings so the park commissioners should not have been surprised when, commissioned by them to design a boathouse for newly created Stow Lake, he initially produced a formal temple design set on a plinth in 1892.[33] But the commissioners asked him to redesign the building and a less pretentious, but glorified log cabin was the end result.

Coming from a different ethnic tradition was the Japanese Tea Garden, which was a a remnant of the 1894 Midwinter Exposition. The original garden occupied about one acre. Its creation was perhaps inspired by a similar exhibit at the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, although San Francisco's version was more authentic and elaborate. Laid out by artist Toshio Aoki, the garden was planned and constructed by George Turner Marsh and his craftsman as a Japanese rural-style garden. One of the many original structures within the garden was an open shelter (*Hago Mune Cha-ya*), with a thatched roof overlooking a pond.[34] It was a rectangular shelter, which had log support columns, open bamboo balustrade, and a thatched hip form roof. One corner column was asymmetric, giving the orthogonal building an aesthetic flair. One of two tea houses in the garden, this was a commercial, restaurant style tea house. It remained until 1959 when it was replaced with the tea house in place today. Additionally, many of the pathways throughout the garden were bordered by rustic open bamboo fencing (*Yotsume-gaki)* lashed together with natural fiber cord.

A squat one-story log cabin building was also constructed as part of the 1894 Midwinter Fair's '49 Mining Camp. The camp exhibit consisted of several crude looking buildings that would

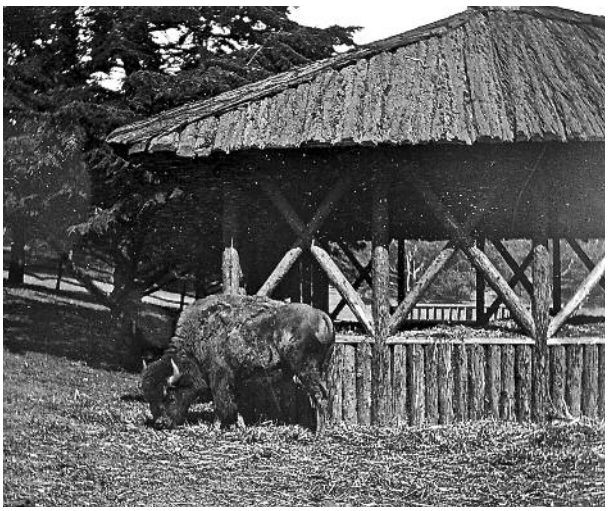
have been seen in the gold fields of California's Sierra Nevada Mountains. A few structures were actual famous miner's cabins that were brought to the fair for authenticity. This building's plain design comes from the patriotic romanticized rustic tradition of pioneers who built log cabins out of felled trees on the frontier where they settled. The cabin was built with a facing of split logs that were probably applied to a wood balloon framed building. The logs bypassed at the exterior corners to give the illusion of a true log construction. The roof was shingled with oversized straight split shakes applied in a random manner.

This log cabin was one of the few structures to remain after the fair closed. It was later used by gardeners to store tools. The overall area was later developed with various elements remembering patriotic causes.

Bison Paddock Shelter, 1899

Known in Victorian parlance as buffalo, the beasts were provided shelter against inclement weather or to be in the shade. The structure was supported by log columns, between the columns was a low wall of vertical logs and above diagonal X-forms (clathri) infilled the bays, giving the structure rigidity. The hip form roof was clad in vertical logs.

The first paddock was located at the eastern end of the park between the Music Concourse and what is now the National AIDS Memorial Grove. It was established in 1891 and contained a herd of bison purchased by the park commission the year before. The park proved to be a good place to rear bison with the first one born here on April 21, 1892. Breeding was so successful that, over time, several bison were sold. The paddock was built in Zeile Meadows, named after Park Commissioner Frederick W. Zeile, to separate the powerful bulls from the family unit.



The bison paddock, 1899, Golden Gate Park, San Francisco, C.A. Courtesy of the Western Neighborhoods Project.

The Chain of Lakes consists of three artificial bodies of water that were originally fed by a spring in North Lake. This may not seem unusual, but year around surface water sources were a rare find on the San Francisco Peninsula.
In late 1899 Superintendent John McLaren noted that

> a continual stream of water percolated from a depression on the north side of Main Drive [today called JFK Drive] about half a mile from the ocean. The water stood at the same elevation the year round…The water oozing from the hill to the sea began to trickle up through the sands, and almost before the workmen had finished the bed of the lake enough water had collected to form a large body.2

Thus North Lake became the genesis of the project consisting of three lakes that would span almost the entire width of the park.

With this asset McLaren envisioned picturesque bodies of water in the rustic style espoused earlier in the century by architect and landscape gardener Andrew Jackson Downing, who taught the notion of building with nature. Landscaping was started with the North Lake in November 1898. A total of seven islands dotted the waterscapes, each planted in 1899 with a different species of shrub or tree to augment the grasses and willow trees native to the area. A gazebo, previously mentioned, once stood at North Lake, and rustic wood footbridges once spanned all the lakes to get visitors to the islands. The bridges were later removed to protect birds nesting on the islands.

One of the elements later constructed on the former '49 site was another larger log cabin for the Association of Pioneer Women of California, organized in 1900, which was burned out of its Financial District meeting place by the consequent fire created by the 1906 earthquake.

Redwood logs were floated down from Mendocino County to be used for the exterior walls of the memorial building.[35] The exterior walls used true stacked full round logs for their construction. The cabin, dedicated on October 28, 1911, was designed by the local architectural firm of Reid Brothers. Kathleen Byrne, committee chair of the organization's project worked with Mayor Patrick Henry to realize their dream.[36] The rustic interior has a fireplace of distinctive clinker brick. The building originally housed relics connected with California history, including furnishings brought across the plains or around Cape Horn by pioneers. Governor James Rolph and Mayor Angelo Rossi attended the dedication of the building's addition on March 18, 1932, which was designed by Powers and Ahnden Architects.

Over time the building required rehabilitation due to termite damage.[37] In 1987 architectural preservation firm of Page, Anderson, and Turnbull was contracted to prepare a report stating the issues and what work should be done. Replacement of the foundation and lower timbers were the main issues. In 1992 contractor Henry Chapot was awarded the project where some of the degenerating logs were replaced. The new logs were taken from the Sierra Nevada Mountains by helicopter so as not to damage the exposed bark.

The last rustic element piece built in the park was a bridge that served as part of an extension of the Haight-Ashbury District's Page Street, running west and into the park to connect to South Drive (now Kezar Drive). The roadway extension was proposed in 1915 by Mayor Eugene Schmitz to isolate "horseless vehicles" from pedestrians or horse-drawn vehicles within the busy adjacent area that served as the terminus for three transportation lines. The area could get quite congested on weekends. This separation concept was also used in New York's Central Park. The bridge, in use, was seen in the one-reel silent

movie *Wished on Mabel* released in 1915; it starred actors Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle and Mabel Normand.

Due to the ephemeral nature of wood, the structures slowly decayed. None of the original cited elements exist today within the park's fabric except the Pioneer Log Cabin.

Twenty-First Century Installations

In more recent times several contemporary uses of rustic have been built in the park. A landscape was created in 2005 outside the de Young Museum. One element was a fence constructed as part of the Children's Garden and was designed by Hood Design Studio of Oakland. Its construction technique consists of vertical dimensional wood posts with moveable vertical steel rebar rods, which capture the horizontally laid logs and twigs. As the logs naturally decay and shrink, they can be easily replaced.

A 2012 construction project was a fence framing the John McLaren Memorial Rhododendron Dell's main entry. Park gardener Gregory Silva created a functional delight to the eye. Silva introduced the notion of a running serpentine plan fence utilizing the park's own resources–a fence constructed of cut tree branches. They were sourced from the nearby Music Concourse. The annual winter pruning of the mature London plane and Scotch elm trees, a pruning method known as pollarding, gives the trees their distinctive sculptural look and a maintains the trees at a consistent height throughout the Concourse.

Another project was an undeveloped glade known as Kezar Triangle that received a major upgrade in 2014. The focal point is the triangle's entry portal comprises three sculptural freeform pieces constructed of willow branches and a wattle fence. The pieces were designed and built by Neil Curry of The Willow Farm in Pescadero, California.

The most recent installation was unveiled in 2022 when the California Academy of Sciences built a new outdoor children's play area. The designers dipped into the Victorian vocabulary of rustic with a contemporary mission. The renovated exterior play area was built to inspire nature focused play. Called Wander Woods it encourages crawling, climbing, and hands-on exploration of natural materials and native plants. The various play equipment elements were constructed on the site and are made from repurposed trees sourced from around San Francisco.

Christopher Pollock has been the Historian in Residence for the San Francisco Recreation and Park Department since 2016, after a career in the interior architecture field. His latest publication is *San Francisco's Golden Gate Park: A Thousand and Seventeen Acres of Stories* (2020). He is a Victorian Society in America Summer Schools alumnus of Newport (2005) and London (2011), as well as study tours to the Midlands (2014) and Northern Ireland (2018).

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2. Elizabeth and Marjorie Henderson Wilkinson, *The House of Boughs*. New York: Viking-Penguin, 1985, 83.
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5. Sara Cedar Miller, *Central Park, an American Masterpiece*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2003, 167.
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8. *Pacific Rural Press*, March 20, 1875, v. 9, n. 12, 1.
9. Minutes of Proceedings of the Board of Commissioners for the Year Ending April 30, 1873. New York: Evening Post Steam Press, 1873; 416, 490, 526, 630, and 690.
10. William Hammond Hall, *Romance of a Woodland Park (After the Dark Decade).* Unpublished, 1913, 17.
11. Many people erroneously think that Golden Gate Park was designed by Olmsted and Vaux, due to its similarity to New York's Central Park. In fact, Olmsted lost the bid to construct a park for San Francisco.
12. *Sacramento Daily Union*, March 20, 1880, 2.
13. *The Manufacturer and Builder*, v. 21, n. 7, July 1889, 163.
14. *Third Biennial Report of the San Francisco Park Commissioners, 1874-75*. San Francisco: Edward Bosqui and Co., 1875, 35.
15. Spreckels owned much of the land in Aptos at the time. His son, Adolph would go on to be president of the Park Commission later. The sum of $550 was expended for the cutting and hauling of the construction materials.
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21. "New Features for the Park" *San Francisco Call*, July 21, 1912, 54.
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31. *Morning Call*, October 14, 1893.
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35. Association of Pioneer Women of California, meeting minutes, January 6, 1911, 153.
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PRESERVATION DIARY

Monuments, Money and Memory

David Hosford

L to r: The McKay family mausoleum, Pittsfield Cemetery, Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Mary Elizabeth Tillinghast (1845-1912), architect. Photo courtesy of Ben Garver and *The Berkshire Eagle*. The Barney family mausoleum, c.1900, Forest Park, Springfield, Massachusetts. Everett Barney (1835-1916) and William F. Cook, architects. Courtesy of the Lyman & Merrie Wood Museum of Springfield History, Springfield, Massachusetts.

This is the story of two mausoleums located about fifty miles apart in western Massachusetts. One is the McKay mausoleum near the main entrance to the Pittsfield Cemetery, and the other is the Barney mausoleum on Laurel Hill located in Forest Park, Springfield. Now certainly mausoleums were hardly rare in the later Victorian world. There is no census of such funerary structures, but their popularity among people of wealth is quickly revealed in walking tours of Green-Wood Cemetery in Brooklyn, Laurel Hill in Philadelphia or in any of the other fashionable "rural" cemeteries developed in cities large and small between roughly 1850 and the outbreak of World War I. They doubtless number in the tens of thousands, generally sport one or another of the array of revivalist architectural styles popular during the nineteenth century, but remain a phenomenon little studied by students of the period.

So, why a portrait of only the McKay and Barney mausoleums? While their designs have nothing in common, they each make highly distinctive architectural statement though neither was the work of a trained professional (in a field increasingly demanding academic credentials). In addition, the decorative elements—especially the stained glass and mosaics in the case of McKay and the stonework and metal ornamentation at the Barney mausoleum—are unusually fine and not fully appreciated for their originality. Finally, each structure was obviously a monument to family but also entwined with significant philanthropic endeavors carrying the expectation of perpetual care in return. Consequently, we know more about both Gordon McKay (1821-1903) and Everett Barney (1835-1916), the source of their wealth, values and sense of self, than just names and dates on vault doors. As a case study, these mausoleums provide and unusual window into the Victorian world.

Lucrative government contracts during the American Civil War provided a springboard for the substantial fortunes accumulated by both men. Gordon McKay's route to exceptional wealth began when he bought out the patent for a machine that mechanized sewing shoe uppers to soles. Wartime demand by the military was obviously enormous; but thereafter he kept improving the manufacturing process, taking out additional patents, and then leasing rights to use them to other companies for a small royalty paid on each pair of shoes produced. By the late 1870's McKay's machines were the source of half the nation's shoes and generated some $500,000 per year. Meanwhile, Everett Barney first started working for a locomotive manufacturing firm in Boston. He then moved on to production of Spencer carbines just before the war began, working first in Connecticut, then in New York City, and finally ended up helping a Springfield, Massachusetts firm struggling near the war's end to meet the terms of a contract to supply three thousand of them. A born inventor like McKay, Barney also secured a patent and subsequently manufactured clamp-on ice skates—an enormously profitable business. As well he developed and patented clamp-on roller skates, a perforating machine for paper to denote the value and prevent alteration of bank checks and other legal documents, and a variety of other products associated with his lifetime passion for outdoor sport.

L to r: Interior of the McKay family mausoleum. Mary Tillinghast (life dates), architect. The mosaics on the ceiling and the stained glass are magnificent examples of her work. Photo courtesy Ben Garver and *The Berkshire Eagle*. Detail of a stained glass window by Mary Tillinghast. Photo © Julie Sloan.

The 1890's brought significant changes in Gordon McKay's life. Then in his seventies, he divorced for a second time, gave up most of his business activities, and began living most of the year in Boston and Newport, Rhode Island. He also arranged for construction of a family mausoleum in the cemetery of his hometown of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, a task begun in late 1891 and completed two years later under the direction of Mary Elizabeth Tillinghast who served as both architect and construction supervisor. Best known for her work in stained glass and often favorably compared with contemporaries such as John La Farge and Louis Comfort Tiffany, the McKay mausoleum is the only building she is known to have designed. That Tillinghast was a woman with no formal architectural training and certainly a rarity in a male-dominated profession makes her a less than obvious choice for the job. But personal acquaintance with McKay is probable given her work almost simultaneously at Pittsfield's St. Stephen's Episcopal Church (five windows, pulpit and altar rail) and the First Church of Christ Congregational (two windows for a new building and a project on which he was a member of the building committee). In any event, the outcome is a wonderful and apparently unique plan for a mausoleum—a hexagonal exterior of locally sourced marble, with a copper roof sporting finials at the outer edge and rising in six triangular sections to a simple cross atop an oculus at the peak, as well as Byzantine style ogee windows on five sides and a pair of sliding bronze doors at the front. It also features interior mosaics arching upward with figures representing the six virtues of industry and superb stained-glass windows of which one panel was shown before installation at the Woman's Building during the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. At floor level, the business end of the structure ultimately included hermetically sealed tombs for McKay himself, two brothers who predeceased him, and his mother and father.

Almost simultaneously in Springfield Everett Barney and his wife lost their only son George in 1889 to what was probably tuberculosis. Family life was the core of Barney's world, and he had planned for his son to have a house on the crest of Laurel Hill near the family mansion, Pecousic Villa. Instead, Barney then dedicated himself to creating a family mausoleum at the site, a project finally completed by 1892. It was and is an impressive structure with a footprint of about thirty-five feet by fifty feet, a boisterous bulk with a compound of architectural motifs, and before the age of modern vandals open for visitors to climb up to a platform level on top to partake of a view extending over the Connecticut River and west toward the Berkshire hills. By all accounts, Barney himself sketched the basic plan, but he seems to have been ably assisted by William F. Cook, the principal of an eponymous granite and marble company in Springfield but of no known credential for building design. The mausoleum consists largely of highly polished granite blocks from quarries in Quincy, Massachusetts but including specialty items from far distant vendors—pink granite columns from Scotland and marble from Carrara, Italy, where the two sphinx figures overlooking the stairs on either end were carved. The sarcophagi of George Murray Barney, Everett Barney and Eliza Jane Knowles Barney lay as they have for more than a century in the open space beneath the platform level and enclosed from the outer world by substantial bronze grills on either side. The end walls carry large bronze plates with attached panels illustrating the various phases of life and decorative medallions copied from classical sources.

This end of this story centers on the distinctive philanthropic strategies these two wealthy men pursued to guarantee perpetual care of their respective family memorials. As the March 1917 issue of *Science* magazine reported, the Trustees of the McKay Bequest had already transferred two million dollars to Harvard University in support of professorships, laboratories, and meritorious and needy students pursuing a graduate program in applied science. Life trusts for other named individuals delayed a final distribution of the estate until 1949, although by the end of the day a total of some $16,000,000 was received—still one of the larger gifts the university has ever received and surprisingly generous coming from someone whose only connection to the school was a close friendship with a member of the science faculty. But of note, McKay's will also stipulated that Harvard was

Above: Barney family mausoleum under construction, c. 1892. At left: North side with bronze grille and carved inscription: "To live in hearts we leave behind is not to die," c. 1900. Courtesy of the Lyman & Merrie Wood Museum of Springfield History, Springfield, Massachusetts

to be responsible for the proper care and maintenance of the Pittsfield mausoleum "from the time of the first transfer to it forever." In contrast, Everett Barney's benevolence was more local in character. Over the years he had acquired significant acreage, including Laurel Hill, as buffer around Pecousic Villa. But after George's death Barney deeded his entire estate to the City of Springfield in exchange for a commitment by the city to "forever maintain" the mausoleum while allowing him and his wife a life tenancy at Pecousic. Also an avid horticulturalist Barney established a sizable separate trust—still in existence—for continued beautification of the property. These gifts and earlier transfers of land to the nascent Forest Park by him and (at his behest) a few associated neighbors have endowed Springfield with one of the largest urban parks in the United States.

Now more than a century later, the mausoleums of both these wealthy industrialists continue to intrigue by virtue of their distinctive designs and detail. Their images, however, are also a study in architectural contrast. The McKay hexagon is well-proportioned and has an almost jewel-like quality in its quiet cemetery setting. But in early days when Laurel Hill was largely treeless, photographs of the Barney mausoleum from a distance take on the aspect of a substantial howdah. In both cases, the men they were built to honor are now scarcely remembered for their accomplishments, although the bargains they struck to preserve these structures over time have served them well in the absence of direct descendants. The McKay mausoleum was renovated in 1995 after a push by Tillinghast family connections prodded Harvard into action, and the Barney mausoleum underwent a thorough restoration in 2004.

David Hosford is Professor Emeritus of History and sometime Dean of the School of the Arts and Sciences, Rutgers University-Newark. He holds a B.A. from Bates College and an M.A. and Ph.D. from the University of Wisonsin-Madison. A specialist in seventeenth century British history by training, his pivot to interest in Victorian architecture arises from continuing efforts to preserve the Meeting House on the Green in New Marlborough MA, an early Henry Sykes building in Greek Revival Style.

THE BIBLIOPHILIST

All That She Carried: The Journey of Ashley's Sack, a Black Family Keepsake

Tiya Miles. Random House, 2021.

Sometimes a book vibrates from the intensity of the words and ideas within. *All That She Carried: The Journey of Ashley's Sack, a Black Family Keepsake* by Tiya Miles is one of those books.

The 2021 winner of the National Book Award for Nonfiction weaves together a compelling history about a seemingly worthless object: a mid-nineteenth-century cotton sack probably once used to store flour, sugar, or the like. Rose, an enslaved mother, gave the ordinary bag filled with a tattered dress, braid of hair, pecans, and love to her nine-year-old daughter Ashley as an "emergency kit" on the occasion of the enslaved girl's sale. The parting present was made extraordinary when Ruth Middleton, Ashley's granddaughter, embroidered the textile's history on the fabric in 1921. By that time the sack had become a family heirloom. "With these words a granddaughter, mother, sewer, and storyteller imbued a piece of fabric with all the drama and pathos of ancient tapestries depicting the deeds of queens and goddesses," writes Miles. But the story doesn't end there. For reasons unknown, Ashley's sack ended up in a stack of fabrics for sale at a flea market near Nashville, Tennessee, in 2007. A woman who recognized the importance of the object purchased the bag, which she later sold to Middleton Place in South Carolina. Miles learned about the sack from Savannah journalist Ben Goggins. She shares her fascinating journey to the sack under "Ecologies and Rootwork" in the final chapter, bringing the story full circle.

Miles builds upon Ruth's documentation and mimics Rose's act of love by creating a book that offers an important historical account that contextualizes Ashley's sack in ways only a skilled historian and talented storyteller can summon. As an academic treatise, *All That She Carried* examines Ashley's sack from all angles: as an object, as an artistic expression, as a document, as an emblem of American slavery culture, as a symbol of hope and resilience. But the book purposely moves beyond the academic realm to find even deeper meaning, creating a literary composition that also acts as a talisman empowered with spiritual and emotional energy, imitating Ashley's sack. As she explains in her introduction, titled "Love's Practitioners," she sets out to "transcend hard evidence and speak to the intangible meanings of our collective human lives."

To be clear, Miles does not abandon her academic roots to achieve this goal. In fact, her extensive knowledge about American history, African American history, women, indigenous peoples, and other subjects structures the book and is carefully documented. Additionally, the volume functions as a primer in historical inquiry. In the final two chapters, "Sampler: A Note on Terms" and "Little Sack of Something: An Essay on Process," Miles addresses her methodology with discussions on terminology and procedure. Still, Miles pushes the unwritten boundaries of historical accounts. For example, she adds elements of memoir to the narrative, sharing her own family stories. The book also performs as a mini-exhibition catalogue with the insertion of an eight-page section of color images featuring objects related to the story, and as a cookbook with the inclusion of recipes for pecan treats. Finally, dozens of black and white images of people, maps, buildings, trees, quilts, clothing, needlepoint, books, documents, and newspapers pepper the text adding important visual references and context.

Miles approaches Ashley's sack as "a collection of disparate materials and messages," which she and her assistants carefully dissected through a vast collection of records that led them to clues about the bag's origins and its contents, and some information about Rose, Ashley, and Ruth. Recognizing that the sack also served as "a container, carrier, textile, art piece, and record of the past," Miles interprets the information to provide clarity about the social connection and collective memory evoked by this powerful and provocative object. In the process she offers us a lifeline, connecting us with our past and future, much like the physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual energy Rose gave Ashley with her initial gift.

-Reviewed by Tania June Sammons

Tania June Sammons is a writer, curator, public historian, and museum professional. She specializes in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century American history and material culture with an emphasis on women, African American history, Savannah, Georgia, and museums. She is currently working on a biography about educator and philanthropist Mary Haskell Minis. She also serves as the president of the VSA's Savannah chapter.

Reconstructing the Garrick: Adler & Sullivan's Lost Masterpiece

John Vinci, ed., with Tom Samuelson, Eric Nordstrom, and Chris Ware. Alphawood Exhibitions, distributed by University of Minnesota Press, 2021.

Reconstructing the Garrick: Adler & Sullivan's Lost Masterpiece chronicles in words and images the tragic demise of one of Louis H. Sullivan's (1856–1924) great masterpieces, the Schiller Building (1892–1961), later known as the Garrick. Edited by John Vinci with the aid of Tim Samuelson, Eric Nordstrom, and Chris Ware, the book was produced in conjunction with an exhibition presented at Wrightwood 659 in Chicago in the fall of 2021. This award-winning book is a wonderful representation of the feeling and content of that exhibition in a format that can be held in one's hands and returned to again and again. It unfolds as an epic tale with the creation of a building intended for the presentation of art, both on the stage and built into its walls, which ends with its total destruction for a parking

structure. The story is told from several viewpoints, each contributing to a larger understanding of the importance of this now-gone treasure. The most compelling aspect of the telling are the wonderful illustrations that say much more than words can express to reinforce what an important work of art the Garrick was. The brilliance of Sullivan's partner Dankmar Adler (1844–1900), who helped create the technical solutions that made the theater work so brilliantly, are duly credited along with the involvement of a young Frank Lloyd Wright (1867–1959). Wright, who worked for Adler and Sullivan at the time of the building's creation, began his own career in 1893 in an office on the fifteenth floor after being fired by Sullivan for moonlighting.

While created to demonstrate the greatness of German culture, it is remarkable how quickly the building began its long decline towards oblivion as documented in Tim Samuelson's fascinating contribution, "Timeline." Changes started already in 1903 when the original investors lost the building to foreclosure and its new owners leased it to the Shubert Brothers who wanted it as an outlet for live shows they were producing in New York City. They were the ones who changed the name to the Garrick and wasted no time in redecorating the interiors with new paint schemes. It then went through the 1920s and 30s going from a mix of live theater and films to mostly films, and finally in the 1950s as a studio for live television.

Perhaps the most dramatic story line is told by Daniel Bluestone who describes in anguishing detail the battle to save the building and its ultimate destruction. His thoroughly researched section explains how the attempts to save the building led by the photographer and preservationist, Richard Nickel, nearly succeeded. In the end the economic forces of the time, and the lack of political will to enact any legal protection for important cultural heritage, resulted in the loss of the building for a banal parking structure decorated with precast concrete panels featuring an imitation of one of Sullivan's ornamental motifs. Despite the depressing outcome of the battle, some positive things came out of the dust. Nickel was granted permission to salvage large amounts of the exterior ornamental terra cotta and interior plaster work. The ornamental pieces were distributed far and wide to many museums and other collections all over the country where they can still be viewed by the public. That process is richly illustrated with Nickel's moving black and white photographs of the dismantlement that feature many images of his band of enthusiastic helpers including John Vinci and David Norris. It was a life-changing experience for all of them and would shape their future professional lives. It also had the positive effect of raising awareness not only of the genius of Sullivan, but of the need to have legal protections in place to keep such a tragedy from occurring again. The failure of the City of Chicago to save the Garrick through legal means led to the creation of the landmark ordinance that finally passed in 1968. This meant that other buildings would be saved, but not all. Another of Sullivan's great works, the Chicago Stock Exchange, succumbed to a similar fate as the Garrick in 1972, and it cost Richard Nickel his life. He died tragically in an accident while documenting its dismantlement in a similar fashion to the Garrick.

Special mention must be made of the book's design by the graphic novelist Chris Ware. Particularly effective are the use Nickel's photos at large scale, including some that fold out, and the inclusion of a reproduction of Nickel's small notebook with notes about specific salvaged elements. As intended, it all adds up to reconstructing this long-lost building in a manner that allows it to be more fully understood and appreciated for the great work of architecture it once was. -*Reviewed by T. Gunny Harboe*

T. Gunny Harboe, FAIA, F.US/ICOMOS is an internationally recognized, award-winning preservation architect based in Chicago. He is a founding member of Docomomo US and the ICOMOS International Scientific Committee on 20th Century Heritage (ISC20C) and is an Adjunct Professor at the Illinois Institute of Technology.

Hell on Color, Sweet on Song: Jacob Wrey Mould and the Artful Beauty of Central Park

Francis R. Kowsky, with Lucille Gordon. Fordham University Press, 2023.

Only a few architects get the privilege of changing the direction of architecture with a single building. H. H. Richardson did it with his Trinity Church, Boston, and so did Frank Gehry with his Guggenheim Bilbao. But to be an architectural game-changer is no guarantee of lasting fame, as Jacob Wrey Mould discovered. In 1855 he brought color to American architecture, and in the most sensational way imaginable. His All Souls Unitarian Church in New York was a chromatic jubilee—walls of creamy Caen stone, deep red brick, and grayish Indiana limestone, and columns of green, blue, and mottled marble—and it singlehandedly launched the High Victorian movement in American architecture. And yet its author was so swiftly forgotten after his death that, except for one scholarly article in 1969, he has been a nonentity ever since.

Now Frank Kowsky's superb biography gives us Mould in all his erratic and tragic complexity. Most shocking to modern readers is the revelation that Mould's grandfather was "a notorious slave trader" in his role as the governor of the African Company of Merchants in what is now Ghana. While there, Governor Mould married the granddaughter of "Reverend Philip Quaque (1741–1816) … the first Black African ordained to the ministry by the Church of England," and—as Kowsky shows—the great-great-grandfather of Jacob Wrey Mould.

Whether or not Mould was told about this side of his ancestry is unclear, but a precocious child will learn just as much from what is not said as from what is. And Mould was astonishingly precocious. Born in England in 1825, he was apprenticed at the age of sixteen to Owen Jones, the brilliant architect whose *Plans, Elevations, Sections, and Details of the Alhambra* (1836–45) was the world's first great work of chromolithography. Mould helped prepare the second volume, which introduced him to both vibrant color and exotic architecture, which together would form the theme of his career.

Mould was a young man on the rise. Had he remained in England, he surely would have flourished, either in architecture or in music (he was an energetic translator of opera librettos, praised by the Spectator for his "idiomatic freedom of expression") but in 1852 he abruptly decided to emigrate. The cause was his desperately unhappy home life. Following a brief courtship, he had married a young widow named Emelie, "the daughter of a professor of botany working at Kew Gardens." In short order Mould discovered that she was not a widow at all, although she was the mother of a two-year-old girl, and that her botanist father was a fiction (although her mother, a pauper in a workhouse, was all too real).

Fleeing Emelie, Mould made his way to New York, where before the year was out, he had made the boldly colored drawings for All

Souls that brought him public attention. There followed a torrent of commissions for houses and other churches, but also exotic projects, such as a private railway car for the Ottoman Viceroy of Egypt. Almost all have been swept away, most lamentably his house for the painter Albert Bierstadt, an unruly Germanic fantasia at Irvington-on-Hudson.

And yet, as Kowsky shows, some of Mould's finest work is right before our eyes. From 1859 until his death in 1886, he worked steadily on the design of New York's Central Park, apart from a five-year stint in Peru during the 1870s. Frederic Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux properly get credit for creating the park, but Mould designed dozens of its structures, large and small; these include the burly brick stable at Eighty-sixth Street that is now the Central Park Precinct police station and the rambling and rustic sheepfold that has long been used as the Tavern on the Green. And for those who know where to look, Mould's hand can be spotted in the oldest portions of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the American Museum of Natural History, which began life as Venetian Gothic essays.

Attentive readers will notice how selfless this book is. Kowsky makes clear his debt to Lucille Gordon, a volunteer docent at Central Park who began researching Mould's life three decades ago, and who was prevented by age from finishing the project; she subsequently died of COVID. It is unfortunate that she did not live to see the publication of this remarkable, and generously illustrated, book; its contribution to the study of Victorian culture is prodigious, startlingly so. *-Reviewed by Michael J. Lewis*

Michael J. Lewis has taught since 1993 at Williams College, where he is Faison-Pierson-Stoddard Professor of Art. His books include the prize-winning *August Reichensperger: The Politics of the German Gothic Revival* (1993), and *Philadelphia Builds* (2020). He is the architecture critic for the *Wall Street Journal*.

Louise Blanchard Bethune: Every Woman Her Own Architect

Kelly Hayes McAlonie. State University of New York Press, 2023.

How on earth did she do it? How did Louise Blanchard Bethune (1856–1913) manage to open her own architectural office in 1881, become the first woman admitted to membership by the Western Association of Architects and the American Institute of Architects, and develop a successful practice after marriage and the birth of a son? Clearly this woman was talented and determined.

Bethune also seems to have encountered the right people—meaning men—at opportune times. In 1876, she landed an apprenticeship with a Buffalo architect, acquiring experience that was essential to her trailblazing career. Along the way, she wed a peach of a man, an architect who also became her business partner. And maybe a small point, but still intriguing: enabled by the invention of the bicycle, she speedily wheeled to work and job sites, squeezing valuable extra minutes out of her tightly packed days.

In *Louise Blanchard Bethune: Every Woman Her Own Architect*, Kelly Hayes McAlonie presents a readable and well-researched study of the first woman to be recognized as a professional architect in the United States. The chapters unfold chronologically, beginning with Louise Blanchard's family background, public school education in Buffalo, and five-year training under Richard Waite. Shortly after founding her own firm, Louise hired Robert Bethune, another apprentice from Waite's office. They married in December of 1881, and what started as Louise's firm became Bethune & Bethune Architects. Louise would maintain full financial ownership of the office until 1886. Four years later, another architect, William Fuchs, joined the partnership. Over the course of its existence, the firm was hired for about 180 projects, more than a third of them residential. These commissions were all handled by Louise. Mostly modest in scale, they were competent yet conservative in design.

Chapter 4, titled "Welcome to the Club," is where the biography takes a sharp turn. At this juncture, McAlonie recounts how in 1885 Bethune sought to become a member of the Western Association of Architects, a year after it was established. A strategy to support her candidacy was developed by Daniel Burnham, Louis Sullivan, and John Wellborn Root. When the annual convention was held, members first voted on the male candidates. The architects then voted not just upon accepting Bethune, but also "upon the principle of admitting women." Bethune and the principle were unanimously approved. To make it clear that Louise's portfolio was her own, Robert held back, applying for membership two years later, when he received a favorable vote. In 1888 Louise was admitted to the American Institute of Architects. The following year, she passed another milestone with the AIA's decision to accept all WAA members as Fellows, making her the first woman in the national organization to attain this distinction.

In a subsequent chapter, the reader learns about Bethune's non-residential projects, including public school buildings, commercial buildings, and factories. The fact that Bethune was a cycling enthusiast adds a colorful dimension to the narrative, although the many pages devoted to the subject become tedious, moving into territory that's too far afield for a book that has been written to contribute to the history of women in architecture. By contrast, readers will be engaged by a chapter about Bethune's decision to remain on the sidelines in the competition to design the Woman's Building at the World's Columbian Exposition. Whereas the male architects received invitations to design the other buildings, the women had to compete for the privilege. The women also had to cover the costs of preparing their entries, and the winner received a fraction of the payment granted to the men. In a culminating chapter, readers learn about Bethune's most important project, Buffalo's Hotel Lafayette, a French Renaissance Revival building that opened in 1904 and still survives.

Although the book suffers from weak editing and muddy illustrations, it offers substantial notes and a valuable appendix of known works by Bethune and her firm. Through the chapters, McAlonie helpfully refers to other American women who played a part in opening doors to the architectural profession—as students, as apprentices, and as practitioners—so that we can better appreciate Bethune's achievement.

So how did Bethune do it? McAlonie makes it clear that her subject was no radical. Perhaps the most important factor contributing to Bethune's success was her judgment. As McAlonie explains, Bethune was not a feminist, and she was never an agitator. In presenting herself to clients and colleagues, she was always a "businesswoman." *-Reviewed by Maureen Meister*

Maureen Meister, Ph.D., is the author of *Arts and Crafts Architecture: History and Heritage in New England* (2014), a study that prominently features Boston architect Lois Lilley Howe, the second woman to become a member of the American Institute of Architects. Meister was raised in a suburb of Buffalo, NY, at a time when Louise Blanchard Bethune was all but forgotten.

From the Laundry to Luxury

Anne-Taylor Cahill

The early years of Sarah Breedlove (Madam C.J. Walker, 1867-1919) were not remarkable. Daughter of former slaves, she was born in 1867 with little in the way of opportunities. By the age of 10, she was an orphan living with relatives. Sarah and her older sister made ends meet by taking in laundry. There was no time for education. Drumming up business, however, required skill, since more clients meant more income. Learning to present herself as independent, experienced and professional, was an education in itself. It provided the experience Sarah would need to transform herself into Madam C.J. Walker, purveyor of hair cosmetics for Black women.

Heading to Denver in 1906 she worked as a cook in the home of a local pharmacist, experimenting with ingredients to develop a "hair grower" solution in her spare time. In 1906 she married Charles Joseph Walker and became a beauty product dealer, styling herself as Madam C.J. Walker. This was clever, as the title exemplified elegance and mature respectability. Her product was promoted as Madam C. J. Walker's Wonderful Hair Grower on a seven state promotional tour; it was a roaring success.

The Walkers developed an ingenious system: in each city they would stay in a Black hotel or boarding house. Then they would contact Black church and community leaders to offer free hair care demonstrations. By now she had developed a 3-step system of hair care; allowing her to sell not just an all-in-one product but a complete system of products and treatments.

Madam C. J. Walker in front of her home in Indianapolis., c. 1910. The sign near the second story windows reads: "Mme. C.J. Walker / Hair Culturist / 640 N. West St." Courtesy Indiana Historical Society.

In addition to promoting her products, Madam Walker had to promote herself as well. She enthralled her audiences with a tale of how Divine Inspiration was the source of her success: "after years of toil as a domestic worker and laundress, her hair began to fall out…In a dream an African Wise Man appeared to her giving her a list of ingredients" for her product. Utilizing this information, her hair began to grow and become healthy; she was the visible proof of her products' effectiveness.

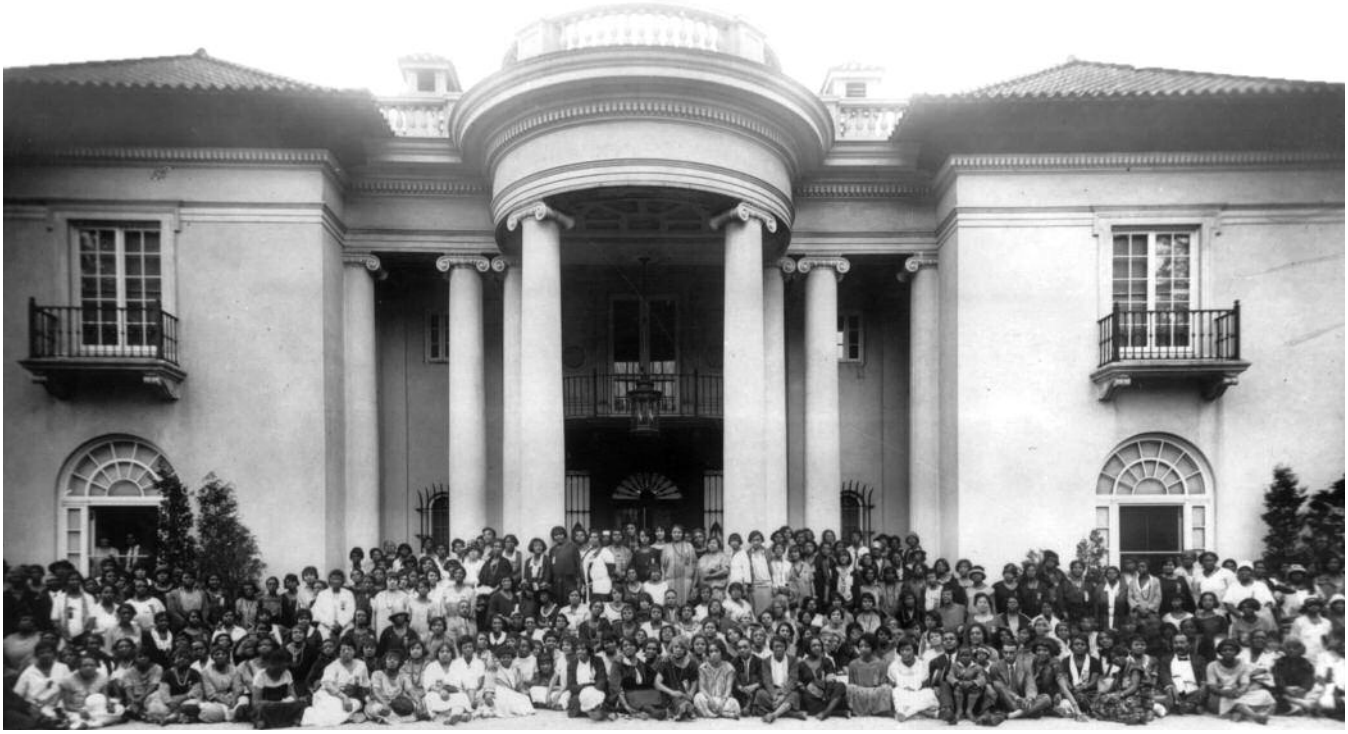
Madam C.J. Walker (1867-1919) c. 1910. Courtesy Indiana Historical Society.

There was another side to Madam Walker's hair demonstrations. Like church auxiliaries, these gatherings promoted bonds among Black women; sharing ideas and opinions about beauty and politics. Thus she became an "influencer" in a quiet and dignified manner.

Traveling around the South, she recruited and trained sales agents who were making more than the average man. By 1910, she was a successful entrepreneur, with a popular line of products, a mail order business, a growing complement of sales agents, and a factory to produce her products. In 1911 she incorporated, ensuring her legal and professional rights.

Of course, she had help along her way. Her husband was most supportive, often traveling around the country to promote her products. Her daughter Lelia ran the mail order business and there were numerous sales agents. Of particular note was Madam Walker's friendship with professor Alice Kelly of the Eckstein Norton Institute. Hired to supervise the Indianapolis factory, professor Kelly had a large array of classical liberal arts skills which she used to help develop Madam Walker's missing education. Under Kelly's tutelage, she improved her grammar, penmanship, and educational skills. Slowly but surely, Madam Walker was prepared for a wider social world.

The wider world of philanthropy and politics beckoned. She joined the National Association of Colored Women (NACW), where self-improvement, education and charity work were the bywords. One of her first forays into philanthropy was a $1,000 donation for building a "colored branch" of the YMCA in Indianapolis. At the time this was a



National Convention of Walker Beauticians, Villa Lewaro, c.1918. Vertner Woodson Tandy, architect. Irvington, N.Y. Courtesy Indiana Historical Society.

tremendous amount of money, placing her name and her products in the public eye. It should be noted that the majority of the YMCA donors were white men.

Interestingly, Madam Walker did not engage with her clients as needing "improvement" but rather as fellow sisters struggling with the same problems. She never tried to hide her humble beginnings. Becoming a sales agent was promoted as a path to financial security and respectability. It cost $25 to complete the training course, but often this was reduced or waived for a payment plan. She was not only committed to profit for her company, but also to encourage her Black sisters to adopt professional business practices and employment. She provided "Hints for Success" which included environmental cleanliness and sterilization of tools used in treatments. She told her agents "Do not be mean and selfish to the extent that you would not sell goods (products) to anyone who does not take a treatment from you. We are anxious to help all humanity." Eventually she organized the Madam C.J. Walker Hair Culturists of America. With over 200 members, they met in 1917 in Philadelphia. Convention topics included such themes as "Women's Duty to Women."

Not content to rest on her laurels, Madam Walker created a training school for her agents and even managed to get her training into Black colleges. This accomplished 3 goals: a pipeline for future agents, reduction of her need to travel, and endorsement by college presidents. Overall this cast her products in a positive light. By having training in colleges, the agents were seen as professionals. Madam Walker was rapidly becoming a Black American role model and a celebrity. She went on to become involved in the civil rights movement, addressing groups around the country and even presented her ideas to President Woodrow Wilson in a personal visit to the White House.

By 1917 she was worth $8.7 million and quite comfortable financially. She decided to build a mansion, Villa Lewaro, in Irvington, New York, on the Hudson River. Designed by New York's first licensed Black architect, this was to be her family home and also a place to meet and discuss civil rights with prominent Blacks; her guests were a "Who's Who" of Black America. She continued to work tirelessly to uplift Black Americans. She worked so hard that she virtually wore herself out, dying at age fifty-two.

On her death bead in 1919 she declared that still she wanted "to live to help my race." She lived by her motto, "Don't sit and wait for opportunities. Get up and make them." She did exactly that.

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Anne-Taylor Cahill is a professor of philosophy at Old Dominion University (retired) in Norfolk, Virginia, and serves on the national board of the Victorian Society in America. She is a Docent Emeritus of Hunter House Victorian Museum and has a special interest in Victorian silver and nineteenth century landscape paintings.

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Call *for* Papers

Nineteenth Century Magazine, published biannually by the Victorian Society in America. Scholarly articles are encouraged in the fields of cultural and social history of the United States, dating from 18378 to 1917. Nineteenth Century publishes regular features reflecting current research on architecture, fine arts, decorative arts, interior design, landscape architecture, biography and photography.

Articles should be 1,500 to 6,000 words in length, with illustrations and notes as appropriate. Submissions related to the subject are encouraged in the fields of architectural history, landscape architecture, fine arts, design, biography, photography and material culture. Manuscripts should conform to the latest edition of the *Chicago Manual of Style* and submitted as a Microsoft Word document. Illustrations should be submitted as either .jpg, .tiff, .eps or .pdf, 300 dpi or greater. It is 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.

Submissions for the **Spring 2024** issue are due by **January 1, 2024**.

Email submissions to:

Warren Ashworth, Editor

NineteenthCenturyMagazine@gmail.com

An Invitation to Join

Since 1966, The Victorian Society in America has been a leader in the appreciation and preservation of this country's nineteenth and early twentieth century heritage.

Founded as a companion organization to The Victorian Society in Great Britain, The Victorian Society in America brings together lovers of Victoriana. Numbered among its members are old-house owners, professional historians, architects, collectors, students, museum curators, preservation organizations, college and university libraries, art galleries, antique dealers, interpreters, re-enactors, and restoration specialists. Interests are as varied as the era itself.

Symposia and Study Tour Weekends

Frequently, members gather for a weekend of study or a symposium on a selected topic. We explore different cities or locales distinguished for their Victorian heritage, and have included museum visits, house tours, receptions, and visits to private collections. These events, along with online lectures and our summer schools, are the cornerstones of the Society's activities.

Preservation

The Victorian Society in America engages in a constant effort to ensure the preservation and/or restoration of nineteenth and early twentieth century buildings throughout the United States. Members are encouraged to keep the Preservation Committee aware of the imminent demolition or restructuring of Victorian landmarks in their immediate areas, and restoration projects of local or national significance may be honored with awards by the Society.

Summer Schools

Held in London, Newport, and Chicago, these schools are the foundation of The Victorian Society in America's active educational program. The London Summer School is centered in London, with an extended trip to the north of England. The American Summer Schools are centered in Newport and Chicago. Each of these programs feature an intensive program of lecturers, field trips and excursions, and are offered annually to a select group of graduate students, professionals, and other Society members. Scholarship assistance is available to qualified students.

Publications

Nineteenth Century, the magazine of The Victorian Society in America, is devoted to the cultural and social history of the United States during the Victorian era, with regular features on human history, architecture, fine arts, decorative arts, interior design, lifestyle, clothing, and photography. Noted scholars and experts in the field keep national members up-to-date on the latest developments in nineteenth century studies.

In addition, a newsletter, *The Victorian Quarterly*, highlights current activities and the latest news from our local chapters. It also lists related exhibitions, lectures, trips, symposia, new books, grants, and educational opportunities available throughout the United States.

Chapter Affiliations

Across the country, local chapters sponsor regional programs and projects. Members enjoy an even greater variety of Victorian activities by joining both the national organization and a local chapter.

VICTORIAN SOCIETY

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May 31-June 9	June 12-19	June 29-July 14

VICTORIAN SOCIETY

For more information visit victoriansociety.org/summer-schools or contact the Summer Schools Administrator at admin@vsasummerschools.org.