

MVSE

VOLUME
FORTY-EIGHT
2014



Annual of the
Museum of Art and Archaeology

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

Missouri, Heart of the Nation Art, Commerce, and Civic Pride



MARGARET FAIRGRIEVE MILANICK

In the painting *Note from St. Louis* by Lawrence Beall Smith (Fig. 1 and back cover), a shoeshine boy pauses during his working day to gaze at *The Meeting of the Rivers*, a recently installed fountain. Connecting St. Louis with ancient Greek and Roman cultures, Carl Milles's fountain greets visitors to St. Louis as they arrive at and depart from Union Station. The fountain symbolizes the confluence of two mighty rivers, the Mississippi and the Missouri, and heralds the importance of these rivers for the mythos of Missouri. The shoeshine boy has parked his kit at his side on the pavement and stands contemplating a sculpture of a putto struggling with a gargantuan fish.¹ Jets of water arch over and around this tableau. The shoeshine boy embodies what some felt art could do—elevate the morals and sensibilities of the working and middle class with a promise of personal transformation.

History

Note from St. Louis is one of ninety-eight paintings in the Missouri, Heart of the Nation Collection, commissioned in 1946 by Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc. (henceforth SVB), a St. Louis department store. The collection came about when Reeves Lewenthal, founder and head of Associated American Artists (AAA), a New York organization, approached Frank M. Mayfield, president of SVB, and proposed a collaborative project. Lewenthal worked with Mayfield and Mary Gamble, the public relations director of SVB, to commission and exhibit a collection of almost 100 paintings depicting contemporary Missouri. The timing was propitious: SVB would soon be celebrating the one-hundredth anniversary of its founding in 1850 as McClelland-Scruggs and Company Dry Goods, and



Fig. 1. Lawrence Beall Smith (American, 1909–1989). *Note from St. Louis*, 1947, oil on Masonite, 36.2 x 28 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.101). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Missouri's favorite son, Harry Truman, became president of the United States in 1945.

In addition to SVB, Lewenthal approached three other department stores with his idea of forming corporate-sponsored art collections: Ohrbach's in New York City, Gimbel Brothers in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and New York City, and J. L. Hudson in Detroit, Michigan.² Of the four department store art collections, Missouri, Heart of the Nation is the only one that remained together after it was exhibited.³ It is now part of the collection of the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri.

Why would a department store commission a collection of paintings

depicting contemporary life in Missouri? The answer rests on Mayfield's belief in the union of art, commerce, and civic pride. In his preface to the catalog *Missouri Heart of the Nation*, he asserted that one purpose for commissioning the works was "to depict for St Louis, Missouri, and for the world the charm, the strength, the beauty, the way-of-life of our mid-western Missouri of today."⁴ A second purpose was to identify commercial enterprise with Missouri life, for he felt commercial enterprise went hand in hand with civic enterprise, "for no commercial endeavor becomes truly great unless it is accompanied by many civic endeavors."⁵ He believed that SVB, a commercial enterprise, had become

an integral part of Missouri's character and way of life. Mayfield sought to harness art's ability to elevate the morals and sensibilities of viewers in order to create community that in turn would foster cultural stability; cultural stability is good for business. The vision of the community he had in mind, however, did not incorporate the full diversity of Missouri life, but only that of middle- and upper-class whites. It is ironic that the painting he particularly liked, *Note from St. Louis*, pictures a black youth, the very person Mayfield never included in his vision of a community of potential customers.

The Missouri, Heart of the Nation Collection was commissioned at a time when the general feeling among art and business observers was that fine art and commercial art were merging.⁶ The broker among American business, consumers, and modern art was Lewenthal, who founded AAA in 1934. Lewenthal was a former newspaper reporter and an artists' agent and public relations expert. The collapse of the stock market in 1929, however, precipitated the corresponding collapse of the art market. Lewenthal proclaimed as dead the traditional gallery system of selling expensive art objects to upscale clientele through high-class dealers, and he founded AAA in the depths of the Great Depression to broaden the economic base for art. He stated "American art ought to be handled like any other American business."⁷

Lewenthal merged the world of American art with that of middle-class consumerism by selling art using modern business practices of production (buying plates and producing prints), distribution (through department stores, mail order, and his own gallery), and advertising (equating art with status) (Fig. 2). This was a successful business model. By 1941, AAA had become "the largest commercial art gallery in the world," a \$500,000-a-year business (\$8 million-a-year in 2015 dollars), located at 711 Fifth Avenue in New York City with 30,000 square feet of gallery space that included showrooms, offices, and shipping spaces. By the

What ... only \$5 for this signed ORIGINAL by THOMAS BENTON? Why, he's one of the country's finest artists!



Yes, \$5... and not only Benton but Grant Wood, Curry, Lucioni and 63 other great American artists offer their Signed Original ETCHINGS and LITHOGRAPHS for the same amazingly low price!

FREE ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE GIVES COMPLETE DETAILS

THESE NOTED ARTISTS ...
 Papp Bann
 Grant Wood
 Cary Wolfe
 Lewis Brant
 Alexander Bush
 Howard Cook
 John Currier
 Add Date

... AND MANY OTHERS
(See Free Catalogue)

subjects, in styles from traditional to modern, are pictured. Many are recent prize-winners; some already have soared to a value away beyond their original price.

Send for FREE catalogue

To assure complete selection, mail the coupon at once. You can order direct from the catalogue, which shows all subjects, size of each, names and biographies of artists, prices they have won, etc.

Every original is guaranteed museum-perfect. If you are not completely satisfied, your money will be refunded. Enclose 10c in stamps with the coupon to cover postage and handling. **Address:**

ASSOCIATED AMERICAN ARTISTS
 Studio 4811, 711 Fifth Ave., New York, N. Y.

NAME _____
 ADDRESS _____
 CITY _____

Fig. 2. Advertisement for Associated American Artists. From *American Artist* 4, no. 9 (November 1940) p. 29.

mid-1940s, Lewenthal had expanded the business to include much higher priced original drawings and paintings and began to sponsor the Annual National Print competition. In 1943, AAA handled 107 American artists, sold over 62,000 prints and almost 2,000 paintings. Its net income was more than \$12 million per year (over \$164 million per year in 2015 dollars). It employed a staff of fifty-three clerical workers, sent out more than 3 million catalogs and gallery announcements, and during the Christmas season that year, its busiest time, sent checks of \$25,000 to \$75,000 to the participating artists (\$343,000 to \$1 million in 2015 dollars).⁸

Given the success of merging art production and consumerism, Lewenthal worked on business models to ally producer, consumer, and corporation. As the Great Depression settled in, for good it seemed to the American consumer, confidence in capitalism itself plummeted, and consumerism declined. Lewenthal saw a need for art to restore consumer confidence and mediate public goodwill, and he offered corporations a way to do that by using the particular style of contemporary art that he was marketing at AAA. This representational style, already popular in America from the New Deal arts projects as well as through the retailing success of AAA, was an upbeat vision of an ideal America revitalized through community and productivity.⁹ Lewenthal opened an Art for Advertising Department, attracting business clients such as Abbott Laboratories, American Tobacco Company, Standard Oil, and United Artists. The advertisements the artists worked on appeared in magazines targeted at middle-class consumers such as *Time*, *Life*, *Look*, *Fortune*, *Esquire*, *McCall's*, *Holiday*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Country Gentlemen*, *Farmer*, and *Coronet*.¹⁰

There was precedent for Lewenthal's belief in the success of a merger of art and business. In 1943, with World War II raging and the wartime economy booming, the federal government had stepped out of the role of major patron of the arts—a role it had assumed in the 1930s following the collapse of the stock market. By 1943, industry had expanded its role in the arts just when the government had dismantled its arts programs. A precedent for the commissioning of a collection of original paintings for public relations purposes rather than for direct sale came from Pepsi Cola's Portrait of America project, presented annually from 1944 to 1948. It was intended to serve as a model for corporate support of contemporary art. Walter Stanton Mack, Jr., CEO of Pepsi Cola (1895–1990), regarded support of culture as an important way to contribute to public welfare and a large part of corporate responsibility to the human community. Public relations was an important postwar strategy to ensure that the public thought of business as a good neighbor,

as socially responsible as it had been during the war.¹¹ Portrait of America was Pepsi Cola's "good neighbor" policy.¹² In 1944, Pepsi held a competition for new American painting administered by an organization of artists' groups.¹³ The artists picked judges and administered the competition, and Pepsi provided prize money and expenses. An exhibition of selected paintings was held at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and it then traveled to museums around the country.

Artists

When Lewenthal approached SVB's Mayfield in 1946 to propose an art collection project that would be administered by AAA and, like the Portrait of America project, would be a public relations "good neighbor" project for the SVB department store, it made perfect sense for Mayfield to join the endeavor. AAA eventually chose fourteen artists to create works for the Heart of the Nation Collection. They were among America's premier and best-known artists; all were already represented by AAA. They included Howard Baer, Thomas Hart Benton, Aaron Bohrod, Nicolai Cikovsky, Adolph Dehn, Ernest Fiene, Peter Hurd, Fletcher Martin, Georges Schreiber, and Lawrence Beall Smith. Three of the artists, Cikovsky, Fiene, and Schreiber, were born in Europe but had immigrated to the United States. All the artists were educated in elite art academies in the United States or abroad; many studied in both.¹⁴ Eight of the fourteen had just returned from work as artist-war correspondents from the many theaters of WWII and had been employed by commercial enterprises such as *Life Magazine* and Abbott Laboratories. Each artist was assigned general areas and topics in Missouri and given great latitude for specifics in execution, but AAA scheduled the visits to Missouri so that all four seasons would be represented. The artists made field notes and sketches at their sites in Missouri and returned home to complete the paintings in their own studios.¹⁵ Studios for seven of the fourteen artists were located in New York City. Mayfield took an active interest in the execution of the project, entertaining the artists when they came to St. Louis and occasionally accompanying them to sites.¹⁶

Although Thomas Hart Benton was on the original roster for the project, he withdrew after just three months. Known for creating controversy, he made his announcement in the venue he favored—the press.¹⁷ According to SVB's public relations officer Mary Gamble, he never told SVB of his decision. Benton complained that AAA should have chosen artists who lived in the area and grew up in the culture they were to illustrate. He maintained that artists needed personal

experience as well as artistic expertise to represent a culture authentically and said he did not want to get his “ideas of Missouri mixed up with a bunch of tourist snapshots, however high class.”¹⁸ Benton’s rhetoric did not match his record, however. First, he did not really grow up in Missouri. Although he spent summers in Missouri, he spent more time in Washington, D.C., because his father was a four-time U.S. congressman (1897–1905). He attended high school at Western Military Academy in Alton, Illinois, and at eighteen enrolled in the Art Institute of Chicago, moving to Paris at the age of twenty. Returning to the United States after three years of art study there, he settled in New York City in 1912. He lived and worked there for twenty-three years until 1935 when he accepted a teaching position at the Kansas City Art Institute (1935–1941). For fifty years he summered at his house on Martha’s Vineyard. At the time he was asked to paint for the Missouri, Heart of the Nation project, however, he did spend part of the year living in Missouri. Second, anticipating that the department store art collection projects would expand to other states, he told Lewenthal “to be sure and count me in,” if Lewenthal organized projects in Texas and Oklahoma.¹⁹ Benton had never lived in Texas or Oklahoma. Third, he waited three months after the line-up of artists was announced before resigning, even though he knew all the other artists were not from Missouri. He insisted he had suggested artists from Missouri when AAA first contacted him before announcement of the line-up. Fourth, he was increasingly upset by his lack of control over his work for commercial entities and wanted to sever all his ties with AAA, something he did four months later. He told his longtime friend Fred Shane: “They were just making a damn commercial artist out of me anyway.”²⁰ Five artists from Missouri replaced Benton on the SVB project: Fred Conway, Fred Shane, and three of Benton’s former students: Frederic James, Jackson Lee Nesbitt, and Wallace Herndon Smith.²¹

Missouri and Industry

The Missouri, Heart of the Nation Collection is unique among the art collections of the four department stores because it is the only one to make the grand claim to represent the “Heart of the Nation.” In the preface to the catalog Charles van Ravenswaay, at that time director of the Missouri Historical Society, described Missouri as the geographic center of the continent, where four mighty rivers (the Des Moines, the Illinois, the Missouri, and the Ohio) meet the mightiest river of all (the Mississippi).²² To highlight the state’s centrality to transportation and commerce, Lawrence Beall Smith’s painting *The Meeting of the Rivers Fountain, St. Louis* (Fig. 3) is featured

prominently on the second page of the collection's catalog. Sixteen of the ninety-eight paintings in the collection depict the Mississippi or the Missouri, reinforcing the view of Missouri as the heart of river transportation and commerce. Even when the collection emphasizes the contemporary landscape of Missouri as a mix of small farms and industrial agriculture, Missouri's importance as a transportation hub is also represented. The cover of the catalog featured this connection with Adolf Dehn's painting *A Nice Day in Missouri near Cameron* (Fig. 4). One cannot miss the forward progress of a freight train cutting through the pastoral farmland scene.

The Heart of the Nation Collection also includes representations of industry, commerce, origins, and civic undertakings. In *The State Capitol, Jefferson City, Missouri* Fred Shane depicts the state's capitol building, but with a train yard prominently in the foreground, bracketed by the tall smokestacks of industry (Fig. 5 and front cover).²³ Commerce is represented by paintings such as *Kansas City Christmas* by Frederic James, *Country Club Plaza, Kansas City* by Aaron Bohrod, and *The General Store—Old Mines* by Howard Baer (Figs. 6, 7, and 8). The collection also emphasizes the founding stories of Missouri as a keystone in the growth of America as a nation. *City Art Museum, Statue of St. Louis* by Nicolai Cikovsky references links to Missouri's past (Fig. 9).²⁴ Because, as Mayfield stated, no commercial endeavor is truly great unless accompanied by civic endeavor, the collection also includes paintings such as *Penn Valley Park, Kansas City* by Aaron Bohrod (Fig. 10).²⁵

Department Stores

Lewenthal's connection of art and department stores was an astute business decision. He understood that in the new climate of a consumer economy, made possible by the industrial revolution, department stores had created the most effective links between art, commerce, and civic pride. Department stores, originating about the same time as modern museums, had become effective culture brokers, even more effective than museums. The first big department stores, formed in the 1860s and 1870s, were Marshall Field's and The Fair in Chicago, Macy's in New York, and John Wannamaker's in Philadelphia.²⁶ By 1890, every large American city had several mammoth emporia. During the years between the two world wars, museums lagged behind department stores as culture brokers. In 1930, Robert W. de Forest, president of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1913–1931), told a group of department store executives that their influence was greater than that of all museums. He proclaimed, "You are the most fruitful source of art in America."²⁷



Fig. 3. Lawrence Beall Smith (American, 1909–1989). *The Meeting of the Rivers Fountain, St. Louis*, 1947, oil on Masonite, 48.1 x 65.8 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.104). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

What was the economic model before the advent of department stores and a consumer economy? Howard Baer gives us a look at that older model in *The General Store—Old Mines*, where goods circulated in a small community and were often bartered (Fig. 8). That process bound customers and merchants tightly together. At the center of the painting a man stands at the counter. His foot propped up on a barrel, he looks as though he is settling in to barter with the proprietor behind the counter. The painting depicts a space for shopping with a purpose. In the painting, we find ourselves peering into the dark, cluttered interior of the store. The floors are wooden; the furnishings and fixtures are spare. The interior is designed for utility not comfort. The goods are piled casually on counters and hang from every available space, and much of the merchandise is inaccessible to customers because it is stored on shelving from floor to ceiling



Fig. 4. Adolf Dehn (American, 1895–1968). *A Nice Day in Missouri near Cameron*, 1946, watercolors on paper, 49.9 x 74.2 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.42). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

behind a long counter. The one exception is the candy counter, a specialized display behind glass calculated to direct attention and create desire for the items it contains. Placed right at the eye level of the little boy holding his mother's hand, it has captured his attention. He leans in to view the wondrous display. Also, it is difficult to miss the point made in this painting, that it is women who do the shopping. As the painting illustrates, however, this sort of store is not just a space for bartering or buying; it is also a space for socializing. It is the hub of the community, offering services above and beyond shopping. To the right the words "Post Office" are just visible above a window framed by a clutter of posters advertising events and news of interest to members of the community. Three members of the tightly knit community sit together front and center with their backs to the viewer, swapping stories with each other.²⁸ *The General Store—Old Mines* represents the old-time center of the community, a tradition that the modern department store strove to invoke in every way. The 1940 SVB publication *St. Louis*



Fig. 5. Frederick Emanuel Shane (American, 1906–1990). *The State Capitol, Jefferson City, Missouri*, 1946–1947, oil on Masonite, 81.9 x 103 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.96). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

and Vandervoort’s “*Yesterday and Today*” describes the emporium as “at once a commercial establishment and a social institution.”²⁹ SVB contained a branch of the U.S. Post Office “for the convenience of Vandervoort’s customers.”³⁰

How was community created and represented by department stores in the economic climate of consumerism made possible by the industrial revolution? The Heart of the Nation Collection implies that this market economy occurs in urban centers, as shown in *Kansas City Christmas* by Frederic James (Fig. 6). James depicts a street scene in the main shopping district of downtown with the mammoth emporium Emery-Bird-Thayer in the background, a store that SVB had bought in 1945.³¹ Males and females of all ages and occupations animate this street scene. We see people dressed in a whole range of clothing from women in furs and



Fig. 6. Frederic James (American, 1915–1985). *Kansas City Christmas*, 1947, watercolors on paperboard, 58.4 x 73.7 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.70). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

the latest in millinery fashions and men in power suits and fedoras to women dressed in cloth coats and men in the blue work shirts and overalls of farmers. The populations of St. Louis and Kansas City exploded during the latter half of the 1800s due to the influx of immigrants needed to fuel the engines of the industrial revolution.³² The new economic model turned commodities into merchandise, and merchandise, unlike the bartered goods seen in *The General Store–Old Mines*, circulate freely and do not bind people together to form community.³³ How was community created out of all the diverse people who made up St. Louis’s and Kansas City’s exploding populations? Community was created through education. The department store, among other entities, was important in acclimating everyone to similar standards. Stores became “pictures” to impress customers, both physically



Fig. 7. Aaron Bohrod (American, 1907–1992). *Country Club Plaza, Kansas City*, 1946, gouache on composition board, 36.5 x 49.5 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, (2014.25). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

and psychologically. These “pictures” told a particular story of collective cultural roots, of St. Louis’s and Missouri’s origins, of what was important, and how to think and feel about it. Department stores promoted this picture of civic pride so that customers all felt and thought similarly and therefore had similar desires.

This unification of desire was accomplished through a revolution in approach. Merchandizing used modern technology to the best advantage in order to connect consumer goods to the desires in customers’ minds and to make customers wish to purchase those goods. Taking the lead from the *grands magasins* of Paris, department stores revolutionized merchandizing to increase customers and sales in the boom years of the 1920s. They exploited the latest technology to create drama in shopping, channel attention, and put on a show with fantasies of luxury. Department stores hired architects and designers to dress up and streamline their stores and to make the commodities accessible to customers to feel and try on. Designers lightened the interiors; removed clutter by creating



Fig. 8. Howard Baer (American, 1906–1986). *The General Store–Old Mines*, 1946, gouache on paper, 47.4 x 78.5 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.19). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

selective displays; animated space by using color, mirrors, and lighting; created dramatic show windows; installed cooling and heating for customers' comfort; and introduced a sense of adventure for the customer by continually showcasing new objects. In 1935, during the Great Depression, customer-centered and moving with the times, SVB opened its Downstairs Store with twenty-five budget departments.³⁴ By 1940, SVB occupied 12 acres of space, had 1,500 employees, and 400,000 items for sale in 150 departments.³⁵

Merchandizing liberates consumer goods and generates an excitement that bartered goods do not. Advertising amplifies that excitement, endowing the consumer goods with transformative messages and associations that they do not objectively contain. The great show windows of department stores were major instruments of education through advertising. The department store shopping districts of major cities “became a vast promenade of huge glass windows in which mannequins stood as mistresses of taste to teach people how to embody their secret longings for status in things of great price.”³⁶ The advent of cheap plate glass in the mid-1890s made this possible, and by the 1920s, large department stores had transformed their windows into art. SVB’s own display staff designed and executed

changing window displays for nineteen windows that were the talk of Saint Louis, with themes such as, in 1940, “Nine Decades of Progress.”³⁷ Every year, emporia designed the ever popular Christmas windows. *Kansas City Christmas* (Fig. 6) shows streets lined with garlands of evergreen, wreaths, bells, Christmas trees, and the cheery faces of many Santas along the length of the street. The festive street decorations communicate agreeable sensations, priming the shopper to step into a new world of fantasy and personal transformation. In the great show windows of Emory-Bird-Thayer department store, *Kansas City Christmas* gives us a provocative peek of swaying palm trees, a tropical refuge in the middle of a Missouri winter.

In the foreground of *Kansas City Christmas*, Frederic James prominently places an elderly man walking toward the viewer with a full white Santa beard, but he is dressed in a dark three-piece suit with an overcoat and a distinguishing black bowler-like fedora. Just to the left we see a boy in a red coat and woolen cap holding his mother’s hand. As he walks away from the viewer, he turns with an astonished look on his face toward the man with the bushy white beard. That white-whiskered man reminds the boy and the viewer of Kris Kringle, the main character of the popular film *Miracle on 34th Street*, which was released in 1947, the year *Kansas City Christmas* was painted. The film was nominated for Best Picture, eventually winning three Academy Awards, and has become a favorite classic Christmas holiday movie. The particular story of Santa as a desire fulfiller was connected to the place where customers could fulfill those desires—the department store.

Emporia strove to elevate everyone to upper-class standards of comportment by sponsoring arts events. The arts instilled credibility, confidence, and status in department store messages. Emporia staged plays, musical events, and art exhibitions. They also held lectures and classes on interior design, cooking, child development, and the use of new materials like plastic. SVB opened the Vandervoort Music Hall inside its store in 1920, offering free lectures, Shakespearean programs, and recitals.³⁸ SVB also featured the Art Needlework Department, the Interior Decorating Department, and the Book Shop.³⁹ All were designed to shape the preferences of the public by increasing particular knowledge and expanding particular experiences.

Origins of the State of Missouri

The paintings in the Missouri, Heart of the Nation Collection also increased particular knowledge and expanded particular experiences of contemporary



Fig. 9. Nicolai Cikovsky (American; b. in Poland, emigrated in 1923, 1915–1984). *City Art Museum with Statue of St. Louis*, 1946, oil on canvas, 61.0 x 76.0 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.32). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

Missouri life for potential customers of SVB. Important to Mayfield's endeavor to illustrate the union of art, commerce, and civic pride, the collection tells a founding story of Missouri. The third painting in the collection's catalog, *City Art Museum, Statue of St. Louis* by Nicolai Cikovsky, presents as French the founding story of the city of St. Louis (Fig. 9). Front and center is the statue of Louis IX (1214–1270), the namesake of the city of St. Louis and the only king of France to be canonized. By showing this statue so prominently, the painting connects the city of St. Louis with French medieval Christian history. The statue itself, titled *The Apotheosis of St. Louis*, served as the principal symbol of the city from the time when it was donated to commemorate the 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition until the Gateway Arch was built in the 1960s. The sculp-



Fig. 10. Aaron Bohrod (American, 1907–1989). *Penn Valley Park, Kansas City*, ca. 1946, gouache on composition board, 33.4 x 47.6 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.28). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

ture figured heavily in the iconography of St. Louis. For example, it served as part of the logo for the St. Louis Browns baseball team in the 1930s and 1940s. It reminded viewers of St. Louis's status as the largest city in Missouri and, in 1946, as the eighth largest in the nation, and of its aspirations to greatness.

In another painting by Nicolai Cikovsky, *Old Cathedral of St. Louis*, the cathedral stands on the waterfront of the Mississippi in the oldest part of the city (Fig. 11). Old Cathedral was dedicated to the French king Louis IX, a dedication that invoked the history of the city as a French fur-trading post founded circa 1764. Built on land dedicated by St. Louis founders fur-traders Pierre Laclede and Auguste Chouteau, Old Cathedral reinforces the founding story of St. Louis as French and Catholic, with a connection to the fur trade, a trade conducted on the two mighty rivers, the Missouri and the Mississippi that meet and flow together at St. Louis.⁴⁰ SVB itself promoted this early history as it advertised “for generations women have bought furs with confidence at Vandervoort’s.” Cus-



Fig. 11. Nicolai Cikovsky (American; b. in Poland, emigrated in 1923, 1915–1984). *Old Cathedral of St. Louis*, 1946, gouache on paperboard, 51.6 x 62.5 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.35). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

tomers could have their individual designs executed at the Fur Design Studio and could store their furs at the Fur Workroom.⁴¹

The Heart of the Nation Collection also contains three paintings with the Mississippi river town of Ste. Genevieve as their subject.⁴² Founded by French Canadian settlers in 1735, Ste. Genevieve is the oldest permanent European settlement in Missouri and was named for the patron saint of Paris, further grounding the founding story of Missouri on French settlers. *Uncle Paul and Aunt Luce* by Howard Baer adds another chapter to that founding story, representing descendants of the early Creole settlers in Missouri (Fig. 12). Baer surrounds Uncle Paul and Aunt Luce with crucifixes and other Catholic artifacts of



Fig. 12. Howard Baer (American, 1906–1986). *Uncle Paul and Aunt Luce*, 1946, oil on composition board, 51.0 x 66.2 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.21). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

their forebears, as they live quietly with their cat in their simple Ozark home.

Charles van Ravenswaay, who wrote “An Introduction to Missouri” in the collection’s catalog, states, however, “The original settlers of this area (Northern Missouri) were mainly Anglo-Americans who made their homes along the fringes of the Missouri and Mississippi rivers, and then gradually drifted inward across the prairie.”⁴³ We have already seen that the Heart of the Nation Collection does not depict Anglo-Americans as the state’s first settlers but instead presents the French as the original ones. Neither were. Revealing the unspoken disregard of the native peoples of Missouri, there are no depictions of these original settlers, even though the name of the state, Missouri, is a Native American word, and the names of its two mightiest rivers, the Missouri and the Mississippi, are the names those indigenous people gave to the rivers. The erasure

of that Native American history is part of the founding story van Ravenswaay, Mayfield, and Missouri adhered to in the 1940s.

Civic Issues

Several paintings in the Heart of the Nation Collection illustrate investment in culture as a means to enhance social stability in urban communities. They instruct the viewer about activities in the city, such as visits to parks, like the one seen in *Penn Valley Park, Kansas City* by Aaron Bohrod (Fig. 10).⁴⁴ This painting is a good example of how Mayfield's vision of investing in culture to help solve social problems translates visually in the painting and actively in the park. In the late 1800s, parks, just like department stores, were designed to make overcrowded American cities places where families could live. Penn Valley Park was part of an 1893 "Parks and Boulevards" plan, a model of urban planning that grew out of the immense pressure placed on cities in the Industrial Age. With the huge influx of working-class immigrants needed to fuel the engines of industrialism in the United States, the population in Kansas City increased from 60,000 to 250,000 people between 1878 and 1910.⁴⁵ Thanks to land speculation and the lack of any coherent plan for growth, Kansas City developed a reputation as a Wild West cowtown: a good city for business but not a place in which to live. "Make Kansas City a good place to live in," was the parks supporters' rallying cry.⁴⁶ In response, the newly appointed Kansas City Board of Park Commissioners retained George Kessler, a German-trained landscape architect, to deliver a sweeping plan that redefined the city. He designed a series of large parks like Penn Valley that formed a belt around the outskirts of the city and smaller parks and squares to serve as oases in the interior of the city with tree- and flower-lined boulevards connecting them.⁴⁷ F. Laurent Godinez, an electrical and mechanical engineer and authority on illumination, addressed the issue of making a city livable from the perspective of the department store when he wrote in 1914: "The American city is in a state of evolution, due largely to woman's influence, and there is a rapidly spreading sentiment to the effect that our cities . . . must be something more than bare shelters for enormous aggregations of humanity. . . . They must be places to live in . . . and must afford facilities for recreation and the attainment of an artistic ideal."⁴⁸ His comments apply just as well to parks. Aaron Bohrod represents Penn Valley Park as an aesthetically picturesque landscape of green designed to facilitate family recre-

ation. We see a child chasing a dog, couples lounging by the lake, and women sitting in the shade.

Commerce

The Heart of the Nation Collection illustrates commerce as a central part of how the world works. The organizers of the state fair in Sedalia learned the lessons of merchandizing taught by department stores. In *Canning and Button Art, State Fair, Sedalia* by Lawrence Beall Smith, a family group stands in



Fig. 13. Lawrence Beall Smith (American, 1909–1989). *Canning and Button Art, State Fair, Sedalia*, 1946, oil on Masonite, 84.1 x 61.1 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.100). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

the foreground (Fig. 13). The mother leans in to inspect a display of canned goods carefully arranged to best advantage on graduated shelves so that their many colors can grab her attention. The father hangs back, twirling a pennant behind his back, while his son pulls on his arm imploring him to explore an exhibit that holds more interest. Decorating the wall behind the colorful canning display, two canvases of button art explode overhead. Merchandizing strategies developed in department stores to catch the attention of shoppers are on display at the fair: visitor-centered displays that allow handling and create arresting juxtapositions, selectivity, and drama.

Department stores also learned from the *grands magasins* of Paris how to court women. In the painting *Kansas*

City Christmas (Fig. 6), Frederic James shows a 1946 city street scene—Petticoat Lane (East 11th Street), the retail heart of Kansas City. Representing the influence of St. Louis–based SVB on life even in Kansas City, James depicts the large Kansas City department store Emery-Bird-Thayer (EBT), bought by SVB in 1945. It is easily identified by the caduceus carved in relief on the corner of the mammoth building. The caduceus is a herald’s staff typically carried by Mercury, the god of merchants (among other things), and makes a connection with ancient Greek and Roman culture, giving EBT and Missouri old and venerable roots. SVB got its start in 1850, and EBT in 1868, as small dry goods stores servicing wagon trains for the great movement west and telling a story of Missouri as the Gateway to the West. Petticoat Lane, Kansas City’s prime retail thoroughfare in the 1890s, got its name because, according to a writer of the day, garments of the same name could be exposed by the fickle whims of Kansas prairie winds.⁴⁹ The name stuck partly because as early as the 1840s and 1850s women primarily did the shopping in American urban centers. By the 1890s, middle-class women moved comfortably in public, that movement made possible by the emergence of a feminine world constructed around shopping. Macy’s, for example, created a ladies’ waiting room in the 1891 addition to its downtown New York City store, and according to their advertising it was “the most luxurious and beautiful department devoted to the comfort of ladies to be found in a mercantile establishment in the city. The style of decoration is Louis XV, and no expense has been spared in the adornment and furnishing of this room.”⁵⁰

SVB and department stores in general created an environment that catered to women’s individual desires, inducing women to become accustomed to being served, instead of serving others.⁵¹ SVB and EBT considered service to be the benchmark of their reputations. In *Kansas City Christmas*, everyone is bustling by on the street carrying festively wrapped packages; we see no one carrying plain bags. Both department stores had “Wrapping Departments.” *St. Louis and Vandervoort’s “Yesterday and Today”* brochure from 1940 described nine different lunch rooms for their customers’ pleasure and four different tea rooms, one “reserved for patrons who do not smoke” and one featuring “a distinctive and tempting salad bar at which guests choose their own salad luncheons.”⁵² The brochure also described over twenty departments catering to women’s fashion and called itself the fashion authority of the Midwest (Fig. 14).⁵³ A stylist, known as “Marion Fenton,” worked as a fashion arbiter and consultant to train employees and customers alike.⁵⁴ The Bride’s Shop offered “a special secluded

shop where the bride receives specialized service from our Bride's Secretary."⁵⁵ The brochure described only one department focused on men.⁵⁶

In the painting *Country Club Plaza, Kansas City* Aaron Bohrod places two fashionably attired women in summer dresses in the center foreground of the

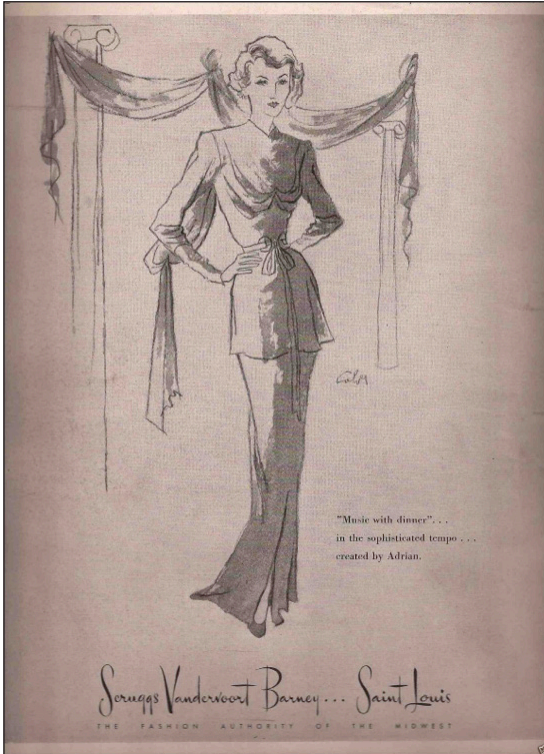


Fig. 14. Advertisement for Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney department store as fashion authority of the Midwest. Image courtesy of Kristin Schwain.

Country Club Plaza shopping center (Fig. 7). One woman wears a stylish hat at a rakish angle. SVB housed six millinery shops, their buyer making regular trips to both California and New York to ensure new, up-to-date fashions.⁵⁷ Fashion imparts value over and above the intrinsic worth of the goods, and the power of that value rests in it as a “model of desire.”⁵⁸ Customers seek to emulate that model so that it will set them apart from other people and heighten their desirability. American department stores brought fashion to customers, and their advertising tied the glamour of Paris, the aristocracy, theater, and Hollywood to the merchandise for sale. The French Room in SVB was distinctively designed by St. Louis architect Harris Armstrong as a circular unit, supported by narrow chromium

pillars.⁵⁹ SVB featured the Costume Shop “for the caviar of clothes” where a customer could find “America’s most beautiful clothes,” and the Carlin Shop, an “exquisite shop, exclusive with Vandervoort’s in Saint Louis . . . devoted to lovely accessories and fine bedding for milady’s boudoir.”⁶⁰ The promise of personal transformation that these goods carried created desire for them.

Prominently placed in the right foreground of the painting *Country Club*

Plaza, Kansas City, a putto holds a fish that spouts a fountain of water overhead (Fig. 7). The Country Club Plaza is known for its many fountains, importing the glamour and looser sensual boundaries of the aristocratic gardens of Europe. The putto kneels with his little naked bottom conspicuously displayed to the viewer. Department stores promoted looser sensual boundaries through their sensuous displays.⁶¹ As early as 1868, department store fittings were chosen to showcase the most luxurious materials, such as furs and silks, frescoed walls, fountains, and art, all carefully and thoughtfully displayed to the best advantage. Glass was used to make everything visible and apparently accessible. Lighting banished shadows and created even, diffuse illumination. Mirrors multiplied images and reflected light, giving the illusion of space. Innovations in chemical dyes allowed colors of the whole spectrum to decorate spaces. These sensuous displays sought to trigger buying on impulse, by feeling rather than rational thought.

Bohrod's *Country Club Plaza, Kansas City* also illustrates decentralization of retail dollars away from downtown. Although the Country Club Plaza was built in 1922, it was the model for the restructuring of the consumer marketplace that accompanied suburbanization of residential life in the 1950s. When the Country Club Plaza was built, it was the first commercial center designed with the car in mind. The land on which it was constructed had recently been pig farms. Department stores and shopping centers were made possible by the mass concentration of capital and people, as well as by the expansion of the transportation network. Hence, in *Kansas City Christmas* (Fig. 6), a bus plays a prominent role in the painting, and in *Country Club Plaza, Kansas City* (Fig. 7), cars play a more dominant role. Department stores as well as shopping centers determined urban organization in the real estate market, the office districts, and the transportation network and had great influence over the newspaper industry through advertising dollars. In the Country Club Plaza, the shopping center was only one part of the development: office buildings, and planned residential communities were also built. Because this was all privately owned land, however, the developer of the Country Club Plaza could actively create a white, upper-class community through marketing and policing. This suburban center was segregated, and the community experiences were constructed around the cultural tastes of white, upper-class people. Management controlled architecture, graphic design, and politics. Choices decreased because chain stores and franchises were chosen over local stores. This occurred because big investors, like insurance companies who generated large amounts of capital, wanted big returns for their financial investments.

The ideal for the big-city shopping center was the same for the downtown department store as for the small-town general store: the creation of a centrally located common space that brought together commercial and civic activity. This common space for both the department store and the shopping center offered



Fig. 15. Frederic James (American, 1915–1985). *Twilight on Quality Hill, Kansas City*, 1946, watercolors and ink on paperboard, 70.0 x 55.0 cm. Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Missouri, gift of Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Inc., transferred from the Office of the Vice Chancellor for Operations, University of Missouri (2014.73). Photo: Jeffrey Wilcox.

opportunities for social life and recreation in a protected pedestrian environment with civic and educational facilities. The shift from city center to shopping center, however, made the common space of the Country Club Plaza no longer public but now private, owned by investors. The common space was privatized, and this caused the rights of the property owners to be privileged over free speech.⁶² In *Kansas City Christmas* Salvation Army volunteers stand on the public space of the sidewalk of the city center soliciting donations for their work among the poor and downtrodden, an activity undertaken at the Country Club Plaza only with permission. In the painting *Twilight on Quality Hill, Kansas City*

by Frederic James, a “For Sale” sign is prominently displayed in front of a house, embodying the change in real estate that has begun, set in motion by the institutional investment in a decentralized suburban model (Fig. 15). Commerce be-

came more and more controlled by investors, whites left the city to invest in real estate in suburbia, and art became inaccessible, its value controlled by investors.

SVB's Mayfield made the decision to commission the collection of ninety-eight paintings to represent contemporary Missouri because he believed the cultural aims of his department stores in St. Louis and Kansas City and those of Reeves Lewenthal at AAA were one and the same. Both brokered a culture of consumption. Consumption is encouraged in a culture of stability where everyone has attained, or hopes to attain, the same standard of living. The Missouri, Heart of the Nation Collection portrayed a particular picture of Missouri that connected its scenes of industry, beauty, ways of life, and charm with commercial endeavor. In Mayfield's and Lewenthal's minds, art amplifies the excitement already present in consumer goods and endows them with transformative messages and associations, such as credibility, quality, and status, which they do not objectively contain. For Mayfield, therefore, the collection was a use of art that best helped connect the merchandise sold at SVB with desires in customers' minds.

The art collection, however, was not a consumer good. It premiered at AAA's galleries at 711 Fifth Avenue in New York City and the Museum of the City of New York and then toured from August 1947 through December 1949, opening first at the City Art Museum in St. Louis.⁶³ There were in all nineteen venues in Missouri, Illinois, and Kansas, including art museums, colleges and universities, clubs, and a department store. Addressing the eventual need for a permanent home for the collection, several officials at SVB argued it should be dispersed—the fate of the three other commercially funded art collections commissioned by department stores.⁶⁴ Fred Shane, however, an artist represented in the collection and a professor of art at the University of Missouri, worked hard to secure the entire Heart of the Nation Collection for the university.⁶⁵ He enlisted the help of Elmer Ellis, then dean of the College of Arts and Science, and Ellis argued persuasively with Mary Gamble, who supported the university in discussions at SVB. University President Frederick A. Middlebush accepted the collection on behalf of the university at a ceremony hosted by Mayfield on January 25, 1950, at Hotel Statler in St. Louis.

Conclusion

The general picture of Missouri that the Heart of the Nation Collection presents is one a viewer could have observed every day in 1946 or 1947. The artists

recorded the prosaic, the daily grind that gives a sense of security, and they paid genuine attention to Missourians and their occupations. The paintings depict what an outsider might see, but in a style that gives the viewer the sense of being an insider, creating a feeling of personal connection. The paintings are not nostalgic; they do not create tension between the past and the present. Instead, the collection uses the past to maintain continuity with the present. Approved cultural destinations and a liturgy of approved important scenes were created through the work of fourteen individual artists, but they had great leeway in the execution of assigned topics, and as a result, the approved version was not always represented. The paintings, for example, record an origin story for Missouri that is French, not English, and a more diverse population for Missouri than upper-class and white. They do, however, give the viewer a sense of place and shared community.

Mayfield had watched Lawrence Beall Smith paint *Note from St. Louis* in 1946. It became his favorite painting in the collection, and he hung it in his office. When the collection was given to the University of Missouri in 1950, *Note from St. Louis* remained behind because of Mayfield's affection for it. It represented his reasons for commissioning the Heart of the Nation collection in the first place: the elevation of morals and sensibilities to give viewers a sense of place and community. But that sense of place was in fact only of one community, and the community changed. Although the collection does not view Missouri through a nostalgic lens, Mayfield's view was nostalgic. It was organized by an earlier notion of elite stewardship that sounded universal but was in fact limited to upper-class whites. It was predicated on racial hierarchy and the construction of one truth and one story.

In 1967 SVB went out of business, leaving in its wake a disillusioned Frank Mayfield. Its upper-class white clientele had moved out to the suburbs, and downtown St. Louis had died. Mayfield revealed his frustration with the workability of the model of the union of art, commerce, and civic pride when he was interviewed in 1974 about the Heart of the Nation collection: "Now that the company which financed it is gone, I do not want to do much to perpetuate [the collection]. . . . I think that the project can now be forgotten."⁶⁶

At some point before SVB closed in 1967, *Note from St. Louis* rejoined the collection housed in the halls and offices of Jesse Hall, the main administrative building of the University of Missouri. The collection hung there for sixty-four years, until it moved to the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the university

in the summer of 2014. Mayfield indicated in his 1974 interview with Marian Ohman that he had always intended the Heart of the Nation Collection to be a gift to the people of the state of Missouri. Ending up at a public museum has ensured that the collection will not be forgotten. Its new museum home will facilitate the telling of the many truths and stories of the diverse communities that make up Missouri.

NOTES

1. The fountain depicts a river god, a naiad, and tritons, all classical references. The figure with the fish is, therefore, probably correctly identified as a putto rather than a small boy. (Putti are defined as usually nude and sometimes with wings, sometimes without.) Putti are a Renaissance creation, and formal Italian gardens in Baroque times often contained grottos with statues of river gods attended by putti, making a classical and Renaissance connection. Carl Milles makes these same connections with his fountain.
2. Ohrbach's funded the exhibition *New York—Drama City of the World* (1947), changed to *New York—Wonder City of the World* by the time the collection was completed; the Gimbel Brothers store premiered *Pennsylvania as Artists See It: The Gimbel Pennsylvania Art Collection* in October 1947; and *Michigan on Canvas*, commissioned by the J. L. Hudson department store, opened in the store's auditorium on February 17, 1948.
3. Marion M. Ohman, "The Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney Art Collection," *Missouri Historical Review* 43:2 (1999) pp. 180–181.
4. Frank M. Mayfield, "Missouri Heart of the Nation: The Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney Collection," in Anon., *Missouri Heart of the Nation*, Associated American Artists and Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney (New York and St. Louis, 1947) p. 3.
5. Ibid.
6. Michelle Bogart, *Artists, Advertising and the Borders of Art* (Chicago and London, 1995) p. 284.
7. Erika Doss, "Catering to Consumerism: Associated American Artists and the Marketing of Modern Art, 1934–1958," *Winterthur Portfolio* 26:2/3 (1991) p. 144. Lewenthal pitched his ideas to a group of artists at the New York studio of Thomas Hart Benton. AAA would hire them to produce original etchings and lithographs and would buy the plates for \$200 (\$3,542 in 2015 dollars) for each edition and would publish editions of 100 to 250 impressions. Lewenthal made contracts with fifty department stores across the nation (almost every city with greater than 150,000 population had a store carrying AAA prints) to market their work to middle-class consumers for \$5 (\$88.56 in 2015 dollars) per print plus \$2 (\$35.42 in 2015 dollars) for a frame. The prints were advertised as "signed originals by America's great artists, one price \$5," and were marketed to appeal to the socially ambitious by equating buying modern art with upward mobility (Doss, "Catering to Consumerism," p. 149). (CPI Inflation Calculator from the U.S.

Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics website: www.bis.gov/data/inflation_calculator.htm)

8. Ibid., p. 151.
9. Ibid., p. 154.
10. Ibid., p. 156.
11. Roland Marchand, *Creating the Corporate Soul: The Rise of Public Relations and Corporate Imagery in American Big Business* (Berkeley, 1998) p. 357.
12. Also, Mack used Pepsi sponsorship of art to set it apart from its rival Coca Cola.
13. Bogart, *Artists, Advertising*, p. 286.
14. Fletcher Martin studied under the older model, an apprenticeship program in the studio of a mural painter.
15. Two of those sketches, *Washington Square, Kansas City*, and *Main Street, Kansas City*, both by Aaron Bohrod, are included in the Heart of the Nation Collection.
16. During one excursion, both Mayfield and the artist Georges Schreiber were picked up by police as suspicious-looking characters. Also, the debonair Fletcher Martin was questioned by police while he was searching for interesting views along the Mississippi River.
17. Ohman, "Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney Art Collection," p. 170.
18. Ibid., p. 171.
19. Ibid., p. 172.
20. Ibid.
21. For a complete listing of the artists' works in the collection, see Acquisitions 2014, pp. 135, 137–144 of this issue. An online catalogue of the collection by Kristin Schwain is in preparation.
22. Charles van Ravenswaay, "An Introduction to Missouri," p. 5.
23. Industry is also represented by paintings such as *Roofs of Monsanto Chemical Company, St. Louis* and *Bringing Ore to Shaft, Lead and Zinc Mine, Joplin* by Ernest Fiene, and *Lake of the Ozarks at Bagnell Dam* by Fletcher Martin.
24. *Final Seal Fur Inspection, Fouke Fur Company, St. Louis* by Georges Schreiber and *Ste. Genevieve, Train Ferry Boat* by Cikovsky also provide links to Missouri's past.
25. Other paintings with a cultural topic include *Ballet between the Oaks, Municipal Opera, St. Louis* by Lawrence Beall Smith and *Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis* by Nicolai Cikovsky.
26. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (1870), the Philadelphia Museum of Art (1877), and the Art Institute of Chicago (1882) were all established around the same time as the first department stores.
27. Neil Harris, *Cultural Excursions: Marketing Appetites and Cultural Tastes in Modern America* (Chicago and London, 1990) p. 72.
28. William R. Leach, "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1890–1925," *Journal of American History* 71:2 (1984) p. 326.
29. Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Co., *Saint Louis and Vandervoort's, "Yesterday and Today"* (1940) p. 3.
30. Ibid., p. 10.
31. Philip J. Reilly, "Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney Dry Goods Co.," *Old Masters of Retailing* (New York) p. 171.
32. In St. Louis, the population from 1850 to 1910 increased almost nine times from

- about 78,000 to about 700,000. In Kansas City, the population in that same time frame increased 350 times from about 700 to 250,000.
33. Leach, "Transformations," p. 326.
 34. Reilly, "Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney Dry Goods Co.," p. 172.
 35. Ibid.
 36. Hugh Dalziel Duncan, *Culture and Democracy: The Struggle for Form in Society and Architecture in Chicago and the Middle West during the Life and Times of Louis H. Sullivan* (Totowa, N.J., 1965) p. 116.
 37. Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Co., *Saint Louis and Vandervoort's*, p. 11.
 38. Reilly, "Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney Dry Goods Co.," p. 172.
 39. Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Co., *Saint Louis and Vandervoort's*, pp. 12, 15, 16.
 40. Reinforcing that same founding story are three paintings by Georges Schreiber. One depicts a modern-day fur trapper, *Mink Trapper on Finley Creek*, and the other two, *Washing the Seal Pelt, Fouke Fur Co., St. Louis* and *Final Seal Fur Inspection, Fouke Fur Co., St. Louis*, depict the commercial descendants of the founding fur-trade.
 41. Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Co., *Saint Louis and Vandervoort's*, p. 11.
 42. *The Old Cemetery, Ste. Genevieve* by Fred Shane, and two works by Nicolai Cikovsky, *Outskirts of Ste. Genevieve* and *Ste. Genevieve, Train Ferry Boat*.
 43. Charles van Ravenswaay, "An Introduction to Missouri," p. 5.
 44. They could also attend "The Muny," the St. Louis Municipal Opera Theatre as Lawrence Beall Smith represents in his *Ballet between the Oaks, Municipal Opera, St. Louis*. The Muny brought nightly music, dancing, and "enchantment under the stars" to the "music-loving city" of St. Louis (Anon., *Missouri Heart of the Nation*, p. 46). The zoo provided further entertainment as seen in *The Elephant Show, St. Louis Zoo*, by Lawrence Beall Smith, and one could also visit the botanical garden, painted by Nicolai Cikovsky in *Missouri Botanical Garden, St. Louis*.
 45. George Ehrlich, *Kansas City, Missouri: An Architectural History, 1826-1990* (Columbia, Missouri, and London, 1992) pp. 41, 66.
 46. Henry Schott, "A City's Fight for Beauty," *World's Work* 11 (1906) p. 7201.
 47. The painting *Washington Square, Kansas City* by Aaron Bohrod depicts one of these squares.
 48. Leach, "Transformations," p. 336.
 49. http://kchistory.org/cdm4/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/Mrs&CISOPTR=1018.
 50. Harris, *Cultural Excursions*, p. 64.
 51. Leach, "Transformations," p. 336.
 52. Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Co., *Saint Louis and Vandervoort's*, p. 12.
 53. Reilly, "Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney Dry Goods Co.," p. 172.
 54. Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Co., *Saint Louis and Vandervoort's*, p. 9.
 55. Ibid.
 56. Ibid., p. 14.
 57. Ibid., p. 12.
 58. Leach, "Transformations," p. 327.
 59. Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney, Co., *Saint Louis and Vandervoort's*, p. 12.
 60. Ibid., pp. 11, 15.
 61. Leach, "Transformations," p. 328.
 62. Lizabeth Cohen, "A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Post-

war America,” *Journal of Consumer Research* 31 (2004) p. 238.

63. Ohman, “Scruggs-Vandervoort-Barney Art Collection,” p. 179.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 180–181. Ohrbach’s collection, New York–Drama City of the World, became the first exhibition of contemporary American painting shown in the Museum of the City of New York, but no record can be found of what happened to the paintings after that 1947 exhibition. In 1955, the J. L. Hudson’s collection, Michigan on Canvas, was divided among many different public institutions: art schools, hospitals, libraries, courthouses, and educational institutions. In 1959, the 115 paintings of the Gimbel Pennsylvania Art Collection were divided among the University of Pittsburgh, its satellite campuses, and the University of Pennsylvania in Philadelphia.
65. *Ibid.*, p. 181.
66. *Ibid.*, p. 185.

About the Authors



Katherine Iselin is a doctoral student in the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Missouri. Her research focuses mainly on Greek and Roman art, but she also works on the art of the ancient Americas. Her interest in gender, sex, and the body is incorporated into both these areas.

Margaret Fairgrieve Milanick graduated in December 2009 with an M.A. from the Department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Missouri with a specialty in eighteenth-century art history. She is currently a doctoral student in the department, specializing in nineteenth-century American art. She is also a docent at the Museum of Art and Archaeology at the University of Missouri and has served on the museum's Advisory Committee.

Douglas Underwood recently received a Ph.D. from the University of St. Andrews in Scotland. His primary topic of study is late antique urbanism and archaeology, particularly in the western Mediterranean. He completed a M.A. in Classical Archaeology at the University of Missouri in 2010.

Maxime Valsamas is a third-year doctoral student at Washington University in St. Louis. His research focuses on Honoré Daumier's oeuvre and French caricatures of the nineteenth century.