079 82 0008
13
731975

D-6
IN STORAGE

AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS

THE MAN AND HIS ART



ON MICROFILM

October 18, 1967

PLEASE RETURN TO:
TECHNICAL INFORMATION CENTER
DENVER SERVICE CENTER
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

ON MICROFILM

Augustus Saint-Gaudens

The Man And His Art

by

John W. Bond



OFFICE OF ARCHEOLOGY AND HISTORIC PRESERVATION
DIVISION OF HISTORY

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR

October 18, 1967

"Augustus Saint-Gaudens was one of the great constructive figures in our American renaissance. Like La Farge in painting, like McKim in architecture, he is to be remembered not only for the intrinsic beauty of what he did but for his influence in an important period."

- Royal Cortissoz
[Art critic, contemporary of Saint-Gaudens.]

"Certainly there is no greater artistic genius living in the United States or elsewhere."

- President Theodore Roosevelt
August 1, 1907

"Saint-Gaudens is unquestionably the greatest of our sculptors, and indeed in many ways the most outstanding figure in American art."

- Charles Rufus Morey
The American Spirit in Art, 1927

Augustus Saint-Gaudens "was a survival of the 1500's; he bore the stamp of the Renaissance.... [He] was a child of Benvenuto Cellini, smothered in an American cradle."

- Henry Adams
The Education of Henry Adams, 1918

"He was so much of an innovator that he might almost be said to have created modern American sculpture."

- George H. Chase and Chandler R. Post
A History of Sculpture, 1925

To my wife Betty, who maintained patience and understanding throughout this intensive work, while managing a much more difficult project of her own--the birth of our third daughter--adding Jonna to Beverly and Tamela.

PREFACE

When this study was initially conceived it was intended to be primarily a historic structures report for "Aspet," the home of Augustus Saint-Gaudens at Cornish, New Hampshire. As time went by it became increasingly apparent that out of the abundance of information a comprehensive history of Saint-Gaudens, the man and his art, was developing, as well as a report on the house. Thus, it was decided that the major portion of the study should be devoted to a biography of Saint-Gaudens, in which the story of his art and the use and development of his Cornish estate would be interwoven. The biography section of the study, a unit in itself, is being printed separately at this time. The structural history of "Aspet" is being developed apart from the biography and will be presented in the traditional historic structures report format in the immediate future.

Many people have been of immense value to me in the preparation of this study. I am especially grateful to the Trustees of the Saint-Gaudens Memorial for the valuable assistance they have given me. Trustees William Platt, Arthur Quimby, the late Barry Faulkner, and Francis Faulkner spent considerable time with me during the summer of 1966, sharing their vast knowledge of Saint-Gaudens and his work, and the history of the Saint-Gaudens Memorial, with which they have been vitally connected for many years.

Kenneth Cramer and the archives staff of Dartmouth College were most cooperative and helpful during the time I was examining the forty linear feet of manuscript materials in the Saint-Gaudens Collection, housed in the Dartmouth Library.

In addition, I should like to thank those people who so willingly permitted me to make tape recordings of their reminiscences about Saint-Gaudens and the Cornish Colony. Included in this oral history are recordings of conversations with Mrs. Fannie Littell, Mrs. Fannie Cox, Mrs. Martha Nelson Smith, Mrs. Evelyn Smith, and the late Barry Faulkner. Also, much valuable oral information was provided by Mrs. Margaret Platt, Clarissa Platt Palmer, and Roger Palmer.

I cannot fail to mention Mrs. Frances Duncan Manning who wrote me several most enlightening letters regarding her associations with the Saint-Gaudenses and their estate, with special reference to her capacity as a landscape architect.

For the extraordinarily outstanding execution of the maps of the Saint-Gaudens estate I am indebted to free-lance cartographer, Harry Scott. The art work of the cover and title page was done by Joseph Sunde of Washington, D. C.

Within the National Park Service I especially wish to thank Frank Barnes, Chief of Interpretation and Visitor Services, Northeast Region, for conceiving the project and for being so patient while it was being completed. The members of the staff at the

Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site have been always ready and willing to assist in the gathering and confirming of pertinent information. I am particularly grateful to former Superintendent Dixon Freeland, Superintendent James W. Coleman, Jr., Historian Hugh Gurney, Curator John Dryfhout, and Caretaker Allan Jannson.

To Architect Charles Pope from the Division of Historic Architecture I owe my thanks for the excellent present-day photographs of the Saint-Gaudens Site, which do so much to tie this report to the present. To Architect Tom Crellin, my thanks for a splendid job on several of the drawings of the grounds.

To my associates in the Division of History I am indebted for further advice and support. I am particularly grateful to Chief Historian Robert Utley and Chief, Branch of Park History Studies Roy Appleman, for their awareness of the growing complexity of this study. This complexity extended the study far beyond its original scope. To Historian John Platt go my thanks for his perceptive consultation and encouragement. I am exceedingly grateful to Historian Frank Sarles for his careful reading of the entire manuscript. Historians Edwin Bearss, Erwin Thompson, Charles McCormick, and Lenard Brown have read portions of the manuscript and made helpful suggestions. Student Assistants Jonathan Morey (grandson of Charles Rufus Morey, frequently quoted in this manuscript) and Arnold Oppenheim, both of Antioch College, rendered valuable services in running down hard-to-find materials in the

Library of Congress, and assisted with some of the charts and maps. My thanks go also to Mrs. Lucy Wheeler, who, in typing the entire manuscript, used a discerning and penetrating mind to catch awkward language and unclear sentences. The enthusiasm which she brought to the project enabled her to become actively involved in the study and in the preparation of this manuscript.

Despite the assistance of so many, the responsibility for any errors in the study which follows, rests solely with me.

John W. Bond
Washington, D. C.
October 18, 1967

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter I	Early Years, 1848-1867.	1
Chapter II	Student Days in Paris, 1867-1870.	14
Chapter III	On His Own.	29
Chapter IV	Return to America, 1875.	32
Chapter V	Again in Paris, 1877-1880.	40
Chapter VI	An Accomplished Sculptor Comes Home.	46
Chapter VII	A Home in the Country.	51
Chapter VIII	The Cornish Colony.	65
Chapter IX	"Calluses on Hand and Brain".	71
Chapter X	Measured Against His Contemporaries.	94
Chapter XI	Work and Leisure, 1900-1902.	115
Chapter XII	Toward Sunset.	192
Chapter XIII	As They Knew Him.	210
Chapter XIV	An Appraisal of Saint-Gaudens - His Art and Philosophy of Art.	224
Chapter XV	In His Honor	263
Appendix A	Works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens.	298
Addendum to Appendix A	List of Known Casts by Augustus Saint-Gaudens.	314
Appendix B	Sales of Reproductions of Saint-Gaudens' Works from his "Account Journal," 1898-1906.	315

		Page
Appendix C	Photographic Royalties, 1896-1906, as Reflected in Account Book for that Period.	323
Appendix D	Income from Commissions (1896-1908), as Reflected in Account Book of that Period.	325
Appendix E	Summary of Gross Income 1896-1906.	328
Appendix F	Genealogies of Augustus Saint-Gaudens and Augusta Homer Saint-Gaudens.	329
Appendix G	UNDER THE STARS - A Requiem for Augustus Saint-Gaudens.	330
Appendix H	Assistants and/or Students of Augustus Saint-Gaudens - A Partial List.	334
Appendix I	History of Ownership of Land Purchased by Saint-Gaudens from C. C. Beaman and upon which "Aspet" is located.	340
Appendix J	Cornish Land Holdings of Augustus and Augusta Saint-Gaudens, as of August 3, 1907.	341
Appendix K	Contents Destroyed in the Fire at the Large Studio, Saint-Gaudens Memorial, June 6, 1944.	343
Bibliography		345
Maps and Illustrations - Following		365

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

Following Page 364-

I Augustus Saint-Gaudens, 1905. Photo by DeWitt C. Ward. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

II At "Aspet," Summer 1885. Louis Saint-Gaudens, Frederick MacMonnies, Homer Saint-Gaudens, Augusta (Mrs.) Saint-Gaudens, Augustus Saint-Gaudens. Homer Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, II.

III Three Generations. Bernard, Augustus and Homer Saint-Gaudens, 1885.

IV Barn and House at Cornish, pre-1885. Barn was converted into studio by Saint-Gaudens. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

V Saint-Gaudens' Barn-Studio, South Elevation, before 1904. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

VI Photograph of a painting by Kenyon Cox in 1887, showing Saint-Gaudens modelling a bas-relief of the painter William M. Chase. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

VII The Model of the Statue of Abraham Lincoln, 1887, now in Lincoln Park, Chicago. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 34

Photograph of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, 1887, Homer Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, II, 56.

VIII Portrait in bas-relief of the Children of Jacob H. Schiff. Early 1888.

IX The Adams (Mrs. Henry Adams) Memorial, Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, D. C. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 74, 1891.

X West Elevation of "Aspet," 1894 (?). People in photograph are not positively identified, but from comparisons with other photographs identifiable people seem to be Marie Saint-Gaudens (daughter of Augustus' brother, Andrew) with goat, followed by Homer Saint-Gaudens. Mrs. Saint-Gaudens appears to be the lady at the head of the steps.

XI Mt. Ascutney and Windsor, Vermont (barely visible on left center) as seen from near Saint-Gaudens' Studio. Before 1903 and possibly in 1894. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

XII Chicago World's Fair Architects, Artists and Officials, 1891. Left to right: D. H. Burnham, George B. Post, M. B. Pickett, Henry Van Brunt, Francis D. Millett, Maitland Armstrong, Col. Edward Rice, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Henry Sargent Codman, George W. Maynard, Charles F. McKim, E. H. Graham, Dion Geraldine; Charles Moor, Daniel H. Burnham, I, 100.

The Memorial to Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, Boston, Massachusetts. Saint-Gaudens Reminiscences, II, 82.

XIII Saint-Gaudens and Assistants in Cornish Studio under plaster cast of Sherman Monument, 1901. Left to right: Unknown, James Earle Fraser, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Unknown, Henry Hering, Unknown, Antonio (studio boy), Unknown, Unknown, Elsie Ward. From Life, March 15, 1948.

XIV Fountain with Piping Pan, near Saint-Gaudens studio, 1902 (?). Saint-Gaudens Collection.

XV "Aspet," before 1903. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

XVI Swimming pool (tank) behind Saint-Gaudens old studio. Before 1903. People unidentified.

XVII Saint-Gaudens in front of his personal studio during winter of 1903-04. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

XVIII The Saint-Gaudens flower garden, date unknown, except that it is after 1904. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

XIX Portrait of Saint-Gaudens by Ellen Emmet, 1904. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 279.

Photograph of Saint-Gaudens about 2 years before his death. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 316.

XX Plaque made by Saint-Gaudens as a gift to each of the participants in the Masque which had been given in his honor at Cornish, New Hampshire, June 23, 1905.

XXI Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Augusta Saint-Gaudens, and W. H. K. Redmond, Irish Parliamentary leader, probably in fall of 1905. The sculptor's studio and "Aspet" in the background. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

XXII Augustus Saint-Gaudens in front of his studio, 1905 (?). Saint-Gaudens Collection.

XXIII Little Studio, probably in 1905. View is toward south and Dingleton Hill. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

XXIV Golf course at western and southern end of the Saint-Gaudens Estate. Probably 1905. Mt. Ascutney in background. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

XXV Augustus Saint-Gaudens in the pergola outside his studio, August 1906. Saint-Gaudens Collection. Also see Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 241.

XXVI The Phillips Brooks Monument in Saint-Gaudens' personal studio, 1906 (?). Saint-Gaudens Collection.

XXVII Christopher Magee Monument before completion, 1906 (?). View is toward the west. Monument was located near the large studio. Distance is distorted because of magnification of the subject. Hills in the background are in Vermont. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

XXVIII Inside the 1905 studio, 1906 (?). Henry Hering, Saint-Gaudens' principal assistant, is between the Magee Monument and the statue of Phillips Brooks.

XXIX Tobogganing at "Aspet," 1906. View is toward the west and the Connecticut River.

XXX Studio, west elevation with toboggan slide in front. 1906. From Country Life in America, January 1908.

XXXI "Aspet" after 1903, but before 1907. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

XXXII Plaster of Saint-Gaudens' "Seated Lincoln." In the garden area. June 1967. National Park Service photograph.

XXXIII Inside large studio with copy of Phillips Brooks monument on left and copy of the Adams Memorial on right. Date unknown except that it is after 1908. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

XXXIV Inside large studio, showing "Puritan" and "Sherman." Date unknown, except prior to 1944. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

XXXV Cornish garden of Mrs. Augusta Saint-Gaudens, 1924. From a photograph of Mattie Edwards Hewitt. Photograph appeared in Louise Sheldon's Beautiful Gardens in America.

XXXVI Augustus Saint-Gaudens in his studio shortly before his death in August 1907. Photo from Life, March 15, 1948.

XXXVII Unfinished bas-relief of Augusta Saint-Gaudens, executed shortly before Saint-Gaudens' death. Saint-Gaudens Reminiscences, II, 355.

XXXVIII In the marble Temple, a short walk from his home and studio, rest the ashes of Saint-Gaudens and other members of his family. Photo from Bill Failor and Charles Shedd, Investigation Report.

XXXIX The General Scene, Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, 1963. The New Studio and Picture Gallery. The Small Studio. "Aspet," Saint-Gaudens home. Failor and Shedd, Investigation Report, 1963.

XL "Aspet," named for his father's birthplace in France, was first occupied by Saint-Gaudens and his family in the summer of 1885. Already a century old and for many years a tavern, its physical appearance did not commend the house when Saint-Gaudens first saw it. Photo from William Failor and Charles Shedd, Investigation Report, 1963.

XLI Mt. Ascutney, seen from "Aspet." A few days before his death Saint-Gaudens lay watching the sunset behind Mount Ascutney. After a long silence he said, "It's very beautiful, but I want to go farther away." From William Failor and Charles Shedd, Investigation Report, 1963.

XLII Pergola of Saint-Gaudens personal studio, 1966. Photo by National Park Service Architect Charles S. Pope.

XLIII South parlor, "Aspet," 1966. Photo by National Park Service Architect Charles Pope. Bronze head of Saint-Gaudens by Henry Hering, right foreground.

XLIV Saint-Gaudens personal studio, 1966. Photo by NPS Architect, Charles Pope.

XLV Stable, north and west elevations, 1966. One-story projection on the east was the ice house during Saint-Gaudens period. Caretakers cottage in background. Photo by NPS Architect Charles S. Pope.

XLVI New studio and picture gallery and connecting court, 1966. New studio was a workshop and picture gallery was a chicken house during the Saint-Gaudens period. Photo by NPS Architect Charles S. Pope.

XLVII Historical Base Map, Detail. Principal portion of Augustus Saint-Gaudens' Estate.

XLVIII Historical Base Map, General. Augustus Saint-Gaudens' Estate.

XLIX Land acquisition of Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site.

L Planting Plan, Saint-Gaudens Memorial.

LI Outline Drawing of Saint-Gaudens Gardens of the Period.

#

CHAPTER I

Early Years, 1848-1867

Augustus Saint-Gaudens often said, "No one ever succeeded in art unless born with an uncontrollable instinct toward it."[1] That he possessed this instinct, there is no doubt; yet, how he came by it is hard to explain. In discussing Augustus Saint-Gaudens' background, most writers suggest that neither of his parents possessed any particular artistic ability. There is reason to believe, however, that Augustus' father, Bernard Paul Ernest Saint-Gaudens, had a flair for artistic expression in his production of footwear. The elder Saint-Gaudens, coming from a family of French bootmakers, was taught the trade in his older brother's shoe factory at Carcassonne, France.[2] After Bernard Saint-Gaudens established himself in New York City in 1848, his reputation as a maker of shoes of high fashion and good quality flourished and spread. It was said that "people who really counted" bought their shoes from Bernard Saint-Gaudens.[3]

---

1. Royal Cortissoz, Dictionary of American Biography, ed. by Dumas Malone, (New York, 1935), XVI, 298. Cited hereafter as D. A. B.

2. Ibid.

3. Personal Interview, Mrs. Alice King, at Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site, Augustus 6, 1966, with author. Mrs. King said her grandmother bought the family's shoes from Bernard Saint-Gaudens because he made the finest shoes that could be bought. Mrs. King studied under James Earle Fraser at the Art Students' League in New York City.

Augustus' father was a native of Aspet, a village near the town of Saint-Gaudens in the foothills of the Pyrenees Mountains in southern France.[4] Bernard was disposed to roving. After finishing his apprenticeship, he worked as a journeyman shoemaker, traveling from town to town as a member of the "Compagnon du Tour de France." This organization facilitated the traveling of workmen for the members pledged to procure employment for one another.[5]

Encouraged partly by his roving nature, Bernard moved from France to London, where he pursued his shoemaking trade for three years. Subsequently, he moved to Dublin, Ireland, where he spent seven years.

He had not been in the Irish city long before he fell in love and married Mary McGuinness, a young lass who did the binding of the slippers in the establishment where Bernard worked.[6]

On March 1, 1848, Bernard and Mary Saint-Gaudens, who lived at this time in a house on Dublin's Charlemount Street, were blessed with the birth of their third child, Augustus. The two older children had died; Louis in infancy and George at the age of five.[7]

---

4. Bernard's father, Andre, a soldier under Napoleon, died comparatively young and suddenly after what Augustus suspected was "a gorgeous spree." Homer Saint-Gaudens, ed., The Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, (2 vols., New York, 1913), I, 10. Cited hereinafter as Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid. Mary's father, Arthur McGuinness, worked in a Dublin plaster mill.

7. Ibid. In 1854, the Saint-Gaudenses had their fifth son, whom they named Louis.

The potato famine which dealt such a death blow to Ireland's economy during the late 1840's drove thousands of people from their beloved homeland to the United States and elsewhere. Bernard and Mary Saint-Gaudens and six-months-old Augustus, joined the throng of emigrants who came to the United States to escape the famine and hard times in Ireland. Landing in Boston in September, 1848, Bernard Saint-Gaudens left his family there while he proceeded to New York City to seek employment.

After six weeks, Bernard had his family join him in New York City. For some time they lived on Duane Street, then moved to a house on the west side of Forsyth Street, where Augustus began his conscious life. A fourth child, Andrew, was born there on Halloween in 1851.

Augustus remembered that during this early period his father, a "short, stocky, bullet-headed, enthusiastic young man... with dark hair of reddish tendencies and a light red moustache," was about thirty years old and his mother, "of his [Bernard's] height, possessed of the typical, long, generous, loving Irish face, . . . [and] wavy black hair" was a few years younger than her husband.[8]

During Augustus' early childhood, his family made several moves in New York City; from Forsyth Street to the Bowery and from there to 41 Lispenard Street, and in 1860 to an apartment over a grocery store on Twenty-first Street.[9] It was at the Lispenard

---

8. Ibid.

9. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 38.

address that Bernard Saint-Gaudens expanded his business operations by hiring a whole building and subletting it to one or two tenants. One of these was a Dr. Mattinache, a French political refugee, whose daughter married Sculptor Olin Warner.[10]

Despite his expanding business, Bernard Saint-Gaudens found it difficult to devote as much time to the production of shoes as he did to the organization and operation of societies such as the "Union Fraternelle Francaise." While these activities took him away from his business of producing shoes, they, coupled with his colorful personality and the fashionableness of French footwear, attracted people of prominence. Among his customers were Horace Greeley (who particularly appreciated the elder Saint-Gaudens' abolitionist views), New York Governor Edwin D. Morgan, General John A. Dix, the Astors and Belmonts.

One customer in particular, Dr. Cornelius Rea Agnew, took notice of young Augustus who was often in his father's shop, running errands, and drawing pictures in pen and ink of the shoemakers at work. He strongly encouraged the young lad to pursue an artistic career.[11] Another customer Augustus distinctly remembered was Mrs. Daniel E. Sickles, who ordered a large number of white satin slippers for Washington social functions. He remembered her especially because of her beauty, hut, also because it was she

---

10. Ibid., I, 12.

11. Ibid., I,17.

who led to the tragedy of the shooting of Barton Key, an admirer of hers, by Representative Sickles in the streets of Washington.[12]

Augustus' recollections of his early school days were not altogether pleasant ones. They reveal the mischievous nature of the youngster and the difficulties precipitated by it. He was usually "combative and morose" while attending the North Moore Street School. Frequent street fights adversely affected his behavior and attitude while in school. Clearly recalled was the fact that at the North Moore Street School he was usually one of "about fifteen . . . bad ones who were collected every afternoon and lined up against the wall of what was called the private classroom for our daily punishment."[13] He considered his life at the North Moore Street School, with the exception of the playing at recess when he occasionally indulged in a fight with his pet enemy, Harry Dupignac, as "one long misery, one long imprisonment; for besides the beatings, I was 'kept in,' with a few other evil spirits, for an hour or so every day after all the others had gained the open air and freedom."[14] In 1860, his family moved to an apartment on Twenty-first Street and Augustus attended the Twentieth Street School conducted by Mr. David Scott. He was there only a short time, but he enjoyed that school experience.

---

12. Ibid., I, 16.

13. Ibid., I, 21.

14. Ibid., I, 22.

Pleasant childhood memories included Sunday outings by himself and his brother Andrew to what Augustus referred to as the "Elysian Fields" on the New Jersey shore. The roaming about under the trees was almost like Paradise, in comparison to the smoke, stone sidewalks, trolleys, and foul smells of New York.[15] His infrequent childhood encounters with nature aroused his interest in the out-of-doors, but until he came to Cornish, New Hampshire he continued to prefer the familiarity of the city on a permanent basis.

Augustus showed early interest in art, but demonstrated no great ability; he was no child prodigy. His drawing, though, was good enough to interest one of his father's customers, as previously noted. Drawing upon a slate in the North Moore Street School, scrawling with bits of charcoal upon the walls of white-painted houses, and sketching in his father's shop were typical of his artistic expressions.[16]

He began his formal training in art not so much as an educational endeavor but as a means of earning a livelihood. This stage in his life came at the early age of thirteen. He had terminated his public school education and was ready to start earning his way in the world, when his father said to him: "My boy, you must go to work. What would you like to do?" Augustus replied that he did not care, but that he

---

15. Ibid., I, 22.

16. Ibid., I, 27.

should like it if he could do something to help him become an artist. His father, considering himself a designer of unique and high quality shoes, and likewise a skilled craftsman, was sympathetic toward this interest.

To permit Augustus to earn a living while learning, Bernard apprenticed him to a fellow Frenchman, Louis Avet, who was a stone cameo-cutter.[17] Avet certainly was not an ideal employer. Perhaps his lack of experience, inasmuch as Augustus was his first apprentice, partly explains his difficulty in dealing with the young lad. But it seems that Avet was naturally a disagreeable person. In Augustus' recollection of his work with Avet he noted: "Avet was certainly an old-time, hard task-master, so I can only describe my years with him as composing miserable slavery." When Avet was not scolding Augustus, he was singing continuously. Though Augustus' dislike for Avet was intense, it was through exposure to his constant singing while working that the apprentice acquired the habit of singing as he worked.[18]

Augustus' experience with Avet was not totally bad, however, for the ill-tempered employer occasionally allowed Augustus to complete a cameo and receive the satisfaction that comes with creativity. Avet usually did the finishing of the cameos which were principally made for Messrs. Ball, Black, and Company and for Tiffany. One of

---

17. Ibid., 38-44. It was the fashion at that time for men to wear stone scarf-pins with heads of doge, horses and lions, cut in amethyst, malachite and other stones.

18. Ibid.

Augustus' jobs was the delivering of the finished cameos to these shops, which always impressed him with their extraordinary splendor.

Other pleasant aspects of work with Avet were the Sunday and holiday hunting excursions Avet made to Weehauken Flats, New Jersey.[19] The Frenchman took Augustus with him to carry the game bag. These trips were enjoyed by Augustus because they exposed him to the beauty and wonders of the landscape. He later said that the appreciation for nature he acquired on these trips was never matched by subsequent experiences. He recalled: "The memory of the first lying on the grass under the trees and the first looking through the branches at flying clouds, will stay by me if I live to be as old as ten Methuselahs."[20]

Augustus' apprenticeship with Avet came to an end in 1864, after he had worked for the taskmaster for three-and-one-half years. Avet, who was subject to frequent fits of anger, went into one of his typical rages one day when he came into his shop and found some crumbs Augustus had dropped to the floor while he was eating his lunch. Allowing his violent temper to get the better of him, Avet immediately discharged Augustus. The young lad left Avet's shop feeling that his world had come to its end. But he was stubborn and heroic enough to refuse

---

19. David M. Armstrong, Day Before Yesterday: Reminiscences of a Varied Life, (New York, 1920). Armstrong, a noted artist as well as a diplomat, was an intimate friend of Saint-Gaudens. He was the U. S. Consul to The Papal States and later Consul-General for Italy in Rome. He lived with the Saint-Gaudenses in Paris for a short time during the late 1870's.

20. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 40.

Avet's offer for reinstatement which came only thirty minutes after the hasty dismissal.[21]

The dismissal was a blessing in disguise for Augustus, for it opened the door for him to become a sculptor. He soon was employed by Mr. Jules Le Brethon, a shell-cameo cutter, who earned his living making the large shell-cameo portraits popular at that time. Augustus, somewhat hesitant about working as a shell-cameo cutter because it required less skill than work in stone, with which he had become quite proficient during his three-and-one-half years with Avet, was delighted to discover that Le Brethon had a stone-cameo lathe which he (Le Brethon) did not know how to operate. Thus, Augustus was able to produce stone-cameos as well as shell-cameos for his new employer.

His relationship with Le Brethon, who was a complete opposite of Avet, was a rewarding one. Augustus considered the three years (1864-1867) he spent with Le Brethon as different from the time with Avet as day is from night. Le Brethon's singing from morning to night was the only trait he had in common with Avet. Le Brethon showed an active interest in his employee's development. He allowed Augustus an extra hour a day, in addition to his lunch period, in which to model, and in which he [Le Brethon] could instruct the "budding"artist. The more pleasant environment and encouragement from his "boss"increased Augustus' diligence for learning: "My ardor almost doubled the hour by devoting three-quarters of my lunch-time to modelling."[22]

---

21. Ibid., I, 44.

22. Ibid.

The cameo-cutter's ambition to become an artist took him beyond the work shop. During the trying years with Avet, the aspiring artist attended the night classes in drawing at Cooper Institute.[23] Augustus, accustomed to hard work in the shop, extended the conscientious application of his time and talent in his art studies. He noted that every evening upon his return from work from Avet's shop at six o'clock and after a hasty tea he went to the Institute. He became "a terrific worker," toiling every night until eleven o'clock after the class was over, in the conviction that in him another "heaven-born genius had been given to the world."[24] It is amazing that Augustus had such a determination at this early age (thirteen). It is interesting, too, to note that at this early stage in his artistic development he was so strongly motivated, or that he believed so intensely in thorough training and discipline. This would be characteristic of him throughout his life.

The long hours were demanding. He became so exhausted with the confining work of cameo-cutting by day and drawing at night that, in the morning, his mother literally dragged him out of bed, pushed him over to the washstand, where he gave himself "a cat's lick somehow or other." Then she had to "drive" him to the table, where it was almost necessary for her to feed him his breakfast, consisting of

---

23. Ibid., The Cooper Institute was founded by Peter Cooper, manufacturer, inventor, and philanthropist. The Institute, also known as Cooper Union, was founded during 1857-1859 "for the advancement of science and Art." The courses at the Institute were free. D. A. B., 4, 409-410. Augustus' father made shoes for the Cooper family.

24. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 45.

tea and large quantities of long French loaves of bread with butter. She virtually had to tumble him down the stairs out into the street, where he would then awaken. All of this had transpired prior to 7 a.m., because he had to be at his cameo lathe by that time.[25]

Shortly after Augustus went to work for Le Brethon, (1864), he discontinued his studies at the Cooper Institute and enrolled in the night class at the National Academy of Design on Fourth Avenue, next door to his father's shoe shop. He remembered his studying in the Academy as dreamlike. It was there that he felt his first "God-like indifference and scorn of all other would-be artists."[26] His training there from 1864-1867, included studying painting under Emanuel Leutze,[27] best known for his "Washington Crossing the Delaware," and Daniel Huntington,[28] portraitist, historical and genre painter of no great ability - but representative of his times. His sculptor instructors were Launt Thompson and John Quincy Adams Ward.[29]

---

25. Ibid., I, 45-46.

26. Ibid, I, 56.

27. Leutze's works were characterized by robust patriotism. Jewett Mather, Jr.; Charles Rufus Morey, William James Henderson, The American Spirit in Art,(New Haven, 1927), 30-35. Cited hereinafter as Mather, Morey, and Henderson, The American Spirit in Art.

28. Huntington appealed to piety, sentimentality and loyalty. Ibid., 35.

29. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 56.

National events during Augustus' apprenticeship days made impressions that would be lasting and to a great extent influence the sculptor's career. His greatest works and the majority of his commissions involved representations of the Civil War theme. About 1 1/2 years before his death, Saint-Gaudens wrote to one of his former students, Charles Keck: "I have such respect and admiration for the heroes of the Civil War, that I consider it my duty to help in any way to commemorate them in a noble and dignified way, worthy of their great services."[30] He clearly recalled the 1860 election with the political meetings and processions, with carts bearing rail-fences in honor of "Honest Abe, the Rail-Splitter." He especially remembered seeing Abraham Lincoln in 1861: "Above all what remains in my mind is seeing in a procession the figure of a tall and very dark man, seeming entirely out of proportion in his height with the carriage in which he was driven, bowing to the crowds on each side. This was on the corner of Twentieth or Twenty-first Street and Fifth Avenue, and the man was Abraham Lincoln on the way to Washington."[31]

His Civil War memories included recollection of

> . . . the mob before the newspaper offices down-town, particularly at the time of the first battle of Bull Run; the temporary hospitals, the legless and armless men from the battlefields; the constant extras of victories, victories; finally, the delight over the real ones by Grant; a vision of General Grant himself on horseback, with his slouch hat, during some great parade in New York City (his face I liked because of its kindliness); and a glimpse of General Sickles, minus a leg, reviewing the troops in front of Niblo's Garden.[32]

---

30. Augustus Saint-Gaudens to Charles Keck, January 16, 1906. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, 1, 26 .

31. Ibid., I, 42.

32. Ibid.

He especially remembered events associated with President Lincoln's assassination. When Lincoln was lying in state in New York's City Hall, 17-year-old Augustus stood in the long line to view the body of the late President, then went through the line a second time. "This completed my vision of the big man, though the funeral [procession] which I viewed from the roof of the old Wallack's Theater on Broome Street, deepened the profound solemnity of my impression."[33]

---

33. Ibid., I, 51.

CHAPTER II

Student Days in Paris, 1867-1870

A turning point in Augustus' life came when he was given the opportunity to go to Paris to see the Exposition of 1867. His father, still possessing strong ties with his native France, wanted him to see the Exposition and to visit relatives, most of whom the younger Saint-Gaudens had never seen. Bernard had saved part of the money Augustus had given him for help in meeting the household expenses. This would be used to pay Augustus' passage.

Augustus' going to Paris called for celebrations. His father planned a "hilarious dinner" in honor of his departure, and Augustus' employer gave a banquet the night before the 19-year old[34] adventurer started on his trip. At Le Brethon's banquet Augustus was elated to find under his napkin one hundred dollars "to pay for a trip to father's village in France."[35]

---

34. He was not quite 19. He left in February and would have been 19 on March 1.

35. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 61. In his Reminiscences this money is referred to in terms of francs in one place, but in terms of American dollars in others, thus it is more likely that the dollar was the correct monetary unit. 100 francs 1867 would have been worth only about twenty dollars.

Saint-Gaudens left for Paris in February 1867, on The City of Boston,[36] a moderately sized side-wheel steamer built in 1861.[37] The voyage from New York to Liverpool probably took about 12 days providing the weather was good. Augustus remembered the trans-Atlantic trip as making him "sicker than a regiment of dogs."[38] He finally arrived in Paris, having travelled from Liverpool via London to Folkstone, England, where he embarked on the trip across the English Channel to Dieppe, France. Upon arriving in Paris, he went to the home of his Uncle François, who greeted him with "thorough-going French emotion." But, the uncle's enthusiasm diminished when Augustus' hundred dollars had "gone through his fingers."[39]

In writing of his father's trip to Paris, Homer Saint-Gaudens suggests that Augustus had not thought out the purpose of the trip other than to visit Paris and to see relatives.[40] But Augustus stated that a day or two after he arrived in Paris he began hunting for employment as a cameo-cutter and sought admission to the School of Fine Arts (École des Beaux Arts). This implies that staying in Paris for an extended time for art study was not a spur-of-the-moment decision.

---

36. Ibid.

37. William M. Lytle, Merchant Steam Vessels of the United States, 1807-1868, 'the Lytle List', (Mystic, Connecticut, 1952), 33.

38. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 62.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid., I, 60.

Augustus was successful in finding a job of cameo-cutting with an Italian, Lupi. When he left his uncle's house he lived first in a room adjoining Lupi's, attending a modelling school in the morning and nights, and supporting himself on what he earned by the cameos he cut in the afternoon. But he worked so much at the school and so little on the cameos that he became miserably poor, barely earning enough for his living.[41]

The aspiring artist, hoping to enter the School of Fine Arts, managed to meet the director of the School, M. Guillaume. When he told the director he expected to learn sculpture during the nine months he proposed to stay in Paris, the limit to which he expected his one hundred dollars to last, the director smiled as if to imply naivety on the part of the young American. Subsequently, he was most discouraged to learn that he could enter the École des Beaux Arts only after making a formal application through the American Minister. The Minister, Mr. Washburn, assured Augustus that he would be informed when the application had been accepted. Much to the prospective student's intense dismay it was nine months before he was notified of his acceptance.[42]

In the meantime, Augustus had entered a small art school (often referred to as Petite École) on the Rue de L'École de Médicine. Because of its location the school was sometimes called the little "École de Médicine." It seems that Augustus attended the school on Wednesdays

---

41. Ibid., I, 63

42. Ibid.

and Saturdays. The School, held in an unventilated Theater, accommodated approximately fifty drawing students and fifteen sculptors. It was in this school that Augustus sculptured his first figures from the nude.[43] While at the Petite École, Augustus won a first prize and a crown of laurel, presented by A. M. de Nieuquerque, probably Master of Fine Arts, who was in favor at the Tuileries.[44]

Augustus relates an experience in this school that partly reveals his insight into the personal involvement of the artist in his art. One of his instructors, whom Augustus remembered as named Jacquot, insisted that the artist make his drawings or clay models of nudes resemble Jacquot in physique. In other words, as Augustus noted: "Any artist tends to make his drawings of a nude resemble his own figure."[45] Thus, Jacquot, who was twisted and distorted, expected his students to portray these characteristics in their representation of the figure being modelled. Augustus was repeatedly instructed to make the figure he was portraying fatter -- because Jacquot saw the figure in light of how he saw himself. Although Saint-Gaudens was not as extreme as Jacquot in this involvement, he inadvertently gave his

---

43. He had drawn from the nude during his National Academy experience.

44. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 43.

45. Ibid., I, 71.

figures characteristice of his own physical features.[46]

Finally, acceptance to the École des Beaux Arts came, and Augustus began his study there in December 1867 or January 1868.[47]

Why did Saint-Gaudens want to study in Paris? While prominent sculptors such as Henry Kirke Brown, Erastus D. Palmer, Launt Thompson, Randolph and John Rogers, John Quincy Adams Ward, William Wetmore Story, and Thomas Ball had appeared on the American scene, "as yet no capable men had arrived at the stage where they either cared to teach, or were able to do so. Consequently, unless a youth was willing to take his chances at learning hit or miss . . . Europe alone offered any proper training."[48]

---

46. The noted author, William Dean Howells, a leader of American letters (1880-1920), in writing to domer Saint-Gaudens in 1908 about a bas-relief Saint-Gaudens had made of Howells and his daughter, commented upon this characteristic of Saint-Gaudens' work: "He especially kept giving my daughter's profile his noble leonine nose. He could not see that he did this, but when he was convinced of it he forced himself to the absolute fact, and the likeness remained perfect." See Ibid.

47. Upon first reading Augustus' Reminiscences concerning this period one would conclude that it was in March or April of 1868 that he began his studies at the Petite École. See page 69 of Reminiscences, I. However, after further study it is obvious that it was at this time that he began his studies at École des Beaux Arts. It should be recalled that it was in February of 1867 that he sailed for Paris and that he went via Liverpool, London and Folkstone, England -- crossing the channel between Folkstone and Dieppe. This round-about route likely would have required more than two weeks, meaning that Augustus got to Paris some time in March, 1867. Augustus noted that shortly after his arrival in Paris he made application for the École des Beaux Arts, but it was nine months later that his application was approved. Thus, if Saint-Gaudens should have made application in March it would have been in December 1867, before the nine months had elapsed.

48. Ibid., I, 59.

Saint-Gaudens chose to study under Jouffroy because of a friend's recommendation and because Jouffroy's atelier [studio] "was the triumphant one of the Beaux Arts, his class capturing, as a rule, most of the prizes." Jouffroy was much favored at the Tuileries, [Royal Palace] although he had achieved his distinction some ten or fifteen years prior to Saint-Gaudens study under him. Within two days after presenting his drawings to Jouffroy, he was accepted.[49]

He immediately plunged into work, being the only American in his class, though Olin Warner joined six months later. Eventually Jouffroy's Atelier was where most Americans studied, under the teaching of Falguière after the death of Jouffroy and under Mercié after the death of Falguière.[50]

Regarding his Jouffroy days, Saint-Gaudens recalled that he was by no means a brilliant pupil. The steadiness of Jouffroy's compliments consoled him for his "inevitable failures in direct competition." These failures did not discourage him, however,or create any doubts in his mind as to his assured superiority. Regarding his vanity he noted that doubts came later in his life, and in such full measure that he "abundantly atoned for my youthful presumption."[51]

---

49. "One of the elements of Saint-Gaudens superiority in his progression was that he could draw as few sculptors can." See Kenyon Cox, Artist and Public and Other Essays on Art Subjects,(New York, 1915), 171. From a superficial observation of his drawings in his student notebooks one might conclude that he was not a very facile drawer. But, close scrutiny reveals that the seeming roughness is more indicative of haste in graphically expressing an idea than a real ability or lack of it in drawing.

50. Mercié entered the atelier as a student at the same time as Saint-Gaudens

51. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 77.

With all of Augustus' assurance of his superiority as an artist, he had to face the realization that he could not live on his vanity alone. Thus, he found it necessary to supplement the small amount of money he received from home by cutting cameos. In the apartment[52] he shared with Louis Herzog, a close friend from the Cooper Institute days, Augustus worked on his cameo lathe.

David M. Armstrong recalled the sculptor's telling him of his difficult times while a student in Paris: "Many times, while walking through dingy little streets in the Quarter he pointed out the wretched cabarets where he had been accustomed to get his food during his sojourn in Paris. He said he had never recovered and never expected to recover from the effects of the messes he had been forced to eat while a student there."[53]

While there never was a more industrious artist, or one readier to tackle arduous tasks to see them through, Augustus found time for amusement while studying at Jouffroy's. A favorite prank that his fellow students played on him was to have him sing the "Marseillaise" in English. They assured him that he had a wonderful voice and that it was the quality of his voice they appreciated so much. After numerous days of repeatedly "bawling away at the top of [his] lungs" he learned that his classmates were making fun of him. This did not lessen his own liking for singing. Neither

---

52. At one time he slept on a mattress on the floor of Truman Bartlett's studio. Even when he could afford an apartment he was always on the move.

53. Armstrong, Day Before Yesterday, (New York, 1920), 275.

was he too disappointed to learn of the prank, because his willingness to entertain with his voice had spared him the "ignominies that the poor beginner endures." He was not made to undress or to be painted in the nude as were most beginners.[54]

Augustus' Paris student days resulted in a number of close friendships – especially those of Alfred Garner, Paul Bion, Albert Dammouse and Soares de Reis. With these friends he enjoyed his favorite pastimes – long walking trips in Switzerland and France, wrestling, swimming, and going to concerts. Saint-Gaudens liked physical exercise. After his drawing classes at night he went to the Gymnasium where he "exercised more violently than others" and he constantly visited the swimming baths where he remained longer than anyone else.

Saint-Gaudens and his friends regularly attended the Sunday classical concerts at the Cirque d'Hiver on the Boulevard.[55] His love for classical music continued throughout his life. In later years his New York studio was regularly (on Sundays) the scene of classical concerts.

---

54. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 78.

55. Ibid., I, 79, 81.

CHAPTER III

On His Own

Another turning point in Saint-Gaudens' life came in 1870, at the time of the Franco-Prussian War. He had mixed emotions about whether he should join the French army or leave the country. A lengthy letter from his mother, in which she pleaded with him not to become involved in political affairs, helped to persuade him to leave Paris. He went from Paris to Limoges (200 miles southwest of Paris), where lived his younger brother Andrew, who had recently arrived in France to work for a New York porcelain firm. After remaining with his brother for several months, until November, he borrowed one hundred francs from him and started for Rome. He most likely did not stay with his brother three or four months, as he recalled in his reminiscences, because he mentioned that he left Paris for Limoges on September 4, but returned shortly to Paris.[56]

The tide of the war soon turned against France and Augustus again left for Limoges. This was in November 1870. If he had stayed

---

56. He wrote Alfred Garnier a letter from Limoges, Sept. 21, 1870, indicating he planned to return to Paris. Ibid., I, 100.

there three or four months as he stated, it would have been sometime in February or March 1871 that he would have gone to Rome.[57] But it was probably in December 1870 that he arrived in Rome, after having traveled from Limoges to Lyons and on to Marseilles, where he got a steamer for Civitaveechia, Italy (near Rome). Fortunately, he had an Italian friend in Rome, with whom he could stay and who would help him find work. Thus, he was certain to take his cameo-cutter's lathe.[58]

Saint-Gaudens was heartened by his new environment and opportunities. He recalled: "It was as if a door had been thrown wide open to the eternal beauty of the classical." Importantly too, through his Italian friend he was able to obtain cameos to do for a dealer by the name of Rossi. The new dealer paid well and Augustus set out to find himself a studio where he could model his first statue, "which was to astonish the world."[59] Soon, he ran into his friend, Soares des Reis, who had gone to Rome from Paris to escape the war, and the two took a studio together.

It is evident that Saint-Gaudens thought of himself as a full-fledged sculptor by this time. He did not attend any art school in Rome as he had in Paris, but he was closely associated with the

---

57. Ibid, 100-103.

58. Ibid.

59. Ibid., I, 104-108.

famous sculptor from Baltimore, William H. Rinehart, until Rinehart's death in 1874.[60] Saint-Gaudens' school for the most part was his studio and the statuary throughout the "Eternal City." The works of Renaissance sculptors, such as Donatello[61], Verrocchio,[62] and Michelangelo[63] made a tremendous impression upon him. From these giants, he learned that naturalism, which was the dominant characteristic of Renaissance art, need not involve any sculptural loss.[64]

In comparison with his poverty in Paris, Saint-Gaudens was relatively well-to-do in Rome. In March of 1871, when he had been there hardly three months, he wrote to his friend Garnier:

> I am making a lot of money and will be able to complete my statue [Hiawatha] which I will begin next week, not only in plaster, but in marble. The cameos are better paid here than at Paris. The jewelers are less exacting. Living is very much cheaper and models are only half as dear as in Paris. Rents, etc., are equally cheap. More than this, I am beginning to get into relations with rich Americans, and the cameos I make for them are extraordinarily well paid.[65]

One of the wealthy Americans Saint-Gaudens had the good fortune to meet was Mr. Montgomery Gibbs, who was living with his wife and two daughters in a hotel across the street from Saint-Gaudens' studio.[66] At the time of his meeting with Mr. Gibbs some time in

---

60. Samuel M. Green, American Art, A Historical Survey, (New York, 1966), 433.

61. Donato di Niccolo di Betto Bardi, [illegible]

62. Andrea del Verrocchio, 1435-1488.

63. Michelangelo Buonarroti, 147[illegible]-1564.

64. Oliver W. Larkin, Art and Life in America, (New York, 1949), 262.

65. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 119-120. Saint-Gaudens usually worked in his studio until 1 p.m., at which time he went to work on his cameos.

66. Gibbs had originally sought Saint-Gaudens to have him cut a cameo of Mary Stuart. Ibid., I, 120.

1872,[67] Saint-Gaudens had nearly completed in clay his first statue, "Hiawatha," showing him "...pondering, musing in the forest, on the welfare of his people."[68] At that time, Saint-Gaudens desperately needed money to cast the figure in plaster and subsequently produce it in marble. His plight was worsened by the fact that he had had fever and was unable to work much of the time.

Gibbs' generosity was more than Saint-Gaudens had expected. He advanced the young sculptor the money he needed for completion of his "Hiawatha," if in exchange he would model the portraits of his two daughters, Misses Belle and Florence Gibbs.

Meeting Montgomery Gibbs was indeed a fortuitous occasion for the sculptor because Gibbs knew other wealthy and influential Americans who were prospective buyers of Saint-Gaudens' works. One of these was William Evarts, who at this time, 1872, was Chief Counsel for the United States during the Geneva Arbitration

---

67. Saint-Gaudens said it was after a trip to Naples in 1872 — the time of the eruption of Mt. Vesuvius. Mt. Vesuvius erupted between April 26 and May 2, 1872, according to the World Almanac, 1873. See also Saint-Gaudens' letter to Montgomery Gibbs, May, 1872. Saint-Gaudens indicated that he would like to have the "Hiawatha" done in bronze, but the figure "if reproduced, will not improve so much in bronze as it will in marble for the reason that to have it in bronze the clay has to be excessively finished; which would require a great deal more time...."He also noted that the figure was originally intended for the marble. The letter said that Gibbs had the intention of getting the "Hiawatha" in the Art Museum in N. Y. Ibid., I, 122.

68. Ibid., I, 95-113.

of the Alabama Claims against England. Miss Hettie Evarts,[69] daughter of Evarts, commissioned Saint-Gaudens to make copies of the busts of Demosthenes[70] and Cicero[71] for her father. Saint-Gaudens noted that these were his first commissions.[72]

Even more significant than the commissions for copies of antique sculpture, was the commission to make a portrait of Mr. Evarts, which was arranged through the encouragement of Mr. Evarts by Mr. Gibbs. Evarts agreed to pose for the promising sculptor upon his[Evarts'] return to the United States from Geneva.

Mr. Gibbs' assistance to Saint-Gaudens put him on the road to becoming a recognized sculptor. Gibbs' sentiments toward Saint-Gaudens and his work were expressed in a letter to Saint-Gaudens:

> I am sure that the last thing of which I stand in need is a marble statue, particularly on the dimensions of your 'Hiawatha'. But for the fact that I sympathize very strongly with you in your struggles to maintain yourself here until your genius and labors shall have met the reward to which I feel they are entitled, I would not have thought of attempting any arrangement by which you might be enabled to complete your large work and make yourself known.[73]

---

69. Hettie Evarts married C. C. Beaman, who influenced Saint-Gaudens' in his decision to come to Cornish.

70. Greek orator and statesman 385-322 B. C.

71. Roman philosopher, statesman and orator, 106-43 B. C.

72. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 113.

73. Ibid., I, 121.

Saint-Gaudens wrote Gibbs, in the fall of 1872, that the bust of Miss Belle Gibbs would be finished in two or three days, but that he was having to re-do the bust of Miss Florence Gibbs because of imperfections in the marble. He said that the features of Florence's statue (bust) would be finished, but the hair and accessories would take some time after his departure. He also noted that he was almost finished with the head of Cicero for Evarts and that he would send it to him about the twentieth of the month.[74] He indicated that he would like to start on the Evarts bust immediately, but he would wait if that was what Mr. Evarts preferred. Gibbs' gratuity extended to advancing Saint-Gaudens passage money with which he could return to the United States to visit his parents and to model the Everts bust.[75]

The visit home was a welcome one. Saint-Gaudens had not seen his parents since February, 1867, and it was now late 1872.[76] Also, inasmuch as he was recuperating from a siege of Roman fever, the trip home would be good for his health. Going by way of Paris,

---

74. This was shortly before his trip to the United States in late 1872.

75. Ibid., I, 117.

76. Cox, Artist and Public, 171. Cox was a member of the Cornish Colony. He was a close friend of Saint-Gaudens and was a fellow instructor at the Art Students League in New York. Cox, a prominent artist in his own right was a noted art critic as well.

he spent a couple of days there, then went on to London and Liverpool, from whence he took the steamer from New York. His arrival was quite a surprise to his parents, because he had written to them only on rare occasions and had given them no idea of what he was doing. They did not know of his being in New York until he walked into his father's shop.

While in New York he worked especially hard on the bust of Evarts in Evarts' New York City home. Also he sought similar commissions from other prominent people. It was through Evarts that Saint-Gaudens received at that time a commission for a bust of Mr. Edward Stoughton, prominent lawyer, and an order from Elihu Root (later Secretary of State under T. Roosevelt) for copies of the busts of "Demosthenes" and "Cicero." Afterwards, he received a commission to do a bust of Edwards Pierrepont,[77] as a result of Evarts' influence. It was while he was in New York that he was commissioned by Mr. L. H. Willard to have a sarcophagus cut in Italy for him and to model a figure of "Silence" for the Masonic Building in New York City.

With all of this work to do Saint-Gaudens saw the necessity of returning to his studio in Rome. To get things ready for his

---

77. Pierrepont was Attorney General under Grant.

return, he sent his younger brother Louis ahead. He had taught Louis and Augustus' friend, Louis Herzog, and two others to cut cameos during his brief stay in New York during the winter of 1872-1873.[78] Thus, Louis was prepared to earn some money while assisting his brother.

Augustus does not say when he left for Italy, but it is known that he was in Rome during July, 1873. His good friend and fellow artist, Maitland Armstrong, noted that he met Augustus for the first time on July 3, 1872, and that it was one year later that he saw him again.[79] Also, Augustus noted that he stopped in Paris for "some months" before going to Italy. So he must have left New York during the spring of 1873.

Soon after Augustus' return to Rome, good luck came his way through Edwin D. Morgan, former Governor of New York. Morgan, for whom Augustus' father had made shoes, informed Augustus that he would take the statue "Hiawatha" if Augustus would have it executed in marble.[80] This definitely established the date for

---

78. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 130. Augustus' mother died some time soon after Saint-Gaudens' visit. He wrote a friend: "The day of my departure was a sad one, for it was the last I saw of my mother when she stood weeping on the dock, and it seems as if I had a presentment that it would be so."

79. Armstrong, Day Before Yesterday, 258, and Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 130.

80. It had been cast in plaster through the generosity of Mr. Gibbs prior to Augustus' trip to America in late 1872. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 133.

the completion of the Hiawatha as late as 1873, not 1871, as indicated in the chronology of works by Homer Saint-Gaudens.

Although Augustus had sufficient orders to keep him busy continuously, it was not all work and no play. He continued to take long walking trips. During the winter or late fall of 1873, Augustus, in company with George Dubois, the landscape painter, and Ernest Meyor, a Swiss architect, made a walking trip from Rome to Naples. Saint-Gaudens distinctly remembered seeing "the palace of Tiberius and the marble baths of that time half-sunken in the winter."[81] This establishes the date late in the year when the trip was taken.[82]

---

81. Ibid., I, 138.

82. Saint-Gaudens wrote Mr. Willard, Dec. 7, 1873, that Louis Saint-Gaudens had had pneumonia for 3 weeks - (which would have started about Nov. 16). In a subsequent letter to William Evarts he wrote that he (Augustus) had not been well for the last two months and previous to that his brother had been dangerously ill for six seeks, and before that he (Augustus) could not work in the studio for nearly two months on account of repairs in the studio. Thus, starting with the known date of Dec. 7, 1873, one can establish that from Nov. 16, 1873, to Jan. 1, 1874, Louis Saint-Gaudens was quite ill, and that two months prior to his getting sick, (Sept. 16 - Nov. 16), the studio was being repaired and that Augustus was ill from a fall during January and February, 1874, it must have been some time in 1873 that the trip was taken. Augustus wrote this letter to Evarts as an explanation for the delay in the completion of the "Psyche": "The Psyche is very far advanced but I'm afraid it cannot be finished soon enough to send with your bust which I'm now desirous you should have immediately." Ibid., I, 143.

Augustus recalled in his Reminiscences that it was shortly after the end of his vacation to Naples that he met Miss Augusta F. Homer, later to become his wife. In his Reminiscences he recalled that he remained in Rome for two years after meeting Miss Homer, making a total of five years spent in Rome. This does not agree with his reference in a letter to Miss Florence Gibbs in the fall of 1874,[83] that he hoped to leave for America by the end of December. He also told Miss Gibbs that once in America he would rent a studio to exhibit his work and secure commissions for copies or new works and that he hoped to return to Rome to make a statue of a Roman slave to be exhibited for the Centennial, 1876.

---

83. Ibid., I, 144. This date was supplied by Homer Saint-Gaudens.

CHAPTER IV

Return to America

Augustus Saint-Gaudens returned to New York early in 1875[84] and established himself in a studio on the third floor of the German Savings Bank Building, at the corner of Fourteenth Street and Fourth Avenue. He did not find life too easy upon returning to America. With little money, but with a wealth of training and an eagerness to make a name for himself, he was anxious for a major commission. The time was right. The country was getting ready for the celebration of the Centennial of the Declaration of Independence, and the Civil War had become a thing of the past to the extent that the re-united nation was well on the road to recovery and a strong movement was underway to commemorate the heroes of the "Great Struggle."

Maitland Armstrong wrote regarding the difficult financial times Augustus had after his return from Italy. The promising sculptor was desperately poor, for during one winter he and the sculptor Erastus D. Palmer slept in a storeroom on the same floor of the German Savings Bank Building (where Armstrong, Palmer and

---

84. He was at 314 Fourth Avenue on March 17, 1875, when he wrote to his fiance, Augusta Homer. Ibid., I, 177.

Saint-Gaudens had studios), using as beds the large empty packing-boxes of some furniture which had come to Armstrong from Italy.[85] Armstrong recalled that for several years beginning in 1875, he saw Saint-Gaudens almost daily; "discouraging and depressing years they were for him, although maybe not really so hard as the earlier ones he had spent as a student at the Beaux Arts."[86]

It was while he was at the German Savings Bank Studio, (1875-1877), that Saint-Gaudens became acquainted with the later noted architects Stanford White and Charles F. McKim. Saint-Gaudens recalled his first meeting with White:

> He was drawn to me one day, as he ascended the German Savings Bank stairs, by hearing me bawl the "Andante" of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony, and "The Serenade" from Mozart's Don Giovanni. He was a great lover of music. I gave a false impression, for my knowledge came only from having heard the "Andante" from Le Brethon. . . and the "Serenade" from a howling Frenchman in the Beaux Arts who could shout even louder than I, and sing it in a singularly devilish and comic way.[87]

White and Saint-Gaudens remained the closest of friends until White's untimely death in July 1906, by the gun of a jealous husband, Harry K. Thaw.[88]

---

85. Armstrong, Day Before Yesterday, 261.

86. Ibid., 259.

87. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 160. Also, see Baldwin, Stanford White, 54-55.

88. Evelyn Nesbit Thaw, upon whom White supposedly had showered too much attention, died in a Santa Monica, California nursing home in January 18, 1967, almost sixty-one years after the death of the famed architect. Washington, D. C., Post, January 19, 1967.

White collaborated with Saint-Gaudens on most of the sculptor's monumental works. Saint-Gaudens was particularly concerned that sculpture and architecture harmonize and complement each other. These were precisely the sentiments of Stanford White. Thus, the bases which White designed for many of Saint-Gaudens' works[89] added immensely to the beauty of the sculpture.

During this time Saint-Gaudens also came to know the artist, John La Farge, who had been engaged to decorate Trinity Church being built by H. H. Richardson in Boston. Recalling Saint-Gaudens' work on the church, Mrs. Oliver Emerson (sister of Mrs. Saint-Gaudens) wrote to Homer Saint-Gaudens:

> Your father. . . painted the seated figure with an open book, which is called St. James, in the lunette in the half of the church towards Boylston Street, not far from the main entrance, and worked on the figure of St. Paul, the large figure at one side of the chancel arch. I have an idea that he regarded this trial at fresco painting somewhat in the light of an experiment.[90]

---

89. Charles C. Baldwin, Stanford White, 316-326. Works on which White and Saint-Gaudens collaborated -

1881, "Farragut" Statue, Pedestal, Madison Square, N. Y. C.
1885, Church of the Ascension, Chancel, with Saint-Gaudens, La Farge, & Maitland Armstrong.
1887, Standing "Lincoln," Pedestal, Chicago, Ill.
1891, "Adams Memorial," Frame, Washington, D. C.
1894, "Logan" equestrian statue, Pedestal, Chicago, Ill.
"Garfield" Monument, Pedestal, Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, Pa.
"Peter Cooper" Memorial, Cooper Institute, N. Y. C.
1906, "Phillips Brooks" Monument, Boston, Mass.
1907, Seated "Lincoln." White had prepared the architectural plan prior to his death.

90. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 165.

After the work on Trinity Church, Saint-Gaudens collaborated with La Farge in the execution of sculpture for the tomb for Le Roy King of Newport, Rhode Island. The sculptor's work on the King sculpture was mostly carried out in Paris during the 1877-1880 period.[91]

Saint-Gaudens strongly felt that his intimacy with La Farge had been a spur to higher endeavor, equal to, if not greater than any other he had received from outside sources.[92] La Farge encouraged Saint-Gaudens to undertake bas-reliefs. When he saw some casts Saint-Gaudens had made of the Pisani reliefs of the fifteenth century, he commented encouragingly: "I don't see why you should not do as well." This statement, and the attitude it reflected on the part of La Farge,prompted Saint-Gaudens to remark when he was near the end of his life: "This is no doubt the reason I have modeled so many medallions since."[93] Credit for the introduction of low relief from the Italian Renaissance precedent to the United States goes to Saint-Gaudens and Olin Warner (best known for the bronze doors of the Library of Congress). While Saint-Gaudens was universally acclaimed a great artist, some critics regard his work with bas-relief more highly than they do his monumental statues.

---

91. Ibid.,1, 165.

92. Ibid., I, 161

93. Ibid., I, 62.

Through Saint-Gaudens' associations with La Farge, the sculptor became better known to prospective subjects for commissioned works. He had also made valuable contacts on his own with influential individuals — namely William M. Evarts, Montgomery Gibbs, and Edwin D. Morgan, former Governor of New York. It was Morgan who informed Saint-Gaudens that a statue of Admiral David G. Farragut was to be commissioned. This was indeed encouraging news, for Saint-Gaudens had anticipated that the Civil War hero would be commemorated by statuary and had undertaken a preliminary study of the Admiral while he (Saint-Gaudens) was still in Rome.

John A. Dix, Civil War General had directed his influence on the Farragut Committee toward Saint-Gaudens' receiving the Farragut commission. As early as March 17, 1875, Saint-Gaudens wrote Augusta Homer that he hoped to rent a studio and model a sketch of Columbus, Gutenberg, or Farragut, and on the sketch to try and get a commission. In Miss Homer's letter he noted that he planned to go to Boston and stay six weeks, the time necessary to make the sketch, then return to New York.[94]

Saint-Gaudens continued to cultivate friendships with people who could help him secure the commission. He wrote Augusta's father, in January 1876, that he had come to know Mrs. Farragut, and that he thought his chances for receiving the commission were

---

94. Ibid., I, 177.

very bright, "better in fact than they have been so far, but I will expect nothing. I have been so often and so much dissappointed that I calculate on nothing."[95]

Not only did Saint-Gaudens have the sympathy of several members of the Farragut Committee; even his chief competitor, John Quincy Adams Ward, the "big sculptor," worked in his behalf. In June of 1876, Saint-Gaudens wrote Ward that he was about to make a proposal for the Farragut, and that he thought his chances would be better if he could use Ward as a reference, for Ward at that time had become unquestionably the dean of sculptors.

Saint-Gaudens worked hard to win the commission for it would be his first big opportunity to prove himself. In writing to his fiancee's mother in May 1876, he said: "I have not allowed the slightest or most remote chance for my bringing influence to bear to escape me. I cannot think of a step that I have neglected to take. As far as I can see I am in a very fair way to have the commission, and events would have to take a very unusual and unexpected turn for it to be otherwise."[96]

The long awaited decision by the Farragut Committee as to who would receive the commission came in December, 1876. Despite

---

95. Ibid., I, 180-181. He also told Mr. Homer that Tiffany's had paid him one hundred dollars for four little medallions.

96. Ibid., I, 169.

Saint-Gaudens close association with Governor Dix and influence exerted by individuals such as Governor Morgan, he almost lost the commission. The committee felt that an older and better established sculptor, namely John Q. A. Ward, rather than the 28-year old unknown sculptor, should receive the commission. When the first vote was taken, Ward received six and Saint-Gaudens received five. Ward declined the offer and generously used his influence toward having the work given to the younger sculptor. This act of kindness on the part of a well-established sculptor later accented Saint-Gaudens' desire to assist young and promising sculptors get on their feet.[97] Aside from assurance of a means of making a living for the sculptor, the Farragut commission satisfied Saint-Gaudens' prospective father-in-law, Thomas J. Homer, that the sculptor could support a wife. Thus, having received one important commission, Saint-Gaudens was granted permission by Mr. Homer to marry his daughter Augusta.[98]

The marriage of the promising sculptor to the daughter of a well-to-do Roxbury, Massachusetts family was a big occasion.

---

97. Ibid., I, 170.

98. Ibid., I, 174. Saint-Gaudens had worked all of one spring on a statue of Charles Sumner for the purpose of presenting it in competition for a commission. After spending valuable time and exhausting his finances he was dismayed to find he had been passed over completely by the committee. This experience caused him to refuse to enter further competitions, with the exception of the Farragut competition. This explains his anxiety over its outcome.

The wedding took place in Augusta's home at 59 Winthrop Street at seven o'clock on the evening of June 4, 1877.[99] Sixty-three persons signed a scroll[100] signifying that they had witnessed the ceremony. Saint-Gaudens recalled that he and his new bride came back to New York on June 5 and on the following morning sailed for Liverpool, England. From there they proceeded to Paris, where Saint-Gaudens hoped to execute the Farragut statue.[101]

---

99. Wedding invitation from Augusta Homer to future brother-in-law, Oliver Emerson, May 25, 1877. In Saint-Gaudens Collection, Dartmouth College. Cited hereinafter as Saint-Gaudens Collection.

100. This scroll is in Saint-Gaudens Collection.

101. Saint-Gaudens' Reminiscences, 1, 163.

The old school of academicians, represented mainly by the National Academy of Design, did not see eye to eye with the new school of artists who, for the most part, had been trained in Europe. The clash was especially apparent at the time of the Centennial Exhibitions (1875-1876). Many of the newcomers were overshadowed by the power and prestige of the academicians,[103] and significant new works were not favorably reviewed. Thus, it was in rebellion against the old order that the new society was formed. Saint-Gaudens was prompted to assist in the founding of the new organization by the rejection by the Academy of one of his unfinished studies.[104] It was with an attitude of disillusionment, then, that Saint-Gaudens left for Paris on June 6, 1877.

Saint-Gaudens' concern after arriving in Paris and locating a studio was to execute quickly the sculpture work for St. Thomas' Church in New York City, being decorated by John La Farge. When

---

103. "The Academy was so conservative that there was no possibility of progress or change under its influence. The exhibition of 1875, from which almost all the younger artists were excluded, was stigmatized in the newspapers as 'commonplace' and retrogressive.' The discontent increased... until in 1877 it reached its culmination." Cox, Old Masters and New, 266-269.

104. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 184. Also see Gilder, Letters. 80-81.

CHAPTER V

Again in Paris, 1877-1880

For some time prior to his return to Paris, Saint-Gaudens had been discouraged about the state of sculpture in the United States where the traditionalists remained in control. He felt that the Paris community of artists would be more conducive to individuality and creativity. Before he left for Paris he expressed his dissatisfaction with the status quo by joining other young artists and interested persons, among them Mrs. Helena deKay Gilder (wife of Richard Watson Gilder who became editor of Century Magazine), Walter Shirlaw, Wyatt Eaton, and Richard W. Gilder in founding the American Art Association, later known as the Society of American Artists.[102]

---

102. Rosamond Gilder, ed., Letters of Richard Watson Gilder, (Boston, 1916), 80-81. The young artists of the new school wanted to break with the prevailing dead-alive conventionalism, abandon the stilted imitation of third-rate Roman antiques, and turn to a study of the works of the Italian Renaissance. They felt that only in the sculpture of the Renaissance could one find nature represented as she appeared to them. The objective in sculptured portraits should be the expression of the individuality of the person portrayed in such a way as to reveal a penetrating imagination that had gotten to the heart of the individual. See also Cox, Old Masters and New, 266-269.

that was finished he could get to work on the "Farragut." With complete devotion of his time to "Angels Adoring the Cross" in high relief, Saint-Gaudens could report to La Farge on September 20, 1877, that he had just shipped the completed relief.[105]

It appears that Augustus did nd become involved immediately in the production of the "Farragut" because early in 1878, he and his wife went to Rome, where their romance had blossomed several years previously. On January 30, the sculptor wrote La Farge that he and Mrs. Saint-Gaudens had been in Rome for a good while: "Italy has a greater charm than ever, and I should not be at all surprised if I remained here all the time I am doing my work."[106] He had finished the statuary for St. Thomas', but he had yet to complete the "Farragut"; the sculpture for the LeRoy King tomb; a statue representing Captain Robert R. Randall for Sailor's Snug Harbor, Staten Island; and figures for the tomb of Edwin D. Morgan. He managed to make several study sketches of the"Farragut", but his stay in the "Eternal City" was too short to allow him to make significant accomplishments while there.

---

105. Saint-Gaudens to La Farge, September 20, 1877, Saint-Gaudens' Reminiscences, I, 199. This relief was destroyed by fire on Aug. 8, 1908. Ibid., I, 197.

106. Ibid., I, 209.

After a siege of fever while in Rome, Saint-Gaudens found it necessary to return to the French capital. By June 12, 1878, he was well established in a studio at 49 Rue Notre Dame des Champs, had already done extensive work on the King tomb, and had again taken up the "Farragut". He had also assumed the additional responsibility of assisting Maitland Armstrong in handling and judging the American exhibit at the Paris Exhibition of 1878.[107]

During the time of the Exhibition, Armstrong, as well as architect Stanford White, Augustus' brother Louis, and Augusta's sister Eugenie, shared the Saint-Gaudenses' apartment on the fourth floor of 3 Rue Herschel. Berthe, the Saint-Gaudenses' French maid also lived with them.[108] It was while White was staying with the Saint-Gaudenses that he made his studies for the base of the 'Farragut."

---

107. Ibid., I, 210, 251. See also Armstrong, Day Before Yesterday, 78. Saint-Gaudens became acquainted with Armstrong in Rome in 1872. Part of the time during 1875-1878, he shared a New York studio with Armstrong. Saint-Gaudens had accepted by March 1878, an invitation to assist with the Exhibition. This suggests that it was as early as March that he knew that he was returning to Paris and that it was a combination of the lure of the Exhibition and the after-effects of the fever that caused him to return.
Salon closed in fall of 1878 - Ltr. Mrs. Oliver Emerson to Homer Saint-Gaudens, written at the time Homer was compiling the Reminiscences. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 258.

108. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 244-258.

The visiting architect did not remain in Paris during the entirety of his European visit. In writing to his mother in November, 1878, White commented: "How fortunate that fate permits me to return to Paris for a day or two every three or four weeks. I should die if I did not. I hug St. G. like a bear every time I see him. His wife is very kind, asks me to dinner, mends my clothes and does all manner of things."[109] In a subsequent letter to his mother, he indicated that he planned to spend Christmas of 1878 with the Saint-Gaudenses:

> If you imagine that I am going to pass a solemn and solitary Christmas, you are greatly mistaken. I have been asked to Christmas dinner by Mr. St.G., and I expect to go under the table with St. G., Bunce [William G. Bunce, landscape artist] and Dr. Shipt [Dr. Henry Shiff] about two in the morning. I shall then spend a week in Paris, working on the Morgan monument.[110]

The associations between Saint-Gaudens and White were mutually rewarding, not only from a professional standpoint, but also from one of close friendship. On various occasions the two took trips together, sharing common interests and each challenging the genius in the other. One such trip was that taken through Southern France with a third party in the form of White's red-headed partner, Charles F. McKim, during the summer of 1878.[111] To commemorate the occasion, Saint-Gaudens, with his usual wit and good humor, executed a bronze medallion caricature of the three.

---

109. Baldwin, Stanford White, 89

110. Stanford White to his mother, Dec. 12, 1878. Baldwin, Stanford White, 94.

111. Baldwin, Stanford White, 76-77. The trio left Paris on Aug. 2, 1878.

While in Paris, Saint-Gaudens exhibited the "Farragut" in one stage of completion, along with medallions of Francis Millet, Henry Shiff, William Bunce, William Picknell, and George Maynard. [This was in the Paris Salon of 1880.] In September, 1879, Saint-Gaudens wrote his friend Maitland Armstrong that the "Farragut" was finished, "or nearly so, at least it will be cast on Saturday — and then the enlarging will take but a short time."[112] Three months later he wrote to John La Farge: "My Farragut will soon be finished and then, when the bronze is cast, I return. I am completely "abruti" [so wrapped up in the execution of the work that he could no longer view it objectively], I haven't the faintest idea of the merit of what I've produced. . . . I am certainly very anxious to get your opinion of the whole work. . . . I feel the necessity of your influence more than anyone I know."[113] Saint-Gaudens noted that he had the "Farragut" cast in Paris by a man named Gruet, but the first attempt failed, so that it needed to be done over.[114]

Life in Paris for the Saint-Gaudenses was not all work, because they frequented the opera houses and theatres and entertained in their apartment. One important visitor was the American humorist, Samuel Clemens. The chief delight after meals was to watch "the number of black cigars which 'Mark Twain' would consume before someone gave the signal that it was time to go home by asking the question, 'What is art?'"[115]

---

112. Armstrong, Day Before Yesterday, 284.

113. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 267.

114. Ibid., I, 268.

115. Ibid., I, 262

CHAPTER VI

An Accomplished Sculptor Comes Home

Early June, 1880, found the Saint-Gaudenses back in New York.[116] Soon Augustus leased a studio in the Sherwood Building at Fifty-Seventh Street and Sixth Avenue [58 West Fifty-Seventh Street], and began work upon the study of the Robert Richard Randall Monument from the model he had made in Paris. Several Portrait medallions, including those of Mr. Samuel Gray Ward, the sons of Prescott Butler, and Miss Sarah Redwood Lee, were completed at the Fifty-Seventh Street studio.[117] The "Farragut," finished, for all practical purposes, while Saint-Gaudens was in Paris, had to wait until May 1881, for its unveiling in New York City's Madison Square.

It was readily apparent that Saint-Gaudens was now an accomplished sculptor. His firm place in American sculpture was established almost immediately with the unveiling of the "Farragut." It proved to be a landmark in Saint-Gaudens' life and "in the history of American sculpture; it did so much to further the humanization of a national art."[118]

---

116. Stanford White to Saint-Gaudens, May 8, 1880. White wrote to his friend: "I am devilish glad you are coming home soon. Let me see: you are going to sail on the 26th." Baldwin, Stanford White, 148.

117. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 268-69.

118. D. A. B. XVI, 297-98.

Praises received from fellow-artists, such as Maitland Armstrong, were especially heartening to Saint-Gaudens. Armstrong, who was such a power in the American art world that a word from him represented the praise of many artists, wrote Saint-Gaudens regarding his impressions of the "Farragut": "I haven't felt so about anything for years ... . I think in a little while . . . it will dawn upon you that you have 'builded better than you knew.' You have gone beyond art, and reached out and touched the universal heart of man."[119] The "Farragut" was praised not only for the fine work of sculpture but for Stanford White's pedestal which blended so well with the statuary. Saint-Gaudens was known for the enormous influence he had in getting sculptors to emphasize the architectural setting of commemorative figures.

Saint-Gaudens' friend and fellow artist, Kenyon Cox, said that in the "Farragut" there was no conventionalism, romanticism or melodrama, but a revelation of the man "in his habit as he lived, cool, ready, determined, standing firmly, feet apart, upon his swaying deck, a sailor, a gentleman, and a hero."[120] Saint-Gaudens' works, and the "Farragut" in particular, resembled those of the Renaissance not in a "copying" sense, but in character. Cox, considering the essence of the Renaissance spirit to be individuality,

---

119. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 265-266.

120. Kenyon Cox, Old Masters and New.

felt that nothing in Saint-Gaudens was more like the great artists of the fifteenth century than this quality of originality and individuality. A further characteristic of the Renaissance, indicative in Saint-Gaudens, Cox felt, was the personal note which he expressed. In the "Farragut" for example, the manly directness and straightforward simplicity are among the most readily visible Renaissance characteristics.[121]

While the "Farragut" did not make Saint-Gaudens a rich man, it assured him of his future financial security. No longer would he have to cut at least one cameo a month to help out on expenses while a work was in progress, as he had found it so necessary to do while working on the "Farragut."[122] The success of the "Farragut" and other commissions made it possible for Saint-Gaudens to move to a larger studio at 148 West Thirty-Sixth Street, where he remained for sixteen years. The extent of his productivity during this period is reflected in the long list of works noted in Appendix A.

The Saint-Gaudenses did not take a house in New York immediately upon their return from Paris for Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, expecting her first child in September, went to live with her parents in Roxbury - a Boston suburb. Augustus and his brother Louis, who was assisting in the studio, used as their living quarters, a room adjoining the sculptor's studio.[123]

---

121. Ibid, 277.

122. James Earle Fraser, "Essay on Saint-Gaudens," Saint-Gaudens' Collection, Dartmouth College. Cited hereinafter as Fraser, "Essay."

123. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 271.

Augustus and "Gussie," as the sculptor called his wife, were thrilled with the expectancy of a new member of the household. Writing to Augustus from her parents' home in August of 1880, "Gussie" noted: "I have commenced on some little clothes for the B[aby] and I enjoy working on them very much – you have no idea how I love the little thing and my husband."[124] "Gus", as he was called by his wife and close friends, and "Gussie" were blessed by the birth of a son on September 26, 1880. The young son was named Homer Saint-Gaudens in honor of his grandfather, Thomas J. Homer, (who died on Christmas Day, 1880), and for one of Saint-Gaudens' dearest friends, Dr. Henry Saint.[125]

The long separation experienced by the Saint-Gaudenses from June to late September 1880, appeared to be the beginning of a succession of extended absences from each other.[126] During August and September of 1885, Saint-Gaudens and Stanford White took a lengthy trip to the Southwest to visit White's brother Richard, who was a mining engineer living in the New Mexico Territory. Stanford and Augustus later went on to San Francisco; Tacoma, Washington; and Helena, Montana.

---

124. Augusta Saint-Gaudens to Augustus Saint-Gaudens, August 4, 1880, Saint-Gaudens Collection.

125. Handwritten note by Mrs. Saint-Gaudens' sister, Eugenie Emerson, in Saint-Gaudens Collection.

126. Mrs. Saint-Gaudens was in Halifax, Nova Scotia from late June or early July, 1884, until October 15 of that year. During this

The famed American architect, Cass Gilbert,[127] recalled that he journeyed with Saint-Gaudens and White from Helena to St. Paul, Minnesota, and that during the three days he was with Saint-Gaudens the sculptor told him in strict confidence that he was hurrying on to Chicago to close a contract with the committee there for a statue of Lincoln which should, he hoped, be the greatest work that had come to him.[128] The statue was made possible by a bequest of $40,000 in the will of Eli Bates, a successful Chicago businessman who died in 1881. Saint-Gaudens received the award for the statue in 1883.[129]

---

separation and others, the Saint-Gaudenses wrote each other almost daily, but from what appeared to be a sense of duty, at least from Augustus' point of view, rather than out of desire. Mrs. Saint-Gaudens seemed unduly upset if she did not receive the expected letter and Augustus was usually overly concerned with explaining why he had not written.

127. Among the significant structures designed by Gilbert were the Customs House and the Woolworth Building in New York City, and the U. S. Supreme Court Building, Washington, D. C.

128. Frederick L. Bullard, Lincoln in Marble and Bronze, (New Brunswick, 1952), 78-79.

129. Ibid.

CHAPTER VII

A Home in the Country

During the summer of 1885, Augustus Saint-Gaudens discovered a "new world" — a home in the country. As he said, he had been a person of streets and sidewalks all of his life, but he always had enjoyed the out-of-doors. As a young cameo-cutter apprentice he had delighted in the hunting trips with his employer, Avet, and during his student days in Paris and Rome, he took long walking trips for the exposure to nature they afforded.

Having achieved an income which could afford him the luxury of a summer place, considered essential by those with sufficient means, and after much urging from Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, Augustus began shopping, in the spring of 1885, for a place to escape the heat of New York City during the summer. His good friend, Charles C. Beaman,[130] a prominent lawyer with the New York firm of Evarts, Choates, and Beaman, had a house in the Cornish hills of New Hampshire which he was

---

130. Beaman had married Hettie Evarts, daughter of William Evarts, an early benefactor of Saint-Gaudens who had a summer place in Windsor, Vermont, across the Connecticut River from Cornish, in New Hampshire. Beaman had established a considerable estate by buying up the farms which adjoined his "Blow-Me-Down" property near "Blow-Me-Down" Pond.

confident would provide a perfect place for the sculptor and his family to spend their summers. Located approximately 200 miles north of New York City, Beaman's place offered a cool haven where the sculptor could work or relax.

Beaman, hoping the Saint-Gaudenses would purchase one of his farms, invited them to Cornish, not a village in the strict sense but a scattering of houses in western Sullivan County, to look over the former William Mercer property as a prospective "Shangri-la." Saint-Gaudens was not impressed when he first saw "Huggins Folly." This century-old house supposedly had served as a tavern on the stage road between Windsor, Vermont and Meriden, New Hampshire. The building appeared "so forbidding and relentless" on that dark, rainy day in April, 1885, that one "might have imagined a skeleton half-hanging out of the window, shrieking and dangling in the gale, with the sound of clanking bones."[131] The city-bred sculptor was all for fleeing at once and returning to his beloved sidewalks of New York, whereupon Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, seeing the future of sunny days, detained him until Mr. Beaman agreed to rent the house for a low price for as long as Saint-Gaudens wished.

---

131. Saint-Gaudens, Reminscences, I, 312.

Beaman had offered to sell the house to Saint-Gaudens for five hundred dollars, the price he had paid for it in July, 1884, when he bought it from William W. Mercer.[132] Mr. Beaman, knowing that Saint-Gaudens was working on a statue of Lincoln, persuadingly told him that there were "plenty of Lincoln-shaped men up there." Thus, with Mrs. Saint-Gaudens' interest and Beaman's powerful persuasion, Augustus relented and agreed to rent the place for the summer of 1885.

The Saint-Gaudens permanent residence was a rented place at 22 Washington Place, New York City.[133] Later, they rented a house at 51 West 45th Street. This house must have been a fairly good

---

132. Ibid. I, 311, and Sullivan County (New Hampshire) Land Records, Deed Book 119, p. 403.

133. Alice W. Shurcliff, ed., Lively Days: Some Memoirs of Margaret Homer Shurcliff, (Taipei, 1965), 87. Cited hereafter as Shurcliff, Lively Days. Margaret Shurcliff, niece of Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, recalled visiting in the Saint-Gaudenses' Washington Square [Place] house when she was about ten years old. She had vividly remembered that she and Homer climbed to the top of the Madison Square Tower. The "Diana" had been installed. So, it was at least 1892.

Mrs. Eugenie Emerson wrote Homer Saint-Gaudens, . . - noting that Saint-Gaudens lived in Washington Place - referred to furnishings used in Paris and in N. Y. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 58.

Homer Saint-Gaudens said the New York home was in Washington Place and Forty-fifth Street for many years. Ibid., 219.

one because by May 2, 1892, Saint-Gaudens had signed a five-year lease, at $1800.00 per year.[134] The fact that he could pay such a high rent suggests that by then he was doing very well financially. The Saint-Gaudenses had, until 1900, a New York City address. Most probably it was the West 45th Street house.

While the summer of 1885 was a rewarding one for Augustus' work, it brought unhappiness to the family. Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, whose health was always delicate, was pregnant with her second child. Complications arising from this caused Augustus to have concern about his wife's going to Cornish. These complications were aggravated by one of the frequent clashes which occurred between the two temperamental artists[135] as described by Augustus in a letter he wrote to a Doctor Emerson in June, 1885:

> Gussie trotted out her active old war horse [Augustus] the other day and with champing of bit and flying of mane proceeded to pack up — things did hum as you can imagine — now she is down with what Dr. Lee said was pretty-near a miscarriage. The war horse is stabled and the Old 'WorryBones' horse has been trotted out instead — only the mare 'worry bones' has a mate now and that's me. I'm a little nervous about the trip to Windsor and the possibility of a pull back such as this.

---

134. See correspondence & lease between Charlotte W. Throop and Augustus Saint-Gaudens in Saint-Gaudens Collection. This correspondence reveals that Mrs. Throop was not a very cooperative landlady. Saint-Gaudens had considerable difficulty getting her to repair the building. For example, when the plaster fell, he had to have it repaired on his own.

135. Augusta Homer was, herself, an art student in Rome when she met Augustus. She seemed not to have done very much creative work, but made good copies of classical paintings, some of which are in storage at the Saint-Gaudens house.

Augustus inquired if Dr. Emerson knew of a good doctor around Windsor, because "Gussie" would be up there without him for a short while. He went on to say: 'Gussie says to haul out the map. . . . The arrival is expected about December 1st."[136]

The feared loss of the foetus came after the above letter was written. Sometime in 1885, Augustus wrote to Gussie's sister, Elizabeth Nichols: "Its all over. . . . She knew nothing whatever of the operation which lasted more than an hour."[137]

Augustus' first summer and part of the fall at Cornish were a productive season. He enjoyed work at Cornish so intensely that he waited until November to return to New York. In the one-hundred-year-old barn he made sketches for his standing "Lincoln" and for a seated "Lincoln," (his original idea). He also worked on the monument to Dr. Henry Bellows for the Church of All Souls, New York; and completed the bas-relief of the children of Jacob H. Schiff. Assisting him in his work that summer and fall were Frederick MacMonnies, Philip Martiny, and Louis Saint-Gaudens.[138]

---

136. Augustus Saint-Gaudens to a Dr. Emerson, June 10, 1885. Written from 22 Washington Place, New York. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

137. Saint-Gaudens to Elizabeth Nichols, n. d., Saint-Gaudens Collection.

138. MacMonnies, a grand nephew of Benjamin West, was employed as a studio assistant by Saint-Gaudens in 1880, when MacMonnies was only sixteen years old. He remained with the sculptor for five years, in the meantime studying at the National Academy of Design and at the Art Students League. Late in 1885 he went to Paris to study with Falguière and Mercié at the École des Beaux Arts. He returned to New York in

Work on the standing "Lincoln" was Saint-Gaudens' principal concern during his first summer in Cornish. After all, hadn't Beaman assured him that there were Lincoln-shaped men in the vicinity of Cornish? Just across the Connecticut River, Saint-Gaudens found his Lincoln model — "An angular giant, exactly of Lincoln's height."[139]

According to an account written in 1931, in which the writer relates an interview with Mr. G. E. Knowlton of Sycamore, Illinois, otherwise known as "Deacon Morse," the model was Mr. Langdon Morse of Windsor, Vermont. Knowlton, who had lived in Windsor at the time the standing "Lincoln" was being produced, said that Morse was "6' 4" — same as Lincoln." He also said that he, Knowlton, was engaged by Saint-Gaudens to do the photography connected with the execution of the "Lincoln" and that he had signed an agreement with the sculptor not to produce photographs of the statue.[140]

1887 to work for Saint-Gaudens, remaining there until 1889, when he again went to Paris. Albert Ten Eyck Gardner, American Sculpture, A Catalogue of the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, (New York, 1965), 82, and Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 6. MacMonnies' popularity as a monument maker was great and his output prolific. Mather, Morey, and Henderson, The American Spirit in Art, 204.

Martiny came to work for Saint-Gaudens early in the 1880's when Saint-Gaudens was superintending the wood-carving for the house of Cornelius Vanderbilt II. Born in Alsace, France in 1858, Martiny was mainly an architectural decorator. He did considerable work on Saint-Gaudens' "Puritan" (1887). He established a reputation for himself at the Columbian Exposition (Chicago World's Fair), 1893, and did considerable work for the St. Louis (Louisiana Purchase Exposition) World's Fair, 1904. D. A. B., XII, 199.

139. Bullard, Lincoln in Marble and Bronze, 80.

140. Frank E. Stevens, "The Story of a Statue," Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society, April 1, 1931, 20-25.

The model, it is said, provided the statue with its classic shoulders and stalwart form. For Lincoln's head and hands, however, Saint-Gaudens relied upon the life mask and casts made by Leonard W. Volk in the spring of 1860.[141]

Volk's life mask of Lincoln's face and his casts of Lincoln's hands were given by the sculptor to his son Stephen Douglas Volk, a close relative of the "Little Giant." For more than twenty-five years they were as good as lost to the world of art and history until they were "discovered" by Richard Watson Gilder, Editor-in-Chief of Century Magazine, during the winter of 1885-1886. In a letter to Homer Saint-Gaudens in 1909, Gilder recalled the discovery of the Volk mask and casts:

> In the winter of 1886 I was calling on Wyatt Eaton, [portraitist - well known for his portraits of Lincoln, Longfellow, Emerson, and Bryant] who was then living on the south side of Washington Square, and on his table I was amazed to notice a mask of Lincoln. I had never heard of it, in fact, at this time it was quite unknown. I asked him where he got it, and he said that Douglas Volk had given it to him in Paris, it having been taken by Mr. Volk's father, the sculptor, Leonard Volk, who also took Lincoln's hands. ... I thereupon got up a little committee, consisting of Thomas B. Clark, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, R. W. Gilder, and Edwin Davis. Our circular, I notice, was dated, New York, February 1, 1886. We raised by subscription enough money to purchase the original cast, which we presented to the National Museum at Washington, where it has ever since been on exhibition. Including the committee there were thirty-three subscribers. Among the names I note those of Henry Irving, Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, J. Q. A. Ward, and John Hay. Every

---

141. Donald C. Durman, He Belongs to the Ages: The Statues of Abraham Lincoln (Ann Arbor, 1951), 3. The life mask of Lincoln's face was made in April, 1860. The casts of the hands were made on May 21, 1860, the Sunday following Lincoln's nomination for the Presidency. The right hand was holding a round stick 5" long and the left hand was loosely clenched.

> subscriber had a cast, either in plaster or in bronze. Your father took charge of the casting, and those in bronze contain a statement including the names of the subscribers.[142]

Saint-Gaudens debated as to whether he should portray Lincoln as the head of state or as "Lincoln, the Man." He decided to show him as "the Man," while in his second statue of Lincoln, essentially completed by 1907, he portrayed him as "the Head of State." As with all of his statues, Saint-Gaudens changed the standing "Lincoln" many times before he settled upon the final pose. While he was essentially his own idea man, he often listened to suggestions from his creative friends. One of these friends, R. W. Gilder, loaded up Saint-Gaudens with books on Lincoln and began suggesting how to depict the martyred President. Gilder credits himself with having influenced Saint-Gaudens in lowering Lincoln's head so as to make him appear more prophetic — more the dreamer.[143]

---

142. Gilder, Letters of Richard Watson Gilder, 148-149. The Smithsonian Institution has the life masks of face and hands and a bronze copy of each - dated New York, 1886, and sent to the Smithsonian in 1888.

The writer of this study conferred with Mrs. Margaret B. Klapthor, Curator in the Division of Political History, Smithsonian Institution, on Feb. 16, 1967. Mrs. Klapthor confirmed that the Smithsonian had received the mask and hands and inscribed bronzes in 1888 — and that the bronzes by Saint-Gaudens were cast in 1886. Photographs of the Saint-Gaudens bronzes of Volk's casts of Lincoln's hands are on pages 6 & 7 of Durman's He belongs to the Ages.

143. Ibid., 149, and Bullard, Lincoln in Marble and Bronze, 76. Mrs. Klapthor of the Smithsonian and Mr. Lloyd Dunlop of the Library of Congress agreed with the writer of this study that there was never a death mask of Lincoln. Plaster copies of the Lincoln hands were listed as sales items 14318 and 14319, at $1.00 each, in a 1901 catalogue. See, P. P. Caproni and Brothers, Catalogue of Plaster Cast Reproductions from the Antique, Medieval and Modern Sculpture and for Sale by P. P. Caproni and Brother, (New York, 1901), 246.

Saint-Gaudens later told one of his assistants, James Earle Fraser, that the germ of his conception for his "Lincoln" derived from the long-past day when as an adolescent he left his cameo lathe, ran down the stairs and into lower Fifth Avenue for a sight of the President-elect. Saint-Gaudens remembered that "Lincoln stood tall in the carriage; his dark uncovered head bent in contemplative acknowledgement of the waiting people; and the broadcloth of his black coat shone rich and silken in the sunlight."[144]

Saint-Gaudens' finished work, cast in bronze by the Henry Bonnard Bronze Company, New York, was unveiled in Chicago's Lincoln Park on a rainy October 22, 1887. When the fifteen-year-old son of Robert Todd Lincoln, Abraham Lincoln II, removed the flag draping the tall figure of his famous grandfather, "Lincoln, the Man", was immediately hailed as "the greatest portrait statue in the United States."[145] The exedra, designed by Stanford White, reflected a genius in the architect that matched that of the sculptor in creating his masterpiece.

Lorado Taft, sculptor and writer of national prominence, wrote of Saint-Gaudens' "Lincoln" in a most praiseworthy manner:

> Lincoln, with his firmly planted feet, his erect body and his square shoulders, stands as a man accustomed to face the people and sway them at his will, while the slightly drooped head and the quiet, yet not passive, hands express the meditativeness, the self-control, the conscientiousness

---

144. Fraser, "Essay on Saint-Gaudens," Saint-Gaudens Collection.

145. Durman, He Belongs to the Ages, 54.

> of the philosopher who reflected well before he spoke, of the moralist who realized the full responsibilities of utterance. The dignity of the man and his simplicity; his goodness and courage; his intellectual confidence and his homely rigor of manner and the underlying sadness of his spirit... all these may be read in the wonderfully real, yet ideal portrait which the sculptor has created.

Taft went on to say that the statue's "majestic melancholy" was beyond his power to describe and that it had affected him and countless others more than any other statue ever had. He noted:

> It does not seem like bronze; there is something almost human, or - shall I say? — super-human about it. One stands before it and feels himself in the very presence of America's soul.[146]

An indication of the impact which Saint-Gaudens' Lincoln had on those who viewed it can be represented by the reaction of one-time Secretary of the Interior, Franklin K. Lane, who noted that he never passed through Chicago "without visiting the statue of Lincoln by Saint-Gaudens and standing before it for a moment uncovered."[147]

The statue was regarded so highly that a full size replica was presented to the British people in 1920, to celebrate the one hundred years of peace, with the exception of disputes over the Oregon Country and other boundary disputes, since the War of 1812. The centennial

---

146. Durman, He Belongs to the Ages, 54. Durman quoted from Lorado Taft, "American Sculpture and Sculptors," The Chautauquan, XXII, No. 4, Jan., 1896.

147. Bullard, Lincoln in Bronze and Marble, 182.

of the Treaty of Ghent came in December, 1914; thus, the American gesture of good will was somewhat late in its fulfillment. Nevertheless, the copy of Saint-Gaudens' "Lincoln" in Chicago's Lincoln Park was unveiled on July 28, 1920, in the "Canning Enclosure almost under the shadow of the Houses of Parliament and facing the entrance to the north transept of Westminster Abbey."[148]

In a most impressive ceremony, the statue was presented by the American Architect Cass Gilbert and accepted by Britain's Prime Minister Lloyd George. The ceremonies ended with the Deans and choir of Westminster Abbey filing out and singing "The Battle Hymn of the Republic."[149]

Presentation of the statue had precipitated a controversy because the British had already accepted a statue of Lincoln by George Gray Barnard. The Barnard statue was not very complimentary of Lincoln, and Robert Todd Lincoln objected strongly to its being considered the official gift of the United States. Lincoln's son had deposited an ample sum of money with a New York banker to meet the cost of a Saint-Gaudens replica, which was to be sponsored by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The squabble was settled when the Barnard statue was placed in Manchester, England.[150]

---

148. Ibid, 84.

149. Durman, He Belongs to the Ages, 55.

150. Bullard, Lincoln in Marble and Bronze, 84.

While the Parliament Square replica is the only full size replica of the Lincoln Park "Lincoln," reductions of this statue exist in several places. For instance, there are reductions of the Saint-Gaudens' standing "Lincoln" in the Harvard University Library, and in the Library of Lincoln Memorial University, Harrogate, Tennessee.[151] A reduction was given to the Irish Free State in 1937 by Cyril McCormack in the name of his father, the celebrated tenor.[152] A replica of the head and shoulders of the Lincoln Park statue, was presented to the Hall of Fame of New York University by the Union League Club of Chicago on May 22, 1923. It was unveiled by Lincoln's granddaughter, Mrs. May Lincoln Isham, daughter of Robert Todd Lincoln.[153]

In the production of the standing "Lincoln", Saint-Gaudens discovered that country living was conducive to productivity and contentment. The peace and quiet of the country allowed him to work long, undisturbed hours. As time passed, he became increasingly interested in buying "Huggins Folly," the retreat he almost rejected in 1885. The sculptor noted that he had done such a lot of work,

---

151. Ibid., 5

152. Bullard, Lincoln in Marble and Bronze, 15.

153. Durman, He Belongs to the Ages, 96. Lincoln was elected to the Hall of Fame in 1900.

and was so enchanted with the life and scenery there, that he told Mr. Beaman that, if his original offer to sell the place for $500 was still open, he would purchase it. Much to the sculptor's dismay, Beaman replied that he preferred not to sell the place as it had developed in a way far beyond his expectations, and as he thought it his duty to reserve it for his children."

Beaman proposed that Saint-Gaudens continue to rent as long as he wished under the same liberal conditions. But the sculptor, who had become so attracted to the house and the life there that he had spent considerable money on fixing up the place, was not inclined to take lightly Beaman's new proposal. Furthermore, many of Saint-Gaudens' friends had bought homes in the surrounding areas, making the place he was renting even more desirable to buy. Finally, Saint-Gaudens explained to Beaman that he could not continue to rent, and that he must sell to him, or he would look elsewhere for "green fields and pastures new." The result was that for a certain amount of money and a bronze portrait of Mr. Beaman by Saint-Gaudens, the sculptor was able to buy "Huggins Folly."[154]

On August 8, 1891, six years after first coming to Cornish, Saint-Gaudens took possession of his own place in the country. Twenty-two acres of the former William Mercer property was transferred

---

154. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 316.

to Saint-Gaudens on the above date.[155] In addition to acquiring a new owner, it received a new name — "Aspet" — after the ancestral home town of Augustus' father, in southern France.[156]

---

155. Sullivan County (New Hampshire) Deed Book, 133, p. 230.

156. Development of the estate will be presented in the "Historic Grounds Report" and alterations of the main house will be discussed in a subsequent chapter in this report.

CHAPTER VIII

The Cornish Colony

Soon after Saint-Gaudens came to Cornish a number of his friends became interested in establishing summer homes there. As a result of Saint-Gaudens' intimate acquaintanceship with a number of prominent artists and Charles C. Beaman's booming "real estate business," a colony of painters, sculptors, musicians, and writers established itself at Cornish. One of the first painters to come to Cornish was George De Forest Brush. He lived with his family in an "Indian tepee" he built on the edge of Saint-Gaudens' woods. It was located near a ravine, about five hundred yards from the house.

Another early arrival was the painter, Thomas W. Dewing. Saint-Gaudens stated in one place in his Reminiscences that Dewing came during the spring of 1886, but in a letter to Will Low from Cornish on September 16, 1885, he noted:

> Dewing is doing very little up here. It's amusing to see him on the spot, though, for he is blood of the blood and bone of the bone of the country. He falls right into everything like a duck into water. Very much as I fancy I would be in the South of France or Ireland.... He has a charming little place, much more cozy than mine, and he has bought it by making a portrait of Mrs. Beaman in payment.[157]

---

157. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 317, 323.

In the same letter Saint-Gaudens spoke glowingly of his new environment:

> Wells will give you an incoherent idea of how I am situated, and I wish others of you fellers could be up here, not that I'm lonely but that I think it would be so bully **for** you. I'm feeling as if I ought to have a little pot belly, that I shall become interested in horses and potatoes. . . . This is really very beautiful country and I certainly do not tire of it. The only difficulty is that I don't enjoy it enough. I stick to the studio too much.[158]

While Saint-Gaudens' friends at Cornish credited him with the the founding of the Colony, the sculptor credits Dewing's enthusiastic statements about the beauty of the area as the chief reason for so many people becoming attracted to Cornish.[159] In 1886, Dewing's intimate friend, Henry Oliver Walker — painter — bought land; the following year, Mr. Walker's friend, Mr. Charles A. Platt, — etcher — and Stephen Parrish, also an etcher, joined him.[160]

---

158. Ibid. , Saint-Gaudens was referring to Joseph Wells, associated with the architectural firm of McKim, Mead, and White.

159. An excellent article on the Colony appeared in the Springfield, Mass. Republican, June 21, 1908. There are photographs of most of the homes. The places are so well described that they could be easily located on a map of that period. Also, an article in the New York Daily Tribune, August 11, 1907 shows good photographic coverage of Cornish Colony.

160. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 316.

Certainly the Cornish environment fostered the creative spirit. Well before the death of Saint-Gaudens there had settled in Cornish a significant group of artists whose influence was so widely felt that they have been credited with bringing about a renaissance in American arts. There were such sculptors as Herbert Adams, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, his brother Louis and Louis' wife Annette, Ann Lazarus, and Frederick Remington;[161] such painters as George de Forest Brush, Kenyon and Louise Cox, Harry[162] and Lucia Fuller, Maxfield Parrish, Frances Houston, and Henry Prellwitz; the landscape architect, Frances Duncan (now Mrs. Frances Manning, who lives at 14227 Morgan Street, Baldwin Park, California); the poet, Percy Mackaye; the playwright, Louis Shipman; the noted journalists Herbert Croly, editor of the New Republic, Norman Hapgood, editor of Colliers, and Philip Littell, theater and literary critic for the New Republic; the novelist, Winston Churchill, author of Richard Carvel, Coniston, etc.; and such musicians as Otto Roth, Arthur Whiting, Conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, and the members of the Kneisel Quartet.[163]

---

161. Remington's property was on Prospect Mountain. Helen W. Henderson, "An Impression of Cornish," The Lamp: A Review and Record of Current Literature, October, 1903, 185-1967.

162. Fuller's real name was Henry Brown Fuller. He was the son of artist George Fuller.

163. The string quartet, founded by Franz Kneisel in 1885, specialized in classical music. At the age of twenty Kneisel became principal and solo violinist for the Boston Symphony Orchestra. Members of the quartet were Kneisel, first violin; Emanual Fiedler, second violin, Louis Svečenski, viola; and Fritz Giese, violincello. Kneisel and Svečenski were members for the entire thirty-two years of its existence. D. A. B., X, 461.

The Metropolitan Opera star, Louise Homer and her musical composer husband, Sidney Homer (cousin of Mrs. Saint-Gaudens) sometimes spent their summers at Cornish. Mrs. Homer rented a house one-half mile from their main house, so that her husband could compose in quietness while she "made the hills ring out" with her marvelous contralto voice![164]

A magnetic visitor to Cornish in 1904 was Ethel Barrymore, the acknowledged queen of the American stage.[165] Even a President of the United States, a few years later, was to discover in Cornish the qualities which Saint-Gaudens found there. Woodrow Wilson, facing a world crisis, came to Cornish during the summers of 1914-1915 to seek the solitude he badly needed. He used as his summer White House Winston Churchill's "Harlarkenden House."[166]

Saint-Gaudens' association with the Cornish Colony has been revealed at first hand by Frances Grimes, a long-time and favorite studio assistant. She wrote in her manuscript:

> Saint-Gaudens was not involved in the life of Cornish as the others were, then or ever when I knew him. He may have been more intimately in it before I came ...Mrs. Saint-Gaudens was unassimilated; with her extreme deafness,

---

164. Barry Faulkner, "Autobiography Manuscript", unpublished.

165. Ibid.

166. Edith Bolling Wilson, My Memoirs, (Indianapolis, 1936), 69.

> her barbaric manners and temper, she was too difficult to get on with. So she was called on and returned the calls, asked to dinner and had people for dinner, but all quite on the outside. Saint-Gaudens brought his friends from town, architects, clients and others, and was not dependent (entirely) upon the Cornish people for companions."

Miss Grimes related much good information about the Colony. She noted that

> ... most of the artists had one servant in the house and a man to take care of the horse and mow the lawn. The women did much of the gardening, and what lovely gardens they made. . . Almost everyone had a horse, but everyone walked, the only exercise taken by the artists. . . There was little talk of lack of money; only once do I remember hearing anyone say something could not be afforded . . . that was when Mrs. Dewing, at the house of a friend where there were many examples of work by that friend's husband on the walls, said, 'We cannot afford a Dewing.' The women were all proud of their husband's work; each household was more of a unit as presented to outsiders than households are now. Victorian standards were, even here, the rule when it came to what was presentable, although no one then knew they were Victorian. Unconventional they were, but also in a way formal, with chosen formality like that of their pictures.[168]

According to Miss Grimes, "Cornish was becoming known" by the turn of the century: "In New York in winter if one happened to speak of it [Cornish], the conversation was likely to halt and someone would say, 'Do you spend the summers in Cornish? Tell us about it.' It was said to be not a place but a state of mind, as Boston was said to be."[169]

---

167. Frances Grimes, unpublished manuscript dealing with her reminiscences of Saint-Gaudens, 21, Saint-Gaudens Collection.

168. Ibid., 15.

169. Ibid., 26.

Saint-Gaudens' assistant recalled that it was during the 1890's that Dr. Arthur H. Nichols and his wife, Elizabeth, who was Mrs. Saint-Gaudens' sister, spent their summers in Cornish. "Their oldest daughter, Rose, a special favorite of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, brought many people to their house and gave dinners for them. Through these guests, more than in any other way, I think, the small, esoteric Cornish became known to the outside world."[170]

Although Saint-Gaudens may not have been involved socially to the extent that other members of the Colony were involved, he had many dear friends among them. The fondness which the group had for him and their respect for his work, as well as their recognition of his contribution to the making of the Cornish Colony were demonstrated in June, 1905, in the "Masque" held by the members of the Colony to commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the coming of the Saint-Gaudenses to Cornish.[171]

---

170. Ibid., 5.

171. This fête will be discussed in detail in the Historic Grounds Report.

CHAPTER IX

"Calluses on Hand and Brain"

During the twelve years from the time Saint-Gaudens came to Cornish until he went to Paris the last time, in 1897, he executed some of his finest works. In addition to the standing "Lincoln," the following were among his highly significant works completed during that period: "The Puritan" (1887) for Springfield, Massachusetts; "Robert Louis Stevenson," bronze relief in rectangular form (1888), bronze relief in circular medallion (1887); "Mrs. Grover Cleveland," bronze medallion (1887); "General Sherman," bust, (1888); "Dr. James McCosh," bronze memorial tablet for Princeton University (1889); "Adams Monument" for tomb of Mrs. Henry Adams in Washington, D. C. (1891); "Diana," bronze, nude figure on the tower of Madison Square Garden, New York (1892); "President Garfield Monument," Fairmount Park, Philadelphia, 1895; "Memorial to Colonel Robert Gould Shaw," Boston, 1897; "General John A. Logan," bronze equestrian statue, Chicago, 1897; and "Peter Cooper," seated bronze statue, New York, 1897.

Significant, too, among his endeavors during this period was his work on the Columbian Exposition of 1893. Daniel H. Burnham, who had general responsibility for development of the Exposition, asked

Saint-Gaudens to supervise the entire sculptural aspect. He did not have the time to supervise all of the sculpture, but he agreed to serve in an advisory capacity.[172] In that capacity he watched over the modeling of the "Columbus" by Mary Lawrence[173] and Louis Saint-Gaudens. It was on Saint-Gaudens' suggestion that Daniel Chester French made the colossal statue of "Liberty" (also known as "The Republic") and that Frederick MacMonnies did his famous "Triumph of the Republic" fountain.[174]

Work on the Exposition involved such a large number of the Nation's most prominent artists (including sculptors, painters, architects, and landscape architects), that Saint-Gaudens, while at one of the Exposition's planning sessions, was prompted to remark to his colleagues: "Do you realize that this is the greatest meeting of artists since the fifteenth century?"[175] Saint-Gaudens became quite involved emotionally and intellectually in the affairs of the Exposition, despite the fact that he was unable to devote full time to it.

---

172. Lorado Taft had the major responsibility for superintending the sculptural aspect. Durman, He Belongs to the Ages, 194.

173. A former student of Augustus Saint-Gaudens. She later married the sculptor, Francois Tonetti.

174. Charles Moore, Daniel H. Burnham, Architect, Planner of Cities, (2 vols., Boston, 1921), I, 60; Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 74.

175. Larkin, Art and Life, 311.

He recalled that the days he passed there lingered in his memory like a "glorious dream," and it seemed to him that such a vision could never he recalled in its "poetic grandeur and elevation."[176]

Two sculptural efforts, in addition to "Lincoln", that interested Saint-Gaudens profoundly during the late 1880's were the bas-reliefs of Robert Louis Stevenson and the bust of General William T. Sherman. The initial work on the Stevenson reliefs and the Sherman bust were not commissioned. Stevenson, out of appreciation for the sculptor's work, did, however, give him a complete set of his own works.[177] For the most part, the sculptor undertook these projects because of his intense interest in the personalities of his subjects.

Stevenson instilled into Saint-Gaudens his first real taste for literature. With the Scottish writer's New Arabian Nights Saint-Gaudens had been "set aflame" as by few things in literature.[178] A meeting of the sculptor and the writer was arranged through Will H. Low, a good friend of both Saint-Gaudens and Stevenson. Saint-Gaudens had told Low that if "Stevenson ever crossed to this side of the water," he would consider it an honor if he would allow him to make his portrait.[179] It was only a few weeks after the sculptor made

176. Moore, Daniel H. Burnham, 62.

177. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 374.

178. Ibid., I, 373.

179. Ibid., I, 367.

the proposal to Low that Stevenson arrived in New York City, en route to the Adirondacks, where he hoped to recover from the tuberculosis that would eventually claim his life.[180]

Stevenson accepted Saint-Gaudens' offer at once, and the sculptor began the medallion at Stevenson's rooms in the Hotel Albert in late September, 1887. In a letter to Sydney Colvin, dated "end of September, 1887," Stevenson wrote concerning the portrait by Saint-Gaudens: "Your delightful letter...finds me in a New York hotel, waiting the arrival of a sculptor (St. Gaudens) who is making a medallion of yours truly and who is (to boot) one of the handsomest and nicest fellows I have seen." It appears that Stevenson was favorably impressed with Saint-Gaudens for he noted in the above-mentioned letter that he had begged Saint-Gaudens to make a medallion of himself and give him a copy.[181] In writing to novelist Henry James, from Saranac Lake, New York, in October, 1887, Stevenson noted that he had a fine time in New York, where he "saw much of and liked hugely the Fairchilds, Saint-Gaudens the sculptor, [and] Gilder of the Century." He commented further: "...[I] saw a lot of my old and admirable friend Will Low, whom I wish you knew and appreciated, [and I] was medallioned by Saint-Gaudens."[182]

---

180. Stevenson died in Samoa on December 3, 1894.

181. Sydney Colvin, ed., Letters of Robert L. Stevenson to Friends and Relatives, (2 vols., New York, 1899), II, 74.

182. Ibid., 37.

During Stevenson's brief stay in New York City, Saint-Gaudens had five sittings of two or three hours each in which he model the author's head. The sittings were given in the morning while Stevenson lay in bed propped up with pillows, and either read or was read to by Mrs. Stevenson.[183] In the late spring of 1888, during which time Stevenson had rented a house near his friend,Will Low, in Manasquan, New Jersey, Saint-Gaudens altered the medallion so as to include Stevenson's hands. The sculptor had begun the new study by using Mrs. Saint-Gaudens' hands as a model, because her long, slender fingers resembled Stevenson's.

At the time Saint-Gaudens was modeling the hands he took his eight-year old son, Homer, with him to meet the famous Scotsman. While Stevenson was posing,he wrote the young boy a letter, providing a remembrance for the lad while allowing his father to capture the attitude he wanted for the portrayal of the writer's hands. The letter, addressed to Master Homer Saint-Gaudens, reveals something of Stevenson's nature. The letter reads:

Manasquan, New Jersey, 27th May, 1888.

Dear Homer St.-Gaudens:

> Your father has brought you this day to see me, and he tells me it is his hope you may remember the occasion. I am going to do what I can to carry out his wish; and it may amuse you, years after, to see this little scrap

---

183. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 367.

> of paper and to read what I write. I must begin by testifying that you yourself took no interest whatever in the introduction, and in the most proper spirit displayed a single-minded ambition to get back to play, and this I thought an excellent and admirable point in your character. You were also, I use the past tense, with a view to the time when you shall read, rather than to that when I am writing, a very pretty boy, and, to my European views, startlingly self-possessed. My time of observation was so limited that you must pardon me if I can say no more: what else I marked, what restlessness of foot and hand, what graceful clumsiness, what experimental designs upon the furniture, was but the common inheritance of human youth. But you may perhaps like to know that the lean flushed man in bed, who interested you so little, was in a state of mind extremely mingled and unpleasant; harassed with work which he thought he was not doing well, troubled with difficulties to which you will in time succeed, and yet looking forward to no less a matter than a voyage to the South Seas and the visitation of savage and desert islands.
>
> Your father's friend,
>
> Robert Louis Stevenson.[184]

Eventually Stevenson received a copy of the medallion for his home which he had established on the Samoan Island of Upolu, following his departure from New York in the spring of 1888. On July 8, 1894, Stevenson wrote Saint-Gaudens that the medallion had arrived and had been at last triumphantly transported up the hill and placed over his smoking room mantel-piece. Complimenting the sculptor on the medallion, Stevenson said that it was considered by everyone a first-rate but flattering portrait. He noted, too,: "We have it in a very good light,

---

184. Ibid., I, 377.

which brings out the artistic merits of the god-like sculptor to great advantage. As for my opinion, I believe it to he a speaking likeness...The verses (curse the rhyme) look remarkably well."

Stevenson had asked Saint-Gaudens to gilt the 1052 letters in the inscription, consisting of a poem dedicated to Will H. Low. The poem to Low was contained in a collection of Stevenson's poems, Underwoods, published in 1887. [Stevenson, in his July, 1894, letter had asked the sculptor for the price of the gilt letters.[185]] Within six months after receiving his medallion, the renowned writer had succumbed to the tuberculosis that had been robbing him of energy for years. Stevenson died in his beloved adopted Samoa on December 3, 1894.

The Stevenson medallion brought considerable satisfaction to the sculptor. It was so popular that he produced several versions of it, one of which was for Saint Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, Scotland.[186] Reduced reproductions were made, too, of the several versions of the Stevenson. In fact, Saint-Gaudens recognized a good profit from the sale of reductions of most of his major works. A letter from Saint-Gaudens to a Buffalo art dealer in November, 1901, suggests the lucrativeness of the reproduction business. Saint-Gaudens recommended the

---

185. Colvin, Letters of Stevenson, Vol. II, 407.

186. Detailed descriptions are given in an appendix to this report.

following list, indicating sales price:[187]

John Sargent	$25.00
Stevenson (Rectangular)	$25.00
Small Circular Stevenson	$85.00
Large Circular Stevenson	$135.00
Dr. Henry Schiff	$35.00
William Dean Howells	$70.00
Homer Saint-Gaudens	$60.00

Further evidence that the sale of reproductions was a good business is contained in a letter of July 26, 1899, from Saint-Gaudens, in Paris, to Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, at Cornish:

> Cable [B. T. Cable] has paid me $1200 for the big bronze ["Diana"] but if your memory is that you told him $1000, I am to furnish him with a small Diana with the surplus he has given me...He said you also told him that the sale was limited to 5 of the big ones at [$]1,000 each and 100 of each [of the smaller ones] at [$]100 each. I told him that I was surprised at that but that if you told him so you were mistaken[,] that there was no limit...but that each large one [reproduction] was unique in itself.[188]

While Saint-Gaudens was working on the Stevenson, he was modeling a bust of Civil War General William Tecumseh Sherman. Though Saint-Gaudens had a deep-rooted horror of the futility of war, he "set so high a premium on virility and nervous energy that

---

187. Ltr. Augustus Saint-Gaudens to G. W. Benson, November 19, 1901, Saint-Gaudens Collection. In a Ltr. Same to Same, October 14, 1901, Saint-Gaudens proposed to Benson that he (Benson) could have 20% of whatever he could sell the bronzes for.

188. Augustus Saint-Gaudens to Augusta Saint-Gaudens, July 26, 1899. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

a personification of this in the General stirred his enthusiasm as few things outside his art had ever inspired."[189]

Saint-Gaudens very much wanted Stevenson and Sherman to meet. Stevenson, admiring men of action, soldiers, and men of affairs, expressed an interest in meeting the General. When Saint-Gaudens mentioned to Sherman that Robert Louis Stevenson wanted to meet him, Sherman replied, "Who is Robert Louis Stevenson? Is he one of my boys?" [190] Sherman supposed that the average man wanting to meet him likely was one of his old soldiers. Saint-Gaudens finally convinced the General of Stevenson's stature in the world of literature by telling him that Stevenson was the author of "Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde." To this announcement the general, who loved the theater, commented: "The man who wrote that is no fool." The meeting was then conveniently arranged.[191]

The Sherman bust, completed in 1888, was the model for the head of Sherman on the equestrian statue of the General by Saint-Gaudens, completed in 1903, and placed at the south entrance to Central Park, New York City.[192]

---

189. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 367.

190. Ibid., I, 381.

191. Ibid., I, 382.

192. To be discussed in detail later in this report.

The monument to Henry Adams' wife, in Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, D. C., has been considered by many to be "the greatest that American sculpture has produced."[193] As late as 1960, it was still being said that in the "Adams Memorial," completed in 1891, Saint-Gaudens "created the most moving and symbolic sculpture that America...has yet seen."[194]

Saint-Gaudens had been commissioned by his close friend, Henry Adams, grandson of John Quincy Adams, to produce a monument for the grave of Adams' wife, the former Marion Hooper. Mrs. Adams had died on December 6, 1885 "under peculiarly tragic circumstances,"[195] leaving the historian to live alone in the new house H. H. Richardson had built for him in Washington D. C. Adams had been looking forward to moving into the new house for a very special reason, as it had been built contiguous to one Richardson had built for John Hay.[196]

---

193. Mather, Morey, and Henderson, The American Spirit in Art, 195.

194. William H. Pierson, Jr., and Martha Davidson, Arts of the United States, (New York, 1960), 92. Cited hereafter as Pierson and Davidson, Arts of the United States.

195. Mrs. Adams, whose family had a history of mental illness, apparently committed suicide.

196. John Hay, who was a poet, journalist, historian, and diplomat, had been a private secretary to President Lincoln. When Hay returned to Washington in 1878 as Assistant Secretary of State, he found "his most important friendship, that with Henry Adams." Later, they had arranged to have built houses contiguous to each other. Though the Adams and Hay houses had a common wall, they had different addresses. Hay's address was 800 Sixteenth Street, N. W., and Adams' address was 1603 H Street. D. A. B., I, 61 - 67 and D. A. B., VIII, 430-436.

Adams was so stricken with loneliness and grief that he left for the Orient in the spring of 1886, spending several years there, assiduously studying the customs and cultures of the Far East. From his Oriental exposure he conceived the memorial to his wife. In Saint-Gaudens' sketch book the sculptor left a clue as to what Adams wanted the memorial to represent. Around the figure in the sketch book Saint-Gaudens had written: " Adams. Buddha. Mental repose. Calm reflection in contrast with the violence or force in nature." [197]

Charles H. Caffin, art critic for Harper's Weekly and the New York Post, ably described the impact of the monument in the form of a sexless human figure:

> ...in the isolation of the figure, in the uncompromising sternness of the drapery, in the majestic agony of the face, the eyelids lowered in pain, the lips full and set in the effort of endurance and also in a protest as proud as it is despairing... here is expressed a universality of grief that sums up the sorrow of the modern world, as well as the eternal question of the why and to what end.[197]

Henry Adams did not wish to be specific as to what the monument meant to him, because he was apt to stop there often to see what the figure had to tell him that was new; but, in all that it had to say, "he never once thought of questioning what it meant."[199] Despite

---

197. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 362.

198. Charles H. Caffin, American Masters of Sculpture,(New York, 1903), 10.

199. Henry Adams, The Education of Henry Adams, (New York, 1931), 329.

Adams' reluctance to place a meaning to the statue, he wrote Richard W. Gilder that "the whole meaning and feeling of the figure is in its universality and anonymity. My own name for it is 'The Peace of God.'"[200] Because of what Adams called it, the monument is commonly known as "the Peace of God." It is also sometimes referred to as "Grief."

Before Adams had a chance to view the monument, John Hay had written to him in Fiji praising it: "The work is full of poetry and suggestion, infinite wisdom, a past without beginning, and a future without end, a repose after limitless experience, a piece to which nothing matters - all are embodied in this austere and beautiful face and form."[201]

How Saint-Gaudens personally felt about the monument was best expressed in a letter from Mrs. Barrett Wendell to Homer Saint-Gaudens at the time Homer was editing his father's Reminiscences:

> On Thursday, May 5, 1904, I was in the Rock Creek Cemetery looking at the wonderful monument by Mr. St.-Gaudens in memory of Mrs. Henry Adams, when Mr. St. Gaudens and Mr. John Hay entered the little enclosure. I was deeply impressed and asked Mr. St.-Gaudens what he called the figure. He hesitated and then said, "I call it 'the Mystery of the Hereafter.'" Then I said, "It is not happiness?" "No," he said, "it is beyond joy." Mr. Hay turned to me and said, "Thank you for asking. I have always wished to know. [202]

---

200. Adams to Richard Watson Gilder, Oct. 14, 1896. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 363.

201. Henry Adams to Saint-Gaudens, June 23, 1891, in which Adams quotes Hay's earlier letter. Ibid.

202. Ibid.

Art critic Royal Cortissoz was so moved by the "Adams Monument" that he said it was Saint-Gaudens' bid for immortality, for, nowhere in Saint-Gaudens' work was " his art purer, more elevated than in the 'Adams Monument,'...his one essay in the grand style."[203]

Maitland Armstrong, a fellow artist and intimate friend of Saint-Gaudens, considered the "Adams Monument" as Saint-Gaudens' most remarkable and the most original of all his works. Armstrong's viewing of the monument made a lasting impression upon him:

> I was alone, and the only sound was a slight rustling or sighing in the pine-trees above the tomb. I sat for a long time on the curved bench facing the figure, and I will not attempt to describe the supernatural effect it had upon me. The impressiveness, the solemnity of this thing, which seemed actually alive, I can never forget."[204]

The "Adams Monument" is favored by many of Saint-Gaudens' admirers because it directs the viewer's attention "toward whatever inner meaning he finds in those shadowed lineaments."[205] Then, it can be said that it is a personalized monument. What one sees in it is dependent upon his own frame of mind and outlook. Too, the "Adams Monument" is greatly different from most of Saint-Gaudens' works in that it is abstract, whereas the others are, to a great extent, pictorial.

---

203. D. A. B., XII, 300.

204. Armstrong, Day Before Yesterday, 286-287.

205. Adeline Adams, The Spirit of American Sculpture,(New York, 1923), 72.

The work that Saint-Gaudens labored over the longest during his career was the Memorial to Colonel Robert Gould Shaw, Commander of the 54th Massachusetts Regiment (Colored). Colonel Shaw was killed during the unsuccessful attack on Confederate Battery Wagner at the entrance to the Charleston, South Carolina harbor on July 18, 1863.[206] A contract in the amount of $22,620.95 was awarded by the State of Massachusetts to Saint-Gaudens on February 23, 1884, for the execution of the memorial to the fallen hero.[207] Charles F. McKim designed the architectural setting and Norcross Brothers did the construction work for the memorial.[208]

The length of time required to complete the "Shaw" was hard for most people to understand. The novice tended to think less of Saint-Gaudens' ability as a sculptor because of the lengthy time he spent on some works, namely the "Shaw" and the "Sherman" monuments. Those quick to criticize usually were not aware of the complex processes involved in the production of sculpture, from the conception of an idea to its realization in bronze or marble. As with most of Saint-Gaudens' works, the "Shaw" began with a psychological and emotional

---

206. Robert U. Johnson and Clarence C. Buel, Battles and Leaders of the Civil War, (4 Vols., New York), IV, 58-60.

207. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 78.

208. Edward Atkinson, William A. Coffin and T. W. Higginson, "The Shaw Memorial and the Sculptor St. Gaudens," The Century Magazine, June, 1897, 176-200.

conception rather than a visual one. "The complete vision came only with effort on effort, perspective on perspective, growth on growth."[209]

Saint-Gaudens' explanation for the length of time required for some of his works was: " I make seventeen statues every statue I do... [but]... it's the brain work not the finger work that takes the time."[210] The sculptor was extremely conscientious about his work and its lasting merit. His basic philosophy was that

> too much time cannot be spent on a task that is to endure for centuries, and it is a great mistake to hurry or hamper any artist in the production of work they have so much at heart. Time passed on it is certainly not money gained, and results from a conscientious endeavor to avoid the execution of an unworthy thing...a bad statue is an impertinence and an offense.[211]

Saint-Gaudens was relentlessly critical of his own work, and welcomed criticism given by his friends. Always, it was seriously considered, although not always used. As to the "Shaw Memorial," George De Forest Brush wanted the horse removed and Paul Bion, a French artist friend(who died before Saint-Gaudens was able to finish the "Shaw")had wanted the flying figure removed. But, Saint-Gaudens was more troubled by the trouser leg of one of the Negro soldiers. "Talk about calluses on your hand," the sculptor said, "I've got calluses on my brain thinking about that pant leg."[212]

---

209. James Earle Fraser, "Autobiography".

210. Ibid.

211. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 346.

212. James Earle Fraser, "Autobiography".

To quote one of Saint-Gaudens' assistants, James Earle Fraser, the master sculptor thought that "when one worked continuously on a single statue the brain became callused something like the callus that forms on the hands from working too much with the same implement, and when a new tool is used for a while the callus disappears; and that is what he felt about his brain and the Shaw Monument."[213] In fact, there were periods of months when he would refuse to look at the "Shaw" in order that upon seeing it once more he would have a fresh eye and more matured thoughts.[214]

The flying figure that seemed to bother so many, caused some concern for Saint-Gaudens, too. The feeling the sculptor had for the flying figure above the young colonel was suggested in a letter he wrote to Rose Nichols, his wife's niece:

> Of course the one thing on my mind, the terrible spector that looms up, is poor [Paul] Bion's death; night and day, at all moments it comes over one like a wave that overwhelms me, and it takes away all heart that I have in anything. Today, however, I have had a kind of sad feeling of companionship with him that seems to bring him to me, in working over the head of the flying figure of the 'Shaw'... The other day I felt the end of things, and, reasoning from one thing to the other and about the hopelessness of trying to fathom what it all means, I reached this; we know nothing (of course), but a deep conviction came over me like a flash that at the bottom of it all, whatever it is, the mystery must be beneficent; it does not seem as if the bottom of all were something malevolent. And the thought was a great comfort.[215]

---

213. Ibid.

214. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 348.

215. Ibid., II, 119-120.

While there were those who did not like the "Shaw Memorial" because of the presence of the flying figure, there were multitudes who liked it in spite of, or because of, the symbolic figure. Art historians have highly praised the "Shaw." George H. Chase and Chandler R. Post in A History of Sculpture, commented that Saint-Gaudens was original in his fundamental conceptions and that his most notable example of originality was the "great monument to Colonel Shaw," in which the commander of the first colored Massachusetts regiment of the Civil War "is shown riding beside his marching troops, presided over by a floating feminine personification, who, pointing onward, carries the poppies of death and the laurel for victory after death."[216] Chase and Post wrote of Saint-Gaudens in highly complimentary terms: "The most generally representative and, on the whole, the greatest American Sculptor was Augustus Saint-Gaudens." They noted further that "he possessed the incomparable gift of pouring such life into his most static figures that even the best of what had gone before in American sculpture seems torpid by contrast."[217]

---

216. George Henry Chase and Chandler Rafton Post, A History of Sculpture, (New York, 1925), 506.

217. Ibid., 502.

A more recent evaluation of the "Shaw" was made by the late American muralist, Barry Faulkner, during an interview the writer had with him in August of 1966. When I asked Mr. Faulkner what he considered the finest of Saint-Gaudens' works, he replied: "Well, there's nothing better than the Shaw Memorial."[218]

At last the "Shaw" was ready for unveiling in late May, 1897, better than thirteen years after the commission was awarded. Even so, Saint-Gaudens was not completely satisfied with the finished product. He had considered the execution of the monument an extraordinary opportunity. His interest in the project and his desire for perfection in his creations led him to develop the monument far beyond what was expected of him. As a result, he put much more into the work than would have been merited if only the monetary amount of the commission were the prime consideration. Saint-Gaudens felt that "a sculptor's work endures for so long that it is next to a crime for him to neglect to do everything that lies in his power to execute a result that will not be a disgrace." He said that "statues are plastered up before the world to stick for centuries, while men and nations pass away."[219]

---

218. Barry Faulkner, personal interview, Keene, N. H., August 10, 1966, with the author.

219. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 79.

The Memorial Day ceremonies, during which the "Shaw" was unveiled, made a profound impression on the great sculptor. The procession with its long line of veterans, the crowds lining the street and the "army" of dignitaries made the real celebrity feel somewhat insignificant, though. Leading the procession to the monument on the Boston Green were sixty-five veterans of Colonel Shaw's regiment of colored troops and white officers. The procession ended in front of the monument, only thirty or forty feet from where Governor John A. Andrew had presented their colors thirty-five years earlier. Instead of the youths of 1862, there were now the bent and crippled, many with white heads, some with bouquets, and "the inevitable humorous touch, one with a carpet-bag," saluting the monument to their dead hero while music played "John Brown's Body." This was the tune Saint-Gaudens recalled hearing as he saw these troops from his cameo-cutter's window in Avet's New York shop.

After the ceremonies at the monument, a commemorative service took place at Boston's old Music Hall. Saint-Gaudens, basically a shy individual, felt that he had been in the spotlight enough for one day and purposely delayed getting to the Music Hall so that he could stand in the background. But he was soon observed standing in the back, and was forced to take a prominent seat that had been reserved for him. Consequently, the attention he had hoped to avoid was now much more obvious.

Participating in the ceremonies was the famous Negro educator, author of the book Up From Slavery, Booker T. Washington, whose presence created a great sensation. The philosopher, William James, delivered the main address. Beyond Washington's and James' presentations, Saint-Gaudens could not describe what went on, by reason of, as he said,

> ... the fright that took possession of me, as I knew that sooner or later I should be called upon to say something, and, if there is one thing I am helpless about, it is any utterance in public. The dreaded instant came. I was announced by one of the orators, and stood up. It was an awful moment, but it would be stupid to deny that at the same time it was thrilling to hear the great storm of applause and cheering that I faced.[220]

Not long after the unveiling of the "Shaw" came that of the "General Logan," an equestrian statue to Union General John A. Logan, located on the Chicago lake front. Saint-Gaudens breathed a sigh of relief when the "Logan" was completed. As in the case of several other works, the "Logan" had required much more time than the sculptor had anticipated. The Logan committee, which had been appointed by the Illinois Legislature to handle the business aspects related to the commission, and the son of General Logan did not appreciate nor understand the necessity for the tardiness in the completion of the monument. Saint-Gaudens' reply to a letter from General Logan's

---

220. Ibid.,78-84.

son in April, 1895, suggests the difficulties the sculptor was encountering; it says something about the sculpturing processes; and it points out the diplomacy Saint-Gaudens often had to use when dealing with his clients:

> I can fully understand how from your point of view all the delay is irritating and incomprehensible, and I highly appreciate your courtesy and forbearance. On the other hand, if a sculptor is in earnest and determined to leave nothing undone that can better his work, you can hardly realize how important an event in his life the execution of a colossal equestrian statue is, particularly when the monument is of so conspicuous a figure as your father, and is to be so prominently placed.
>
> I have from four to six assistants constantly at work for more than a year enlarging my model. This model was completed six months ago and my personal work ceased at that time. . . . During the execution of large works in sculpture there are long intervals when the assistants have entire control. . . . I beg to assure you that you are mistaken in thinking that your father's monument has been neglected in the slightest degree or set aside in any way for the prosecution of other work. As I have before said, the delay arises from my resolution to prosecute the work to the utmost limit of my ability even at the cost of misapprehension of the reasons of my delay, to say nothing of the serious pecuniary loss and inconvenience which result from prolongation of the work. In this respect I am a serious sufferer.
>
> The monument is to last a long while, and I trust that when it is erected you may feel repaid for the tax upon your good nature that its execution has entailed . . .[221]

---

221. Ibid., II, 104-105.

The long-awaited unveiling came on June 23, 1897. The happenings of the day were related by Saint-Gaudens in a letter to his favorite niece, Rose Nichols:

> At one o'clock yesterday Mrs. Deering, Mrs. French, Mr. French (brother and sister-in-law of Dan French) and I were placed in one carriage. Mr. Deering [William Deering, manufacturer of the twine binder], Mrs. St.-G. and the editor of the Chicago Tribune in another, and in the wake of a lot of other carriages and followed by a procession of them, we drove to the big stand. A great day it was, with a high wind and glorious sun! I was put in one of the seats in the Holy of Holies alongside of Mrs. Logan, if you please, and the president of the ceremonies. A lot of speeches were made, one of which was very good, and at the right moment the complicated arrangement of flags dropped, the cannon fired, the band played, Mrs. Logan Wept, and I posed for a thousand snap photographs; 'a gleam of triumph passed over my face,' think of that! (Vide Chicago Tribune).[222]

The completion of the "Logan" marked the finale of a chapter of Saint-Gaudens' career. It was the last of his works to be completed in the United States prior to his going to Paris for three years.

To say that the years between 1885 and 1897 were busy ones for Saint-Gaudens would be a serious understatement. The sculptor found himself pushed to his limits during this period. His business had grown to such an extent that at one time he had works in progress

---

222. Saint-Gaudens to Rose Nichols, June 24, 1897, Ibid., II, 87-88.

at four different locations in New York City: Twentieth Street, Thirty-Sixth Street, Twenty-Seventh Street, and Fifty-Ninth Street.[223] He produced not only monumental works such as the seated "Lincoln", the "Adams Monument," the "Diana," the "Logan" and others, but numerous highly successful bas-reliefs, among them, "Mrs. Grover Cleveland," the "Children of Jacob H. Schiff," and "Jules Bastien-Le Page." Yet, in his crowded schedule, Saint-Gaudens found time to teach sculpture regularly during most of the 1885-1897 period at the Arts Students League in New York City. Toward the end of this period he was receiving $125 a month for his teaching services.[224]

During this period he had first rented, then bought, the country place at Cornish, New Hampshire and had set up a studio there. Except for the seated "Lincoln," and a few other works it is not known to what extent he worked at Cornish on the various statues he executed during this period. It is known, however, that he converted an old barn into a studio and that he regularly went to Cornish to work and relax for the summer.

---

223. Ibid., II, 77.

224. Saint-Gaudens' Account Book, Saint-Gaudens Collection.

CHAPTER X

Measured Against His Contemporaries

Despite the recognition Saint-Gaudens had received in the United States as a result of his "Shaw," the "Adams Monument," the "Logan," the "Stevenson," and others, he was not so assured that his reputation had been established in Europe, and especially in Paris, the center of the art world. International recognition, Saint-Gaudens felt, could come only through establishing his studio there and exhibiting his works before the masters. Since Saint-Gaudens left Paris in 1880, he had returned to the "art capital" only for a brief stay, in 1889. He had been away so long, he feared he had not kept abreast of what was happening in the European art circles. He felt compelled to go to Paris, for it was only there that he could measure himself against his contemporaries. Placing his work before the world's critical audience, he could learn, "once for all wherein it was good and bad."[225]

Another contributing factor to Saint-Gaudens' wish to go to Europe was his disillusionment with the state of art in the United States. Also, he found it difficult to work in New York City. In

---

225. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 128.

writing about his going to Paris, the sculptor gave the following explanation:

> . . . I suppose through overwork I had become nervous and completely disaffected with America. Nothing, it now seemed to me, would right things but my going abroad and getting away from the infernal noise, dirt, and confusion of New York City . . . So I made up my mind to sail for Europe in October, 1897, and dragged up my roots, so to speak, all the sculptor's paraphernalia for its transportation to Paris.[226]

When Saint-Gaudens was preparing his Reminiscences in 1906, he re-evaluated his reason for going to Paris: "I see now that what brought this about was the beginning of the illness which ever since has held me more or less in its clutches."[227]

There was considerable speculation that Saint-Gaudens was going to Europe to reside permanently. The New York Herald went so far as to present in prominent coverage a story that Saint-Gaudens planned to have a house built in Florence and that he planned to divide his time between Florence and Paris.[228] Although there was no apparent

---

226. Ibid., II, 86-87. In her article, "Familiar Letters of Augustus Saint-Gaudens," Rose Nichols, a niece of the sculptor's wife, wrote that at the end of September, 1897, Augustus, his wife, and seventeen year old son, Homer, sailed for England. On November 7, 1897, the sculptor wrote Miss Nichols from Hotel Normandy, Paris, indicating that he and his family had gone from Southampton to London and on to Paris the day after arriving in London. Miss Nichols must be in error in saying that the Saint-Gaudenses sailed in September. Rose Nichols, "Familiar Letters of Augustus Saint-Gaudens," McClure's Magazine, October, 1908, 611.

227. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 87.

228. New York Herald, March 6, 1898.

validity to the Florence-Paris speculation, there was a certain amount of truth to the rumor that Saint-Gaudens might be going to Europe on a permanent basis. Saint-Gaudens even stated that he went went to Paris for "a stay of unknown length."[229] By September, 1898, however, he was writing to his good friend Will Low:

> Coming here has been a wonderful experience, an uprising in many respects, one of them being to find how much of an American I am. I always thought I was a kind of cosmopolitan, gelatinous fish that belonged here, there, and everywhere. 'Pas du tout [not at all]' I belong to America, that is my home, that is where I want to be and to remain, with the Elevated Road [near his N. Y. studio] dropping oil and ashes on the idiot below . . . the skyline, and all that have become dear to me; to say nothing of attractive friends, and scenery, the smell of the earth -- the peculiar smell of America . . . .I feel well-planted and know where to strike. I have acquired a strange feeling of confidence I have never felt before . . . together with a respect for what we are doing at home. In fact, I shall return a burning, hot-headed patriot.[230]

On arriving in Paris, Saint-Gaudens began the agonizing and maddening job of locating a studio. Finally, after what seemed to be a hopeless search, he located a "place in a charming little garden-like passage in the Rue de Bagneux."[231] There he began the remodelling of the "Sherman Victory" and made some studies for the Boston Public Library Group.

Of the numerous projects he worked on during the 1897-1900 Paris stay, the "Sherman" group was considered, by far, the most important.

---

229. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 123.

230. Saint-Gaudens to Will Low, September 2, 1898. Ibid., II, 87.

231. Ibid., II, 123.

Saint-Gaudens had received the commission for the "Sherman" group in 1892, four years after he had finished the bust of the general, which he was now using as the model for the larger group. He completed a sketch for the monument in a few months. During the next five years, the horse and rider were modelled on a small scale and the "Victory" was studied in the nude. It was in Paris that Mr. Saint-Gaudens began the full-sized group, devoting most of his time to it. In May 1898, Saint-Gaudens wrote Miss Helen Mears, at various times pupil and assistant of his: "My things are well placed at the Champs-de-Mars, and seem to be liked. I have had an interesting and amusing experience."[232] Four days earlier, he had written to his niece, Miss Rose Nichols, about his work in Paris:

> This Paris experience, as far as my art goes, has been a great thing for me. I never felt sure of myself before . . .. All blindness seems to have been washed away. I see my place clearly now; I know, or think I know, just where I stand. A great self-confidence has come over me, and a tremendous desire and will to achieve high things, with a confidence that I shall, has taken possession of me. I exhibited at Champ-de-Mars and the papers have spoken well, and it seems as if I were having what they call a 'success' here.[233]

That Saint-Gaudens was satisfied with his place in the art world and that he was confident of the status of American art was evidenced in a letter to Will H. Low:

> You speak of the weak overrating of the importance of Paris as regards art, which prevails so much with us at home. Well, my visit here has made me feel

---

232. Saint-Gaudens to Helen Mears, May 14, 1898, Ibid., II, 185.

233. Saint-Gaudens to Rose Nichols, May 10, 1898, Ibid., II, 186.

> that we can stand on our own legs and that that other time has gone forever . . . We have much to be proud of and nothing to fear.[234]

During 1898, good fortune came to Saint-Gaudens in the form of a new assistant by the name of James Earle Fraser. Born at Winona, Minnesota in 1876, Fraser moved with his family to a South Dakota ranch at the age of ten, subsequently moving to Minneapolis in 1890. As a young man of eighteen, he entered the studio of Richard Bock in Chicago, at the same time attending the drawing classes at the Chicago Art Institute. From Chicago, he went to Paris to study under Falguiere at the Ecole des Beaux Arts, Saint-Gaudens' Alma Mater.[235]

Fraser took with him to Paris some of the sculpture he had worked on, or had completed prior to leaving the United States. One of these was an early model of his famous "End of the Trail" statue, a "spent Indian brave on his pony."[236] Fraser also took with him one of his works entitled "Head of an Old Man," which won first prize in the American Art Association Exhibit in 1898.[237]

---

234. Saint-Gaudens to Will H. Low, September 8, 1899. Ibid., II, 202.

235. Gardner, Metropolitan Museum Collection, 127.

236. Fraser, "Autobiography."

237. Durman, He Belongs to the Ages, 210. In 1898, two competitions were held by the American Art Association -- one for the best piece of sculpture and the other to obtain a design for a medal. Fraser won both of these competitions. Saint-Gaudens was one of the jurors for both competitions. In 1899, Fraser won the Wanamaker prize of one thousand dollars for his "End of the Trail" and other exhibits. It was probably late in 1898 that Fraser came to work for Saint-Gaudens.

Saint-Gaudens, a judge on the juries for two exhibits in which Fraser showed his works and where he won prizes, saw great potential in the young sculptor and asked him to be his assistant, for he especially needed capable assistants to help with the completion of the "Sherman" monument.

In 1948, Fraser wrote glowingly of his meeting Saint-Gaudens and their later association:

> Through all the half century since I first met Augustus Saint-Gaudens the great sculptor has remained my life's most unforgettable character. And he is memorable to me as a personality and friend hardly less than as artist. But to art I owe the chance of knowing him.[238]

When Saint-Gaudens asked Fraser to come to his studio so that the older sculptor might give constructive criticism, Fraser could hardly foresee the significance the meeting would have in his own career. Fraser had followed Saint-Gaudens' work closely and had been thrilled at the words of Harvard President Charles W. Eliot when he conferred the honorary L.L.D. degree upon Saint-Gaudens on June 20, 1897: "Augustus Saint-Gaudens...a sculptor whose art follows but ennobles nature, confers fame and lasting remembrance, and does not count the mortal years it takes to mold immortal forms."[239]

---

238. Fraser, "Autobiography".

239. Ibid., and Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 94.

Fraser recorded his impression of his first meeting Saint-Gaudens as follows:

> Oddly enough I had never seen a picture of Saint-Gaudens and was unprepared for the arresting effect of his handsome features and singular coloring. He looked, I thought, the way an artist ought to look. His nose, long and pointed, formed a straight line with forehead and beard. His eyes were blue, gay and candid. Black wavy hair, barely touched with gray[240] was in striking contrast to the red-gold of his beard, so streaked with silver that it was tawny. Many have searched for the right word to describe that head. "Leonine" is nearly good, but is inadequate. Stevenson's phrase "god-like sculptor" comes much nearer for he did have the look of a sculptored Zeus. Saint-Gaudens' own comment on his looks, to which he had of course given an artist's scrutiny, was on the marked difference between the two sides of his face. One side was French, he said. The other side, Irish. But that was later, when I was doing a bust of him.[241]

The young sculptor found Saint-Gaudens' criticism of his work to be serious, quick, and thorough. Saint-Gaudens' comment about Fraser's early model of "The End of the Trail" pleased Fraser immensely. Saint-Gaudens exclaimed when he saw the statue: "You haven't done a man. You've done a race."[242]

---

240. There are conflicting accounts regarding the color of Saint-Gaudens hair. Saint-Gaudens wrote his brother Louis from Paris, n.d. but apparently early in 1900, that he wished he could be the "Egyptian-like philosopher that you are, instead of the red-headed monkey that I am." Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 135.

241. Fraser, "Autobiography," n.p.

242. Ibid.

The promising young sculptor felt well repaid from his first visit with the master sculptor. Later, when he worked with Saint-Gaudens constantly, he knew that he had gained tremendously by his contact with the great artist.[243]

Fraser's reminiscences tell us a great deal about happenings relating to the sculptor and reveal, as well, much about Saint-Gaudens, the man. The younger sculptor recalled that when he joined Saint-Gaudens' corps of assistants, the studio was alive with the preparation of exhibits for the Exhibition Internationale. This exhibition, known also as the Paris Salon of 1900, and Paris Exhibition, was to get under way in the spring of 1900. Work on the exhibit seemed never to end, it continued even after the exhibits had been entered in the exhibition. Though the "Sherman" equestrian would stand in a place of honor, in the Champ de Mars, and be visited daily by admiring thousands, the monument would not,even then,be completely satisfactory to its creator.

---

243. Frances Grimes, an assistant of Saint-Gaudens during part of the time Fraser worked for the "Saint" eulogized Fraser at the meeting of the Board of Trustees of the Saint-Gaudens Memorial, July 10, 1954, by saying: "In him we have lost the one who could most nearly reveal to us Saint-Gaudens, living and working . . . Fraser was his chief assistant, closest in his councils and the understanding of his art, giving not only his inspired skill to Saint-Gaudens' work, but a companionship which won his love and profound respect." See Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees, Saint-Gaudens Memorial, July 10, 1954. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

An insight into the personality of Saint-Gaudens can be gleaned from Fraser's writings:

> Our work room was adjacent to Saint-Gaudens' private studio, so near that he could hear our hammering and we could hear his singing. And how he sang! "Work is liberty," say the French. Certainly it brought liberty of mind and spirit to the Saint, which was our affectionate contraction of his name. His studio rages may sometimes have made the appellation sound a bit ironic. But rages were infrequent and singing a daily occurrence. When all was going well his voice would ring out in bits from the operas, French usually, and he would fit his deep baritone to soprano, bass or tenor arias. A favorite was Faust, especially the "Calf of Gold" aria ending with Mephistopheles' diabolic laughter. Once after our return to America, Madam Louise Homer, the Metropolitan Opera Contralto, burst into the studio while he was singing. "I thought Plancon must be here," she said. "When did you ever find time to cultivate your voice?"
>
> "I never had a lesson in my life," Saint-Gaudens said, and she insisted that his voice was good enough for grand opera. Doubtless he might have attained eminence in arts other than sculpture. The theatre might well have called him either as actor or playwright, the latter having the greater appeal.[244]

Prior to the 1900 Exhibition, the "Sherman statue was cast in plaster and set up outdoors in a large fenced-in space near Port Mont Rouge. Saint-Gaudens and Fraser worked on it there in the outdoor light during the summer of 1899.[245]

---

244. Fraser, "Autobiography "

245. It must have been in 1899, because Saint-Gaudens wrote Charles Keck, a former student and assistant, on July 19, 1898 that he had only Gaeton Ardisson as an assistant and that he had barely enough to keep him busy. Augustus Saint-Gaudens to Charles Keck, July 19, 1898, Saint-Gaudens Collection. Also, Saint-Gaudens spent much of the summer

A good idea of the operation of the Paris studio can be gotten from a letter Saint-Gaudens wrote his son, Homer, who had returned to Cornish from Dresden, Germany, where he was being tutored so that he could be re-admitted to Harvard College. Homer had failed his freshman year. Saint-Gaudens wrote:

> Talk of insane weather in Cornish, that's nothing to the insane asylum at the above address for the last eleven days. Eleven molders, some of them working all night with the boss lunatic, your illustrious father, at their head! Whew! Sometimes I'd cry, then I'd laugh, then I'd do both together, then I'd rush out into the street and howl, and so on. Now it's peaceful as the ocean in a dead calm. Only I have got a swelled head for the first time in my life, for the Sherman really looks bully and is amashingly fine. It's in the place of honor at the Champ-de-Mars, and from a screeching maniac I have become a harmless, drooling, gibbering idiot, sitting all day looking at the statue. Occasionally I fall on my knees and adore it.[246]

---

of 1898 traveling. Near the end of June, he and his family went to London where John Singer Sargent introduced Saint-Gaudens to many of England's distinquished sculptors and painters. After a short visit in London, the family separated, with Saint-Gaudens and Homer returning to Paris and Mrs. Saint-Gaudens going to Vichy, France, and St. Moritz, "for the cure." In early August, Saint-Gaudens took Homer with him on a trip to Holland. Also, during August 1898, the sculptor and his son went to the sea shore at Boulogne. There they joined George De Forest Brush and his family. Nichols, "Familiar Letters of Saint-Gaudens."

246. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, 136-37. It must have been during the summer of 1899 that Saint-Gaudens wrote this letter, for Homer entered Harvard College sometime during the 1897-98 school year. Miss Nichols noted that he had accompanied his father and mother to Paris in the fall of 1897. Thus, he must have enrolled after the session had begun. A letter to Saint-Gaudens from a Harvard official, dated August 19, 1898, informed the sculptor of his son's poor academic achievement: "Your son, I am sorry to say, failed this June in so many studies that it became evident he could not succeed in entering this fall. He was therefore told that he must take again his admission examinations." In writing to Professor Richard Cobb in October, 1898,

In the spring of 1900 the "Sherman" unit, lacking the "Victory", was exhibited in the Salon with most of the other great portrait statues and remarkable bas-reliefs of Saint-Gaudens. His work met with great praise and admiration by the critics. The jury at the Paris Exhibition unanimously awarded Saint-Gaudens a gold medal; the French Government decorated him with the cross of the Légion d'honneur and bought his "Amor Caritas," together with a collection of his medallions, for the Luxembourg Gallery of Paris. Finally, the American sculptor was elected a corresponding member of the Academie des Beaux Arts.[247] There now was no doubt in the mind of the great sculptor that he had measured well against his contemporaries.

One would gather that Saint-Gaudens and the famous French sculptor, Auguste Rodin, were not particularly fond of each other. Saint-Gaudens wrote Miss Nichols as late as April 12, 1899: "The other day I called on Rodin, who it seems felt hurt that I had not been to see him."[248] This assumption is further substantiated by

---

the sculptor informed him that Homer was being tutored by James H. Hallaman in Dresden, Germany. The tutoring pulled Homer over the academic crisis, for in October, 1899, Saint-Gaudens wrote "Gussie" from Paris, expressing his pleasure in learning that Homer had passed his examinations and had been admitted (actually re-admitted), to Harvard. Homer's pre-college schooling had been obtained, in part, at a boarding school in Lawrenceville, New York. He was at Lawrenceville at least from 1895 to 1897. For the discussion of Homer's education see the various correspondence cited above, in the Saint-Gaudens Collection.

247. Fraser, "Autobiography." 6.

248. Nichols, "Familiar Letters of Saint-Gaudens."

Fraser's comments about the Exhibition of 1900. Fraser recalled that at the time Saint-Gaudens' "Sherman" was being exhibited, Rodin's "Balzac" was also being shown. Fraser, who had some of his own works on exhibit, had a ticket to the Vernissage, which was the day before the opening of the Salon when the exhibitors went to varnish their pictures and where there was always a large invited crowd to see the pictures and the artists.

According to Fraser there was a procession on that day of the officers of the Society and their especially invited guests, and on that particular day the procession was headed by Rodin, and the world-famous actress and amateur sculptress, Sarah Bernhardt. Fraser recalled the two as comprising a marvellous combination.

> Rodin, a short and heavy man with a huge beard, was dressed in a black-and-white checked suit very much the style that our actors wear while taking the part of a flashy gambler on the American stage . . . on the other hand, Sarah Bernhardt, tall and slender, wore a beautiful burnt orange ensemble. Her dress and hair being about the same color. As they came down the center of the Salon they were enjoying themselves hugely, laughing and talking, passing by every work of art without a single look until they arrived at Rodin's "Balzac" -- there they stopped and admired, Rodin explaining every angle . . ..It was a wonderful picture of two superlative artists both of whose reputations were great and world renowned . . ..The Saint-Gaudens "Sherman" statue stood nearby and in size overpowered the "Balzac" and had the place of honor, but it was never given a glance.[249]

---

249. Fraser, "Autobiography," 509.

Although Rodin tended to ignore Saint-Gaudens, the American sculptor was popularly accepted by the artistic community. His Paris studio was a rendezvous for artists. Some of the Frenchmen who came had been his friends since student days and, in the words of Fraser," one could see that they were drawn by deep affection as well as admiration. Saint-Gaudens was torn between his love of fellowship and his battle for time do his work."[250]

The Swedish painter and etcher Anders Zorn came often. His etching of Saint-Gaudens is shown on page 118 of Volume II of Saint-Gaudens' Reminiscences. Since Zorn did not have a Paris studio he used that of Saint-Gaudens when he had work to do there. Fraser said that upon Zorn's arrival he would sit for a while with his head clasped in the hands that never fumbled when they held an etching tool. "Festivity"the night before was the explanation Zorn gave for the period of inaction.

Fraser remembered the American artist, James McNeill Whistler as one of the most interesting and amusing of Saint-Gaudens' visitors. Whistler made a lasting impression on Fraser:

> I remember with great interest the first time that he came to see Saint-Gaudens. The door was opened by the studio boy Tony, and standing there was the unmistakable James McNeill Whistler, monocle and all. I was astonished at his tiny size. I had always thought of him as being a man nearly 6 feet tall. On the contrary I doubt that he was more than 5 feet 4 inches in height. He was immaculately dressed although it was in the morning. Saint-Gaudens had been told of his arrival and Whistler hurried with quick steps into the inner sanctum, and after that there was a constant hum of Whistler's voice.

250. Ibid.

The painter and Saint-Gaudens had been brought together by Frederick MacMonnies, a former student and assistant of Saint-Gaudens. Whistler,who had taken a great liking to Saint-Gaudens, would come to the sculptor's Paris studio at dusk on his way home from his own studio and would sit and chat in "his extraordinary, witty fashion."[251]

Fraser further recalled that Whistler at that time had finished one of his last pictures, and was resting up to begin again. Fraser considered Whistler an old man at the time,while actually he was only sixty-six years old. Despite his age, Whistler came often to visit Saint-Gaudens, much to the sculptor's dismay because, as Fraser explained, "Whistler . . . being a dominating little character made it impossible for Saint-Gaudens to work, and at that moment, work was the great necessity, for his Exhibition had soon to be ready. Excuses were made and Whistler stopped coming for a time."[252]

Another frequent visitor to Saint-Gaudens' studio was the American artist John Singer Sargent, who was working at the time on murals for the Boston Public Library. Sargent had known Saint-Gaudens since their student days at the Ecole des Beaux Arts.[253]

---

251. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 178.

252. Fraser, "Autobiography", 51.

253. Ibid., 5.

Henry Adams, who had been a very close friend for several years, was in Paris much of this time. He too, frequently visited the sculptor's studio.

Although Saint-Gaudens was highly successful in establishing his reputation while in Paris, he had periods of deep mental anxiety and physical exhaustion. As he later recalled, it was partly his illness that had prompted him to go to Paris in 1897, although he was not consciously aware of that fact at the time. In an effort to relieve his mental anxiety, Saint-Gaudens traveled a great deal during his first year in Paris. In the company of Alfred Garnier (a long-time friend from Paris school days,) he took an extended trip during the winter of 1897, to southern France to visit the home town of his father, and to Italy.

During the fall of 1898, he attempted to shake off his depression by taking a trip with his wife, "Gussie", to Spain, visiting Sargossa, Madrid, Biarritz and Toledo, as well as a delightful place in the Pyrenees called the Cirque de Gavarnie. The sculptor was especially interested in going to Gavarnie because he had taken up golf, and he was told that an English colonel had established golf links there. Much to Saint-Gaudens' disappointment, when he arrived he found there were no golf links.[254].

254. Mrs. Saint-Gaudens apparently was with Mr. Saint-Gaudens most of the time from the fall of 1897 to summer of 1898, at which time she went to Vichy and St. Moritz, but returning to Paris in the fall of 1898.

Saint-Gaudens was so fascinated by Spain that he returned there with a friend during the summer of 1899. At that time, the sculptor was especially impressed with the Alhambra. He said, "There is no doubt that at the Alhambra you feel as you do at the Parthenon, that you are in the presence of one of the highest of human achievements, one of the two or three great pearls of beauty on this globe."[255]

The trips brought only temporary relief from the mental depression. At one time during his stay in Paris, Saint-Gaudens wrote his wife:

> I have been so depressed and blue that I have felt as I have only felt once before, a complete absence of ambition, a carelessness about all that I have cared so much about before, and desire to be ended with this life. The feeling has been uncontrollably strong and I can sympathize with you when you have that terrible depression that makes you wish to cry. That is what I have wanted to do frequently since I've been gone."[256]

It appears that she remained with Augustus until the late spring or early summer of 1899 when she went to Cornish, New Hampshire to spend the remainder of the summer. She returned to Paris in November, 1899, staying there for only a short time. The following letters reveal Mrs. Saint-Gaudens' whereabouts during the above times: Letter from Augusta Saint-Gaudens to Charles O. Brewster, October 14, 1898, indicated Mrs. Saint-Gaudens planned to spend the winter of 1898-1899 there. The Cornish place was rented for the summer of 1898 to Samuel Isham and his sister Julie. In a letter to the family Attorney, Charles O. Brewster, on May 20, 1899, Mrs. Saint-Gaudens said that she planned to sail from the United States on June 24. A letter from Augusta to Homer on November 16, 1899, written from Paris indicated that she had spent the summer in 1899 in Cornish. Actually, Homer had been in Cornish during that summer also. Augusta must have returned to the United States soon after she wrote Homer this letter because she subsequently stated that it was ten months after she left Augustus in Paris that they met again in Boston. In reality it could not have been more than nine months absence because it is known that Augustus returned to the United States in August, 1900.

255. Ibid., II, 164.

256. Ibid., II, 137.

In September, 1899, Saint-Gaudens wrote Will Low that "alongside the rose-color view of life that I've given you, there has been the reverse. I have been very sick. I'm all right after it all, thank God, but I know what nervous prostration is."

While Saint-Gaudens was suffering from nervous exhaustion brought on by over-work, he was suffering too from a physical ailment that he had erroneously associated almost exclusively with the nervous strain and tensions related to his work. It appears that as early as the summer of 1897 he was struck with the disease that would eventually claim his life. Saint-Gaudens wrote that on the morning following the unveiling of the Shaw Memorial, May 1897, while he was "bending over the basin in the bath-room, I was suddenly struck, as if with an ax, in the lower part of my back, so that it was with the greatest difficulty that I crawled over to the bed and lay down." He diagnosed the attack as being one of lumbago, followed by sciatica. In reality he was suffering from cancer of the rectum.

It was Saint-Gaudens' physical condition that brought his stay in Paris to an abrupt end during July 1900. Saint-Gaudens' assistant and close friend, James Earle Fraser, vividly recalled Saint-Gaudens' reaction to learning that he had a serious illness;[258]

---

257. Saint-Gaudens to Will H. Low, September 8, 1899. Ibid., II, 199.

258. Fraser, "Autobiography."

> One morning Saint-Gaudens hurried through our room and into his own without stopping for even a moment of talk or inspection of the work in hand. Nor did we hear any singing. Soon his outside door slammed and I remember thinking it must be an exceptional circumstance that would take him from work in midmorning. An hour or so later he returned and almost immediately he called me into his studio.

With a voice that "rang with something like joyous wonder," the ailing sculptor told Fraser of an extraordinary experience be had just had. Saint-Gaudens prefaced his account of the experience by telling Fraser that he had never been sick in his life; he had always been overworked, but never really ill. The "Saint" went on to tell his assistant:

> Certainly I've never thought about dying. Now the doctors tell me that I'm in a serious condition and must go home immediately for an operation. Since that diagnosis I've been terribly depressed and unable to sleep, facing all night the realization of a mortal disease. A while ago I dashed out of here resolved to end things by jumping into the Seine. I hurried, probably ran, through the streets and was conscious of seeing only one thing: high on every building was the word DEATH; I saw it as plainly as if it were really printed there in huge black letters. But when I ran up on the bridge something happened; something I don't understand. Maybe the cause was physical -- heart action quickened by running. Maybe it was the light on the river. Or the Louvre which had never looked so splendid. Whatever the cause, I saw everything again, and everything about me was unbelievably beautiful. The load of desperation dropped and I was happy. I heard myself whistling."

Fraser commented that during the seven years that remained of Saint-Gaudens' life, the master sculptor never lost the sense and wonder of that experience.[259]

---

259. Ibid.

Fraser said that Saint-Gaudens never again spoke to him about the experience. Yet, it was often in Fraser's mind and never more vividly than when he heard, many years later, the voice of Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes quoting Virgil's immortal line, "Here's death twitching at my ear. 'Live,' he says, 'for I am coming.'" Holmes' voice prompted Fraser to remember all that Saint-Gaudens did that morning in Paris and it seemed to him that the sculptor must have heard the behest to abundant living that the old Latin put into the mouth of Death.[260]

Saint-Gaudens, realizing that the had no choice but to follow the doctor's orders to return to the United States for the necessary operation, left Paris about July 25, 1900. So ill that he had to be accompanied by a physician (Dr. Herring) the ailing sculptor arrived in New York in early August.[261] His arrival was prior to August 14, because a letter from Charles Brewster to Augusta on that date indicated such and referred to the bill presented by Dr. Herring. It was probably not much sooner than August 14, however, because Mrs. Saint-Gaudens wrote Brewster on August 19, that Augustus had arrived only shortly before.

---

260. Ibid.

261. Dr. Herring charged Saint-Gaudens $500.00 for medical advice and services during the voyage. See statement from Dr. Herring in Saint-Gaudens Collection.

Saint-Gaudens noted in his Reminiscences that he did not waste much time in getting to the hospital. He spent only one day in New York and one day in Boston before entering Boston's Massachusetts General Hospital for surgery.[262] Considering the seriousness of his condition, he most likely remained in the hospital for several weeks. It is known that he was back in Cornish by September 27, because on that date he wrote his old friend Stanford White about his operation:

> Dear Stan: I am getting on very well indeed, and considering that I am as full of holes as a 'porous plas' [porous plaster -- commercial medicated plaster spread on perforated cloth] . . . I wonder I am alive. . . . You wouldn't know me for my mental state now. I think I was on the verge of insanity in Paris. I roam around the hills in great style and loaf for all I'm worth.[263]

About November 1, Saint-Gaudens returned to Boston to undergo a second operation, this time at St. Margaret's Hospital. Either the August or November operation involved the performance of a colostomy.[264] From all indications, the colostomy was performed

---

262. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 222 and 246.

263. Ibid., II, 287.

264. Ibid., II, 246 and 287. Homer Saint-Gaudens said his father spent five weeks at St. Margarets, but Augustus said he spent two weeks there. See also N. Greene, M. D., to Augustus Saint-Gaudens, January 24, 1901. Saint-Gaudens Collection. Dr. Greene's letter does not refer directly to the cancer, but it was apparent that this was the nature of the sculptor's illness. Doctors later told Mrs. Saint-Gaudens unequivocally, that her husband was suffering from cancer, and that a colostomy had to be performed to save his life.

in August, for Saint-Gaudens wrote his brother Louis on October 17, 1900, that his second and minor operation was to take place in two weeks.

The sculptor had hoped to resume his work soon; but, following the second operation, his doctors directed him to go to Florida for a short period of recuperation. This he did, but the restless sculptor was back in Cornish by December 15, eager to resume his work. On that date he wrote his brother: "Here I am back in Windsor [Post Office in Vermont where he received his mail] again enjoying 14° below zero and sleighriding galore." Saint-Gaudens also noted in this letter that he was sending Louis "the usual $50.00". This suggests that Augustus regularly sent his brother support money.[265]

Louis Saint-Gaudens and his wife, Annetta (formerly Annetta Johnson and assistant to Augustus Saint-Gaudens) and their six-month old son Paul, were living with Annetta's family in Flint, Ohio at this time. Augustus wanted very much for his brother and his wife to join him in his work at Cornish.

---

265. Augustus Saint-Gaudens to Louis Saint-Gaudens, December 15, 1900. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

CHAPTER XI

Work And Leisure

While the "Saint" was in Florida recuperating from his recent operation, his faithful chief assistant, James Earle Fraser, was at Cornish supervising the construction of a large studio in which the sculptor and his assistants could house and work on the "Sherman" statue during the winter. Fraser recalled that never having built anything before, he was quite flabbergasted with the problem, "but being an overconfident youth," he decided he could do it. With the advice of Saint-Gaudens' intimate friend, architect George Fletcher Babb, Fraser designed a main building which was about 30' x 40', with a 50' extension tapering to a size six feet square at the far end.

The young sculptor, turned temporary architect, was successful in getting some French-Canadian carpenters to construct the building. Winter had set in before construction could get underway, however, and they had to start the building on the snowy frozen ground. Everything went well despite the weather because the French-Canadians easily understood what Fraser wanted. The building, complete with a skylight and camera-like side, was finished for six hundred dollars.

Through considerable hard work, the building had been completed and the big plaster cast of the "Sherman" statue had been set on its turntable ready for the "master's" criticism and direction.[266]

By mid-December 1900, Saint-Gaudens was back in Cornish, "infinitely improved in health and . . . so anxious to complete his work that he immediately sent for numerous young sculptors to help." Fraser recalled" there were fifteen of us working at one time, each having some work to do on the statue under Saint-Gaudens' direction. It was quite like Donatello at Padua.[267] Saint-Gaudens, in writing his brother in March 1901, asking him and 'Nettie" to come to Cornish to assist him, noted: "There is a big gang up here. [Henry] Hering, Miss [Elsie] Ward, Fraser, Wells (an Englishman] Antonio my 'Eyetalion' [Italian], Paris, [and] a boy Harold, besides Charlie Bryant the man about the house and Dr. Lyndon Smith who returns a full fledged M. D. [actually, veterinarian] from Baltimore in three weeks. If Nettie and you come or Nettie alone . . . I believe she could be of serious help, it would be a mutual one."[268]

---

266. Fraser, "Autobiography."

267. Ibid.

268. Augustus Saint-Gaudens to Louis Saint-Gaudens, March 16, 1901. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

Heretofore, Saint-Gaudens had spent only summers and occasional falls in Cornish since he had first rented the estate in 1885. Now he had determined to live there the year around. He had given up his New York studio in 1897, and had terminated his residence in New York City, apparently in 1900. Once settled permanently in Cornish, he could concentrate his efforts in one place. The winter of 1900-01 saw the master sculptor working on the "Sherman" with new vigor and eagerness.

The icy cold New England air seemed to breathe new life into Saint-Gaudens. The completion of the "Sherman" was the sculptor's greatest concern, especially since he had been working on it since 1892. But he also took time out that first winter to enjoy himself. The sculptor recalled that he was deeply impressed and delighted by the exhilaration, brilliancy, unexpected joyousness, sleigh-riding, and skating he experienced during that first winter at Cornish. He recalled this winter in his Reminiscences:

> I was as happy as a child. I threw myself into the northern life and reveled in it as keenly as I did when I was a boy; especially when, skating once more after thirty-five years and playing hockey like a boy I was knocked down twice, receiving a magnificent black eye the first time and a swelled and cut forehead the second. In these I took great pride.[269]

Despite the joys of nature, Saint-Gaudens said that without his work, assistants, and congenial neighbors he could not have

---

269. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II, 228.

borne a winter in the cold north. The assistants were especially companionable to Saint-Gaudens during that first winter. The sculptor was the only member of his family there. Homer was attending Harvard College at Cambridge, Massachusetts, and Mrs. Saint-Gaudens was in the Azores.[270]

While the "Sherman" was being worked on in Cornish, one cast stood in the Paris Exposition, and a plaster duplicate was at the French foundry of Thiebault Brothers.[271] Although the cast exhibited in the Paris Exposition had won a Grand Medal of Honor for the sculptor, he thought he needed further changes. Thus, he decided to set up a third replica in Cornish in order to send alterations to Paris where they could be inserted into the bronze.

---

270. Mrs. Saint-Gaudens to Homer Saint-Gaudens, December 1904, Saint-Gaudens Collection. Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, while vacationing in California, wrote her son regarding frequent separations between her and her sculptor husband: "It was ten months after I left your father in Paris [1899] before we met again in Boston [August 1900] and the following winter [1900-01] I was so miserable I had to go to the Azores for 7 months and so it went on for years of almost constant separation." Among other trips Mrs. Saint-Gaudens mentioned at various times in her correspondence was a trip throughout most of Europe, including the extreme northern areas of the Scandinavian countries in 1892, and an excursion to Bermuda for both herself and Homer in 1896. Mrs. Saint-Gaudens contended that she needed these trips for her health. She was constantly complaining of head trouble, hearing difficulties, and kidney trouble.

271. Charles J. Weston to George S. Terry, November 17, 1903. Saint-Gaudens Collection. Weston was the sculptor's personal secretary at this time.

Saint-Gaudens was particularly displeased with the wings of "Victory", parts of Sherman's cloak, the mane of the horse, and the pine branch of the base, which the sculptor placed there to symbolize the State of Georgia.[272]

One of Saint-Gaudens' nieces, Margaret Nichols,[273] recalled that while the equestri n monument to Sherman was being modeled Saint-Gaudens kept a spirited stallion on the place, and that one of the sights she enjoyed was to see the stallion being led around the grounds. She was especially interested in the process of applying gold leaf to the statue. Miss Nichols remembered the gilder's habit of stroking with his fine gilding brush the thin fringe of hair that bordered his bald head. When she asked him, "Why do you brush your head ?" he replied, "My hair electrifies the brush and keeps the gold leaf stiff and smooth." Her main concern was that he have enough remaining hairs to last till the job was done.[274]

---

272. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, 227.

273. Alice W. Shurcliff, ed., Lively Days: Some Memoirs of Margaret Homer Shurcliff, Taipei, 1, 1965. Margaret Shurcliff, a sister of the Rose Nichols mentioned prominently in this report, married landscape architect Arthur Shurtleff. Subsequently Shurtleff changed the spelling of his name to Shurcliff. Mrs. Shurcliff was the daughter of Mrs. Saint-Gaudens' sister, Elizabeth Homer Nichols.

274. Ibid.

It was during September 1902 that Saint-Gaudens started gilding the bronze which he had placed in the field behind his house. By November 9 he could report that the statue had been successfully gilded.[275] Saint-Gaudens frequently placed his large statues in a mocked-up setting on the grounds of his estate in order to get an idea of what they would look like when placed in their permanent locations. The "Sherman, blazing gold in the afternoon sun with the dark green background and blue sky above, was an inspiring sight" to Margaret Nichols and to the neighbors.[276] Mrs. Fannie Cox, who lives in Windsor, Vermont at the time of the writing of this study, told the writer that as a ten-year old child she was "terribly impressed" with the golden statue that adorned the Cornish hills.[277]

Saint-Gaudens was especially concerned about the application of the patine to the statue. He had always devoted time to the color of his reproductions, struggling to obtain the proper "mat" upon their surfaces either by paint or acids or gold leaf; and in the case of the "Sherman" he explained, "I am sick of seeing statues look like stove pipes." Hence he wanted for the "Sherman" the

---

275. Saint-Gaudens to William E. Dodge, November 9, 1902. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

276. Shurcliff, Lively Days, 188-89.

277. Fannie Cox, personal interview, Windsor, Vermont, August 9, 1966, with author.

unusual combination of a gilded bronze on a cream-colored base.[278] When the statue was permanently placed at the south entrance to Central Park in New York City, it had a pink granite base (designed by Stanford White) that was in turn gilded like the figures. The result was a difference in color and texture that seemed to accent the sense of motion.[279]

The "Sherman" statue was ready for shipment to New York in November 1902, but Saint-Gaudens preferred to "wait until the snow falls, as transportation over the hilly Cornish roads is easier by sledge than by wagon."[280]

During the winter months it was transported to Central Park, where it was dedicated on May 30, 1903. General Sherman's grandson, William T. Sherman Thackara, unveiled the monument.[281]

The critics immediately proclaimed the "Sherman" a great success. One noted critic writing shortly after the dedication said that the "Sherman Monument" was probably the most completely grand example of Saint-Gaudens art. He went on to describe the

---

278. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 289.

279. From an article written by Kenyon Cox for a New York City paper, name unknown, June 13, 1903. The Cox article is in a folder of numerous newspaper clippings in the Saint-Gaudens Collection.

280. Saint-Gaudens to Dodge, November 9, 1902.

281. For feature articles on the monument see the New York Commercial Advertiser, May 29, 1903, and the New York Times, May 31, 1903.

monument in detail:

> Sherman leans a little forward in the saddle with a handling of the reins that keeps in control the impetuosity of his big-boned, powerful charger, an action of the hands very characteristic of an accomplished horseman. His head is bare and his military cloak floats from his back in ample folds. Victory moves ahead of his left stirrup, palm branch in her hand, her drapery behind; throughout the whole composition is a single impulse of irresistible advance . . . The horse in build and gait is a serviceable beast, bred for courage and endurance; the rider, a man of iron purpose, indomitable in face and carriage; while the woman's figure . . . touches a chord of triumph and pathos, of the glory and the tragedy of victory.[282]

Twenty-four years later, another writer called the "Sherman" Saint-Gaudens' most finished work "in that technical mastery which has here brought his peculiar purposes to fruition; his pictorial effect . . . his poignant mingling of poetry and fact; the dimunition of mass by which he underlines detail without excess of weight." To this observer, Sherman's fiery purpose was inherent in the flying cloak and spirited steed.[283] Another writer has said that in the "Sherman" the "horse, rider, and companion unite to create a rhythm which is almost musical -- the movement of Mozart rather than Beetboven."[284]

---

282. Charles H. Caffin, American Masters of Sculpture, (New York, 1903)13. Caffin was at various times an art critic for Harper's Weekly, the New York Post and the New York Sun.

283. Charles R. Morey in Mather, Morey, and Henderson, The American Spirit in Art, 193.

284. Larkin, Art and Life, 299.

Not everyone was complimentary of the "Sherman," particularly of the Angel ("Victory") leading the horse. Barry Faulkner commented to the author of this study during an interview in August 1966, that "lots of people hated the Angel."[285] In writing to Henry James, Saint-Gaudens thanked the noted author for the appreciation of Saint-Gaudens' works which James had expressed in a recent issue of the North American Review, but it is likely that James had expressed a distaste for the "Victory" figure, because Saint-Gaudens took pains to explain carefully the reason for including the figure in the monument:

> I take my hat off also to what you say of the figure of Victory, Liberty, Peace . . . It is because I feel so strongly the damnation of the whole business of war, that I made it, the very reason for which you want it otherwise. And there we are. Your reasons I am sure are better than mine, but, to paraphrase what Stevenson wrote in a book he gave me,
>
> ' Each of us must have our way
> You with ink and I with clay.' [286]

The "Sherman" was not well-received by those having strong Southern feelings. The New York Morning Telegraph reported on December 21, 1907 that "Pro-Southerners attempted to blow up the Sherman Statue, but [the] fuse was wet." A year later another

---

285. Barry Faulkner, personal interview, Keene, New Hampshire, August 10, 1966, with author.

286. Saint-Gaudens to Henry James, Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II 296-299.

New York paper reported that the Baltimore School Board, after protests by the United Daughters of the Confederacy, had decided not to put copies of a print of Saint-Gaudens' "Sherman" in the public schools. The UDC's principal objection arose over the pine branches trampled under the horse's feet.[287]

In addition to his work on the "Sherman" Saint-Gaudens was remodelling the "Stevenson" for St. Giles Church in Edinburgh, Scotland. The work had been sent to a French foundry prior to Saint-Gaudens' sailing for home. But, when the bas-relief arrived in Cornish, the sculptor discovered that the foundry, even after several attempts to make a successful cast, had sent him an unsatisfactory product. Saint-Gaudens discarded that bronze and remodelled it almost entirely.[288] Once again, the sculptor had the "Sherman" and the "Stevenson" in his studio at the same time. He had worked on variations of both since 1887.

Despite Saint-Gaudens' busy schedule and the mortal illness that possessed him during his later years, he took time to serve as a judge for sculpture competitions and to serve on the McMillan Commission in the formulation of a plan for the development of Washington, D. C. Thus, the influence of America's greatest sculptor of his time can still be seen in the Nation's Capital. This influence

---

287. New York Tribune, December 15, 1908.

288. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 227-307.

can be seen especially in the work of Saint-Gaudens' "ablest" pupil and assistant, James Earle Fraser.[289]

Fraser's works in Washington D. C. include: the bronze head of "Theodore Roosevelt" in the Senate Chamber; statues of "Alexander Hamilton" and "Albert Gallatin" at the U. S. Treasury Building; statue of "John Ericsson," Potomac Park; "Journey Through Life," Keep monument, Rock Creek Cemetery; "2d Division" memorial at 17th and Constitution Avenue; the groups in the pediments of the Commerce Department building; the figures in the huge pediment of the National Archives building and two heroic statues by the entrance steps; two allegorical figures at the Supreme Court building; and "The Peaceful Arts" monument at the entrance to Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway.[290]

Among the significant competitions in which Saint-Gaudens served as a judge were those for the General McClellan Monument, the General Grant Monument,[291] and the Pulaski Monument, all in Washington, D. C.

---

289. One authority on American art has said about Fraser: "Fraser is able . . . to combine a most sensitive record of transient reality with monumental necessities. . . . On Fraser, one may say that the poetry of Saint-Gaudens has descended, if not his strength." Mather, Morey, and Henderson, The American Spirit in Art, 217.

290. Washington Evening Star, October 14, 1953.

291. Henry M. Shrady, recommended highly by Saint-Gaudens, won the competition for the Grant Memorial and produced General Grant on Horseback, together with the masterful 'Artillery Coming To A Halt," at 1st Street and East Mall, Washington D. C. See Jacobson, Hugh Newell, ed. ed., A Guide to the Architecture of Washington, D. C., Praeger, (London W. 1, England, 1965), 21.

He also served as an advisor in sculpture to the Vicksburg National Military Park Commission. Perhaps the most important of Saint-Gaudens' work as a consultant was his participation as a member of the McMillan Commission. The impetus for the creation of a commission to plan for an orderly and beautiful development of the Nation's Capital came in 1900 with the meeting in Washington of the powerful American Institute of Architects. Meeting at the same time that the Congress was in session, the architects had as their principal subject for discussion the architectural development of the City of Washington. Speeches made by influential architects competed very favorably with Congressional happenings for front page coverage in the Washington papers.

Senator James McMillan of Michigan,(Member of the Senate Committee on the District of Columbia) whose attention had been attracted to the convening architects' proposals, was convinced that the Congress should take some action to ensure the proper development of Washington. Through McMillan's efforts a park commission was appointed by the U. S. Senate. The Commission was composed of "Daniel H. Burnham, architect and master of men; Charles F. McKim, architect and master of taste; Augustus Saint-Gaudens, sculptor and the first artist in the nation; Frederick Law Olmsted , Jr., landscape architect, inheritor of the prestige and ability of his distinguished father. These gentlemen . . . threw themselves without compensation in to the

formidable task of making a plan for the development of the Capital of the United States."[29]

The commission's final report, illustrated with elaborate drawings, was presented in 1902. The plan proposed the mall as the central feature -- broken only by a memorial to Grant, the Washington Monument, and a memorial to Abraham Lincoln located at the west end. The Commission strongly recommended the removal of the Pennsylvania Railroad station from the Mall and suggested that it be relocated north of the Capitol.[28]

In his American Art, A Historical Survey, Samuel M. Green discusses the influence of Saint-Gaudens, Burnham and others in city planning:

> At the beginning of the century, little concern was evidenced about such matters as public housing or the improvement of general living conditions, except in the creation of park areas. The energies of planners were devoted instead to the spread of the "city beautiful" ideal which had been largely inspired by the Chicago World's Fair. In fact, the controlling architect of the fair, D. H. Burnham, became the principal figure in the development of this concept, in which his European predilections were further confirmed . . . Burnham's revival and revision, beginning in 1902, of L'Enfant's plan for Washington, in which he was assisted by Olmstead, McKim, and Saint-Gaudens, was the most appropriate expression of his ideas, because Washington, in the breadth and spaciousness of L'Enfant's essentially baroque plan and in retrospective classicism of its buildings, is more European in feeling than any other American city — an impression Burnham and his committee increased.[29]

---

292. Thomas E. Talmadge, The Story of Architecture in America,(New York, 1936), 247-248.

293. Ibid.

294. Samuel M. Green, American Art, A Historical Survey,(New York,1966) 510.

In connection with the McMillan Plan and Saint-Gaudens' recommendations, the sculptor wrote Theodore Roosevelt in August 1903:

> I have been very apprehensive with regard to the disposition of the new Public Buildings proposed in Washington. It would be deplorable in the extreme if they were not placed according to some comprehensive plan, binding all the Public Buildings with some idea of unity and harmony. Even if the scheme suggested by the commission of which I was a member, was discarded, I cannot express too strongly the hope that nothing will be done without first consulting professional men, not directly interested in any one building.[295]

In the same letter, Saint-Gaudens expressed concern about developments in the National Cemeteries, particularly the "Arlington Cemetery immediately surrounding the Lee Mansion. He noted, "If our information is correct, it is proposed to extend the graves on the noble slope which descends from the mansion to the river. This is one of the most beautiful sites in the vicinity of Washington. That it should not be defaced or touched in any way, and that a law or rule should at once be passed forbidding the placing of any monu- on this hill, is the unanimous opinion of this Commission.[296]

---

295. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 276-77.

296. Ibid.

Although plagued with poor health, Saint-Gaudens continued to be a productive sculptor during much of the 1900-1905 period. The illness, of course, necessitated a change in pace, requiring more relaxation. The sculptor had been so completely absorbed by his work from the time he was a cameo-cutter that he had taken little time to play. At Cornish, a new way of life evolved, wherein he devoted a great deal of time to physical exercise, because he enjoyed it and it was good for his physical and mental well-being. Golf and bowling in the summer and ice skating and tobogganing in the winter became a regular part of every afternoon's schedule for Saint-Gaudens and his assistants. The sculptor would say to his assistants, "Play, play! I wish I'd played more when I was young. I took things too seriously."[271]

Saint-Gaudens wrote his old-time friend, Alfred Garnier, in the fall of 1901 that he had had an awful time because of bad health, but that he was apparently over it, thanks in a great measure to a change in his manner of doing things. He told Garnier that he stopped work at one o'clock and devoted the rest of the day to out-of-door things, golf, walking, driving, cutting-trees, "and all that makes one see there is something else in life besides the four walls of an ill-ventilated studio." He went on to say, "Not that I renounce for a moment my love of the charm of that life too --

---

297. Saint-Gaudens Reminiscences II, 231.

- I speak of this because I see so many of the 'confrérie' living the life I led for thirty years, and I wish to drag them by the hair to where they would find other 'jouissances' that would not undermine their health. - - Health -- is the thing! That's my conclusion."[298]

Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, being the good business manager that she was, considered the many afternoons spent on the golf course or on the bowling green, etc., a waste of manpower. But she failed to appreciate the fact that the doctor had prescribed this kind of exercise and therapy for her ailing husband.[299] Saint-Gaudens' active participation in these outdoor activities and the seeing of others enjoying themselves gave him great satisfaction. Undoubtedly he was able to remain productive during his later years because he could "get away from things" and "lose himself" in sports.

Kenyon Cox, who knew Saint-Gaudens quite intimately as a fellow artist and neighbor, felt that one of the greatest alleviations the sculptor had from his sufferings was his broadening and deepening love for nature, literature, and music.[300]

There were long periods, however, when he would do nothing in his studio. Either mental depression, or playing golf or participating in other sports, kept him from his work. In writing to

---

298. Ibid., II, 237.

299. Barry Faulkner, Personal Interview, August 10, 1966.

300. Cox, "In Memory of Saint-Gaudens," 249.

Reverend Winchester Donald in October 1903 regarding the Phillips Brooks Monument for Boston's Trinity Church the sculptor refers to his physical and mental condition: "For six years [since 1897] there has not been a day in my life when a horrible vision of death has not been constantly hanging over me." The sculptor wrote the minister that he had recently had a total change in mentality; "the vision of death vanished and an entire new grip on life and health took possession of me. It was so extraordinary that I seized on it as a drowning man seizes on a rock. In order to maintain this grip, I have not done a stroke of work for three months." The Brooks Monument [which he had been working on at least since 1893] was no closer to completion than it was three months earlier. "This was the first time in my life," he told the minister, "that, when sound in mind and body, I have refrained from work." As a result of this, he wrote,"I am entirely a new man, and am crazy to get at it again." As long as the good weather lasted, he planned to delay going back to work. Once the weather broke, he said he would "sail into" the Brooks Monument.[301]

Two days later, he wrote his architect friend, Charles F. McKim: "I am proud to say that I haven't done a stroke of work in three months." In stronger language than that used in writing

---

301. Saint-Gaudens to Reverend Winchester Donald, October 10, 1903. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 318.

Reverend Donald, the "Saint" indicated that it was the first time in six years that he had not "meditated upon suicide at some hour or other during the day." He also told McKim what he had told Winchester, that it was the first time he had loafed when he could have been working. The result of the loafing, Saint-Gaudens told his friend, had made him "even more pretty than you to look upon, and if I was a woman I would make the healthiest baby that ever was."[302]

In December he wrote Alfred Garnier that he had been busy, but that he was enjoying winter sports: "We have been having regular winter for three weeks. We skate and I play games upon the ice as I played them thirty-seven years ago, a little more stiffly, but that does not make any difference since I am still feeling young."[303]

Homer Saint-Gaudens said that accompanying his father's love of the country, there were developed in his nature two new pleasures - - an interest in the development and prolongation of healthy life and an appreciation of youth in the freedom of its spirit. In the appreciation of youth, the "Saint"" dwelt again and again upon his own younger and athletic days and attempted to repeat them." In the

---

302. Saint-Gaudens to Charles F. McKim, Ibid., II, 289.

303. Saint-Gaudens to Alfred Garnier, Ibid., II, 235.

winter Saint-Gaudens kept a patch of ice on the Blow-Me-Down Pond cleared of snow and was "indefatigable" in organizing hockey parties. Homer noted that his father also erected "perilous toboggan chutes and through a glorious accident, one of our family [Rose Nichols] wearing its scar to this day, established thereon an eminent reputation for recklessness." In the summer, said Homer, "He employed all manner of labor both to furnish himself with his own golf-course and to rebuild his swimming pool; since, though he might no longer swim himself, he could obtain endless delight in watching youth at the sport."[304]

The sculptor's son said that it was lucky that Saint-Gaudens developed his love for the out-of-doors and of the pursuit of youth. For, as Homer said, "Had it not been for that, he surely never would have accomplished what he did, nor could he otherwise have stored sufficient energy to keep his mind active during the last days."[305]

In addition to the diversion provided by athletic endeavors at Cornish, there were outside interests that varied Saint-Gaudens' routine. He served as a judge in several sculptural competitions and acted as a consultant for several sculpture projects. In 1902

304. Ibid., II, 244.

305. Ibid., II, 246.

he received a $1,000 honorarium for going to Saint Louis to consult with Daniel Chester French, John Q. A. Ward, and others for the sculpture exhibits of the forthcoming Louisiana Purchase Exposition (also known as the St. Louis World's Fair).[306]

Various other happenings, such as his modelling the relief of the Supreme Court Justice Horace Gray, the modelling of David Jayne Hill, a high official in the Department of State, work in behalf of the American Academy in Rome, and the receiving of honors of one sort or another, brought him to Washington. In addition to the sculptar's going to Washington on official business, it appears that both Saint-Gaudenses would often go there or some place in the south during the spring of each year to escape the mud accompanying the New Hampshire spring thaws and to enjoy the companionship of Henry Adams, the John Hays, the Theodore Roosevelts, etc. The after Christmas 1904, Saint-Gaudens wrote the Honorable Wayne MacVeagh that he and Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, who at that time was on an extended tour of the west, would make their usual spring visit to Washington when "we will have the pleasure of seeing you I trust."[307]

---

306. Saint-Gaudens "Account Book," p. 96, Saint-Gaudens Collection.

307. Augustus Saint-Gaudens to Wayne MacVeagh, December 26, 1904. Saint-Gaudens Collection. Saint-Gaudens did not go to Washington in the spring of 1905, however. In March the "Saint", in writing to MacVeagh, said, "I do not think we will go to Washington this spring for, notwithstanding the mud, the song of the birds and the smell of the earth makes us loathe to leave." Same to Same, March 28, 1905, Saint-Gaudens Collection.

At other times he and Mrs. Saint-Gaudens traveled to resorts, thinking such would be good for his health. For instance, in the fall of 1902, they were in Hot Springs, Virginia, for this reason. Charles McKim wrote on November 5 that he had just received Saint-Gaudens' letter and that he was glad to hear that the stay at the resort was doing him good.[308]

While illness and inactivity considerably slowed the production of the sculptor's works during his later years, an impressive number of high quality works came out of his studio during this period. Saint-Gaudens was fortunate in having a staff of very competent assistants who, with a minimum of supervision, could admirably complete works that the master sculptor had conceived and executed in a clay model. For a list of his works during the 1900-1905 period, as well as a complete list of his works, see Appendix A of this report.

The period 1900-1905 has been selected for emphasis in this chapter because it was therein that the sculptor was most active in his pursuit of his profession since permanently moving to Cornish. He had many "ups and downs" during that period. But, after 1905 his health was such that the work in the studio was done primarily by his assistants. The commissions worked on during the last year

---

308. Charles F. McKim to Saint-Gaudens, November 5, 1902. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

and seven months of his life, for the most part, were the ones that had been awarded prior to 1906. Much of the work done by the sculptor on these was done by him prior to 1906, because many of them, such as the Brooks Monument, had been in progress for several years.

To discuss in detail all of the sculptor's works for the 1900-1905 period is not within the scope or nature of this study. But representatives in addition to the ones previously mentioned are covered so as to present a picture of the activities of the sculptor and those working closely with him at Cornish.

Among the highly significant works completed during the 1900-1905 period was the bust of Secretary of State John Hay. Saint-Gaudens and Hay had been good friends for many years. Their mutual friendship with Henry Adams, whose house adjoined Hay's in Washington, helped to strengthen the ties between the sculptor and the diplomat. Hay had held prominent government positions since the early 1860's when he was one of Abraham Lincoln's private secretaries. Co-author with John Nicolay in The Life of Abraham Lincoln, Hay knew Lincoln about as well as anyone yet living in 1904. The sculptor's great admiration for the "Emancipator" caused him to be quite interested in Hay's reminiscences of the late Chief Executive. Thus his friendship with Hay and his interest in Lincoln and the Civil War made the execution of a bust of Hay rewarding in more ways than just the amount of the commission. The sculptor's fee, however, was nothing to be taken lightly. Regarding the fee and other matters,

Saint-Gaudens wrote Hay in October 1903: "If you can spare me sittings in the spring when the mud is supreme here, I shall go to Washington for a month or so and I will make a try at it if it is convenient to you." He went on to quote his price as $10,000.[309]

Saint-Gaudens' price quotation was in response to a recent request by Hay that he be modelled by the sculptor. In Hay's letter of request he asked Saint-Gaudens if he could make anything of "so philistine and insignificant a head as mine." Half jesting, the Secretary of State noted that he lacked profile, size, and every requisite of sculpture, but, he said: "I have been an unusual length of time in office and I fear that after I am dead, if not before, some blacksmith will try to bust me. Turn it over a little in your mind."[310]

James Earle Fraser, who had been Saint-Gaudens' close assistant and virtual associate, had by 1904 become well established as a sculptor in New York City. Even so, he returned to Cornish from time to time to assist his former "boss". He was in Cornish during

---

309. Saint-Gaudens to John Hay, October 12, 1903. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

310. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 333.

the summer of 1904[311] when Hay visited the sculptor's studio in connection with the execution of his bust. Fraser recalled that Hay was a particularly delightful man whom he liked very much. The diplomat-statesman delighted Fraser as he did Saint-Gaudens with his recollections of Lincoln. The story Hay told Fraser about the martyred President is worth repeating.

Lincoln's former secretary told the young sculptor that when Lincoln was troubled and unable to sleep because of the Civil War that had split the Nation he would often come to the Secretary's room even in the middle of the night, asking if he might read to him. The President, book under his arm, a candle in his hand -- "that enormously tall figure looking even taller because he wore a long white nightgown; his black hair standing upright, touselled and unruly," would ask the secretary, "Hay, would you mind if I read to you for a while -- I can't sleep and it might help me to forget my worries." Lincoln's choice, said Hay, was great as he usually read from Shakespeare, the Bible, or Thomas Hood. Hay would try to get out of bed, but the President would say, "No, no, don't move, I'll just sit here on the edge of the bed." After half or three-quarters of an hour, the load on Lincoln's mind would seem to lift and he would return to his own room.[312]

---

311. It must have been near the end of July when Hay was at "Aspet" for he wrote Mrs. Saint-Gaudens on July 31 thanking her for the fine hospitality she showed him during his recent two days up there. John Hay to Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, July 31, 1904. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

312. Fraser, "Autobiography."

Another interesting episode connected with Hay's visit to "Aspet" in July 1904, was related to the writer of this study by a former employee of the Saint-Gaudenses who happened to be visiting the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site during August 1966 when the initial research for this study was being undertaken. While sitting on the piazza on the west side of the Saint-Gaudens house interviewing Mr. and Mrs. William Platt, Cornish residents who have been closely associated with the Saint-Gaudens site since they were small children, I overheard a woman visitor telling her companions: "This is the way it was when I was here." Realizing that this lady was no ordinary visitor I engaged her in a conversation. Much to my amazement she said that she had been a cook for the Saint-Gaudenses, coming to work for them in 1903 and leaving in 1904. This lady, now Mrs. Martha Nelson Smith of East Hartford, Connecticut, said that she came to work for the Saint-Gaudenses when she was eighteen years old and still unmarried.

I asked Mrs. Smith if she recalled any visits by important people while she was working for the Saint-Gaudenses. She replied, "Ja, there was Secretary of State John Hay." Mrs. Smith even remembered she had prepared rice pudding while the Secretary was there. He boosted her ego tremendously by proclaiming that if he could have some more of her rice pudding, he would think he was in heaven.[313]

---

313. Martha Nelson Smith, Personal Interview, Cornish, New Hampshire, August 6, 1966, with author.

When Hay visited "Aspet" his bust was near completion for Saint-Gaudens had written him on July 12, 1904, "Now that we are neighbors[Hay had a summer place at Newbury, New Hampshire, about thirty miles southeast of Cornish], perhaps on some day of leisure you may run up here. I would not mind glancing at you again for a moment or so before sending the work to the bronze founder." [314]

On August 30 the sculptor wrote Hay that the bust was finished in every respect "so far as I am concerned and all that I can do is done." He also told his statesman friend: "There are four copies of the work in different places, so that it is protected from loss unless the world blows up, in which event nobody would care, except Henry Adams who would shriek and yell in delight and derision as he sailed into the air." In answer to Hay's inquiry about the cost of a replica, Saint-Gaudens replied: "I propose unloading two busts on you, one in marble, the other in bronze . . . these to be included in the piratical charge I have made for the work."[315]

---

314. Saint-Gaudens to John Hay, July 12, 1904, Saint-Gaudens Reminiscences, II, 334.

315. Same to Same, August 30, 1904, Ibid., 334-337.

In addition to the Hay bust, Saint-Gaudens was working on numerous other projects during 1904 as well as overseeing the construction of a new studio and the extensive development of the grounds. The grounds development and the history of individual buildings will be discussed at length in the Historic Grounds Report, a companion study to the report being undertaken at this time.

Three statues, in particular, had been in various stages of development for more than a decade: the Seated Lincoln, the Brooks Monument, and the Boston Public Library Group. Among others under development, for less time but in progress during 1904, were statues of Marcus Daly, the copper magnate from Montana, and Stewart Parnell, a political leader of Ireland.

Saint-Gaudens had long cherished the hope of making a second statue of Abraham Lincoln. The fulfillment of this hope was made possible through the will of John Crerar of Chicago. Crerar's will provided that $100,000 of his estate be used for the erection of a statue of Lincoln.[316] Following the admittance of Crerar's will to probate on November 14, 1889, Saint-Gaudens was asked to enter a competition for the commission of the Lincoln statue. When he refused to enter the competition, as was his usual practice, the trustees of Crerar's estate awarded him a direct commission.

---

316. Bullard, Lincoln in Marble and Bronze, 86.

Crerar's will was contested by certain cousins of the benefactor, but it was sustained by the courts in 1893.[317] It was at that time that Saint-Gaudens could start work on the statue.

For this statue, Saint-Gaudens wanted to depict Lincoln as "the head of state." In his earlier "Lincoln" the sculptor had presented him as "Lincoln, the man." In the portrayal of a gaunt Lincoln, seated in a "gaunt yet official" chair, Saint-Gaudens hoped to combine the personal with the national expression of the President.

In his execution of this "Lincoln", as with all his monumental works, Saint-Gaudens was much concerned about the blending of sculpture and architecture, and how the combination would look when in its permanent location. Thus, he did considerable experimenting to ascertain the effect his work in final form would have upon the viewer. As one step in the mechanics of producing the "Lincoln", the sculptor made three four-foot models and shifted them back and forth over seats of countless shapes and sizes. While he was working on the "Seated Lincoln" at Cornish he had full-sized enlargements made of it along with an architectural representation and had them set up in the field behind the house.

Because of the sculptor's concern that his works have the proper effect upon those viewing them, he felt justified in deviating from a strictly true-to-nature representation. For instance, he lengthened the body of the "Seated Lincoln" at the waist as he had in the "Standing Lincoln", and slightly elongated Lincoln's legs from the knee down,

---

317. Ibid., 87. See also Durman, He Belongs to the Ages, 56.

"to guard against the foreshortening by the low point of view of the visitor." He made the head proportionately smaller "since he had a horror of making a man 'look like a tadpole.'" And he modelled the hair in a manner different from the hair seen in photographs of Lincoln, although the result seemed to convey the proper sense of Lincoln's hair when viewed by the onlooker. In portraying the clothing, however, Saint-Gaudens spared no pains to obtain correct materials and to have them look as if they had been worn by the individual being portrayed. He even asked Mr. John Bixby, who posed for the statue, to dress in black broadcloth of the cut of Lincoln's time, and wander among the farmers so that he might wear wrinkles in the suit.[318]

At a time when the "Seated Lincoln was almost finished in model form, tragedy struck the sculptor's large studio, which had been expanded and refined from the shed Fraser had constructed for the "Sherman". About 9 P.M. on an evening in early October 1904 a raging fire was discovered. The fire, which started in the stable adjoining the studio, soon spread to that building, destroying essentially all that was in the stable as well as most of the contents of the studio. The fire was unusually devastating because it occurred at a time when there were no men at the house to fight the fire. Mr. Saint-Gaudens, his son, and most of the sculptor's male assistants were in New York.

---

318. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II, 308-311.

Saint-Gaudens had gone on business, but he had taken the men down for a little "spree and relaxation," and Mrs. Saint-Gaudens had used the night watchman as a coachman to transport her to a dinner engagement.[319]

Homer Saint-Gaudens said that two maid-servants noticed the fire only after it was well under way, and before they could summon help "the flames were pouring straight upward into the still night air."[320]

In his unpublished autobiography, Barry Faulkner gives a stirring account of the fire. He had been brought to Cornish by Saint-Gaudens to do little jobs in his studio such as coloring solar print cut-outs of statues and gilding small reproductions of the head of the Sherman "Victory." At the time he was staying at the William Westgate house, about one mile up the hill from "Aspet." The Misses Frances Grimes and Elsie Ward, two of the "Saint"'s able assistants, were boarding with the Westgates at this time.[321]

Faulkner recalled that after supper Frances Grimes "stepped out of doors for a breath of air but came back in alarm, telling us there was the red glow of a fire in the valley below and she feared it was Aspet." Miss Grimes' apprehension was justified, for Faulkner, who rushed to the scene, found that the stable adjoining the large studio was a mass of flame and the fire had already attacked the east wall of the studio.

---

319. Barry Faulkner, Personal Interview, August 10, 1966, and Faulkner, "Autobiography."

320. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II, 247.

321. Barry Faulkner, Personal Interview. Faulkner told this writer

"Neighbors and friends began to arrive and we pitched in to save what we could," said Faulkner. He noted that the Windsor Fire Department was far away and "even if they had been there the water supply at Aspet was too limited to have made an impression on such a conflagration." The efforts of the amateur fire fighters were confused and ineffectual: one neighbor with obviously good intentions, labored to save an iron stove that was virtually worthless in comparison with the works of art. The future muralist of great note recalled that the fire fighters carried out bas-reliefs and small figures, and molds, casts and studio furniture of no great value, but the large and nearly completed figures of Charles Stewart Parnell and Marcus Daly could not be moved. The sculptor's principal assistant of this time, Henry Hering, had fastened the casters of the stands with lumps of plaster. Faulkner said if they had known of this they could have shattered the plaster with a hammer, which was to imply the probability of saving both of these works.[322]

The head of the Parnell statue was saved, however. Frances Grimes remembered Elsie Ward as the heroine of the 1904 fire, for, said Grimes: "With great presence of mind, rare in people at a fire, she remembered that the head of the Parnell statue, then in plasteline, was detachable."

---

that when he was at "Aspet" to do work for Saint-Gaudens he boarded at the Westgate place, but when he was visiting with Homer or the "Saint", he stayed at "Aspet".

322. Faulkner, "Autobiography."

Miss Ward, said Grimes, found a tall ladder, placed it and climbed to the head of the "Parnell" and "while fragments of the skylight were falling about her, took it down and carrying it to a sand box on a golf course nearby, supported it in the sand and saved it - uninjured."[323]

Faulkner said that Mrs. Saint-Gaudens arrived on the scene with her niece, Rose Nichols, while attempts were still being made to save things from the studio. Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, obviously grieved and shocked by the overwhelming destruction, "stood apart, silent and rigid as a block of black marble." Miss Nichols "frantically urged us to get out of the studio," said Faulkner, "which we did, as the great skylight crashed inwards."[324] The next morning charred timbers and the nauseating smell of burning plasteline were sorrowful evidence of the catastrophe of the night before.

Saint-Gaudens learned of the awful fire when he returned to his New York hotel after witnessing with his son a performance of "Lefty" at the Hudson Theater.[325] Homer Saint-Gaudens commented that while his

---

323. Grimes, "Reminiscences." Faulkner recalled, too, that Miss Ward had saved the head of the Parnell -- by cutting it from the body with a strand of wire. Faulkner, "Autobiography."

324. Ibid.

325. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II, 247.

father took the bad news with "a self-possession that showed that, despite his ill-health, the years had brought him a share of mental peace," it nevertheless caused him great distress. To have years of ones work go up in flame and to lose many valuable things stored in the stable would have been extremely difficult for even a well person to accept.

Consumed in the flames that destroyed the stable were the furniture from the New York City house, many of the sculptor's treasured papers and letters, such as those from Robert Louis Stevenson, many photographs, the drawing he did of his mother in 1867, the portrait of him by Kenyon Cox, a sketch of him by Bastien-Le Page, the Sargent sketch of him and a water color of a Capri girl, paintings by Winslow Homer, William Bunce, and William M. Chase.[326] Kenyon Cox said that the portrait he did of Saint-Gaudens burned in the 1904 fire and that the Cox portrait of Saint-Gaudens in the Metropolitan Museum, painted since Saint-Gaudens' death, was a replica of the earlier portrait. It is assumed that Cox did the replica. Cox also noted that there were in 1914 only two existing portraits done from life of Saint-Gaudens in his best years: "A study, of the head only, in the collection of the National Academy of Design and a sketch by Will H. Low, painted in Paris in 1877." The portrait of the sculptor in his later years,

---

326. Ibid.,See also Cox, Artist and Public, 178.

by Miss Ellen Emmet (later, Ellen Emmet Rand), was in the Metropolitan Museum,[327] said Cox.

While the material loss caused by the fire was extremely heavy, the years of precious work could not be easily measured in terms of money, especially since Saint-Gaudens' physical condition would not permit him to be as actively involved in the second production of the statues he had put so much of himself into before the fire. There was not a total loss however, because the buildings and their contents were insured. Saint-Gaudens noted in his Account Journal for November 5, 1904 that he had received $7,838.00 for the stable, large studio, and household effects. Also on that date he received

---

327. The Emmet portrait of Saint-Gaudens, done in 1904, was sold in April 1908 by Miss Emmet to The Metropolitan Museum of Art for a reputed $2,000. The sale precipitated a suit by Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, who, in seeking to get possession of the portrait, maintained that it was her husband's understanding that the portrait was his. The sculptor's widow, in her December 1908 suit, said that her late husband thought Miss Emmet was retaining the portrait so she could have a copy made to send to England.

In June 1907, two months before Saint-Gaudens died, the sculptor's son wrote Miss Emmet about the portrait: "You must realize that the portrait of my father which you painted is the only one in existence, made from life [sic - see Cox reference above to Will H. Low painting of 1877], and therefore has a sentimental value to us of his family. Also, you must realize that when my father posed for you he had already had many other requests of the sort and he sat in the belief that the portrait should become a precious heirloom to the family. So naturally we desire to have the portrait in Windsor and under no consideration could we give consent to have it hung permanently in the Metropolitan Museum." Homer asked Miss Emmet to ship to Cornish the original portrait and the copy that apparently was done by Miss Emmet's sister Leslie. Homer's letter did not produce the desired effect upon Miss Emmet for she went ahead with the sale. And, it appears, that she continued to maintain that she had exclusive ownership rights to the portrait. Mrs. Saint-Gaudens dropped the suit; the Metropolitan

almost $5,000 fire insurance payment for the destruction of the "Marcus Daly." Of this amount, he received $2,475.00 from London and Lancaster Co., and $2,475.00 from the Fire Insurance Co., of North America.

In writing to "Gussie" from New York City on October 22, 1904, the sculptor alludes to the fact that a fairly good model of the "Daly" was saved: "I have your telegram about the Daly. . . . The agent [was told] that I valued the model that was saved at $5,000 and that a quarter of the value of the work that was destroyed." This means that Saint-Gaudens valued the "Daly" that was destroyed at $20,000.

In speculating as to the amount he expected the insurance company (or companies) to pay, Saint-Gaudens' arithmetic is such that it is difficult to understand what he is saying. In writing to Mrs. Saint-Gaudens he said: "It is possible that they will take the same amount, i. e., 1/4 off of the amount I was insured for, i.e., 1/4 off of $5,000 . . . I think therefor[e] $2,500 is an ample estimate of its value." It is not known how Saint-Gaudens arrived at

---

still has the portrait. See the following letters in the Saint-Gaudens Collection; Saint-Gaudens to Ellen Emmet, August 21, 1906; Homer Saint-Gaudens to Miss Emmet, September 13, 1906; and Same, June 5, 1907. The originals of these letters are in the Princeton University Library. Also see the New York Sun, December 2, 1908 and the New York American, December 2, 1908.

328. "Account Journal," November 5, 1904, p. 129. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

the $2500 figure, for 1/4 off $5,000 would leave $3,750. The sculptor went on to tell his wife then that "the $2,500 was $1,000 more than my outlay for Hering at $10.00 a day for 6 months."[329] This may imply that he felt that he would be reasonably well satisfied if he could recover the cost of Hering's labor and an additional $1,000.

It is especially interesting to note the salary the sculptor paid his chief assistant. Figuring Hering's salary at $10.00 a day, six days a week, for six months, it would amount to approximately $1,500.00, as suggested in Saint-Gaudens' letter of October 22.

As noted above, Saint-Gaudens received $4,950.00 from two insurance companies. If his earlier noted statement that the statue was insured for $5,000 is correct, he received virtually the entire face value of the policies, and the insurance companies did not deduct for the model that was saved.

The fire of 1904 helped to bring to light the tremendous capital outlay the sculptor had to provide to operate on the scale such as he did. His account books suggest that he had to have collateral by way of stocks, bonds, life insurance policies, etc. that would match the amount he was advanced as partial payments on various commissions.[330] Quite naturally, the sculptor's clients were alarmed

---

329. Saint-Gaudens to Augusta Saint-Gaudens, October 22, 1904. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

330. See "Account Journals," in Saint-Gaudens Collection.

over the prospects of having their works completed after the fire. The sculptor had to write many reassuring letters to his clients to satisfy them as to his solvency and his ability to produce the final product in accordance with the original agreements. On October 18, 1904, for example, he wrote to members of the Lincoln Memorial Fund informing them that the "Lincoln" was destroyed in the fire, but that it was covered by insurance.[331]

The sculptor did not waste much time in resuming work after the fire. In fact, he made such good progress that he could record in his account books as early as April 18, 1905 that the "Daly" had been finished and was ready for the bronze foundry. Fortunately, too, Saint-Gaudens had his private studio that had just been completed that summer and there were other buildings on the place that could be used for temporary studios. Also, he immedi ately started work on a new and much larger studio to replace the one which had burned.

The "Lincoln" was being worked on in late December 1904. On the day after Christmas the "Saint" wrote "Gussie," at this time on a trip to California, Grand Canyon and other places in the west, that "the Lincoln is pulled together but there is much more work on that than I anticipated."[332] Two weeks later, the sculptor wrote Richard W. Gilder, who had been a co-purchaser with Saint-Gaudens

---

331. Saint-Gaudens to Lincoln Memorial Fund, October 18, 1904. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

332. Saint-Gaudens to Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, December 26, 1904. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

and others of the 1860 Leonard Volk Mask of Lincoln:[333] "My cast of the Lincoln head is gone with the rest in the fire. . . . I wish you [would] please let the bearer of this take a cast from your bronze . . . I need it for the new Lincoln to replace the other destroyed also in the Hell at Windsor ['Aspet']."[334]

Work on the "Seated Lincoln" continued into 1906 and it seems likely that it was completed during that year, as far as work in the sculptor's studio was concerned. According to Frances Grimes, the "Lincoln" had been cast by late May 1905.[335] This most likely was a preliminary cast, however, for Henry Hering wrote Barry Faulkner in July 1907 in such a manner as to suggest that the "Lincoln" had been finished in 1906 or no later than February 1907, the date which Hering gave for his own departure from "Aspet." In discussing the situation at "Aspet" he said that during the spring he had heard from Homer Saint-Gaudens who said that his father's health had improved so much that he was coming to Homer's (a short distance up the road from "Aspet") for dinner and that the sculptor was trying now and then to walk again. In reflecting upon Saint-Gaudens' improved health, Hering said: "The progress in the studio proved that; the Lincoln and the Hanna had been sent away; the Phillips Brooks was

---

333. See pages 57 and 58 of this report for a discussion of this purchase.

334. Saint-Gaudens to R. W. Gilder, January 8, 1905. Saint-Gaudens Collection. The bearer of the letter to Gilder apparently was Gaeton Ardisson, Saint-Gaudens' chief plaster moulder.

335. Frances Grimes to Barry Faulkner, n. d., but almost certainly

practically completed; and . . . the Caryatides for the Albright Gallery . . . are done as he conceived them."[336]

One may conclude from Hering's letter that the "Lincoln" had been sent away before the spring of 1907, and probably even before February of that year. It would have been highly improbable for Hering to have left before the "Lincoln" was finished. Thus, as suggested by Durman in He Belongs to the Ages,[337] the 1906 date appears to be correct for the completion of the studio work on the "Lincoln."

The "Seated Lincoln" was executed in its final form, for the most part, by Hering, whom critics later proclaimed "Saint-Gaudens over again."[338] But it should not be said that the "Seated Lincoln" does not represent the work of Saint-Gaudens. It must be remembered that in 1887 Saint-Gaudens had already done a monumental work of Lincoln, and that a second statue, which was nearly completed before it was destroyed in the fire of 1904, represented Saint-Gaudens' understanding of Lincoln as he had developed it over a period of twenty years.

---

in late May 1905, for she speaks of preparations Mrs. Saint-Gaudens was making for Homer's forthcoming wedding to Carlota Dolley on June 3, 1905. This letter was given to the Saint-Gaudens NHS in October 1966 by Faulkner.

336. Henry Hering to Barry Faulkner, July 27, 1907. This letter was given to the Saint-Gaudens NHS by Barry Faulkner in October 1966.

337. Durman, He Belongs to the Ages, 56.

338. Ibid., 235. This description was given by Guy Rene Dubois in "The Work of Henry Hering," Architectural Record, 32, 1912. As noted earlier, a similar appraisal has often been given another of Saint-

His steady involvement with this second Lincoln since 1893 had matured and refined the sculptor's conception of Lincoln as the Head of State to such an extent that, when he could no longer spend arduous hours himself on the statue, he could still direct Hering in its execution. Too, for modelling of the head in each of these statues, Saint-Gaudens had relied upon a copy of the Volk mask. Furthermore, there is no doubt that Hering's execution of the statue was done under Saint-Gaudens' direction for, as the sculptor wrote his wife in December 1904, "Hering needs me very much. It is difficult to realize how much a few guiding words to an assistant changes his work."[339] Three weeks later, the sculptor wrote his wife that although Hering "is sadly at sea when I am away," he is "an admirable workman that can understand and execute what you explain most intelligently."[340] Although Saint-Gaudens' "Lincoln, the Head of State," or as it was sometimes called, "Lincoln, the President," was finished before the death of the sculptor, it was not until

---

Gaudens' assistants, James Earle Fraser. In Hering's own statue of "Abraham Lincoln, the President," which was unveiled in Indianapolis' University Park on April 6, 1935, there is a close resemblance to Saint-Gaudens' "Seated Lincoln." See Ibid. This can be attributed to Hering's familiarity with the Saint-Gaudens statue because of his own work on it, and also to the influence Saint-Gaudens had on the younger sculptor.

339. Saint-Gaudens to Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, December 10, 1904. Saint-Gaudens Collection. Saint-Gaudens was at "The Players" Club in New York City when he wrote this letter.

340. Same to Same, December 26, 1904. The "Saint" wrote from "Aspet."

almost nineteen years after his death that it was dedicated. On May 31, 1926 it was unveiled in Chicago's Grant Park.[341]

The statue had been exhibited at the Art Institute of Chicago in 1909 in a memorial exhibition of the sculptor's works, then subsequently shipped to San Francisco for the Panama-Pacific Exposition in 1915. Shortly it was returned to Chicago, where for approximately ten years it stayed stored in a Parks Department warehouse, only to become "covered with dust and almost forgotten."[342] It was not assigned to its present location by the commissioners until February 12, 1924.

A partial explanation for the long delay in permanently locating the statue could have been a disagreement among Chicago officials as to where, in Grant Park, it should be placed. Initially Saint-Gaudens the sculptor, Stanford White the architect who prepared the preliminary design for the architectural setting, and the South Park Commissioners had selected a site opposite the Van Buren Street entrance to the Park. The selection of the permanent site in 1924 was followed by construction of the base and exedra begun the next year with architects Graham, Anderson, Probst and Lawrence G. White, completing and supervising the execution of Stanford White's earlier designs.[343]

---

341. Bullard, Lincoln in Marble and Bronze, 87.

342. Ibid.

343. Durman, He Belongs to the Ages, 57.

While some sculptors, including John Quincy Adams Ward, had refused to do a statue of Lincoln because of the difficulty in representing Lincoln's lank, awkward figure in such a way as to give it the dignity and beauty demanded of a monumental work of art,[344] Saint-Gaudens achieved this in both of his "Lincolns." "If Saint-Gaudens had produced no other great works," said one writer, "his two statues of Abraham Lincoln would serve to rank him with the great sculptors of all time."[345]

The studio fire of 1904 made a definite break in Saint-Gaudens' work. In the reorganization of his work that followed, Saint-Gaudens found it necessary to take up, again, commissions that he had long delayed executing, as well as resume work on those sculptures, such as the "Seated Lincoln" that were almost completed at the time of the fire. Chief among those commissions that had been delayed was the monument to the Reverend Phillips Brooks.

The sculptor had explained the delay on the Brooks on various occasions to the Brooks committee. Writing to the Reverend Donald Winchester in October 1903, he had said that he had not done any work for three months because he had been taking advantage of the

---

344. Bullard, Lincoln in Marble and Bronze, 1.

345. Durman, He Belongs to The Ages, 57.

recent relief from the mental anxiety, characterized by a perpetual vision of death, which had been with him for six years.[346] Regarding the delay on the Brooks monument he wrote Thomas Wentworth Higginson two months before the inferno which destroyed his studio: "The reason why the Brooks goes so slowly is that I have it so much at heart that I will not avail myself of my assistants in the slightest degree as I wish to do every inch of it with my own hand." He noted further, that after months of inability to work because of a severe attack of sciatica, the sculptor's usual term for his ailment, he was again at work on the "Brooks."[347]

When the fire occurred, Saint-Gaudens had not progressed on the "Brooks" to the extent that he had on the "Lincoln." But he had already created over twenty sketches and had produced a small model.[348] It appears that the sculptor resumed his work on the "Brooks" with new vigor and certainly with more speed. Indicative of the extent of new development on the "Brooks" was the sculptor's return in early March 1905 of the mask of Phillips Brooks he had borrowed from the Brooks Committee. The sculptor, in writing to a Mr. Deland about

---

346. See p. 131 of this report.

347. Saint-Gaudens to Thomas W. Higginson, August 13, 1904, Saint-Gaudens Collections.

348. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II, 313.

the mask, commented that "it and the work I was doing on the figure, were virtually the only things saved from the fire. . . . If the mask had not happened by mere chance to be in a small studio, it would have been destroyed."[349]

The letter to Deland reveals that the work Saint-Gaudens had done on the" Brooks" was not destroyed; it also bears out what Saint-Gaudens had said to Higginson, that he was doing the Brooks by himself and that he had been working on it in his personal studio.

While Saint-Gaudens continued to do much of the work on the "Brooks" as long as his health would permit him, he did allow his assistants, namely Frances Grimes, to help him. Miss Grimes wrote her friend Barry Faulkner during the spring of 1905 that she was struggling with the Brooks' "Christ" and was nearly saying she could not do it. "Mr. Saint-Gaudens," she said, "is changing the drapery, opening the eyes a little etc." The sensitive and perceptive Miss Grimes told Faulkner that she was trying to get Saint-Gaudens' point of view by reading the New Testament in French. "Can you imagine," she inquired of her friend, "anything more difficult than touching a head of Christ?"[350]

---

349. Saint-Gaudens to a Mr. Deland, March 10, 1905. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

350. Frances Grimes to Barry Faulkner, Probably May 1905. Donated by Faulkner to Saint-Gaudens NHS in October 1960.

There were few objects in Saint-Gaudens later years that he "caressed" for such a long time as he did the "Brooks Monument." In describing his father's method of work on the figure of Brooks, Homer Saint-Gaudens said that the sculptor,

> selected and cast aside. He shifted folds of the gown back and forth. He juggled with the wrinkles of the trousers, which invariably obstructed the development far more than their final interest justified. He moved the fingers and the tilt of the right hand into a variety of gestures. He raised and lowered the chin of this long-studied portrait until finally he left it lowered, since he considered the angle of the head a question of art and not of fact, and since he felt that he expressed more definitely the magnetism of the preacher by having him appear to talk directly to the visitor.[351]

Work on the "Brooks" brought Saint-Gaudens much pleasure. This was evidenced by the sculptor's resumption of his former habit of singing while working. As long as he could stand and model for himself, he would sing or whistle airs from operas. "'Maid of Athens,' 'In the Gloaming,' snatches from 'Faust'and the Offenbach operas were mingled day by day with Negro songs such as 'As I Walk that Levee down,' and ditties of the type of 'Johnnie Jones and his Sister Sue.'"[352]

When Saint-Gaudens first turned seriously to the character of the figure behind Brooks, he designed thirty different sketches of an angel. After coming to work permanently in Cornish, however,

---

351. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II, 322.

352. Ibid.

someone suggested to him that he substitute a Christ for the angel he had planned. He found the new conception appealing "more because of what he might develop in the composition and because of the fitness of the subject than from any desire on his part to portray an idea of the character of Christ."

To assist him in his characterization of Christ the sculptor read widely on the subject. Also, he was concerned about the rendering of the clothing of Christ so as to be in keeping with historical accuracy. In October 1905 in writing to Homer, who was living in New York City, he asked that his son send him a copy of James J. Tissot's Life of Christ and Anna Jameson's History of Our Lord In Art. He noted that he had asked Brentanos Book Store to send him the cheapest edition of Ernest Renan's Life of Christ in French.[353] The story has it that after Saint-Gaudens had read the scholarly works on Christ, he asked Henry Adams for advice on additional reading and Adams "promptly suggested one called the Bible."[354]

While Saint-Gaudens was developing the "Christ" "A sincere change in his attitude towards his subject came over him." According to Homer, though his father had been brought up as a Catholic, "he had never found appeal in the historical self-chastising doctrines of Christianity. Only the joy of religion had drawn from him any response. But now," said Homer, "as he gave the subject more and more

---

353. Saint-Gaudens to Homer Saint-Gaudens, October 24, 1905.

354. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 323.

individual thought, Christ no longer stood to him as the head of a cult that announced . . . endless punishment of sin, but became the man of men, a teacher of peace and happiness."

As his reflection on the nature of Christ continued, the sculptor "began to express a genuine faith in his conception of the physical image of Christ as a man, tender yet firm, suffering yet strong."[355] The sculptor's change in attitude dramatically affected the evolution of his figure of "Christ." He changed the "Christ's" face from "the dead but risen Presence, to a helpful, human living presence, no longer a divinely dead God, but a humanly live man."[356] Henry Hering attributed the alteration of the "Christ" to "the sculptor's losing his hold on outside help of any kind, and, as a man with a will, determining to live." Hering thought Faulkner would agree with him that the change was not for the better, for, said Hering, "the original head of the Christ, done entirely by his hands" possessed a "mystic, sublime evidence of that very outer help which he [Saint-Gaudens] had begun to doubt."[357]

---

355. Ibid.

356. Henry Hering to Barry Faulkner, July 27, 1907. Donated to Saint-Gaudens NHS by Faulkner in October 1966.

357. Ibid.

While the modifications in the "Christ" figure were Saint-Gaudens' ideas, they were executed by Frances Grimes, who worked under close supervision by the master sculptor. Ultimately, the modifications produced exactly what the sculptor wanted, for near the end of the commission, and of the sculptor's life, he often said: "There, it's all right now; all right now!" [358]

A commission that was most dear to Saint-Gaudens' heart and one about which he experienced the greatest anxiety over its execution and its final acceptance by a "hyper-critical" Boston[359] was the sculpture to go in front of McKim, Mead and White's Boston Public Library. To Charles McKim, Saint-Gaudens wrote in 1894, that his recent viewing of the work by McKim and his associates had "fired me all up to get at the groups and make as swell a thing as possible."[360]

In reminiscing about his work in Paris, 1897-1900, the sculptor mentioned the Boston Public Library Groups were among the first commissions he commenced working upon after arriving in Paris. In 1906, when he was recording his reminiscences, the sculptor expressed

---

358. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II, 327.

359. Ibid., II, 305.

360. Saint-Gaudens to Charles McKim, November 29, 1894. Ibid, II, 114-115.

regret that he had not completed the groups, for he said: "When I reflect on the number of years that has [have] elapsed since the [Boston Library] commission was given me I feel as if I should hide my face. The reason of the delay is that I am determined that I shall do everything that lies in my power to make them as good as anything I have ever executed."[361]

The sculptor brought back with him from Paris two "carefully studied" groups for the Boston Public Library which he had worked on during his three years in the French Capital. He was working on the groups as early as May 1894, for he wrote Mr. S. A. B. Abbott at that time describing in detail his plans for executing his conceptions of "Labor," "Science," "Art," "Law," "Religion," and "Force." To Abbott he revealed his concern for the project. "It is an extremely difficult thing to manage," he said, " and I have been thinking about it more than anything else in my life."[362] By 1902 he had progressed on the development of the groups to the extent that he had set up a model in front of the library to determine the proper size so that the figures would harmonize with the building. Also, the groups were set up for review by the consulting committee. The committee evidently approved of the sculptor's model for Saint-Gaudens wrote

361. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II, 123.

362. Saint-Gaudens to S. A. B. Abbott, May 21, 1894.

"Gussie" in February 1902 that "The Library . . . [group] was set up and settled on." [363]

For his final arrangement of the groups, Saint-Gaudens had one pedestal which bore four figures: "Law," flanked on one side by "Executive Power," and on the other by two more personifying "Love," and another pedestal had figures typifying "Science," "Labor," and "Art" (as expressed in Music). Although Saint-Gaudens had frequently turned to his studies of the Library Groups, "he felt unwilling to finish them until he could allot them whole-hearted devotion. [364] The result was that he never completed the work upon which he had looked long and fondly."

Following Saint-Gaudens' death, it was felt by Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, in particular, that the Library Commission would allow the sculptor's assistants to complete the studies, which the sculptor had considered as virtually complete. Henry Hering thought he might be allowed either to finish the Saint-Gaudens studies or perhaps receive a commission to undertake an independent study.[365]

---

363. Saint-Gaudens to Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, February 17, 1902. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

364. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II, 306.

365. Francis Grimes to Barry Faulkner, early winter of 1907-08. Letter was donated to the Saint-Gaudens NHS by Barry Faulkner in October 1966.

The Library Commission did not accept Saint-Gaudens' unfinished studies, neither did they offer to let Hering do the work. One art historian has recently implied that perhaps it was good that Saint-Gaudens' groups were not accepted for "the small studies which survive suggest that they would have added nothing to his reputation."[366]

Although the figures by Saint-Gaudens were not accepted by the Library, the influence of Saint-Gaudens was represented in the final commission which was awarded Bela Lyon Pratt, a former student and one-time assistant of Saint-Gaudens.[367] In 1887, Pratt had entered The Art Student's League in New York, where he studied modeling under Saint-Gaudens and F. E. Elwell and drawing and painting under Kenyon Cox and William M. Chase. Saint-Gaudens had been impressed with the twenty-year old Pratt. "Saint-Gaudens, always a vivid and inspiring teacher, thoroughly interested in youthful talent, received him as an assistant in his private studio. It was an invaluable privilege, and his early contact with Saint-Gaudens at work influenced Pratt's whole career."[368]

---

366. Larkin, Art and Life, 299.

367. Boston Globe, n. d., newspaper clipping in Saint-Gaudens Collection. Date appears to be some time in 1910.

368. Dictionary of American Biography, XV, 166-167. Pratt, after graduating from Yale, studied at the Art Students' League. He subsequently studied two years at the 'École des Beaux Arts under Chapu, and Falguière(a fellow student with Saint-Gaudens in the early 1870's.) See Mather, Morey, and Henderson, Spirit of Art, 208 and Boston Herald, December 13, 1908.

Another statue that Saint-Gaudens had almost finished at the time of the fire was the one of Charles Stewart Parnell, Ireland's principal spokesman for Nationalism - Home Rule during the 1880's. The sculptor had been interested in Parnell and particularly the monument he was executing for the Irish people to memorialize their champion of liberty. In this work the half-Irish sculptor became unusually involved personally, for having been born in Dublin in the year of the great potato famine, which precipitated the departure of his family for the United States in 1848, Saint-Gaudens could well understand why Parnell was held in such high esteem by the Irish people. The sculptor thought of the "Parnell Monument" as being, in part, as well, his own tribute to his Dublin mother.[369]

The sculptor in his usual manner, went to great lengths to insure that the monument would harmonize with its surroundings when finally placed in Dublin's public square. Saint-Gaudens used detailed maps and photographs of Dublin's square area to produce a model of the setting of the monument. Then he placed in the midst of the model a miniature shaft with a model of the statue. When he was satisfied with the architecture-sculpture combination he had a cast of the nearly finished statue set up in a field before a wooden pillar over seventy feet high, marked to resemble stone. He was so

---

369. Boston Globe, August 5, 1907.

satisfied with what he had accomplished on the monument thus far that he invited the Parnell Committee to come to "Aspet" on September 30, 1904 to inspect the work. On that day the Irish Parliamentary leader W. H. K. Redmond and Mrs. Redmond, Mrs. Alice Stafford Green, widow of the noted English Historian John Richard Green, Miss Marie Narellen and John O'Callaghan, a reporter for the Boston Globe, viewed Saint-Gaudens' portrait of their hero.[370] When one of the committee, upon seeing the monument, exclaimed "Wonderful! Wonderful!" Saint-Gaudens was reassured that he had done his work well. The sculptor had progressed to this stage of developing the "Parnell" by early October, 1904.

As noted earlier, all of the "Parnell" except the head that was so heroically saved by Elsie Ward, was destroyed in the ravaging studio fire. The agony the sculptor endured when he realized the immensity of his loss must have been almost unbearable. In spite of this, Saint-Gaudens and his assistants went on to complete not only the "Parnell" but other great works as well. The bronze "Parnell" was shipped to Dublin on June 20, 1907,[371] only six weeks before the sculptor's death.

---

370. Ibid., and Saint-Gaudens' Journal, Friday, September 30, 1904. Saint-Gaudens Collection. The Redmonds also visited 'Aspet' on September 16, 1905. See Saint-Gaudens Calendar. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

371. Boston Globe, August 5, 1907.

One of the sculptor's latest projects was his work on the U. S. coins. His commission to design new coinage for the United States came because of the personal involvement of President Theodore Roosevelt. At a dinner with President Roosevelt at the White House on January 12, 1905 the President and the sculptor became engaged in conversation on the unattractiveness of the existing coins and on the beauty of ancient high-relief Greek coins.[372] During the course of their conversation the President told the sculptor that he would have the Mint stamp a more modern version of the high-relief Greek-type coins if Saint-Gaudens would design them, for, said the President, "You know, Saint-Gaudens, this is my pet crime."[373]

There followed what has been called a "unique venture in modern monetary history."[374] In a letter to Saint-Gaudens on November 6, 1905,

---

372. The Saint-Gaudens Collection has the formal invitation for the sculptor to attend a White House dinner on January 12, 1905. It is possible that Saint-Gaudens and Roosevelt began their discussion of the coins on the previous night when both were in attendance at a dinner (held some place other than the White House) for four hundred guests who had assembled to celebrate the passage of the bill in Congress incorporating the American Academy in Rome. In writing of this dinner to Rose Standish Nichols he gave an impressive list of dignitaries as having been present. Included in addition to the President were: the Ambassador from France, Cardinal Gibbons, Henry James, John La Farge, John Hay, Elihu Root; Speaker of the House of Representatives; the Attorney General of the United States; Pierpont Morgan, and the President of the Pennsylvania Railroad. He also told Miss Nichols that he gave a brief speech and that upon rising to give his speech he received "one of the biggest storms of applause." See Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 268-270; 281-282.

373. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II, 329.

373. V. Clain-Stefanelli, "Our Most Beautiful Coins," Washington Sunday Star, September 11, 1966.

the President expressed his excitement over having seen that day some gold coins of Alexander the Great. Theodore Roosevelt, who had been especially struck by the high relief of the Greek coins, inquired of the sculptor, "would it not be well to have our coin in high relief, and also to have the rim raised?" [375]

In response to Roosevelt's letter, Saint-Gaudens demonstrated the extent to which he and the President shared common beliefs about the new coins the two had talked about ten months earlier. "You have hit the nail on the head with regard to the coinage," the sculptor wrote. "Of course the great coins (and you might almost say the only coins) are the Greek ones you speak of," Saint-Gaudens assured the President, and "nothing would please me more than to make the attempt in the direction of the heads of Alexander." The sculptor could foresee no objection to the high-relief coins, provided the edges were high enough to prevent rubbing. However, Saint-Gaudens feared the authorities on modern monetary requirements would "'throw fits' if the thing was done now." Nevertheless, he asked President Roosevelt to use the influence of his great office in making the inquiry of the proper officials regarding the acceptability of the high-relief coins.

---

375. Ibid.

In his November letter to the Chief Executive, the sculptor went on to inform Roosevelt that he had done no work on the actual models for the coins, but he had made sketches and he had the matter constantly on his mind. The composition he was contemplating involved the use of the eagle and some kind of a figure of Liberty. The sculptor's principal idea regarding the Liberty figure was to make it "a living thing and typical of progress."[376]

After months of frustrating experimentation, the sculptor finally settled on the basic designs: the one-cent piece should exhibit a profile head and lettering; the ten-dollar gold piece should carry the same head, with the inscriptions shifted, and the standing eagle; and the twenty-dollar gold piece should exhibit the full length figure of Liberty, without wings or shield, but with the flying eagle. For a year and a half the sculptor "altered and re-altered the coins," in order to accomplish the desired result.[377]

The suggestion for the flying eagle was taken from the bird on the 1857 "White Cent." The idea of using a standing eagle came from the sculptor's designs he had used on such works as the "Shaw Memorial" and "Theodore Roosevelt Inaugural Medal." The profile head was modelled from the latest version of the bust of the

---

376. Saint-Gaudens to President Theodore Roosevelt, November 11, 1905. Saint-Gaudens Reminiscences, II, 329-30.

377. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 331.

Sherman "Victory." Homer Saint-Gaudens declared that the feathers on the profile head were added "only upon the President's emphatic suggestion."[378]

Finally, Saint-Gaudens attacked the problem of the inscriptions "by placing upon the previously milled edge of the coin, in one case, the forty-six stars and, in the other, the thirteen stars with the 'E Pluribus Unum.'" He wholly discarded the motto "In God We Trust," considering it "an inartistic intrusion not required by law."[379]

The coins were presented to the public shortly after Saint-Gaudens' death, and immediately came under sharp criticism. For one thing, the relief was considered too high to allow them to be easily stacked. But, most of the criticism revolved around the profile head, which was thought to have been modelled by the sculptor from the head of the Saint-Gaudens' serving-maid, Mary Cunningham, when "none but a 'pure American' should have served for a model of our national coin," according to the critics.[380] The Des Moines Capital was especially critical of the one-cent piece because the model representing an Indian had "Grecian and Roman features" and besides, said the paper,

---

378. Ibid.

379. Ibid., II, 332.

380. Ibid., II, 331-332.

"It is known that Saint-Gaudens' model was his Irish domestic." Furthermore, the paper noted that although she was supposed to represent an Indian, "The only thing that is Indian is the [war] bonnet," which an Indian "squaw" would not have worn.[381] Even organizations, such as the Independent Order of Americans, voiced their strong opposition to the model depicted on the coins.[382]

Homer Saint-Gaudens said, regarding all the "fuss" over the model used for the coins, that the features of the Irish girl appear only at pin-head size on the full-length figure of Liberty, "the body of which was posed for by a Swede, while the profile head, to which exception was taken, was modelled from a woman supposed to have Negro blood in her veins."[383]

Although Mary Cunningham, as Homer Saint-Gaudens said, may not have served as the principal model for Saint-Gaudens' coins, the public believed she had. The publicity was most vexing for Mrs. Saint-Gaudens and Homer, and it certainly was not conducive to the peace of mind of Miss Cunningham.

---

381. Des Moines Capital, December 13, 1907.

382. Paterson (New Jersey) Call, September 20, 1907.

383. Saint-Gaudens Reminiscences II, 332.

Reporters came to Cornish hoping to interview and photograph the Irish lass who had suddenly come into nation-wide notoriety. As a rule, the reporters were denied admission to the grounds at "Aspet"; unauthorized visitors were promptly asked to leave. During December 1907, however, a New York Times reporter managed to get into the house and talked with one of Mary's female co-workers. At the time Mary was not there, for about a week prior to the reporter's visit, she had been notified that "her services were no longer required," had packed her bag and had taken a train to Boston. Miss Cunningham had come to work for the Saint-Gaudenses two years before, "fresh from a high-class employment agency in Boston," to which Mrs. Saint-Gaudens had written for a waitress-chambermaid. Now, Mary was back in Boston looking for employment as a waitress, once more.[384] In early March 1908, it was reported that Mary was working as a "domestic (cleaning woman) at the Baptist Hospital in Boston."[385]

Another demonstration of widespread public criticism of Saint-Gaudens' coins was the reaction to the sculptor's omission of the motto, "In God We Trust," from the face of the coins, which Saint-Gaudens had done for artistic reasons. Charges of atheism on the part of the sculptor were made by religious groups; many sermons

---

384. New York Times, Magazine Section, December 15, 1905. The Times article is a rather lengthy one, and appears to be reasonably accurate.

385. Utica New York Observer, March 6, 1908.

were delivered on the anti-God sentiment that was supposedly expressed in the omission of the motto. Saint-Gaudens' action was defended by President Roosevelt, who said that to put the motto on such a common item as a coin would cheapen the meaning of the motto.[386] Although the motto had been on American coins since 1864, when it was introduced by James Pollock, Director of the U. S. Mint, for use on the two-cent piece,[387] Saint-Gaudens' supporters maintained that there was no regulation requiring the motto's use on coins. Nevertheless, opposition was strong enough that the motto was later put on the altered coins.[388]

A few of the experimental pieces with the extremely high relief were struck at Roosevelt's order. But high relief made it so difficult to stack them that the Mint did not put them into general circulation. Saint-Gaudens' assistant, Henry Hering endeavored to alter the coins to the satisfaction of the Mint, but the Mint insisted upon a further reduction of the relief. Finally, the matter was brought to the attention of President Roosevelt, "with the consequence that the designs remained for a time somewhat as my father planned them," Homer Saint-Gaudens said, "though what with the lowered relief and most careless reproduction, especially of the profile head, the

386. New York Sun, November 13, 1907.

387. Philadelphia Record, February 21, 1909.

388. Ibid.

results appeared far from those he [Saint-Gaudens] would have allowed had he been alive."[389] The customary flat relief, however, eventually replaced the high relief and in the case of the double eagle continued to be issued up to 1933, when the issuance of gold coins was discontinued.[390]

Dr. V. Clain-Stefanelli, who has called Saint-Gaudens' Double Eagle ($20.00 gold piece) "Our Most Beautiful Coin," has written so ably about the experimental and final coins that his descriptions are quoted here at length:

> These exceedingly rare pieces can be easily distinguished from the ones issued later for general circulation, and also having a very high relief. The field of the experimental pieces is exceedingly concave and connects directly with the edge without any border, giving it a sharp knife-like appearance; Liberty's skirt shows on the side of the right leg two folds; the Capitol building in the background at left is very small. The sun, on the reverse side, has 14 rays.
>
> In addition to these experimental pieces, 11,250 high-relief $20 gold pieces were struck on a medal press for general distribution and may be found today in many collections. Their relief is somewhat lower than that of the experimental pieces. Around the edge they have a border; Liberty's skirt has three folds on the side of the right leg; the Capitol building is considerably larger. On the reverse, there are only 13 rays extending from the sun.[391]

The current value of the experimental issue of Saint-Gaudens $20 gold piece, is reflected in the 1961 catalog of Hans Schulmann,

---

389. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 332-33.

390. V. Clain-Stefanelli, "Our Most Beautiful Coin," Washington Sunday Star, September 11, 1966. Dr. Clain-Stefanelli is Curator, Numismatic Division, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C.

391. Ibid.

Coin Dealer, 545 Fifth Avenue, New York City. Schulmann was asking $25,000 for the extremely rare coin. When the coin was sold during an auction held at New York's Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, February 16-18, 1961, it brought $18,250.[392] It is reported to have been purchased by Adner Kreisberg of Beverly Hills, California.

Although there was public criticism of Saint-Gaudens' coins, there was no doubt in Theodore Roosevelt's mind that he had selected the right man to make the coins of the U. S. works of art rather than just pieces of metal with a monetary value. With specific reference to Saint-Gaudens' work on the coins, President Roosevelt wrote Thomas L. Elder only two days before the sculptor died: "You will be pleased to know that we are now completing a new coinage of the eagle and double eagle designed by St. Gaudens, than whom certainly there is no greater artistic genius living in the United States or elsewhere."[393] In his Autobiography of 1913, Roosevelt stated that one of the acts of his Presidency of which he was most proud was the "securing a great artist, Saint-Gaudens, to give us the most beautiful coinage since the decay of hellenistic Greece."[394]

---

392. The Saint-Gaudens Collection has a newspaper clipping, (no date or name of paper, but it is in a folder marked 1963), that mentions the amount of the sale and where it was consummated. Upon talking with Dr. V. Clain-Stefanelli of the Smithsonian Institution I learned the names of the dealer and buyer and the date of the sale.

393. Theodore Roosevelt to Thomas L. Elder, August 1, 1907. Letter appeared in the New York Tribune, August 4, 1907.

394. Theodore Roosevelt, An Autobiography, New York, 1913, 420.

The high esteem in which Roosevelt held Saint-Gaudens was well-expressed by the President personally in a letter to the sculptor in which he urged him to undertake a statue of William McKinley. The President earnestly hoped that Saint-Gaudens could execute the statue for he told the sculptor, "As you know, I have the strongest feeling that the statues of our great men should be made by our greatest artists; and among the greatest artists you stand first." Continuing to compliment the sculptor, the President told him, "I feel that every statue of an American statesman or soldier by you represents just so much addition to American civilization."[395]

On other occasions, President Roosevelt expressed his profound admiration for the work of the Cornish sculptor. When presented with a statuette of "Roosevelt, the Rough Rider," sculpted by Frederick MacMonnies, a former student and assistant of Saint-Gaudens, the President exclaimed: "Now I feel myself a really great man. The distinction of being done by either St. Gaudens or MacMonnies might flatter anybody."[396]

---

395. Theodore Roosevelt to Saint-Gaudens, May 17, 1905. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

396. New York Herald, June 6, 1905. Roosevelt made the above comment to Miss Janet Scudder, a student of MacMonnies, when she presented him with the statuette. Saint-Gaudens had turned down a request in 1902 to do a statue of Roosevelt. He told Senator George P. Wetmore that he could not afford to do a statue of T. R., because $5,000 would be the amount he would ask from the Government and that would be $2,000 less than he usually received. Saint-Gaudens to Senator Wetmore, January 14, 1902. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

One of the prized possessions Roosevelt had at Sagamore Hill was a copy of Saint-Gaudens' "Puritan" which was presented to him by his staff when he retired from the Governorship of New York State.[397]

Not only did President Roosevelt appreciate Saint-Gaudens the great artist — he and Mrs. Roosevelt could speak of Augustus Saint-Gaudens and his wife as their good friends. The close relationship between the Roosevelts and the Saint-Gaudenses is well represented by the personal letters between them and by the formal and informal invitations from the Roosevelts for the Saint-Gaudenses to attend some affair with the First Family. One such example was the handwritten note from Edith Roosevelt to Mrs. Saint-Gaudens in which Mrs. Roosevelt said, "I shall be very happy if you and Mr. Saint-Gaudens can dine with us at seven o'clock tonight, and go to see 'Everyman.' Please do not break any formal engagement for this my informal invitation." There were other invitations from Mrs. Roosevelt for the Saint-Gaudenses to have "family dinner" with the Roosevelts. Further evidence of the intimacy between the Roosevelts and the Saint-Gaudenses was the fact that the latter received an announcement of the wedding of Alice Roosevelt to Nicholas Longworth on February 17, 1906.[398]

---

397. Roosevelt, An Autobiography, 330.

398. The Saint-Gaudens Collection has several personal letters from the Roosevelts to the Saint-Gaudenses as well as all of the invitations and announcements mentioned above.

Although Saint-Gaudens was fully occupied with work in his studio even while he was suffering from the deadly malignancy, during his last few years he expended a great amount of time and energy helping to establish the American Academy of Fine Arts in Rome, where American students, who had laid at home a firm foundation for their work, could obtain advanced instruction. France had its Villa Medici in Rome; why could not the United States have something comparable? The idea for such a school originated with the artists and architects who were working on the Columbian Exposition of 1893.

Saint-Gaudens, Charles F. McKim, Stanford White, and others got the movement started. But not much progress was made during the following ten years other than sponsoring American students with scholarships to study in Rome. Following a highly successful exhibition in 1904 of the work of the American students studying in Rome, who collectively were known as the American School, interest and enthusiasm were aroused for the establishment of an Academy with its own buildings, faculty and endowment. In order to establish such a school on a sound economic basis an endowment of as much as a million dollars would be needed. Saint-Gaudens and Charles McKim in particular, took advantage of the interest aroused by the exhibition and began soliciting contributions. Mr. Henry Walters of Baltimore was more than generous. Besides purchasing the Villa Mirafiori as a home for the Academy, he gave one hundred thousand dollars to start the endowment fund. His

gift was followed by contributions of one hundred thousand dollars each from William K. Vanderbilt, James Stillman, J. Pierpont Morgan, Harvard University, Columbia University, Chicago University, and Yale University.[399]

Saint-Gaudens was so concerned about getting the school established that he even made speeches in the school's behalf. For the sculptor, speaking was a task that was "ever fraught with much agony." But in the case of the academy, he felt "the cause too high and his opinions too vital to hesitate on grounds of personal comfort."[400]

Saint-Gaudens also wrote letters to prospective donors. To Henry Clay Frick, Saint-Gaudens, seeking a contribution, wrote in 1905 regarding the recent dinner in Washington which had four hundred guests, assembled to celebrate the passage of the bill in Congress incorporating the Academy. The group witnessed President Roosevelt's signing of the bill and heard him deliver the principal address. Saint-Gaudens presented Frick with a list of prominent people, including "most of your distinguished friends and acquaintances" who were at the dinner. Appealing to Frick's pride in his philanthropic endeavors, the sculptor told him, "This representative dinner lacked your presence to the regret of everybody, for every one felt that

---

399. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences II, 259-60.

400. Ibid.

national incorporation of this Academy was the most important step ever taken in American Art."[401]

In his letter to the manufacturing giant, Saint-Gaudens explained the nature of the school:

> The Academy will occupy the royal Villa Mirafiori in Rome, bought for it by Mr. Walters for that purpose. Each year one man will be accepted as a scholar in architecture, painting, sculpture, and music, and one man in each art will graduate. The course is four years long, so that there will always be sixteen men at the Villa and they are to be selected by competition from the entire country, thus assuring the very brightest men we have. In the course of a few years we shall have in the fine arts, many brilliant men trained as well as, or better than, those from the Villa Medici, the French Academy in Rome.[402]

After providing Frick with the names of those who had already contributed $100,000 each and reminding him of the perpetual remembrance that came from being a patron of the arts, such as the Medicis of Florence and the Dorias of Genoa had been, Saint-Gaudens asked if Frick might wish to become a founder. The sculptor assured Frick that his connection with the Academy would give him a delightful status in the most select art and governmental circles in Rome, Paris, London,

---

401. Ibid., II, 269.

402. Ibid.

and the United States. He closed his appeal by saying: "I only wish my fortune were sufficient to enable me to take the place I suggest for you."[403]

Two individuals who had been closely associated with Saint-Gaudens, namely Barry Faulkner and Harry Thrasher, a talented young man from Plainfield, New Hampshire who had worked in Saint-Gaudens' Studio, pursued an advanced course of study at the American Academy.[404] Undoubtedly they did so as a result of Saint-Gaudens' influence.

Regarding Saint-Gaudens' role in founding the American Academy in Rome, one of the sculptor's artist friends, H. Siddons Mowbray, wrote Homer Saint-Gaudens in November 1908:

> . . . permit me to suggest one subject which I do not think should be lost sight of: the great factor your father was in the founding of the American Academy of Rome. I have not seen this subject touched on as yet, as it concerned Saint-Gaudens, but he had it deeply at heart. I am sure he would wish to have his name associated with this work, for he labored hard both in organizing the movement and raising the Endowment Fund. At some future day, when the aims of the school are appreciated and begin to show a result in higher standards of taste and execution, your father's name will loom out large as one who led the way.[405]

---

403. Ibid., II, 271.

404. Barry Faulkner, "Autobiography."

405. H. Siddons Mowbray to Homer Saint-Gaudens, November 16, 1908. Ibid., II, 271-272.

In the midst of campaigning for the American Academy in Rome, supervising the completion of a large studio to replace the one which had burned, and working on numerous commissions, some of which had been long delayed, Saint-Gaudens found time for an unusually pleasurable event in June 1905.

During the winter of 1904-05, the sculptor had commented to some of his friends that since the following summer would mark the twentieth anniversary of his coming to Cornish, he intended to celebrate by having an outdoor party. His Cornish neighbors, members of the Cornish Colony, "removed that scheme from his hands," for unbeknown to him they planned a grand affair on their own. Their thought was to honor him for the founding of the Colony. Saint-Gaudens, however, would never accept full credit for founding the Colony, for he said: "The real founder was Mr. C. C. Beaman; there is no doubt of this, for he subsequently brought friends here directly, and it was through the foresight of Mrs. Saint-Gaudens that I came."[406]

The sculptor's friends spared nothing to make the "party" a grand and memorable pageant, often referred to as a masque or fête. Talents of almost everyone in the Colony were utilized, right from

---

406. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 352.

the planning stage which began well in advance of the pageant which was to be held on June 23, 1905.

Frances Grimes wrote Barry Faulkner during May that everyone was "talking and planning about it so much that I fear they are not really doing much."[407] She and Henry Hering were working hard on a huge mask, one six times as large as the model made by illustrator Maxfield Parrish. The two assistants were to make "two wonderfully gilded and colored copies [of the mask] to be hung on trees at a point where the actors leave off and the audience begins." With further reference to the pageant, Miss Grimes said that "No one except the chief conspirators know what the play is to be or what kind of a fool he is expected to make of himself for we hear it is strictly humorous. Louis Shipman told me the other day," said Miss Grimes, "that the principal colors to be used are 'white and a faded poypul' so that gives you some idea of the spirit in which we are going into it."[408]

A great deal of ingenuity and hard work went into the preparation for the masque. Louis Evan Shipman, a prominent playwright and author of D'Arcy of the Guards, wrote the words for the pageant. The poet Percy MacKaye wrote the prologue and Arthur Whiting of the Boston Symphony Orchestra wrote the music. The well-known actor,

---

407. Frances Grimes to Barry Faulkner, May 1905. Letter was given to Saint-Gaudens NHS by Faulkner in October 1966.

408. Ibid.

John Blair, rigorously drilled the more than seventy persons taking part, "among whom were some forty artists and writers of craftsmanly repute."[409] Kenyon Cox and Herbert Adams concerned themselves with costumes from ancient mythology[410] for "In those days it was a delight to be classical and the actors in the masque were gods and goddesses, nymphs and satyrs."[411] Painters Lucia and Harry Fuller designed, built, and decorated a Greek chariot and Henry Hering, with the advice of Architect Charles A. Platt, built a classical temple with Ionic columns and a sculptured altar.[412]

About sunset on June 23, Mr. and Mrs. Saint-Gaudens and several hundred guests gathered in front of the temple, located at the foot of the meadow and in front of great pines which concealed an entrance into the deep ravine formed by Blow-Me-Down Brook. The spectators were seated in front of a green-gray curtain, which was suspended

---

409. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 347. Homer Saint-Gaudens quotes from Percy MacKaye's "American Pageants and Their Promise," Scribner's Magazine, 461,(July 1905), 519-520. Also, see Grimes' "Reminiscences," and Faulkner's "Autobiography." Maud Howe Elliott, John Elliott: The Story of An Artist, Boston, 1930, pp. 144-146, deals with the Cornish masque, but much of the material is from MacKaye's and Cox's articles. Mrs. Elliott, daughter of Julia Ward Howe, was Pomona in the masque.

410. Grimes, "Reminiscences."

411. Faulkner, "Autobiography."

412. Grimes, "Reminiscences." Miss Grimes stated that the original temple was in plaster, but Saint-Gaudens, in a letter to Stanford-White, said that it was wood. See Saint-Gaudens to Stanford White, May 1, 1906, Saint-Gaudens Collection.

between two pines, on which hung the great gilded masks made by Frances Grimes and Henry Hering from the model by Maxfield Parrish.[413] Behind the evergreens were the cast of the pageant and members of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, who awaited their signal from the baton of Arthur Whiting.

Percy MacKaye, while writing in 1909 about the pageant said that it began when Iris, a tall maidenly figure "in many-hued, diaphanous veils, holding in one hand a staff of living fleur-de-lis," emerged from between the curtains. "Fresh from the courts of the dewy-colored eve, Jove summons me before you," said the young maiden, as she began her prologue - "A Brief Tribute in Verse to Saint-Gaudens, as Artist and Neighbor." At the close of her comments, the first strains of the hidden wind instruments could be heard, and the curtains parted. Then entered, "with staff and crown and snaky caduceus, Juno, Jupiter and Mercury. The motive of the masque, composed in a spirit of chaffing comedy and local allusions, was to compass - with pictorial effectiveness and practical groupings - the presentation to Saint-Gaudens

---

413. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 347. Also see Grimes, "Reminiscences." The two masks were given to the Saint-Gaudens Memorial in 1951 by Mrs. Montgomery B. Angell, daughter of Louis and Ellen Shipman. See "Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Trustees, Saint-Gaudens Memorial," July 14, 1951. Saint-Gaudens Memorial Papers, Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site.

of a golden bowl of ancient Greek design - a token from the Cornish Colony." Jupiter (Zeus, in Greek mythology) played by John Blair, declared that he had an important communication to make and sent Mercury (Kenyon Cox) "to summon greater and lesser divinities to hear it."[414]

The action which followed is so well described by Kenyon Cox that his account is presented at length :

> First came somber Pluto and his court, in black and gold and purple; then Neptune and Amphitrite, with their attendant Nereids in sea-green and blue; Venus and her bodyguard in varying shades of tender rose; Diana and her nymphs, in white and silver and pale blue; the Wood-gods, in green and dun and yellow; Apollo and the Muses, all in white and gold, grouping themselves about the altar; Ceres, [Frances Houston], all in yellow, crowned with corn; Pan, gilded all over and exactly imitating an archaic Greek statue; Mars, [Michael Stillman], a gigantic figure, in blood-red draperies and armor; last, Chiron, the Centaur [Maxfield Parrish] - the one frankly comic figure in the masque - at the head of a rout of children.
>
> All being assembled, they are informed by Jupiter that he has decided to abdicate; Pluto and Neptune dispute the succession; Minerva, calling upon Fame to decide, makes invocation, and strikes the altar with her spear. Immediately smoke and varicolored fire transfigure the temple and the irradiated pines, and out of the altar rises a Sibyl of burning gold, maidenly, Olympian, holding aloft in both hands the golden bowl. This Minerva takes and draws from it the name of - Saint-Gaudens.

---

414. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 347. From MacKaye's article.

> The cry is taken up by all voices, the bowl is delivered to the master-artist, and group by group the divinities are presented before him. Then, as these form in procession, a chariot, embellished with a medallion of the sculptor, is dragged from its covert by fauns, nymphs, and satyrs, Saint-Gaudens and his wife enter it, and are dragged across the long, golf-turfed slope to the pergola of the studio, where a banquet is spread under twinkling Japanese lamps.
>
> As Mercury, it was my prerogative to head the procession just behind the chariot, in which the sculptor stood looking back with emotion upon the astonishing beauty of the scene. In the afterglow of sunset, that edged with gold the blue volcanoesque summit of Ascutney, the pied procession of those ephemeral gods swayed and then broke into glorified groups of frolic over the vivid sward: Apollo skipped flower-ropes for the laughing Muses. Swart Pluto gamboled among the sea-nymphs. Semi-nude children twitched the hind legs of the Centaur. Graces locked arms with dun-hued Fates. Cupid, with little wings, danced with the statued Pan. And still while a lump rose in the throat of each, and revelry spread glamour over all, there echoed, rhythmical, from the New Hampshire hillside, the long, spontaneous shout of "Saint-Gaudens!"[415]

Saint-Gaudens felt that while he had experienced much of the pleasure in his life after he had first come to Cornish in 1885, there had been "nothing so delightful and in every sense [as] remarkable as the 'Fête Champêtre.'"[416] This demonstration of affection by their friends had deeply moved the sculptor and his wife and Augustus was especially touched by the grandeur of the scene as he and Mrs. Saint-Gaudens were being drawn in the chariot.

---

415. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 348-51.

416. Ibid., II, 351-52.

The sculptor, looking westward toward his following admirers and on toward Mt. Ascutney and the golden sunset beyond, regarded the scene as a spectacle that was "a recall of Greece" of which Saint-Gaudens had dreamed, but thought he would actually never see in nature.[417]

The celebrations closed with a ball which marked the opening of the new studio the sculptor had built to replace the one destroyed by fire. Saint-Gaudens said that if anything could console him for the destruction caused by the fire, "it was the beauty of the day and occurrence [of the fête] and the great-hearted friendliness of the neighbors."[418]

The fete had so impressed Saint-Gaudens that he composed a bas-relief to commemorate the occasion. The bas-relief, 33 3/4 inches by 19 1/2 inches, contained representations of the principal elements of the pageant: the golden bowl, the temple, the chariot, the pine trees, the masks, and the curtains. It also contained the names of each performer in the masque. Each participant was especially pleased to receive a personal reduction of the bas-relief.[419]

---

417. Ibid., II, 352.

418. Ibid.

419. Margaret Shurcliff, niece of Mrs. Saint-Gaudens wrote in her Memoirs that she and her husband Arthur attended the masque, but they were not participants. She noted that in error her name was included in the list of performers and as a result she received a reduction of the bas-relief. See Shurcliff, Lively Days, 90.

The reductions were distributed for the most part by Mrs. Saint-Gaudens in September 1906. Saint-Gaudens was not at the presentation for Helen Beaman Lakin, daughter of C. C. Beaman, wrote to the sculptor: "We missed you last night at the charming house party for Homer and Carlota. It was a wonderful surprise all in all, ending with the greatest one of all in the presentation by Mrs. Saint-Gaudens of the exquisite little medallions to your many friends who took part in the fête."[420]

---

420. Helen Beaman Lakin to Saint-Gaudens, September 1906. Saint-Gaudens Collection. Homer had recently come to Cornish to assist with the operation of the studio.

Mrs. Saint-Gaudens had been thinking for some time about Homer's becoming more actively involved in the work at Cornish. In December 1904 she proposed to her husband that Homer be given the job of reproducing the bronzes. Saint-Gaudens thought the proposal was an excellent one, but he could not well see how Homer could write plays and still attend to the sculptor's business. Homer continued to pursue a writing career into 1906. During November 1905, Saint-Gaudens wrote to a Mr. Garrison of the New York Evening Post recommending Homer for the position of Art columnist. He noted that his son had been assistant editor of the Critic for more than a year, and that since February 1905 Homer had written one or more art articles each month for the Critic. Homer had also served as a general reporter for the New York Evening Sun. In his letter to Mr. Garrison, the sculptor commented that he was at first skeptical of Homer's writing ability but he had shown "insight that has greatly surprised me." This is an interesting observation, for while Homer was still at Harvard (1902), Saint-Gaudens in counselling Homer about a career had said he preferred that Homer enter a literary career, but since Homer had expressed an interest in architecture he should do whatever would make him happiest.

Homer apparently did not get the job with the Post because in the article about Homer in Who's Who in America, 1950-1959 there is no reference to work on the Post. The Who's Who article does mention Homer's having been managing editor of Metropolitan Magazine in 1905.

On June 3, 1905, Homer married Carlota Dolley, daughter of a prominent Philadelphia physician, and brother to Robbin Dolley, a Harvard classmate of Homer.

For the information in the above footnote see the following references: Saint-Gaudens to Homer Saint-Gaudens, January 6, 1902; Same to "Gussie," December 20, 1904; and Same to Mr. Garrison, November 15, 1905. These letters are in the Saint-Gaudens Collection.

#

CHAPTER XII

Toward Sunset

"It's very beautiful, but I want to go farther away."

Shortly before his death on August 3, 1907, Saint-Gaudens spoke these words, as he lay watching the sunset behind Vermont's Mount Ascutney, which he could see across the Connecticut Valley from his beloved "Aspet."[421]

The sun had been setting for the famed sculptor for almost ten years. His health had become particularly bad in the summer of 1900 when he had to return to the United States for an operation. Throughout the remaining years he had his ups and downs, during which time he had alternating periods of relative peace of mind and great anxiety. His health certainly had affected his production, because for long periods he could not work, either for lack of physical strength or because of an intense depression that seemed to keep him away from the studio. Sometimes he wanted just to do nothing. At other times he chose to lose himself in sports.

---

421. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 359.

Saint-Gaudens health dominated his life so greatly after he settled permanently in Cornish, that the story of that illness constitutes a highly significant chapter in the sculptor's life. The sculptor was extraordinarily conscious of things affecting his health and he tried many ways that gave promise of bringing relief. His favorite source of relief from his illness and its accompanying anxiety was participation in sports or observation of the activity of others thus engaged. This concern and love for sports for their own sake as well as for the remedial effect they brought determined the development of the grounds of his estate, as evidenced by a nine-hole golf course, a toboggan slide and run, a bowling green, and a swimming pool. The building of a new studio for his own use and the replacement of the burned studio with a larger and better one occurred late in his life, when he was undoubtedly suffering greatly. A positive mental attitude certainly was required to undertake such extensive development. This attitude more than compensated for the spells of anxiety and despondency he suffered. It is truly remarkable that he maintained so strong a faith that he undertook or seriously considered undertaking commissions almost to the time of his death.

The sculptor sought advice from health authorities throughout the country. Frustratingly, some of the recommendations were directly

opposed to each other. Some doctors told him to go without breakfast and to eat lightly at other meals.[422] Others, such as Dr. F. B. Harrington, told him to stuff himself so that he could gain weight and strength. Dr. John Brewster of Windsor wanted him to drink a pint of ale or beer each day.[423] Dr. Henry C. Baldwin of Boston recommended that he eat six meals a day and "eat anything that comes along," except to avoid vegetables at night. Baldwin suggested that the noon meal be made the main meal.[424]

Saint-Gaudens recorded in his Journal what he ate, how he slept, the amount of pain he had. The care with which he made entries regard-

---

422. Thomas B. Brumbaugh, "A Saint-Gaudens Correspondence," Emory University Quarterly, 13, No. 4, 1957, 239-248. During 1903 and until August 1904 Saint-Gaudens corresponded with Dr. Edward H. Dewey regarding Dewey's writings dealing with dieting as a means to good health. On April 15, 1903 the sculptor wrote Dewey in which he mentions his eating habits which included not eating breakfast until 12:30. But he noted that the no-breakfast cure made him stagger around. By September 1903, he was thanking Dewey for his improved health. Subsequent letters to Dewey concerned questions about what should be eaten, namely, if saccharin should be used in place of sugar and if he should avoid sauces, sweets, and fruits in his diet. In August 1904 he wrote Dewey that he still was sticking to the no breakfast plan.

423. Dr. F. G. Harrington to Dr. Brewster, September 241, 1904. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

424. Dr.[?] Henry C. Baldwin to Saint-Gaudens, December 13 and December 28, 1905. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

ing his health is reflected in the following notes in his Journal

for September 22 -26, 1904:

Sept. 22, 1904 - Carlsbad water
Lunch - chop, some vegetable postum
Afternoon complete rest - little ache, worked seated on Ham[mock].
Glass buttermilk . . .

2 raw eggs - puree of beans & corn - pain a little sharper - glass milk with lime water.

1 AK sleep same as night before last. Less neurathen [?] before getting up.

Fri.
Sept. 23, 1904 - Carlsbad [water]
some sharp local pain
peach, hashed chicken, corn bread, postum cream _____with sugar

Lunch - 2 chops, squash, postum with sugar.
[Sore pain in afternoon so could not work.]
Supper - omelette, beans, beer.

Sept. 24, 1904 - Carlsbad [water]
Hashed chicken, postum, glass buttermilk, 2 cigars.
Work a little.

Lamb chops, 1 raw egg.

Supper, 2 raw eggs, 1 ear corn, squash, Postum, milk, 2 cigars.
Awoke once - violent ache. 1 AK, some neurasthenia.

Sun.
Sept. 25, 1904 - more ache, less sore than yesterday.

Breakfast - hashed chicken and _____postum cream, cornbread, buttermilk.

Lunch, chops, egg.

Supper - 2 raw eggs, soup, rue soup, postum, hot milk, limewater.

9/26/04 - Lamb - with flour milk
Battle Creek Toast, Postum with cream.
1 tablespoon of olive oil.
Lunch - steak, 2 raw eggs in afternoon, 2 cigars.

Active.

Soup, postum cream, 2 cigars.
Hot milk.[425]

Various exercises were suggested to the sculptor. Alois P. Swoboda of Chicago offered for $20.00 a six-lesson course of instruction on physiological exercises which was supposed to have been "A Natural and positive cure for constipation, indigestion, and all forms of dyspepsia, insomnia, loss of vitality, without the use of medicine or apparatus." On February 13, 1903, Swoboda acknowledged receipt of $10.00 from the sculptor as part payment in advance for the course of instruction.[426]

Henry Baldwin strongly recommended a bath every morning during which the skin would be rubbed until it was red. He also suggested that the sculptor take a short ride or drive each day and to get fresh air, but he should not overexercise.[427]

---

425. Saint-Gaudens' Journal, Saint-Gaudens Collection.

426. Alois P. Swoboda to Saint-Gaudens, February 4 and February 13, 1903, Saint-Gaudens Collection.

427. Baldwin to Saint-Gaudens, December 28, 1905.

The sculptor was subjected to electrical treatment and X-ray as means of combatting the malignancy. Mrs. Saint-Gaudens wrote Homer in September 1904 that she was in the sculptor's [new] studio "Keeping time for Dr. [John] Brewster who is giving your father electricity."[428] Mrs. Saint-Gaudens was referring to "bulky static appliances"[429] for electricity did not come to the Saint-Gaudens estate until well after the sculptor's death. Augustus was in New York City during the last week of October receiving electrical treatments. Writing from The Players Club in New York to "Gussie" on October 22, 1904 he noted: "I have just come from the electrician who tell[s] me I ought to continue the treatment uninterrupted. He granted very grudgingly an [interruption] of not more than two days at a time so I will go up [to Cornish] on Tuesday or Wednesday and stay only one day."[430]

A month later he wrote his wife, at that time travelling in the West, that he would continue the treatments for the rest of the week, then go to Windsor. However, he would have to return to New York for another month's treatment.[431] On December 5, 1904, Saint-Gaudens

---

428. Augusta Saint-Gaudens to Homer Saint-Gaudens, September 28, 1904. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

429. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 246.

430. Saint-Gaudens to Augusta Saint-Gaudens, October 23, 1904. Saint-Gaudens Collection. The sculptor took most of his meals at the Players but he stayed with Francois and Mary [Lawrence] Tonetti while in New York.

431. Same to Same, November 27, 1904.

wrote a check for $115.00 to W. J. Morton for twenty-three electric treatments.[432]

In early January 1905, Saint-Gaudens wrote his wife that Dr. Brewster [of Windsor] was in New York studying up on X-ray and that he (Saint-Gaudens) was going to rent or buy an X-ray machine which Brewster would "take off my hands when I am through with it."[433] Shortly thereafter, the sculptor wrote Dr. Brewster a check in the amount of $225, of which $200 was for an X-ray machine and $25 was for the doctor.

It seemed at the time that the treatments were doing Saint-Gaudens some good, for he wrote his son on March 2, 1905, one day after his birthday: "I cannot believe I am 57. I feel as if I am 25 or 30 and its incredible that I am so far along in life. I'm feeling better and celebrated my birthday by working all day for the first time in a year."[434]

At times Saint-Gaudens tried to be philosophical about his illness. In writing to his long-time friend, Alfred Garnier, in August 1905, he noted:

> Here it has been an adorable summer, except this unfortunate condition which keeps me from standing for long and in consequence from working regularly. However, all is for the best in this best of worlds. It is the only manner of looking at things . . ..

---

432. Saint-Gaudens' Journal, Saint-Gaudens Collection. He noted in his Journal that he received fourteen electrical treatments in July 1905, eleven in August, and six in September.

433. Saint-Gaudens to "Gussie" January 8, 1905. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

434. Saint-Gaudens to Homer Saint-Gaudens, March 2, 1905. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

> The older I get the more I see things to take pleasure in, and the more youth seems good to contemplate. However, I don't regret the march of years. There's philosophy for you, in any case enough for six o'clock in the morning, the hour at which I am writing you. I have acquired this habit and there is one joy more in the day . . . the ineffable . . . in the air of daybreak."[435]

The sculptor seemed to have improved remarkably by the fall of 1905, especially if the extent to which he played golf was a true indicator. His calendar for October through November 25 is presented in the footnote at this point to suggest not only Saint-Gaudens' physical improvement, but to stress his deep devotion to golf as well.[436] From October 4 through November 25 he played 285 holes of golf.

---

435. Saint-Gaudens to Alfred Garnier, August 1, 1905. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 236.

436. Saint-Gaudens Calendar: Saint-Gaudens Collection. October 6 - 10 holes golf; Oct. 7-10 holes golf; Oct. 8-"Best day I have had in 2 years" - 9 holes of golf - "without pain."; Oct. 10-9 holes golf with Kennedy & Dr. Deeks; Oct. 11- 9 holes golf with Deeks;in a.m.; Oct. 13-14 holes golf; Oct. 22-9 holes golf p.m.; Oct. 23-12 holes golf p.m.; Oct.24-10 holes golf a.m.; 12 holes golf p.m.; Oct. 25-10 holes golf, a.m.; 9 holes p.m.; Oct. 26-9 holes golf, p.m.; Oct. 27-9 holes golf p.m.; Nov. 14-9 holes golf; Nov. 15-9 holes golf; Nov. 16-12 holes golf; Nov. 18-9 holes golf a.m.; 9 holes p.m.; Nov. 19-9 holes golf a.m.; Nov. 20-9 holes golf p.m.; Nov. 21-9 holes golf a.m.; Nov. 22-9 holes golf, a.m.; 9 holes p.m.; Nov. 24-9 holes golf a.m.; 9 holes p.m.; Nov. 25-9 holes golf.

The improved condition, unfortunately was not long lasting. In March 1906 Saint-Gaudens found it necessary to enter Corey Hill Hospital, Brookline, Massachusetts, for an operation.[437]

Regarding the operation, Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, who stayed at the hospital with her husband most of the time he was there, wrote their son that when the doctors operated they did not find a tumor, but they did find swollen, diseased glands which probably would result in a tumor in a few years - and on which they could not operate. Mrs. Saint-Gaudens said she "was going to lie to Mr. Saint-Gaudens - saying that they found no return of the tumor."[438]

---

437. Homer Saint-Gaudens in Reminiscences II, 246, states that his father entered Corey Hill Hospital in February 1906. Letters from Mrs. Saint-Gaudens to Homer establish the date of March 8, 1906 for Saint-Gaudens' admission and March 28 for his dismissal. See Mrs. Saint-Gaudens to Homer Saint-Gaudens, March 7 and March 27, 1906. Saint-Gaudens Collection. It should be remembered that Saint-Gaudens had had a colostomy performed in August of 1900 and he had had a minor operation in November of that year. In January 1905, the sculptor had stopped in Boston to see Dr. B. F. Harrington, whom the sculptor said "dilate[d] the opening seriously in my side and that was quite a little operation." See Saint-Gaudens to "Gussie," January 6, 1905. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

438. Mrs. Saint-Gaudens to Homer Saint-Gaudens, n.d., but probably March 9, 1906.

By March 12, the sculptor had sufficiently recovered that he "Got interested in his reminiscences . . . and wanted to have a stenographer." But Dr. Harrington suggested that he wait. Saint-Gaudens felt that "it's awfully self conscious and egotistical" to write one's reminiscences, but Mrs. Saint-Gaudens persuaded him it was the thing to do. He started dictating his reminiscences to a stenographer on March 22.

Saint-Gaudens was released from Corey Hill on March 28, and it seems that he made good progress for several months after this. He wrote Rose Nichols on April 12 that spring had come to Cornish, but winter had started in again and after having all green, "everything is now white. I do not like it," he said, "as I am beginning to feel like work."[440]

---

439. Same to Same, March 13, March 22, and n.d., but probably March 23, 1906. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

440. Saint-Gaudens to Rose Nichols, April 12, 1906. Saint-Gaudens Collection. The sculptor told his niece that this letter was his second attempt to write to her on "the talking machine" and that he had devoted one wax cylinder to her. Saint-Gaudens had brought a graphaphone to assist with the writing of his reminiscences and to use in preparing correspondence for his secretary. Mrs. Saint-Gaudens wrote Homer, n.d., but obviously April 1906: "The Graphophone also came. He [Saint-Gaudens] tried it a little but he was so intent on making the thing he could think of nothing to say, but the stenographer is not coming either today or tomorrow." In a subsequent letter to Homer, Mrs. Saint-Gaudens noted: "Your father is doing a lot of dictating into the talking machine but so far it hasn't the good style of the dictation to his good stenographer. But perhaps after a while he will do better and Austin [private secretary] finds he can type write from the machine." These letters are in the Saint-Gaudens Collection.

The sculptor wrote his friend, "Dear Old Porcupine" Henry Adams on April 24, 1906 that he was convalescing and "getting fat, very pretty, and all that" according to his observers. Saint-Gaudens told Adams that the thing he regretted the most about his "captivity" was not getting to Washington where he could sit by the historian and listen to him "pegging away at somebody or other." But he must have felt like the sorely tried Candide for he told Adams, wryly, "everything is for the best, as our friend Voltaire said."[442] By the end of April Saint-Gaudens was back on the golf course, playing four holes on April 28.[443]

Saint-Gaudens continued working until mid-summer 1906 on his reminiscences, which the sculptor jokingly referred to as "Reminiscences of an Idiot." He had dictated the first quarter of his stay in the Corey Hill Hospital. Work on this writing project moved rather rapidly during early summer because the sculptor made good use of the graphophone, "A business phonograph . . . which afforded him no end of pleasure."[444]

---

442. Saint-Gaudens to Henry Adams, Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 344-345.

443. Saint-Gaudens to Rose Nichols, April 29, 1906. Saint-Gaudens Collection. Saint-Gaudens told his niece that the night of April 28 was the sixth consecutive night without "dope" [morphine].

444. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, Preface.

Words did not come easily for Saint-Gaudens; he "was far from being a facile writer. The task of completing a long letter always remained a serious one, to be entered into only upon rare occasions."[445] Thus, a great sculptor, but struggling author, Saint-Gaudens should be commended for undertaking the recording of his life's story. As support for his writing, the sculptor relied upon letters and other written materials which were not destroyed in the 1904 fire because they had not been stored in the studio. Considering the enormous amount of documentary materials destroyed in the fire and realizing Saint-Gaudens' general dislike for writing, it is amazing that such a great volume of his correspondence exists today.

The complete story of Saint-Gaudens' third sojourn in Paris, 1897-1900, may never be known for many of his letters of that period were destroyed, as the sculptor wrote his wife in August of 1899:

> It's been hotter than forty hells here for the last two or three days, and if you should miss this letter, it would be hotter still in the studio. For instead of finding letters easier to write as I progress in years, I find them more and more of a burden, and I'm jealous . . . of every minute I give to them. . . . I've been tearing up a lot of copies of my old letters lately and they all seem inane. Those I thought the best of the time were the most inane, so you can understand why I don't want to write another letter. The only parts that were readable were in your handwriting. Evidently I must content myself witb expression in bronze."[446]

---

445. Ibid., I, 287.

446. Ibid., 1, 197-198.

Saint-Gaudens planned to complete a rough draft of the entire autobiography, then re-write it in final form with the assistance of his son who had become something of a freelance writer for magazines and New York City newspapers. This the sculptor was never able to accomplish, for during August 1906 his physical condition became so bad that for weeks at a time he was unable to leave his room.[447] Kenyon Cox observed that during that summer "Saint-Gaudens broke down utterly, the work of his studio was interrupted, and he ceased to see even his most intimate friends."[448] As early as August 1 the sculptor was being given trypsin treatments by Dr. Margaret Cheeves of New York City.[449] A week later, Dr. Cheeves discovered that Saint-Gaudens had intestinal tuberculosis.

Since the sculptor's condition would not permit him to go to New York City for treatment, Dr. Cheeves spent considerable time at "Aspet" during the late summer and early fall of 1906. The

---

447. Ibid., II, 246.

448. Cox, Artist and Public, 179.

449. Report of Dr. Margaret Cheeves, September 20, 1906. Saint-Gaudens Collection. Dr. Cheeves was considered an innovator in the use of trypsin, as a curative for cancer. Remington Pharmaceutical Sciences, 13th Edition, 1965, edited by Eric W. Martin, mentions trypsin as being used today to treat gangrene, surface ulcer, hematome (local swelling or tumor filled with blood), etc. The cancer of the rectum, from which Saint-Gaudens was ailing, would have had many of the same manifestations as the above conditions.

New York City doctor, at "Aspet", wrote Homer Saint-Gaudens on October 4, "In a week more I will have been here 3 calendar months." This letter would seem to suggest that the doctor had been in residence at "Aspet" since about July 10. This was not the case, however, for the doctor wrote Mrs. Saint-Gaudens on September 22, 1906, that she would stay at "Aspet" from September 29 to October 7, 1906 for $350.00. "After that" she said, "I will come at the end of every week for over Sat. & Sun. as long as I am needed." Thus, it appears that she came to "Aspet" for short periods, then returned to New York City to attend to her practice there. Dr. Cheeves noted in her letter of September 22 that she did not expect the trypsin treatment to extend much further than October 7.[451]

Dr. John Brewster of Windsor saw Saint-Gaudens almost daily during the July-October 1906 period, and reported as frequently to Dr. Cheeves. In addition, by this time Saint-Gaudens always had a special nurse. One such nurse was a Miss Clancy, who terminated her work for the Saint-Gaudenses in 1906 because she "got religious struck;" she thought "she had found so much lying and deceit in men and women" that "God was her only friend," said Frances Grimes.[452] Needless to

---

451. Dr. Margaret Cheeves to Augusta Saint-Gaudens, September 22, 1906.

452. Frances Grimes to Barry Faulkner, n.d., but internal evidence strongly suggests April 1906. Letter was given to Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site by Barry Faulkner in October 1966.

say there was some sort of misunderstanding between the Saint-Gaudenses and Miss Clancy. Miss Clancy's replacement was a Miss Dunn, who apparently remained in the employment of the sculptor until the time of his death.[453]

Saint-Gaudens' family tried to keep the sculptor from learning that the cancerous condition had returned. Homer wrote Dr. Cheeves late in October 1906 that his father had told him that he was sure he did not have cancer. "Therefore," said Homer, "it must not get to his ears." Saint-Gaudens' son was especially concerned that the doctor not publicize the case in any medical journals.[454] The sculptor's wife wrote Dr. J. Beard of Edinburgh, Scotland, with whom Dr. Cheeves had consulted about Saint-Gaudens' case, "we are trying to conceal from him what has really been his condition and tell him only of the tuberculosis [of the intestines]." Mrs. Saint-Gaudens said that six years before when the French doctor told her husband he had a tumor, he had told the sculptor: "they will operate but in 6 years

---

453. Mrs. Saint-Gaudens to Dr. John Brewster, n.d., but appears to be during 1906, Saint-Gaudens Collection. In this letter Mrs. Saint-Gaudens suggested to Dr. Brewster that she (Mrs. Saint-Gaudens) take Saint-Gaudens, along with Dr. Brewster and Miss Dunn to New York City for the sculptor to be examined by "the world famous Dr. Osler formerly of Johns Hopkins." Osler, who was on a trip to this country from England at this time, was one of the doctors in John Singer Sargent's famous painting, "The Doctors." Saint-Gaudens did not go to New York to see Osler because his physical condition would not permit it.

454. Homer Saint-Gaudens to Dr. Margaret Cheeves, September 27, 1906. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

it will be back."[455] Dr. Beard's reply was not what Mrs. Saint-Gaudens expected or wanted to receive: "I do not agree with you," said Dr. Beard, "that he [Saint-Gaudens] should remain in ignorance." The Edinburgh doctor told Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, "He ought to learn how much he owes to the scientific skill and care of Dr. Cheeves. She has saved his life, not I." He went on to explain to the sculptor's wife in no uncertain terms that Saint-Gaudens had cancer of the rectum.[456]

It seemed for a short while that maybe Dr. Cheeves had "saved Saint-Gaudens' life." On November 22, 1906 the doctor wrote the sculptor congratulating him upon his being able to go to the studio and "enter upon your work again." The sculptor had been enjoying winter activities too, for Dr. Cheeves noted: "When I knew of your sleigh ride to Mrs. Bryant's I wished that I might have been there to congratulate you." She also told Saint-Gaudens that the recent laboratory report showed no abnormality of structure.[457] Nine days later Dr. Cheeves wrote Dr. C. S. Dolley, father-in-law of Homer

---

455. Augusta Saint-Gaudens to Dr. J. Beard, October 31, 1906. Saint-Gaudens Collection. Dr. Beard had been brought in on the Saint-Gaudens case as early as August 22, 1906, for on that date he wrote Dr. Cheeves referring to Saint-Gaudens' having cancer of the rectum and intestinal tuberculosis.

456. Dr. J. Beard to Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, November 27, 1906. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

457. Dr. Margaret Cheeves to Saint-Gaudens, November 22, 1906. Saint-Gaudens Collection. Dr. Cheeves was referring to Nellie Bryant, a former cook for the Saint-Gaudenses who lived about three-fourths of a mile from the sculptor.

Saint-Gaudens, that Saint-Gaudens' tumor was "killed."[458]

It was soon obvious that this improvement was only a temporary one. "During the winter of 1906-07 we feared he could not live" said Homer.[459] Yet, he made still another brief recovery in the spring of 1907. During this time he was carried from place to place in an improvised sedan-chair. Once he was in the studio he could partly direct the work of the assistants. He could sketch on pads what he wanted them to execute. The sculptor's mind remained alert almost to the end. This was quite important in his work, for he said "It's not the finger[-work] but the brain-work that takes the time."[460] Although he could no longer stand, nor exert himself for many consecutive moments, he managed to do a small amount of work himself during the final months of his life. The last thing Saint-Gaudens worked on with his own hands was the unfinished, but exquisite bas-relief of Mrs. Saint-Gaudens. For the composition of the relief, the sculptor included in addition to his wife, the columns of the pergola outside his studio, the golden bowl of the masque, and the "tangle-coated sheep dog named 'Doodles."[461]

---

458. Same to Dr. C. S. Dolley, December 1, 1906. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

459. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 246.

460. Ibid., II, 358.

461. Ibid., II, 353.

During the spring of 1907, Saint-Gaudens felt strong enough to go occasionally to meals at his son's house, "Tree-tops,"[462] which was nearly a quarter of a mile from "Aspet." Homer, with his wife Carlota, an accomplished miniaturist, had moved to Cornish during 1906 to oversee the operation of the studio when it became obvious that Saint-Gaudens' health would not permit him to see after things. Mrs. Saint-Gaudens very capably handled many of the business aspects of the operation, but she could not direct all phases of the business, which was complex. The studio payroll alone, amounting to $1,124.00 for the month of July 1907 is indicative of the size of the operation at that time.[463]

The sculptor's condition became grave during late July. Yet, as late as July 20, Dr. Cheeves reported to Mrs. Saint-Gaudens that there was a slight improvement in her husband's condition.[464] Nevertheless, it was evident to everyone who observed him at this time that the end of the sculptor's life was in sight. Frances Grimes wrote Barry Faulkner during July concerning the inevitable and imminent passing of their dear friend and fellow artist: "I cannot cease thinking," she told Faulkner, "that down below me in that white house

---

462. Ibid., II, 246.

463. See Saint-Gaudens Account Book, Saint-Gaudens Collection.

464. Dr. Cheeves to Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, July 20, 1907. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

with the angular top Mr. Saint-Gaudens is very sick and I almost resent the sense of comfort and pleasant things about that presses in on me." And she said "Of course I have known for a long time that we could not have him many months but there was always the present to live in and is still but it speaks too strongly of what is coming." Continuing, she noted, "the horrid regret I have to feel is that I have not learned yet to make people give me - show me their best - to accept nothing else from them - and I do want to live these few years over to find more and more that I could admire and see nothing else - in this wonderful man."[465]

The advent of the death of the sculptor has been described most touchingly by one of Saint-Gaudens' ablest assistants, Henry Hering, in a letter he wrote to Barry Faulkner, in Rome, only a week before Saint-Gaudens died. Hering's letter sets the stage so well for what is to come that it is quoted in detail:

> Dear Barry:. . .
>
> It will be the last word you'll get from me this time in Windsor, not because my visit is over, but because I think the end is soon coming for the Saint.

---

465. Frances Grimes to Barry Faulkner, n.d., but clearly July 1907. Letter was donated to Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site by Faulkner in October 1966.

> When I was here in the winter, he so shocked me [the] first time I saw him that I'm afraid he noticed. But I saw him every day and grew used to his gaunt face, the everlasting painful shifting of his sore bones, his fear, his melancholy, his crying, and his look of being hunted by death and knowing it, but turning at bay with sheer will and self-creation. When they would carry him out to the studios and place him in front of his work, the dejection, the grim unhappy will, the constant looking over the shoulder, so to speak, as if death were there, would vanish in an illumination of beauty and the creation of beauty; his eyes would burn again in the moment's victory, and his body straighten, until, irresistible, the pain would come back and the next long day be faced, and the night with what might happen in it if he were not watchful. The evening before I left, in February, he came down to supper and with an effort which touched me deeply talked of things from which he was growing so much farther away all the time, and controlled his illness even to the point of making some of his old-style witticisms and sarcasms, with that kind of smile. I felt then, and have felt since, when Homer has written me that the Saint kept asking for my return, a curious sad happiness in the fact that I was one of only two or three outsiders whom he could bear to see.

Hering proceeded to tell Faulkner how Saint-Gaudens had shown some improvement in the spring and that work accomplished in the studio was evidence of this. The "Lincoln" and "Hanna" had been sent away; the "Phillips Brooks" was almost completed; and "thanks to the sensitive responsive genius of Miss Grimes, of whom he [Saint-Gaudens] often spoke to me as the most imaginative and beauty-gifted of his assistants, the Caryatides for the Albright Gallery in Buffalo are done as he conceived them - great noble creatures."

Hering continued:

But in spite of all this evidence, I found him with a look in his face that told me at once of his being near death. For the first week that I was here, I had supper with him every night. Strange meals they were - Mrs. St.-G. (whose devotion has been very true and beautiful, and has made up at the last, I think, for the irritation she must have brought him before she was chastened and sweetened by the final test; none but the Dolleys complain of her now!) and Homer, and the nurse and I. He wanted us to talk and let him listen; now and then he would ask that we talk louder so that Mrs. might hear, though it was harder than usual with her; for, poor lady, she said almost nothing - sitting there with the love of her youth. When I told him that my book was out and that he should have a copy, he seemed pleased, and each day after that until I got it for him, he would remind me. It almost seemed as if he didn't know how long he would be able to accept it. He told me the next night that he had read some of the Ode, - and "As I have felt about your work before, there is a perfume, - I know no better word to express the special kind of beauty, one doesn't find it often. There's so much stuff that need never have been written, but yours is <u>real</u>, it has the personal ---(I suggested 'personal odour', he smiled and nodded) One or two have had it, - Stevenson had it -- (Homer gave an imperceptible start to convey to me his serious amusement that the man in especial should have been mentioned whom he liked and I disliked; the Saint caught it) O there I go again - you don't like him (sinking back wearily), I'm sorry. I've said the wrong thing, I've used the wrong reference." The last talk I had with him was while we watched a great storm surge of clouds of orange light, chaos pacified. He was saying that if he were able, he would move again, away from the city-people invading Cornish and find another remote country place. After my exclamations on the sunset, that was his quiet comment.

I tell you these things, Barry, because I want to remember them; and I have learned that one remembers nothing; and because they may mean almost as much to you as they have meant to me. And probably by the time you get this, the Saint will be dead; so that this will not have brought you the shock.

He would not have died, I am convinced, so long as any of the great ideas had been reasonably near completion and not to his satisfaction.[466]

Good-Bye, Dear Barry,

H.

Soon Frances Grimes wrote Barry Faulkner that the sculptor had been unconscious and scarcely alive for three days. For Saint-Gaudens, the sun which had begun racing toward the horizon of his life, plunged out of sight at 6:50 p.m., Saturday, August 3, 1907; Saint-Gaudens, whom Robert Louis Stevenson had called "God-like," was dead.[467]

The sculptor's passing made front page news in Eastern papers. The New York Tribune for Sunday, August 4, 1907 devoted an entire column on its front page to the life, work, and death of the Cornish sculptor. The Boston Evening Transcript, August 5, 1907 article on his death was entitled "The Passing of our Greatest Sculptor." News of Saint-Gaudens' death was given extensive coverage in Paris papers. The London Times carried a brief article on August 5.

---

466. Henry Hering to Barry Faulkner, July 22, 1907. This letter was donated to Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site by Faulkner in October 1966. Hering's reference to the sculptor's comments regarding the sunset appears to be the source of Homer Saint-Gaudens' quote: "It's very beautiful, but I want to go farther away." It would seem at first from Hering's reference that the sculptor was speaking of some other place on earth to which he would like to move. Homer's quotation makes it appear

467. Frances Grimes to Barry Faulkner, n.d., but soon after Saint-Gaudens' death. Letter was donated to Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site by Barry Faulkner in October 1966.

Homer Saint-Gaudens, who "went to pieces terribly for several hours after his father's death," had the responsibility of taking Saint-Gaudens' body to Mt. Auburn, near Boston, where it was cremated on Tuesday, August 7 by undertaker Horace D. Litchfield.[468] The sculptor's ashes were taken to Cornish on Wednesday morning by the Reverend Oliver B. Emerson, a retired Unitarian Clergyman who was the husband of Mrs. Saint-Gaudens' sister Eugenie.[469]

"We all tried to arrange a fitting service for Mr. Saint-Gaudens in his studio," said Frances Grimes, "but it seemed very inadequate."[470] The service, conducted on the afternoon of August 7 and under the direction of the Reverend Emerson, consisted of the following: Emerson read first the prayer on the Robert Louis Stevenson memorial tablet which Saint-Gaudens had executed for St. Giles Cathedral,

---

that Saint-Gaudens was referring to something beyond the physical world. It is equally possible that Homer was referring to a different occasion, and thus his statement may be totally correct. Perhaps he understood the subtle but true spiritual connotations of his father's words.

468. Ibid., and Boston Herald, August 8, 1907, and Boston Globe, August 7, 1907. Miss Grimes told Faulkner that "Marie" accompanied Homer. This was Marie Saint-Gaudens, daughter of the sculptor's brother Andrew, and in whose welfare the sculptor had taken great interest. For example, he financed her attendance at a secretarial school in New York City and paid for her medical expenses on various occasions.
Shortly after the sculptor's death, his chief plaster moulder, Gaeton Ardisson, made a plaster cast (death mask) of Saint-Gaudens' face. See newspaper clipping, no name of paper or date, in Saint-Gaudens Collection. The mask is at the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site today.

469. Boston Herald, August 8, 1907.

470. Grimes to Faulkner, August 1907.

following this by numerous Bible verses, including Psalm XXIII, John 11:25-26; John 14:1-3; Job 1:21; I Corinthians 15: 35-50; 53-58; and selections from the writings of the noted Unitarian theologian, James Freeman Clarke.[471] "Kenyon Cox," said Miss Grimes, "spoke wonderfully - fine words justly chosen - just right."[472] In eulogizing his deceased friend Cox said: "The fascination of his personality was remarkable. It was felt by all whom he met, and to it were added . . . kindliness, consideration, simplicity, and modesty. . . . A lover of nature, he felt ardently the beauty of the surroundings of his home.. . . He professed no creed, but he believed in the universal God and was a God-inspired man. This is now our comfort and support. God gives him rest and an advanced and glorified activity."[473]

The service had a "strange poetic . . . ending" with Percy MacKaye reading the two stanzas of Shelley's "Adonais,"[474] beginning with the line . . . 'He is made one with Nature.'" During the service Arthur

---

471. See note in Emerson folder in Saint-Gaudens Collection.

472. Grimes to Faulkner, August 1907.

473. Emerson folder, Saint-Gaudens Collection.

474. MacKaye's selection of the "Adonais" was a tribute in itself to the sculptor because it is considered one of the greatest elegies in English literature. It was written by the British poet Percy Bysshe Shelley in 1821 as an elegy to his poet friend John Keats, who had died of tuberculosis.

Whiting, invisible to the mourners, had played beautifully on an organ in the next room.

Following the funeral service the sculptor's ashes were taken to the Ascutney Cemetery in Windsor, Vermont where they were placed in a brick vault on Lot 686, near that of the late Senator William M. Evarts.[476]

After the funeral, and when Frances Grimes had had time to reflect upon the death of the internationally recognized sculptor who was her friend, she shared her feeling of relief with Barry Faulkner:

---

475. Grimes to Faulkner, August 1907.

476. Boston Herald, August 8, 1907. Also, see Records of the Ascutney Cemetery, Windsor, Vermont - now located at Knight's Funeral Home, Windsor, Vermont. The sculptor's ashes were removed in the summer of 1914 to their permanent location. There they were placed within the altar of a marble temple which Mrs. Saint-Gaudens had recently had reproduced from the wooden altar and temple that had been used in the 1905 Masque of the Golden Bowl. The reproduction was then placed on the exact site of the original.

The altar today contains not only the ashes of Augustus Saint-Gaudens, but those of his wife, who died on July 7, 1926; those of Homer Saint-Gaudens who died on December 8, 1958; those of Homer's first wife, Carlota - who died October 24, 1927; those of Harold Saint-Gaudens, Homer's three year old son - who died in 1913; and those of Louis Saint-Gaudens - who died in March 1913. See Augusta Saint-Gaudens - Expense Account, July 17 and July 24, 1914, where in she records paying Vermont Marble Company $3,240.00 for the Temple and Piccirelli Bros. $900 for carving and modelling the altar and capitals for the Temple.

"It is over. . . . I am so glad the dear Saint is dead," she said. "It is too horrible for him to live and suffer so."[477]

But to Frances Grimes, as well as the sculptor's wife and the others who held Saint-Gaudens dear, the spirit of the man was still alive. The sculptor himself had once said, "While men and nations pass away, a monument is put up before the world to last for centuries." Can we not see his spirit still living in his works - masterpieces that were his legacy to mankind?

---

477. Grimes to Faulkner, August 1907.

CHAPTER XIII

As They Knew Him

The kind of person Saint-Gaudens was has been expressed best by those who knew him well. To his family and many friends he was more than a great sculptor; he was someone for whom they felt profound affection. In their writings they allude to their closeness to him and tell us something about his personality. The mutual influence of Saint-Gaudens and his family and friends upon each other is revealed in their sayings.

Homer Saint-Gaudens, being twenty-seven years old when Saint-Gaudens died, had many memories of his father. Among the most pleasant impressions the father left with his son was his sense of humor. Homer recalled that when as a youngster he would be away from his father while on vacation with his mother, the father almost always included a letter to him along with the letter to Mrs. Saint-Gaudens. These letters always contained humorous stories that were illustrated in a fanciful way.[478]

---

478. See numerous letters from Saint-Gaudens to his son in the Saint-Gaudens Collection.

Homer recalled, too, the mutual influence his father and his numerous friends had upon each other. Homer felt that his father, perhaps, influenced his friends more than they did him. One change in particular, however, he credits the sculptor's friends for bringing about. Saint-Gaudens, basically a shy individual, became a clubman through the influence of his friends.[479] The sculptor belonged to an endless succession of organizations from "The Lambs" to "The Metropolitan." Chief of these, the one he regarded most seriously, was "The Century Club." Close in his affection was "The Players," where he became an early member, "and where his delight in the 'round table group' never ceased." The sculptor's son said that the men of "this little clique, especially those who called themselves members of the 'Saturday Night Club,' which habitually clustered before the rarebit with oysters, made by [Thomas] Dewing or [Stanford] White," included Edward Simmons, Robert Reid, Willard Metcalf, Cooper Hewitt, Charles S. Rinehart, William Snedley, Charles F. McKim, James Wall Finn, and "for some mysterious reason on the night after Thanksgiving, William Sidney Bunce."[480]

---

479. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 116.

480. Ibid., II, 119.

While Saint-Gaudens' friends converted him into a club-man, they were never successful in making him a drinking-man or a smoking-man. Homer recalled that his father always had a longing to appreciate a smoke as he saw his friends appreciating it. But according to his son, "Up to the last ten years of his life he could never make a success of his attempts, and even after that it was with no real relish that he handled his after-dinner cigar."[481]

Homer remembered the hastiness with which his father reacted to situations. He especially recalled an incident at Cornish:

> After work had been stopped for the thirty-fifth time while someone looked for a hammer, my father, in his excitement, ordered a gross of them. Then at least the implements were on hand when wanted. Indeed, the one hundred and forty-four were even said to have dulled the lawnmowers.[482]

A one-time student and assistant of Saint-Gaudens, and one of the leading medalists this country has produced, Adolph Weinman, recalled an incident which another one of Saint-Gaudens' assistants had told him. The story which Herman Parker, who worked for Saint-Gaudens in his New York Studio, told Weinman, illustrates the fiery temper the sculptor possessed. According to the story, Herman, who was courting a girl and wished to make a good impression upon her, took great care to brush up and put a "gorgeous" polish on his shoes

---

481. Ibid.

482. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 341.

before leaving the studio. The lengthy process got on Saint-Gaudens' nerves to the extent that one evening when Herman, who was cleaning up in the outer room, dropped his shoebrush accidentally, the sculptor in the inner studio, went into a violent rage. Saint-Gaudens, who was working on the elevated platform and standing on a lot of piled up boxes, "suddenly took box after box and threw or kicked them to the floor below, shouting and swearing." Then all was quiet for a moment until Herman, with shaky knees ran back into the studio to ask what was the matter. The sculptor calmly replied: "That was the echo of the brush!"[483]

Other facets of Saint-Gaudens' personality and his person can be obtained from the writings of Miss Frances Grimes, the sculptor's assistant who worked longest for him and who was his confidante during the last few years of his life. Miss Grimes has left a remarkably vivid portrayal of the master sculptor and teacher:

> I remember Saint-Gaudens as picturesque although he never wore artistic clothes or struck artistic attitudes. A client once sent him a Greek coin with a beautiful profile of Zeus on the reverse for, she wrote him, "it might be a portrait of you." It might have been a portrait of him and his appreciation of this likeness was too just to be called vanity. He said it enabled him to be classed as one of the "red-haired and hopeful."
>
> His face was active, he frowned, raised his eyebrows, laughed, thrust out his sharp curling beard to accent derision. His heavy eyebrows, gathered into projecting points at the ends, sometimes had the value of daemonic attributes, sometimes they seemed attributes of wisdom. His eyes were small and grey under his heavy brows but the forms around them were large. They travelled quickly and when they rested they looked as from a distance and included more than the objects on which they rested.

---

483. Ibid.

> The size of his head made him look short for it was large in relation to his body. He could be seen in the morning walking slowly to his studio with chest expanded, his head high, his chin drawn in, singing at the top of his voice in the pose of a cock, intentionally arrogant. But his large nose, thick at the top, his far apart eyes, his prominent pointed chin and the heavy mane of hair suggested not a cock but a lion. The intent of his arrogant carriage was not to impress others but to induce, perhaps to invoke, a mental state in himself.
>
> He often amused himself by imagining what people he saw were thinking of and would try to imitate their looks, their expressions, and gestures, hoping if he could make himself look like them, he would know what was going on in their minds. When he was composing a portrait he would take the pose he had chosen to see if it felt in character.
>
> Form interested him as an expression of spirit and he felt each influenced the other. His mood never seemed neutral. He was either elated, serious, or in a stormy depression. From his sculpture one could not guess his love of gaiety, of simple fun, of jests, but perhaps the exquisite lightness and subtlety of the modelling of his bas-reliefs reveal his enjoyment in play over surfaces which must have solidity below them, as play and jesting delighted him in their revelations of human nature. But fires on the altars of heroism and beauty were always burning in him and these he did not profane nor allow anyone else to profane them.

In Miss Grimes' account, apparently prepared for delivery at the dedication of the New Studio and Picture Gallery in July 1948, she commented:

> Although it is so long since Saint-Gaudens died I never come to the Memorial without feeling the change in the days when he was alive here. I feel very deeply now something I call quietness. . . . Not that I remember much actual noise in these days, though often the sound of singing came from the studio where Saint-Gaudens worked which when it was loud and triumphant made us know his work was going well. Quite as often came French songs from the

plaster moulder's shop in which we thought we detected a note of competition.[484]

Kenyon Cox, a fellow teacher with Saint-Gaudens at the Art Students League in New York City, a Cornish neighbor of the sculptor, and a famous muralist, has clearly recorded his impressions of his friend. Cox's appraisal of Saint-Gaudens' works has been previously discussed in various sections of this study, but it is his observations about Saint-Gaudens, the man, that are of primary interest at this point.

Cox said that in the "spare but strong-knit figure" of the sculptor, in the "manner of carrying himself, his every gesture, one felt the abounding vitality, the almost furious energy of the man." The sculptor's "extraordinary head, with its heavy brow beetling above the small but piercing eyes, its red beard and crisp, wirey hair, its projecting jaw and great, strongly modelled nose," said Cox, "was alive with power [- -] with power of intellect no less than of will." Cox felt that Saint-Gaudens, because of a poor early education, had a certain diffidence and a distrust of his own gifts of expression. Also, he was likely to overrate the verbal facility of others and to underestimate himself in the comparison.[485]

---

484. Frances Grimes, "Reminiscences."

485. Cox, Artist and Public, 183-187.

Cox correctly evaluated the "Saint", for, as the sculptor admitted on numerous occasions, he was horrified at the thought of making a public speech. He was even hesitant to talk "shop," with his fellow artists. He usually refrained from saying, from a technical standpoint, what was wrong with a work, but he almost always instinctively knew if a particular work was good or bad.

The sculptor's painter friend, in writing about him in Artist and Public, said of him: "Because the man was my friend I have wished to give some glimpse of the manner of man he was; because the artist was the greatest our country has produced I am going to try to give some idea of his art, of the elements of its strength, and of the limitations which are necessary as its qualities."[486]

Cox believed that underneath the sculptor's humor and gayety there lay a deep-seated Celtic melancholy, and "beside his energy was an infinite patience at the service of an exacting artistic conscience." With this patience, the sculptor, possessed a "gentleness, a sweetness, a delicate sensitiveness, and an abounding humanity and sympathy." Long-suffering, willing to compromise, reluctant to "strike," but able to deal an unexpected staggering verbal blow once he was aroused, were characteristics Cox saw in the "Saint."[487]

---

486. Ibid.

487. Ibid.

In fact, he could be almost ruthless in the assertion of his will when he felt it necessary to be so. "Yet, there was a tender-heartedness in him which made it distressing for him to inflict pain on anyone, and which made him strike the harder, when he did strike, to have it over with." It was his devotion to his art, felt Cox, which caused his rare acts of self-assertion, and it was this same devotion, no less than his natural kindness, that made him ever helpful to younger artists who showed any promise of achievement.[488]

The sculptor was quite capable of commanding the love and devotion of his assistants and close associates, for, as Cox said: "the essential goodness of the man was felt by those who stood nearest him, and most of all by his actual co-workers." As highly as Cox regarded the sculptor's work, he said that to all who knew him, "the man himself seemed finer, rarer, sweeter than his work."[489] To other friends also, Saint-Gaudens, the man, seemed greater than his work, and as Cox stated, "the gap he has left in their lives will be harder to fill than his vacant place in American Art." Cox felt that the sculptor had a genius for friendship.[490]

---

488. Ibid.

489. Ibid.

490. Cox, "In Memory of Saint-Gaudens," 249.

A noted artist and diplomat, Maitland Armstrong, who had known the sculptor since his struggling days in Rome (early 1870's), characterized Saint-Gaudens as being modest and retiring by nature: "Nothing bored him more than to be thrust forward, especially if the particular kind of torture happened to be public speaking." But Armstrong remembered the sculptor's literary style as being "terse and vivid," and frequently illustrated with humorous scraps of drawings and using a caricature of his own long profile for his signature. The sculptor's manners, said Armstrong, were "most attractive, but he cared little for dress and all the affectations."[491] The lack of interest in clothes did not prevent him from admirably depicting them. In fact, the manner in which Saint-Gaudens depicted the clothing for his statues has been praised for its superiority.

A characteristic Armstrong recalled as being strong with the sculptor was his frankness, for "he made it a point of honor when asked about a work of art to answer exactly as he thought."[492] With any work that he considered good, he was extremely generous in his praise. But he would not violate his professional and personal honesty by praising something unworthy of praise.

---

491. Armstrong, Day Before Yesterday, 261-272.

492. Ibid.

Henry Adams, historian descended from Presidents John and John Quincy Adams, was a great admirer of the sculptor who produced the masterful monument to Adams' wife. The historian said of the sculptor: "Of all the American artists who gave to American Art whatever life it breathed in the seventies, St.-Gaudens was perhaps the most sympathetic; but certainly the most inarticulate. . . . General Grant or Don Cameron, . . . had scarcely less instinct for rhetoric than he." Adams said that Saint-Gaudens "never laid down the law, or affected the despot, or became brutalized like Whistler by the brutalities of his world. He [Saint-Gaudens] required no incense; he was no egoist; his simplicity of thought was excessive; but he could not imitate, or give any form but his own to the creations of his hand."[493]

During the summer of 1900, Saint-Gaudens and Adams were both in Paris. Adams stopped by the sculptor's studio almost daily to visit with him and to boost the sculptor's low spirits. The two often took walks in the Bois de Boulogne, or had dinner together. Once they visited the cathedral at Amiens. Saint-Gaudens liked the stateliness, dignity, and decorative sculpture of the magnificent building, but Adams said he had more interest in Saint-Gaudens than he did in the cathedral because he saw the sculptor as a great man, and "Great men before great monuments express great truths."

---

493. Adams, Education of Henry Adams, 385-86.

Adams felt that sensitive as Saint-Gaudens was, the sculptor was not conscious of the life-force that created the cathedral with all of its beauty -- "The Virgin, the Woman." To Adams the sculptured Virgin of Amiens was a channel of force; "to St. Gaudens she remained . . . a channel of taste." Despite Saint-Gaudens' inability to see the real meaning of the Virgin of Amiens, Adams believed that

> . . . in mind and person, St. Gaudens was a survival of the 1500['s];he bore the stamp of the Renaissance, and should have carried an image of the Virgin round his neck. . . . In mere time he was a lost soul that had strayed by chance into the twentieth century, and forgotten where it came from. He writhed and cursed at his ignorance, much as Adams did at his own, but in the opposite sense. St. Gaudens was a child of Benvenuto Cellini, smothered in an American cradle. Adams was a quintessence of Boston, devoured by curiosity to think like Benvenuto.[494]

Adams appeared almost to be envious of the prestige commanded by the sculptor. In his Education of Henry Adams, the historian wrote as if he were speaking directly to Saint-Gaudens:

> Very likely some of the really successful Americans would be willing you should come to dinner sometimes . . . while they would think twice about [John] Hay, and would never stand me. . . . The forgotten statesman had no value at all; the general and admiral not much; the historian but little; on the whole, the artist stood best.[495]

The close relationship between the sculptor and Adams is revealed in letters between them in 1904 and 1905. Adams, in response to receiving a bronze caricature of himself which the sculptor had executed and sent to him by Secretary of State John Hay, wrote to Boulogne to Saint-Gaudens in September 1904:

---

494. Ibid., 386-87.

495. Ibid., 327

> Your winged and pennated child arrived yesterday by the Grace of God and his Vicar the Secretary of State, or his satellites Adee and Vignaud. As this is the only way in which the Secretary will ever fulfill his promise of making me Cardinal and Pope I can see why he thinks to satisfy me by giving me medallic rank through you. Docile as I always am to suggestion, I agree that medal is probably worth more than the hat. . . .
>
> Work! And make a lot of new porcupuses. I'm sorry you can't give Hay wings too, he needs them more than I."[496]

Later in September, Saint-Gaudens wrote Adams about the medal. Jokingly, the sculptor said, "I hope the medal makes you a little miserable. It was made for that purpose. And if I could believe it did, it would compensate for the diabolique neurosis or sciatica which keeps me prisoner here." Referring to his physical condition, the sculptor said, "if it were not for that . . . I would write this letter straighter. But it's hard to have an eye for the proper 'aplomb' when you are writing half-reclining."[497]

The following letter from "Aspet" reveals even more of the humorous nature of Saint-Gaudens and his friendship with Adams:

> You dear old Porcupinus Poeticus:
> You old Poeticus under a Busnelibus:
>
> I thought I liked you fairly well, but I like you more for the book [Mont Saint Michel and Chartres] you sent me the other day. Whether I like you more because you have revealed to me the wonder of the Twelfth Century in a way that never entered my head, or whether it is because of the general guts and enthusiasm of the work, puzzles what courtesy calls my brains. . . . Thank you, Dear ol Stick in the Mud. . . . Your brother in idiocy, . . . ASG.[498]

496. Henry Adams to Saint-Gaudens, September 3, 1904. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 338.

497. Saint-Gaudens to Henry Adams, September 15, 1904, Ibid., II, 339.

498. Same to Same, April 6, 1905, Ibid., II, 343-344.

The wife of sculptor Daniel Chester French, Mary French, had fond memories of Saint-Gaudens, even though he was responsible for the postponement of her wedding with her cousin, Daniel. As a result of Saint-Gaudens' criticism of French's statue, altering its completion meant a change in wedding plans. In explaining the delay, French told his fiancee:

> Saint-Gaudens has been in and says that the legs are too short. Perhaps I should have known this without anyone telling me, had I not been diverted by the prospects of approaching matrimony. However, when you can pin Saint-Gaudens down and get a real criticism from him, it is better than anybody's, and so what can I do except give the Doctor an inch or two more of leg, and meanwhile, what kind of lover will you think me anyhow.[499]

The Frenches spent the summers of 1892 and 1894 in Cornish. While there, they became actively involved in the goings-on in the lively artistic community. They had known Saint-Gaudens for some time, but their friendship became more intimate during these two summers. In her Memoirs, Mary French portrayed the personality of Saint-Gaudens so well that her description is quoted at length:

> It was a great privilege to live, as I lived, for part of two summers almost next door to Mr. Saint-Gaudens, to know a great man, as a great man ought to be known, in surroundings of more or less his own choosing -- his own house, his work, his friends. . . .

---

499. Mrs. Daniel Chester French, Memoirs of a Sculptor's Wife (Boston, 1928), 154.

. . . Saint-Gaudens was very fond of people. He had a great fund of humor. He was most appreciative of other people's jokes, but he cared little for formal society. He was apt to be thinking of something else.

I always see him, when the rooms filled up, as running away. I remember one evening thinking how nice it was to find him sitting with other friends at a musicale -- this in New York, but a little later, as one or two men filed by us to the door, Saint-Gaudens rose, apologetically excused himself, "For a moment," and never returned. He spent the rest of the evening in the smoking room with the men.

And another occasion I remember even more forcibly, and always with a smile. It was in Cornish, and Mrs. Saint-Gaudens being for some reason detained at home, we, the Herbert Adamses, the Frenches, and Saint-Gaudens, went off in his trap over the hills to an evening party, neighbors and friends, the kind of party he thought he liked.

As he went into the room, he whispered in my ear, "Not too late," which I, of course, promptly forgot. Later, much later, in the evening -- I remember we had been listening to music and watching the tableaux -- when, as some one else had made a move, I decided that the show being mostly over some of our party might like to go. I turned to Saint-Gaudens, who was in a way, having driven us over, our host.

"Would you care to leave now?" I faintly suggested, and turned back toward the music. After another moment I rose, murmured some other faint suggestion, then, half turning back to my seat, I said, "Perhaps Mr. Saint-Gaudens would like to stay longer."

He rose up from his seat quietly but suddenly, "For God's sake, no!" he said, and started for the door. We followed him out and packed ourselves into the trap and as we drove over the hills, Herbert Adams driving, Saint-Gaudens came back to himself and had a good time.

I think of him there at his own home as a most interesting personage. He loved a story and he was a great mimic. Once, when someone complained about the speed -- or lack of speed -- of a neighboring horse, he said, "It is just what I like. You can think about something else as you drive along."

I, on the contrary, said I liked the horse that could go, and perhaps in my enthusiasm enlarged upon the subject. I remember how, almost before I had finished my sentence, Saint-Gaudens had shown me up to the assembly.

He crossed his knees and hunched them up in front of him, his hands gathering up imaginary reins beneath his chin, he slapped a small worsted mat from a near-by work-bag upon one side of his head, hooked a cigar into the corner of his mouth, and in a moment had me tearing down the road like a disreputable jockey. "This is the way Mrs. French likes to ride when she drives" - - I sitting very still and realizing that it did look exactly like the picture which I, in my enthusiasm, had conveyed.

My little girl [Margaret French Cresson] of three years had a curious faculty of pronouncing each syllable of a word so distinctly as to give an impression of a great vocabulary. She really did not know very many words, but she made the most of them and people used to say, "That child speaks as if she were grown up." This greatly amused Mr. Saint-Gaudens and he made up sentences or words just to hear her repeat them. The moment he saw her coming down the road he would begin.

"Here comes Little Louisiana Purchase," or sometimes he would stand her in front of his knees and say, "Little Mississippi River," and before the words were out of his mouth, the child would gasp, "Li-t-le Miss-iss-ip-pi River." She had a curious inflection which put the accent on the last syllable.

"Great Lar-go Resti-guchy," he would say with gusto, and the child would rush at it.

"Great Lar-go Resti-gou-che!" she would gasp breathlessly, Saint-Gaudens laughing with delight; and the child would come over and stand solemnly in front of me and say, "Mr. Saint-Gau-dens is a nice man, Mamma, isn't he?" She too, liked his sympathetic appreciation of her efforts.

He was very fond of having young men about him, and of going down town with them, some people said, "whooping it up!" and wondering sometimes that Saint-Gaudens, with his superior tastes and great personality, should care for some of the things they did. I always felt about Saint-Gaudens that there was

> Something of a tendency toward, if not morbidness, at least introspection, from which he wished to escape; that he craved excitement, or at least diversion. Louis Saint-Gaudens used to say of him, "My brother Gus is a very good man. He tries pretty hard to be vicious, but he is really a very good man."[500]

The late muralist, Barry Faulkner, a Harvard classmate of Homer Saint-Gaudens, and a frequent visitor in the Saint-Gaudens home as a guest of Homer or at the invitation of Homer's father to come and do some work for him in coloring statues, recalled his first impression of the "Saint."

> The sculptor was a noble figure, of medium height with massive head, deepset tired eyes and a long handsome nose which made a straight line with his forehead. His heavy hair was gray, but its original redness lingered in his beard. It was a head that might have been seen in the Athens of Pericles or stamped upon an old Greek coin. His presence inspired respect and admiration and made it easy to understand why so many of his artist friends followed him and gathered at Cornish.[501]

An art critic for the New York Evening Post and The Nation, William A. Coffin, remembered among other things about the sculptor, his speech habits. Coffin, writing to Homer Saint-Gaudens in 1908, one year after the sculptor's death, said that "Saint-Gaudens' speech was generally concise, but if he was explaining why he had done some certain thing in his works, he at times searched for words to express his meaning, using French if it answered his purpose better, but generally French words brought into English sentences rather than

---

500. Ibid.

501. Faulkner, "Autobiography."

straight French." Coffin was the Director of Fine Arts at the Buffalo Exposition in 1901 - in which Saint-Gaudens received the sole medal of honor.[502]

Saint-Gaudens' fellow artist and close friend of more than thirty years, Will H. Low, wrote in 1908 of his associations with the sculptor. The New York muralist, five years the junior of Saint-Gaudens, attended the Ecole des Beaux Arts after Saint-Gaudens had studied there. Thus, the two had mutual acquaintances in Paris and in New York. Low wrote the following account of his friendship with the sculptor:

> It was Augustus Saint-Gaudens to whom I opened my door that summer morning, [1877], and who, with that straight-forward simplicity that he retained through life, greeted me:
>
> "Your name is Low, is it not? You had a bully picture in the Academy of Design last Spring, and I wanted to come and tell you so. My name is Saint-Gaudens."
>
> "Come in," I replied, "I know you very well."
>
> And so, in fact, I did. From the earliest days of my sojourn in Paris, often, when the question of the talent of the young sculptors came up among my French friends, the remark would be made: "So and so is very well, but do you know, or do you remember Saint-Gaudens?"

---

502. William A. Coffin, "Reminiscences of Augustus Saint-Gaudens," 8 pp. Typewritten manuscript for Homer Saint-Gaudens on December 3, 1908. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

The curious reputation of the ability of a man in his student days; the place which among the younger painters, John Singer Sargent so rapidly acquired, had been awarded, St.-Gaudens in the atelier Jouffroy, where he had studied, and the appreciation of his talent had been handed down as a tradition of the schools.

I had heard it before I left New York, from [Olin] Warner, and, once when with him, in the old Knoedler art gallery, then at Twenty-second street and Fifth Avenue he had left my side to greet another visitor; and calling me over, had introduced the stranger by the name which I at once recognized as that of the crack student of whom Warner had so often spoken - a meeting which I afterwards learned had passed from Saint-Gaudens' memory.

But it was not many hours before we knew each other well; his long absence from Paris, his residence in Rome, and his sojourn in New York -- whence he was newly arrived, bearing a commission to model the statue of Farragut -- had little changed him; and we might have been students of our respective ateliers meeting for the first time, and establishing that almost instantaneous footing of intimacy which between kindred spirits was not unusual in those days.

And soon, not at once, but gradually unfolding before my neutral vision -- as my new friend in the days that followed described incidents and conditions in the art of life of that strange city of the new world, whence he came and where I was to go -- a new outlook on life was presented to me.

Vividly presented, for in a manner unlike any I have known, Saint-Gaudens had a gift of making one "see things." He, in all simplicity, believed himself to be virtually inarticulate; and for any personal exercise of the written or spoken word, he, quite honestly professed much the same aversion as he, the skilled artist, would feel for the bungling attempt of the ignorant amateur.

But it was precisely because he was so intensely an artist that his mental vision was clear, and that which he saw, he in turn made visible . . . to others. How, it is hardly possible to describe, but I have heard many others who by common consent would be accounted better

> talkers than he, endeavor to repeat some story or incident, originally told by Saint-Gaudens; and the contrast was painful between the vivid full-colored image of the one and the pallid copy of the other.
>
> At the time of our meeting he was filled with interest in the revolutionary movement in art that was then gathering weight in New York.
>
> He [Saint-Gaudens] told of a circle of younger artists, with whom he had been immediately connected, and who, in company with some of the more liberal spirits in the Academy, had formed a society to hold exhibitions, where art upon the ideal basis of "Art for art's sake" was to find expression.[503]

Low spent three months during 1877 with Saint-Gaudens in Paris. Saint-Gaudens had invited Low to share a studio which he had taken in the Faubourg St. Honore, and to live in the little apartment on the Boulevard Pereire where Saint-Gaudens and his bride had just set up housekeeping.[504] Here they rapidly got to know each other, for as Low recalled,

> I soon knew his whole life history; narrated during the progress of our work in the studio, with the picturesque presentation of which he was master.
>
> I saw the little New York boy who lived downtown in Varick or Lispenard Street, in a part of the city which was already "old-fashioned" in the later days of the Civil War. I shared his delights in following, as fast as small legs could carry him, the exciting progress of the "Masheen" on its way to a fire, pulled by the heroes of the Voluntary Fire Department; for like glories had been mine in my inland town in my own day of "short pants."

---

503. Will H. Low, Chronicle of Friendship, 1873-1900,(New York, 1908), 340-344.

504. Ibid.

Through his apprenticeship to a cameo-cutter -- less an artist than an artisan -- the development of his talent through working at night in Cooper Union, and in the school of the Academy of Design; through the awakening of his ambition which finally landed him in the atelier Jouffroy in Paris, his recital went on bit by bit. Of course, this was quite without autobiographical intention; but I was anxious to learn all that I could of New York, for, despite my two years experience there, the city seemed exceedingly remote in the nearer memories of my five years in Paris. Interchange of confidences carried my friend along to tell me of his student life in Paris; where, meagrely supported by his cameo-cutting, his hardships had been such that I found my experiences were as nothing in comparison.

An early commission had taken him to Rome, where he had executed what he called, "the necessary mistake of every American sculptor -- the figure of an Indian." This, a statue of "Hiawatha" was the only nude figure that he ever finished, with the exception of Diana which soars so proudly over Stanford White's beautiful Sevillian tower on Madison Square.

Another statue of "Silence" he modelled about this time or a little later, in Rome, and years after, swearing me to secrecy, he took me to where it stood in the Masonic Temple; in a semi-public position here in New York I should keep the secret, even now, but many of my readers will have seen it before these lines are printed in the Memorial Exhibition of the works of Saint-Gaudens, at the Metropolitan Museum of of Art in New York, and will have found it to be a more than creditable work; which in common with the "Hiawatha," the sensitive sculptor persistently undervalued; for the comparison which he made, with later and more mature work, was eminently unjust. In banter the "Silence" was dubbed the "dark secret", and the threat of its disclosure was enough to excite very real distress on the part of the sculptor, whose self-criticism of his production grew with his years.

I watched with interest the first work which I saw him undertake, the first measure of his talent that I could form, for he had arrived in Paris almost empty-handed, so far as his previous efforts were concerned -- some small portrait medallions being the only examples of his art which he had brought.

This first work was, to my delight, decorative in character, and was to be placed as reredos, between two large canvasses of John La Farge, in the chancel of St. Thomas's Church in New York. [This was during the late summer of 1877.] The reredos consisted of a composition of angels kneeling, symmetrically disposed two by two in panels one above the other, around a cross extending from the top to the bottom of the united and superimposed panels. It was to be cast in cement, and to overcome the contrast in whiteness in juxtaposition with the painted decorations which flanked it on either side, Saint-Gaudens proposed to gild it, and then tone it down to harmonize with La Farge's work.

To this I proffered the objection that "it would look like sham bronze," and suggested that a treatment of the surface in polychrome, avoiding any naturalistic tinting of the flesh or draperies, but giving the whole a varicolored subdued tone would be better. Saint-Gaudens at once adopted my suggestion and asked me to treat the surfaces of his bas-reliefs in color as I proposed; thus affording me my first opportunity to put into practice the decorative theories of which in an instinctive and vague fashion I had long enjoyed a monopoly among my comrades, all more interested in realistic work than I.

I admired from the first the easy competence of my friend for the task before him. The figures in the relief were of life size, and their attitudes were similar as they all knelt in adoration of the cross. Without a preliminary sketch, not using a living model, I watched the bevy of angels grow, and by a turn of the head here, a variation of attitude there, by differing dispositions of the hands or folds of the drapery, sufficient variety was obtained to break the rigidity of a voluntarily formal composition.

Destined to be seen in a subdued light, strong accents were left, and little subtlety of form was attempted; but as I saw the clay become vitalized under the deft touch of the sculptor, I realized that the tradition of the school concerning his talent reposed on a firm foundation, and that he possessed his métier, as I knew very few, even of my French comrades, possessed theirs; although this quality was more common in the French sculpture of the period than with any other nation or at almost any previous epoch of art.

I insist upon the facility of Saint-Gaudens work at that time, as well as upon the extreme rapidity of his execution of this reredos, [executed between late June and September 20, 1877] because later in his career, when in the tide of production of the great works by which his name will be preserved, he became the fable of the studios and the despair of the committees; who were forced to wait months and years while the fastidious sculptor apparently hesitated, changed his purpose, tore down all but for the completed work, and, but for the complete success with which he emerged from this cloud of indecision, appeared to retain but little of the direct method of his earlier work. But it is to be remembered that he was then comparatively fresh from school, where technical qualities are alone considered important; that the reredos, with all its charm of sentiment, was merely an enlarged sketch of decorative intent; and that few of the graver problems of his nobler work were present before him, as, with a fine facility, these angelic figures fairly sprang into existence.

And so these figures grew; one for each day's work. The sculptor meanwhile chatted gayly, first in French, then in English, with idiomatic command of slang of either language, with graver intervals when he told of the projects of the little band at home, and the purposes of the new Society. He had much to say also of the painter [John La Farge] whose works were to form the major part of the decoration in which his bas-relief was to figure, to which I listened intently. . . . He told me of the decoration of the Trinity Church in Boston, under the control of this master, aided by a number of men I knew or had heard of; among them Saint-Gaudens himself, for the time being, turning painter -- and as he told the story it sounded like some tale of Renaissance times taken from the pages of Cellini or Vasari.

When the various panels of the bas-relief ["Angels Adoring the Cross" for St. Thomas' Church] were finished in clay and cast in cement, they were placed on a wall at the end of the studio, arranged in the order they were to be taken to the church; and my part of the task began. Gradually the chalky white of the cement gave way to a more somber whiteness of hue, and high on the ladder with Saint-Gaudens at the other end of the studio directing me to darken or accent in one place or lighten a plane in another, I tasted for the first time the sweets of working upon a generous scale. . . . Saint-Gaudens welcomed, then and after, the naive criticisms of the ignorant [Low means himself]. . . Saint-Gaudens was occasionally

> absent from the studio, of course, and it so happened that three or four occasions I was visited by either Bob, or Louis, Stevenson when he was away; so that he never met Bob, and ten years were to elapse before he and Louis were to become friends.[505]

There are still people living in Cornish, New Hampshire who remember Saint-Gaudens. Will Low's observation about the willingness of the sculptor to accept criticism is confirmed in the recollections of Miss Frances Arnold in a recent interview with Mr. Hugh Gurney.[506] Miss Arnold, whom Barry Faulkner remembered for her beautiful contralto voice, was often a dinner-guest of the Saint-Gaudenses. After one of those dinners the great sculptor even asked Miss Arnold to go down to the studio with him and tell him what she thought of a piece of sculpture on which he was working. He wanted some lay advice.

Miss Arnold remembers Mr. Saint-Gaudens as "an extremely genial person, quite friendly and very modest." Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, on the other hand, "was a very direct New Englander who had a lack of

---

505. Ibid.

506. Miss Frances Arnold, personal interview with Mr. Hugh Gurney, March 10, 1967. Mr. Gurney is the historian at Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site. Miss Arnold spent her first summer in Cornish in 1889, when she was about fifteen years old. Her grandfather, Benjamin Greene Arnold, had come to Cornish in either 1886 or 1887. The Arnold-Saint-Gaudens association was a long one, for the sculptor did a marble bust of Mr. Arnold as early as 1876. This bust was destroyed in the 1944 studio fire.

tact," and "possessed very little charm." Nevertheless, Miss Arnold thought Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, who was "very dark and handsome with prominent white teeth," was "all right."[507] Miss Arnold went on to say that "Saint-Gaudens had an unaffected charm and always seemed to focus his attention directly on you when you were talking to him." She recalled that his pleasures were very childlike; "he got his studio people interested in sports, built a large toboggan slide on the grounds, sponsored skating parties on the pond and cut many paths through the woods so that you could walk from his estate to the [George] Rublee place."

Miss Arnold remembered that during the time of her acquaintance with Saint-Gaudens, walking and riding were pleasant pastimes. At that time the low ground along Blow-Me-Down Brook, was "a primeval forest with several delightful roads through it." One road ran from the back gate of the Chase Cemetery to Blow-Me-Down Brook, forded the stream and then continued through the woods to Saint-Gaudens' road. The trail from the Saint-Gaudens place to the Rublee's was another delightful walking route.[508]

---

507. Ibid.

508. Ibid.

Miss Arnold was a participant in the Masque of the Golden Bowl. She "walked around in the background carrying a basket of fruit and flowers."[509] During the dinner and dance that were held that night in the large studio, just completed, Miss Arnold talked with the sculptor, whom she remembered as being very touched and excited about the events of the day.[510]

Mrs. Evelyn Granger Smith, foster daughter of Frances Duncan Manning (landscape architect and good friend of Saint-Gaudens), described to the author a visit she made with her mother to the Saint-Gaudens home. She remembered that as a ten-year-old child she sat on a dining room chair that was "so high that my feet could not touch the floor," at a table with candles in front of a fire in the fireplace. For dinner the Saint-Gaudenses served roast beef, and "Saint-Gaudens said I was a growing child and needed a big piece."

---

509. Ibid. It seems that Miss Arnold was an attendant of the goddess Pomona, played by Maud Elliott, wife of artist John Elliott. See Elliott, John Elliott, 146.

510. Frances Arnold, personal interview. Miss Arnold told Mr.Gurney that she did not attend Saint-Gaudens' funeral because while she was horseback riding on the day of the funeral she had fallen and broken her ankle. However, almost twenty years later, she attended the funeral of Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, held in the Little Studio in July 1926. At that time she remembered Mrs. Louise Homer's singing so loudly that she "drowned out everyone else in the congregation." In her reminiscing about the Saint-Gaudenses, Miss Arnold recalled eating in the main dining room on two occasions: once when Secretary of State John Hay was at "Aspet" in the summer of 1904; the other the following summer when an engagement party was given for Homer Saint-Gaudens and Carlota Dolley. On still other occasions she had eaten on the porch overlooking the Connecticut Valley.

Sometime during the evening the sculptor told the young Miss stories of his childhood - how he and his brother Andrew, who were very poor as children, found ways to get into the circus by sneaking in.[511]

Mrs. Smith, who played the part of a "dragonfly" in a production of "A Midsummer Night's Dream" which was presented in front of the sculptor's studio, remembers Saint-Gaudens as having a "twinkle in his eyes, a kind face, and a nice smile."[512]

Through the words of those who knew him best, perhaps we have become better acquainted with the many-sided Saint-Gaudens. We see him as they did - a complex individual with a multitude of traits and talents.

---

511. Evelyn Granger Smith, personal interview, Cornish, N. H., August 9, 1966 with author. Mrs. Smith retired during the spring of 1967 from the position of housekeeper at the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site. Lyndon Smith, half-brother to Mrs. Smith's husband, worked for Saint-Gaudens during the late 1890's, taking care of the animals and helping with the ground's maintenance. Saint-Gaudens helped finance Lyndon Smith's education in veterinary science.

512. Ibid.

#

CHAPTER XIV

An Appraisal of Saint-Gaudens -- His Art and Philosophy of Art

Saint-Gaudens' Art:

From the time of his "Farragut" (1881), Saint-Gaudens had been recognized as a first-rate sculptor. With each succeeding work his name came to mean more and more to the art world and to the discerning public. In this chapter, I shall present appraisals which have not been discussed previously but are quite important in the overall evaluation of Saint-Gaudens' work. Even in the mid-twentieth century when Saint-Gaudens style is not in vogue, sculptors, along with art historians and art critics, are taking a new look at Saint-Gaudens. Whether there is currently, or will be, a revival in the production of Saint-Gaudens' type of sculpture, remains to be seen. There appears to be, however, a new interest in Saint-Gaudens from a historical point of view. Plainly he continues to be the undisputed leading American sculptor of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Much has been said in this study about Saint-Gaudens' way of looking at art, the thought that preceded and accompanied a work during its evolution. An effort will be made in this chapter to pull together the sculptor's thoughts about art, which might be considered his philosophy of art.

When Saint-Gaudens was still hard at work on the "Sherman Monument," art critics and art historians were appraising his work in such a manner that his elevated position in the art circles, which he had held for twenty years, seemed permanently and unquestionably assured. He had exhibited his works, the "Sherman" in particular, at the Paris Exhibition Internationale of 1900 and had won international acclaim. There was little doubt that he was the equal of any sculptor of his day; he had fared well when he was measured against his contemporaries.

Sadakichi Hartmann, in writing A History of American Art (1902), commented on the excellence of Saint-Gaudens' work: "Nothing left his studio which was not as perfect as he could make it." Hartmann was highly complimentary of the sculptor for the way in which "he rendered our modern costume picturesque in a realistic as well as highly artistic manner." The art historian felt that probably nobody had excelled Saint-Gaudens in the treatment of clothing, and he said, " . . . if for nothing else, he will live in the history of art."

He noted further that Saint-Gaudens had transformed the "garb of today" to decoration. Hartmann felt that Saint-Gaudens had rendered the clothing so well that "one feels the body under the coat and trousers, and is firmly convinced without further investigation that each figure was modelled in the nude with exceeding care."

Hartmann, like so many other critics and art historians, showered extraordinary praise upon the sculptor for the quality of his bas-reliefs - the "Sons of Prescott Butler," "Henry Whitney Bellows," "Robert Louis Stevenson," and the like. Nothing more exquisite in bas-reliefs had been done before Saint-Gaudens, "not even by the masters," said Hartmann.[512]

James Earle Fraser said about his former teacher and employer: "By the combined work of brain and spirit and hand - a great mind working in art . . . he left us a rich legacy; in addition to all else -- the busts and bas-reliefs -- the Sherman; the Adams Memorial -- one of the world's great symbolic statues; Lincoln, Farragut and the Puritan -- three of the great portrait statues of the world."[513]

Kenyon Cox said that his Cornish neighbor, Saint-Gaudens, was one of the most successful of the modern sculptors in the revival of the Renaissance low relief. Cox cited as an example Saint-Gaudens' allegorical figures on the base of the "Farragut Monument."

---

512. Sadakichi Hartmann, A History of American Art, (2 vols., Boston, 1902), II, 43-49.

513. Fraser, "Autobiography."

He regarded these figures as even more of a revelation of Saint-Gaudens' ability than the statue of Sherman itself. The two dominating qualities of the Renaissance as expressed in Saint-Gaudens' portraiture, said Cox, were his individuality of conception and his delicate suavity of modelling. Speaking of Saint-Gaudens' Caryatides of the house of Cornelius Vanderbilt and the angels of the "Morgan Monument," Cox wrote: "If they are not women who have lived, they are women who might have lived and have loved and, assuredly, have been loved. . . . They are not goddesses, but women; alike, yet different, each, one feels, with her own character, her own virtues, and, perhaps, her own faults."[514]

Cox felt that Saint-Gaudens was, first of all, by nature and training, a first-rate designer.[515] He said that Saint-Gaudens' feeling for decoration kept him from a simple pictorial realism, "and his fight against picturesqueness was nobly won." The Cornish sculptor's grasp or form and structure was second only to his mastery of composition.[516]

Art critic Charles H. Caffin appraised Saint-Gaudens in 1903 as an artist of superior imagination. The sculptor, Caffin said, had the ability translate facts into a fresh form whereby one is attracted to the idea contained within the fact. The sculptor's work contained an "idealization of character or sentiment." Caffin said, as many other critics were saying, that it was the sculptor's penetrating

514. Cox, Old Masters and New, 275.

515. Ibid., 197.

516. Ibid., 209.

use of his imagination to find the keenest and truest impulse in "the facts," or "reality," that contributed most to his greatness as an artist. It was Saint-Gaudens' good fortune to have lived at a time when large and impressive facts -- primarily people and events associated with the Civil War -- were being memorialized.[517]

The wife of sculptor Herbert Adams, Adeline Pond Adams, in her Spirit of American Sculpture wrote about her Cornish neighbor in a most complimentary manner. Mrs. Adams, writing in 1923, commented that "Augustus Saint-Gaudens lives in our annals as the most illustrious figure in American Art. Both the Old World and the New see it so."[518] Saint-Gaudens, Mrs. Adams felt, "had always his innermost unusualness that somehow placed him above his fellows." She recalled that the "Saint" was overly critical of his own work. His extraordinary productivity went hand in hand with his relentless power of self-criticism.[519] She highly praised Saint-Gaudens' work as a cameo-cutter, because his knowledge of that art helped him advance toward his ultimate mastery over relief of all kinds. "He may be truly said to have invented that charming form of bas-relief likeness

---

517. Charles Henry Caffin, American Masters of Sculpture: Being Brief Appreciations of Some American Sculptors and Some Phases of Sculpture in America, (Garden City, 1913). Caffin's book originally came out in 1903.

518. Adams, Spirit of American Sculpture, 67.

519. Ibid., 191

shown in the portraits of the Schiff children, the Butler children, Bastien-Le-Page, Violet Sargent, and many others. Nothing quite like these works had ever before been produced."[520]

Royal Cortissoz, long-time art critic for the New York Tribune wrote in 1927:

> Augustus Saint-Gaudens was one of the great constructive figures in our American renaissance. Like La Farge in painting, like McKim in architecture, he is to be remembered not only for the intrinsic beauty of what he did but for his influence in an important period. The old academic tradition that prevailed just after the Civil War could be displaced only by men who joined great personal force to a new, vitalized conception of art.
>
> Saint-Gaudens was such a type. He knew the power, and the dignity of antique sculpture but he was nearer to Florence than to Athens, which is to say that he had in his blood the modernity essential to his task.
>
> In the renovation of American sculpture to which he so richly contributed it was indispensable that the exemplar of a progressive ideal should be imbued with an ardent feeling for life. Saint-Gaudens was never diverted by abstract theorizing from contact with the subject before him. You would say that he had reached his highest achievement in his treatment of an idealistic theme, in the Adams Monument, if it were not that you have also to reckon with such statues as his Farragut and his two monuments to Lincoln. Those things bring you back to his interest in life, his intense energy. Distinguished as was his faculty of imagination, the first lesson that his art teaches is the lesson of truth, of the subject clearly seen and thoughtfully grasped.[521]

---

520. Ibid., 67-69.

521. Homer Saint-Gaudens, Augustus Saint-Gaudens: Adapted from a Lecture Given by his Son, Homer Saint-Gaudens, (Cornish, New Hampshire, 1927), Foreword.

The stature of Saint-Gaudens as a sculptor was so well established that in 1927, Charles Rufus Morey in The American Spirit in Art, commented that to an intelligent foreigner, "American sculpture would have been summed up in a single name, that of Augustus Saint-Gaudens."[522]

George H. Chase and Chandler R. Post in A History of Sculpture (1926) said that "The most generally representative, and on the whole, the greatest American sculptor was Augustus Saint-Gaudens." These art historians in their praise of Saint-Gaudens said that "he possessed the incomparable gift of pouring such life into his most static figures that even the best of what had gone before in American sculpture seems torpid by contrast." They felt that Saint-Gaudens portraits were among the most gripping characterizations of modern times. Chase and Post thought the poise of his subjects was his most precious American trait and that it enabled the sculptor to soften the realism of his portraits by taking from the subjects as much sedate poetry as possible and developing the ability to make the subjective representative of an epoch or movement. They noted that it was particularly in low relief that Saint-Gaudens was inclined to a moderate impressionism. In his long series of great portraits

---

522. Mather, Morey, Henderson, The American Spirit in Art, 192. Morey was for many years professor of art history at Princeton University.

of our fellow-countrymen, "he brought vividly forth what are traditionally the highest American characteristics -- a simple nobility and hardihood, the rough naturalness that belongs to a young nation, the curious fusion of reticence and frankness." [523]

In her popular college textbook, Art Through the Ages, (1926, 1936, and 1948), Helen Gardner said that Saint-Gaudens was probably the leading sculptor of the nineteenth century. She considered him a pioneer in the direction of monumentality, especially in such figures as his "Lincoln" and the "Adams Monument." [524]

One writer has gone so far as to call Saint-Gaudens a world-genius. This same person, Loring Dodd, in The Golden Age of American Sculpture, said that Saint-Gaudens was the greatest of the American sculptors and he wondered in fact if he was not the greatest of his time. He said that in no single instance was Saint-Gaudens' art merely the portrait of a man, it was the "portrait of manhood." "The Farragut," said Dodd, "is not merely that sturdy admiral breaking the blockade of the Mississippi. It is perseverence, character, courage and heroism." The "Sherman" is described as "humanity alert, determined, invincible." In "Lincoln," Dodd felt, "one sees patience sympathy, charity, wise and kindly discernment." [525]

---

523. Chase and Post, History of Sculpture, 504.

524. Helen Gardner, Art Through the Ages, (New York, 1948), 771.

525. Dodd, The Golden Age of American Sculpture, 14-28.

Sculptress Brenda Putnam has said that one of the triumphs of a man like Saint-Gaudens "is that he was somehow able to combine a certain literalness with an exquisite taste and nobility of vision which sublimated even the ugly masculine clothing of his day. Trousers -- shapeless cylinders as they are -- under his magic hands became almost beautiful."[526]

William H. Pierson, Professor of Art at Williams College, and Martha Davidson, a Fellow of the American Council of Learned Societies, wrote in their Arts of the United States, 1960, that Saint-Gaudens was America's finest sculptor of the last half of the nineteenth century. "Saint-Gaudens," said Pierson and Davidson,

> . . . was an imitator of no one, and more than most sculptors of his period he caught and preserved a certain authentic American quality in his works. Perhaps that quality could be found in his unflinching portraiture . . . in his unfailing and inevitably only partially successful desire to combine, as he said, "the real with the ideal," so characteristic of the literary aspirations of his generation, or finally in his masterly creation of a series of sculptural images of our greatest public figures. To no other sculptor, or even painter of the period are we indebted for such noble and convincing presentations.[527]

---

526. Brenda Putnam, The Sculptor's Way: A Guide to Modeling and Sculpture, (New York, 1948), 264.

527. William H. Pierson and Martha Davidson, Arts of the United States, (New York, 1960), 92.

Samuel M. Green, in his discussion of Saint-Gaudens in his American Art: A Historical Survey(1966), has said that "The sculpture of the last quarter of the nineteenth century was dominated by the figure of Augustus Saint-Gaudens." He was, said Green, "the most impressive American sculptor, at least until our own time, in spite of his frequent sentimentality and over-refined pictorialism -- qualities which he managed to overcome in his best work." Green said that , to see Saint-Gaudens' real stature, "we must look at the 'Farragut', the 'Puritan', and the 'Lincoln' and 'Shaw' memorials, and at one other masterpiece, the 'Adams Memorial'."[528]

Barry Faulkner appraised the sculptor in the following manner:

> Saint-Gaudens left his mark on American sculpture. He fortified and refreshed the tradition of [Henry Kirke] Brown and [John Quincy Adams] Ward by more penetrating characterization of his subject and a subtle impressionism of surface. Impressionism is most evident in the Adams Memorial and in the portraits in low-relief. His portrait statues of Farragut, Lincoln and Sherman, and the Shaw Memorial remain our most precious and authentic records of the heroes of the Civil War.[529]

Faulkner expressed the same sentiments when I interviewed him at his Keene, New Hampshire home, in August 1966, just two months before his death.

---

528. Green, American Art: A Historical Survey, 433-436. Interestingly enough, Green said that "After Saint-Gaudens, Daniel Chester French is [the] most prominent American sculptor of the period.

529. Barry Faulkner, "Autobiography," unpublished manuscript lent to the author by Mr. Faulkner.

An indication of the high regard for Saint-Gaudens' works in art circles during the first quarter of the twentieth century is the large collection of his works in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City. Albert Ten Eyck Gardner, Associate Curator of American Painting and Sculpture at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in his recent catalogue of the Metropolitan's sculpture collection, states that most sculptors are represented by one or two examples of their work. The Metropolitan's collection includes nineteen pieces in bronze of Saint-Gaudens, who, said Gardner, "for many years had a sort of semi-official position in the American Art world as the Greatest American sculptor." While not detracting from Saint-Gaudens stature, Gardner suggests that the volume of Saint-Gaudens' works at the Metropolitan can be attributed to Daniel Chester French. Saint-Gaudens' good friend, French was the supervisor of the Modern Sculpture Collection at the Metropolitan from 1905 until French's death in 1931. Also, French was chairman of the Metropolitan's Trustees' Committee on sculpture for twenty-six years.[530] The presence of such a large number of Saint-Gaudens' works in the Metropolitan certainly indicates the high regard French had for his fellow sculptor while it suggests the importance placed upon his works by the Metropolitan.

---

530. Albert Ten Eyck Gardner, American Sculpture, A Catalogue of the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York, 1965), I.

His Philosophy of Art:

It would be a natural inclination to think that Saint-Gaudens, renowned sculptor that he was, had a philosophy of art. To reach the top of his profession, as he did, it would seem that in the pursuit of his art he must have developed a set of general laws, so formalized as to furnish him with a rational support -- which is tantamount to a philosophy. Yet Saint-Gaudens rejected this idea. His expressions of non-philosophy came, interestingly enough, at a time when great thinkers, such as William James and John Dewey were also proclaiming themselves to be anti-philosophy.[531]

Regardless of whether these individuals, or other thinkers of their period, as well as Saint-Gaudens, recognized that their rejection of a philosophy was a philosophy in itself, it is clear today that they were guided by certain principles and rules, either through unconscious formulation or in their acceptance of theories expounded by other so-called non-philosophers. It is in his writings, and in his Reminiscences especially, that Saint-Gaudens, by his own words, begins to reveal what now, quite safely, may be called his philosophy of art:

> I thought that art seemed to be the concentration of the "experience" and "sensations" of life in painting, literature, sculpture, and particularly acting, which accounts for the desire in artists to have realism.

---

531. See Horace Kallen, ed., The Philosophy of William James, Drawn from His Own Works, New York, 1925, and George R. Geiger, John Dewey in Perspective, New York, 1958.

> However, there is still the feeling of the lack of something in the simple representation of some different action. The imagination might be able to bring up the scenes, incidents, that impress us in life, condense them, and the truer they are to nature the better. The imagination may condemn that which has impressed us beautifully as well as the strong or characteristic or ugly.[532]

The sculptor believed his task in art was to arouse in others emotional enthusiasm and enjoyment through what he presented to their eyes. Self-forgetfulness, "where the unconscious surge of his own imagination would be guided by a likewise unconscious mental balance," was the sculptor's key to stirring the imaginative feelings in others.[533]

Saint-Gaudens' assistant, James Earle Fraser, in reaffirming that the Cornish sculptor "cared nothing for the thousand philosophies of art," nevertheless noted a deep conviction of the "Saint" regarding art itself: "Any earnest and sincere effort toward honesty and beauty in one's production seems to be a drop in the ocean of evolution toward something higher."[534]

---

532. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 16-17. The sculptor seemed to be saying that the imagination is the key to creativity, by which the artist is able to go beyond the appearance of a subject to the real meaning of what he is depicting.

533. Fraser, "Autobiography."

534. Ibid. Also, see Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 205.

Fraser said he never heard Saint-Gaudens say much on art in general. "It was more to the effect that he did not like the look of that fold, or that he would try changing this. He went absolutely by the impression a thing made on him," and in Fraser's opinion, "paid no attention to theory." In fact, he abhorred theories of art, according to Fraser; "He believed them to be hampering, and certainly inadequate to a boundless subject." Saint-Gaudens once refused to write a comment on the fly leaf of Leo Tolstoy's What Is Art? because 'he would take no such chance of being betrayed into setting down sententious foolishness." Furthermore, Saint-Gaudens said about Tolstoy's book: "There are things in heaven and earth not dreamed of in his or anybody's philosophy and the meaning of art is one of them"[535]

Saint-Gaudens did have a working philosophy, which was, said Fraser, "You can do anything you please. It is the way it is done that makes the difference. When you get an idea work at it quickly, and refuse to leave it until you get what you want. The fellows that stick are the only ones who amount to anything."[536]

Saint-Gaudens philosophy of life, about which he was less reticent, is alluded to in a letter written in 1900 to his niece

---

535. Ibid., and Reminiscences, II, 204.

536. Fraser, "Autobiography."

Rose Nichols, in which he said:

> . . . we can't remedy matters by weeping and gnashing our teeth over the misery of things. "That's the way things is!" - and although I have been told all my life it's best to put on a brave face and bear all cheerfully, it's only lately that it is really coming into my philosophy.
>
> It seems as if we are all in one open boat on the ocean, abandoned and drifting, no one knows where; and while doing all we can to get somewhere, it is better to be cheerful than to be melancholy; the latter does not help the situation, and the former cheers up one's comrades. . . .
>
> The prevailing thought in my life is that we are on a planet going no one knows where -- probably to something higher (Darwin, evolution). But whatever it is, the passage is terribly sad and tragic, and to bear up against what at times seems the great doom that is over us, love and courage are the great things. I try to express it without entering into any philosophy or definition of art, the intricacies of which seem too complex for me to delve into.[537]

Homer Saint-Gaudens remembered his father, as did most of the sculptor's friends, as an individual for whom words did not come easily, recalling that his father "spoke most aptly with his fingers." As an example, Homer noted that once while Saint-Gaudens was defending certain of his ideas, he said to a friend: "I'm a poor hand at argument, but if I can get my hands in some clay, I can show you what I mean. It is the doing of a thing so it looks well is the proof of the pudding."[538] It was indeed a well-known fact to Saint-Gaudens' friends and fellow-artists that he did not like to talk art.

---

537. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 203-207. Emphasis is author's.

538. Ibid., II, 140.

Perhaps the reason Saint-Gaudens insisted that he had no art philosophy was that his difficulty in expressing himself in any other way than in his work itself, made it a chore for him to marshal formal thought on art. One wonders how far this speculation should be carried, for he was a teacher at the Art Students League in New York City from 1888-1897, with responsibilities that certainly required a great deal of verbalizing.

Be that as it may, there was no doubt that he had the natural instinct for art that he thought was absolutely necessary for one to succeed in his profession. Fraser said that Saint-Gaudens seemed to realize "what he wished without thought, and decided whether it looked beautiful or not, to him, whereupon his sense of beauty, combined with the truth and dignity that he put into anything he did, made it a great work of art."[539]

In addition to Saint-Gaudens' belief that one must be born with an artistic instinct in order to succeed, he had a strong conviction that thorough training was equally necessary. While making a speech in Washington, D. C. in behalf of the American Academy in Rome, Saint-Gaudens stressed the importance he placed upon training. He told the group of four hundred who had assembled to witness President Theodore Roosevelt's signing a bill incorpor-

---

539. Ibid.

ating the American Academy in Rome, that he did not believe that only the few who possess marked talent should attempt to become artists, but he thought there were only a small number in the world who possessed "that indefinable quality, that elusive something, which makes the great artist." He told the group that he felt that in art, "only the fittest survive." Yet, there was a work the "unfit" could perform, for "their love of the beautiful contributes to happiness and tends to a wider enjoyment of life in revealing of beauty where otherwise it would have been ignored." Thus, the "unfit," so to speak, still merited thorough training. As Saint-Gaudens said, "any effort to do a thing as well as it can be done, regardless of mercenary motives, tends to the elevation of the human mind."

The sculptor emphasized in his speech that sculpture was no more exempt from the necessity of thorough preparation than was music, architecture, or any of the arts and sciences. "Only constant diligence," he felt, "and earnest application in early years, harnessed with a natural talent, gives us master-workmen."[540]

In writing from Paris to a former student and assistant, Charles Keck, Saint-Gaudens said, . . . "Work of a high order has always been rare and there always will be but a few real artists. There can be

---

540. Ibid., II, 261-263.

lots of excellent workmen, though, and that is better than the amateurishness that results when there has been no good training." The sculptor went on to say that the academic training one could obtain in New York was as good as that obtainable in Paris and in some respects, better.[541] This evaluation of art training in the United States was quite different from what Saint-Gaudens had made during his own student days, thirty years before. The stature of art training in this country as contrasted with that in Europe, Paris in particular, was mentioned by Saint-Gaudens on numerous occasions.[542]

---

541. Saint-Gaudens to Charles Keck, n.d., but during the period 1897-1900. Ibid., II, 37-38.

542. The sculptor wrote a prospective sculptress, Winifred Holt, in 1900 that exceptionally good art training could be obtained in this country. In advising her about her schooling, the sculptor noted:

" Perhaps your father has written you of my change of heart after having lived three years in Paris, and that I cannot now advise you to go there, especially without your family. There are only two schools for sculpture in Paris, where women can study, Juliet's and Colarossi's, and it will surprise you to see how weak is the work produced. The professors give scant attention to the pupils, and, if you wish to devote yourself to sculpture, I would advise you to study drawing seriously under Cox, Mowbray, or Brush at the Art Student's League in New York rather than in Paris.

Five years later he re-affirmed his belief in the high quality of art-training to be found in the United States. In writing to Miss Isabel M. Kimball on December 17, 1905, he said that the older he grew, the more he was convinced that as thorough and adequate training can be had here as abroad. Furthermore, he stated that "the work by students here is equal to that produced by those in Europe, and[that] belief in this by students will help greatly in their education."

One could conclude that though Saint-Gaudens repeatedly and emphatically denied that he had an art philosophy, he was guided by rules and principles that would, in effect, comprise a philosophy. Among the main elements of his philosophy, those most frequently stressed were: that one must be born with an instinct toward art in order to succeed; that native talent must be combined with thorough training; and that the imagination is the key to creativity.

In further praise of training here, the sculptor told Miss Kimball: "It is time to realize that the training here is excellent, and that we are constantly adding to the list of men of high achievement whose education has been at home." Ibid., II, 39.

CHAPTER XV

In His Honor

Many honors were bestowed upon Augustus Saint-Gaudens during his lifetime. Colleges and Universities awarded him honorary degrees and select honor societies and organizations abroad and in this country happily added his name to their membership. Photographs of his statues were used to produce commemorative postage stamps; another stamp commemorated his own life and works; and exhibitions of these works were held to memorialize him. In 1964, the United States Congress authorized the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site and a year later the Cornish sculptor's home, studio, and grounds became part of the National Park System, administered by the United States Department of the Interior.

Three leading American universities recognized him with honorary degrees: Harvard, LLD., June 30, 1897;[543] Princeton, LHD., 1897;[544]

---

543. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, II, 94. Also, see actual degree in Saint-Gaudens Collection.

544. Ltr. Registrar, Princeton University, September 25, 1966, to author established the date as 1897. Saint-Gaudens was scheduled to receive the degree in the fall of 1896, along with President Grover Cleveland and Richard W. Gilder during Princeton's Sesquicentennial Celebration. The Cornish sculptor did not receive the degree at that time due to a comedy of errors, which involved missing a train

and Yale, LLD., 1905.[545]

France honored the American sculptor in several ways: selecting his "Amor Caritas" and some of his medallions for the Luxembourg Museum in Paris, 1900; making him a corresponding member of the Societe des Beaux Arts, 1900;awarding him a Grand Prix for his "Sherman" and other works exhibited in the 1900 Exposition;[546] electing him to membership in The Institute of France;[547] and finally making him an "Officer of the National Order of The Legion of Honor," January 1901.[548] England honored the Cornish sculptor in 1906 when

---

from New York to Princeton because he had spent so much time hunting for a clean shirt in his New York City house. When he arrived at the University the degrees had been given out. "His turn would come next year," said Homer Saint-Gaudens. Homer was mistaken when he said: "Two years later the Harvard degree . . . arrived." See footnote 543 above. See Gilder, Letters of Richard W. Gilder, 294-303, for a discussion of the Princeton Sesquicentennial Celebration and the granting of honorary degrees to Gilder and President Grover Cleveland. Gilder says that Cleveland received his honorary LHD. in the fall of 1896, but Cleveland's biographer, Allan Nevins, says that he received the degree from Princeton in 1897.

545. T. R. Sullivan, "Augustus Saint-Gaudens," The Reader, (December 1905), 1-10.

546. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, 11, 124, and Cox, Old Masters and New, 278.

547. New York Commercial Advertiser, January 24, 1900. This article noted that only two other Americans, Historian John L. Motley and Architect Richard M. Hunt, had been so honored by France.

548. Certificate is in the Saint-Gaudens Collection.

members of the Royal Academy elected him as "Honorary Foreign Academician."[549]

The sculptor was honored in his own country in many additional ways. He was made an "Academician" of the National Academy of Design, New York City, on May 12, 1890.[550] The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, elected him a "Fellow for Life" in 1891.[551] At the Pan-American Exposition held in Buffalo during 1901, Saint-Gaudens received the sole medal of honor as well as a special diploma.[552]

In 1904, the newly formed American Academy of Arts and Letters chose Saint-Gaudens as one of its first seven members, along with William Dean Howells, novelist; Edmund C. Stedman, poet; John La Farge, painter; Samuel L. Clemens, humorist; John Hay, author and statesman; and Edward A. MacDowell, composer.[553] The "Puritan" won the Grand

---

549. London Times, January 10, 1906.

550. See certificate in Saint-Gaudens Collection.

551. See certificate in Saint-Gaudens Collection.

552. Cox, Old Masters and New, 278-279.

553. Robert Underwood Johnson to Augustus Saint-Gaudens, December 5, 1904. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

Prize at the St. Louis Louisiana Purchase Exposition in 1904.[554] During the following year the American Academy in Rome made Saint-Gaudens a member for life.[555]

Honors continued to be showered upon the master sculptor even after his death. In February 1909 his memory was honored by the use of the head of his standing "Lincoln" for a two-cent postage stamp, to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln. A plaster study of the standing Lincoln which was temporarily located at the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D. C. was photographed for use in the stamp design.[556]

Three decades after the issuance of the Lincoln commemorative stamp, Saint-Gaudens was honored with a three-cent stamp commemorating his own life and work. The Saint-Gaudens stamp was issued at ceremonies held at the Windsor, Vermont Post Office on September 16, 1940. Mr. Albert Goldman, Postmaster of New York City, was the

---

554. Certificate is in the Saint-Gaudens Collection.

555. See certificate in Saint-Gaudens Collection. Certificate was signed by Charles F. McKim on April 21, 1905.

556. Randle Bond Truett, Lincoln in Philately, Washington, D. C. 1959-6-7. Representative Albert Foster Dawson of Iowa introduced into the Congress on January 6, 1909, a joint resolution for the issuance of a new two-cent postage stamp to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the birth of Abraham Lincoln. The resolution was passed by the Congress on January 22, 1909. The stamp was designed by C. A. Huston. Engraving was executed by M. W. Baldwin, E. Holland, and Robert Ponican.

presiding official for the program which included selections by the New York Post Office Band, solo by tenor Nicholas Farley; and addresses by the Honorable Ramsey S. Clark, third assistant Postmaster General, and Homer Saint-Gaudens, Director of Fine Arts, Carnegie Institute. Stamps were presented to Homer Saint-Gaudens, Ramsey Clark; Edward McCartan, First Vice-President, National Academy of Design; Paul Manship, American Sculptors Society; and Arthur Deas, President, The Collectors Club.[557]

A gold medal in honor of Saint-Gaudens' work was presented to Mrs. Saint-Gaudens on November 20, 1909 by the American Academy and the National Institute of Arts and Letters. During the presentation service Saint-Gaudens' old friend and art critic, Royal Cortissoz, gave a lengthy appraisal of the work of the famous sculptor; and Robert Underwood Johnson of Century Magazine recited an ode he had written in Saint-Gaudens' honor.[558]

---

557. Program for ceremony is in the Saint-Gaudens Collection. The ceremony was held in Windsor because that was Saint-Gaudens' mailing address, though he actually lived in Cornish, New Hampshire.

558. American Academy of Arts and Letters, Public Meeting of the American Academy and the National Institute of Arts and Letters at the Fine Arts Society, New York, November 20, 1909.

In 1920, Saint-Gaudens joined the rank of other notable Americans when he was elected to the American Hall of Fame.[559] It is interesting that Saint-Gaudens should have received this recognition, while up to as recent a date as 1955 only eleven Presidents of the United States had been so honored.[560]

One of the most effective ways of honoring Saint-Gaudens was to sponsor memorial exhibitions of his works by several of the Nation's great museums, including the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City, the Corcoran Gallery in Washington, D. C., the Herron Institute of Indianapolis, the Chicago Art Institute, and Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh.

The first truly memorial exhibition of the sculptor's works was that at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, March 3 through May 31, 1908. This exhibition had been planned since October 1907. Richard Watson Gilder, the principal organizer of the memorial, wrote on October 6, 1907: "A great reason for my going to town this week is that Saint-Gaudens Memorial affairs are in progress. . . . It is a scheme to have a great exhibition of Saint-Gaudens' sculpture in the sculpture hall of the Museum -- one of the greatest, if not

---

559. The Lincoln Library of Essential Information, Buffalo, 1955, p.1967.

560. Ibid., 2024.

the greatest, hall for the purpose in the world."[561] It seems that Gilder had as his collaborators in the memorial scheme, George De Forest Brush, Daniel Chester French, and Kenyon Cox.

At the time of the Memorial meeting, held in late February 1908, before the exhibition was opened to the public, Gilder honored his deceased friend with reading a requiem he had written for him. Gilder wrote W. W. Ellsworth, three weeks after Saint-Gaudens' death:

> Rejoice with me and be exceeding glad. The Lord on High has let me write -
>
> UNDER THE STARS
> A Requiem for Augustus Saint-Gaudens.
>
> The first words came to me the night we had word of his death. . . . An ode -- a requiem of ten stanzas of eight lines each; and if you like it as well as do some who knew him well, and others who knew him little, you will indeed rejoice with me greatly that I have lived to do this thing. Every stanza begins with an invocation to the stars, and it all reeks with Saint-Gaudens and his works.[562]

The poet had expanded his requiem from ten stanzas to fourteen by the time of the memorial meeting.[563]

---

561. Richard Watson Gilder to Unknown, on October 6, 1907. Gilder, Letters of R. W. Gilder, 452-54.

562. Ibid., Richard W. Gilder to W. W. Ellsworth, August 27, 1907.

563. Richard Watson Gilder, The Fire Divine, New York, 1908. See Appendix G for complete poem.

Perhaps the most significant of the memorial exhibitions and worthy of special mention was the one at the Corcoran Gallery in Washington during December of 1908. The American Institute of Architects, desirous of expressing its appreciation of the "lovable and sterling qualities of its honorary member [Saint-Gaudens], and to pay tribute, in a memorial, to his inspiring, artistic, and patriotic sculpture," sponsored an "imposing and complete exhibition" of Saint-Gaudens' works, or their reproductions, at the Corcoran Gallery. The exhibition, thought the architects, would give the public an opportunity to see the "best sculpture," and would facilitate expression of appreciation by foreign diplomats, thereby making the tribute international.

Architect Cass Gilbert, President of the American Institute of Architects, and Glenn Brown, Secretary of the architectural organization, were primarily responsible for handling the details of the exhibition. First in the order of business was to secure the permission and cooperation of Mrs. Saint-Gaudens. When Glenn Brown approached her regarding the exhibition he found her depressed because of her intense dissatisfaction with the manner in which the Metropolitan Museum of Art had exhibited her husband's works in February of 1908. At first the late sculptor's wife would not listen to Brown's plea. But when Brown explained the scope of the exhibition and called her attention to the cosmopolitan character of visitors in Washington, she consented.

President Theodore Roosevelt was invited to speak. He at first declined, stating that the United States would be well represented by Secretary of State Elihu Root. The President eventually changed his mind and agreed to speak after a noted ambassador objected to being associated on the same footing as the representatives from Brazil and Japan. The objecting ambassador said that he would withdraw unless the speakers were confined to the five or six countries he considered on a par with his own country. When Theodore Roosevelt heard of this objection he told Gilbert and Brown: "Tell the Ambassadors I will speak. They cannot hold themselves above the President of the United States."[564]

In addition to being one of the speakers, President Roosevelt was of greater assistance. When the exhibition committee was unable to get permission from West Point Officials to exhibit its bust of General Sherman, Roosevelt "pulled rank" and got the bust sent to Washington. Upon visiting the Corcoran Exhibition several days

---

564. Glenn Brown, 1860-1930, Memories, A Winning Crusade to Revive George Washington's Vision of a Capitol City, (Washington, D. C., 1931), 506. In the forword to his autobiography, Brown stated that the larger part of the book was devoted to the public service achievements of the American Institute of Architects, of which he was secretary for fifteen years. He noted that his most vivid memories were of Charles Follen McKim, Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Francis D. Millet, Cass Gilbert, Theodore Roosevelt, William H. Taft, Elihu Root, and James Bryce, Fifty-six pages of Brown's book were devoted to a discussion of Saint-Gaudens' works and the Corcoran Exhibition. All of the material in this report relating to the exhibition is from pages 503-559 of Brown's autobiography.

prior to the official opening of the Saint-Gaudens Exhibition, President Roosevelt learned that West Point had ignored a request he had recently made to have the "Sherman" sent to Washington. Indignant because of this lack of cooperation, Roosevelt dictated to Brown the following telegram for the West Point Commandant:

> Col. Scott, see to it personally that the Bust of General Sherman is at the Corcoran Gallery within twenty-four hours.

The President, bringing his fist down with a bang upon the desk, proclaimed: "That will bring it!" Needless to say, it was delivered to the Corcoran Gallery by a special messenger within twenty-four hours.

The exhibition was officially opened on December 15, with approximately two thousand attending and with the President of the United States heading the list of dignitaries. Among the others were Elihu Root, Secretary of State; M. Baron Mayor des Planches, Italian Ambassador; J. J. Jusserand, French Ambassador; Joaquim Nabuco, Brazilian Ambassador; James Bryce, English Ambassador; and Kogoro Takahira, Japanese Ambassador. Each of the above individuals delivered speeches in honor of Saint-Gaudens. Because of the international recognition of Saint-Gaudens and his works reflected in these speeches, lengthy excerpts are presented from these addresses:

Elihu Root, Secretary of State

> . . . My first knowledge of him was when he was a struggling young artist in Rome, almost forty years ago. One of my most cherished possessions is a head of marble that

he made for me then; it was a pot boiler. It is pleasant to think that I helped boil the pot for so great an artist; and the friendship through many years after that broadened and deepened is one of those memories which will be of value and a source of joy for me when action ceases, and I come to live over in age, the events of my life. It is more than an artist friendship, however, that we render. Saint-Gaudens, in his origin and in his work, and in his fame was international. . . . It is a perversion or an inversion of the truth to say that we can contribute to perpetuate the memory of Saint-Gaudens. It is he who immortalizes the great men of our time. Long after we are forgotten, the benign face of Lincoln will look down upon the future generations, illustrating to them the man, as Saint-Gaudens conceived him. Sherman will follow victory with all the enthusiasm of his impetuous nature; Farragut will look out over the sea, from the bulwark on which Saint-Gaudens has placed him. The march of the soldiers in the Shaw Memorial will perpetuate the memory of the great struggle of America for freedom.

President Roosevelt

Augustus Saint-Gaudens was a very great sculptor. This makes all the world his debtor, but in a peculiar sense it makes his countrymen his debtors. . . . Saint-Gaudens was an artist who can hardly be placed too high. . . . He gave us for the first time a beautiful coinage, a coinage worthy of this country. . . . The first few thousands of Saint-Gaudens gold coins are, I believe, more beautiful than any coins since the days of the Greeks, and they achieve their striking beauty because Saint-Gaudens not only possessed a perfect mastery in his physical address of his craft, but also a daring and original imagination. . . . I cannot but hazard a guess that Saint-Gaudens' works will stand in the fore-front among the masterpieces of the sculptors of the greatest periods and the greatest peoples. He worked among his own people, and his work was of his own time; but yet it was of all time for in his subject he ever seized and portrays that which was undying. His genius had that lofty quality of insight which enables a man to see to the root of things, to discard all trappings that are not essential, and to grasp close at hand in the present the beauty and majesty which in most men's eyes

are dimmed until distance has softened out the trivial and the unlovely. He had, furthermore, that peculiar kind of genius in which a soaring imagination is held in check by a self-mastery which eliminated all risk of the fantastic and the overstrained. He knew when to give the most complete rein to this imagination. He also knew when to turn to the men and women about him, and to produce his great effects by portraying them as they actually were -- and yet as a little more than they seemed to all but the most clear-sighted, because under his hand the soul within appeared, no less than the man's physical being.

Take his extraordinary statue of General Sherman. There never was a more typically democratic general than gaunt, grizzled old Tecumseh Sherman, homely and simple in all his ways, and yet with the courage of tempered steel. When I heard that Saint-Gaudens intended to have this typically modern democratic soldier portrayed as riding on horseback with the horse led by a winged Victory, I did not believe it possible that even Saint-Gaudens could succeed. . . . But Saint-Gaudens, greatly daring, produced a wonderful work of art. His Victory is one of the finest figures of its kind, and the plain, grim, rugged old soldier riding alongside is so wrought that, in addition to the General whom all men knew, those who looked upon the statue must see also the soul of the man himself, and the soul of the people whose high and eager hope dwelt in him when he marched to battle.

In the figure on the Adams grave, and in the figure called "Silence," there was nothing to hamper the play of the artist's thought, and he produced two striking creations of pure imagination. The strange, shrouded, sitting woman,[and] the draped woman who stands, impress the beholder with thoughts he cannot fathom, with the weird awe of unearthly things; of that horizon ever surrounding mankind, where the shadowy and the unreal veil from view whatever there is beyond, whether of splendor or of gloom.

In Farragut, on the other hand, we see the fighting admiral as he stood on his quarterdeck, the master of men, the man who feared neither the open death above nor the hidden death beneath; who fearlessly tried wood against iron, and flung the black ships against the forts; but who had the power and the foresight, as well as the courage, that compelled events to do his bidding. His Farragut statue is Farragut himself;

and in addition, it is the statue of the great sea captain of all times and of any age.

Greatest of all is his Lincoln. Lincoln was the plain man of the people, the people's president; homely, gaunt, ungainly; and this homely figure, clad in ill-fitting clothes of the ugly modern type, held one of the loftiest souls that ever burned within the breasts of mankind. It is Saint-Gaudens' peculiar quality that, without abating one jot of the truthfulness of portrayal of the man's outside aspect, yet makes that outside aspect of little weight because of what is shown of the soul within. We look at Saint-Gaudens' mighty statue of the mighty Lincoln, and we are stirred to awe and wonder and devotion for the great man who, in strength and sorrow, bore the people's burdens through the four years of our direst need, and then, standing as high priest between the horns of the altar, poured out his lifeblood for the nation whose life he had saved.

In this quality of showing the soul Saint-Gaudens' figures are more impressive than the most beautiful figures that have come down from the art of ancient Greece; for their unequaled beauty is of form merely, and Saint-Gaudens' is of the spirit within.

J. J. Jusserand, French Ambassador

All republics are not marked on the map. Some of the greatest ones which include citizens of every origin are not to be found in atlases, and yet they have well-defined frontiers. One of these great republics has for its frontiers the limits which [separate] knowledge from ignorance, conscience from trickery, good taste from bad taste, genius from dullness. It is the republic of fine arts.

This republic has several capitals. One of them consists of a series of buildings, partly new, partly old, that stretch from the Quai Malaquais to the Rue Bonaparte, with the reverend effigies of Poussin and Puget on pilasters at the entrance, the Ecole des Beaux Arts of Paris. . . .

To this capital came in 1867 a young American, who had worked till then as a cameo cutter in New York, and who had over most of his compatriots the great advantage

of speaking fluently the language of the place, for, born in Ireland, brought up in America, he was the son of a Frenchman. He was called Augustus Saint-Gaudens.

He took at once to the manners of the great republic of fine arts as practised at the École and in its various ateliers. Those manners are characterized by a great freedom, much good fellowship, and an extreme fervor in the attempt to learn and improve. Most of the students are very poor, but they do not mind; they are too busy with their work, and their merry and optimistic dispositions are far too pronounced for them to pay much attention to such trifles; . . . One of Saint-Gaudens' compatriots and best friends told me that, in his own early days at the École, when his work was not up to the mark, his fellow-workers at the atelier would come and stare, and laugh, and say: "Come on voit bien que tu es un Beau Rouge!" (How well one sees that thou art a red skin Indian!) Red Skin left the school one of its most popular and successful members.

. . . Like men of the renaissance, he had a mind open to all beauty; hence his cameos, his plaques, his coins, his drawings, his pictures, his statues, and the taste with which he knew how to make his statues accord with the surrounding architecture or landscape. For all this the École des Beaux Arts gave him the necessary teaching; what the École could not give, nature had given him -- genius.

He left the school, but did not leave Paris forever. That enthusiasm for art and for serious work which is, so to say, in the air . . . was for him a pleasant stimulant. So that he came again a second time, and it is there and then that he finished his justly famous Farragut. He returned a third time in 1897, and remained three years, working at his Sherman, his Robert Louis Stevenson, his figures for the Boston Public Library. It was then he became intimate with that admirable Paul Dubois, whose Joan of Arc is perhaps the grandest monument raised to the maid who appeared at the saddest hour in our history, and to whom we owe that we are still a nation.

The example left by Saint-Gaudens is as imperishable as the story he told in marble and bronze, the story of the American people; story of the grand, of the awful struggle for times gone, and story and image of actual American life. We look around these halls and we find the great emotions which made the heart of the people beat pictured forever and represented in everlasting

monuments. We see the nation's great men, firm in their purposes, high in their aims, brave in their hearts; we see the beauty of those women and children who are the charm and pride of the land, placed by his genius beyond the reach of fate and time; . . .

And in all these works, be they new coins, with their striking figure of Liberty, or the heroical statues of Lincoln, or the artist's monumental caryatids, in all his works, this same characteristic of sincerity, this love of the best, this impression of life as if some of his blood had been mixed with the clay. Look at them all, and you will feel that he might have said of his statues, as the famous poetess said of her works: 'There is my life and my soul in them: they are not empty shells.'"

Joaquim Nabuco, Brazilian Ambassador

Ladies and gentlemen, I may well understand why no American genius ever dreams of another immortality than that which his own country could assure to his name. But like science, art is one, and a name to live forever in art is bound to conquer the world. I believe Saint-Gaudens will live forever, and that his conquest has already begun.

. . . I recollect the first time I came in contact with Saint-Gaudens, the day I landed in New York, when I saw his Sherman. I did not even know by whom the statue was, but I at once realized that I was in face of one of the most inspiring symbols of triumph that art had ever conceived. I had again the feeling which one always experiences at the sight of an unexpected masterpiece, when I found myself in a drawing-room of this city before the Wayne MacVeagh tablet. It was so simple, yet never to be forgotten. Going later to the Rock Creek Cemetery, I went sure that I would meet an immortal work; but how could I have expected that apparition? No doubt was longer possible. Only genius can express eternity. Of all modern creations that is the one to be associated with the Night of Michel Angelo. They are very different in form, but both are reflections of the same dark ray of mystery, which borders, and, for the mind, outglares, the whole light of creation. Here, however, the impression might have been a suggestion; the first two were direct revelations.

James Bryce, O. M., British Ambassador

Mr. Secretary of State, Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, my only justification for appearing here to say a few words is the fact that Augustus Saint-Gaudens was born in Ireland and of an Irish mother. I will not dispute with my friend and colleague from France how much of his artistic genius is due to Ireland . . . but all that is attributable to Ireland I am going to claim for Ireland, because Ireland, which has given, as all the world knows, a great number of men famous in literature, famous in science, famous in affairs, to the British Isles and also to this country, has won less renown in the field of art. . . .

Ireland has given, I must admit, comparatively few men, in proportion to the genius shown in other directions, to the field of art. Therefore I will claim Saint-Gaudens for all the honor he can secure for my island.

I suppose that we shall all agree that there are in sculpture three distinctive excellencies. There is the excellence which consists in the faithful reproduction of nature; there is the excellence of the pure beauty of form; and there is the excellence of imagination, imagination which is able, somehow, to speak to the intellect and to the emotions of the beholder straight out of the mind of the artist himself, and to enable us to realize not only what he thought but what he sees his subject must have thought and felt. To possess any one of these excellencies in high measure is to be great; to possess all three is to attain perfection. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, I suppose we shall agree, stood preeminent in the third. His greatest gift was his power of imagination. . . . what most strikes one in Saint-Gaudens' work is that, whatever else you find, you find an intense and profound power of thinking and feeling combined. . . .

Think of that solemn and majestic figure of Sorrow in the Rock Creek Cemetery, which seems by mere form and posture to have succeeded in expressing what the greatest masters of music have been able to express only through sound.

When you think of works like these, in which the loftiest imagination has been accompanied with the most finished power of expression, you feel how great a genius it has been the privilege of your age to admire in the artist whom we have met to honor.
. . . It is by . . . that power of imaginative expression, combined with calmness and self-restraint - - that he will live among all who love and prize art in any country. Most of all will he live in America, which did not, indeed, give him birth, but which received him as a child, which helped him, which cherished him, which gave him those noble studies from its own history, with which his name will be always associated. He will live among you forever as one of the artistic glories of your country.

Kogoro Takahira, Japanese Ambassador

. . . May I . . . [tell] . . . you in what light Saint-Gaudens' works are regarded by the people of Japan, and what interest we are taking in art in the land so far away from the center of modern civilization, with the hope that I may be able to contribute something to the memory of that eminent artist.

Saint-Gaudens seems to have inherited by birth a natural taste for artistic beauty, infallible precision in working out an exact ideal, heroic determination to overcome every difficulty lying in his path, and extreme tenacity to stand against every adversity. It seems, however, that through his early training in the strenuous experience of American life, all these characteristics were developed in him as in the case of many great men of this country. . . . His biography conspicuously dwells on his truthfulness, candidness and unselfishness and I am led to believe that, great genius as he was, he would never have been able, without these moral qualities, to attain such perfection in art as was exhibited in his work either on a soldier, a statesman, or an angel, by vividly typifying the supreme strength of character and mind and the superb beauty of heart and soul upon a mere form of substance. It is said " the force, the mass of character, mind, heart or soul that a man can put into any work is the most important factor in that work." This saying seems to rightly illustrate the method of Saint-Gaudens as it must be that same force he employed in immortalization of his fellow being which made him so famous an artist of the modern time.

> In Japan, ancestor worship forms a most important part of our institution. Every family has some kind of temple where its ancient members are worshipped. Every town or village has one or more temples where its admired hero or heroes are commemorated in some way on their anniversary days; but, since the westward march [of] civilization brought Japan into direct contact with the Occidental customs, there have been many new ideas adopted in place of, or in addition to, the old, and the immortalization of the worthy dead is now no exception. There are already a number of statues built for the honored dead, . . . and many others now in contemplation. . . I am sure that if Saint-Gaudens were living, his counsel would be considered of the highest value for this work. . . . As long as his method is alive, he is himself immortal. . . .

As part of the memorial program for Saint-Gaudens, the American Institute of Architects invited numerous artists, and architectural and art societies in this country and abroad to express in some way their appreciation for Saint-Gaudens and his works. Letters of tribute were received from the following organizations and individuals: the Royal Society of British Artists; Royal Institute of British Architects; Society of British Sculptors, Royal Glasgow Institute of the Fine Arts; Royal Academy of Arts, London; Comite Permanent Des Congres Internationaux Des Architects, Section Française; Societe Centrale Des Architectes Français; Society Des Artistes Francais Reconnue D'Utilite Publique; Auguste Rodin; and the International Society of Sculptors, Painters, and Gravers. Several letters are presented

in total to reflect specifically upon the associations between certain organizations or individuals and Saint-Gaudens:

Royal Academy of Arts
London, W.

November 6, 1908

To the Secretary, American Institute of Architects:

Saint-Gaudens' election as one of our six Honorary Foreign Academicians is an evidence of the high estimation in which his name is held by the members of this Academy, and of their appreciation of his work, and I have pleasure as President in sending you this expression of the desire of the Council to do honor to the memory of our deceased colleague.

I have the honor to be, sir,

Your obedient servant,

(Signed) Edward J. Poynter
President

- - - -

[from Auguste Rodin]
182 Rue De L'Universite

Dear Sir:

It has been rumored that I am about to make a voyage to America. This rumor is at least premature. I would like nothing better than to be able to go to the United States, but actually this voyage is out of the question.

Therefore, dear sir, I sincerely regret that I will not be able to attend the fete (memorial) which your society is organizing at Washington in honor of Mr. Saint-Gaudens.

I will be with you at heart nevertheless. I felicitate you sincerely for having taken the initiative in this truly artistic manifestation.

It is in every way worthy of your Association of Architects which is making such fine efforts toward the uplifting of the architecture of the United States. Permit me, dear sir, to express my well-wishes for the complete success of this fête(memorial) and for the development of your Society.

And accept, Mr. President and dear sirs -- with my highest thanks and again my sincere regrets -- the expression of my best sentiments.

(Signed) Aug. Rodin

19 November, 1908

[International Society of
Sculptors, Painters and Gravers]

7 Hamilton Terrace N.W.
23d October, 1908

Dear Sir:

I understand that a memorial meeting as a tribute to the genius of Augustus Saint-Gaudens is to be held at the Convention of the American Institute of Architects. It may interest the meeting to know that the International Society of Sculptors, Painters, and Gravers propose to honor the memory of their late member Augustus Saint-Gaudens, by holding in January, at their exhibition in London, as complete and representative collection of his works as it can get together.

This, the Society thinks, is the best tribute they can pay to the genius of the sculptor, by bringing his works together where his aims and accomplishments can be adequately appreciated.

I am, yours very truly,

(Signed) Wm Sgrang
Vice-President, International
Society of Sculptors, Painters
and Gravers.

Augusta Saint-Gaudens, soon after the death of her famous husband, began in her own way to memorialize him. She was at first primarily interested in having reproductions made of his principal works. By 1915 her extraordinary efforts had enabled her to transform the sculptor's Cornish studios into a museum of his works. The aim of the museum was "to offer, by a generous body of examples (in full size or in reduction, in plaster or in some nobler material), a broad and faithful suggestion of what Saint-Gaudens accomplished through a genius that flowered abundantly in sculpture's many ways."[565]

With her usual good business management, Mrs. Saint-Gaudens financed the reproductions through the sale of bronze reductions of her husband's works.[566] Among the works she had on display were reproductions of the standing "Lincoln", the "Admiral Farragut", the "Adams Memorial", the "Diana", the original half-size model of the "Sherman Monument", a large bronze relief of "Robert Louis Stevenson" which Saint-Gaudens had rejected as an unsatisfactory cast, and many bronze replicas of portrait reliefs.[567]

---

565. Adams, "Aspet," Art and Progress, 169.

566. Brown, Memories, 557.

567. Grimes, "Reminiscences," Saint-Gaudens Collection.

To establish a permanent memorial, one that would continue to acquaint the American public with the work of the master sculptor long after Mrs. Saint-Gaudens or her son, Homer,would no longer be around, Mrs. Saint-Gaudens sought to have the State of New Hampshire make a State memorial out of Saint-Gaudens studios and "Aspet." Although she was not successful in this endeavor, she was able to establish a private corporation that would operate her Cornish estate as a memorial to her husband.

The incorporation of the Saint-Gaudens Memorial was approved by the State of New Hampshire on February 26, 1919.[568] The incorporation document specified that the purpose of the Memorial was: "To maintain a permanent memorial to the late Augustus Saint-Gaudens on the site of his homestead estate in Cornish, New Hampshire: (to collect, preserve and there exhibit free to the public, at suitable and reasonable periods as may be determined by the trustees, a collection as complete as possible of originals and replicas of the works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens; to aid, encourage and assist in the education of young sculptors, of promise under regulations promulgated by the trustees and public appreciation thereof."

---

568. Incorporation Document in Saint-Gaudens Collection.

569. Ibid.

The first members of the new corporation were: Augusta Homer Saint-Gaudens, Herbert Adams, Frederick Julian Stimson, Charles A. Platt, Philip H. Faulkner, and George Baxter Upham. Ex-Officio members were the Governor of New Hampshire and the President of Dartmouth College.[570]

The corporation was authorized to accept "A conveyance of the homestead estate of the late Augustus Saint-Gaudens in Cornish, New Hampshire, containing about eighteen acres, together with the bronzes and replicas of the works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens in the studio on said premises. . . . "[571] When Mrs. Saint-Gaudens transferred "Aspet" and Saint-Gaudens' studio to the Saint-Gaudens Memorial on September 10, 1921, she added four more acres to the eighteen mentioned in the incorporation act.[572] Mrs. Saint-Gaudens reserved "the right to the use and occupation of the homestead house and place and the personal property therein and thereon during her life so long as such use and occupation shall not interfere with the general educational purposes of the corporation."[573] Soon after the death of the sculptor,

---

570. Ibid.

571. Ibid.

572. "Deed, Augusta Homer Saint-Gaudens to Saint-Gaudens Memorial," September 21, 1921.

573. Ibid.

Mrs. Saint-Gaudens built a home for herself in Cocoanut Grove, Florida, but she continued to return to "Aspet" with the spring and summer weather, until the time of her death on July 7, 1926.[574]

The Memorial was financed through a generous endowment by Mrs. Saint-Gaudens and through contributions from other members of the corporation, from Saint-Gaudens' numerous friends, and from donations solicited by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

It is not within the purview of this study to treat in detail the history of the Saint-Gaudens Memorial, whose fine record speaks for itself. Significantly, for thirty-nine years after the death of Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, the Saint-Gaudens Memorial continued to operate as a private corporation, with its trustees faithfully and ably carrying out its initial objective -- to perpetuate the memory of Augustus Saint-Gaudens through the public exhibition of his home, and of his studios, with many copies and/or originals of the master sculptor's works. The Trustees operated and maintained the Memorial with the income from the original $100,000 endowment, from membership dues and annual gifts from "guarantors," and admission fees. Most of the Trustees, from time to time, contributed heavily out of their personal funds in order that the Memorial might continue to reach its objectives.

Ever ready to protect the interest of the Memorial by preventing undesirable real estate developments in the immediate vicinity,

the Trustees during the years added sixty-one acres of adjoining lands to that donated by Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, bringing the total acreage of the Saint-Gaudens Memorial to eighty-three acres.

The Memorial was concerned not only with preserving and maintaining the buildings and grounds of the Saint-Gaudens estate, but with interpreting to school groups and to the general public the significance of the works of art they could see on display and with impressing upon them the place of Saint-Gaudens in the history of American art. Frances Grimes recalled that during the time the sculptor Herbert Adams was Chairman of the Board of Trustees she worked at "Aspet" for two summers, conducting students on tours of the studios. The Memorial tried to stimulate interest in sculpture by having the students write essays on their visits to the studios, and prizes were awarded for the best of these.[575]

Capable as the Trustees were in the management of the Saint-Gaudens estate, they had their share of troubles. By far the most calamitous was the fire which destroyed the large studio during the early morning of June 6, 1944. At 12:20 a.m. the Windsor, Vermont Fire Department received the call of alarm from one of the attendants at the Saint-Gaudens Memorial Site. Similar calls were received by

---

575. Grimes, "Reminiscences."

the Claremont and Cornish Fire Departments.[576] The combined efforts of the three fire departments could not extinguish the holocaust. By daybreak the studio, which had been built in 1904-1905 to replace the one destroyed by fire in October 1904, was nothing but a smoldering heap of timbers, metal, and plaster. It was speculated at the time that the fire was caused by a short circuit in the electrical wiring in the office of Mrs. Ida Metz Reed,[577] the local person primarily responsible for managing the Memorial.

Mrs. Reed had been associated with the Saint-Gaudens site since the summer of 1906 when she came to work for Saint-Gaudens when he was working on his Reminiscences. It was to Mrs. Reed that he dictated the first draft of his life's story.[578] Mrs. Reed worked in a secretarial capacity for Saint-Gaudens until his death, then continued to work for Mrs. Saint-Gaudens and the Saint-Gaudens Memorial. When the Memorial was incorporated in 1919, Mrs. Reed, with the title of Assistant Director, took over the active supervision and management of the organization.[579] She retired on

---

576. See Vermont Journal, Windsor, Vermont, June 8, 1944 and June 22, 1944 for accounts of the fire. Clippings from these papers are in the Saint-Gaudens Collection.

577. Grimes, "Reminiscences."

578. Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees, Saint-Gaudens Memorial, July 23, 1949. See The Saint-Gaudens Memorial Papers, which are currently part of the Saint-Gaudens Collection at Dartmouth College.

579. Ibid.

May 1, 1946, after having given forty years of service to the Saint-Gaudenses and the Saint-Gaudens Memorial.[580]

It is Mrs. Reed that we have to credit for a knowledge of what was destroyed in the 1944 fire. From her inventory of the contents of the Large Studio at the time of the fire we know that plaster reproductions valued at $34,600, bronzes valued at $2,775, furnishings valued at $1,150, and miscellaneous items valued at $500 went up in flames. The total value of contents destroyed amounted to $37,925.[581] The contents and the building were far from being fully insured. At a special meeting of the Board of Trustees on July 7, 1944, it was reported that the fire insurance to be paid would amount to $7,500 on the building and $6,706.92 on the contents.[582]

---

580. Upon Mrs. Reed's retirement, Homer Saint-Gaudens allowed her to continue living in his cottage, "Tree-Tops," and paid her $48.75 monthly to match the $48.75 per month paid her by the Saint-Gaudens Memorial. Mrs. Reed died late in 1948 or early 1949. See Homer Saint-Gaudens to Ida Metz Reed, December 8, 1945, and Ida Metz Reed to Homer Saint-Gaudens, December 29, 1945. Both letters are in the Saint-Gaudens Collection. Either Mr. Homer Saint-Gaudens or the Saint-Gaudens Memorial paid her utilities.

581. See Appendix K for inventory prepared by Mrs. Ida Metz Reed for the Saint-Gaudens Memorial. The Reed inventory is in the Saint-Gaudens Collection.

582. Minutes of the Special Meeting of the Board of Trustees, Saint-Gaudens Memorial, July 7, 1944. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

The Trustees were not to be defeated by this tragedy. There was still Saint-Gaudens' personal studio with many of his works or reproductions of them on display. But, the Trustees felt they needed more exhibit space. In August, 1945, they asked Architect John W. Ames, to inspect the remaining sheds adjacent to the site of the large studio, "as to the possibility of the present workshops being converted into buildings for the exhibition of Saint-Gaudens sculpture."[583] Ames soon became enthusiastic about the rehabilitation project. Utilizing a storage and workman's building and a detached chicken house which survived the fire, he developed a charming architectural layout in which these two buildings were united by a court with columns.[584]

The "new" studios, to become known as the "New Studio" and "Picture Gallery," formerly storage-workshop and chicken house, respectively, were opened to the public in ceremonies at the site on July 3, 1948. Governor Charles M. Dale of New Hampshire was one of the principal speakers.[585] It was quite fitting that Miss Frances

---

583. Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Trustees, Saint-Gaudens Memorial, August 18, 1945. Saint-Gaudens Collection. Ames was elected to the Board of Trustees in 1946. See Minutes of Board of Trustees, July 9, 1955.

584. Grimes, "Reminiscences."

585. News Release, Saint-Gaudens Memorial, June 3, 1948. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

Grimes who had worked so long with Saint-Gaudens, was one of the speakers.[586] The celebration of the opening of the studios was highly significant because it was regarded as the climax of the observances held to commemorate the 100th anniversary of Saint-Gaudens' birth.[587]

The "New Studio" and Picture Gallery" soon became popular points of interest for visitors. The "New Studio" today contains reproductions of some of Saint-Gaudens' finest works and the "Picture Gallery" is used, and has been used for the past nineteen years, primarily for exhibiting paintings of contemporary artists. The list of exhibitors during this period is a long one. Among the exhibitors there have been: Horace Brown, Charles A. Platt, Maxfield Parrish, "Grandma" Anna M. Moses, Norman Rockwell, and Gardner Cox. These exhibitions have been made possible through an annual gift from the American Academy of Arts and Letters.[588]

---

586. Minutes of the Executive Committee of the Saint-Gaudens Memorial, October 17, 1947. Saint-Gaudens Collection.

587. Saint-Gaudens was born on March 1, 1848. The 100th anniversary of his birth was noted in Time and Life magazines and numerous newspapers beginning in early March, 1948.

588. William R. Failor and Charles E. Shedd, Jr., "Saint-Gaudens Memorial, Cornish, New Hampshire," an Area Investigation Report, National Park Service, no date, 13.

During the late 1940's it became increasingly apparent to the Saint-Gaudens Memorial Trustees and to the National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, that Augustus Saint-Gaudens was a sculptor of such prominence that he merited national recognition They felt that this could best be brought about by having his home and studio become a part of the National Park System.[589] This recognition came much closer to reality in the spring of 1962 when the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments evaluated the Saint-Gaudens Memorial as of exceptional value in illustrating and commemorating the history of the United States in the field of painting and sculpture, and the fine arts generally. At its April-May 1962 meeting, the Advisory Board recommended that the Saint-Gaudens Memorial site be considered for addition as a unit of the National Park System.[590] On February 21, 1963 Senator Norris Cotton of New Hampshire introduced Senate Bill 887 and Representative James C. Cleveland introduced House of Representatives Bill 4018 to have the Saint-Gaudens Memorial site added to the National Park System as the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site. These bills were re-introduced on August 3, 1964 by the same

---

589. Minutes of the Meeting of the Board of Trustees, Saint-Gaudens Memorial, July 23, 1949.

590. Minutes of the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings, and Monuments, April to May 1962.

individuals. The bills proposed that the Secretary of the Interior be authorized to acquire by donation from the Saint-Gaudens Memorial the site, structures, and the works of art, furnishings, and other objects and property within the Memorial Grounds.[591] The bills provided that in addition to the donation of eighty-three acres of land, structures, furnishings, and art objects, the Saint-Gaudens Memorial would donate to the National Park Service an endowment fund of $100,000. While the site would be administered by the National Park Service, the Trustees of the Saint-Gaudens Memorial would serve as advisors to the National Park Service in its administration of the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site.

With the President's signing of the enabling legislation in August 1964, the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site was officially authorized. It continued to be operated by the Saint-Gaudens Memorial until October 1965, at which time the National Park Service assumed administrative responsibility for the site. The Superintendent of Saratoga National Historical Park, Stillwater, New York, also serves as Superintendent of the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site.

---

591. United States Congress, Congressional Record . . . Washington D. C.: Government Printing Office -(February 21, 1963 and August 3, 1964).

APPENDIX A

WORKS OF AUGUSTUS SAINT-GAUDENS

His Father, Bernard P.E. Saint-Gaudens 1867
Bronze bust. 15 in. high, signed and dated.

His Mother, Mary McGuiness Saint-Gaudens 1867
Drawing.

Model of Nude Male Figure. 1869
Marble.

Fisher Boy 1871
Statue.

Demosthenes. 1872
Copy of bust for William M. Evarts. (Later Saint-Gaudens made a copy for Elihu Root and one for E.W. Stoughton.)

Cicero 1872
Copy of bust for William M. Evarts. (Later Saint-Gaudens made copies for Edwards Pierrepont, Root and F.F. Thompson.)

Miss Eva Rohr. 1872
Marble bust.

Dante. . . . . 1872?
Copy for Montgomery Gibbs.

Miss Belle Gibbs 1872
Marble bust (possibly as late as 1873 when finished).

Miss Florence Gibbs. 1872
Marble bust.

Young Augustus 1872-73
Copies for Montgomery Gibbs and Evarts.

Hiawatha 1873
Marble. Seated Figure. The statue was modeled in 1871, but was not completed in marble until 1873. This early work, which at one time stood on the lawn of a house near Saratoga, New York, cannot be located (1966). The Philadelphia Public Ledger, February 27, 1908, noted that the "Hiawatha" had been found on the grounds of the late Judge Henry Hilton's estate. Hilton had purchased the statue from the estate of former Governor Edwin D. Morgan of Saratoga. The statue had disappeared from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, about 1893.

Edward W. Stoughton. 1873
Marble bust.

Brutus 1873
Copy for E.W. Stoughton.

Edwards Pierrepont 1873
Marble bust.

Panel for Adams Express Company Building, Chicago. . . . . 1873?
Large semicircular panel representing a bulldog with revolvers and bowie knives.

Seven candelabra for Gordon Bennett yacht. . . . . 1873?
Indian dancing with knife and scalp.

Apollo Belvedere . . . . . 1873-74?
Copies for Miss A.A. Talman and Miss Laura T. Merrick.

Moses (after Michaelangelo). . . . . 1873-74?
Copy for Miss A.A. Talman.

Venus de Medici. . . . . 1873-74?
Copy for Miss A.A. Talman.

Mrs. Edwards Pierrepnt 1873
Marble bust.

John Ericsson. 1873-74
Marble bust. Bust is 30 in. high, attributed to Augustus Saint-Gaudens. But Saint-Gaudens copied it from Kneeland's bust of Ericsson. Presently in the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution.
R.G. Stewart, "Nucleus Collection," Catalogue No. 18, Smithsonian Institution, 1966.
Two Copies were made by Saint-Gaudens for Stoughton and a Mr. Sargent.

Psyche of Naples 1874
Copy for L.H. Willard.

Frederick C. Torrey. 1874
Marble bust.

Antonisis. 1874
Copy for Laura T. Merrick.

Silence. 1874
Marble statue. Heroic size. Masonic Temple, New York.

William Maxwell Evarts 1874
Marble bust.

Samuel Johnson 1875
Bust. Commission for this bust was arranged during Saint-Gaudens' visit to the United States, 1872-73. Copy for F.F. Thompson.

Benjamin Greene Arnold 1876
Marble bust.

Fresco Painting (Saint Paul and Saint James) 1876
Trinity Church, Boston.

Henry E. Montgomery, D.D. 1876
Bronze medallion. Church of the Incarnation, New York.

George W. Maynard. 1877
Bronze Medallion, 2 1/4 x 5 3/4 in.

David Maitland Armstrong 1877
Bronze Medallion, 7 x 4 1/8 in.

William L. Picknell. 1877
Bronze Medallion, 7 5/8 x 4 7/8 in.

William Gedney Bunce 1877
Bronze Medallion, 6 3/4 x 5 1/4 in.

Angels Adoring the Cross 1877
Groups in high relief in collaboration with John La Farge. St. Thomas' Church, New York. Destroyed by fire.

Roger B. Taney 1877
Marble bust - copy of existing statue.

Miss Helen Maitland Armstrong. 1878
Bronze Medallion, 6 1/4 x 5 1/2.in.

Charles Follen McKim 1878
Bronze portrait medallion, 7 5/16 x 4 7/8 in.
Inscribed: In souvenir of the ten jolly days I passed with you and the illustrious Stanford White in the South of France.
In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1966--
given by Mrs. Charles D. Norton, 1924.

Augustus Saint-Gaudens, Charles F. McKim and Stanford White. . . 1878
Caricature, Bronze medallion.

Richard Watson Gilder, Wife and Infant Son 1879
Bronze medallion, 8 1/2 x 17 in.

Rodman Gilder. 1879
Bronze medallion, 13 1/2 x 15 3/8 in.

LeRoy King Monument. 1879
Slab with oak branches carved upon it.
Newport, Rhode Island. (Possibly not installed until 1895.)

Emilia Ward Chapin 1879
Bronze medallion, 9 1/2 x 6 in.

Dr. William Edward Johnston. 1879
Bronze medallion, 9 1/2 x 6 1/2 in.

Francis D. Millet. 1879
Bronze medallion, 10 1/2 x 6 3/4 in.

Dr. Walter Cary. 1879
Bronze medallion, 9 3/8 x 6 3/4 in.
There is also a variation of this relief without the hat.

Theodore Dwight Woolsey. 1879
Marble. Half statue for Yale University.

Miss Maria M. Love 1879
Bronze medallion, 9 3/8 x 6 5/8 in.

Cover for Scribner's Monthly Magazine in collaboration with. . . 1880
Stanford White.
Used by Scribner's from November, 1880 to 1890.

Dr. Henry Shiff. 1880
Bronze medallion, 10 3/4 x 11 1/4 in.
A reduction is in the Luxembourg Museum, Paris, France.

John Singer Sargent, R.A. 1880
Bronze medallion, 2 7/8 in. diameter. In Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1966. Gift of Mrs. Edward Robinson, 1913.

Tomb of Ex-Governor Edwin D. Morgan, New York. 1880
Three angels at the foot of a Greek cross rising above the tomb. The height of the entire monument was 40 feet. These figures were destroyed by fire at Hartford (Conn.) Cemetery while the models were being put into marble. They were the first of the series of figures repeated with variations in the Amor Caritas, the angel on the tomb of Anna Maria Smith, at Newport, and the memorial to a young girl in St. Stephen's Church, Philadelphia.

Joseph Parrish, M.D. 1880
Marble bust. Bust in Historical Society of Pennsylvania, given by Samuel L. Parrish in 1886 (picture in Parrish Art Museum Catalogue, Southampton, Long Island, New York).

Jules Bastien-Lepage 1880
Bronze medallion 14 1/2 x 19 1/2 in. Modelled when Bastien Lepage was finishing his painting of Joan of Arc. In return the artist painted a portrait of Saint-Gaudens which burned in the fire in his Cornish studio in 1904. A reduction of the Lepage medallion is in the Luxembourg Museum, Paris. Replicas are also at Saint-Gaudens NHS, Cornish, N.H.; Brooklyn Museum; City Art Museum, St. Louis; Detroit Institute of Arts; Boston Museum of Fine Art; Art Institute of Chicago.
See: Gardner, American Sculpture, 48.

William Oxenard Moseley. 1880
Medallion and bust.

Prescott Hall Butler's Two Children. 1881
Bronze. Low relief. 24 x 35 1/2 in. Dated 1880-1881. Original was placed on the wall of Mrs. Butler's dining-room in New York, in an oak frame designed by Stanford White. Relief portrait of Lawrence Smith Butler and Charles Stewart Butler, two little boys dressed in Scottish Highland costume. Prescott Hall Butler was a prominent New York Lawyer and the brother-in-law of the architect, Stanford White. Metropolitan Museum has a copy which was cut in marble from the original plaster in 1907 at Piccirilli Studios. Marble, height 24 1/2 in., width 35 1/2 in. Signed: A. St G (Monogram) fecit. Inscribed: (at upper left, an endless knot with the Latin motto repeated twice) Dabit Deus Hic Quoque Finem; (at left) Charles Stewart Butler in His Fourth Year; (at right) Lawrence Smith Butler in His Sixth Year; (below) To My Friend Prescott Hall Butler Sixth of July Eighteen Hundred and Eighty. March Twenty Sixth Eighteen Hundred and Eighty One. Modelled by Augustus Saint-Gaudens New York October Eighteen Hundred and Eighty, March Eighteen Hundred and Eighty One.

Replicas: Luxumbourg Museum, Paris (small bronze); private collection, New York (bronze original). A number of small bronze replicas are believed to have been made.

References: Gardner, Albert Ten Eyck, American Sculpture, a Catalogue of the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1965, 48.

Admiral David Glasgov Farragut 1881
(in collaboration with Stanford White)
Madison Square, New York City.
This was the first statue commissioned from Saint-Gaudens for a public place. It was modelled in Paris, exhibited in the Salon of 1880, and unveiled in New York in 1881, "marking an epoch in American sculpture and decorative art." Signed and dated Paris, 1879-1880.

Admiral David Farragut 1881
Head, Bronze.

M. McCormack 1881
Medallion, bronze.

Leonie Marguerite Lenoble. 1881
Medallion, circular, about 9 in.

Mrs. Charles Carroll Lee and Miss Sarah Redwood Lee. 1881
Bronze medallion, 14 1/4 x 23 3/4 in.

Miss Sarah Redwood Lee 1881
Bronze medallion.

Dr. Josiah Gilbert Holland 1881
Bronze medallion, 15 1/2 x 10 3/4 in.

Samuel Gray Ward 1881
Bronze medallion, 18 7/8 x 14 1/8 in.
Saint-Gaudens considered this one of his best reliefs.
A reduction is in the Luxembourg Museum, Paris.

Two Caryatids. 1881
For marble mantelpiece in the house of Cornelius Vanderbilt II, New York.
Saint-Gaudens recalled that shortly after taking the Thirty-Sixth Street Studio, he was engaged by Architect George B. Post to make all the models for the great entrance hall in the residence of Cornelius Vanderbilt II being built at Fifty-Seventh Street and Fifth Avenue. The work included producing two caryatids for the mantelpiece and the mosaic surmounting it, but superintendence of the models for all the wood-carving in the hall, beside the creating of medallion family-portraits to be introduced in certain of the panels. "For some reason these were not entirely completed. Those that I did do were the portraits of young Cornelius III and George Vanderbilt sic: Cornelius II had four sons: Cornelius III, Alfred Gwynne I, William Henry II and Reginald Claypole , Gertrude Vanderbilt later, Mrs. Harry Payne Whitney , William H. Vanderbilt father of Cornelius II , and Cornelius Vanderbilt I ." Augustus and his brother Louis worked with

the painter John LaFarge in composing the models for the ceiling of the main dining room. Saint-Gaudens, Reminiscences, I, 349-350.

Sculpture Decoration in Henry Villard House, New York. 1882

Homer Saint-Gaudens. 1882
Bronze medallion 20 1/2 x 16 1/2 in.
A low relief of the Sculptor's son, aged seventeen months.

President Chester Allen Arthur 1882
Bust.

"Commodore" Cornelius Vanderbilt I 1882

Two Sons of Cornelius Vanderbilt II. 1882
Bronze medallion 16 x 26 1/4 in.

Miss Gertrude Vanderbilt at the age of seven 1882
Bronze medallion, 16 3/8 x 23 3/4 in.

Dr. Alexander Hamilton Vinton. 1883
Bronze. Heroic size. Middle relief. Half-length figure. Emmanuel Church, Boston.

Robert Richard Randall 1884
Bronze statue. Sailor's Snug Harbor, Staten Island.

Mrs. Stanford White. 1884
Marble relief. 23 x 12 3/4 in.

Professor Asa Gray 1884
Bronze medallion, low relief, 35 1/2 x 27 in.
Botanic Gardens, Cambridge, Mass.

Dr. Josiah Holland Monument. 1884
Springfield, Mass.

Dr. Silas Weir Mitchell. 1884

Mrs. Louise M. Howland 1884
Bronze high relief. Three-quarter length figure. Right arm rests upon piano. 39 1/8 x 23 1/2 in.
Inscription: Mrs. Louise M. Howland, MDCCCLXXXIV.
Signature: Augustus Saint-Gaudens FECIT.
(Possession of Judge Henry E. Howland, 1909).

Dunrobin (dog) 1884
Terra Cotta medallion.

Charles Timothy Brooks 1884
Memorial tablet in Channing Church, Newport, Rhode Island.

Pan. 1884
Bronze mask for fountain, Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

Two Angels Seated. 1885
Bronze. Tomb of Daniel Stewart at Greenwood Cemetery, Brooklyn.

Dr. Henry Bellows. 1885
Bronze memorial tablet. Full length, middle relief, lettered with decorated background. The Dr. McCosh, modelled later, is similar in design.
Church of All Souls, New York.

William Evarts Beaman. 1885
Bronze medallion, 18 1/2 in. diameter.

Chief Justice Morrison R. Waite. 1885
Marble bust. Hall Of Justice, Washington, D.C.

Homer Saint-Gaudens. 1885
Plaster relief.

Rulloff Sterling Choate. 1886
Marble bust.

Angel of Tomb of Ann Maria Smith. 1886
(Possibly in collaboration with Louis Saint-Gaudens).
A variation of the Morgan tomb angels.
Island Cemetery, Newport, Rhode Island.

Eli Bates Fountain, "Storks at Play" 1887
Lincoln Park, Chicago.

Abraham Lincoln. Standing figure ("The Man"). 1887
Unveiled October 22
Bronze statue, signed and dated 1887. Heroic size. Standing before a chair in an attitude characteristic of Lincoln when rising to make a speech. The statue stands at the south end of Lincoln Park in Chicago, the idea of an audience chamber being further carried out in the great circular stone exedra, sixty feet across, which surrounds the low pedestal, in the design of which Saint-Gaudens collaborated with Stanford White. The only full size replica in existence was unveiled in Parliament Square, London, England, July 28, 1920. Durman, Donald C., He Belongs to the Ages: The Statues of Abraham Lincoln, (Ann Arbor, 1951), 54.

Deacon Samuel Chapin ("The Puritan") 1887

Bronze statue in Springfield, Massachusetts, signed and dated 1887. Heroic size. Puritan costume, with a peak-crowned hat, long flowing cloak and carrying a staff. Inscription: "1595 Anno Domini 1675. Deacon Samuel Chapin. One of the founders of Springfield."
A similar statue (not a replica) called "The Pilgrim" was made for the New England Society of Pennsylvania in 1905 and stands in City Hall Square, Philadelphia. The head was remodelled and changed; changes were also made in the cloak, and the book was reversed so that the lettering "Holy Bible" on the back is seen.

Chester W. Chapin. 1887

Bust, marble. Head served as study for Deacon Chapin (ancestor).

Robert Louis Stevenson 1887

Bronze relief in rectangular form; signed and dated New York, September, 1887. Full-length figure, seen in profile, looking left, reclinging in a bed, the lower limbs partly concealed by the coverlet; the left hand holding a manuscript, the knees being drawn up to support it, and the right hand poised in air, with a cigarette between the fingers. A border of ivy leaves and berries extends across the top of the plaque, with the inscription and signature written horizontally below it, the figure of the winged horse occurring between the first two stanzas of the inscription.
The sittings for the head and shoulders took place in late September, 1887, in New York while Stevenson was ill there on his way to the Adirondacks. The hands were modelled from studies made at Manasquan, New Jersey, in May 1888 just before Stevenson left for Samoa.
The inscription is a poem written by Stevenson and dedicated to Will H. Low. It was contained in Stevenson's Volume of Poems, Underwoods, 1887.

Youth now flees on feathered foot,
Faint and fainter sounds the flute,
Rarer songs of gods; and still
Somewhere on the sunny hill,
Or along the winding stream,
Through the willows, flits a dream;
Flits but shows a smiling face,
Flees but with so quaint a grace,
None can choose to stay at home,
All must follow, all must roam.

This is unborn beauty: she
Now in air floats high and free,
Takes the sun and breaks the blue;
Late with stooping pinion flew
Raking hedgerow trees, and wet
Her wing in silver streams, and set
Shining foot on temple roof:
Now again she flies aloof,
Coasting mountain clouds and kiss't
By the evening's amethyst.

In wet wood and miry lane,
Still we pant and pound in vain;
Still with leaden foot we chase
Waning pinion, fainting face;
Still with grey hair we stumble on,
Til, behold, the vision gone!
Where hath fleeting beauty led?
To the doorway of the dead.

Life is over, Life was gay:
We have come the primrose way.

Robert Louis Stevenson 1887
Bronze oval medallion. Low relief. Signed and dated 1887. Diameter (vertical) 35 3/8 in.; (horizontal) 34 1/2 in. Similar in design and inscription to the model described above, but differing as follows: Foot of bed and lower quarter of figure not visible; ivy border and verses of inscription made to conform to the circular shape of the medallion.
A bronze reduction is in the Luxembourg Museum, Paris.

Mrs. Grover Cleveland. 1887
Bronze medallion.

Two Lions in Siena Marble. 1887
(In collaboration with Louis Saint-Gaudens).
Boston Public Library.

Three Seals over the Entrance to Boston Public Library 1887

William M. Chase 1888
Bronze plaque. 21 5/8 in. x 29 1/2 in.

Two Angels Bearing a Chalice 1887-88
(In collaboration with Philip Martiny).
Church of the Ascension, New York.

Children of Jacob H. Schiff. 1888
Bronze. Low relief. A marble replica is in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and a bronze reduction in the Luxembourg Museum, Paris.

William M. Evarts. 1888
Bronze plaque. 23 x 10 1/2 in.

Bust of General Sherman. 1888
Eighteen sittings were given in 1887. The bust supplied material for the head of Sherman on the equestrian statue at the entrance to Central Park, New York.
Replicas: Saint-Gaudens NHS; Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Philadelphia; U.S. Military Academy, West Point; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Edwin Hubbell Chapin, D.D. 1888
Bronze relief. 36 3/4 x 32 3/4 in.
Fourth Universalist Church, New York.

Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer Mariana Griswold van Rensselaer . 1888
Bronze plaque. 20 1/4 x 7 3/4 in., oak frame by Stanford White. Original was presented by Mrs. Van Rensselaer to Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1917. See Gardner, American Sculpture, 51.
A reduction is in the Luxembourg Museum, Paris.

Oakes Ames 1888
Large medallion.

Judge Benjamin Franklin Tracy. 1888
Plaque.

Kenyon Cox 1889
Bronze medallion, 19 1/2 x 7 3/8 in.
Executed two years after the portrait painted by Mr. Cox of Saint-Gaudens.

George Washington Medal. 1889
Bronze medal, 4 1/2 in. diameter. Low relief. To commemorate the inauguration of George Washington as first President of the United States. Produced in collaboration with Philip Martiny. Presented to Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, by Henry G. Marquand, 1890.
See Gradner, American Sculpture.

Dr. James McCosh 1889
Bronze memorial tablet. Full legth, left hand resting upon reading desk. Princeton University.

George Hollingsworth Memorial. 1889
Bronze. 5 ft. 9 in. x 2 ft. 9 1/2 in.
Boston Museum.

Mrs. Edwin A. Abbey. . . . . 1889?
Oval plaster cast relief. From a sketch made during 1878-79 when the subject was Mary Gertrude Meade.
Height, 15 3/4 in. x width, 13 1/2 in.

Mrs. Pardessus 1890
Plaster relief.

Miss Violet Sargent. 1890
Bronze medallion. Full length. Playing a guitar.

Adams Monument, Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, D.C. 1891
Bronze statue. Unsigned and undated. A female seated figure. The monument consists of a block of granite against which the figure leans, and which forms one side of an hexagonal plot of about twenty feet in diameter, enclosed in a clump of trees. Opposite and occupying three sides of the hexagon is a massive stone bench.
Monument at the grave of Mrs. Henry Adams.

Seal for the Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts 1891
Stone rectangular high relief. A shield bearing a book is supported on either side by nude figures of boys, each holding a torch.

Study for the Head of "Diana". 1891
On Madison Square Garden tower.

Henry P. Haven 1891
Bronze medallion for New London, Connecticut, Library.

Peter Cooper 1891
Tablet in Cooper Union, New York City .

Monument for the Tomb of Mr. and Mrs. Hamilton Fish. 1892
Two figures adoring cross.
In collaboration with Stanford White.

Study of a Child 1892
Bronze medallion, low relief, unsigned, dated 1892.
Diameter, 2 5/8 in.
Head and shoulders, three-quarters to the right, head in profile, directed right. MDCCCXCII.
(In possession of Mrs. Augustus Saint-Gaudens, 1909.)

Study of a Head. . . . . 1890's
Marble bust, about half life size, without signature or date. Height, 11 in. Head slightly inclined to the left; hair in a Grecian style.

Diana. 1892
Bronze figure on the tower of Madison Square Garden. One of Saint-Gaudens few nudes. Originally the figure was much taller, 18 feet. Thinking it too large, Saint-Gaudens and Stanford White replaced it with a smaller, 13 foot version. A large statue of Diana, modelled in 1892, was exhibited in bronze at the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893. It formed, later, the weather-vane for Montgomery Ward's tower on the Lake Front in Chicago. The smaller Diana for Madison Square Garden was given to the Pennsylvania Museum of Art, Philadelphia, in 1932. See: New York Times, March 25, 1932.

The Columbus Medal 1892-93
Modelled for the Columbian Exposition of 1893 in commemoration of the 400 anniversary of the landing of Columbus.

Columbus 1893
(In collaboration with Mary Lawrence and Louis Saint-Gaudens).
For the Columbian Exposition of 1893.

Seal for Smithsonian Institution 1893
Consists of a map with a torch on each side.
(Currently, 1966, not the official seal of Smithsonian).

Charles Cotesworth Beaman. 1894
Bronze plaque. 26 1/2 x 15 1/2 in. A reduction is in the Luxembourg Museum, Paris. Original is at the Saint-Gaudens National Historic Site.

Louise Adele Gould 1894
Relief portrait of Mrs. Charles W. Gould, dressed as a bride. The half-length portrait, made between 1884-1894, is modelled in a circular plaque. In Metropolitan Museum of Art (1966). Given by Charles W. Gould, 1915.

Louise Adele Gould 1895
Portrait bust, marble, made about 1895. Presently (1966) in Metropolitan Museum of Art. Given by Charles W. Gould in 1915.
Replica is in Cooper Museum.

President James Garfield Monument. 1895
Bust of Garfield and allegorical figure of the "Republic". Fairmount Park, Philadelphia. In collaboration with Stanford White.

Tomb for Mr. Henry Nevins, Mount Auburn, Massachusetts 1895

Miss Annie Page. 1895
Bronze head.

William Astor Chanler. 1896
Bronze bust.

Allegorical Figure of Art for Library of Congress. 1896
See account book 1896-1908. Saint-Gaudens Collection. Saint-Gaudens did the drawings and the French Sculptor, Tonetti Dozzie sculpted the figure for the rotunda of the Library of Congress. Saint-Gaudens was paid approximately $5,000 for the drawing.

Memorial to Colonel Robert Gould Shaw. 1897
Bronze relief opposite the State House, Boston, Massachusetts. Equestrian figure of Shaw surrounded by his black foot-soldiers, who are marching forward. A female figure, symbolizing Death and Fame, floats above and a little in advance of the figure of Shaw, the position being nearly horizontal. The left arm is extended, palm upward, and the right arm clasps to the breast poppies and a laurel branch, the whole enveloped in sweeping draperies. The commission for the memorial to Colonel Shaw, commander of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment (colored troops), who fell at Fort Wagner, South Carolina, was given by the State of Massachusetts in 1884. The work, with its many modifications, extended well over an interval of twelve years, the completed monument being unveiled in May, 1897.

General John A. Logan. 1897
Bronze equestrian statue, Chicago Lake Front.

Peter Cooper 1897
Seated bronze statue under canopy at the side of Cooper Union, New York.

Victory, Study for a head. 1897
Marble bust.

William Dean Howells and Daughter. 1898
Bronze plaque.
A reduction is in the Luxembourg Museum, Paris.

Miss Mildred Howells 1898
Bronze medallion.

Charles A. Dana. 1898
Bronze low relief medallion, 37 3/8 x 19 3/8 in.

Amor Caritas ("Angel of Purity") 1898
Bronze. High relief. 8 ft. 9 in. x 4 ft.
Luxembourg Museum.
The original idea of this was embodied in the figures on the Edwin D. Morgan tomb at Hartford, Connecticut, and the tomb of Anna Maria Smith of Newport, Rhode Island. Copy was made for Metropolitan Museum, 1918. Replicas also at Saint-Gaudens NHS, Cornish, New Hampshire; Detroit Institute of Art (bronze); Art Institute of Chicago. See: Reminiscences, I, 274, 350 and II, 132; and Gardner, American Sculpture, 497.

Martin Brimmer 1899
Marble bust and medallion. Done for Boston Museum of Fine Art. See: Reminiscences, II, 124; and "Income Account Journal", p. 69.

Mrs. Charles Russell Lowell Josephine Shaw Lowell 1899
Marble. Low relief. Original relief, 12 1/2 x 9 in., signed: A St. G(monogram). It was presented to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, by Charles C. Burlingham, 1925. See: Gardner, American Sculpture, 53.

Mrs. Charles C. Beaman 1900
Bronze plaque.

Hon. David Jayne Hill. 1901
Marble bust.

Jacob Crownshield Rogers 1901
Bronze medallion.

Justice Horace Gray, United States Supreme Court 1901
Bronze medallion.

Governor Roger Wolcott 1901-02
Marble relief.

Robert Charles Billings. 1901
Bronze medallion. Boston Public Library.

Mrs. John Chipman Gray Anna Sophia Lyman Mason Gray 1902
Bronze medallion. John Gray was a prominent lawyer and educator - also, younger brother of Justice Gray.

Senator James McMillan of Michigan 1902
Bronze bust.

Mr. and Mrs. Wayne MacVeagh. 1902
Bronze plaque. MacVeagh was Attorney General under Garfield and Ambassador to Italy, 1893-1895.

Wayne MacVeagh 1902
Bronze detail from above.

Maria Mitchell, Monument to daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Weir. . . . 1902
Mitchell.
This was a modification of the "Amor Caritas". The Mitchell Monument was placed in St. Stephens Church in Philadelphia. Reminiscences, II, 346.

Robert Louis Stevenson 1902
Rectangular bronze memorial tablet in Saint Gile's Cathedral, Edinburgh, Scotland. Low relief. Signed and dated 1887-1902. Height of relief, 5 ft. 7 in.; width 9 ft. 1 1/2 in. A variant of the former design, this figure being the same, but shown in full length, covered with a travelling rug in place of the coverlet, having a quill pen in hand in place of the cigarette, and resting upon a couch in place of the bed, with leaves of manuscript scattered upon the floor; and instead of the ivy border extending across the top and drooping at sides of the relief, a garland of laurel interwoven at the ends with Scotch heather and Samoan hibiscus. The outline of a ship is shown in the lower right-hand corner.
The main inscription is a prayer.

Governor Roswell Pettibone Flower. 1903
Bronze statue. Watertown, New York.
Governor of New York, 1892-1895.