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# A Study of Art Unions in the United States of America in the Nineteenth Century

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A STUDY OF ART UNIONS  
IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA  
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

by

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## Introduction

During the first half of the nineteenth century in many cities in Germany, England and the United States, free and public galleries were opened to encourage the purchase of art works. Some sponsoring organizations were controlled by artists and some by interested lay persons. All of the sponsors hoped to educate the public and to elevate artistic taste as well as to sell works of art. Many of the organizations offered a premium in the form of a yearly engraving to induce interest and to promote membership. Often there was an annual distribution of paintings and other works of art by lottery. In several cities in the United States these organizations, which were called art unions, began offering memberships. The largest and most influential in the United States was the American Art-Union in New York. However, their success was short lived; by the mid-eighteen-fifties, they had closed their doors.

After the closures of the art unions, many artists lamented the loss. Even some of the artists who had been most critical of art union practices realized they had lost a valuable outlet for their work. Thomas S. Cummings, one of the officers of the National Academy of Design, which resented the competition from the art unions, acknowledged grudgingly the artists' debt to the organization:

During a portion of its existence, it [the Art-Union] had a widely extended sphere of action--was extensively known, controlled and distributed large

sums of money, as was said, for the benefit of art and artists. It probably accomplished a portion of the objects aimed at, whatever may have been the final result.<sup>1</sup>

From time to time during the latter half of the nineteenth century, periodicals mentioned the part played by art unions in encouraging American artists.<sup>2</sup> Worthington Whittridge in a 1908 article on the American Art-Union acknowledged the debt artists' owed to the organization. Moreover, he was the first to identify, although not by name, the individual responsible for the newspaper attacks which led to the downfall of the American Art-Union.<sup>3</sup>

It was not until 1953 that Thomas W. Whitley was identified by name and a complete chronicle of the events leading to the end of the American Art-Union was published.<sup>4</sup> In the same year the definitive two-volume catalogue of the American Art-Union was issued by the New York Historical Society.<sup>5</sup> The long "Introduction" by Charles F. Baker summarized the activities of the board and the managers of the American Art-Union from notes and correspondence in the archives of the New York Historical Society. Baker covered the founding of the Apollo Association, its transformation into the American Art-Union, relations with the National Academy of Design, relations with other art unions and artists and finally some of the events leading to the Art-Union's demise. This "Introduction" has been the basis of almost every statement about the American Art-Union by art historians

and scholars since 1953. Moreover, Baker's codification of the objectives of the organizers of the Art-Union has become a definitive description of mid-nineteenth century American art patronage as practiced by the art unions.

Two general cultural histories of the period, The Artist in American Society (1966) by Neil Harris and Patrons and Patriotism (1966) by Lillian Miller considered the art unions along with other patronage in the United States. Harris emphasized individual artists and their patrons. He noted that little had been written about the Philadelphia Art Union and contrasted it with the American Art-Union and wrote the Philadelphia organization had a more national patronage than the New York group.<sup>6</sup> Miller devoted a chapter to the American Art-Union, emphasizing changes in administration from the Apollo Gallery into the American Art-Union. She ended the chapter by stating little was known about the causes of the demise of the American Art-Union. The Chicago Art Union and a New Orleans Art Union were included in a chapter on westward expansion in the arts along with a discussion of the Western Art Union in Cincinnati. Miller cited criticisms by Thomas W. Whitley of paintings by Thomas Cole and dissatisfaction with the management of the Western Art Union as examples of mid-nineteenth century art criticism, but the motivation behind the criticism and attack on the Western Art Union was ignored.<sup>7</sup>

General surveys of American art have included references to art unions, particularly the American Art-Union. E. P.

Richardson (1963) wrote about the American Art-Union:

This prodigiously successful institution was ended by the jealousy of artists. The National Academy of Design . . . felt that its success was threatened by this rival; certain artists, who felt that they were not so much favored as others, helped initiate a legal suit which led to a court decision outlawing the Art-Union as a lottery.<sup>8</sup>

John Wilmerding (1976) only mentioned the organization in passing.<sup>9</sup> Daniel Mendelowitz (1970) acknowledged the high quality of the prints issued by the American Art-Union and the Western Art Union. His survey also noted that the monthly Bulletin of the American Art-Union was the first American periodical devoted to the arts. (However, his next paragraph of text stated The Crayon was the first monthly magazine devoted to fine arts.)<sup>10</sup> Barbara Novak's most recent book (1980) had less to say about American patronage than about art in relation to nature, science, technology and European influences, although she observed the American Art-Union exhibitions made Dutch paintings available to the New York public.<sup>11</sup> Robert Rosenblum's (1984) comprehensive survey of western art in the nineteenth century mentioned the American Art-Union's relation to European art unions including their common democratic and nationalistic interests.<sup>12</sup>

The most detailed and complete record of the art works produced by the American Art-Union is the catalogue (1977) which accompanied a recent touring exhibit of Art-Union

prints. In that publication Maybelle Mann summarized Baker's "Introduction" in the 1953 New York Historical Society publication by Cowdrey and included updated information on the downfall of the organization.<sup>13</sup> Also restating the information in the Historical Society's volume and including a critical evaluation of the prints of the American Art-Union was an article by Jay Cantor (1970) "Prints and the American Art Union." Cantor characterized the managers of the New York organization, "Generally they were self-made men with roots in rural America. . . ." The article also described the engravings and paintings chosen by the American Art-Union as homely, picturesque, and often rural images, which would later be the grist of the chromolithographs of Harper's Weekly and Frank Leslie's Illustrated Weekly Newspaper in the latter half of the nineteenth century.<sup>14</sup>

Catalogues of exhibits of individual artists have given information on various art unions; and certain group shows, such as The Painters' America at the Whitney Museum in 1974, expanded our knowledge of the influence of the art unions on genre painting.<sup>15</sup> Interest in nature themes in more recent studies of nineteenth-century art have included information on the art unions. John K. Howat wrote in the catalogue for the Hudson River School exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum in 1987, "The advent of the Art-Union was the single most important event in the art life of mid-century New York."<sup>16</sup> A Sweet Foretaste of Heaven: Artists in the White Mountains, a smaller exhibit at Hood Museum, Dartmouth College (1988),

included one of the American Art-Union engravings of a White Mountain scene.<sup>17</sup>

Historical surveys of the nineteenth century in Philadelphia and Boston have not included the exhibitions of their local art unions, although the catalogues of the shows were available in local library archives.<sup>18</sup> Clark Marlor's History of Painting in Brooklyn included information about the existence of the Brooklyn Art Union, but no exhibition records were located at that time (1970).<sup>19</sup> Several general histories of Cincinnati and Ohio artists have discussed the Western Art Union. The complete exhibition catalogues of the Western Art Union are in Cincinnati libraries. A master's thesis on the Western Art Union (1978) is on file at the Cincinnati Historical Society. Records of the Cosmopolitan Art Association, Sandusky, Ohio, are on microfilm with the Archives of American Art.<sup>20</sup> A term paper or thesis on the Cosmopolitan Art Association in Sandusky was condensed and published in 1963 in Ohioana, an Ohio history magazine, but neither advertisements nor the exhibition record of the first Sandusky Art Union, predecessor of the Cosmopolitan Art Association, had been discovered at that date.<sup>21</sup> The complete list of painters, paintings and winners of the New Jersey Art Union lottery have been compiled from newspaper articles and published, although no exhibition catalogues have been located.<sup>22</sup>

The complete records of the American Art-Union, a few documents relating to the Philadelphia Art Union and the



minutes of the Boston Artists' Association have all been available to scholars for some time and have been sources for some of the above-described books and articles.<sup>23</sup> No previously unlocated minutes or account books of any art union were discovered. Only reviews and exhibition records that had not previously been published have been included in detail in the following paper.

### The American Art-Union, New York City

The American Art-Union was the largest and most successful art union in the country. "During its whole thirteen years . . . its exhibitions were viewed by an estimated total of no fewer than three million visitors."<sup>24</sup> In its most successful year (1849), membership was 18,960, with concomitant print distribution. That year, 1,010 prizes were distributed, including statuettes, medals, outline prints and 460 paintings. The paintings had been purchased for a total of \$45,487.<sup>25</sup>

The Art-Union evolved from the Apollo Association, a membership organization, which had been established to prop up the failing Apollo Gallery of James Herring, a New York City artist and art dealer. The Apollo Association and its successor, the American Art-Union, functioned from 1838 to 1852. The benefits from purchasing a five-dollar annual subscription were an engraving, a chance in the yearly lottery distribution for a painting or other original art work, free admission to the gallery and a subscription to the Bulletin, which was a monthly (published from April to December) compendium of art news, reviews, instruction and engravings. (The five-dollar membership fee in terms of today's purchasing power is roughly equal to \$100.)<sup>26</sup>

Although there were a few commercial shops selling paintings in New York, the National Academy of Design was the only other organization which mounted regular exhibitions.<sup>27</sup> It was run by the artists who were its members; whereas, the

Art-Union was an entrepreneurial non-profit membership-run organization, whose officers were most often lay persons from a variety of occupations. Information for the organizational model came from a pamphlet of the Edinburgh Association for the Promotion of Fine Arts in Scotland and was introduced by Herring.<sup>28</sup> (Scotland was a particularly rich and influential resource of new cultural and technological ideas for the United States in the eighteen-forties; the Edinburgh Review had a larger circulation here than the North American Review.)<sup>29</sup> There were other similar art unions in various cities in Great Britain and in Germany, where the Kunstvereine [sic] operated galleries.<sup>30</sup>

In 1836 when the total population of Berlin numbered about 300,000, Academy exhibitions attracted 111,954 visitors, [so there was ample public interest in opening other exhibition spaces.] The Kunstvereine (art unions) represented a new element in the cultural life of the large cities. Through commissions and exhibitions, these middle-class organizations promoted art for private consumption.<sup>31</sup>

In its first years, exhibitions of the Apollo Association/American Art-Union included copies of famous European art works which were not necessarily for sale. Gradually the managers purchased more original works by Americans to sell or to award as prizes. The stated policies of the Art-Union expressed nativist and nationalistic

principles of the times, and the paintings chosen for purchase or for engraving often exemplified these criteria.

The American Art-Union as it evolved between 1842 and 1852 was a beneficiary of the democratizing forces at work in the political, social and economic life of the country during the mid-century.

American democracy required an art that was easily comprehensible, that was modern and national in subject matter, simple and "fresh" in execution.<sup>32</sup>

From the beginning, the managers tried to appeal to a national audience. For example, the first choice for an engraving by the Apollo Association in 1840 featured General Francis Marion, a famous Revolutionary War general from the deep South, an established folk hero, but above all, a choice that would attract southern membership.<sup>33</sup> The engraving from a painting by John White depicted one of the many stories of Marion's rude, frontier existence as he waged a crafty guerrilla campaign against more regimented British forces (Fig. 1).

Besides the managers' choice of art which met the official policy standards of the organization, engraving topics included literary scenes (Fig. 4), allegorical (Fig. 14), classical (Fig. 2) or religious (Fig. 10) themes, as well as American history (Fig. 5), landscape (Fig. 17) or genre subjects depicting scenes of everyday life (Fig. 8). The American Art-Union encouraged the production of a wide variety of subjects as long as the subject matter had a meaning and a

purpose that was morally, spiritually or educationally uplifting. The officers established a successful marriage between political, philosophical and aesthetic interests with financial concerns and eleemosynary principles.

The managers of the American Art-Union have often been described as "merchant princes." (This term originally appeared in a magazine article announcing the opening of the Philadelphia Art Union, and merchant princes was the possibly derisive description given to Bostonians, who had failed to organize an art union at that date.)<sup>34</sup> In actuality the managers drew their ranks from a variety of occupations, including commission merchants, retail store owners, lawyers, doctors, government officials, editors, writers, engravers and artists, who felt encouragement of arts and artists would benefit general society.<sup>35</sup> Their education, geographic and economic backgrounds were also diverse. Some managers were successful immigrant Americans. Some were native-born arrivistes with new money from speculative business ventures; others came from the security of wealthy families. Some had dual careers in business and the arts as writers or painters. The fortunes of New Yorkers--like others in the fledgling country--were often precarious; wealth vanished overnight in speculative markets. The American Art-Union had a high representation of publishers or journalists and of government employees or appointees on the managing board.<sup>36</sup>

The managers generally were public spirited citizens eager to promote the cause of art. Despite their success in

running the organization, the managers received criticism for their lack of knowledge and taste and for their treatment of artists, whose asking price for paintings they sometimes undercut.<sup>37</sup> Some disgruntled artists were vindictive, and one, in particular, initiated an attack to destroy the Art-Union. That individual, Thomas W. Whitley, an artist whose paintings had been rejected, was also a journalist. Rejection gave Whitley the impetus to start a propaganda campaign that eventually destroyed the American Art-Union. His propaganda fueled the rivalry between two newspapers attempting to boost their circulation.

In 1851 the disintegration of the American Art-Union became embroiled in the feud between the New York Herald of James Gordon Bennett and the New York Times owned by Henry Raymond. The newly formed "penny paper" Times challenged the Herald, which was dedicated to sensational and unsavory reportage. Bennett had been the target of a morality crusade by all the other New York press in 1845, when he had published a tasteless and degrading article, resulting in the Herald's circulation dropping by one-third.<sup>38</sup> Having been the target of that newspaper morality crusade, Bennett knew how to conduct such an attack when the Art-Union came under fire for the immorality of its distribution by lottery. He teamed with his reporter, Whitley, another British emigre.<sup>39</sup> Bennett and Whitley laid the necessary ground work in an anti-Art-Union publicity campaign in the Herald and other papers. So thorough and successful was their campaign that publications

with national circulation, such as Scientific American, which four years previously had endorsed the American Art-Union glowingly, now condemned the organization as "evil."<sup>40</sup> By Bennett's and Whitley's focusing on the immorality and corruption issue of the lottery, no court or judge of any political persuasion could afford to side with the Art-Union. After several court appearances and subsequent appeals, the Art-Union was ordered to liquidate its collection in 1852.<sup>41</sup> Whitley's and Bennett's campaign had succeeded. A victim of a successful plot for revenge, the organization perished under the cloud of being an illegal and immoral lottery.

Three of Whitley's paintings, now in the collections of the New Jersey Historical Society (Fig. 34) and Mary Stevens Baird (Fig. 33), reveal his work to be as competent as many others purchased by the American Art-Union.<sup>42</sup> He was not rejected because he was "a painter of little talent."<sup>43</sup> Not only were his paintings purchased by the Western Art Union and the American Art-Union but also by the Philadelphia and New Jersey Art Unions. The basis of his rejection by the American Art-Union stemmed from his disagreeable behavior in his previous vindictive attack on the Western Art Union in Cincinnati, where his paintings, like those offered to the American Art-Union, were rejected after having been accepted initially.

Whitley's name appeared in the Account Book of the American Art-Union for the purchase of advertising space as well as for sale of his paintings.<sup>44</sup> Throughout 1849, he was

paid for several paintings, and twice he sold advertising space to the Art-Union, which must have been for a newspaper, perhaps the Herald, for he had not yet started publishing his own paper, the Hoboken Gazette.

His first letters to the Art-Union management, accompanying his proffered paintings, were almost servile in tone. Gradually they became completely perfunctory and business-like.<sup>45</sup> Whitley had the ability to ingratiate himself with many prominent citizens such as Edwin Forrest, Parke Godwin, and William Cullen Bryant. Like some of the managers of the Art-Union, he had several occupations besides painting. He had managed Forrest's vineyard in Covington, Kentucky, near Cincinnati; he sold wines and spirits in New York; and he wrote for several newspapers and periodicals before publishing his own in Hoboken. His newspaper position gave him the platform on which to build a campaign to kill the Art-Union.

Besides his relationship with the Herald, Whitley appears to have written for Figaro (Corbyn's Chronicle) and the Photographic Art Journal. Figaro was published from 1850 to 1851 and reviewed theatrical events with a satirical pen.<sup>46</sup> It was flagrantly pro-slavery, an unusual position for a New York periodical of the eighteen-forties and fifties. Articles critical of the Art-Union in the Photographic Art Journal were generally signed by the artist, J. K. Fisher, and one was signed by Gabriel Harrison, the actor, painter and photographer, but they read as if they came from Whitley's



pen. The Photographic Art Journal (later the Photographic and Fine Art Journal) was edited by Henry Hunt Snelling, a brother-in-law of George Palmer Putnam, well-known publisher of Putnam's. (Snelling, the author of several books on innovations in photographic techniques, was regarded by the Putnam family as an impractical eccentric.<sup>47</sup>) Fisher and Harrison were the only artists whose names can be specifically identified as members of the Association of Artists, supposedly eighty members strong, who, according to various articles by Whitley, organized to protest the Art-Union. But no matter who wrote the articles or how many other artists were involved, the campaign was successful, and the Art-Union collapsed.

By no means was Whitley the only artist disgruntled with the management style of the Art-Union. Other artists had differences with the officers. Usually the disagreements were over prices offered for paintings, but in 1851, George Caleb Bingham threatened a lawsuit over critical comments in the Bulletin of the American Art Union.<sup>48</sup> William Sidney Mount's letters also disclosed his differences with the Art-Union.<sup>49</sup>

The Art-Union held a continuous rivalry with the National Academy of Design. The National Academy felt far more animosity towards the Art-Union than the reverse; the Art-Union had been the only purchaser of paintings from the Academy exhibition in 1843. From time to time the two organizations held cooperative exhibitions, but in 1849, Charles C. Ingham, an officer of the Academy, proposed that

the Academy establish its own art union.<sup>50</sup> The Art-Union countered with a proposal to establish its own teaching academy, which quickly nipped the Academy threat. The Art-Union was so much more successful that in 1850 it helped solve the financial crisis of the National Academy by purchasing all its paintings.<sup>51</sup> Several artists and patrons were members of both groups, but others like Ingham referred to the Art-Union as "our deadly enemy."<sup>52</sup> Most artists took advantage of exhibition opportunities at both institutions if they were able. Obviously the major source of trouble derived from the Art-Union's financial success and the National Academy's inability to sell paintings. Any dissention among the artistic community gave Whitley more fuel in his attack on the Art-Union.<sup>53</sup>

The Bulletin of the American Art-Union usually announced with its blessing the exhibits at competing galleries, such as those at the National Academy or the Dusseldorf Art Union. Art activities in other cities and at other art unions were reported and welcomed. Even the International Art Union was at first greeted openly, until it became apparent that it was a serious rival.<sup>54</sup> The American Art-Union recognized the potential commercial power of the Parisian firm of Goupil, Vibert and Co., progenitors of the International Art Union. Goupil purchased from Emanuel Leutze for \$6,000 his second version of Washington Crossing the Delaware (Fig. 19).<sup>55</sup> (The first version had been damaged by fire in Leutze's Dusseldorf studio. It was restored, and after circulating to several

museums in Germany, finally placed in the Bremen Museum, where it was destroyed in a World War II air raid.)<sup>56</sup>

The purchase by Goupil for a price far higher than any the Art-Union managers could have offered was a coup for Goupil, a blow to the Art-Union, and a betrayal by Leutze.<sup>57</sup> The Bulletin had carried monthly notes about the progress of the painting in Germany, and the Art-Union undoubtedly looked forward to its purchase and perhaps the distribution of its engraved image. Moreover, the managers had encouraged a steady stream of American students to Leutze's studio in Dusseldorf and to the Academy there for training.<sup>58</sup>

The loss of Washington Crossing the Delaware was a blow to the governors of the Art-Union just when they were under attack by Whitley and Bennett and probably contributed to the organization's disintegration. That loss portended the future of the American Art-Union against commercial competitors. While it was successful, the Art-Union felt it could afford to be generous to competition. Unfortunately its success--and the success of its lottery--encouraged the proliferation of many other lotteries. Newspapers of the eighteen-fifties were filled with advertisements and notices of lotteries. For example, in 1851 the Homestead Art Union offered for a five-dollar subscription an engraving entitled La Siesta or Repose and a chance to win one of sixty-nine oil paintings or a house and lot worth \$5,000 on Second Avenue.<sup>59</sup> A short time earlier "A New Year's Gift Concert" was offered by Jollio's Music Store, 800 Broadway, for a two-dollar ticket. Thirty prizes

were to be awarded, the first, a Jenny Lind Piano worth \$1,000, plus several others of lesser value. Each of the 2,500 ticket holders was entitled to one dollar's worth of sheet music from the store.<sup>60</sup> A similar "Gift Concert" was advertised in the Brooklyn Advertiser for the same month, also awarding pianos and musical instruments as prizes.<sup>61</sup> A "World's Fair Art Union" offered for \$5 a magnificent engraving and a chance for a first-class cabin passage to attend the Crystal Palace Exhibition in London along with \$400 in expense money. Since notices for the World's Fair Art Union appeared in both the Herald and Figaro, the satirical hand of Thomas Whitley may have been at work. However, the Cincinnati Chronicle reported that the World's Fair Art Union Lottery at 50 Wall Street was broken up, and Mr. J. Townsend was arrested when the Post Office was flooded with subscriptions worth \$15,000.<sup>62</sup> Other offenders arrested, "For keeping a lottery office on a large scale at 225 Bowery under the cloak of being an 'Industrial Manufacturing Company' were Samuel Rothschild, David Popper, Jules Alexander, Isaac Goldstein and Moses Goldstein."<sup>63</sup>

Lotteries existed under many guises. At the end of their useful life as entertainment vehicles, panoramas were disposed of by lottery. Josiah Perham, panorama impresario in Boston and New York, organized several lotteries, including one to dispose of the California Panorama on June 25, 1852, and another entitled "Hogarth's Panorama of the Mammoth Cave and other gifts to a total value of \$10,000 on July 4, 1852." He

also disposed of his own St. Lawrence Panorama along with "100,000 gifts for the people" in September 1853.

The technique . . . proved quite contagious for a time. Frederick S. Lyons started a lottery on Landseer's Stag at Bay in New York in January 1854, while Jones's panorama California was a prize in a \$150,000 lottery in June 1854. Such was the public interest for a time that the press sometimes devoted a whole column to several panorama lotteries in progress at the same time.<sup>64</sup>

Even the first version of Washington Crossing the Delaware was repaired in Germany and offered as a prize in a fund raising benefit lottery for widows and orphans of Prussian militia. Ten thousand chances at one thaler each was the goal. (Leutze had been paid \$3,000 by the insurance company, and the painting declared a total loss.)<sup>65</sup>

Lotteries may have been illegal under New York and other state laws, but enforcement agencies looked the other way unless they were obvious gambling businesses. The visibility and success of the American Art-Union meant the public and the authorities could not ignore the violation of the law when it became the target of disgruntled individuals with the means to launch an annihilation attack.

After the court decision and the appeal went against the Art-Union's lottery distribution method, it disposed of its holdings in 1852. The organization tried to continue operations as a gallery and held an auction of paintings in

December 1853, but this was the first and only sale, and it was the finale of the American Art-Union. The residue of the paintings, engravings, plates, etc., went to the New-York Gallery of the Fine Arts and eventually to the New York Historical Society.<sup>66</sup>

The belief in an organization that could hold a lottery distribution as a method for the promotion and sale of fine arts did not die in the eighteen-fifties however. In 1883 a group of New York artists formed a new art union and approached Judge Charles O'Connor to ask for a legal opinion on a lottery for their new organization.<sup>67</sup> O'Connor rendered an opinion that a lottery distribution would be declared illegal, particularly since the new organization did not have a state charter. This opinion evidently killed the attempt, but not before the group had organized on East Fourteenth Street and had published a few issues of a new Art Union Bulletin.<sup>68</sup>

The Philadelphia Art Union, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

The Art Union of Philadelphia for the Promotion of the Arts of Design in the United States was incorporated in 1844 but did not hold its first exhibit until 1849 when rooms were rented for \$150 per annum. It issued its first engraving in 1848.<sup>69</sup>

John Sartain, in his 1899 autobiography, stated that the artist Joshua Shaw started an association featuring a lottery system of distribution, after breaking away from John Neagle and the Artists Fund Society, which itself had been organized after a dispute with the Pennsylvania Academy:

Joshua Shaw was very apt to get into quarrels, and with this contentious spirit which made him take so prominent a part in organizing the Artists' Fund Society in 1835, in order to antagonize the Pennsylvania Academy. Less than two years after, he quarrelled bitterly with the president of the Artists' Fund Society, John Neagle, and then gathered about him enough of the artistic element to antagonize that body in turn by establishing the Artists' and Amateurs' Association. He succeeded in this by incorporating into it the lottery feature of an art-union. The prospect of disposing of pictures by this means was so attractive that he won over Leutze and de Franca to his scheme, with a number of others whom he was accustomed to term small fry. Their exhibition was held in the hall over the

Chestnut Street Arcade, where Peale's Museum had previously been. In the second year he started a violent quarrel with the management of his last-formed society, contending with the amateur division over the custody of the funds, which he claimed belonged with the artists' branch, since the money was produced by the display of their works. Shaw . . . was so disputatious that it seemed impossible to get along with him harmoniously.<sup>70</sup>

Sartain did not identify the Artists' and Amateurs' Association and the Philadelphia Art Union as one and the same organization, nor did he mention the Philadelphia Art Union by name in his autobiography or his affiliation as a board member and engraver. Joshua Shaw contributed paintings to the Philadelphia Art Union, but his name was not listed as an officer or manager at any time and presumably he was little, if ever, involved with the management.<sup>71</sup> The officers and board of managers included merchants, attorneys, publishers, doctors, college professors, ministers and civil officers, who were often first-generation Americans rather than descendants of families established in colonial times. Board members included well-known Philadelphia collectors, who also contributed paintings for displays and for prizes.

Paintings displayed at the Philadelphia Art Union with the highest prices were by William Winner, Jasper Cropsey (a favorite of James Claghorn and E. P. Mitchell, important Philadelphia collectors, who were members of the Art Union



Board), Joshua Shaw, Paul Weber, and Peter Rothermel (Fig. 20). Thomas Birch's paintings along with European and Pennsylvania landscapes were popular.

Membership grew from 819 and prizes worth \$1,315 in 1847-8 to 1,873 eligible to receive prizes worth \$2,000 in 1850.<sup>72</sup> After 1850, operations continued but were erratic. Six yearly engravings in total were distributed to members during the life of the organization. In keeping with attempts to be a presence in Philadelphia cultural life, the Art Union had a prominent speaker at each drawing. In 1849 it was Henry Reed, well-known professor of literature and moral philosophy at the University of Pennsylvania.<sup>73</sup> Joseph Sill, founding vice president of the managers' board, lamented in his diary that Reed was "very discursive" and spoke for one and one-quarter hours.<sup>74</sup>

Although the Philadelphia Art Union attempted to be a national organization with honorary secretaries and a traveling correspondent to solicit membership, most winning subscribers were from Philadelphia and nearby Pennsylvania or New Jersey. Charles Stetson and H. W. Derby were honorary secretaries in Cincinnati as were C. L. Derby and E. S. Lane in Sandusky, Ohio.

Originally the Philadelphia Art Union did not have painters as managers. However, artist members, both amateur and professional, gradually took places on the board. The Philadelphia Art Union, like the New England Art Union, based its distribution plan on that of the London Art Union.

Winners were given prize certificates and permitted to choose a painting from any United States public collection rather than receive, as an award, a painting previously selected by the managers' committee. While this plan precluded a choice by persons possibly unqualified in artistic judgment, it also lost the excitement and drama of receiving a prize at the moment of the drawing. The final two Philadelphia Art Union Plans of 1854 and 1855 guaranteed that fifty paintings would be available on the date of the drawing. By 1854 the artists had become the managers of the Union. When the organization disintegrated, they were the majority of the managers. Unfortunately, the artist board was unsuccessful in its efforts as management, and the last drawing was on December 30, 1854. However, attempts were made in 1855 to reinstate the "amateur" board. A letter from President James Wallace to board member Henry Carey, a former president, stated:

The Art Union is being remodelled; Mr. [Joseph] Harrison and other amateurs have taken hold of it with hearty good will and will restore it to the old system of certificate distribution. I anticipate happy results from their action.<sup>75</sup>

Joseph Harrison also provided gallery space and paid the debts of the organization in October 1855. Despite drafting the resolution to Harrison authorizing the continuation of the Art Union, the organization did not mount another exhibit or publish another engraving.<sup>76</sup>

From its inception the Art Union seemed to lack support.

Sill wrote often in his diary of too few subscribers, trouble with accounts and tardiness of engraving production. Sartain, another manager, and engraver of the first two prints, was slow in producing the first year's print dividend. Sill wrote in his diary that James McMurtrie, the president, was "almost despairing" over the situation. Although the artists preferred Sill, he had deferred the presidency of the organization to McMurtrie, whom he felt would be more suitable for the office, as he was a person of higher social rank.<sup>77</sup>

The next year Sill journeyed to New York to locate another engraver, A. H. Ritchie, but the price Ritchie quoted was so high that Sartain again got the job. (However, the following year, Ritchie was hired.) By this time, Sill had tired of the vice presidency and did not want to continue to serve on the board. The gallery had moved to a new location and had hired three successive professional secretaries. Lack of interest of the general membership was shown when only ten persons attended the previous year's annual meeting.<sup>78</sup> Only Sartain, the engraver and publisher of Sartain's Union Magazine, served continuously on the board. One of his co-editors, John S. Hart, was also a board member.

Another important publishing house, Carey and [Abraham] Hart, was represented on the board by family members and professional colleagues. Henry Carey was a well-known publisher and land owner of large tracts of coal deposits in the central Pennsylvania anthracite region.<sup>79</sup> His wife, Patty, was the sister of Charles Robert Leslie, an important

and influential Philadelphia-born expatriate painter in London, where he became a member of the Royal Academy. Another sister, Eliza Leslie, a popular fiction and home economics writer, was published by Carey and Hart.<sup>80</sup> Carey's nephew, Henry Carey Baird, was also a charter board member of the Art Union. Henry Carey's optimistic economic philosophy was published in his book, The Harmony of Nature. He believed that food production increased faster than population, enabling wealth to be diffused to the poorest of a nation and that natural laws were working towards a universal harmony.<sup>81</sup>

The board member who was the greatest benefactor to the organization was Joseph Harrison, Jr., a locomotive inventor and manufacturer, with a Philadelphia mansion housing a gallery that contained his art collection. Harrison also served as an incorporator of the Philadelphia School of Design for Women (now the Moore College of Art) and was president of that board from 1855 to 1866.<sup>82</sup> The Philadelphia School of Design had evolved from a school begun in 1844 by Sarah Worthington King Peter, whose family were board members of the New York Academy of Fine Arts, the American Art-Union, and the Western Art Union in Cincinnati.<sup>83</sup>

In 1882, an attempt was made to revive the Philadelphia Art Union concurrent with the attempted revival of the American Art-Union in New York. John Sartain presented the original charter, seal and some records to the new group. For a short time, the organization published reports of its activities. The annual report issued in 1883 listed both

artists and patrons as managing board members. Its existence, like the similar organization in New York, was short lived.<sup>84</sup>

The Western Art Union, Cincinnati, Ohio

The Western Art Union was a remarkable success considering that Cincinnati was in the eighteen-forties little more than a frontier settlement in a fairly remote and undeveloped area of the country. Cincinnati had a flourishing cultural life and enough entrepreneurial and professional citizens to instigate an art gallery the size of the Western Art Union.

The managers of the Western Art Union were almost all bankers, attorneys or factory owners. A few were editors and clerics; some were engravers and printers. To found the society in August of 1847:

Twenty gentlemen of this city, subscribed each \$100 for the purchase of a lease for thirteen years, of the Gallery and rooms now occupied by the Union. The mode of payment of these contributors, is by the issue of three certificates of membership annually to each of them, making sixty certificates at \$5 amounting to \$300. Two of the Apartments are rented at \$100, thus leaving the Union under the moderate rent of \$200, for their beautiful and commodious gallery and two ante-rooms.<sup>85</sup>

Besides functioning as a sales gallery, paintings were exhibited by board members or prominent residents solely for display. The subjects of the paintings included historic, religious, literary and genre scenes as often as landscapes.<sup>86</sup> Membership prints were issued for each year in 1848, 1849 and

1850. In 1848 along with the paintings, fifty small plaster copies of a bust, Egeria at the Fountain, by Cincinnati sculptor, Nathan Flint Baker, were distributed. In 1850 three hundred prizes of a book of Washington Allston's outline engravings were also distributed. They had also been distributed by the American Art-Union.<sup>87</sup> During its first year of operation, no engraving was issued, and \$2,827.45 was spent on seventy-four paintings. In 1850, its last year of operation, so many subscriptions were purchased during the week before the drawing, it was too late to purchase enough paintings suitable for prizes.<sup>88</sup>

After the drawing in 1850, a disagreement erupted among board members over financial practices. The fight was aired in a series of letters in local newspapers. After several bitter exchanges between James Hall with William Steele, Charles Stetson and several other officers, the board disintegrated.<sup>89</sup> During this period, the newspaper reported many of the objects from the Art Union hall appeared in a gallery owned by William Wiswell, a looking glass dealer and framer and one of the board members of the art union in 1850.<sup>90</sup>

The artists who exhibited were not represented on the board, although some board members displayed their own work in the gallery. William A. Adams, vice president of the Art Union and an amateur painter, displayed his paintings. He became a target for John Frankenstein, a German-born Cincinnati artist, who published a satirical diatribe aimed at

American art, including several Cincinnati artists and patrons. Frankenstein also was especially vengeful towards another Western Art Union manager, Nicholas Longworth, Cincinnati's most generous art patron. Neither the Western Art Union nor Longworth purchased Frankenstein's paintings, although he exhibited at the American Art-Union.<sup>91</sup>

Several other important Cincinnati citizens or members of their families were on the Western Art Union board. A founding member was Rufus King, son of Sarah Worthington King Peter and grandson of Rufus King, New York senator and president of the board of the American Academy of Fine Arts in New York.<sup>92</sup> (See Philadelphia Art Union section for details on Sarah Peter's contributions there.)

Another manager in 1848 and 1849 was E. L. Magoon. Born in Lebanon, New Hampshire, Magoon was a Baptist minister who also served in churches in Richmond, New York, and Philadelphia.<sup>93</sup> He was a noted art collector who suffered criticism for his artistic interests, which were considered unseemly for a minister of his particular denomination. Magoon's paintings became part of the Vassar College collection after his death.<sup>94</sup>

Although Cincinnati may have been a rough, frontier community, removed from the centers of culture of the East Coast, it was not isolated from communications and events concerning art and culture. One scenario began in Cincinnati, continued in New York and linked the Western Art Union with the American Art-Union. Prior to his attack that initiated



the destruction of the American Art-Union, British-born artist, Thomas W. Whitley, had lived in Cincinnati (actually across the Ohio River in suburban Covington, Kentucky, where he had worked for the famous American actor, Edwin Forrest). Whitley's paintings had been accepted by the Western Art Union in 1847 but were subsequently rejected. In a Cincinnati publication, The Herald of Truth, he started an attack on the Western Art Union.<sup>95</sup> However, it was the last issue of that quarterly magazine; Whitley's article was incomplete, so he printed the second half of the article as a separate circular, no doubt at his own expense.<sup>96</sup> Whitley's criticized the "pet" painters of the Art Union board, in particular, J. H. Beard, the painter of Poor Relations, which was the painting selected for the membership engraving that year. He also felt the board should not exhibit copies of European paintings nor imitations of Thomas Cole's idealized landscapes but should select site specific, topographically accurate landscapes (Whitley's own landscape style).

The Herald of Truth was originally the publication of a Swedenborgian (Church of the New Jerusalem) settlement near Cincinnati.<sup>97</sup> The Swedenborgian Church had close connections to members of the Cincinnati artistic community, including the sculptor, Hiram Powers, and Frederick Eckstein, a German emigrant, who was christened the "Father of Cincinnati Art."<sup>98</sup> The editor of The Herald of Truth was Lucius Hine, a lawyer, who had previously been a co-editor of the Western Literary Journal with E. Z. C. Judson (Ned Buntline).<sup>99</sup>

Hine's father had provided the necessary financial support for the Western Literary Journal. When Judson left the Cincinnati area to pursue his career in Nashville, and the Western Literary Journal failed after six issues, Hine edited and published four issues of the Quarterly Journal and Review in 1846. He then merged it with The Herald of Truth, which was published until July 1848, or just long enough for Whitley to start his attack on the Western Art Union in this publication.<sup>100</sup>

Hine was also a member of the board of another Cincinnati philanthropic organization, the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association. Several managers of the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association were also board members of the Western Art Union, including J. T. Foote and James F. Meline.<sup>101</sup> The Mercantile Library Association sponsored speakers like Robert Dale Owen, whose economic and political ideas were very different from those of more conservative Art Union managers. Owen was the founder of the utopian socialist community at New Harmony, Indiana. Like the managers of the Western Art Union, the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association was willing to tolerate diversity of background as well as controversial political and economic ideas among its sponsors in an effort to gain support for the arts and educational endeavors.

The Cosmopolitan Art Association, Sandusky, Ohio, and  
New York City

The Cosmopolitan Art Association in Sandusky, Ohio, (after 1858 in New York City), has been considered another successful art union run on a cooperative basis, which survived until 1860.<sup>102</sup> Its success has been measured partly by its ability to purchase for a large sum in 1857 the collection of the Dusseldorf Gallery of New York. However, the Cosmopolitan Art Association was never an art union run by a group of lay persons or artist managers. It was a commercial enterprise from its inception under the clever entrepreneurship of C. L. Derby, who incorporated the art union structure of lottery distribution along with a few local and nationally prominent individuals as endorsers of the organization.

C. L. Derby had lived in Cincinnati during the existence of the Western Art Union. He was associated with his brother's firm, the H. W. Derby Company, well regarded booksellers and publishers of early Ohio histories and law books. Just prior to the Art Union collapse in Cincinnati, C. L. Derby moved to Sandusky, Ohio, to open a stationery and bookstore in competition with the Campbell Bookstore, agents for the Western Art Union and the American Art-Union and publisher of the Daily Sanduskian. There is no evidence that either Derby was connected with the Western Art Union or with the American Art-Union, but H. W. Derby was the Honorary Secretary in Cincinnati for the Philadelphia Art Union.

C. L. Derby realized the profit potential for lottery distribution of art work. Soon after he opened the bookstore, he advertised the "Sandusky Art Union," a lottery event to take place during December 1850. The three-dollar ticket entitled the purchaser to one of two hundred prizes by the "best American and French artists." The advertisement stated that no more than two hundred tickets would be sold and the values of the prizes were from \$1.50 to \$60. The newspaper not only reported the advance notice of the drawing in Euterpean Hall, Sandusky, on December 30, 1850, but it also covered the event. "Quite a large audience assembled . . . the whole affair went off very satisfactorily . . . and excited much amusement and applause."<sup>103</sup> The article continued by listing the "principal prizes," winners and home towns of the Drawing of the Sandusky Art Union: View of Jerusalem, A. R. Belden, Sandusky; Scene in the Jerseys, George Raymond, Castalia; Salmon Leap, Ireland, William Tilden, Sandusky; Portrait of Lord Byron, William V. Moss, Sandusky; Seraglio Window, Henry Peck, Sandusky; Bigoletta, O. J. Victor, Flat Rock; Forget Me Not, Dr. Lauderdale, Detroit; Belle of New Port, Charles Speed, Detroit; Bridge of Abydos, W. G. Millville, Sandusky; The Fairest of the Fair, George Reber, Sandusky; Lola Montes, J. W. Barnum, Sandusky; Fruit Piece, Mrs. J. A. Barker, Sandusky; and Fleur De Marie, E. Sheldon, Sandusky.

One of the winners was O. J. Victor. A lawyer, Victor became Derby's partner in the Cosmopolitan enterprise after

working on the Register, the local newspaper which supplanted the Daily Sanduskian. Victor married Metta Victoria Fuller, whose poetry had made her more well known than he at that date. (After his editorship of the Cosmopolitan Art Journal in New York, Victor eventually became a successful, nationally known publisher of dime novels, the Beadle Books.)<sup>104</sup>

We can assume that the 1850 art union subscription sales must not have been all that Derby hoped for; he did not repeat the scheme until 1854 when he supplanted the Sandusky Art Union with the Cosmopolitan Art Association. According to intermittent advertisements in the Sandusky paper, the Derby store expanded from selling stationery and books into Salamander safes and pianos as well as the service of piano tuning from 1851-54. In 1854 Derby sold his interest in the store to George S. Henderson and organized the Cosmopolitan Art and Literary Association with the endorsement of a small local committee of prominent citizens.<sup>105</sup> Subsequently the Cosmopolitan Art Journal described its origin: "The Cosmopolitan Art Association was called into being in 1854."<sup>106</sup> Honorary members with national literary reputations like Washington Irving and Harriet Beecher Stowe and governors of each state were listed as endorsers in the catalogue. Nationally prominent persons were invited to be the speakers at the annual distribution meeting. Parke Godwin, who had assumed Bryant's editorship of the New York Post, was the featured speaker in 1856. The next year, Ralph Waldo Emerson spoke at the Sandusky distribution meeting on the topic

"Beauty."<sup>107</sup> Derby's mastery of public relations was evident in his purchase for the main prize in 1855 one of the six famous variations, The Greek Slave by Hiram Powers (Fig. 25). He managed to recycle the same statue again as a lottery prize two years later when the original winner sold it back to the Cosmopolitan Art Association. (Derby knew of the success of another version of The Greek Slave as one of the prizes at the Western Art Union in Cincinnati in 1850-51, Fig. 24.)<sup>108</sup>

Besides a chance in the lottery distribution, the purchase of a three-dollar ticket included a yearly subscription to a choice of one of several popular national magazines or to an engraving (Fig. 26). Derby's publishing connections and business acumen helped to unite art and literary interests. His original New York address was the Knickerbocker magazine office. Financial troubles increased when problems with the magazine premium, which had become too costly, caused a glitch in the operations in 1858. The organization was already in financial trouble during the panic of 1857 with a recorded loss of twelve thousand dollars despite a subscribership of 35,000.<sup>109</sup>

Prior to these difficulties, the Cosmopolitan Art Association had been growing steadily. Derby had seized the opportunity to acquire the inventory of the Dusseldorf Gallery. The June 1857 issue of the Journal lamented the loss to this country of \$230,000 worth of paintings which John Boker of the Dusseldorf Gallery had imported from Germany; they were to be returned to Europe. A few months later the

Journal reported that the Cosmopolitan Art Association had purchased the collection in New York for \$180,000. However, the Journal also reported that many of the European paintings first exhibited at the Crystal Palace in 1851 had been brought to this country to sell and had caused a glut in the New York market.<sup>110</sup>

By purchasing the Dusseldorf collection, the Cosmopolitan Art Association gained an Eastern Gallery in New York in addition to the Western Gallery in Sandusky. However, in less than two years, the Sandusky Gallery was closed; and after the first months of 1861, the Cosmopolitan Art Journal ceased to be published in New York and the gallery there was closed also. Both H. W. Derby and C. L. Derby continued their careers as art dealers in New York after the Cosmopolitan Art Association ended its operations. Derby's partner in Sandusky, O. J. Victor, had moved to New York in 1856, presumably to run operations from there. (Coincidentally, H. W. Derby left Cincinnati about the same time and joined another brother, James C. Derby, who had come from Auburn, New York, to New York City in 1853 to establish what would become a well-known publishing house.)<sup>111</sup>

All of the decisions concerning the Cosmopolitan Art Association were business decisions made by C. L. Derby with perhaps his business partners. The Cosmopolitan Art and Literary Association was a business enterprise, never an art union. Moreover, all articles published in its Journal concerning artistic subjects were as much promotional

literature as they were expressions of taste or scholarly debate. It is not surprising that articles were featured exhorting artists to be more business-like and to paint with potential patrons in mind.

Befitting a combination art and literary association, the engravings issued by the Cosmopolitan almost all had literary associations (Fig 27). Moreover, they were not of American subjects or by American artists. Their issuance was a business arrangement not an artistic or political statement. Citizens of Sandusky who served as officers in the Derby enterprise no doubt did so because he had a reputation for integrity, and they took pride in their association with a local cultural entity. Eleutheros Cooke of Sandusky, who opened the first drawing, continued to open the annual distribution ceremonies until the last in Sandusky in 1859.

With an expanding population during the eighteen-fifties, Sandusky was the fourth largest city in Ohio. It served as an important port on Lake Erie, as it had the only rail connection to the Ohio River. Despite frequent cholera epidemics, the town grew from three hundred citizens in 1820 to ten thousand in 1855. The people came primarily from New York and New England, but there was a sizeable German (3,000) and Irish (2,500) population. As the demographics changed, Sandusky lost not only the Cosmopolitan Art Association, but also its prominent position among Ohio cities as a transportation center.<sup>112</sup>

Today, Sandusky possesses the only extant building which



once housed an art union--albeit a commercial one. Just a few blocks from the shore of Lake Erie stands the Hubbard Block, now a vacant store front, where once the Cosmopolitan Art Association thrived.<sup>113</sup> Other art union buildings have long since disappeared as cities expanded and razed the sites, but Sandusky's Main Street remains intact.

## Dusseldorf Art Union, New York City

Like the Cosmopolitan Art Association, the Dusseldorf Art Union was also a commercial enterprise under the guise of a participatory organization. John Boker, the German Consul in New York opened the Dusseldorf Gallery in January 1849 with fifty-six paintings.<sup>114</sup> That year, the first catalogue of the Dusseldorf Art Union contained an "Extract of the Plan of the Art Union of Rhenish Prussia and Westphalia, which had dissolved under Napoleon and was re-established by the King of Prussia." The fifty-six paintings listed in the catalogue were to be divided by lot at the end of July. Copies of the engraving of Raphael's La Disputa were to be divided among all the members who had paid five Prussian thalers, which equaled \$3.75. There was no committee, group of managers or endorsers to the project.<sup>115</sup>

Dusseldorf paintings were both admired and disparaged. After visiting the gallery, Joseph Sill wrote in his diary they were, "worth a trip to New York."<sup>116</sup> On the other hand, Walt Whitman wrote, "Such realism violated the natural movement of the eye which sees ensembles, not a uniform filigree of details, however superbly rendered."<sup>117</sup>

In its second year of existence, subscriptions were four dollars and the catalogue was printed by the firm owned by William Cullen Bryant. Although the gallery continued to issue promotional catalogues for several more years, no further distribution by lottery occurred until the alliance with the Derby interests of the Cosmopolitan Art Association.

Boker was the entrepreneur behind the first Dusseldorf Gallery and the Dusseldorf Art Union. His efforts to import German paintings had not gone smoothly, for the paintings were impounded by the Port of New York customs agents, and Boker paid \$2,400 to secure release.<sup>118</sup> Sympathy for Boker's difficulties as well as great admiration for German technical skill in painting accounted for the support extended to the Dusseldorf Art Union in the Bulletin of the American Art Union. The management of the American Art-Union had stated, "We think that no other school in Europe could furnish a collection of pictures better calculated than the Dusseldorf Gallery to exhibit, by contrast, the most common defect in our American works, namely, the want of careful and accurate drawing."<sup>119</sup> Evidently the American Art-Union managers did not feel as threatened by the German paintings as they did by the importations from France at Goupil's International Art Union. Affinities with German middle-class culture and the surge of German emigrants undoubtedly played some part in the acceptance of Boker and the Dusseldorf Art Union when it clearly was another competitor of the American Art-Union.

Boker leased two of the four rooms of the Gallery of the Boston Athenaeum in 1852 to exhibit his collection. "This collection marked the first appearance in Boston of contemporary foreign art on a large scale, and although it attracted a curious public, did not result in the sales which Mr. Boker had anticipated."<sup>120</sup>

In 1857, the paintings of the Dusseldorf Art Union were

sold to the Cosmopolitan Art Association. The sale was a mutually beneficial merger of the Boker interests into Derby's Cosmopolitan Art and Literary Association, which survived until 1861, also as a commercial enterprise. Remnants of the Dusseldorf Gallery existed well into the eighteen-sixties when a catalogue was issued featuring photographs of paintings for sale at the Gallery.<sup>121</sup>

New England Art Union, Boston, Massachusetts

Although a charter to establish the New England Art Union in Boston was granted by the Massachusetts legislature in 1848 to a group headed by Dr. James B. Gregerson, the major impetus to start an art union came from the Boston Artists' Association, which had been established by a group of painters, sculptors, architects, engravers and interested amateurs in 1841.<sup>122</sup> The Artists' Association met regularly for fellowship and attempts to encourage art education, exhibits and sales. Its first president was the revered but reluctant Washington Allston, who feared that the formation of a competing organization might antagonize his sponsors at the Boston Athenaeum, where he exhibited regularly.

Signers of the charter membership list of the Boston Artists' Association were: Chester Harding, A. G. Hoit, Charles Hubbard, Richard Greenough, Hammatt Billings, John Pope, Thomas Ball, A. C. Warren, A. B. Young, E. A. Brackett, C. B. Wilkins, Moses B. Russell, M. J. Whipple, M. G. Wheelock, N. Brown, Edward Seager, George Henry Hall, William E. Smith, William Hudson, Jr., W. H. Tappan, Francis N. Mitchell, Joshua Hayward, Albert F. Bellows, Joseph E. Billings, John N. Bethune, Fitz Hugh Lane, Richard M. Staigg, Henry C. Pratt, John C. Badger, John Carew, Joseph Andrews, George G. Smith, James Lodge, Calvin Allen, Benjamin J. Nutting, Henry Priest, Joseph Ames, F. A. Duriverge, James Lloyd, Edward C. Cabot, Richard T. Mallory, Cephas G. Thompson, S. W. Cheney, Henry Day, J. Harvey Young, Henry

Hitchings, N.[athaniel] Southworth, Henry Willard, Charles James Sprague, Thomas Haskell, Jr., J. E. Johnson, J. G. Chandler, Isaac H. Dupee, and Charles C. Green. Others joining the group at a later date included Henry Sargent, Thomas B. Read, Henry Greenough, Francis Alexander, and David C. Johnston.<sup>1 2 3</sup>

Minutes of the organization reveal the artists were reluctant to establish a lottery-based art distribution system. Counseled by Philadelphia artist John Neagle, the secretary entered into the minutes of the first meeting in 1841 a letter from him. He advised the group to purchase a building of its own to use as a gallery, not to surrender control to amateurs and to be careful about amassing debts, because "artists don't understand business."<sup>1 2 4</sup> Perhaps the letter reinforced the group's reluctance to organize an art union involving amateurs. This idea was first broached in the discussion of exhibition policies at the meeting on January 14, 1847, by Mr. [E. A.] Brackett, "to provide that each season ticket shall entitle the holder thereof to a chance of receiving a picture at the close of the exhibition."<sup>1 2 5</sup> Although Brackett was elected to the Association Council at that meeting, no action was taken regarding the art union plan of distribution.

More than a year passed before the potential art union was mentioned again in the minutes; and a week after the meeting, a committee was formed to study and report on the suggestion. On February 29, 1848, spearheaded by Joseph

Andrews and M. J. Whipple, an amateur member who owned a stationery and art supply store, the Artists' Association's discussions grew more serious about an art union. But it was not until January 1849 that the following notation was entered in the minutes:

The suppressed state of art in this city was thought to be attributed partially to the want of the Institution of an Art Union which would doubtless have the effect of creating an interest and patronage for the Fine Arts in our Community.<sup>126</sup>

Because the charter for the Art Union was already in existence and held by Dr. James B. Gregerson and his group, which also included Edward Everett, the president of Harvard College, the artists approached them.

During 1849 and 1850, discussions with the Gregerson group continued. After debates over a five-year period, the establishment of an art union as a means to promote sales of painting in Boston became a reality. The New England Art Union, 38 Tremont Street, Boston, listed Hon. Edward Everett as president, Franklin Dexter and Henry W. Longfellow as vice presidents, James B. Gregerson as secretary, James Lawrence as treasurer and Thomas T. Spear as actuary.<sup>127</sup> However, prior to the first New England Art Union exhibition at the Boston Athenaeum and the hoped for distribution on Thanksgiving Day in 1851, the Boston Artists' Association dissolved. The minutes of the last meeting on January 9, 1851, had not mentioned the Art Union or a merger of the two organizations.

Nevertheless, the New England Art Union finally held its first and only distribution in April 1852.

The New England Art Union published a catalogue patterned after the American Art-Union Bulletin and London Art Union Journal.<sup>128</sup> It contained several articles, engravings and a catalogue of the exhibition as well as an example of the premium engraving of Washington Allston's painting, Saul and the Witch of Endor (Fig. 31), owned by Col. Thomas H. Perkins, who was not on the Art Union board but was a member of the Athenaeum governors and a prominent art patron. The method of distribution chosen by the New England Art Union was like that of the Philadelphia Art Union and patterned after the London Art Union. Winners of the lottery received a certificate to use for their own painting selection. "Winning certificates could be devoted to the purchase of pictures, drawings, enamels, sculpture, medals, engravings and other works of art, executed by native resident American artists."<sup>129</sup> Some of the artists represented were: George Hall, Joseph Ames, Thomas T. Spear, Benjamin Champney, A. G. Hoit, Albert Bierstadt, J. F. Kensett, Alvan Fisher, and William A. Gay. The subject matter of the paintings included European and American landscapes, literary and genre scenes.

The New England Art Union attempted to reach a national audience through agents in every state, with the largest number located in New England and New York state. Its operations began during the months the American Art-Union was disintegrating. The New England Art Union was blamed for some



of the loss of membership by the New York group. A letter in November 1850 from William Y. Balch, a Boston agent for the American Art-Union to the secretary in New York lamented the competition and commented that the new Boston-based organization no doubt contributed to the decrease in his subscribers.<sup>130</sup> About the same time, Balch enthusiastically reported that a Boston packet ship launched by the firm Peirce and Kendall was to be christened The Art-Union in honor of the American Art-Union, and he asked for some engravings to present to the firm to show support for its interest in the New York organization.<sup>131</sup> Unfortunately, no such ship was mentioned again in the papers of the American Art-Union and there is no record of such a ship in Boston registries of the period, so the ship was scuttled before it was launched.

Why Boston was less an artistic center than an intellectual and literary leader was questioned as early as the nineteenth century. In a column reporting the opening of the Philadelphia Art Union, The Literary World chided Bostonians:

We are somewhat surprised that nothing of the kind has been done in Boston, where so many beautiful works of art are to be found. We fear that taste is there considered a luxury which is the peculiar property of the few whom fortune has favored; and although the patronage of merchant-princes has been liberally

bestowed on those who have attained to fame and glory in Art, yet nothing has been done to encourage those whose feet are on the lowest rounds of the ladder. With the best collection of statuary in the country in their midst and with probably more first class paintings than are to be found in any other city, they have yet done nothing towards establishing a school for artists. An Art-Union there would awaken and expand a taste and feeling for Art among the many, and give an encouragement to the Arts of Design beyond that which is usually extended to them by individual patronage. They may be assured that the institutions of a corresponding character, existing in this and other cities, have proved not only a source of high gratification to the subscribers, but inestimably useful in bringing forward artists of talent, who, in all human probability, would not otherwise have been included among the chosen few, through whose penury the genial ray of public patronage would have penetrated.<sup>132</sup>

This admonition really revealed less about Philadelphia

and more about the rivalry and jealousy which existed between Boston and the New York-based Literary World as to which was a richer cultural center.

Disinterest in American art by the Boston public and the demise of the New England Art Union after only one exhibition has repeatedly been attributed to the conservative nature and Puritan heritage of upper-class Boston. Why Boston intellectual and philanthropic interests were not directed towards artistic goals is a complex question beyond the scope of this paper and not one answered simply by assumptions about Puritanical restrictions. However, of all the art union cities, Boston artists and patrons were the most ethnically homogeneous. There was less cross cultural fertilization from non-English emigrants than in other art union city.

The leaders of Boston society and its wealthiest industrialists were generous philanthropists. They donated to the Massachusetts General Hospital, McLean Mental Hospital and the Boston Athenaeum. These organizations were supported by the "Boston Associates," a group of interrelated families and business colleagues, whose original source of wealth came from New England textile mills. They were established families whose fortunes grew in successive generations and spread to much of Boston industry and finance. The operators of the mills organized paternalistic companies, meant to improve the economic and social situation of both workers and owners. The Boston Associates believed in many of the same utopian economic and social possibilities that influenced the

foundation of other early nineteenth-century philanthropic organizations. Furthermore, the same principles were often shared by the middle and working classes.

Though the rich may have borne a disproportionate share of the burden, they were hardly acting alone. And this became one of the chief hallmarks of Boston philanthropy during those years. Projects benefitting the community were regularly designed to involve as many people as possible.<sup>133</sup>

Education was one of the most important recipients of support from the Boston Associates, particularly Harvard College, and it was from that institution that several of the founders of the New England Art Union came. Moreover, Boston and its environs was the center of many of the intellectual and philosophical ideas, such as Emersonian Transcendentalism, that influenced art in the rest of the country.

Perhaps a reason for the lack of Boston patronage for American art was the fact that the persons most likely to purchase less well-known artists did not remain in Boston. Many ambitious New Englanders of the period left the area to pursue careers in New York or the West. The leaders of the New York publishing and literary world, who often had New England roots, encouraged artistic as well as literary innovation. Furthermore, by the mid-nineteenth century, New York had supplanted Boston and Philadelphia as the artistic as well as the commercial center of the United States.

Specifically, the existence of the New England Art Union

in Boston for only one year can be attributed to the lack of early action by the Boston artists from their fear of control by lay persons plus the absence of a lay group whose energies were channeled into artistic support for an organization other than the Boston Athenaeum.

New Jersey Art Union, Newark, New Jersey

In the early nineteenth century, Newark, New Jersey, was a vigorous and growing city with a population likely to be art patrons and supporters of cultural institutions. The New Jersey Art Union in Newark had a board of managers drawn from local business and professional men. It was the only art union whose officers and managers did not include professional artists. The first exhibition opened to the public with approximately fifty paintings in April 1850 in the Newark Library. Later that year, an addition to the library building specifically to house the art union was built at a cost of \$3,000; it was designed by James G. Hall and built by Kirk and Kirkpatrick.

Various ministers from Newark and New York attended the opening of the gallery, and Professor Mapes gave an address on the relationship of the fine to the useful arts. The building was crowded to overflowing, and late trains ran from the suburbs for the opening.<sup>134</sup>

The featured speaker, James Jay Mapes, was a New Jersey agriculturist and an analytical chemist, who developed improved methods of farming and industrial processes. An amateur miniature painter, he was interested in pigments and had taught a course in the chemistry of colors at the National Academy of Design. He was the president of the Mechanics Institute of the City of New York and interested in adult education.<sup>135</sup>

The two exhibitions of the Art Union were covered in the Newark Daily Advertiser. Some of the paintings were merely loaned for the exhibits. Many winning subscribers and contributing artists were local, just as the original sponsors of the organization had hoped. Some of the exhibiting painters were Rembrandt Lockwood, Johannes A. S. Oertel, Fridolin Schlegel and John J. Barker. Some artists of national reputation were also represented, particularly in the second exhibit, which included one painting by Asher Durand and another by Jasper Cropsey. The largest number of paintings were landscapes; several busts of General Winfield Scott by former Newark sculptor, Thomas Dow Jones, were among the prizes at the first drawing. Thomas W. Whitley was well represented in both the 1850 and 1851 exhibitions. Despite his criticisms and attacks upon the Western Art Union and the American Art-Union, his work was purchased by the New Jersey group.

Whitley spent his later years as a resident of Hoboken, New Jersey, where he was listed in the City Directory of 1860-61 as a justice of the peace, editor of the Hoboken City Gazette, circuit judge, and artist, residing at 47 Washington Street with a business at 57 Washington Street.<sup>136</sup> He published a circular "A Guide to Hoboken, the Elysian Fields and Weehawken" in 1858.<sup>137</sup> This publication also contained advertisements for one thousand pencil sketches of American scenery, which he offered to sell as a portfolio of lithographs to schools for educational purposes. Whitley

capitalized on his New Jersey residence by painting many local landscapes (Fig 34). One such landscape contained a group portrait of the children of the Edwin Stevens family of Hoboken (Fig 33).<sup>138</sup>

The New Jersey Art Union planned to issue an engraving for 1851 as a subscription inducement but failed to do so, and attendance fell off in comparison with the previous year. The purchases for 1850 totaled \$1,742.55, and thirty-five paintings and pieces of sculpture were distributed among 471 subscribers. In 1851, thirty paintings, purchased for \$1,598.66, were distributed among 261 subscribers. The president spoke at the drawing, "decrying the lack of support, and mention was made of the contemplated school of design."<sup>139</sup> Despite the election of an executive committee in February 1852 to plan for a new show, no exhibition was mounted that year.

Legally the Art-Union and Library Association were tied together; the assets of the Art-Union accrued to the Library Association, and the subscribers to the Art-Union found themselves owners of library shares. The Library Association's contract required a regular exhibition program; when the exhibits did not materialize, [after the first two exhibitions] the Library Association moved to take back the room.<sup>140</sup>

The Newark Daily Advertiser reported the managers voted to dissolve the organization in 1853 over concern for the anti-



lottery decision in New York. The remaining treasury funds were distributed between the Foster Home and the Orphan Asylum. The gallery room in the Library Hall was considered as a site for a natural history museum but was eventually taken over by the YMCA. Clearly the interest and impetus for the organization had ceased before it was actually dissolved.<sup>141</sup>

Several of the artists represented in the two Newark exhibitions, who lived in New Jersey, also lived at some point during their careers in Brooklyn. These included Regis Gignoux and Charles Heyde, who also exhibited at the Brooklyn Art Union.

## Brooklyn Art Union, Brooklyn, New York

Its existence barely remembered today, the Brooklyn Art Union is known because the main speaker at its first and only drawing on March 31, 1851, was the young Walt Whitman.<sup>142</sup> His address has been cited as a good example of his encyclopedic, but not yet synthesized, artistic and philosophic theories.<sup>143</sup> Whitman enjoyed the company of several local Brooklyn artists, including Jesse Talbot, Frederick A. Chapman, Walter Libby and Gabriel Harrison, the painter and photographer, who later took one of the most famous photographic portraits of Whitman. (Harrison, of course, did not share Whitman's enthusiasm for art unions, having attacked the American Art Union in The Photographic Journal.) These artists gathered at the Brooklyn studio of sculptor Henry Kirke Brown and his assistant, J. Q. A. Ward. Of course, Whitman's closest artistic connection was "the bed buggiest man on earth," his description for his brother-in-law, French-born landscape painter, Charles Heyde [Hyde].<sup>144</sup>

Whitman wrote about his visits to the American Art-Union in Manhattan as early as 1846.<sup>145</sup> In 1851 he particularly praised a painting there by Walter Libby, who also exhibited at the Brooklyn Art Union and who would later paint Whitman's portrait.<sup>146</sup> Whitman would, of course, have supported any effort to spread art to a diverse, classless population. He called for American painters and sculptors to band together in a "close phalanx, ardent, radical and progressive."<sup>147</sup> Like many of his contemporaries, he considered art and literature

integral in political and economic reform movements. His enthusiasm for new ideas embraced the economic theories of the phalanx of the radical Frenchman, Charles Fourier, as well as the spirituality of Emerson's Transcendentalism.

The Brooklyn Daily Advertiser had reported the opening of the Brooklyn Art Union gallery in November 1850 and from that date had carried advertisements stating that subscriptions were available from R. Knight, C. J. Blagrove, W. P. Blagrove and E. E. Coates as well as at the gallery. After the first of the year, Coates name was placed at the top rather than the bottom of the sponsors' list, and the advertisements contained an additional inducement to purchase the \$2.50 ticket. "Every subscription is entitled to one copy of a splendid engraving, the subject: "the Capitol of the United States." The distribution of the paintings will take place on the first Monday evening of February 1851."<sup>148</sup>

The Brooklyn Art Union drawing was held in the rooms of the Brooklyn Institute at the corner of Concord and Washington Streets. The Institute was an organization founded by Augustus Graham to promote cultural interests. Several yearly art exhibitions sponsored by the Institute had been held prior to the Art Union show and drawing.<sup>149</sup>

According to several histories of Brooklyn, the regular exhibition space for the Art Union was a large room with skylight at 283 Fulton Street, in the Whitehouse Building (later Loesser's dry goods store) and credit for the establishment of the Brooklyn Art Union was given to Thomas

Thompson, a London-born marine painter, who resided in Brooklyn, and to Mr. Haskins, who was a drawing and painting teacher in the Graham Art School in the Brooklyn Institute.<sup>150</sup> However, neither Thompson nor Haskins were mentioned in the advertisements or review of the Art Union exhibit in the Advertiser, which appears to be the only newspaper that carried a review of the exhibit, reception and drawing. From January 3 through February 5, 1851, "the large room of the Brooklyn Art Institute on Washington Street" was advertised as the exhibition space for the Art Union's paintings in the Advertiser.

The largest local newspaper, the Brooklyn Eagle, failed to report the reception and drawing, although its pages had reported notices of the American Art-Union drawing in Manhattan.<sup>151</sup> An editorial in the Advertiser on December 3, 1850, referred to the Eagle editor as a fool.<sup>152</sup> Political differences and lack of advertising sales may have influenced the poor coverage of the exhibit by the Eagle.

On February 26, 1851, the Advertiser carried the only review of the show, probably written by Walt Whitman:

Reader if you want to spend half an hour or an hour agreeably, walk in the Exhibition room at the Institute any time between one and ten o'clock p.m. the admission being free. And you will see many pleasing pictures and three or four that famous masters might not be ashamed of owning for their work. There are the fine drawings and coloring of

Walter Libby, the spirited and roughness and warmth of Gignoux, the calm subdued sweetness of Talbot landscapes, several agreeable and spirited little pictures by James McDonough (a young painter, who is showing unmistakable evidences of the true metal), with the light and glittering peculiarities of Brent's landscapes, the melodramatic but effective style of Nahl and the pure, coloring and classical simplicity of Heyde, with others of merit, but whose names we do not recall. We have every good feeling toward these young painters of our city and we hope that their Art Union will become as it deserves to be a permanent establishment here.<sup>153</sup>

When the reception and drawing were finally held on March 31, it was a disappointment. It was clear from the results that the hoped for support from the public did not materialize and that the major support for the Art Union came from the artists themselves and those in allied trades. Some of the painters and sponsors were: E. C. Coates, artist, 13 Union Place; Charles J. Blagrove, druggist and chemist, 88 Myrtle; William P. Blagrove, druggist and chemist, 115 Atlantic Avenue; R. Knight, 87 Fulton, carver and gilder; Augustus Graham, white lead manufacturer; James McDonough, engraver, 18 Hanover Place; Regis Gignoux, landscape painter, 400 Atlantic Avenue; Walter Libby, artist, 124 Prince Street; James Libby, artist, 124 Prince Street; Charles Nahl, artist, 133 Bridge Street; Jesse Talbot, landscape painter, 126 Degraw Street;

and Hyde ---, [Charles] artist, 108 Orange Street (Walt Whitman's brother-in-law).

After the drawing, the Advertiser listed the winners and their home addresses: Peter Van Ness, 16 Forsythe Street, New York; Four Hundred Atlantic Engine Company, No. 13 Court Street; Mrs. H. Nahl, Bridge Street (relative of Charles Nahl?); Mr. Tappan Reeve, 120 Livingston Street, builder; A. Tomsey, Liberty Street, hotel, opposite Fulton; Mr. D. Chappell, Willoughby Street (J. Chappell, portrait and historical painter?); James Frothingham, Jr., picture frame store and portrait painter, 141 Willow Street, also James, Sr., portrait painter; Mr. Edwin Beers, exchange officer; Mr. J. C. Platt, portrait painter; Dr. Samuel J. Osborne, 126 High Street; Mr. William Vail, confectioner; Mr. M. Riesner, Adams Street; Mr. Samuel Whiting, merchant tailor; Mr. J. Carson Brevort, Bedford Corners; Mr. C. H. Jones (Charles H.), shoe store, 198 Fulton Street; Robert Lefferts, exchange broker, Bedford Corners; George Hall, 160 Fulton Street, house, sign and ornamental painter; Sold by Coates, E. E. Coates, artist, 13 Union Place; Mr. Riley, 33 Degraw Street; Mr. Harvey Hubbell; William Teilanning and D. W. Brown, 120 Fulton Street, New York; D. W. Smith, either D. W. Smith, Painter, 101 Middagh, or David W. Smith, commission merchant, New York, h, 77 Willoughby; Thomas Nock, Jersey City; M. C. Kelsey; George W. Bergin, grocer, 26 Fulton Street; Mr. Rolin Platt (related to James Platt?); Sold by H. J. Brent, artist, Pacific between Court and Clinton; Mrs. Joseph Steel, 16 Cliff

Street, New York; C. Sturdevant, New York; Mr. Steel, Jersey City; Mrs. W. L. Libby, (relative of Walter Libby?); William Arthur, Gold Street, engineer; and J. R. Burton, Station Street, engraver and printer.

The winners were allowed to choose a painting themselves rather than one drawn by lot, so the method of distribution was based on that of the London Art Union. The paper reported that 510 chances were sold from a run of 600 tickets. In many cases the prizes were won by artist exhibitors or by their relatives. In conclusion, the article stated the attendance was not very large at the reception.<sup>154</sup>

International Art Union, New York City

From its inception in 1848, the International Art Union was a commercial enterprise, a subsidiary of the formidable French firm of Goupil and Vibert, who recognized the marketing potential of endorsement by a group of prominent citizens. By incorporating some of the features of the art unions into its marketing scheme, such as a scholarship award for an American artist to study in Europe, Goupil immediately became a competitor of the American Art-Union. The rivalry was hotly debated in New York papers and journals.

The art works available from the International Art Union included primarily the work of little known European artists and the work ("Forty-three Views of Niagara Falls") of at least one French expatriate, Regis de Trobriand, who was also a member of the "Committee of Reference." Several members of this committee were neighbors in the Gramercy Park area of New York City, which was just being developed into a residential lots by Samuel Ruggles, another member of the reference committee of the International Art Union.<sup>155</sup> The endorsers may well have also supported the American Art-Union, for the International Art Union sponsors committee included Washington Irving and Asher Durand. However, they were men not to be accused of xenophobia; they felt they were cosmopolitan in endorsing an international organization, just as many of them signed a petition supporting the appearance of the English actor, William Macready, at the Astor Place Opera House in opposition to nativist loyalty for William Forrest.<sup>156</sup> They



also were great admirers of French taste. Samuel Ruggles' son-in-law, George Templeton Strong, who referred to his home as a palazzo, wrote in his famous diary of his envy of a Gramercy Park neighbor, who hired a French interior designer, Baudoine, the first professional decorator in America, to furnish his new home.<sup>157</sup>

The first drawing of the International Art Union took place on January 10, 1850, at the Tabernacle. Ninety-eight paintings were distributed in a ceremony presided over by William C. Bryant. The catalogue listed winners, home addresses and only the last names of painters. Most winners were from New York, New England or the Philadelphia area. Besides the paintings, most of which appear not to be by Americans, there were fifty engravings of William Sidney Mount's The Power of Music (Fig. 29) and fifty engravings of his Music is Contagious awarded by lottery drawing.<sup>158</sup>

The announcement advertisement for the International Art Union, including the subscription print, "Messotint Engraving by Allais of Paris, The Prayer, the original painting by Dubeeffe," was placed in The Literary World of by E. A. Duyckinck, a manager of the American Art-Union and one of its strongest supporters. Within a short time The Literary World was pointing out the commercial nature of the International and echoing the protests of the American Art-Union Bulletin. Even though the American Art-Union pointed out the prurient nature of the French art available at the International Art-Union and the meagerness of their scholarship fund in

comparison with American Art-Union support of artists studying abroad, the Bulletin reported favorably about the two recipients of International's grants and encouraged people to visit the gallery.<sup>159</sup>

Goupil-Vibert found out soon enough it did not need to function as an art union to be a commercial success, particularly after its purchase of Leutze's Washington Crossing the Delaware.

Chicago Art Union, Chicago, Illinois

The Chicago Art Union has been cited as another example of typical nineteenth century cooperative, philanthropic art patronage. However, all enterprises in Chicago designated as art unions were commercial galleries using a lottery scheme to sell art.

The first to appear was the Daguerrotype Art Union in 1845, which opened a photographic studio in Chicago and advertised branches in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, and Galena, Illinois, sponsored traveling photographers, and sold frames, cases and instruction. The photography studio under the direction of Messrs. Perry and Webb was adjacent to the Burley Crockery Store.<sup>160</sup>

In November 1850, A. H. and C. Burley advertised as the "Chicago Art Union" an announcement that ten engravings and twenty paintings "purchased in Paris during the (1848) revolution" would be distributed by lot on December 15, 1850, to purchasers of three-dollar tickets. No artists were identified; only painting titles were listed.<sup>161</sup>

A catalogue of the exhibition distribution of the "First Chicago Art Union" in December 1860 at Hesler's Gallery listed several statues by Leonard Volk and over 150 paintings. Besides the loaned paintings and sculpture, some of which were actually for sale, there were offered as prizes twenty plaster casts by Volk of Abraham Lincoln (Fig. 30) and twenty-seven paintings or drawings by three artists: G. P. A. Healy, Howard Strong and S. P. Tracy. A three-dollar ticket entitled the

purchaser to a photograph of a statue of Washington by Volk or a chromo-lithograph of Chicago and a chance at the drawing. A committee of citizens was listed as sponsors, but clearly the enterprise was a promotion to exhibit and sell the sculpture of Volk, as almost all the objects for sale were owned by him. Moreover, the date of the exhibition in 1860 was well past the period of flourishing philanthropic art unions and occurred when several commercial art galleries opened in Chicago. The promoters of the show, either the gallery owner or Volk, knew the lottery or "gift" feature endorsed by prominent citizens was a good marketing feature.<sup>162</sup>

The American Art-Union's lottery conflict was discussed in the Chicago newspapers at the time, both pro and con, but there is no evidence that a philanthropic art union existed in Chicago during the eighteen-forties or early fifties, despite claims by cultural historians.<sup>163</sup>

New Orleans Art Union, New Orleans, Louisiana

The Art Union in New Orleans was organized in the eighteen-eighties by several artists as a school which attracted "one hundred fifty to two hundred students."

Organizing artists were: C. W. Boyle, Andres Molinary and Paul Poincy. Their success with the school led to the foundation of the Southern Artist League in 1885, an organization of artists and amateurs interested in art, which sponsored art instruction and annual exhibitions.<sup>164</sup>

Because it was founded after 1880 and was primarily a school, the Art Union of New Orleans cannot be considered representative of a mid-nineteenth century cooperative art union.

Louisville Art Union, Louisville, Kentucky

As late as 1860, the artists of Louisville were considering the organization of an art union. James S. Wallace, an editor of the Louisville Journal and former officer of the Philadelphia Art Union, wrote to John Sartain requesting copies of the by-laws, plans and reports of the Philadelphia Art Union.<sup>163</sup>

No other references pertaining to a Louisville Art Union were located.

### Art Union Patronage and Politics

Art union managers represented diverse economic, cultural and political backgrounds. Although some of the managers were self-made men from rural backgrounds, who became "merchant princes," others were scions of wealthy, established families, and some were immigrants.<sup>166</sup> Many were professionals-- doctors, lawyers, ministers and editors. Some were small businessmen and retail merchants rather than factory owners, bankers or stock or commission brokers.

It was not impossible to be both artist and banker like Francis Edmonds, a manager of the American Art-Union.<sup>167</sup> It was not unusual for a manager to be related to an artist by birth or marriage. Often his career was one allied with art, such as architecture, writing, editing, or publishing, especially of engravings. Managers were auctioneers, proprietors of frame shops or sellers of art supplies. Some managers were actually artists themselves. Moreover, management of art unions did not lack for direction from painters, sculptors and engravers, knowledgeable in the newest artistic developments.

Managers' ethnic origins were representative of the general population of the northern and then western United States. They were usually of English ancestry or possibly from Scottish, French, Irish, Dutch or German background. Recent immigrants or first-generation Americans as well as descendants of early colonial settlers filled the managerial rosters. Some came from rural homes to successful careers in

the city, and some had urban backgrounds. Many traveled extensively in the United States and Europe and moved from one location to another frequently.

There were no women managers, although women participated in the raffle drawings, as young ladies often were asked to draw the winning lottery tickets! A few women artists were represented. Notable was Lily Martin Spencer, whose painting, One of Life's Happy Hours, was chosen as a membership engraving by the Western Art Union. Most women artists were recorded on art union rosters without their first name and often with the designation "amateur," although they were listed as drawing teachers or professionals in city directories. There is no record of a black manager, but the most famous American black artist of the nineteenth century, Cincinnati resident Robert Duncanson, like Spencer, sold paintings to the Western, Philadelphia and American Art Unions.<sup>168</sup>

Just as art union managers came from diverse occupational and regional backgrounds, their political affiliations were wide ranging. Generally on one issue, there was agreement--opposition to slavery--although the New Yorkers complained about radical New England abolitionists. Manufacturers, bankers, and merchants as well as government officials and newspaper editors supported the Whig party. J. Watson Webb, editor of the Whig Courier and Enquirer, was an American Art-Union manager. Also supporting the Art-Union was the Whig Tribune, edited by Horace Greeley, who advocated the utopian



economic and social reforms of Charles Fourier. Another Art-Union manager, Henry J. Raymond, began his New York career at the Courier and Enquirer with Webb and Greeley before establishing the Times, where a close alliance with the Art-Union and the exchange of subscription lists brought trouble and accusations of scandal to the Art-Union in 1851 and criticism to the newspaper.

However, an equal number of ardent managers supported the Democrats. For example, the American Art-Union board had officers from the Democratic press of the New York Evening Post and the magazine, Literary World. The Democrat Post was headed by William Cullen Bryant, followed by his son-in-law, Parke Godwin; both were Art-Union managers. The Post maintained a dignified and cool posture in support of the American Art-Union and did not become embroiled in the debates. Bryant was the dean of New York journalists to whom younger writers deferred. For the Post the young Walter Whitman wrote articles praising the Brooklyn and American Art-Unions.

Whitman, however, did not ally himself directly with a group of writers and journalists, who were ardent cultural nationalists known as "Young America."<sup>169</sup> These writers believed zealously in America's cultural independence and promoted the establishment of American literature and art equal to Europe, particularly to England. The Literary World established by Wiley and Putnam in collaboration with William Appleton to be a periodical of wit and sophisticated

criticism, became under Evert A. Duyckinck, the center of the Young America movement.<sup>170</sup> Duyckinck's colleagues and contributors included Whigs like Columbia University medical educator, Dr. John Francis, who was one of the original Art-Union managers; more typical in political affinities was the lawyer-poet, William Allen Butler, son of President Andrew Jackson's attorney general, frequent contributor to the American Art-Union Bulletin as an influential Art-Union manager.

Duyckinck and other Young Americans wished to establish a native literature and culture equal to that of London. The group were primarily native New Yorkers or New Englanders who had come to Manhattan to pursue careers. Looking to the London literary community as a model, they admired especially the writings of Charles Lamb, Leigh Hunt, William Hazlitt and William Thackeray. They revered a sense of humor, the conviviality of a witty group and the cosmopolitan flavor of sophistication that urban life provided. They worshiped Charles Dickens but despised the romanticism and high-mindedness of Scottish philosopher and writer, Thomas Carlyle.<sup>171</sup> They found the natural world and the "high Germanicorum" of Emerson's Transcendentalism of little interest. Particularly Duyckinck, a vigorous campaigner for copyright protection for American writers, "did more than any other man of his time to get authors published," and called Emerson followers, "pygmies of Transcendentalism."<sup>172</sup> However, some of the rejection of Emerson and

Transcendentalism was inspired by the rivalry with New England writers and a wish to establish New York as a cultural center superior to Philadelphia and to Boston.

Another contributor to the New York literary scene was poet and author of the sublime short story, Edgar Allen Poe. Known in the eighteen-forties as a critic, he was editor for a few months in 1845 of the Broadway Journal, a short-lived attempt to produce theatrical criticism in a magazine of urban sophistication similar to a London journal. In an art criticism column, Poe noted that nature, as depicted by the Hudson River School, might be misunderstood in England. He wrote that Art-Union painter, Jasper Cropsey, showed great promise, was more true to nature although not so poetic as Cole. Poe cautioned Cropsey about sending his paintings to England:

Englishmen cannot appreciate America . . . the whole tone of nature in America is unlike nature in England . . . English critics laugh at our description of American scenery as extravagant hyperbole. . . .<sup>173</sup>

Also attempting to equal the sophistication of a European magazine of theatrical and literary criticism was Figaro or Corbyn's Chronicle of Amusement, published from 1850 to 1851.<sup>174</sup> Figaro was opposed to promotion of national American literature and carried many articles attacking the American Art-Union by Thomas W. Whitley. It also carried many sarcastic reviews of indigenous American cultural efforts and

included scathing pro-slavery satires. Whitley's attacks also appeared in the Photographic Art Journal, published from 1851 to 1860, which also carried criticism by two other artists opposed to the Art-Union: daguerreotypist, painter and actor, Gabriel Harrison, and painter, J. K. Fisher.

Not all papers espousing ardent American nativism supported the art unions. Despite his British birth, James Gordon Bennett of the Herald beat the nativism drum vociferously, but he abhorred the American Art-Union. Bennett had employed Whitley as a correspondent from Cincinnati and continued to employ him after he returned to New York. Whitley's attack articles were the grist of yellow journalism that Bennett could use to build circulation in his rivalry with the newspaper of largest circulation, the penny daily New York Sun, which carried little cultural news, was Democrat politically and catered to the working classes. Both the Sun and the Herald were printed on the new Hoe rotary printing press; it was from Hoe that Bennett was able to purchase a membership in the Art-Union and make trouble for the organization as an insider.<sup>175</sup> With the exception of both the Sun and the Herald, most New York papers, whether Whig or Democrat, supported the American Art-Union.

The Home Journal, the most popular American magazine, published reprints of English stories, was edited by N. P. Willis, who did not support the American Art-Union and who sponsored the rival International Art Union.<sup>176</sup> Lewis Gaylord Clark, editor of the Whig Knickerbocker, initially

joined *Young America*, but after quarrels among fellow writers and editors, he defected and became a cultural internationalist. He did not, however, join in the destructive attack on the American Art-Union.<sup>177</sup> In Boston, the Whig North American Review published writers and clergymen of the area, but it was too scholarly to be a popular magazine.<sup>178</sup> Two important Philadelphia publishers, Sartain and Carey were sponsors of art unions, but Carey, in opposition to Duyckinck, did not support an international copyright law and freely pirated English works.<sup>179</sup>

Just as humor, wit, and the conviviality of sophisticated urban society were of importance to Duyckinck's *Young America*, knowledge of the classics and history was a prized intellectual attainment. Those qualities were considered important features in art and were exemplified in selections for art unions, particularly in choices for engravings. Although the American Art-Union managers represented the complete political spectrum, the voice of *Young America* influenced the selection of paintings and engravings. American Art-Union manager, Francis Edmonds, both banker and artist, was a Democrat, who split with President Andrew Jackson over the hard currency issue. He belonged to the group of New York Democrats called "Locofoco's", which also included Art-Union President, Prosper Wetmore.<sup>180</sup> The painters who found favor with the Art-Union were often Democrats like Richard Caton Woodville. Two of three Woodville engravings chosen for Art-Union subscribers in 1851,

Mexican News (Fig. 16) and Old '76 and Young '48, featured scenes of the Mexican War of "manifest destiny" primarily supported by Democrats.<sup>181</sup> William Ranney, an artist who had served in the Texas Army on the Mexican border had a version of the Trapper's Last Shot chosen for purchase by both the American Art-Union and the Western Art Union (Fig. 22), which issued its painting as the subscriber engraving for 1850 (Fig. 23). Ranney's Marion Crossing the Pedee (The Swamp Fox) (Fig. 18) was chosen for engraving by the American Art-Union in 1851.<sup>182</sup> The choice of General Marion as the subject for an engraving for the second time (Marion Inviting the British Officer to Dinner, Fig. 1, by John White was the Apollo membership engraving in 1840.) indicated more than an abiding recognition of an American hero from the deep South. The issuance of an engraving so similar in composition and topic to Leutze's Washington Crossing the Delaware (Fig. 19) was an attempt to redress the loss of that painting to Goupil.<sup>183</sup> When comparing the hyperbole of Washington Crossing the Delaware with the down-home folksiness of the Ranney painting, one must speculate that the selection was influenced by a certain humorous irony.<sup>184</sup>

Another Democrat, who was favored by the American Art-Union, was William Sidney Mount, whose paintings glorified ordinary people in everyday tasks. Although Mount dignified blacks in his work, unlike a majority of art union managers and artists, he was an ardent anti-Abolitionist and called Republicans, "Lincolnpoops."<sup>185</sup> However, it was not political

differences that led to his attack on the American Art-Union, but disagreement over compensation for his work. For higher prices, Mount was also selling his paintings to Goupil, who distributed The Power of Music (Fig. 29) as an engraving by the International Art Union. After his attack, he rescinded his bad opinion of the American Art-Union and praised the organization, but he had added some fuel for the anti-art union forces.<sup>186</sup>

In contrast with Mount's benign or benevolent paintings of the working man, George Caleb Bingham could present an acerbic and satirical rendering of the common man, as he did in County Election (Fig. 32). With faces and figures close to caricature set in a raucous atmosphere, Bingham depicted his belief that the non-propertied classes should not have the franchise.<sup>187</sup> Bingham's Whig political activities in Missouri did not help his career with the American Art-Union. In correspondence with friend and patron, C. B. Rollins, he referred to the "illegitimate Locofoco" Democrats, whom he defeated in his 1848 election to the Missouri state legislature, having lost the same office in the 1846 election.<sup>188</sup> Particularly during Prosper Wetmore's tenure as president, Bingham found his offerings to the American Art-Union poorly received.<sup>189</sup> So irritated by the criticism of his work in an unfavorable comparison with Mount in the Bulletin in 1851, he wrote to the Art-Union Secretary that he planned to sue the organization. The suit became moot, since the Art-Union disintegrated soon after Bingham's voiced his

irritation.<sup>190</sup>

The most radical nativist artist, Samuel F. B. Morse, was never connected with the art unions, but he was president of the National Academy of Design. He ran for mayor of New York in 1841 on the nativist "Know-Nothing" ticket. At the end of the decade when art unions became a potent force, Morse had abandoned painting for development of the telegraph and other scientific and business interests. He did not abandon politics, however, and ran for Congress as a Democrat in 1854. His loss was attributed to his pro-slavery beliefs as well as to his better publicized "Know-Nothing" connections.

Political differences did not contribute to friction between all art union managers and artists. When Art-Union manager, Philip Hone, the Whig mayor of New York, admired a painting by Francis Edmonds at an 1839 National Academy of Design exhibit, Edmonds was quite flattered. "The Whig diarist [Hone] certainly set his politics aside in his warm response to the work of such staunch Democrats as Mount and Edmonds."<sup>191</sup> Political affiliation bound together artists and patrons, but no more than memberships in the many social clubs, such as the Bread and Cheese Club, the Sketch Club and the Century Club or philanthropic artist fund societies. In other cities, there were artist associations, or library societies and other group affiliations. As Alexis de Tocqueville pointed out, the number of organizations one individual American could join was overwhelming. America abounded in purposeful societies of wide variety: churches and



religious organizations, fraternal societies, immigrant societies, educational groups and political clubs--all necessary in a new country without royal patronage or government support for many social services as well as the arts.<sup>192</sup>

The art unions in Britain were more structured and directly connected to established government agencies. The foundation of the London Art Union was the result of recommendations by a Parliament Select Committee. The Committee had been charged to find ways to improve British manufacturing designs through art education for the middle and working class.<sup>193</sup> After suggestions from representatives of German Kunstvereine, from the Edinburgh and Liverpool Art Unions and from the Societie des Amis des Arts in Rouen and Paris, the organizers of the London Art Union chose the Liverpool method for painting distribution: the winner could choose a painting rather than win by lot a pre-selected committee choice. The London method of selection was considered more democratic.<sup>194</sup>

The London Art Union existed until 1912, long after the expiration of its impact on design education and the London art market when it had purchased the paintings of young, unknown painters and provided a gallery open to the public. Despite challenges to its existence by commercial interests, continued support by the British government permitted its long life. The London Art Union outlived its period of influence, a fate art unions in America escaped, because they had no

government patronage and were superseded by commercial galleries.

Art unions in the United States were less closely linked than those in England to efforts for improved manufacturing design. Although the motivation for better design of manufactured goods was announced by both the Philadelphia and New England Art Unions in their catalogues, in practice, all the United States art unions functioned like fine art galleries. The task of improving manufacturing design in the nineteenth century fell to other educational institutions, which sponsored classes and programs, in which art and "mechanics" began to be taught in integrated curricula. Many existing fine art colleges in the United States began in the nineteenth century as schools for "mechanic arts." The Maryland Institute of Art in Baltimore was originally the Maryland Institute for the Promotion of the Mechanic Arts. The Moore College of Art in Philadelphia began specifically to train women for industrial design work.<sup>195</sup> Just as proprietary schools were founded to benefit individuals for employment or business, many Mercantile Library Associations or Mechanics Institute Libraries were established to give opportunities for reading materials to trade and business workers. Often the same public spirited individuals who were officers in art unions were sponsors for schools and libraries.

Sponsors of cultural organizations, including the art unions, were often linked through familial and commercial

ties, and by what, we would today call "networking." These connections meant that cultural information from eastern cities reached places like Cincinnati and Sandusky rapidly. Often the same persons who sponsored cultural organizations and events were interested in radical and experimental social and economic reform organizations. Art union managers were imbued with the same optimistic outlook for improvement that led to the foundation of utopian socialist communities like Brook Farm in Massachusetts and New Harmony in Indiana.

Founders of the New England Art Union, who were owners of the Boston Company textile mills, were hardly utopian socialists, but their pattern of paternalistic factory organization incorporated many ideals of utopian socialism. Their inspiration came from a system at the New Lanark mills established by Robert Owen's family in Scotland. When Owen later founded New Harmony, Indiana, he was inspired by the same faith in reform possibilities that motivated the art union sponsors. Several of the officers of the Western Art Union were affiliated with a utopian socialist settlement of the Swedenborgian church on the Ohio River.<sup>196</sup>

Many of the utopian communities were based on the economic systems advocated by Charles Fourier, who believed in a self-contained economic community of approximately four hundred people called a phalanx. Horace Greeley was an influential advocate for the Frenchman's ideas, but his old friend and newspaper colleague, Henry Raymond, was equally opposed. The New York newspaper debates between Greeley at

the Tribune and Henry Raymond at the Courier and Enquirer (before he founded the Times) was so decisively won by Raymond that Fourierism was killed in America, and Greeley discontinued his advocacy of an economic system which was in contradiction with the conservative political position of the Tribune.<sup>197</sup>

In the early nineteenth century, it was not unusual for capitalistic business leaders to embrace the possibilities of unconventional economic and social reforms. Henry Carey, Philadelphia publisher, large land and coal property owner as well as important supporter of the Philadelphia Art Union, believed there was a natural harmony between industry and agriculture and between capital and labor. He wrote that only the protective tariff was necessary to promote American industrial expansion, so great were the possibilities for successful economic growth in this country.<sup>198</sup>

The idealism which inspired so many reform movements faded under economic pressure from the realities of stiff competition and technological change. The Boston Associates were forced to abandon their community-based factories as large mills and cheaper labor undercut their business.<sup>199</sup> The failure of many utopian communities, paternalistic factory systems and philanthropic art unions occurred at mid-century.

Early nineteenth-century optimism for benevolent economic possibilities in the United States seems naive today; the zeal for moral improvement was even more so. Radical economic reformers were accepted members of the "establishment," but

there was little toleration for any person or idea deemed immoral. Concern for morality tempered American adoption of European values, particularly Romanticism.

The traditional moral earnestness that pervaded American literature since colonial times led critics to warn against what they and the public considered some of the excesses of the European and British brand [of Romanticism]. . . . George Bancroft in Studies in German Literature counseled American writers to avoid the imbalances, disproportions, and over enthusiasms of the European in favor of "moral charm," "moral propriety," and "earnestness and moral beauty" in art.<sup>200</sup>

Evidence of moral suitability overrode all other criteria in selecting a painting or engraving by art union management. The choice of two seemingly dissimilar paintings for distribution engravings in 1847 was governed by this criteria. Both the "high art" of A Sybil (Fig. 9) by Daniel Huntington and the "unrefined" subject matter of The Jolly Flatboatmen (Fig. 8) by George Caleb Bingham appealed to the viewer's sensibility for uplifting improvement.

The morality issue was used both for and against the art unions. In the end, they were accused of being immoral on several grounds. Some criticisms were superficial and humorous, such as the threat of ladies being accosted in the galleries or being exposed to prurient French art. Some charges had serious implications like the accusation of using

art union funds for oyster and champagne suppers. The illegality of the lottery was challenged on moral grounds.<sup>201</sup> Morality concerns were part of the whole belief in the perfectability of the new nation and the greatness of a new culture.

After the turn of the nineteenth century, the American ideal of progress became more kinetic and positive. The nineteenth century believed that men could so manipulate their society that progress could be materially hastened. . . . Progress could be hastened by science, government, education, technology and the efforts of individuals and groups in combination.<sup>202</sup>

Belief in unquestioning progress enforced ardent support for the important destiny of the United States, but such nationalistic enthusiasm was not unique to America. Nationalistic efforts for reform in Europe contributed to the 1848 revolutions. From afar, Americans sympathized with the changes. When actual financial or military support was sought from the American populace and its elected representatives, little was forthcoming. The most dramatic appeal for political support and financial aid was made by Louis Kossuth, the popular Hungarian revolutionary leader, who came to the United States in 1850 to raise money. His arrival in New York was greeted with a celebration equal to that of the triumphant return of Lafayette in 1824. Parades and parties brought the city to a standstill, including the activities of the American

Art-Union, whose managers attended festivities in Kossuth's honor.<sup>203</sup> Young America seemed a likely source for financial as well as vocal support for Kossuth. In the end, he received little from the Americans after a fund raising tour of the country, during which he exploited Young America by using his identification with George Washington. His arrival in New York sparked a climax in the Young America movement, "by wrenching it from its symbolic context and by introducing it into the arena of national debate."<sup>204</sup> In the process of demanding an interventionist foreign policy and specific monetary help for his campaign in Hungary:

Kossuth forced the Young Americans to recognize the reality of his appeal, and its literal meanings; and confronted by that reality the entire crusade collapsed. . . . Young America could not stand the test of literal and rational examination.<sup>205</sup>

In the greatest test of its beliefs, the political center of Young America collapsed.

Kossuth's encounter with Young America illustrated the ambivalence in American culture of the early nineteenth century. Americans embraced the highest ideals, but when faced with the necessity of action, solutions became pragmatic. Many of the attempted reforms of the first part of the nineteenth century failed in the eighteen-fifties. Return to conservative governments followed the Revolutions of 1848 in Europe. In the United States, utopian communities based primarily on economic reforms disappeared. The Boston

Associates were forced to abandon their paternalistic labor policies in order to survive against ruthless competition, and the social ideals of their model mill-town communities were lost. The political failure of Young America occurred simultaneously with its cultural and artistic disintegration. With its demise, one of the sources of inspiration and motivation for art unions disappeared.



### Art Union Contributions

The contribution of art unions, particularly the American Art-Union, to nineteenth-century culture has been acknowledged and well documented. However, the emphasis of study has been on the contributions to American painters to landscape or scenes of daily life, with little examination of art unions in relation to patronage, concurrent history, politics and literature. Furthermore, in attempting to establish the quality and importance of indigenous American art in the early nineteenth century, scholarship has neglected the continuing relationship of artists and the art unions to European study, travel and art.

In the tradition of John Singleton Copley and Benjamin West, London continued to be an important art center where Americans studied and worked. Early in the century, Washington Allston from Boston became an artistic ambassador from the United States. Allston also joined John Vanderlyn to work in Paris, followed with a sojourn in Rome. The American and German art community in Rome were drawn together during the Napoleonic wars when the English were generally absent from the city. Allston became friends with the Germans, whose art community centered around Prussian Consul Wilhelm von Humbolt, an important art patron and a future founder of the Berlin Kunstvereine. In Rome, Allston taught members of the resident German Nazarene group his method of applying glazes and obtaining atmospheric distances.<sup>206</sup> They christened Allston the "American Titian."<sup>207</sup>

After returning to the United States, Allston's career did not completely fulfill its early promise, but his importance to American art was recognized. He was elected in 1841 as the first president of the Boston Artists' Association. The New England, American and Western Art Unions all paid homage. The New England Art Union's first and only distribution engraving was of his painting, Saul and the Witch of Endor (Fig. 31). The first commemorative medal cast and distributed by the American Art-Union was of Allston in 1847, and they and the Western Art Union distributed 350 books of his outline drawings in 1850. Allston was a fitting artist to be so honored, because he was an important transitional figure, painting both the historical, literary and religious allegories popular in the previous century and the romantic landscapes of the early nineteenth century. "Allston [was] instrumental in founding American landscape painting and giving it direction much earlier than the romantic work of Cole. . . ." <sup>208</sup> Furthermore, Allston must be regarded as a key figure in the cross fertilization of English, American and German art at a time just prior to the establishment of art unions. Allston's friendship with the Nazarenes at the beginning of the century heralded the start of a period when German and American art had many similarities.

The Nazarene painters influenced their own countryman, Caspar David Friedrich, the Dresden artist, whose spirit most often seems closest to that of our Hudson River school. "Friedrich's affinity with America [was] as much philosophical

as formal."<sup>209</sup> It was in his work that we most easily see "the divinity of nature."<sup>210</sup> Friedrich's allegorical landscapes bear similarities to those of Thomas Cole. Two of Cole's allegories were issued by the American Art-Union as engravings in 1849 (Fig. 14) and 1850. "To many Americans, the obvious allegorical symbolism in Cole's philosophical series was superfluous, because nature was by definition already Christian and spiritual. . . ." <sup>211</sup> However, the American Art-Union managers revered his allegorical work and may have eased his frustration with other important patrons, like Robert Gilmore, Jr., of Baltimore who was more interested in purchasing pure landscapes.<sup>212</sup> All of the art unions found that landscapes, of whatever type, allegorical or simply topographical, were the canvases most often offered to them for sale by artists. In its last years, the American Art-Union issued as engravings non-allegorical landscapes by Asher Durand, Jasper Cropsey (Fig. 17) and John F. Kensett, all of which were declarations of native beauty worthy of praise from Young America.

Despite the desire of the writers and artists of Young America to generate a sophisticated, witty and cosmopolitan urban culture independent of European influence, they functioned, like most of their fellow countrymen, under the spell of Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, Coleridge and Keats. "For all the American determination to be national, the poetry of the period was strikingly cosmopolitan."<sup>213</sup> In this respect, American painting was analogous to poetry. For example,

Thomas Cole's paintings as much as John Constable's or W. A. M. Turner's illustrated a Wordsworthian tribute to the natural world.<sup>214</sup> The reading and recitation of poetry in the early nineteenth century was a frequent daily pastime for all but the poorest or uneducated. "The extent of the audience for poetry [in the early nineteenth century] is almost inconceivable to the present-day American."<sup>215</sup> Even when American painters became more familiar with the work of their English contemporaries, they continued to draw references and inspiration from the English romantic poets, as Cropsey noted in his article, "Up Among the Clouds," in 1855 regarding Wordsworth and Shelley.<sup>216</sup> Cropsey landscapes were some of the most popular with the American and Philadelphia Art Unions.<sup>217</sup>

However, the art unions did not limit their offerings to landscapes and encouraged paintings of literary or historical subjects or genre scenes, which often depicted contemporary American events. Topics for engraving were selected from antiquity, from Shakespeare or from Sir Walter Scott's novels. Subjects by American authors, James Fenimore Cooper and Washington Irving, were chosen by the American Art-Union for engravings for distribution. By issuing the outline engravings (really lithographs) by F. O. C. Darley illustrating Irving's Rip Van Winkle (Fig. 12) and Legend of Sleepy Hollow (Fig 13), the American Art-Union presented an innovative, abstracted style. Outline engravings had been highly regarded for a long period in England since their

introduction by John Flaxman (Fig. 38) in the late eighteenth century and were further popularized in the nineteenth century through the illustrations (Fig. 39) of F. A. M. Retzsch, a German, whose work continued to be important in England and America long after it faded in popularity in Germany. Flaxman had "set a precedent for the illustrations of works of imaginative literature which extended far into the nineteenth century."<sup>218</sup> When the American Art-Union awarded Allston outline engravings, the Bulletin extolled their merits, "To be with him [Allston] was to be with Reynolds, Flaxman and Coleridge. . . . Outline forms render them more suggestive to the fancy than finished works. . . ."<sup>219</sup> The art unions interest in outline illustration restated the primitivism of John Flaxman's work and portended the twentieth century outline abstraction in the work of Matisse.<sup>220</sup>

The importance of the outline engraving from early to late nineteenth century has been largely forgotten, particularly the popularity in England and America of Retzsch illustrations in the English editions of Goethe, Schiller and Shakespeare. For example, so widespread was the important influence of his work that the 1849 Transactions of the Western Art Union carried a notice that a Retzsch outline drawing had been purchased by a Cincinnati collector and was to be engraved for a periodical.<sup>221</sup> Several outline engraving competitions (Fig. 40) were sponsored by the London Art Union in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>222</sup> An outline engraving (Fig. 4) had been issued by T. F. Hoppin for the American Art-Union

premium in 1844, and in the American Art-Union Bulletin, Darley outlined the novels of James Fenimore Cooper. But it was Darley's work for the 1848 (Fig. 12) and 1849 (Fig. 13) membership premiums which elevated him to the same prominence as Retzsch.<sup>223</sup> Outline abstraction was especially suited for the narrative format of the premiums, The Legend of Sleepy Hollow and Rip Van Winkle. Praised by critics and the public, Darley's outlines were "surpassed by none we know of in Europe . . . even those of Retzsch."<sup>224</sup> His outline illustrations for premiums and publications of the American Art-Union along with the illustrations for the 1856 novel, Margaret, helped make Darley the best known illustrator in mid-nineteenth-century America. The Cosmopolitan Art Association offered editions of Margaret as prizes to women's clubs in competitions promoting subscription sales.<sup>225</sup>

Artistic innovation in engravings and lithographs for book illustration or literary topics sponsored by art unions demonstrated the symbiotic connection between art and literature in the early nineteenth century. Furthermore, engravings were more important than paintings in terms of livelihood for the artists. For example, in London the cost of purchasing the copyright for a painting usually exceeded the actual purchase price of the painting itself.<sup>226</sup> The fact that the United States did not have laws which protected the artist's loss of copyright privileges caused contention between artists and art union managers, who freely reproduced paintings loaned to them by owners of paintings without paying

the artist for reproduction rights. The managers undoubtedly felt the economics justified the practice of obtaining a sure-to-be-popular membership premium for the least cost, generating sales revenue which enabled them to purchase more paintings. For example, in 1849 the Western Art Union reproduced for subscribers Lily Martin Spencer's painting, One of Life's Happy Hours. Charles Stetson, an officer, who had purchased it from the painter, loaned it to the Art Union.<sup>227</sup> This practice occurred repeatedly. In another case, Washington Allston was no longer alive when Thomas H. Perkins loaned his painting, Saul and the Witch of Endor (Fig. 31), to the New England Art Union to reproduce for its membership engraving.

Questions concerning artistic copyright were less discussed than authors' copyrights. Differences of opinion among authors and publishers on copyright law was an important issue with Young America. Evert A. Duyckinck and Young America made the case for international copyright law a cornerstone of their fight in the interest of cultural independence in America. They felt that as long as pirated English authors were available, no American literature would develop.<sup>228</sup> It was not until the Chace Act was passed in 1891 that foreign authors were protected from pirated editions being published in the United States. The Bern Union in 1886 protected American and European writers by inter-European agreement.<sup>229</sup>

The art unions' policy of borrowing material for their

premium engravings cannot be considered illegal or even insensitive in view of contemporary practice for art and literature reproduction in the United States. With pirated reprints of many authors commonly available, it is easy to understand that any procedure of artistic reproduction was considered acceptable, with little or no compensation for the artist. The practice was gradually modified so that the art union managers commissioned or purchased a painting specifically for reproduction.<sup>230</sup> High fees paid to painters by European publishers for reproduction privileges helped to kill the art unions. American painters like Leutze, Woodville and Mount were paid far more generously by Goupil for reproduction rights. The advent of this policy alone could have caused the demise of art unions.

As American publishers grew in number and size, their capacity to issue a variety of visual reproductions grew. Mass production lithographers like Currier and Ives reissued some art union engravings. Inexpensive photography and lithography replaced engravings, and the quality of engraving declined both in book illustration and as an art form replacing or rivaling painting.<sup>231</sup>

Not only were literature and art interdependent in the early nineteenth century, but also theater and painting were inseparable cultural complements. Repeatedly, critics in the American Art-Union Bulletin used theatrical terms like tableau vivants or tableau de genre as desirable descriptions applicable to paintings. Many art union engravings resembled



stage sets. Paintings of the period, which now seem artificially posed, were prized for that quality as a sign of their literary or historic sophistication.<sup>232</sup> Painting and theatrical production found a perfect union in the panorama shows of the mid-nineteenth century. Thousands of people journeyed to metropolitan areas, particularly New York or Boston, to see these productions, which coincidentally reached their peak at the height of art union popularity.<sup>233</sup> New York's first panorama was presented in 1790; by the 1848-49 season, fifteen new panoramas a year were presented, with many holdovers from previous season also being shown.<sup>234</sup> Art union lottery drawings were in themselves theatrical events, and the excitement generated by the annual event far exceeded that of today's museum "happening" or display of performance art (Fig. 11).<sup>235</sup>

Theatrical performances and actors generated heated emotional responses comparable only to current fanatical sports rivalries. Jealous competition between two actors, Edwin Forrest, and the Englishman, William Macready, grew into a small war. The rivalry was manipulated and cultivated, especially by the press; eventually it exploded into the Astor Place Riot in 1849. Scores of New Yorkers were killed when nativist "Know-Nothings," under the leadership of Ned Buntline, succeeded in arousing mob violence on behalf of Forrest, a native American actor, who happened to be a supporter of many artists represented at the Art-Union. The Astor Place Riot touched the whole New York cultural community

and must have started an intellectual re-evaluation of nationalistic goals held by American Art-Union managers and Young America writers. Prior to the Riot, Duyckinck, Washington Irving and Herman Melville all signed a public letter deploring disturbances at the Astor Opera House and asking for courtesy towards Macready.<sup>236</sup>

Despite the professed desire to create a native art not dependent on European antecedents, the American Art-Union became more and more connected to European art developments. The Bulletin became a source of news about international artistic events. In the early part of the century, Americans had studied or worked in England, or possibly France or Italy. In the eighteen-thirties, the 30,000 inhabitants of Dusseldorf included three hundred foreigners, who came to study at the Academy and were welcomed by the populace. The city was second only to Paris in its international [artistic] reputation.<sup>237</sup> By 1841 there were more Americans studying in Dusseldorf than in any other European city. Expenses in Dusseldorf were modest compared with Paris. The Bulletin correspondent reported a good furnished room cost six to seven dollars a week and meals were fifty cents a day.<sup>238</sup> Managers of the American Art-Union encouraged aspiring artists like Eastman Johnson and George Hall to study in Dusseldorf.<sup>239</sup> The Academy was headed successively by two Nazarenes, formerly resident in Rome, Peter von Cornelius and Wilhelm von Schadow. Carl Friedrich Lessing, former pupil of von Schadow, was one of the great genre and landscape painters in whose studio

Americans wished to work and study. Two works of his best known American pupil, German-born Emanuel Leutze, were chosen for engravings by the American Art-Union in 1846 (Fig. 6) and 1850. Also it had commissioned from Leutze in 1849 for \$1,000 The Attainder of Strafford, a large amount for the American Art-Union, but small compared with the payment received from Goupil for Washington Crossing the Delaware.

Information on German achievements in art became available to others besides visitors to that country with the publication of Histoire de l'art modern en Allemagne by Prussian diplomat, Count Athanassius Raczynski, in 1841. Raczynski sought a foreign audience by publishing in French and promoting the book in England. He sent a copy to Washington Allston. The first edition was supplemented with more illustrations in 1842. Raczynski also promoted the Kunstvereine. With so many active art unions in Germany, news of their exhibitions was often included in the American Art-Union Bulletin. For example, its correspondent described Cornelius' work on frescos in Berlin, and the column "Art in Germany" carried critical praise for a statue of Frederick the Great by Christian Daniel Rauch in the same city.<sup>240</sup>

Most American cities with art unions had sizeable German populations by 1850. Interestingly, it was Boston, with small German emigration, but under the influence of neighboring Concord Transcendentalism, which embraced Germanic literary and philosophic ideas. German artistic technique was considered superior by governors of the New England Art

Union.<sup>241</sup> German paintings were exported to New York, where the Dusseldorf Art Union was accepted by American Art-Union managers as a non-threatening competitor. Empathy with German art and literature was an important factor in early nineteenth-century America. The sociological and cultural parallels of the two, middle-class societies help explain American affinity for German art. Moreover, the similarities of paintings of Biedermeier Germany and of mid-century America can be considered testaments to the "magic of the commonplace."<sup>242</sup>

Just as there were strong cultural ties between America and Germany in this period, the English and Germans were closely linked. Despite the strong English-German liaison in the Victorian court, however, the English had mingled feelings about German art. Notice of German art was voiced in a statement by Sir James Eastlake as early as 1820, "The English have the matter and the Germans have the mind of art," and the Germans were not considered good observers or recorders of nature by the English.<sup>243</sup> Furthermore, German art was disliked as a proponent of asceticism and state programmed didacticism and for its lack of naturalness.<sup>244</sup>

Nevertheless, the Art Union of London thrived into the twentieth century promoting German art in England.<sup>245</sup> Besides the structure of the English art unions' being modeled after the German Kunstvereine, the influence of the Nazarene painters and Retzsch illustrations continued well into the century.<sup>246</sup> Samuel Carter Hall, a London critic, founded a

magazine named the Art Union Journal although it was not an official publication of the London Art Union. It was England's "most fervent and comprehensive defender of German art."<sup>247</sup> On the other hand, John Ruskin, England's best known art critic, voiced skepticism about German influences on English art.

The American Art-Union Bulletin carried news of Ruskin's opinion in almost every issue. At times he was criticized and charged with inconsistency, but generally the Bulletin approved his ideas. Excerpts from Modern Painters were printed in the Bulletin.<sup>248</sup> In the column, "Art in Foreign States," the London correspondent reported the exchanges between Ruskin and his critics over an exhibit at the Royal Academy.<sup>249</sup> A month later the Pre-Raphaelites and Ruskin were praised more fully, and it was noted that American landscape painters--Durand, Cropsey, Kensett and Church--lived up to the Ruskin ideal.<sup>250</sup> In many respects, the Hudson River and other American landscapes came closer to fulfilling Ruskin principles. "Americans were more concerned with revealing a morality in nature itself . . . [than] the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. . . ."<sup>251</sup> The Victorian clutter in the paintings of the Brotherhood was absent in the distillation of nature in the work of Bingham or Mount, representative painters of the American Art-Union.<sup>252</sup> It was not until 1863 during the Civil War that a group of painters in the United States formed the Association for the Advancement of Truth in Art, later known as the American Pre-Raphaelites, which emphasized the

importance of meticulous detailed naturalism and de-emphasized some of the ideas of the Hudson River school and the National Academy of Design.<sup>253</sup>

The English artist most often mentioned by the American Art-Union Bulletin was W. A. M. Turner, whose work was praised in reports by touring American artists.<sup>254</sup> (Earlier in the century, when visiting London, Thomas Cole thought Turner confirmed a vision of landscape art that was at once topographic, national, historic and emotional.)<sup>255</sup> Other English artists, including John Constable, were not neglected by the Bulletin. The regular correspondent in London for the Bulletin wrote about exhibits, artist gossip and excerpted information from English periodicals. For example, the September 1851 Bulletin carried information from The London Art Journal on "How to Light an Exhibit" and recommended for emulation the installations at Versailles or the Munich Glyptoteck, which had skylights to provide natural daylight.<sup>256</sup>

Coverage in the Bulletin included information on continental exhibits and news of American artists traveling or working there. The number of Americans visiting, if not studying, in Italy became so numerous that one correspondent wrote the Corso looked like Broadway, and that there were numerous familiar faces of nurses and American bambinii in the Roman parks.<sup>257</sup> American sculptors especially found that Italy provided domestic comfort and artistic compatibility. Renaissance and classical sources in Italy provided motifs to

be restated more often in sculpture than in painting. From Florence, Hiram Powers shipped home his famous idealized creations, including the Greek Slave, one of which became a prize for the Western Art Union (Fig. 24) and another for the Cosmopolitan Art Association (Fig. 25). Powers became the most popular American expatriate sculptor.

He was able to establish in his "ideal" statues a figure style which combined the historic tradition available in Florence with nineteenth-century propensity for naturalism that was uniquely representative of popular taste.<sup>258</sup>

Interest in classical subjects for painting was not abandoned by Americans. The selection of Caius Marius on the Ruins of Carthage (Fig. 2) by John Vanderlyn for the 1842 Apollo Association/American Art-Union engraving may have been an artistic and political promotion to aid the reception of Horatio Greenough's greatly anticipated, but poorly received, sculpture of Washington (Fig. 3) when it arrived at the United States Capitol. As late as 1851, the American Art-Union Bulletin was noting the similarities of the Vanderlyn painting with the Greenough statue.<sup>259</sup> Greenough's debt to the 1807 Vanderlyn painting as well as to Ingres' Jupiter and Thetis of 1811 has been acknowledged.<sup>260</sup> Unfortunately, Greenough's statue was not greeted with any more popular acclaim by the American public than were Vanderlyn's paintings earlier in the century.

Vanderlyn had struggled to survive as he worked in Paris,

where few Americans settled to study painting throughout the first half of the century although the city provided some of the best studios in Europe. For many reasons Paris was a less attractive destination for Americans: (1) It was a more expensive place to live than Dusseldorf or Florence.

(2) Following the Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars, the city remained in political upheaval. (3) As the century progressed, Americans, particularly those of German origin, had more empathy with Germany in its conflicts with France. (4) The French art community became embroiled in the stultifying "classical versus romantic" argument. (5) Above all, Americans did not fit into the rigid academic system of Parisian instruction.

The Ecole des Beaux Arts was satirized in a short story in the Bulletin of the American Art-Union.<sup>261</sup> French art was suspect on moral grounds, frequently a target in the press for its "lascivious" nature, and the Bulletin reprinted these articles. The Knickerbocker steadily denounced, "the immorality of French writers: Madame de Stael, George Sand, and above all [Victor] Hugo."<sup>262</sup> Nevertheless American fondness for French design, fashion and furniture persevered, as advertisements for French imports appeared frequently in American newspapers. However, the Bulletin criticized the paintings of the French Academy and showed great interest in the work of Courbet. Although the Bulletin had found The Burial at Ornans lacking in decorum ("vulgar and even grotesque figures of life size . . ."), W. F. Hoppin, editor



of the Bulletin, clearly held Courbet above other French artists.<sup>263</sup> A later edition stated, "Courbet is the artistic lion of the day. . . ." <sup>264</sup>

Young America admired Courbet's anti-aristocratic position, just as they embraced the Hungarian revolutionary leader, Kossuth. (After reading about Courbet for several years in the Art-Union Bulletin, Americans finally had an opportunity to judge a Courbet painting for themselves, first in 1857; more importantly in 1866 when the first major exhibition of Courbet in New York and Boston opened to mixed reviews.)<sup>265</sup> The ground work for the reception after the Civil War of European painters, like Courbet, had been laid by the American Art-Union Bulletin in the eighteen-forties and fifties.

The great prosperity of post Civil War years provided the economic base for Americans to expand their artistic interests and artistic consumption. The Aesthetic Movement, which became, "a period of rich artistic activity in the United States in the eighteen-seventies and eighties," had its roots not only in the contemporary British art reform movement of William Morris, but also in the United States prior to the Civil War when the art unions flourished. Art unions promulgated many of the same values as the reform movement in England, such as design education of the mass public through exposure to beautiful objects. After the Civil War, the hoped for progress in the lives of ordinary people through exposure to fine arts centered more on aesthetic qualities and less on

moral improvement.<sup>266</sup>

The American Art-Union started by promoting nativist goals, but before it died, its Bulletin had linked its American audience to international art interests. By its cosmopolitan, rather than restrictive nativist reportage, the Bulletin and its parent, the American Art-Union, placed American art in the mainstream of world art by the mid-nineteenth century. In the world market, there was no place for an arts organization that was a peculiar blend of half-cooperative, volunteer organization and half profit-seeking enterprise. The art unions were doomed to die as soon as the commercial art market supplanted them. By mid-century the international firms like Goupil could afford to pay artists much higher fees for reproduction rights, along with higher prices for paintings. Inexpensive prints such as the Kellogg firm's sentimental, provincial or geographic subjects (Fig. 35 and Fig. 36), which cost from five to fifteen cents each and satisfied the mass market, drew competition from the lithographs of Currier and Ives.<sup>267</sup> Engravers and publishers proliferated, particularly in New York and other northern cities. American capacity for issuing all types of prints grew during the Civil War, so that after the war, even prints commemorating the Confederacy, were published primarily in New York, Philadelphia, Cincinnati or Baltimore.<sup>268</sup> The Civil War did not destroy the market for prints or the capacity of artists' and publishers' for production. On the contrary, the failure of art unions, even commercial print publisher-

distributors like the Cosmopolitan Art Association, cannot be attributed to the outbreak of the Civil War. Despite the war, the art market continued to grow and diversify beyond the scope of a membership subscription organization. During the second half of the century, a "free gallery" of paintings open to the public, which the art unions had offered, was no longer a rarity, as more museums and galleries opened to fulfill American appetite for visual arts.

Appendix 1  
Engravings Issued by Art Unions Other Than  
the American Art-Union

## Philadelphia Art Union

1847/8, Emanuel Leutze, John Knox and Mary, Queen of the Scots, John Sartain

1849, Peter Rothermel, Ruth and Boaz, John Sartain

1850, Daniel Huntington, Mercy's Dream, A. H. Ritchie

1851, Daniel Huntington, Christiana and Her Children and Mercy in the Valley of Shadow of Death, Andrews and Wagstaff

1852, Peter Rothermel, Patrick Henry in the House of Burgesses of Virginia, Alfred Jones (Fig. 20)

1854, Christian Schuessele, Clear the Track (Coasting), Samuel Sartain (Fig. 21)

-----  
Western Art Union

1848, J. H. Beard, Poor Relations

1849, Lily Martin Spencer, One of Life's Happy Hours, Alfred Jones

1850, William T. Ranney, The Trapper's Last Shot, Dwight Booth (Fig. 23)

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Premiums Awarded by the Cosmopolitan Art Association

1856, John Faed, Saturday Night, based on "The Cotters Saturday Night" by Robert Burns, Bacon

1857, Abraham Solomon, The Favors of Fortune, retitled Manifest Destiny (women fortune tellers with cards), Mark

Lemon, London

1858, J. F. Herring, Village Blacksmith, (English barnyard scene), Patterson, London

1859, John Faed, Shakespeare and His Friends, James Faed  
(Fig. 27)

1860, Adolf Schrodter, Falstaff Mustering His Recruits,  
William E. Burton and Hackett

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Dusseldorf Art Union

1849, Raphael, La Disputa, Professor Keller[?], Dusseldorf  
(Fig. 28)

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New England Art Union

1851, Allston, Saul and the Witch of Endor, Andrews and  
Wagstaff (Fig. 31)

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International Art Union

1848, Dubeefe, The Prayer, Allais of Paris

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All information on engravings is listed in order: date, painter, title, engraver. For the complete list of engravings issued by the American Art-Union, see Charles E. Baker, The American Art-Union, Vol 1, Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, ed.

**Appendix 2**

**Managers and Persons Associated with Art Unions**

## Table 1

## Managers of the American Art-Union

(Cen. denotes membership in Century Association)

- 
- Allen, George F., ironworks, ft. 12th St., East River; Cen.
- Alsop, Joseph W., Jr., commission merchant, Alsop and  
Chauncey, 42 South
- Appleton, William H., publisher, 200 Broadway; Cen.
- Austen, George W. and John H., auctioneers, Austen and Spicer,  
24 Amsterdam; Cen.
- Averill, Augustus, commission merchant, Augustus Averill &  
Co., 47 South Street
- Bartlett, John R., Bartlett and Wilford, books, 7 Astor House;  
Cen.
- Beekman, James W., 533 Broadway, crockery [?]; Cen.
- Benedict, Erastus C., 70 Wall Street, lawyer
- Bininger, Abraham M., 100 Broadway, grocer
- Brady, James T., 10 Wall Street, lawyer
- Brown, William H., 43 Bayard, printer [?]
- Bruce, George, 13 Chambers, typefounder
- Butler, William Allen, lawyer, poet and art essayist for  
Literary World and Bulletin of American Art-Union, son of  
Benjamin Butler, attorney-general in Andrew Jackson's  
cabinet
- Bryant, William Cullen, editor, New York Evening Post,  
publisher, 13 Chambers; printing, 25 Pine; poet; Sketch  
Club



Campbell, Thomas H., 25 Pine St., customs broker; Sketch Club  
Chester, Stephen M., 151 Nassau Street, accountant  
Coe, Frederick, 52 John St., lawyer; Cen.  
Cogswell, J. G., [Joseph?]  
Colden, David C., 80 Fourth Ave.; Cen.; Sketch Club  
Comstock, D. A., 44 William St., banker  
Corwin, Edward B., 22 Forsyth St.  
Cozzens, Abraham M., 89 Water St., merchant; Cen.; Sketch Club  
Curtis, George and Edward, 8 Wall St., lawyer; Cen.  
Daly, Charles P., 20 Nassau St., lawyer, common pleas, City  
Hall; Cen.  
Demill, Richard M., 185 Front St., merchant  
Duyckinck, Evert A, 151 Broadway, editor  
Duyckinck, George L., 151 Broadway, editor  
Edmonds, Francis W., 33 Wall St., cashier, Mechanics Bank;  
Cen.; Sketch Club  
Francis, John Wakefield, One Bond St., Columbia University  
medical faculty  
Fraser, Robert, 183 Broadway, laces  
Gerard, James W., 79 Nassau St., lawyer  
Gourlie, John A., 69 Wall St., broker; Cen.; Sketch Club  
Greele, Augustus, paper merchant  
Grinnell, Moses, 78 South St., commission merchant  
Harris, Townsend, 83 Water St., earthenware; Cen.  
Herring, James, 429 Broadway, portrait painter, gallery  
proprietor  
Hone, Philip, banker, politician

Hoppin, William J., 64 Wall St, lawyer, commissioner for Rhode  
Island; Cen.

Jarvis, Benjamin H., 20 City Hall, deputy clerk, common pleas

Jarvis, Nathaniel, Jr.

Johnson, William H., 173 Greenwich, cash merchant, exchange  
broker

Kane, Cornelius V. S., 76 Nassau, lawyer

Kelly, Robert, president, Board of Education; Cen.

Kemble, William, 79 West St., merchant; Cen.

Lawrence, Cornelius W., collector of the Port

Leroy, Jacob, 147 Ninth

Leupp, Charles M., and Co., 20 Ferry, leather and hides; Cen.;

Sketch Club

Morris, William L., 6 Broad, lawyer and commissioner

Morton, John L., merchant [?]

Murray, John R., 30 Laight St.; Cen.

Nathan, Benjamin, broker

Nesmith, John P., & Co., 50 Pine St., commission merchant

Parmly, Eleazar, 1 Bond St., dentist; Cen.

Pell, Duncan C., 109 Wall St., auctioneer

Perkins, Joseph N.

Platt, Ebenezer, 45 William St., bank cashier

Raymond, Henry J., 70 Wall St., editor, New York Times; Cen.

Ridner, John P., 497 Broadway, mahogany merchant, artist,

Repository of Fine Arts (gallery owner)

Roberts, Marshall O., 118 West St., agent, office of US mail  
steamship company; Cen.

Russell, Charles N., 53 Pine St.

Sandford, Charles W., 110 Chambers, lawyer

Spofford, Paul, 48 South St., merchant

Stanton, Daniel, merchant

Stetson, Charles Augustus, and Robert B. Coleman, owner, Astor  
House Hotel; Cen.

Sturges (not Sturgis), Jonathan, 125 Front St., merchant,  
(wholesale grocer in partnership with Luman Reed) and  
president, NY Gallery of Fine Arts; Cen.; Sketch Club

Thompson, Aaron R., 94 Beaver St., wine merchant

Tredwell, George, 100 Maiden Lane, dry goods

Tucker, Thomas W., 3 Hanover St., lawyer

Van Alen, James N., 32 Wall St.

Ward, Samuel, banker

Warner, Andrew, deputy county clerk

Webb, J. Watson, 50 Wall St., editor, New York Courier and  
Enquirer

Wetmore, Prosper M., 85 Water St., crockery, Paymaster-General  
of NY Militia, and poet, who wrote Lexington, with Other  
Fugitive Poems and Observations on Origin and Conduct of  
War with Mexico, 1847

Winthrop, Benjamin R., 6 Wall St., receiver, Merchant Mutual  
Insurance Co.; Cen.

## Table 2

## Associates of the American Art-Union

- 
- Bellows, Henry Whitney, Unitarian clergyman, Sketch Club,  
founder of Century Association
- Bethune, George, Dutch Reformed clergyman, Brooklyn, wrote  
Complete Angler, anti-slavery Democrat
- Brooks, Sidney, agent for Hiram Powers after Kellogg, sold  
Greek Slave to C. L. Derby; Cen.
- Cary, Alice and Phoebe, poets, originally from Cincinnati,  
published by Derby and others
- Cary, Henry, commission merchant, pseudonym "John Waters"  
wrote for Knickerbocker, associated with Duyckinck (not  
Henry Carey of Philadelphia)
- Cozzens, Frederick Swartwout, wine merchant, humorist,  
associated with Duyckinck, wrote "Wine Press" and  
"Sparrowgrass Papers," founder of Century Association,  
related to Abraham Cozzens[?]
- Derby, James Cephas, publisher, New York; Cen.
- Derby, George H., publisher, Buffalo
- Derby, Henry W., publisher, Cincinnati, and art dealer, New  
York
- Derby, Chauncey Lyman, worked in Cincinnati; moved to  
Sandusky, where he owned bookstore and founded  
Cosmopolitan Art Association; moved to New York and  
became art dealer
- Jones, William A., librarian, Columbia College, associated

early in career with Duyckinck

Kellogg, Minor, painter, agent for Hiram Powers, toured with Greek Slave, resided NY, Cincinnati, Baltimore, Europe  
O'Connor, Charles (1804-1884), represented American Art-Union in lottery trial, nominated as Democrat Lt. Governor of NY in 1848, nominated for President of US by "Straight Out" Democrats in 1872 at Louisville Convention, wrote opinion on status of new Art-Union in 1883, represented Mrs. Forrest in famous divorce case, and Jefferson Davis in treason trial.

Peck, George Washington, wrote for the Bulletin of the American Art Union.

Wetmore, Robert C., brother of Prosper, merchant, Democrat, who split with Jackson over central bank issue and supported Clay, who nominated him for Collector of the Port of NY, but President Harrison appointed him naval agent in Brooklyn.

Table 3

## Managers of the Philadelphia Art Union

-----

Adams, Thomas F., 28 Dock, printers ink manufactory

Baird, Henry Carey, publisher, nephew of Henry Carey

Brown, J. Henry, miniature painter

Butler, E. H., publisher, bookseller

Carey, Henry, Burlington, New Jersey, publisher and owner of  
coal tracts in central Pennsylvania

Claghorn, James L., auctioneer

Connaroe, George W., portrait painter

Cope, Edwin, merchant

Cutler, Theodore, attorney and counselor

Dennison, Edward, actuary, Art Union, 1850

Dewey, George W., clerk, then actuary of Art Union, 1853

Doty, H. H., actuary, Art Union, 1848, business associate of  
John Sartain

Dreer, Ferdinand J., jeweler, Goldsmiths Hall

Fisher, J. Francis, attorney and counselor

Furness, William, Rev., speaker at 1848 Art Union drawing

Goodrich, William

Graham, George R., North American publisher, Graham's  
Magazine, Fourth and Chestnut

Griffiths, Thomas, merchant, 185 Chestnut

Harrison, Joseph, Jr., locomotive inventor and manufacturer

Hart, John S., principal of high school, co-editor of  
Sartain's Union Magazine

Holmes, George, teacher of drawing  
Kelley, Hon. William D, judge  
Krim, George M.  
Leland, Charles, 306 Walnut, Leland and Guion, leghorn and  
    straw goods  
Lewis, William D., collector of customs  
Macalester, Charles, stock and exchange broker  
Martin, H. K.  
McMurtrie, James, merchant  
Mercer, Robert, merchant  
Mitchell, Edward P.  
Morton, Rev. Henry J., DD  
Patterson, Henry, MD  
Reed, Henry, professor of English and Moral Philosophy,  
    University of Pennsylvania, speaker at 1849 Art Union  
    drawing  
Richards, William T., artist  
Sartain, John, publisher, editor and engraver  
Schmolze, C.[arl] H., painter  
Scholefield, Joshua, general hardware, Birmingham, England and  
    Philadelphia, relative of Sartain  
Schuessele, Christian, painter  
Sill, Joseph, fancy dry goods  
Snyder, Philip F., conveyancer  
Stewart, Joseph D., MD  
Tilghman, William M., attorney and counselor  
Todhunter, William, commission merchant

Toppen, Charles, bank note engraver, Toppen Carpenter & Co.

Towne, John H., gentleman

van Starckenbergh, William T., painter

Wallace, James S., editor, moved to Louisville in eighteen-  
fifties

Wallace, Horace B., attorney and counselor

Weber, Paul, painter

White, William J. P., lithographer

Winner, William E., painter



## Table 4

## Managers of the Western Art Union

-----

Adams, William A., attorney

Anderson, Charles, engineer

Bates, Joseph., attorney

Burnet, Jacob, Jr., attorney and director Ohio Life Insurance  
& Trust Co. (bank)

Burnet, Robert W., attorney

Burt, Andrew G., exchange broker

Burt, John S. G., Willis and Burt (Moses Burt, framer and  
gilder; James Burt, painter)

Cassily, William, produce and commission merchant

Cist, L. J. paying teller, Ohio Life Insurance & Trust Co.

Collins, E. T., clergyman

Cooke, David H., clerk

Dandridge, A. S., physician

Douglass, James M., teller, Franklin Bank

Dury, C. W., piano manufacturer and dealer

Elliott, Charles

Fabian, Robert L.

Farnsworth, T. R.

Foote, John T. commission merchant, importer of wines and  
liquor, owner of Foote's Row, a series of modest shops  
housing artists' studios on street below his home

Foote, Samuel, Secretary of Ohio Life Insurance & Trust Co.

Goodman, Charles M., exchange broker

Greene, William, secretary of Ohio Life Insurance & Trust Co.  
Greenwood, Miles, Miles Greenwood and Company, Eagle Ironworks  
Gregory, Walter  
Hall, James, cashier, Commercial Bank, and formerly judge in  
    Illinois  
Hall, James C., produce merchant  
Homans, Benjamin, banker  
King, Rufus, attorney, director of Commercial Bank, grandson  
    of New York senator (Rufus King) and son of Sarah  
    Worthington King Peter  
Longworth, Joseph, boards at Nicholas Longworth  
Longworth, Nicholas, famous Cincinnati art philanthropist  
McLean, N. C., oil mill  
Magoon, E. L., Baptist minister, became nationally known art  
    collector  
Meline, James F., attorney  
Miner, Jonathan L., Wright and Miner  
Moore, A. D.  
Outcalt, Peter, exchange broker  
Peachy, H., paying teller, Lafayette Bank  
Pendleton, George, attorney  
Perkins, James H., pastor, Unitarian Church  
Scarborough, W. W., Springer and Whitmore Co., director of  
    City Bank  
Shoenberger, George K., iron merchant and director of  
    Lafayette Bank  
Shipley, Henry, engraver

Smith, T. C. H, attorney

Steele, William P., attorney

Stetson, Charles, banker, President, Ohio Life Insurance &  
Trust Co.

Taylor, Griffin, purchased Foote's house when he went  
bankrupt

Ward, James W., painter

Wiswell, William, looking glass manufacturer, art gallery  
proprietor

Woodrow, D. T.

## Table 5

## Honorary Directors of the Cosmopolitan Art Association

- 
- E[leutheros] Cooke, lawyer, member of Ohio legislature, city  
councilman, builder of first house in Sandusky
- L[ester] S. Hubbard, mercantile business, Hubbard and Lester,  
and president of Second National Bank
- C. L. Derby, bookstore owner, founder, Cosmopolitan Art  
Association
- H. S. Flynt
- Hon. E[benezer] Lane, president of Mad River Railroad, judge  
and president of directors of Cosmopolitan Art  
Association
- Sloane, Rush R., lawyer, city clerk, probate judge of Erie  
County, ardent abolitionist, mayor of Sandusky in 1878

## Table 6

Officers of the New England Art Union, 38 Tremont Row, Boston  
 (as listed in the New England Art Union Bulletin)

---

Andrews, Joseph, engraver

Appleton, Thomas G. [Gold], lawyer, son of Boston Associate,  
     Nathan Appleton, art philanthropist

Cabot, Edward C. architect

Dexter, Franklin, lawyer and painter

Everett, Edward, Hon., Unitarian minister, German scholar,  
     president, Harvard University

Fisher, Alvan, painter

Gregerson, James B., physician

Frothingham, Nathaniel L., Rev.

Harding, Chester, portrait painter

Hayward, Joshua H., portrait painter

Hilliard, Hon. George S., counselor

Hoit, Albert G., portrait painter

Lawrence, James, Boston Associate

Lodge, James, amateur member of Boston Artists Association

Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, poet and professor (Cambridge)

Mason, Jonathan, painter

Rotch, Benjamin S., dry goods, commission merchant, painting  
     exhibited at Boston Athenaeum, 1855

Smith, George. G., engraver

Spear, Thomas T. actuary of New England Art Union

Sumner, Hon. Charles, counselor, senator

Thompson, Cephas G., painter

Young, Ammi B., architect

Table 7

## Officers of the New Jersey Art Union

---

Baldwin, Horace E., jeweler

Ball, Alexander M. W., harness manufacturer

Chadwick, John, patent leather

Clough, W. T., Passaic Chemical Works

Coles, Abraham, physician

Condict, Stephen H., saddler

Condit, Lewis N., clerk, Old Bank

Darcy, Henry G., clothier

Daugherty, A. N., patent leather, and leather and oil

Day, Mattias, W., cashier, Mechanics Bank

Dennis, Martin, R., stationer

Duryea, Peter S., hat manufacturer

Frelinghuysen, Frederick T., attorney

Goble, Jabez, physician

Hayes, David A., attorney and counselor

Lafoy, Theodore, watchmaker

Lemassena, Andrew, stock, insurance, exchange broker, real  
estate and general agent

Mapes, Prof. James J., chemist, inventor, agriculturist,  
teacher

McFarland, Owen, harness manufacturer

Orton, James Douglass, bank clerk, New York

Pridham, James, saddler

Quimby, James M., coach manufacturer

Ricord, Frederick W., librarian

Robertson, J. B., no occupation, 154 Broad Street

Runyon, Theodore, attorney

Spencer, George, coach manufacturer

Stephens, Thomas H., law student

Ward, Marcus L., tallow chandler, Governor of New Jersey,

married niece of Nicholas Longworth, Cincinnati

Weeks, John R., attorney, County Clerk's office

Wilson, John R., jeweler



## Table 8

## Committee of Reference for the International Art Union

-----

Brooks, Sidney, New York agent for Hiram Powers

de Trobriand, Regis, soldier, author, historian, member of New York Gardes Lafayette, son of wealthy Royalist, married American heiress, Mary Mason Jones

Durand, Asher B., artist, president of National Academy

Graham, David, criminal lawyer, ardent Whig supporter of Clay and Webster

Irving, Washington, author

Jones, George Frederick, father of Edith Wharton, resident of Gramercy Park (not George Jones, who was Henry Raymond's partner at New York Times and an Albany, NY banker)

Langdon, Woodbury, son of New Hampshire Congressman, who had been impeached for not performing properly in House of Representatives

McElrath, Thomas, publisher, lawyer, Greeley's business partner at Tribune, New York Whig assemblyman

Ray, Robert

Ruggles, Samuel B., developer of Gramercy Park, father-in-law of George Templeton Strong

Willis, N. P., editor of Home Journal

## Table 9

## Sponsors of First Chicago Art Union

-----  
 Edmund/Edward Andrews, physician

Hon. Isaac N. Arnold (Arnold, Lay and Charles A. Gregory.  
 lawyers), home between Rush and Pine on Erie

Thomas B. Bryan, Esq., lawyer, Bryan Hall

Dr. Charles V. Dyer, physician

Samuel H. Kerfoot, Esq. (and Samuel Gehr, real estate brokers)

James Miller, Esq., collecting agent

Edward Rodgers, M.D., physician

Col. Samuel Stone, Treasurer, home, 703 Wabash Ave.

Alexander White, Esq., real estate

James Grant Wilson, editor and proprietor, Chicago Record

John M. Wilson, judge, superior court

**Illustrations**



Fig. 1. General Marion in his Swamp Encampment Inviting the British Officer to Dinner, painted by John Blake White, engraved by John Sartain, Apollo Association/American Art-Union subscription print, 1840.

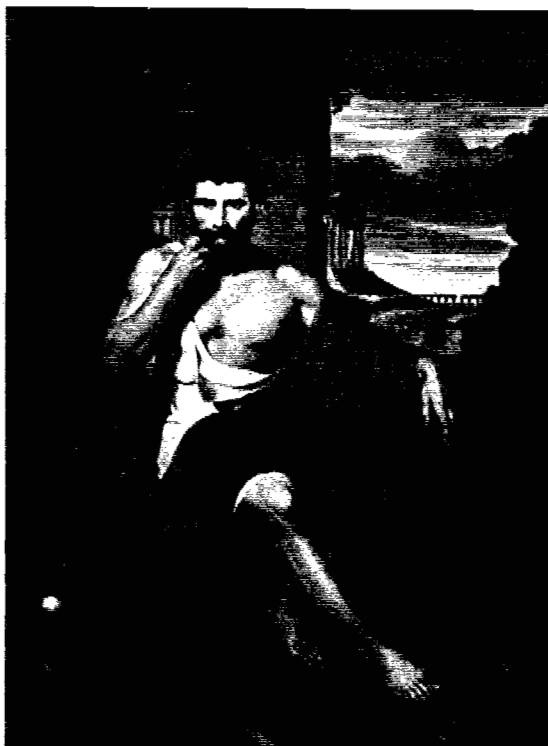


Fig. 2. Caius Marius on the Ruins of Carthage, painted by John Vanderlyn, Apollo Association/American Art-Union subscription print, 1842.



Fig. 3. George Washington, sculpted by Horatio Greenough, who installed it in the Capitol, Washington, DC, 1842.

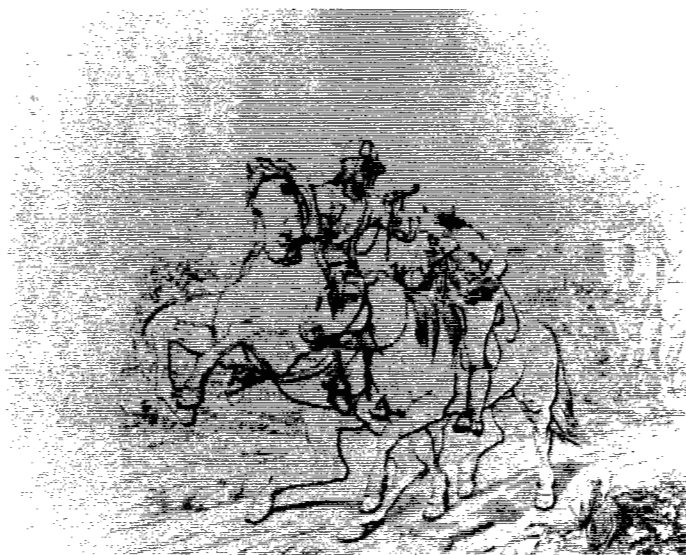


Fig. 4. Escape of Captain Wharton, from Cooper's Spy, etched by T. F. Hoppin, for American Art-Union subscribers, 1844.



Fig. 5. The Capture of Major Andre, painted by Asher Durand, figures engraved by Alfred Jones, landscape by Smillie and Hinshelwood, for American Art-Union subscribers, 1845.



Fig. 6. Sir Walter Raleigh, Parting with His Wife, painted by Emanuel Leutze, engraved by Charles Burt, for American Art-Union subscribers, 1846.



Fig. 7. Interior of the American Art-Union Gallery illustrated in the Bulletin of the American Art Union.





Fig. 8. The Jolly Flatboatmen, painted by George Caleb Bingham, engraved by T. Doney, for American Art-Union subscribers, 1847.



Fig. 9. A Sibyl, painted by Daniel Huntington, engraved by J. W. Casilear, for American Art-Union subscribers, 1847.



Fig. 10. The Signing of the Death Warrant of Lady Jane Grey, painted by Daniel Huntington, engraved by Charles Burt, for American Art-Union subscribers, 1848.

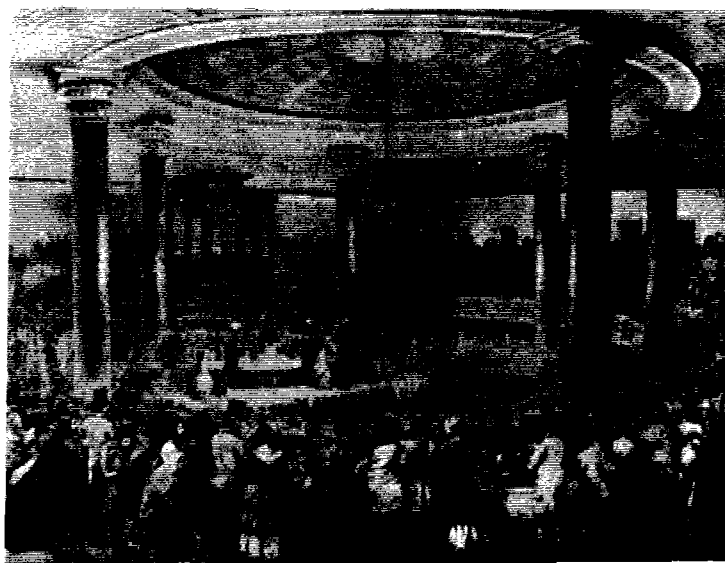


Fig. 11. Distribution of the American Art-Union Prizes at the Tabernacle-Broadway, New York, Dec. 24, 1847, drawn on stone by Davignon, for American Art-Union Honorary Secretaries.



Fig. 12. Illustration of Rip Van Winkle, designed and etched by Felix O. C. Darley, one of six lithographs for American Art-Union subscribers, 1848.



Fig. 13. Illustration of the Legend of Sleepy Hollow,  
designed and etched by Felix O. C. Darley, one of six  
lithographs for American Art-Union subscribers, 1849.



Fig. 14. The Voyage of Life: Youth, painted by Thomas Cole, engraved by James Smillie, for American Art-Union subscribers, 1849.



Fig. 15. The Death of General Montgomery in the Attack of Quebec, 1775, painted by John Trumbull, engraved by J. F. Clemens, London, distributed by lottery at the American Art-Union, 1850.



Fig. 16. Mexican News, painted by Richard Caton Woodville, engraved by Alfred Jones, for American Art-Union subscribers, 1851.



Fig. 17. American Harvesting, painted by Jasper F. Cropsey, engraved by James Smillie, for American Art-Union subscribers, 1851.



Fig. 18. Marion Crossing the Pedee, painted by W. Ranney, engraved by C. Burt, for American Art-Union subscribers, 1851.

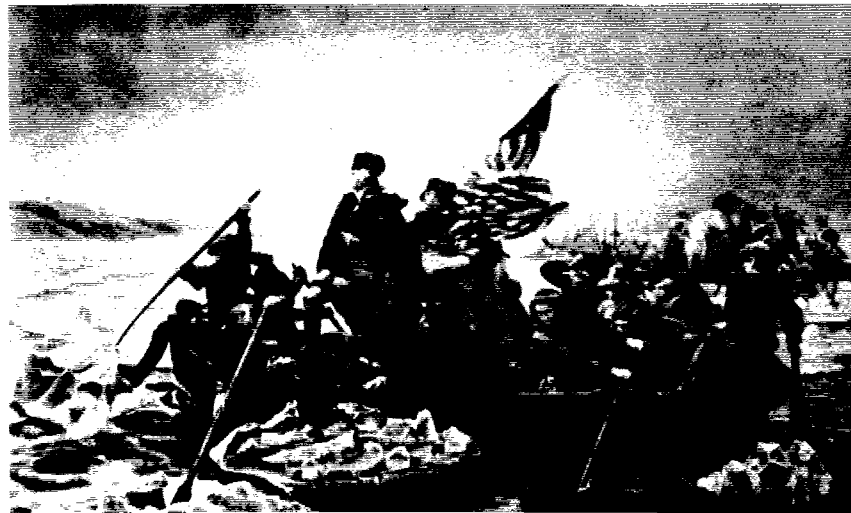


Fig. 19. Washington Crossing the Delaware, painted by Emanuel Leutze, 1851, engraved by Paul Girardet, 1853, for Goupil, Vibert & Co., Paris.



Fig. 20. Patrick Henry Before the Virginia House of Burgesses, painted by Peter Rothermel, engraved by Alfred Jones, for Philadelphia Art Union subscribers, 1852.



Fig. 21. Clear the Track (Coasting), painted by Christian Schuessele, engraved by Samuel Sartain, for Philadelphia Art Union subscribers, 1854.





Fig. 22. The Trapper's Last Shot, painted by William T. Ranney, awarded by lottery at the Western Art Union, 1850.



Fig. 23. The Trapper's Last Shot, engraved by Dwight Booth from the version painted at the Western Art Union, for subscribers, 1850.



Fig. 24. The Greek Slave, by Hiram Powers. This version was awarded by the Western Art Union and is now in the collection of the Corcoran Gallery.



Fig. 25. The Greek Slave on view in the Dusseldorf Gallery, New York, awarded by the Cosmopolitan Art Association; now in the collection of the Newark Museum.



Fig. 26. Membership Certificate for the Cosmopolitan Art Association for 1857 acknowledging payment for Manifest Destiny engraving.



Fig. 27. Shakespeare and His Friends, painted by John Faed, engraved by his brother, James Faed, for Cosmopolitan Art Association subscription print in 1859.

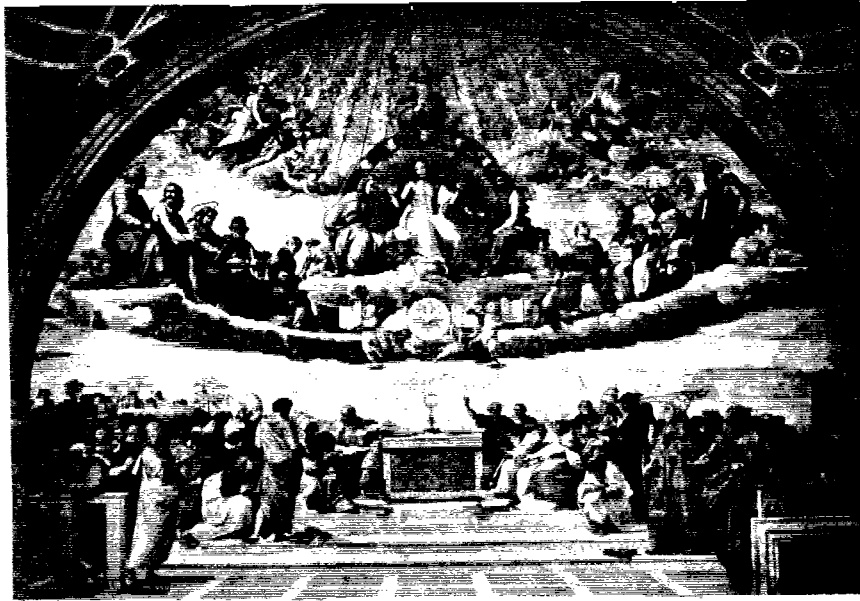


Fig. 28. The Disputa by Raphael in the Vatican, engraved by Professor Keller of Dusseldorf[?] for the Dusseldorf Art Union membership premium, 1849.



Fig. 29. The Power of Music, painted by William Sidney Mount. Fifty engravings from Goupil, Vibert & Co. awarded by lottery at the International Art Union drawing January 10, 1850.



Fig. 30. Abraham Lincoln by Leonard Volk. Twenty plaster casts duplicating the bronze bust were advertised as premiums by the Chicago Art Union in 1860.



Fig. 31. Saul and the Witch of Endor, painted by Washington Allston, engraved by Andrews and Wagstaff, for New England Art Union subscribers, 1851.



Fig. 32. The County Election by George Caleb Bingham, 1851-52.



Fig. 33. The Stevens Family, Hoboken, New Jersey, painted by Thomas W. Whitley, owned by Mary Stevens Baird, Bernardsville, NJ.



Fig. 34. Passaic Falls in Spring, painted by Thomas W. Whitley, owned by New Jersey Historical Society, Newark.





Fig. 35 and Fig. 36. Single and Married, typical lithographs issued by Kelloggs & Comstock, Hartford, Connecticut, 1850.



Fig. 37. Logo for the London Art Union, Minerva Encouraging the Sister Arts, engraved by Samuel Williams, after F. R. Pickersgill.

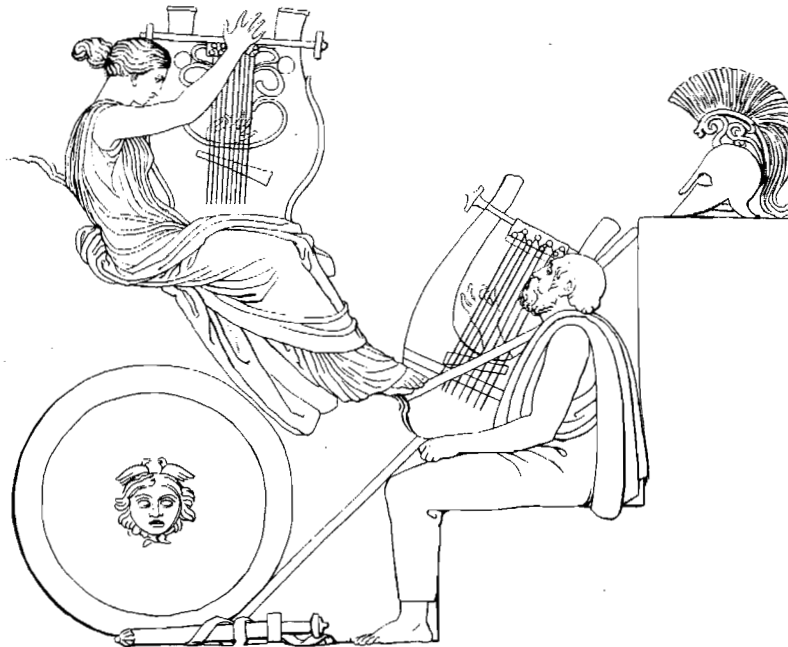


Fig. 38. Homer Invoking the Muse by John Flaxman, illustration for Iliad, engraved by William Blake, 1793.



Fig. 39. Romeo and Juliet, illustration by Moritz Retzsch, etching, Leipzig, 1836.



Fig. 40. Pilgrim's Progress by John Bunyan, outline engraving by Henry Selous for London Art Union competition; first-class award, 1843.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Thomas S. Cummings, Historic Annals of the National Academy of Design, (Philadelphia: George W. Childs, 1865) 148-49.

<sup>2</sup> A sample of a late nineteenth-century article discussing and lamenting the loss of the art unions was by A. T. Rice, "The Progress of Painting in America," North American Review 124 (May 1877): 457.

<sup>3</sup> Worthington Whittridge, "The American Art Union," The Magazine of History 7.2 (February 1908): 63-68.

<sup>4</sup> E. Maurice Bloch, "The American Art-Union's Downfall," The New York Historical Society Quarterly 37.4 (October 1953): 331-359.

<sup>5</sup> Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, ed., The American Academy of Fine Arts and the American Art Union. Volume 1 contains a Foreword by James Thomas Flexner, an Introduction by Charles F. Baker, and a History of the American Academy of Fine Arts by Theodore Sizer. Volume 2 is a catalogue and record of artists and paintings compiled by Mary Bartlett Cowdrey. (New York: New York Historical Society, 1953).

<sup>6</sup> Neil Harris, The Artist in American Society, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966) 272.

<sup>7</sup> Lillian B. Miller, Patrons and Patriotism, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966) 160-212.

<sup>8</sup> E. P. Richardson, A Short History of Painting in America, (New York: Harper and Row) 155.

<sup>9</sup> John Wilmerding, American Art, (New York: Penguin Books, 1976) 78.

<sup>10</sup> Daniel M. Mendelowitz, A Short History of American Art, 2nd. ed., (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1970) 240, 242.

<sup>11</sup> Barbara Novak, Nature and Culture, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980) 232.

<sup>12</sup> Robert Rosenblum and H. W. Janson, 19th-Century Art, (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1984) 184.

<sup>13</sup> Maybelle Mann, The American Art Union, Exhibition Catalogue, (Otisville, NY, ALM Associates, 1977), passim.

<sup>14</sup> Jay Cantor, "Prints and the American Art-Union," Prints In and Of America to 1850, (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1970): 297-326.

<sup>15</sup> H. Nichols B. Clark, Francis W. Edmonds: American Master in the Dutch Tradition, (Washington, DC, Smithsonian Press, 1988). Patricia Hills, The Painters' America, (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1974).

<sup>16</sup> John K. Howat, "Introduction: A Climate for Landscape Art," American Paradise: The World of the Hudson River School, (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1988) 53.

<sup>17</sup> Robert L. McGrath and Barbara J. MacAdam, "A Sweet Foretaste of Heaven," (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, 1988) 50. The catalogue entry accompanying the Art-Union engraving of John F. Kensett's Mount Washington from the Valley of Conway stated the founding date for the American Art-Union as 1828 and that it was declared illegal by an Act

of Congress.

<sup>18</sup> Mabel Munson Swan, A Climate for Art: The History of the Boston Athenaeum Gallery, 1827-1873, (Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1940). Anna Wells Rutledge, ed., Cumulative Record of Exhibition Catalogues: The Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1807-1870; The Society of Artists, 1800-1814; The Artist's Fund, 1835-1845, (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1955).

<sup>19</sup> Clark S. Marlbor, A History of the Brooklyn Art Association with an Index of Exhibitions, (New York: James F. Carr, 1970) 3.

<sup>20</sup> Catalogues and Reports of the Western Art Union are in the rare book department of the Cincinnati Public Library. A larger collection is in the Cincinnati Historical Society Library.

<sup>21</sup> Roberta Hampton Dean, "The Western Art Union, 1847-1851," Thesis, George Washington University, 1978. Doris Preis Rubinow, "A Study of the Cosmopolitan Art Association, 1854-1862," Thesis[?], Oberlin College[?], 1962. A copy of the paper is on file at the Follet House Museum Library, a division of the Sandusky Public Library, Sandusky, Ohio.

<sup>22</sup> William Gerdts, Painting and Sculpture in New Jersey, Vol. 24, New Jersey Historical Series (Princeton: D. Van Nostrand, 1964), contains some of the exhibition records of the New Jersey Art Union. A complete record was published in the Newark Daily Advertiser, located in the library of the New Jersey Historical Society, Newark.

<sup>23</sup> The records of the American Art-Union are in the manuscript department and the general collection of the New York Historical Society, New York City. The Philadelphia Art Union records are in the manuscript and general collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. The minutes of the Boston Artists' Association are in the rare books and manuscripts collection of the Boston Public Library. The Charter of the Boston Artists' is in the Boston Athenaeum Library.

<sup>24</sup> Charles E. Baker, "Introduction: History of the American Art-Union," The American Academy of Fine Arts and the American Art-Union, Vol. 1, Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, ed., (New York: New York Historical Society, 1953) 216. Baker also stated the average yearly attendance, including the early lean years, was 230,000 from 1839 to 1851 when the average population of New York was not more than 400,000. Furthermore, the rival National Academy of Design claimed the Art-Union had 500,000 visitors in 1848.

<sup>25</sup> Baker 225.

<sup>26</sup> Theodore Sizer, "Introduction: History of the American Academy of Fine Arts," The American Academy of Fine Arts and the American Art-Union, Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, ed., (New York Historical Society, 1953) 13. Sizer stated that the \$50 membership fee of the Academy in 1802 (lowered to \$25 in 1805) equalled approximately \$250 in 1950 dollars. Based on estimates of purchasing power of the dollar by the United States Government, Statistical Abstracts of the United States,

(Washington, DC, United States Bureau of the Census, 1987) 444, \$250 is now about four times larger or \$1,000. Thus, membership in the American Art-Union would cost about \$100 in today's dollars.

<sup>27</sup> Baker 96. The National Academy, organized in 1826, held an exhibition for eight weeks a year, and in those exhibitions only fifty paintings on average were for sale.

<sup>28</sup> Baker 104.

<sup>29</sup> Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Journalism, 3rd. ed., (New York: Macmillan, 1962) 129, stated figures of the Edinburgh Review circulation versus that of the North American Review. Although it would seem likely that news about the Edinburgh Art Union would be in the North American editions of the Edinburgh Review, a search through volumes from 1820 to 1840 yielded no information about the Edinburgh Association. "Edinburgh Select Society," Scots Magazine 31 (1755): 126-130. According to Scots, the Association grew out of the Edinburgh Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Sciences, Manufactures and Agriculture in Scotland founded in 1755, which was an arm of the Select Society of Edinburgh founded in 1754. Its managing committee included patrons of both aristocratic and business background.

<sup>30</sup> Pierpont Morgan Library, The Romantic Spirit: German Drawings from the German Democratic Republic, 1780-1850, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988) 13-18.

Foundation Dates for German Kunstvereine:

1792 Nuremberg



1799-1805 Weimar Kunstfreunde

1814 Berlin Kunstlerverein

1818 Society for Art and Industry of Baden, Karlsruhe

1822 Hamburg

1824 Berlin Architektenverein

1827 Wurttemberg (Stuttgart)

1828 Saxon (Dresden)

1829 Rhineland and Westphalia (Dusseldorf)

1842 Architektenverein (Leipzig)

<sup>31</sup> Pierpont Morgan Library, The Romantic Spirit, 22.

<sup>32</sup> Lillian Miller 168.

<sup>33</sup> Hugh F. Rankin, General Francis Marion: The Swamp Fox, (New York: Crowell, 1973) 252.

<sup>34</sup> "The Fine Arts, Literary World 2 (Jan 22, 1848): 608.

<sup>35</sup> Baker 102-107.

<sup>36</sup> New York City Official Directory: 1830-1853. (New Haven: Research Publications). Microfiche.

<sup>37</sup> Newspaper Clipping Book, American Art-Union, Manuscript Collection, New York: New York Historical Society, New York, passim. The Clipping Scrapbook contains newspaper articles about the American Art-Union from papers all over the United States.

<sup>38</sup> Frank Luther Mott, History of American Journalism, 237.

<sup>39</sup> Thomas W. Whitley was first identified in 1908, although not by name, by Worthington Whittridge in "The American Art Union," The Magazine of History 7.2: 63-68. His identity and activities were covered completely by E. Maurice

Bloch, in 1953 "The American Art-Union's Downfall," New York Historical Society Quarterly 37.4: 331-59.

<sup>40</sup> Mott, A History of American Magazines 2, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938) 316-19. After 1845, Scientific American was no longer edited by Rufus Porter but was managed by members of the Moses Beach family. Beach published the New York Sun, the penny daily of largest circulation.

<sup>41</sup> Henry R. Selden, Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Court of Appeals of the State of New York, Vol. 3 (Albany: W. C. Little and Co., 1854) 228-240.

<sup>42</sup> Artist Index, the Inventory of American Paintings, National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, computer listing has two paintings by Thomas W. Whitley, Nos. 7320013 and 81980013, one in the New Jersey Historical Society, Newark, and the other in Ms. Baird's possession. The director of the Museum at the New Jersey Historical Society believes there are more in New Jersey collections.

<sup>43</sup> Mann 26.

<sup>44</sup> American Art-Union, Account Book of George Austen, Treasurer, 1849-1860. Manuscript Collection, New York Historical Society, New York. Payments to Whitley are from March 16, 1849, through October 17, 1849.

<sup>45</sup> Thomas W. Whitley, Letters Sent by Artists to the Managers of the American Art-Union. Manuscript Collection, New York Historical Society, New York.

<sup>46</sup> Figaro or Corbyn's Chronicle of Amusements: A Weekly Journal Devoted to Art, Music and the Drama, New York, 1850-1851, Serials Collection, New York Public Library and New York Historical Society.

<sup>47</sup> "Henry Hunt Snelling," National Union Catalogue, Pre-1956 Imprints, (London: Mansell Information Publishing, Ltd., Chicago: American Library Association, 1978). "Henry Hunt Snelling," S. Austin Allibone, A Critical History of English Literature and British and American Authors, Vol. 3 (Philadelphia: J. C. Lippincott and Co., 1870).

<sup>48</sup> John Francis McDermott, "George Caleb Bingham and the American Art-Union," New York Historical Society Quarterly, 42.1 (January 1958): 60-69.

<sup>49</sup> Alfred Frankenstein, William Sidney Mount, 1807-1868, (Stony Brook, NY: The Suffolk Museum, Stony Brook, 1968) 18.

<sup>50</sup> Cummings 216.

<sup>51</sup> Baker 192.

<sup>52</sup> Charles Ingham, Letter to Asher Durand, president of the National Academy, September 7, 1849. Archives of American Art Microfilm, Reel D5, 142-3.

<sup>53</sup> Gabriel Harrison, "The American Art-Union and National Academy," The Photographic Art Journal 2 (February 1851): 116.

<sup>54</sup> Baker 145.

<sup>55</sup> John K. Howat, "Washington Crossing the Delaware," Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin 26.7 (March 1968): 289-299.

<sup>56</sup> Raymond. L. Stehle, "Washington Crossing the Delaware," Pennsylvania History 31.3 (July 1964): 268-294. Bulletin of the American Art-Union (December 1850): 159.

<sup>57</sup> Baker 160. Leutze had been commissioned by the American Art-Union in 1949 to paint The Attainder of Strafford for \$1,000, one of the top prices paid that year.

<sup>58</sup> Patricia Hills, The Genre Painting of Eastman Johnson, (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1977) 30-44. American Art-Union, Letters Sent by Artists, (New York: New York Historical Society) Manuscript Collection. Letters Sent by the American Art-Union to Artists. Letters from Andrew Warner, Secretary of the American Art-Union, to Eastman Johnson and George Hall, indicated that influence was exerted to study in Dusseldorf rather than another city in Europe.

<sup>59</sup> Advertisement, "Homestead Art Union," New York Evening Post, February 11, 1851: 2.

<sup>60</sup> "City Intelligence Column," New York Evening Post, December 27, 1850: 2.

<sup>61</sup> Advertisement for "Gift Concert," Brooklyn Daily Advertiser, January 13, 1851: 2. Archives, Brooklyn Historical Society Library, Brooklyn.

<sup>62</sup> "The World's Fair Art Union," Figaro, 2.8: 131. "The World's Fair Art Union," Cincinnati Chronicle, February 22, 1851, American Art-Union Newspaper Clipping Scrap Book. Manuscript Collection, New York Historical Society, New York.

<sup>63</sup> "Illegal Lottery," Brooklyn Daily Advertiser, January 13, 1851: 2.

<sup>64</sup> Joseph Earl Arrington, "William Burr's Moving Panorama of the Great Lakes, the Niagara, St. Lawrence and the Saguenay Rivers," Ontario History 51 (Summer 1959): 141-162.

<sup>65</sup> Bulletin of the American Art-Union (December 1850): 159.

<sup>66</sup> Baker 237.

<sup>67</sup> Charles O'Connor, "Corrected draft of his opinion of the decision of the court of last resort in the case of the Governors of the Alms House of the City of New York vs. the American Art-Union, October, 1883." Manuscript Collection, New York Historical Society, New York.

<sup>68</sup> The Art Union 1.2 (February 1884): 49, was published from 1883 to 1885 by an organization calling itself The American Art Union with a gallery at 44 East Fourteenth Street, Union Square, New York City. The Board of Control for 1883-1884 included Daniel Huntington, President; T. W. Wood, Vice President; E. Wood Perry, Jr. Secretary; Frederick Dielman, Treasurer; W. H. Beard, Henry Farrer, Albert Bierstadt, Eastman Johnson, J. B. Bristol, Jervis M'Entee, A. D. Shattuck and Walter Shirlaw. The etching awarded with the subscription of \$3.00 per year was to be by Shirlaw of a Johnson painting, "The Reprimand." The Board of Control in 1844-45 included the same officers plus Harry Chase and T. Moran, with offices at 51 West Tenth Street, New York City.

<sup>69</sup> "Transactions of the Philadelphia Art Union from 1847 through 1854," (Philadelphia: Historical Society of Pennsylvania): passim.

<sup>70</sup> John Sartain, Reminiscences of a Very Old Man 1808-1897, (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1899) 179.

<sup>71</sup> Transactions of the Philadelphia Art Union, passim.

<sup>72</sup> "Art Notices," Sartain's Union Magazine 9 (August 1851): 156.

<sup>73</sup> Evert A. Duyckinck and George Duyckinck, Cyclopaedia of American Literature, Vol. 2, (New York: Charles Scribner, 1856) 490.

<sup>74</sup> Joseph Sill, Diary, May 8, 1849, Archives of American Art Microfilm, Reel P30, Frame 112.

<sup>75</sup> James S. Wallace, draft of letter to Henry C. Carey, Burlington, New Jersey, February 21, 1855. Edward Carey Gardiner Manuscript Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

<sup>76</sup> "Art Union Resolution," Harriet Sartain Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. This resolution was probably drafted by John Sartain.

<sup>77</sup> Sill, June 10, 1848, Archives of American Art Microfilm, Reel P30, Frame 53; November 14, 1848, Reel P30, Frame 79.

<sup>78</sup> Sill Diary, June 3, 1848, Archives of American Art Microfilm, Reel P30, Frame 51.

<sup>79</sup> Anthony F. C. Wallace, St. Clair: A Nineteenth-Century Coal Town's Experience with a Disaster-Prone Industry, (New York: Knopf, 1987) 58.

<sup>80</sup> Duyckinck 87.

<sup>81</sup> "Henry Carey," Dictionary of American Biography, 448.

<sup>82</sup> Theodore C. Knauff, "An Experiment in Training for the Useful and the Beautiful: A History," [of the Moore College of Art], (Philadelphia: Philadelphia School of Design for Woman, 1922) 47.

<sup>83</sup> Ann Shannon McAllister, In Winter We Flourish: the Life of Sarah Worthington Peter. (New York and Toronto: Longmans-Green and Co., 1939) 141-150.

<sup>84</sup> "Annual Report of the Board of Managers of the Art Union of Philadelphia," (Philadelphia: Davis and Pennington, 1883) 1-4.

<sup>85</sup> "Proceedings," Transactions of the Western Art Union for the Year, 1848, (Cincinnati: Ben Franklin Printing House, 1848) 9.

<sup>86</sup> Western Art Union, Transactions, 1847, 1848, 1849, 1850: passim.

<sup>87</sup> The Allston outlines were twenty subjects engraved by J. and S. W. Cheney from drawings or paintings found in Allston's studio after his death. The subjects were from Milton, Greek myths, the Bible and Shakespeare.

<sup>88</sup> Western Art Union, Transactions, 1850: 16.

<sup>89</sup> Western Art Union, Clippings from Cincinnati Daily Times, 1851, Art Clubs File, Manuscript Collection, Cincinnati Historical Society Library, Cincinnati.

<sup>90</sup> Charles Cist, Sketches and Statistics of Cincinnati in 1851 (Cincinnati: W. H. Moore & Co., 1851) 121, reported from the Cincinnati Enquirer, March 18, 1851: 2. Cist's 1859 edition of Sketches and Statistics of Cincinnati reported that

the Wiswell Gallery continued to be popular.

<sup>91</sup> John Frankenstein, American Art: Its Awful Altitude: A Satire, (Cincinnati, 1864), Facsimile Reprint, William Coyle, ed., (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1972) 18-19, 21-22, 118.

<sup>92</sup> McAllister passim.

<sup>93</sup> "E. L. Magoon," National Cyclopedia of American Biography, 1984 ed. (Clifton, NJ: James T. White).

<sup>94</sup> Harris 308.

<sup>95</sup> The Herald of Truth 1.2 (March 1847): n. pag., had carried an article possibly by Whitley entitled "The Mission of Art." It also praised the Western Art Union in its February 1848 issue.

<sup>96</sup> Thomas W. Whitley, "Reflections on the Government of the Western Art Union," The Herald of Truth, a circular, 24 pages (Cincinnati: The Herald Office, 1848).

<sup>97</sup> C. T. Greve, Centennial History of Cincinnati and Representative Citizens Vol. 1 (Chicago: Biographical Publishing Co., 1904) 801.

<sup>98</sup> Donald Martin Reynolds, Hiram Powers and His Ideal Sculpture (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977) 40-41.

<sup>99</sup> Ernest I. Miller, "Ned Buntline," Bulletin of the Historical and Philosophical Society of Ohio 10.1 (January 1952): 2-25. Better known by his pen name "Ned Buntline," Judson later became the author of well-known dime novels and promoter of Buffalo Bill. He was a founder of the nativist political party, the "Know-Nothings," and he instigated in



1849 in New York the Astor Place Riots directed against the English actor, William Macready. Macready was the principal theatrical rival of American actor Edwin Forrest, and the rivalry provided a convenient vehicle to incite nativist support. For his part in the Riots, Buntline was sentenced to a year in prison; upon release, he was greeted by his supporters with a hero's parade through the New York streets.

<sup>100</sup> Mott, A History of American Magazines Vol. 2, 338.

<sup>101</sup> The Mercantile Library Association sponsored a famous talk on February 1, 1848, by the utopian economic reformer, Robert Dale Owen, founder of the utopian community in New Harmony, Indiana, and son of English socialist, Robert Owen. He later was elected to the Senate from Indiana.

<sup>102</sup> Harris 294. Harris stated the Cosmopolitan Art Association was a "lay controlled organization."

<sup>103</sup> Daily Sanduskian, December 31, 1851: 1.

<sup>104</sup> "O[rrville] J. Victor," Dictionary of American Biography.

<sup>105</sup> Charles E. Frohman, "Sandusky's Third Dimension," (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1971): n. pag. Cosmopolitan Art Association File, Sandusky Public Library.

<sup>106</sup> Cosmopolitan Art Association, Journal 3 Supplement (December 1859): 245; Archives of American Art Microfilm, Reel 1397, Frame 301.

<sup>107</sup> Clippings, Daily Commercial Register, 1854-1857, Cosmopolitan Art Association File, Sandusky Public Library, Sandusky, Ohio.

<sup>108</sup> Samuel A. Roberson and William H. Gerdtz, "The Greek Slave," The Museum NS 17.1-2 (Winter and Spring 1965), Newark, NJ: The Newark Museum: 23.

<sup>109</sup> Carl Bode, The Anatomy of American Popular Culture, 1840-1860 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959) 81-84.

<sup>110</sup> Cosmopolitan Art Journal 1.4 (June 1857): 135, Archives of American Art Microfilm, Reel 1397, Frame 16; 1.5 (September 1857): 161, Reel 1397, Frame 29.

<sup>111</sup> J. C. Derby, Fifty Years Among Authors, Books and Publishers (New York: C. W. Carleton & Co., 1884) 18-21. "James Cephas Derby," National Cyclopedia of American Biography Vol. 11, 497-98. The oldest of four brothers was James Cephas Derby, a Centurion and Fellow of the National Academy of Design. He was a publisher in New York and served as under secretary in the State Department for Seward in 1862. He died in Brooklyn in 1892. The second was Henry William, a book seller and publisher in Cincinnati and an art dealer in New York for many years, who died in Cincinnati in 1892. The third was George Hunter, a book dealer and publisher in Buffalo, who died from cholera in 1853, as he was in the process of establishing a publishing house in San Francisco. The youngest was Chauncey Lyman, who founded the Cosmopolitan Art Association in Sandusky and New York. He also was an art dealer and died in New York in 1876.

<sup>112</sup> Charles E. Frohman, A History of Sandusky and Erie County (Columbus: Ohio Historical Society, 1965) 43.

<sup>113</sup> Ironically, in the fall of 1987, a small poster, advertising an art show in a nearby community, was displayed behind the otherwise empty, large, plate glass window of the vacant Hubbard Block.

<sup>114</sup> Patricia Hills, The Genre Painting of Eastman Johnson (New York: Garland Publishing Co., 1977) 28.

<sup>115</sup> Dusseldorf Art Union, Catalogue, (New York, 1849) 1-8.

<sup>116</sup> Joseph Sill Diary, May 10, 1849, Archives of American Art Microfilm, Reel P30, Frame 113.

<sup>117</sup> Paul Zweig, Walt Whitman: The Making of the Poet (New York: Baker Books, 1984) 124.

<sup>118</sup> Walt Whitman, "The Fine Arts," New York Evening Post, February 12, 1851: 2.

<sup>119</sup> Baker 168.

<sup>120</sup> Swan 100.

<sup>121</sup> "Gems from the Dusseldorf Gallery," (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1863.) Photographs by A. A. Hunt, under the superintendence of B. Frodsham.

<sup>122</sup> "New England Art Union," Literary World 68, Vol. 3.16 (May 20, 1848): 310. "The people of Boston have followed the example of the New Yorkers and Philadelphians in founding a society for the encouragement of art and for a diffusion of its products . . . incorporating officers: James B. Gregerson, Henry W. Longfellow, Abbott Lawrence, their successors and associates under the name New England Art Union, in order to promote a greater knowledge and love of the Fine Arts.. The signers of the petition for this act are the Rev. Dr. Sharp,

Mr. William H. Prescott and Charles Sumner." Charles Fenno Hoffman was the editor of the Literary World at this date.

<sup>123</sup> Boston Artists Association, Charter and Roster, December 1841: 1-4. Manuscript Collection, Athenaeum Library, Boston. The original membership roster included architects as well as painters and sculptors.

<sup>124</sup> Boston Artists Association, "Journal of Proceedings," Vol. 1, December 1841: n. pag. Rare Books and Manuscript Collection, Public Library, Boston.

<sup>125</sup> Boston Artists Association, "Journal of Proceedings," Vol. 2, January 14, 1847, n. pag.

<sup>126</sup> Boston Artists Association, "Journal of Proceedings," Vol. 2, January 9, 1849, n. pag.

<sup>127</sup> New England Art Union, Bulletin 1 (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, 1852): 2.

<sup>128</sup> New England Art Union, Bulletin 1: 16.

<sup>129</sup> New England Art Union, Bulletin 1: 2.

<sup>130</sup> Letter from Honorary Secretary William Y. Balch, who was a gilder with studios on Tremont Row, Boston, to Andrew Warner, November 5, 1850. Letters to Art-Union File, Manuscript Collection, New York Historical Society.

<sup>131</sup> Boston (Suffolk County) City Directory, (Boston: R. L. Polk), Microfiche. The firm, Peirce and Kendall, commission merchants, 3 1/2 Commercial St., was listed for only the year, 1851, in the Boston Directory. Prior to that year, Joseph N. Peirce, was listed as a portrait painter, living at 55 Fayette, and Charles M. Kendall, a clerk, 8 Long

Wharf. After 1851, Peirce continued to live at the same home address, but his occupation was listed as musician. Kendall had various business addresses as a commission merchant, and until 1853 his home address was the same as Peirce's. Kendall's name is missing from the Directory after 1856, and Peirce is once again listed as an artist. A search in ship registries for Boston have yielded no Art-Union. The information about the ship was first reported to the public in Bulletin of the American Art Union in December 1850, and the name Peirce was misspelled Pierce. It has been repeated in the misspelled form by Baker and Cowdrey and all following writers, who have cited the ship as evidence that the Boston public was more interested in the American Art-Union than in the Boston based organization. It is likely to have been part of Balch's efforts to convince the Art-Union officers of his zeal in obtaining new subscribers.

<sup>132</sup> "The Fine Arts," The Literary World 2 (January 22, 1848): 608.

<sup>133</sup> Robert F. Dalzell, Jr., Enterprising Elite: the Boston Associates and the World They Made (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987) 128.

<sup>134</sup> William H. Gerdtts, Jr., Painting and Sculpture in New Jersey, 87.

<sup>135</sup> "John Jay Mapes," Dictionary of American Biography.

<sup>136</sup> City Directory of Weehawken and Hoboken, New Jersey, 1860-1861. Archives, New Jersey Historical Society Library, Newark.

<sup>137</sup> Whitley, "A Guide to Hoboken, the Elysian Fields and Weehawken," pamphlet (Hoboken: Thomas W. Whitley, 1858): passim.

<sup>138</sup> The painting is in the private collection of Mary Stevens Baird, Bernardsville, New Jersey, who supplied photographs of the painting. It was located through the registry at the Archives of American Art, Washington, DC.

<sup>139</sup> Gerdts, Painting and Sculpture in New Jersey, 90.

<sup>140</sup> "Dissolution of the New Jersey Art Union," Newark Daily Advertiser, October 28, 1853: 3.

<sup>141</sup> Gerdts, Painting and Sculpture in New Jersey, 91-2.

<sup>142</sup> "Art and Artists: Remarks of Walt Whitman, before the Brooklyn Art Union, on the Evening of March 31, 1851," Brooklyn Daily Advertiser, April 3, 1851: 2.

<sup>143</sup> Zweig 127.

<sup>144</sup> Justin Koplin, Walt Whitman, A Life (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1980) 166.

<sup>145</sup> Emory Holloway, ed., The Uncollected Poetry and Prose of Walt Whitman, 2 Vols. (Garden City, NY: P. Smith, 1932) 142, quoting from Walt Whitman, "Matters Which Were Seen and Done in an Afternoon Ramble," in the Brooklyn Daily Eagle, November 19, 1846.

<sup>146</sup> Whitman, "Something About Art and Brooklyn Artists," New York Evening Post, February 1, 1851: 2.

<sup>147</sup> Koplin 165.

<sup>148</sup> Brooklyn Daily Advertiser, February 5, 1851: 3.

Attempts to identify the exact print from the description were unsuccessful in the Archives at the Brooklyn Public Library,

the Brooklyn Historical Society, and the Brooklyn Museum Library (which houses the records of the original Brooklyn Institute) and the New York Public Library Print Room.

<sup>149</sup> Early exhibition records of the Brooklyn Institute are in the Library of the Brooklyn Museum and the Brooklyn Historic Society. Neither institution has a catalogue for the Art Union exhibit.

<sup>150</sup> Henry Reed Stiles, History of Kings County (Brooklyn), 1683-1883, Vol. 2 (Brooklyn: W. W. Munsell & Co., 1884) 1139.

<sup>151</sup> Brooklyn Daily Eagle, December 23, 1850: 2.

<sup>152</sup> Brooklyn Daily Advertiser, December 3, 1850: 3.

<sup>153</sup> Brooklyn Daily Advertiser, February 26, 1851: 2.

Although no collection of the work of Walt Whitman has ever contained this short review, he was probably the author. The style is similar to his other articles on art and his preferences for certain painters are the same, particularly his reservations on Charles Nahl, whose Germanic style he did not care for. No doubt another exhibitor was Augustus Wenderoth, who resided with Nahl, natives of the same city in Germany. A letter written in 1848 from Nahl and Wenderoth to the Philadelphia Art Union is in the archives of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. It asks that art union if it will accept paintings and ink sketches from immigrants. Nahl became a prolific painter and engraver of the California Gold Rush scenes.

<sup>154</sup> Brooklyn Daily Advertiser, April 1, 1951: 3. The complete list of winners is included, since information about the Brooklyn Art Union has never before been duplicated from the original newspaper article. Occupations have been matched with names and addresses from Hearne's Brooklyn, New York, City Directory, 1850-1851 and 1851-1852, Microfilm, Brooklyn Historical Society Library, Brooklyn.

<sup>155</sup> "Advertising Prospectus for the International Art Union," Literary World 3.99 (December 23, 1848): 959.

<sup>156</sup> Richard Moody, The Astor Place Riot, New York, 1840 (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1948) 47.

<sup>157</sup> Stephen Garney, Gramercy Park: An Illustrated History of a New York Neighborhood (New York: Rutledge Books, 1984) 53.

<sup>158</sup> International Art Union, "Announcement of Winners of Paintings, January 10, 1850," Archives of American Art Microfilm, Reel 129, Frame 544-9.

<sup>159</sup> Baker 145.

<sup>160</sup> "Daguerrotype Art Union," Chicago Democrat July 20, 1845, Microfilm.

<sup>161</sup> Advertisement: "Chicago Art Union," Chicago Daily Democrat, November 16, 1850, Microfilm.

<sup>162</sup> Catalogue of the First Chicago Art Union Distribution, Hessler's Gallery, December 7, 1860: 1-5. Advertising circular.

<sup>163</sup> Bessie L. Pierce, History of Chicago, Vol. 1 (1673-1848): 289, and Vol. 2 (1848-1871): 427 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937 and 1940).



<sup>164</sup> John Smith Kendall, History of New Orleans, 2 Vols. (Chicago: 1922) 658-661.

<sup>165</sup> James Wallace, Letter to John Sartain, September 9, 1860, John Sartain papers, Archives of American Art Microfilm, Reel 27, Frame 523.

<sup>166</sup> Art union managers have frequently been categorized as a class of self-made men from rural backgrounds. The first use of "merchant princes" referred to Bostonians in "The Fine Arts," Literary World 2 (January 22, 1849): 608, on the opening of the Philadelphia Art Union. Meant to castigate Bostonians who had not yet established an art union when both New York and Philadelphia already had done so, the editor and writers of the Literary World were very pro-New York and anti-Boston.

<sup>167</sup> Clark 27-28, 30, 31, 56.

<sup>168</sup> Duncanson was a regular exhibitor at the Western Art Union. He also exhibited at the American Art-Union and the Philadelphia Art Union as did Lily Martin Spencer. She became a favorite of the Cosmopolitan Art Association.

<sup>169</sup> Dictionary of American History, Rev. ed., Vol. 7 (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1978) 362. "'Young America,' a popular and widespread phrase culturally generic to the period (1840-1852), designating anything that exhibited the youthful spirit of energy and enterprise characteristic of the times. Historically, it was a concept related to ideas of capitalistic progress and romantic individualism. Also an aggressively nationalistic term, it combined democratic

universalism, imported from Europe by scholars and refugees, with the notion of manifest destiny espoused by elements in the Democratic party. . . . Fundamentally an attempt to construct issues apart from sectional controversy, this premature experiment had no lasting effects. After finding scattered literary and political expression, Young Americanism gradually disappeared, having made a contribution chiefly to native democratic idealism." Similar movements existed in the same period as Young Italy and Young Ireland in those respective countries.

<sup>170</sup> Perry Miller, The Raven and the Whale (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1955) 186.

<sup>171</sup> Perry Miller 143.

<sup>172</sup> Perry Miller 59, 191.

<sup>173</sup> Edgar Allen Poe, Broadway Journal 1.1 (Jan. 4, 1845): 12.

<sup>174</sup> Figaro or Corbyn's Chronicle of Amusement, Wardle Corbyn was publisher and J. W. S. Hous, editor of Figaro, in 1850. D. Russell Lee was publisher and Thomas Powell, editor, in 1851.

<sup>175</sup> Mott, A History of American Journalism, (New York: Macmillan, 1962) 314-316.

<sup>176</sup> Mott, A History of American Magazines, Vol. 2, 336.

<sup>177</sup> Perry Miller 98.

<sup>178</sup> Mott, History of American Journalism, Vol. 2, 207.

<sup>179</sup> Duyckinck 158.

<sup>180</sup> Clark 19-22, 33-34, 49-52.

<sup>181</sup> Baker 292.

<sup>182</sup> Francis Grubar, William Ranney (Washington, DC: Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1962) 17.

<sup>183</sup> Rankin 290-99.

<sup>184</sup> Grubar, William Ranney, 39, noted the similarity with Leutze's painting. It is interesting to note that Leutze's painting was also acquired by William H. Webb, New York shipbuilder. Both Washington Crossing the Delaware and Marion Crossing the Pedee was in the Webb Sale of 1876.

<sup>185</sup> Alfred Frankenstein 8.

<sup>186</sup> Alfred Frankenstein 38, 42.

<sup>187</sup> Robert F. Westervelt, "Whig Painter of Missouri," American Art Journal 2.1 (Spring 1970): 46-53.

<sup>188</sup> Westervelt, 48, quoting Rollins, ed., "Letters of George Caleb Bingham," Missouri Historical Review 12: 15-16.

<sup>189</sup> James C. Wetmore, The Whitmore/Wetmore Family, (Albany: Munsell and Rowland, 1861) 72-75, 126-133. Wetmore's cousin, Alphonso Wetmore, had been paymaster of the New York militia and wounded in the War of 1812. Alphonso was an ardent westward expansionist, who wrote The Santa Fe Trail. Undoubtedly a "Locofoco" Democrat, he later lived most of his adult life in rural Missouri near Bingham's home, or in St. Louis, where he was a lawyer, newspaperman and author of The Pedlar, the first play produced west of the Mississippi. Bingham, early in his career, painted Leonidas, Alphonso's son. With Bingham's Whig affiliations and activities, he and Wetmore would have been political opponents, which could have

influenced Bingham's relations with the American Art-Union during Prosper Wetmore's tenure as President.

<sup>190</sup> McDermott 60-69.

<sup>191</sup> Clark 52.

<sup>192</sup> Alexis de Tocqueville, Democracy in America, Vol. 3 (New York: Vantage Books, 1945) 219-228.

<sup>193</sup> Lyndel Saunders King, The Industrialization of Taste: Victorian England and the Art Union of London, Diss., Minnesota University (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1986) 32.

<sup>194</sup> King 38.

<sup>195</sup> "History," Moore College of Art Information Bulletin (Philadelphia: Moore College of Art, n.d.) 3.

<sup>196</sup> C. T. Greve, History of Cincinnati Vol. 1 (Cincinnati: 1901) 801.

<sup>197</sup> Ernest F. Brown, Raymond of the Times (New York: Norton, 1951) 55-57.

<sup>198</sup> Anthony Wallace 194.

<sup>199</sup> Dalzell 222-227.

<sup>200</sup> Russell Blaine Nye, Society and Culture in America, 1830-1860 (New York: Harper & Row, 1974) 72.

<sup>201</sup> American Art-Union, Newspaper Clipping Scrap Book, Manuscript Collection, New York Historical Society, passim. Various New York newspapers reported or fabricated any bit of news that could make the Art-Union subject to criticism on moral grounds. The items were often reprinted in papers across the country.

<sup>202</sup> Nye 29.

<sup>203</sup> Istvan Deak, The Lawful Revolution: Louis Kossuth and the Hungarian Revolution, 1848-1849 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979) 343-345.

<sup>204</sup> Donald S. Spencer, Louis Kossuth and Young America (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press, 1977) 172.

<sup>205</sup> Spencer 182-3.

<sup>206</sup> William Vaughan, German Romanticism and English Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1974) 160.

<sup>207</sup> William H. Gerdts and Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., A Man of Genius: The Art of Washington Allston (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1979) 42.

<sup>208</sup> William H. Gerdts, "Washington Allston and German Romantic Classicists in Rome," Art Quarterly 32 (Summer 1967): 192.

<sup>209</sup> Novak, Nature and Culture, 255.

<sup>210</sup> Vaughan 2, also stated that although not known in England at the time, Friedrich's paintings were related to the mystic primitivism of English artists like William Blake and Samuel Palmer and the general interest in primitivism and revivalism which began around 1800.

<sup>211</sup> Novak, Nature and Culture, 266.

<sup>212</sup> Barbara Novak, American Painting of the Nineteenth Century (New York: Praeger Publishers, 1969) 67-79.

<sup>213</sup> Nye 117.

- <sup>214</sup> Jonathan Wordsworth, Michael C. Jaye, Robert Woof, William Wordsworth and the Age of English Romanticism (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987) 60-85.
- <sup>215</sup> Bode 188.
- <sup>216</sup> Jasper Cropsey, "Up Among the Clouds," The Crayon 2 (August 8, 1855): 79-80.
- <sup>217</sup> Cowdrey, ed., American Art Union, Vol. 2, 95-98. Philadelphia Art Union Reporter 1-11 (1847-1851): passim, Historical Society of Pennsylvania Library, Philadelphia.
- <sup>218</sup> Rosenblum, Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art, 17.
- <sup>219</sup> G.[eorge] W.[ashington] P.[eck], "Sketches," American Art Union Bulletin (May 1850): 8-20.
- <sup>220</sup> Rosenblum, Transformations in Late Eighteenth-Century Art, 173-75. Rosenblum, The International Style of 1800: A Study in Linear Abstraction (New York: Garland Publishing, 1976) 159.
- <sup>221</sup> Western Art Union Record 1.1 (May 1849): 3.
- <sup>222</sup> King 167-8.
- <sup>223</sup> Sue W. Reed, "F. O. C. Darley's Outline Illustrations," The Illustrated Book in the Nineteenth Century, Gerald W. R. Ward, ed., Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual North American Print Conference, Winterthur, Delaware, April 1982 (Delaware: Winterthur Museum, 1987) 113-135.
- <sup>224</sup> "Art Notices," Harper's Magazine 2 (December 1850): 277.
- <sup>225</sup> Cosmopolitan Art Association 3 (December 1858): 69.

<sup>226</sup> Frank Weitenkampf, The Illustrated Book (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938) 26.

<sup>227</sup> Lily Martin Spencer, letter to her mother, October 11, 1850, Lily Martin Spencer Papers, Archives of American Art Microfilm, Reel 131.

<sup>228</sup> Perry Miller 103.

<sup>229</sup> "Copyright," Encyclopedia Americana, International Edition (Danbury, CT: Grolier, Inc., 1984).

<sup>230</sup> Linda F. Pinkerton and John T. Guardalabene, The Art Law Primer: A Manual for Visual Artists (New York: Nick Lyons Books, 1988) 1-25. Artists' problems with copyright in the United States remain unsettled at the present time.

<sup>231</sup> Weitenkampf 185-86, states the development of photomechanical processes brought conventionality, mechanical formula and thoughtless slickness at the end of the nineteenth century.

<sup>232</sup> American Art-Union, Bulletin (September 1851): 94.

<sup>233</sup> Richard D. Altick, The Shows of London (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1978) 195-305.

<sup>234</sup> Richard Winkman, "An Evaluation of the Employment of Panoramic Scenery in the Nineteenth-Century Theatre," Diss., Ohio State University, 1961: 98.

<sup>235</sup> Baker 218.

<sup>236</sup> Moody 82-100.

<sup>237</sup> Danforth Museum, American Artists in Dusseldorf: 1840-1865 (Framingham, MA: Danforth Museum, 1982) 11.

- 238 "J. W. E." Correspondent, "The School of Art at Dusseldorf, American Art-Union, Bulletin (April 1850): 5-7.
- 239 Hills, The Genre Painting of Eastman Johnson, 30-44.
- 240 "Art in Germany," American Art-Union, Bulletin (July 1851): 67; (September 1851): 99.
- 241 New England Art Union, Bulletin 1 (April 1851): 8-9.
- 242 Rosenblum, 19th-Century Art, 183.
- 243 Vaughan 63 quoting Eastlake from London Magazine 1 (1820): 42.
- 244 Vaughan 3-10.
- 245 King passim.
- 246 Vaughan 10, 56-70.
- 247 Vaughan 56.
- 248 American Art-Union, Bulletin (November 1851): 103.
- 249 "Art in Foreign States: England," American Art-Union, Bulletin (July 1851): 65.
- 250 "W" Correspondent, "Ruskin and the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood," American Art-Union, Bulletin (August 1851): 75.
- 251 Novak, Nature and Culture, 250.
- 252 Novak, Nature and Culture, 250.
- 253 Linda S. Ferber and William H. Gerdts, The New Path: Ruskin and the American Pre-Raphaelites (Brooklyn, NY: The Brooklyn Museum, 1985) 13-16.
- 254 "W" Correspondent, American Art-Union, Bulletin (June 1951): 33-9.
- 255 Ferber 83.



- <sup>256</sup> "Art in Foreign States: England; the London Art Journal," American Art-Union, Bulletin (September 1851): 100.
- <sup>257</sup> "American Artists Abroad," American Art-Union, Bulletin (June 1851): 50.
- <sup>258</sup> Douglas M. Reynolds, Hiram Powers and His Ideal Sculpture (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977) 304-5.
- <sup>259</sup> "W" Correspondent, "Nationality in American Art," American Art-Union Bulletin (December 1851): 137-9.
- <sup>260</sup> Reynolds 83-4.
- <sup>261</sup> "Biography of an American Artist Abroad," American Art-Union, Bulletin (July 1851): 57-60.
- <sup>262</sup> Perry Miller 24.
- <sup>263</sup> "Notes from France by M. Dupey," American Art-Union, Bulletin (May 1851): 25.
- <sup>264</sup> "Gleanings from French Journals," American Art-Union Bulletin (September 1851): 90.
- <sup>265</sup> Douglas E. Edelson, "Courbet's Reception in America before 1900," Sarah Faunce and Linda Nochlin, Courbet Reconsidered (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988) 62-4. The Quarry was purchased by the Allston Club in Boston and displayed in the Athenaeum and later in the Museum of Fine Arts.
- <sup>266</sup> Metropolitan Museum of Art, In Pursuit of Beauty: America and the Aesthetic Movement (New York: Rizzoli, 1986) 23-48.
- <sup>267</sup> Kate Steinway, "Introduction and Checklist to Exhibition," Connecticut's Currier & Ives: The Kelloggs of Hartford (Hartford: Connecticut Historical Society, May-

November, 1987) passim. A comprehensive show of the Kellogg Company's work at the Connecticut Historical Society in 1987 gave ample evidence of the difference in quality and subject. Their prints sold for pennies in contrast to the engravings issued by the Art Unions.

<sup>268</sup> Mark E. Neely, Jr., et al., The Confederate Image: Prints of the Lost Cause (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1897) passim.

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