

THE SHAW MEMORIAL AND THE SCULPTOR ST. GAUDENS.

I. THE HISTORY OF THE MONUMENT.



IN October or November, 1865, a meeting was held in the council-chamber of Massachusetts, on the call of the governor, Dr. S. G. Howe, Senator Sumner, Henry Lee, and others, at which a committee of twenty-one was appointed to procure an equestrian statue of the late Robert G. Shaw, the commander of the Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Regiment, who fell at Fort Wagner, and to raise the money necessary for this purpose. The purpose was declared in the following words:

«The Monument is intended not only to mark the public gratitude to the fallen hero who at a critical moment assumed a perilous responsibility, but also to commemorate that great event wherein he was a leader by which the title of colored men as citizen soldiers was fixed beyond recall. In such a work all who honor youthful dedication to a noble cause and who rejoice in the triumph of freedom should have an opportunity to contribute.»

The committee consisted of John A. Andrew, chairman; Charles Sumner, Joshua B. Smith, Henry P. Kidder, Charles R. Codman, Henry W. Longfellow, James L. Little, William W. Clapp, Jr., Charles Beck, William G. Weld, Leonard A. Grimes, Royal E. Robbins, Robert E. Apthorp, Francis W. Bird, Edward W. Kingsley, George B. Loring, Alanson W. Beard, Solomon B. Stebbins, Robert K. Darrah; Charles W. Slack, secretary.

I was not present at the meeting, but on the request of Senator Sumner I undertook to serve as treasurer.

Between October, 1865, and March, 1866, the sum of \$3161 was placed in my hands, invested, and later reinvested.

After the death of Governor Andrew and, later, that of Senator Sumner, interest in the subject lapsed, the money remaining in my hands. In 1876 the fund had reached somewhat over \$7000. There appeared to be no executive body in existence, and it seemed to me judicious to have an effective committee appointed, with full powers. I therefore sent notice to all the subscribers, suggesting that they put written authority in my hands to call Messrs. John M. Forbes,

Henry Lee, and M. P. Kennard to act as such committee, to which the assent of all the subscribers was given.

The whole number of subscribers was thirty-five; the total amount of money received from subscriptions was \$7521. In 1883 the fund had increased, by investment and reinvestment, to \$16,656.21, and that sum seemed sufficient to procure a suitable work.

The desire had been expressed to me by Senator Sumner that the work should consist of an equestrian statue of Colonel Shaw in very high relief upon a large bronze tablet. A suitable place for such a work appeared to be in the curve on the front of the State House, at the level of the sidewalk.

While I was thinking of this matter, the late H. H. Richardson, who was my neighbor and friend, asked me what had become of the plan for a monument, saying that he had known Colonel Shaw, and greatly desired that the monument should be one of highest merit. He stated that he had some ideas upon the subject, upon which I submitted to him the suggestion for an alto-rilievo in front of the State House. To this suggestion he gave earnest assent, offering his services for the architectural work, and suggesting Mr. Augustus St. Gaudens as the sculptor. The statue of Admiral Farragut had just then been placed, and on viewing a photograph of it I concurred with Mr. Richardson in this choice. Having a great dread of competitions in connection with such a subject, I brought the matter before the committee, who approved making an immediate contract with Mr. St. Gaudens for the work. That contract was executed February 23, 1884, within the sum in the custody of the committee. The money was then placed on deposit in the New England Trust Company, where the accumulation has since been at trust-company rates of interest, reaching a total of \$22,620.95.

It was expected that the work would be completed in two years; but as the artist dealt with it, it grew upon him in its importance, in its significance, and also in the size of the panel. Hence, although the consent of the State had been given to the use of the land in front of the State House, it was thought best to choose a site where the



THE SHAW MEMORIAL.

memorial should be placed on a terrace within the lines of Boston Common.

The artist, controlled by his own concep-

When the time of completion seemed near at hand, Mr. George von L. Meyer became interested in the matter. Being then an alder-



A DETAIL OF THE SHAW MEMORIAL.

tion, has devoted a part of each of the twelve best years of his life to this great work. In the interval Mr. Richardson passed away, and Mr. McKim became the artist's adviser on the architectural part.

man of the city of Boston, he obtained an appropriation for building the terrace. That has been executed by Norcross Brothers at the cost of nearly \$20,000. Only five of the committee are now living.

Edward Atkinson.

II. THE SCULPTOR ST. GAUDENS.

I.

THE «Shaw» was finished and ready for the bronze-founders. As I sat in the studio of the sculptor, one afternoon in the autumn of 1896, I read aloud the inscription on the base of the monument. «The 10th of October!» I exclaimed. «This is Shaw's birthday.» And the coincidence that the last touch had been put on the memorial on that anniversary morning led me to ask Mr. St. Gaudens about the time he had spent upon it. It has been said in some quarters that Mr. St. Gaudens takes a good deal of time to finish a work, and he has even been charged with being dilatory. He told me, as we sat looking at the «Shaw,» that he had received the commission twelve years before, but had spent only two years and a half in actual work on it. During the period between the time he received the commission and the autumn of 1896, when the memorial was finished, he produced, with the exception of the statues of Farragut and Randall and some other less important works, all the sculpture that has made his reputation. It was not the actual execution of the Shaw memorial that took the time, but the thinking about it. The artist, modifying his original sketch, made many changes. The original idea of the equestrian figure with the troops in the background has always been adhered to; but the horseman and the

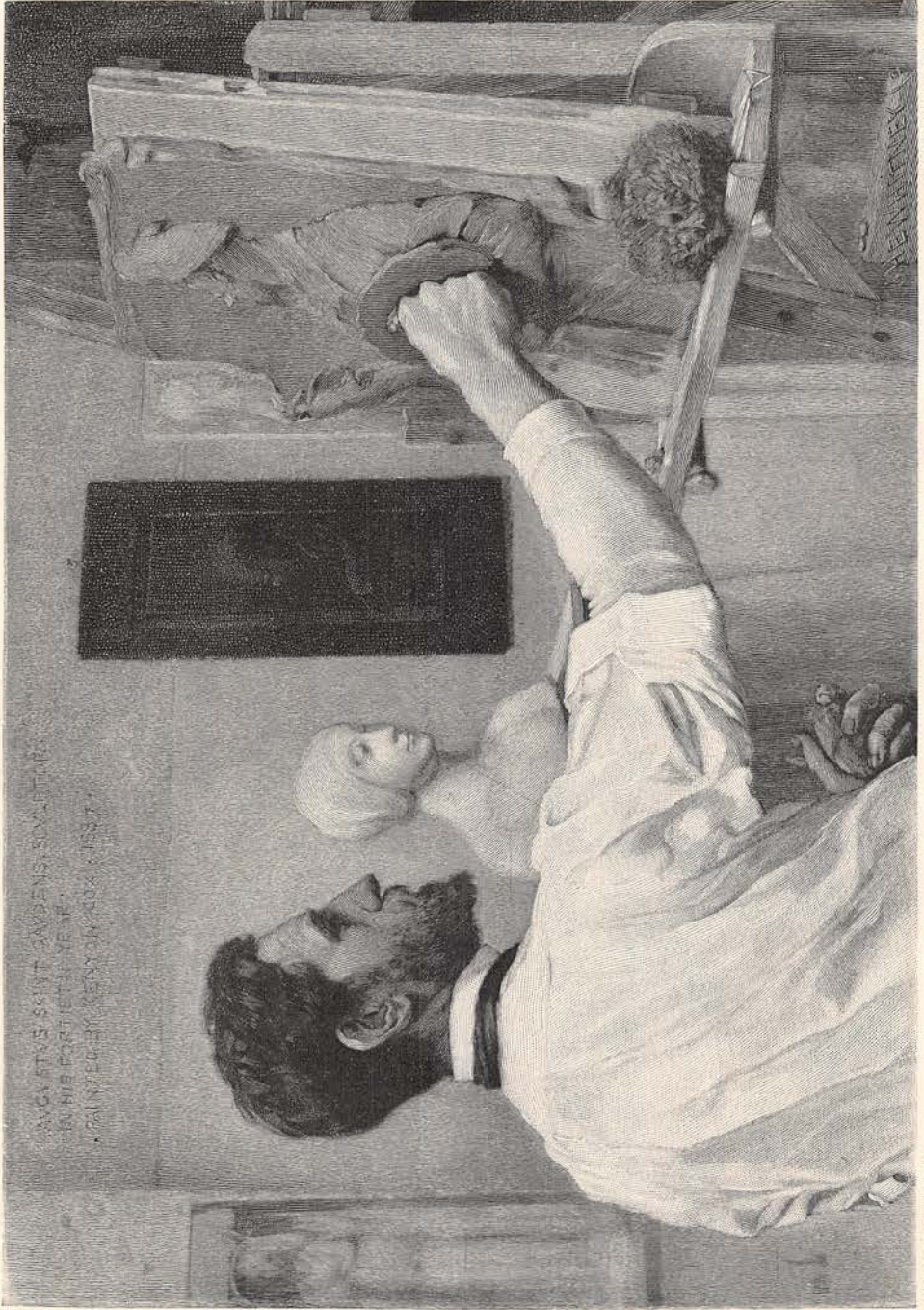
soldiers have been almost entirely modeled before in lower relief, and the work thus designed, with a different general scheme from that which it presents in its completed state, was almost finished more than once and pulled down again.

In the very beginning, before any definite plan was settled upon, the projectors of the



A DETAIL OF THE SHAW MEMORIAL.

monument thought it should take the form of an equestrian statue on a high pedestal: but the family of Colonel Shaw felt that this would give too much importance to the single figure, the idea of the memorial being



AUGUSTUS ST. GAUDENS, N.Y.
1878. THE FIRST N.Y.
PAINTED BY KENYON COX.

PORTRAIT BY KENYON COX.

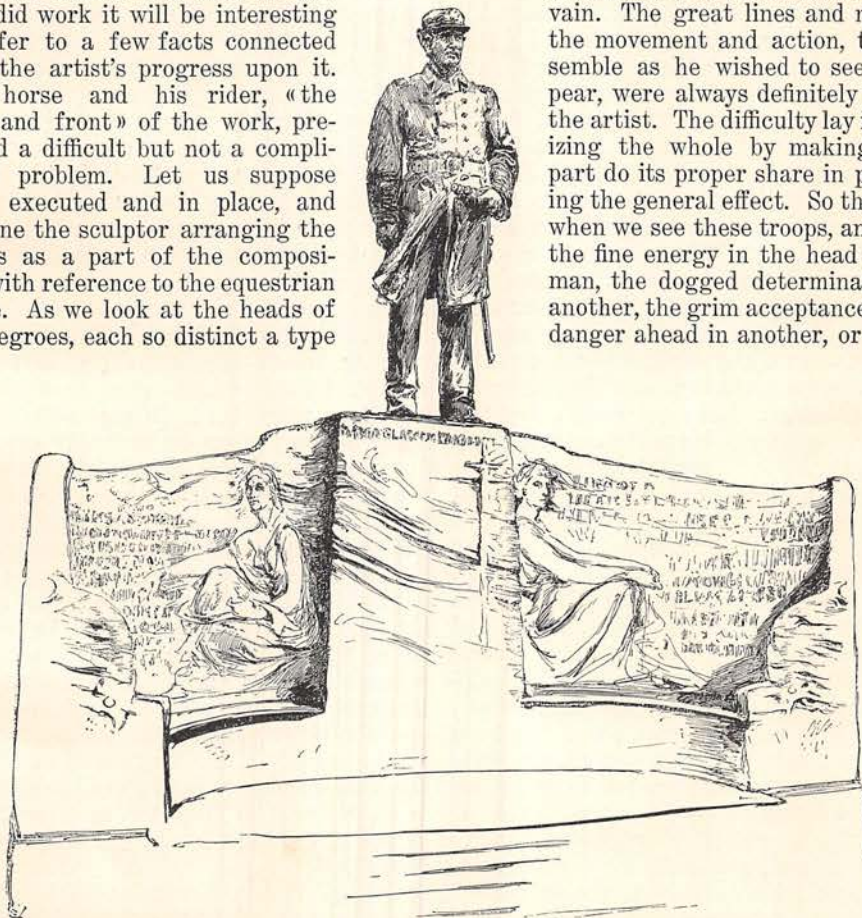
AUGUSTUS ST. GAUDENS.

ENGRAVED BY J. H. E. WHITNEY.

that it should typify patriotic devotion, and embody a modern spirit with heroic attributes. Young Shaw was chosen as the type to illustrate the idea; but he was to be thought of as a commander of troops, a man associated with other young officers, and, at their head, marching to war for his country. Mr. St. Gaudens finally decided upon a composition in which, with the commander in high relief, almost in the round, and the troops behind him in high relief, the elements of the conception might be bound together. When he explained it to the memorial committee, it received their approval, and he made his first sketch.

Artists understand the difficulties that are inherent in the creation of a work of art. It is not shown to the public until it is finished, and then, seen in its completeness, there is nothing to tell—as there should not be—of the trials through which perfection was attained. But in the case of this splendid work it will be interesting to refer to a few facts connected with the artist's progress upon it. The horse and his rider, «the head and front» of the work, presented a difficult but not a complicated problem. Let us suppose them executed and in place, and imagine the sculptor arranging the troops as a part of the composition with reference to the equestrian figure. As we look at the heads of the negroes, each so distinct a type

and so natural, it might be supposed that, having found a suitable model and having made a satisfactory study, the sculptor had only to put such a figure in a given place and go on to the next one. But though he had many models, and though he found many heads that pleased him on account of one or another quality or characteristic, though he made heads in which he obtained all that he sought to achieve, he found over and over again that he could not use them. The study while isolated was admirable; placed in the niche intended for it, it «threw out» all the rest, and could not be used. It could not be modified in many cases, and there was nothing to do but to cast it aside and begin anew. Let it be borne in mind that there was no haphazard selection, but that each study was made with a definite conception in view. It was the difficulty of harmonizing, of making the whole work unified and yet characteristic, that made these essays vain. The great lines and masses, the movement and action, the ensemble as he wished to see it appear, were always definitely before the artist. The difficulty lay in realizing the whole by making each part do its proper share in producing the general effect. So that now when we see these troops, and note the fine energy in the head of one man, the dogged determination in another, the grim acceptance of the danger ahead in another, or in yet



DRAWN BY ROBERT BLUM.

THE FARRAGUT MONUMENT, MADISON SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.

another the careless look born of the martial sound of fife and drum, it is worth while remembering that others quite as fine in themselves were tried, only with the result of abandoning them. Here is the part of the artist's task that is unknown to the uninitiated; here, in the realization of a grand conception, are satisfaction and keen pleasure when we see a result that shows a positive triumph over difficulties—difficulties that we know existed, and yet show no trace in the completed work of having arisen at all.

It was not always easy to get the models the sculptor wanted for his types. One snowy night when he was standing on the platform of a crowded Broadway car he saw passing under the bright gas-lights in Madison Square a negro whose head, as he caught a glimpse of it, struck him as being just what he wanted for one of his figures. He jumped off and accosted him, and secured him as a model. But his experiences were not always so lucky. At first when he met a man in the streets that he thought would serve his purpose, he used to ask: « Would you like to have your picture made? Come along with me, and I'll pay you;» and the negro would follow, with apparent willingness in most cases, but would manage to slip off somehow on the way to the studio. They had in mind a fiction implicitly believed by some of their race concerning the methods employed by medical students to obtain subjects for dissection; and the sculptor soon adopted another form of introducing the question, simply saying: « Do you want a job? Well, then, come to this address to-morrow morning.» This generally secured his man. Many and many a day, too, the horse model, with his saddle and trappings, stood and champed his bit in the studio in Thirty-sixth street, while the sculptor looked and studied, measured his proportions, and noted his action in movement, climbing up and down the platform steps to add a bit of clay here or to take away another there. Even the disposition of the horse's mane and tail have been changed and modified several times to meet the requirements of the sculptor's ideal for a perfect ensemble.

The Shaw memorial monument has been placed on Boston Common, opposite the State House. The site was prepared by removing fifty feet ten inches of the wall inclosing the Common on Beacon street, and building out the ground into the space beyond, making it level with the street, the surface of the Common being here considerably below the level of Beacon street. The plateau forming the site of the monument is held in

place by a retaining-wall built up on three sides from the level of the Common. Two large elms which stood in the plot have been preserved by sinking wells around their trunks, so that, looking at the face of the monument from Beacon street, it is seen between the two trees, which are about thirty feet apart. A stone bench surrounds the base of the monument, and there are other stone benches on each side of the plateau. The distance from the curb of the sidewalk on Beacon street to the base of the monument is twenty-five feet six inches. In this arrangement of the site, and in the well-proportioned, dignified, and beautiful architectural frame and base for Mr. St. Gaudens's sculpture, Mr. Charles F. McKim has again given evidence of his excellent taste and his artistic feeling in composition.

The figure of Colonel Shaw on his horse heads to the right of the spectator. He appears riding at the side of the troops, who march in the same direction. Overhead in the field of the composition floats a figure in half relief, beckoning to the men with her left hand. In her right hand she holds the palms of glory. Her right arm is held close to her body, clasping her drapery and poppies, the symbol of death; the heads of one or two poppies only are seen. The drapery of the figure flows closely over one leg, and floats in a whirl where it reaches the feet. The head is fine in type, and shows the nobility characteristic of the sculptor's ideal work. Above this figure, in the arch of the frame, are caissons, which were introduced as decorative points and to bind together the figure and the architecture. In each caisson is a star, although four immediately over the figure are concealed. There are eleven on the right and nineteen on the left. The number of thirty-four was finally decided upon, though a lesser number would have sufficed for the architectural exigencies, because there were thirty-four States in the Union at the time the troops went to the front. In the field to the right of the figure is the inscription, «*Omnia relinquit servare rempublicam*,» the motto of the Society of the Cincinnati. Colonel Shaw by right of descent was a member of the society. The dimensions of Mr. St. Gaudens's work—the sculptured composition—are eleven feet from the base-line to the center of the arched top, and fourteen feet in width.

Colonel Shaw, as represented in the St. Gaudens memorial, wears the uniform of campaign, with the fatigue-cap, and, with his right arm extended downward, holds in



CHARLES C. BEAMAN.
FRANCIS D. MILLET.
D. MAITLAND ARMSTRONG.

GENERAL SHERMAN.
MISS PAGE.
WILLIAM A. CHANLER.

WILLIAM M. EVARTS.
HOMER ST. GAUDENS.
GEORGE W. MAYNARD.

his hand his naked sword. His head is firmly set on his shoulders, and is quiet of aspect, determined, and straightforward of type. It is purely American, with features which suggest Scandinavian race characteristics. The expression of the face is noble and reposeful. His chest is broad, but not too swelling; his arm is admirably felt under the sleeve of his coat, and suggests muscular tension, but not rigidity; his leg in his boot fits the horse's side with firm but springy action. On his saddle before him are the holsters holding his pistols, and his left hand holds the bridle-rein. The horse, deep-chested and strong in neck and shoulder, carries his head high up; and while big and simple in type, and so modeled as to have an almost classic grandeur, is truly American, and does not suggest the Greek or the Spanish conformations which characterize many good equestrian statues. He is strong and massive; but in his well-turned body, in the strength of his legs, in the majestic lift of his feet, are alertness and nervous force befitting the rider. The sweep of his long tail around and behind his legs is not unrestful, and is sufficiently sculpturesque in form to carry its naturalness of movement. The officer and his steed are one in the grim but light-hearted march to war.

Now look at the drummer-boy and the grizzled old man in the front ranks, at the one who is third from the nearest in the first row of soldiers, at him who comes first behind the horse, and the next one, with the Arab cast of features, and the three together in the last file. See what variety of type and what gradations of expression are shown in these heads, and note the rhythm of the march, the individuality of the bodies, of the arms and legs and hands and feet. Every part of the relief bears testimony to the skill of the sculptor and to his analytical powers. But stand back and look at the work as a whole. How the equestrian figure dominates the composition, and yet how essentially a part of one's impression is the presence of the troops! How unified and complete it is! With what force is the general effect brought to one, making him feel the grandeur of the whole! Technically the work abounds in fine *morceaux*. The head of Shaw is admirably modeled. The arm is a remarkable piece of movement felt through concealing drapery. The horse in every part is simple in rendering and broadly treated as to surface texture, nervous, strong, and shapely in all his lines. The treatment of the troops, the way in which reality is embodied in sculptural

form, the moderation of what would be too prominent as details if they were not so well subordinated by giving each object a place where it will tell and not tell too much,— matters purely artistic, matters concerning the sculptor's art in line, mass, and relief,— are masterly. No poet's dream of heroism, glory, or devotion, however fine in conception it might be, could be realized in material form as this is, except through the art that goes to the bottom of the elements and arranges them one by one, but always with their effect altogether in mind, according to the space they may occupy, their length, breadth, and thickness, their strength or fineness of line, their weight or delicacy of mass, their coarseness or refinement of texture, their proportion, their direction, their value in relief under the light and the shadows they cast. Yet I have touched but lightly on the things that go to make up this beautiful work of art.

On the face of the pedestal of the memorial, directly under the horse and figure, are inscriptions, to the right and left of which are sculptured wreaths of bay-leaves. The inscriptions are as follows:

ROBERT GOULD SHAW

COLONEL OF THE FIFTY-FOURTH REGIMENT OF MASSACHUSETTS INFANTRY BORN IN BOSTON OCTOBER X MDCCCXXXVII KILLED WHILE LEADING THE ASSAULT ON FORT WAGNER SOUTH CAROLINA JULY XVIII MDCCCLXIII

RIGHT IN THE VAN ON THE RED RAMPART'S SLIPPERY SWELL,
WITH HEARTS THAT BEAT A CHARGE HE FELL
FOEWARD AS FITS A MAN,
BUT THE HIGH SOUL BURNS ON TO LIGHT MEN'S FEET
WHERE DEATH FOR NOBLE ENDS MAKES DYING SWEET.

These fine lines by Lowell were not, of course, written for the monument, but were inspired by the circumstances of Shaw's death. On the back of the monument are other inscriptions. That written by President Eliot of Harvard is as follows:

TO THE FIFTY-FOURTH REGIMENT OF
MASSACHUSETTS INFANTRY.

THE WHITE OFFICERS

TAKING LIFE AND HONOR IN THEIR HANDS CAST IN
THEIR LOT WITH MEN OF THE DESPISED RACE UN-
PROVED IN WAR AND RISKED DEATH AS INCITERS
OF SERVILLE INSURRECTION IF TAKEN PRISONERS
BESIDES ENCOUNTERING ALL THE COMMON PERILS
OF CAMP MARCH AND BATTLE



ENGRAVED BY J. H. E. WHITNEY.

STATUE OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, LINCOLN PARK, CHICAGO.

THE BLACK RANK AND FILE

VOLUNTEERED WHEN DISASTER CLOUDED THE UNION CAUSE SERVED WITHOUT PAY FOR EIGHTEEN MONTHS TILL GIVEN THAT OF WHITE TROOPS FACED THREATENED ENSLAVEMENT IF CAPTURED WERE BRAVE IN ACTION PATIENT UNDER HEAVY AND DANGEROUS LABORS AND CHEERFUL AMID HARDSHIPS AND PRIVATIONS

TOGETHER

THEY GAVE TO THE NATION AND THE WORLD UNDYING PROOF THAT AMERICANS OF AFRICAN DESCENT POSSESS THE PRIDE COURAGE AND DEVOTION OF THE PATRIOT SOLDIER ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY THOUSAND SUCH AMERICANS ENLISTED UNDER THE UNION FLAG IN MDCCCLXIII-MDCCCLXV

The names of the officers who were killed in the assault are also on the back, each within a wreath: Cabot Jackson Russell, William Harris Simpkins, Edward Lewis Stevens, Frederick Hedge Webster, David Reid. Other inscriptions will be put on the back, on a bronze plate. In spite of the nobility of the lines by Lowell, it would have been, I think, more fitting from the artistic point of view to have had nothing carved on the face of the pedestal but the simple inscription. President Eliot's fine and exalted words are divided into three parts, an arrangement by which the white officers and what is said of them come in one division, the colored troops and their praise in the second, and in the third their achievements together.

II.

AUGUSTUS ST. GAUDENS was born in Dublin, March 1, 1848. His father was born in France, near Saint-Gaudens, a town of Haute-Garonne in the Pyrenees; and his mother, whose maiden name was McGuinness, was a native of Dublin. Mr. St. Gaudens came to America with his wife and family when Augustus, the third child, was six months old. After spending three months in Boston, he came to New York and settled here. So St. Gaudens is truly a son of New York. He attended school until he was thirteen, when he went to work with a cameo-cutter named Avet, and served a three years' apprenticeship. Avet was a Savoyard, and the first stone cameo-cutter in the United States. Seals were cut before his time, but he did the first work in relief. Stone cameos are cut with a lathe. When he was seventeen St. Gaudens had a quarrel with Avet, and received his walking-papers. He thought he had lost three good years, and that, indeed, the end of the world had come; but when overtures were made by Avet to his parents looking to his coming back to work

with him, he utterly refused to do so. His parents took a calm view of the situation, and St. Gaudens went to work with a shell cameo-cutter named Le Breton. He spent three years with him. During all the time that he was working at cameo-cutting in the daytime he studied drawing at night. The first four years he attended the classes at Cooper Union, the last two those at the National Academy of Design. In 1867 he went to Paris, and entered the sculpture atelier of M. Jouffroy in the École des Beaux-Arts, where he worked until 1870. He then went to Italy, and spent about three years in Rome, where he was closely associated with the prizemen of the French Academy. Mercié the sculptor, and Luc-Olivier Merson and Joseph Blanc the painters, were his most intimate companions. While at Rome St. Gaudens made his statue of «Hiawatha,» which was bought by Governor Morgan of New York, and for another New York patron the figure called «Silence.» He received also at Rome, at the time that the Geneva tribunal was sitting, an order to make a bust of William M. Evarts. He executed this on his return to New York, which followed his sojourn in Italy. Mr. St. Gaudens returned to Europe in 1878. One of the objects of his trip was to perform his duties as a member of the international jury for fine arts at the Paris Universal Exposition held that year. He carried with him commissions for the statue of Farragut, which stands in Madison Square, and for that of Governor Randall at Sailors' Snug Harbor. He modeled both in Paris, and the «Farragut» was exhibited in plaster at the Salon of 1880. From this point in his career to the present time, St. Gaudens has been working constantly at his studio in New York; and it is difficult to place his works in chronological order. He has had several statues, monuments, and decorative projects under way at all times, commissions coming to him so fast that they almost blocked his headway. The commissions to execute the «Lincoln» for Chicago; the statue of Deacon Chapin, called «The Puritan,» for Springfield, Massachusetts; the portrait relief of Dr. McCosh for Princeton University; that of Dr. Bellows, the monuments to Peter Cooper and General Sherman for New York; the bust of Garfield for Philadelphia, placed on a tall pedestal designed by Stanford White, with a figure of America in front of it; the Shaw memorial, and the two groups of three figures each to be placed before the Public Library in Boston; and the equestrian statue of General Logan



THE FIGURE IN ROCK CREEK CEMETERY, WASHINGTON.



JAMES McCOSH, PRINCETON, N. J.



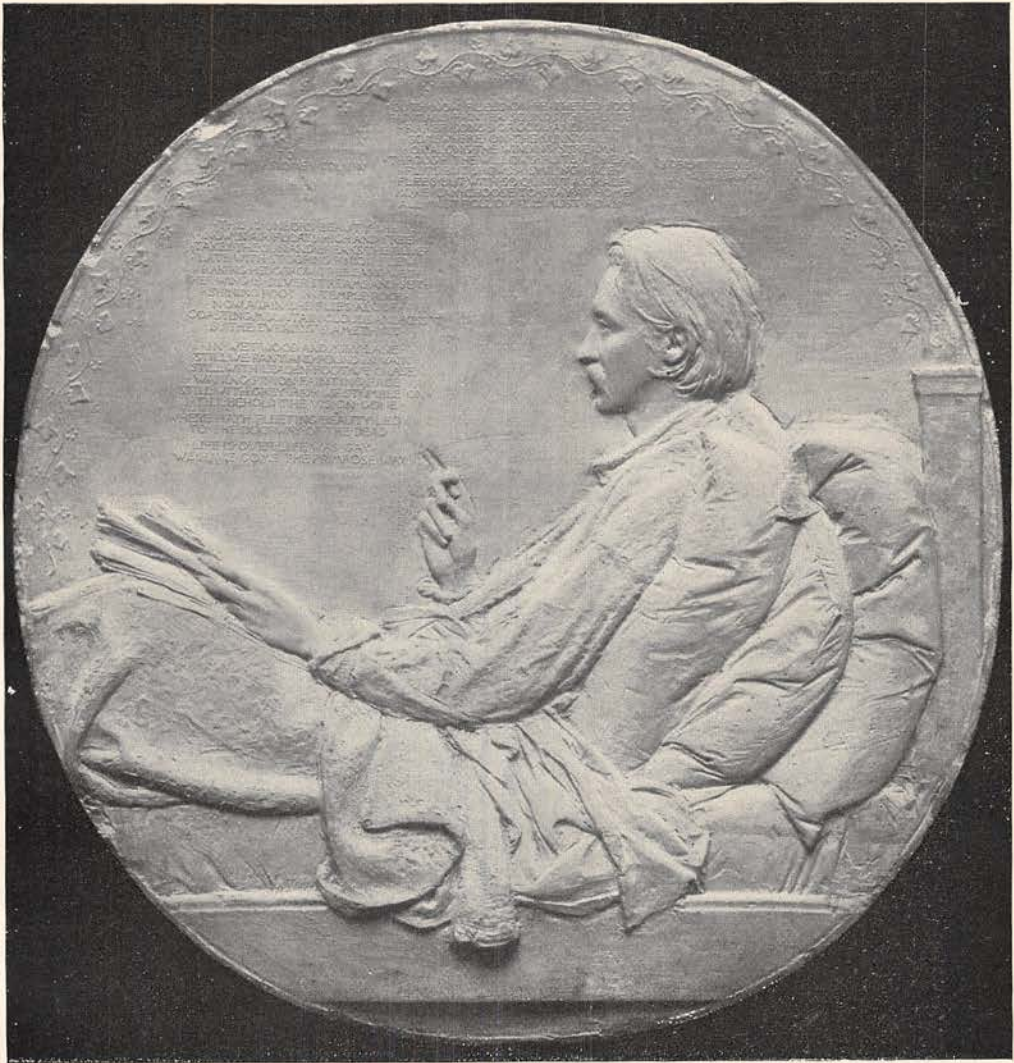
HENRY W. BELLOWS, D. D., CHURCH OF ALL SOULS
(UNITARIAN), NEW YORK CITY.



ANGEL WITH THE TABLET, MORGAN TOMB,
HARTFORD, CONN.



THE PURITAN, SPRINGFIELD, MASS.



ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON, MODELED IN BAS-RELIEF BY AUGUSTUS ST. GAUDENS IN 1887,
DURING STEVENSON'S ILLNESS IN NEW YORK.

for Chicago, are the most important. All of these, except the groups for Boston and the «Sherman,» have been finished. The groups for Boston will represent Law and Labor. The figures will be seated. Law will be flanked by Power and Religion, Labor by Science and Art. The Sherman monument will be an equestrian figure, with a female figure symbolizing Fame leading the war-horse. When these two works are finished the sculptor will begin the monument to Phillips Brooks for Boston.

During this period from 1880 onward Mr. St. Gaudens has also produced some of his finest and most individual works, but they have not been public projects. His three

angels chanting at the foot of the cross, for the Morgan monument at Hartford, met a most unfortunate fate. The scaffolding surrounding the tomb took fire, and the figures were completely destroyed. The sculptor deeply regrets this loss of his work; for the angels were, in his opinion, among the best of all his creations. The mysterious figure which has been called «The Peace of God,» in the Rock Creek Cemetery, Washington, is one of the finest of his works in the round produced in this period, and one of the most original and beautiful of his conceptions. While working on the «Lincoln» he modeled the portrait low-relief of the children of Jacob H. Schiff, and at other times finished



PORTRAIT IN BAS-RELIEF OF THE CHILDREN OF PRESCOTT HALL BUTLER.

the equally effective portraits, in the same style, of Robert Louis Stevenson, of Miss Violet Sargent, sister of John S. Sargent, of Miss Lee, of Mrs. Schuyler Van Rensselaer, of his son Homer St. Gaudens, of the children of Prescott Hall Butler, and others; and the Hollingsworth memorial for the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, a bust of General Sherman,

the decorative figure of Diana for the Madison Square Garden, the relief over the main entrance of the Boston Public Library, from which Kenyon Cox designed the library seal, and the medal for the World's Fair of 1893. The low-relief portrait of Bastien-Lepage, one of the most sensitively modeled of all those he has done, was made in Paris before his re-

turn in 1879; and sketches of work afterward executed here were prepared at that time. The low relief of Dr. Bellows was the first attempt by an artist in this country to adapt this form of sculpture to portraiture, and the method has been adopted since by many other sculptors. The angels for the monument in the cemetery at Garrisons, New York, those for Mrs. Smith's monument at Newport; the caryatides for Cornelius Vanderbilt; and the angels in St. Thomas's Church, New York, designed in collaboration with John La Farge, were produced in the earlier years of the period following 1879; and one of the most important works included in it is the Hamilton Fish monument. The colossal figure of «Art» in the rotunda of the new Congressional Library, commonly referred to as by St. Gaudens, was modeled from his sketches, under his direction, by Tonetti Dozzi, and is signed with the name of the modeler, «after sketches by Augustus St. Gaudens.» The medal commemorative of the celebration at New York in 1889 of the one-hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of George Washington as first President of the United States was modeled in the same way by Philip Martiny. Mr. St. Gaudens has also made a number of small medallion portraits, such as those of Francis D. Millet and

George W. Maynard the painters, and of the daughters of Maitland Armstrong the decorative artist. The mere enumeration of these works shows that the sculptor's productive power is great, and that his industry is quite equal to that of most eminent artists. That his creative powers are remarkable is evident when we come to consider the variety and breadth of scope of his achievements in spite of the fact that, except the «Diana,» which the sculptor counts as belonging to his decorative work only, he has produced no nude figures. I should be at a loss to name any other sculptor of a reputation so wide as that

which St. Gaudens enjoys in this country who has not at some time in his career numbered among his capital works one or more nude figures in the round.

The virility, breadth, and grasp of salient characteristics in the work of Augustus St. Gaudens are well exemplified in the statues of Farragut and Randall. These earlier works almost as much as the later ones give an impression of artistic power that belongs to



THE CHILDREN OF JACOB H. SCHIFF.

sculpture which is the product of mature thought. They are so good in this respect that the sculptor would have maintained a high standard if in the work he did afterward he had simply kept up to their level. But he has done much more than this. His works show that his conceptions have broadened while his workmanship has remained vigorous and stanch. His modeling, more delicate and more sensitive in some instances where his subject required lightness of body or elegance of line, has grown more authoritative in other instances where dignity or nobility was to be expressed. A glance at



ANGEL FOR THE TOMB OF GOVERNOR E. D. MORGAN.

the calm, spiritual faces of his angels at Newport, or at the wistful but energetic profile in the subtly felt low-relief portrait of Stevenson, is sufficient to show how well the sculptor understands the portrayal of character and expression. A look at the great *bravura* figure of General Logan shows how far he can go in the direction of spirited action and impressiveness by boldness without exaggeration. But in none of his works, in my judgment, are all his qualities so well gathered as in the statue of Lincoln at Chicago. It was no light task to make an imposing and dignified figure of the great President's somewhat ungainly form clad in the ordinary modern suit of clothes. He represented him erect and vigorous, strong like the pine-tree rather than sturdy like the oak, thoughtful, imaginative, calm, but not stern, contained, but not defiant. He made his «Lincoln» unyielding, but kindly. The head is especially fine. There is no trace of the conventionally noble features of the classic type, but there are grandeur and power in the rugged lines. The clothes are real and natural, but are so treated as to drape the figure severely and simply. The man is modern and a man of the people, yet he has the commanding dignity of a hero. He is imposing and he is lovable, the chief of a great government and the father of a free people.

What St. Gaudens will do in the future can hardly be a matter for conjecture. He seems to be now at the highest point of his creative and productive ability. The most interesting works to look forward to are the groups for the Boston Public Library, as he will in these have to do with purely abstract creations. It is safe to prophesy that his work will show no falling off; and so sincere and earnest is his general artistic purpose that we may see sculpture not only as good as anything he has yet done, but still finer. With a mind so alert and a hand and eye so well trained as his, there is no way exactly to define limitations.

William A. Coffin.



CARYATID, IN THE HOUSE OF CORNELIUS VANDERBILT.

III. COLORED TROOPS UNDER FIRE.

THE first colored regiment actually enlisted in the civil war was the 1st South Carolina, raised by Major-General Hunter (May 9, 1862); but this was disavowed by the government, though one company of it was not disbanded, and became the nucleus of a reorganized regiment, under the same name. The first regiment actually authorized by the government was the 1st Kansas Colored (August, 1862); the first regiments mustered into the service were the three composing the Louisiana Native Guard (September–November, 1862). The reorganized 1st South Carolina was authorized by the United States government, August 25, 1862, and mustered in by companies from October, 1862, to January, 1863. This was the first regiment composed of freed slaves, the others being made up of free

negroes. These five were the only colored regiments of the year 1862. It remains now to consider the circumstances under which the colored troops came actually under fire.

The first actual fighting by organized colored troops of which there is official record took place on St. Helena Island, South Carolina, October 26, 1862, when the pickets of Company A, 1st South Carolina Volunteers, under Captain Trowbridge, fired upon and drove back two boat-loads of Confederates who had attempted a landing. A day or two later (October 27, 29) the newly formed 1st Kansas Regiment had skirmishes at Island Mound, Missouri, with a loss of one officer and eight enlisted men killed, and nine enlisted men wounded. These were probably the first colored soldiers killed in the war. It

was claimed by General B. F. Butler, in a letter in the «Boston Herald» of August 6, 1887, that the 1st and 2d Louisiana Native Guard, being placed under General Weitzel, came in conflict with the enemy in «September or October,» 1862; but this very form of statement showed that he relied upon his memory, and the official records conclusively show him to be wrong in this, as in several other dates given in the letter. He said, for instance, that he «had two regiments [of colored troops] not later than the middle of August, 1862,» whereas his order calling for them was not dated until August 22; and he wrote to the War Department, in a letter undated, but received there September 11, that his first regiment would be ready «within ten days.» So, in regard to these troops coming under fire, General Butler says that it was in «September or October,» whereas General Weitzel's expedition did not set out until October 24, 1862, and that of-



MISS VIOLET SARGENT.

ficer wrote on November 1 that the colored regiments had not yet reported to him, and wrote again on November 5, saying that they had reported, but absolutely refusing to command them. As Weitzel's operations appear to have ceased the next day, it is difficult to see when these two regiments came under fire. If General Butler is, however, correct in his impression that these troops were actually under fire with Weitzel, it must have been in November, 1862, and therefore after both the South Carolina and Kansas troops had come under fire.

Expeditions along the coast of Georgia and South Carolina were also made by the 1st South Carolina on November 3-10, and again November 13-18, 1862, both times under the command of Colonel Oliver T. Beard, 48th New York Infantry. On January 23-February 1, 1863, a longer expedition was made, under my own command, up the St. Mary's River, a stream which, from its rapidity and peculiar formation, had been pronounced by the naval commanders the most dangerous in the department. These expeditions had, however, only a local value, except as testing in some degree the discipline and courage of the new levies, this test being, nevertheless, for the benefit of the whole country, as the regiment was watched by newspaper reporters with minute attention, and its smallest affairs were reported. A more important enterprise was undertaken by a brigade of two regiments under my command, which reoccupied (March, 1863) the town of Jacksonville, Florida, and took with it a large supply of uniforms, equipments, and extra rations, with a view to pushing into the interior and establishing recruiting-stations for colored troops—a movement of the greatest promise, but thwarted on the very eve of success by one of General Hunter's impulsive changes of purpose. It was of this expedition that President Lincoln wrote to General Hunter (April 1, 1863): "I am glad to see the account of your colored force at Jacksonville. I see the enemy are driving at them fiercely, as is to be expected. It is important to the enemy that such a force shall not take shape and grow and thrive in the South, and in precisely the same proportion it is important to us that it shall." Again a force of colored troops under my command was sent up the South Edisto River (July, 1863), with a view to cutting the railroads in connection with General Gillmore's attack on Charleston—an attempt frustrated by the shallowness of the stream and the artificial obstructions that had been placed in it.



MRS. SCHUYLER VAN RENSSELAER.

The first official reports from the Louisiana colored regiments are dated April 11, 1863, when Colonel Daniels reports to General Sherman a skirmish between part of the 2d Louisiana and some Confederate cavalry and infantry at Pascagoula. He says of them: "Great credit is due to the troops engaged for their unflinching bravery and steadiness under this their first fire, exchanging volley after volley with the coolness of veterans."

The first conspicuous effort in line of battle of any colored troops was in the attack on Port Hudson, May 27, 1863, when two forts were assaulted by the 1st and 3d Louisiana



BASTIEN-LEPAGE.

Native Guard, the whole being under the command of Colonel John A. Nelson. The whole negro force consisted of 1080, and it made three successive charges upon a fort protected in front by a deep and almost impassable bayou. Their loss was 37 killed, 155 wounded, and 16 missing. General Banks stated in his official report that "their conduct was heroic; no troops could be more determined or more daring. . . . Whatever doubt may have existed before as to the efficiency of organizations of this character, the history of to-day proves conclusively, to those who were in a position to observe the conduct of these regiments, that the government will find in this class of troops effective supporters and defenders."

A smaller engagement took place at Milliken's Bend, Louisiana, which is thus described by General Grant in his "Personal Memoirs": "On the 7th of June [1863], our little force of colored and white troops across the Mississippi at Milliken's Bend were attacked by about 3000 men [under General McCulloch] from Richard Taylor's trans-Mississippi command. With the aid of the gunboats they were easily repelled. . . . This was the first important engagement of the war in which colored troops had been under fire. [This is an error, the attack on Port Hudson having preceded it.] These men were very raw, having been all enlisted since the beginning of the siege [of Vicksburg], but they behaved well."

The next important engagement in which negro troops took part was the attack of the 54th Massachusetts (Colonel R. G. Shaw) upon Fort Wagner in South Carolina. This colored regiment had acquitted itself well on James Island, South Carolina, July 16, in a skirmish; and its colonel had made this the ground of an application to be brigaded with white troops under General G. C. Strong. The request being granted, it set out on its march on the evening of that very day from James Island to Cole's Island, and thence by steamers successively to Folly and Morris islands, being almost without rations during this time, and bivouacking two nights in a hard rain. It reached the headquarters of General Strong, the commander of the expedition, about 5 P. M., and took its place at once on the right of a brigade containing five white regiments. The assault was finally made about midnight, under cover of a bombardment, and the regiment actually gained the parapet of the fort; but, being left for some reason without proper support, it was ultimately driven out, having suffered fearfully. More than half the officers were killed or wounded, and nearly one half the men were killed, wounded, or missing.¹ After an hour's fighting the regiment was withdrawn, under command of Captain Luis F. Emilio, and was formed anew in line of battle about seven hundred yards from the fort, where it awaited orders for another charge.² The attack was, however, discontinued, the commanding officer, General Strong, being mortally wounded. I subsequently conversed with this brave officer, a little before his death, and asked him to tell me frankly how the 54th Massachusetts had behaved. His answer was: "No new regiment which had lost its colonel could have behaved better."

The attack on Fort Wagner, with the picturesque and gallant death of young Colonel Shaw, made a great impression at the North, and did more than anything else, perhaps, to convince the public that negro troops could fight well, not merely as skirmishers, but in line of battle. To this was added the general sympathy called forth by a manly letter from the father of Colonel Shaw, requesting General Gillmore to refrain from all effort to recover the body of his son, but rather to leave it buried with those of his soldiers.

¹ "Official Army Register," VIII, 314.

² Williams's "Colored Troops," p. 193; his statement being based on information received from Captain Emilio, who commanded at the close of the engagement. Compare the accounts of survivors in "Howard Memorial Biographies," II, 257.

The early stages of a great movement always call for more fullness of narration than the later ones. During the remainder of the war the negro troops were so intermingled with other troops that it is less easy to trace their distinctive history. In the Department of the South, three colored regiments acquitted themselves well, under Major-General Seymour, in the disastrous battle of Olustee, Florida (February 20, 1864); two at James Island, South Carolina (July 2, 1864); and five at Honey Hill, South Carolina (November 30, 1864). In the Army of the Cumberland, a black regiment—the 14th United States Colored Troops—made a courageous charge in the defense of Dalton, Georgia (August 15, 1864), and «an enviable reputation in the Western army,» according to Colonel Morgan, its commander, during the defense of Decatur, Alabama. Eight regiments took part in the successful battle of Nashville, Tennessee (December 15, 16, 1864), against Hood's veterans. Twenty-five per cent. of the loss in this battle, according to General Steedman, fell upon the negro division; and he adds that most of this took place during their «brilliant charge upon the enemy on Newton Hill.»¹

On April 12, 1864, Fort Pillow, with a garrison of about 557 men, half white and half negro, was taken by a Confederate force under General Forrest, and the garrison was massacred under circumstances of peculiar barbarity. General Grant, in his «Memoirs,» quotes General Forrest as saying in his despatches: «The river was dyed with the blood of the slaughtered for two hundred yards. The approximate loss was upward of 500 killed, but few of the officers escaping. My loss was about 20 killed. It is hoped that these facts will demonstrate to the Northern people

that negro soldiers cannot cope with Southerners.» General Grant adds: «Subsequently Forrest made a report in which he left out the part which shocks humanity to read.»

But the most extensive service of negro troops took place during 1864 in Virginia, where they were at first mostly assigned to General Burnside, in the 9th Army Corps. At Powhatan, May 24, a force of colored troops, under General E. A. Wild, defended a fort against General Fitzhugh Lee; and a division of half a dozen regiments, under General Hincks, carried a line of rifle-pits, June 15,



PETER COOPER.

with the battle-cry, «Remember Fort Pillow!» and took sixteen guns. This division in particular was repeatedly in skirmishes before Petersburg, Virginia; and its total loss between January 15 and January 30 amounted to 575.

In the final assault on Petersburg, it was the desire of General Burnside to put his colored division in front. This is stated by General Grant in his «Personal Memoirs,»

¹ Williams's «Negro Troops,» pp. 282-90. The «Official Army Register» (VIII, 338) assigns but six regiments to this battle; but Williams gives officially the losses of eight.



1. COLUMBIAN MEDAL: REJECTED DESIGN.



2. COLUMBIAN MEDAL: REJECTED DESIGN.

and he adds: «Meade interfered with this. Burnside then took Ledlie's division—a worse selection than the first would have been.» In Grant's opinion, neither Ledlie nor Ferrero, who commanded the colored troops, was «equal to the occasion.» The assault through the exploded mine was a failure, the white troops having recoiled, partly through the inefficiency of their commander; and the colored troops who were sent in to relieve them accomplished nothing, though they confessedly fought well. Their loss was very great. Thus the 28th United States Colored Troops (Lieutenant-Colonel Russell) lost 7 out of 11 officers, and 91 out of 224 men, both the color-sergeants and all the color-guard being killed.¹ Later (October 7, 1864) the thanks of Major-General Birney, commanding the 10th Army Corps, were expressly given to the colored troops attached to his corps for their courage at Newmarket Heights, Fort Pillow, Fort Harrison, and elsewhere.

In March, 1865, President Lincoln reviewed 25,000 colored troops in the Army of the James. They took an active part in the final campaign against Petersburg and Richmond, and headed the entrance to both cities. It was eminently appropriate that the race which was the innocent cause of the Civil War, and whose freedom it virtually secured, should furnish the first Union soldiers to take possession of the conquered cities. The fears of barbarity and indiscriminate insurrection had ceased, and it was found that the black soldiers, trained and dis-

ciplined by military life, were not only courageous and faithful in the field, but orderly and self-respecting in the hour of victory.

In computing the actual value of colored troops, it must be remembered that they were not enlisted on any large scale until the war was nearly half through, and that they were in many places denied the discipline and opportunity that are needed to make soldiers. It must also be borne in mind that the original theory of their enlistment was to set free an equal number of white troops for more active service; and that in the most conspicuous trials made of them, as at Port Hudson, Fort Wagner, and Petersburg, the regiments employed had absolutely their first experience of hard fighting. There was also from the beginning some reluctance in putting the best guns into their hands; and it was often the case that they had the discouragement of knowing themselves less well armed than the white Union regiments beside them or the Confederate troops opposed to them. That under these circumstances their service was creditable is sufficiently proved by the fact that the ablest officers of the Confederate army wished to imitate the example of the United States government in employing them.

When General Lee was appointed commander-in-chief of the Confederate army, early in 1865, he recommended the policy of employing negroes as soldiers; and a measure for thus employing them twice passed the lower house of the Confederate Congress, only to be rejected by the Senate. It is a curious fact that one of the very last general orders issued by the adjutant and inspector-general was to detail an officer, Lieutenant

¹ Williams's «Negro Troops,» p. 250. An excellent narrative of the part taken by colored troops in this assault appeared in THE CENTURY MAGAZINE for September, 1887.

Cowardin, to recruit colored troops in Halifax County, Virginia. The adoption of this policy came too late to be of any service to the Confederate cause, but not too late to give emphatic indorsement to the policy adopted by the United States government.

The expected value of the colored troops for defensive service was undoubtedly justified, and they furnished an indispensable requisite for some important movements. The most conspicuous of these instances was perhaps in connection with the most brilliant separate achievement of the war. When Sherman made his great march to the sea, not a colored regiment marched with him; but the march would itself have been fruitless had not the troops in the Department of the South, his objective point, proved trustworthy, and these were two thirds negroes. «The operations on the South Atlantic coast, which long seemed a merely subordinate and incidental part of the great conflict, proved to be one of the final pivots on which it turned.» White troops made the march, but black regiments kept the door open.

In the way of direct service, it appears by the «Official Army Register» that the colored troops sustained actual casualties in two hundred and fifty-one different engagements, and doubtless took part in many more. To those commanding them the question of their fighting qualities was soon solved; and these were, of course, the persons best qualified to judge them. Two thirds of a good soldier consists in good discipline and organization; and the remaining one third, where the race element enters in, did not in this case involve enough difference to affect the result with any seriousness. It was like asking whether men with black eyes or with blue eyes made the better soldiers. Perhaps the best thing said or written about the freed slaves during the war was the answer given by General Saxton, after receiving a long series of questions about them from some benevolent committee. He bade his secretary draw a pen across all the interrogations, and write at the

bottom this summary: «They are intensely human.» The qualities of the negro soldiers were simply human. They were capable of fatigue or ardor, of cowardice or courage, of grumbling or cheerfulness, very much as white soldiers would have been in their place. If it is necessary to scrutinize more minutely, it is possible to say that they were more enthusiastic under excitement, and more easily depressed; more affectionate if judiciously treated, and more sullen and dogged if discouraged; more gregarious, and less prone to individual initiative—and so on with many other minor differences. Yet even these generalizations would be met by so many scattered exceptions as to be of subordinate value. Every regimental or even brigade commander comes to know after a while who are the men in his command who covet danger, who are the men who simply face it when it is inevitable, and who are the men who need watching lest they actually flinch; and all this is equally true, whether they be white or black. «Two o'clock in the morning courage,» in Napoleon's phrase, is a thing that belongs to the minority in every

race; and it is probably no more abundant, and yet no rarer, among black soldiers than among white.

Two peculiar traits of the black troops grew out of their former state of servitude. When serving on their own soil, or even on a soil and under conditions resembling their own, they had the great advantage of local knowledge. They were not only ready to serve as guides, but they were virtu-

ally their own guides; they were serviceable as Indian scouts are serviceable; they could find their way in the dark, guess at the position of an enemy, follow a trail, extract knowledge from others of their own race; and all this in a way no white man could rival. Enterprises from which the bravest white men might shrink unaided could sometimes be safely transacted by black soldiers, or in their company. Again, they had to sustain them the vast stakes of personal freedom and that of their families. Say what one pleases,



3. COLUMBIAN MEDAL: ACCEPTED DESIGN.

they all desired this freedom,—I never encountered an exception,—and it gave them a peculiar stimulus apart from that of the white soldier. The latter had at stake his flag, his nation, his comrades, his life; the black soldier, if he had been a slave, had all these things risked upon the issue, and one thing more—his personal freedom, with that of his household. The negro regiments themselves recognized this, and had a feeling that they were playing for higher prizes than their white associates. Let the Confederacy succeed, and they would be remanded into slavery, while the white soldiers would simply lay down their arms and go home. No one who did not serve with them and have their confidence could know the great strength of this feeling in their hearts.

Their antecedents as slaves were not in themselves, as many supposed, a good preparation for the life of a soldier; for military discipline is of a higher grade than plantation discipline, and appeals throughout to a man's self-respect. It was necessary to educate this self-respect; and therefore it was generally found that officers who proceeded merely in the slave-driver method were unsuccessful with black soldiers. Again, they had a great taste for certain things which white soldiers were apt to find distasteful—namely, what may be called the manners of the camp, such as the salutation of officers, the gradations of rank, the precise formalities of guard duty. This last aptitude, joined with

the natural suspiciousness created by their previous lives, made them admirable sentinels. They generally felt it a step upward to enter military life, with its routine and discipline; whereas to white soldiers these were wholly a sacrifice, accepted only for the sake of their country. Sanitary regulations, for instance, were far more easily enforced among negroes than among whites, simply because the latter could never quite get over the feeling that the whole thing was a bore, and not what they enlisted for. The colored soldiers accepted it as a part of the whole affair, and raised no questions. On the other hand, the general ignorance of the black soldiers was a great inconvenience, and threw an exhausting amount of writing and clerical duty upon the officers of colored regiments. The health of the negroes was also a great source of solicitude: although more proof against malaria, they were more subject to pulmonary disease; and it was often hard to get good surgeons for the colored regiments, as it grew harder, indeed, for all regiments in the latter part of the war. As a whole, service with negro troops had two special satisfactions apart from all strictly military considerations: the peculiarly warm and, as it were, filial relation which readily grew up between them and their officers; and the feeling that their service in war was not merely a chapter in the history of a conflict, but in the emancipation and elevation of a race.

Thomas Wentworth Higginson.

THE SECRET.

NIGHTINGALES warble about it
 All night under blossom and star;
 The wild swan is dying without it,
 And the eagle cryeth afar;
 The sun he doth mount but to find it,
 Searching the green earth o'er;
 But more doth a man's heart mind it,
 Oh, more, more, more!

Over the gray leagues of ocean
 The infinite yearneth alone;
 The forests with wandering emotion
 The thing they know not intone;
 Creation arose but to see it,
 A million lamps in the blue;
 But a lover he shall be it
 If one sweet maid is true.

G. E. Woodberry.