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American Neoclassic sculptors and their private patrons in Boston. (Volumes I and II)

Dearinger, David Bernard, Ph.D.

City University of New York, 1993

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A

AMERICAN NEOCLASSIC SCULPTORS AND THEIR PRIVATE PATRONS IN BOSTON

by

DAVID BERNARD DEARINGER

VOLUME I

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

1993

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in Art History in satisfaction of the dissertation requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Date

Chair of Examining Committee

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Date

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THE CITY UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SHORT CITATIONS FOR FREQUENTLY CITED SOURCES

AAA	Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. The citation is followed by the appropriate microfilm reel number.
CS	Charles Sumner
DAB	Dictionary of American Biography. 36 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1928-36.
Dimmick, Catalogue	Lauretta Dimmick. "A Catalogue of the Portrait Busts and Ideal Works of Thomas Crawford (1813? -1857), American Sculptor in Rome." Ph.D. diss. University of Pittsburgh, 1986.
EE	Edward Everett
Everett Papers	Edward Everett Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts. The citation is followed by the appropriate microfilm reel number.
Everett Diary	Diary or journal kept by Edward Everett and located in the Edward Everett Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, microfilm reels 36-37. The citation is followed by the appropriate date of the diary entry.
Greenthal, et al	Kathryn Greenthal, Paula M. Kozol, and Jan Seidler Ramirez. American Figurative Sculpture in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1986.
Harding, Athenaeum Collection	Jonathan P. Harding. The Boston Athenaeum Collection. Pre-Twentieth Century American and European Painting and Sculpture. Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1984.
HG	Horatio Greenough
HP	Hiram Powers

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Perkins and Gavin	Robert F. Perkins, Jr., and William J. Gavin III. The Boston Athenaeum Art Exhibition Index 1827-1874. Boston: The Library of the Boston Athenaeum, 1980.
Perkins Papers	The Thomas Handasyd Perkins Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
Powers Papers	Hiram Powers Papers, Archives of American Art, Papers Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. The citation is followed by the appropriate microfilm reel number.
Seidler, Story	Jan Seidler. "A Critical Reappraisal of the Career of William Wetmore Story (1819-1895), American Sculptor and Man of Letters." Ph.D. diss. Boston University, 1985.
Story Papers	William Wetmore Story Papers, Humanities Research Center, University of Texas, Austin.
Sumner	Charles Sumner Papers, Houghton Library, Harvard Papers University, Cambridge, Massachusets. Microfilm edition: The Papers of Charles Sumner, Beverly Palmer, ed. Alexandria, Virginia: Chadwyck-Healey, Inc., 1988.
Swan	Mabel Munson Swan. The Athenaeum Gallery 1827-1873: The Boston Athenaeum as an Early Patron of Art. Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1940.
TC	Thomas Crawford
THP	Thomas Handasyd Perkins
Ticknor Journal	George Ticknor Journal, George Ticknor Papers, Journal Dartmouth College Library, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire. Available in a microform edition: The Travel Journals of George and Anna Ticknor, 1816-19, 1835-38. 5 reels. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Xerox University Microfilms, 1974.
Wunder	Richard Wunder. Hiram Powers, Vermont Sculptor, 1805-1873. 2 vols. Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 1991.
WWS	William Wetmore Story
Yarnall and Gerdts	National Museum of American Art. Index to American Art Exhibition Catalogues From the Beginning through the 1876 Centennial Year, comp. James L. Yarnall and William H. Gerdts. 6 vols. Boston, Mass.: G.K. Hall & Co., 1986.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

To state that the creation of art depends upon patronage is certainly to state the obvious. The individuals or institutions who have, over the centuries, subsidized artists or have purchased finished works of art, are as much a part of the history of a particular painting, sculpture, or building as is the style in which the artist worked, the material with which he or she made the object, the iconographic program which the work embodies, or the purpose for which it was made.

This integral connection between patron and artist has led to a number of major studies in the history of European art. Any consideration of the art of the Italian Renaissance or of the Baroque period, to give the most obvious examples, would be incomplete without identification of the major artistic patrons, particularly the Medici family and the Popes. Thus, it is easy enough to assemble a respectable bibliography of books and articles on Renaissance and Baroque patronage, written by a continually increasing number of equally respectable scholars.[1]

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[1]For example: David Chambers, Patrons and Artist in the Italian Renaissance (London: Macmillan, 1970); E. H. Gombrich, "The Early Medici as Patrons of Art," Norm and Form (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966); John R. Hale, Florence and the Medici: The Pattern of Control (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977); and Francis Haskell,

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A bibliography of similar publications relating to nineteenth-century American art, however, would be both more difficult to assemble and much shorter; for until recently, the patronage of nineteenth-century American art, especially that of the antebellum years, has received only sporadic study. It is true that the names of a number of major nineteenth-century American patrons are well known and are often mentioned in passing in surveys of American art. Only a handful, however, have received in-depth scholarly attention, mostly in articles, unpublished Ph.D. dissertations, or M.A. theses. Among these are the earlier patrons Luman Reed, Jonathan Sturges, Daniel Wadsworth, and Robert Gilmor; and figures from later in the century such as Charles Lang Freer, William T. Evans, and Thomas B. Clarke.[2]

Patrons and Painters (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980).

[2]Studies of these patrons include Barbara Novak, "Thomas Cole and Robert Gilmor," Art Quarterly 25 (Spring 1962): 41-53; Wayne Craven, "Luman Reed, Patron: His Collection and Gallery," American Art Journal 12 (Spring 1980): 40-59; Alan Wallach, "Thomas Cole and the Aristocracy," Arts Magazine 56 (Nov. 1981): 84-106; J. Bard McNulty, ed. The Correspondence of Thomas Cole and Daniel Wadsworth (Hartford: The Connecticut Historical Society, 1983); and Ella M. Foshay, Mr. Luman Reed's Picture Gallery: A Pioneer Collection of American Art (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990). Some discussion of the patronage of American artists can also be found in Neil Harris, The Artists in American Society, The Formative Years 1790-1860 (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1966). For a regional approach to the topic, see Vincent Henry Demma, "American Patronage of the Fine Arts in New York City 1870-1913" (M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1961).

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Furthermore, within the relatively small body of published work on nineteenth-century American patronage, the focus has often been on the patronage of painters, rather than on sculptors and, certainly, the bibliography on American sculpture in general has grown at a slower rate than has that on painting.[3] In fact, over forty years elapsed between the publication of Lorado Taft's seminal The History of American Sculpture in 1903, and the appearance of

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Collectors of the late nineteenth century have been the subject of recent scholarship, for example H. Barbara Weinberg, "Thomas B. Clarke: Foremost Patron of American Art from 1872-1899," The American Art Journal 8 (May 1976): 52-83; and David Park Curry, James McNeill Whistler at the Freer Gallery of Art (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984), especially the chapter "Artist and Patron," 11-33, which deals with Whistler's relationship with Charles Lang Freer. Related to these are studies of Americans who were major collectors of European art. See, for example, Albert Boime, "America's Purchasing Power and the Evolution of European Art in the Late Nineteenth Century," Saloni, Gallerie, Musei E Loro Influenza Sullo Sviluppo Dell'Arte Dei Secoli XIX E XX, ed. Francis Haskell (Bologna: Editrice Bologna, 1979), 123-39; Madeleine Fidell Beaufort and Jeanne K. Welcher, "Some Views of Art Buying in New York in the 1870s and 1880s," Oxford Art Journal 5 (1982): 48-55; and Frances Weitzenhoffer, The Havemeyers: Impressionism Comes to America (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1986). Art collecting during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries is the subject of Linda H. Skalet, "The Market for American Painting in New York, 1870-1915" (Ph.D. diss., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 1980).

[3]A potentially interesting exception was an 1989 exhibition held at Gore Place in Waltham, Mass., titled "Collecting Sculpture in Early America." A typescript catalogue of the show, assembled by Charles A. Hammond and Stephen A. Wilbur, connects some of the exhibited sculpture, most of which is European, to Christopher Gore and his family, the inhabitants of Gore Place; but this brief source is of limited use due to the lack of an introductory essay or more detailed catalogue entries.

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the next book-length consideration of the topic, Albert T. Gardner's Yankee Stonecutters, the First American School of Sculpture: 1800-1850, published in 1945.[4] The latter was chronologically more limited than was Taft's and the need for a broader view of the topic was not met until the publication in 1968 of Wayne Craven's Sculpture in America. Craven's book has been followed by several more specialized surveys, notably William H. Gerdts's American Neo-Classic Sculpture of 1973 and, more recently, Charlotte Rubinstein's American Women Sculptors of 1990.[5] In fact, by the 1980s, monographs and oeuvre catalogues dealing with individual sculptors began to appear with some frequency, as did catalogues of the sculpture collections of major American museums.[6]

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[4]Lorado Taft, The History of American Sculpture (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1903); Albert T. Gardner, Yankee Stonecutters, the First American School of Sculpture: 1800-1850 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1945).

[5]Wayne Craven, Sculpture in America from Colonial Period to the Present (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1968; rev. 1984); William H. Gerdts, American Neo-Classic Sculpture: The Marble Resurrection (New York: The Viking Press, 1973); Charlotte Streifer Rubinstein, American Women Sculptors (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1990).

[6]Three recent catalogues raisonné of sculptors, all from the University of Delaware Press, Newark, Del., are J. Carson Webster, Erastus D. Palmer (1983); Lewis I. Sharp, John Quincy Adams Ward, Dean of American Sculpture (1985); and Richard Wunder, Hiram Powers, Vermont Sculptor, 1805-1873 2 vols. (1991). Two recent catalogues of museum sculpture collections are Kathryn Greenthal, Paula M. Kozol, and Jan Seidler Ramirez, American Figurative Sculpture in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1986); and Donald L. Stover, American

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All of the above-named works are basic studies dealing only with biographical and thematic issues. While they often study public patronage, few give more than passing attention to the role of private patrons.[7] To my

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Sculpture: The Collection of The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco (San Francisco: The Fine Arts Museums, 1982). Similar cataloguing projects have been undertaken at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, and the Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven. The sculptures owned by the National Academy of Design, New York, were catalogued by the author under the direction of Abigail Booth Gerdts; and Donna Hassler, formerly of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, wrote the text of a catalogue of that museum's collection which will replace an earlier work by Albert T. Gardner (American Sculpture: A Catalogue of the Collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art [New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1965]). The Metropolitan's new catalogue is being completed by Thayer Tolles.

[7]An interest in public sculpture was renewed during the 1980s with the publication of a number of articles and books such as Michele Bogart, "Maine Memorial and Pulitzer Fountain: A Study in Patronage and Process," Winterthur Portfolio 21 (Spring 1986): 41-64; and, by the same author, Public Sculpture and the Civic Ideal in New York City, 1890-1930 (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1989); and Vivien Green Fryd, Art & Empire: The Politics of Ethnicity in the United States Capitol, 1815-1860 (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1992). Several useful catalogue-guidebooks have also appeared such as Margot Gayle and Michele Cohen, The Art Commission and the Municipal Art Society Guide to Manhattan's Outdoor Sculpture (New York: Prentice Hall Press, 1988); Ira J. Bach and Mary Lackritz Gray, A Guide to Chicago's Public Sculpture (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1983); and, much less successful, Donald Martin Reynolds, Monuments and Masterpieces: Histories and Views of Public Sculpture in New York City (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1988). The major focus of interest reflected in these publications, however, has been on the post-Civil War period in America. For the antebellum years, see Lillian B. Miller, Patrons and Patriotism, The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States 1790-1860 (Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), which remains a standard source for

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knowledge, only two published works have dealt with the patrons of American Neoclassic sculptors in more than a cursory manner. These are Margaret Farrand Thorp's The Literary Sculptors of 1965 and Joy S. Kasson's Marble Queens & Captives of 1990.[8]

The first concentrates on the ideal works of the American Neoclassic sculptors but incorporates a chapter on both public and private patronage which gives basic information on well-known patrons such as Nicholas Longworth, William T. Walters, Wayman Crow, and Charles Sumner. While Thorp focuses on the objects that some of these men actually bought from the sculptors, she also acknowledges the moral and financial support they provided. The typical patron of sculptors, she states,

---

information on the United States government's role as a patron of the arts.

[8]Margaret Farrand Thorp, The Literary Sculptors (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1965); Joy S. Kasson, Marble Queens & Captives: Women in Nineteenth-Century American Sculpture (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1990). One unpublished source which deals with the question of the patronage of American Neoclassic sculptors should be mentioned: Julie A. Aronson, "Sculpture Collectors in Nineteenth-Century America," a graduate seminar paper presented at the University of Delaware in 1987. Therein, Ms. Aronson gives a concise survey of the topic and provides a useful bibliography. Although she mentions only one Bostonian--Charles Sumner--she includes information on New Yorkers Hamilton Fish and A. T. Stewart; Philadelphians Joseph Harrison and Henry C. Gibson; and Baltimorean Robert Gilmor, Jr., among others. I wish to thank Ms. Aronson for generously sending me a copy of her paper.

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> not only assisted aspiring young artists, he encouraged them to aspire. His interest was aroused not so much by the quality of the work a man was doing as by the fact that he wanted to be a sculptor. The patron was proud to be able to co-operate in the advancement of American art.[9]

Published twenty-five years later, Kasson's book focuses on women as subjects of American Neoclassic sculpture. Naturally, she, too, deals mostly with ideal works and although she does not devote a section of her book to patronage as did Thorp, at various points in her discussion she addresses aspects of patronage and its influence on the sculptors. She includes brief sketches of some of the patrons mentioned by Thorp, adding others such as Robert Gilmor of Baltimore, James Fenimore Cooper of New York, and Charles McAllister of Philadelphia.[10] She divides patrons into two categories: buyers of sculpture, who might more accurately be termed collectors; and benefactors who, in my opinion, should be termed patrons.[11] Both Thorp and Kasson identify the typical patron of ideal sculpture as a well-educated member of, as Kasson puts it, "an older, well-established class of wealthy Americans [who were] philanthropists of wide-ranging interests."[12] As will be seen, my own research bears out this description. In fact,

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[9]Thorp, 150.

[10]Kasson, 12-18.

[11]Ibid., 12.

[12]Ibid., 15.

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it is the purpose of this dissertation to identify and discuss at length some of the private patrons of American Neoclassic sculptors for, as Kasson acknowledges, no thorough study of these men and women has been made.[13]

DEFINITIONS

While the focus of the current work should be clear from its title, an explication of some terms should be helpful to the reader.

American Neoclassic Sculptors

Due to the confusion which the term "Neoclassic" can cause, some standards for considering an artist to be Neoclassic should be stated here. For the sculptors included in this dissertation, the following statements are true:

(a) the sculptor worked primarily in the medium of white marble;

(b) he or she designed at least a few ideal works; and

(c) the bulk of his or her career occurred between 1825 and 1876, as outlined below.

While it is beyond the limits of this dissertation to give a full-scale treatment to Neoclassicism as an artistic movement or cultural phenomenon--a task which a

[13]Ibid., 17.

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large, already existing bibliography would render redundant anyway--perhaps a brief discussion of the style and its American occurrence is in order.[14]

As Hugh Honour has pointed out, the term "Neoclassic" was invented in the late nineteenth century as a reactionary label for a style which by then was out of favor. It had been born in Europe in the 1740s, reached maturity before and during the French Revolution, and was on its deathbed in Europe by the 1810s. The paintings of Frenchman Jacques-Louis David and the sculptures of Italian Antonio Canova gave the style its definitive form. Its most apparent attributes were outlined by Honour when he stated

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[14]Two of the most accessible books on Neoclassicism are Hugh Honour, Neo-Classicism (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1968), and Robert Rosenblum, Transformations in Late Eighteenth Century Art (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1967). A full-scale treatment of the style was given in the catalogue, The Age of Neo-Classicism (London: The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1972) issued on the occasion of a large exhibition of the same title held at the Royal Academy and The Victoria and Albert Museum, London, in that year. For primary source material on the topic, see Lorenz Eitner, Neoclassicism and Romanticism 1750-1850, Sources & Documents in the History of Art Series, ed. H. W. Janson (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970).

The impact of ancient sculpture on Western culture from the Renaissance to modern times, including its role in the formulation of the Neoclassic aesthetic, is the subject of Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penny, Taste and the Antique: The Lure of Classical Sculpture 1500-1900 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981) which includes an indispensable catalogue of the most popular antique sculptures with discussions of their provenances and aesthetic descendants.

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that Neoclassic painting displayed "firm and unequivocal contours and bold flat areas of paint." Compositionally, "the rigorously frontal view" and "the elementary clarity of a simple perspective box" held sway. Color "tended towards the primary" and eventually was eliminated altogether "in favour of the most rudimentary linear techniques."[15]

If reduction or elimination of color and the resulting simplification and "purification" of the image was important to Neoclassic painting, it was basic to Neoclassic sculpture. Sculpture, in fact, was that branch of the fine arts used by Johannes Winckelmann to assist him in formulating theories of what would become the Neoclassic aesthetic. "The only way for us to become great," he wrote, "is to imitate the ancients." The specific objects to be imitated were the sculptures of the ancient Greeks, such as those of Phidias and Praxiteles, and particularly the Hellenistic sculpture of the Laocoon at the Vatican. These marbles inspired Winkelmann's visions of "noble simplicity and calm grandeur" as explained in his treatise, Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture of 1755, wherein he proposed that modern artists more closely emulate the art of the classical world.[16] Many took up

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[15]Honour, 20.

[16]The complete, original German text of Winckelmann's Reflections, accompanied by a new English translation by Elfriede Heyer and Roger C. Norton, has recently been reprinted (La Salle, Ill: Open Court, 1987).

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Winckelmann's challenge, at least in theory, but few followed his advice slavishly. Rather, even the most Neoclassic of the European artists (and this was actually true of the Greeks, as well) declined to banish other aesthetic considerations, such as naturalism or realism, from their oeuvre. Interests in human emotion often led to the creation of paintings and sculptures in a style which is more correctly called Romantic-Classicism.[17]

It should be remembered that when Winckelmann wrote Reflections, he had not as yet seen any antique sculptures in the flesh, so to speak. Rather, his theories were "drawn from intuition and vast reading," as Lorenz Eitner has pointed out (Eitner, 5).

Reflections was actually only one example of Winckelmann's involvement with antique sculpture. In 1763-64, he published History of Ancient Art in German and it was soon translated into French. Haskell and Penny have noted the importance of this work: "Winckelmann's most significant and lasting achievement was to produce a thorough, comprehensive and lucid chronological account of all antique art--but chiefly sculpture--including that of the Egyptians and the Etruscans. No one had done this before" (Haskell and Penny, 101).

[17]Addressing this issue, Robert Rosenblum has written of the problems created by viewing Neoclassicism as "slavish and hence stillborn imitations of Greco-Roman antiquity." He explains: "Far from tending toward an anonymous and repressive uniformity of style and expression, that art of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries which offers allusions to Greco-Roman antiquity in terms of subject matter and of borrowed classical forms is fully as various and contradictory, if not even more so, than the art subsumed under such other broad categories as Gothic, Mannerist, or Baroque. In fact, after confronting the scope of Neoclassicism that must, at different times, comprise forms and emotions as unlike as those found in Fuseli and David, Carstens and Girodet, Sergel and Greenough, Schinkel and Nash, one soon wonders whether Neoclassicism may properly be termed a style at all, or whether it should not be termed, to use Giedion's phrase, a `coloration'" (Rosenblum, 4).

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Such diversity in application makes "Neoclassic" difficult to define precisely. The painter Anton Mengs, an eighteenth-century practitioner of the style, made an attempt to do so when he wrote, "By the ideal I mean that which one sees only with the imagination, and not with the eyes."[18] The artist's job, in other words, is to take what nature provides and correct mistakes that have fallen into her handiwork by returning forms to their most perfect, ideal state. For Mengs and his contemporaries, as well as for most artists of the nineteenth century, art existed to instruct and/or inform. The artist, therefore, was encouraged to translate moralizing or edifying subjects into paint or stone. This inherently didactic quality of Neoclassicism encouraged patrons, too. Once a potential patron accepted the fact that art was not frivolous, he or she could more easily justify expenditure of time and money on the promotion of artists and the purchase of their works. And the rationalization for doing so was only strengthened if the patron also wanted to improve his or her nation's or region's cultural atmosphere.

See also Gerard Hubert, "Early Neo-Classical Sculpture in France and Italy," The Age of Neo-Classicism, lxxvi-lxxxii, in which the author noted that "the best French sculptors were imbued with realism and their conversion to the new ideas was mainly theoretical." Houdon, Hubert believed, was "a convinced member of the Neo-classical school, [but] he took care not to put his theories into practice."

[18]Quoted in Honour, 105.

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Most Neoclassic sculptures depict ideal figures; and these are most often of characters from contemporary or historical literature, including the Bible, or from the ancient myths of Greece and Rome (thereby explaining the title of Thorp's book, mentioned above). This is not to say that their translation into marble was meant to be simply illustrative. On the contrary, the intrinsic heroism or goodness of the person represented--and the purity implied by the white stone itself--gave the artist the chance to teach a moral lesson by using the example of the character portrayed. In doing so, Neoclassic sculptors were following the hierarchy of artistic subject matter as elucidated by Sir Joshua Reynolds in the late eighteenth century. The most elevating, inspirational, and pedagogically successful subjects--the historical and the religious--were at the top; still-life was at the bottom.

By 1800, the formulas of both Reynolds and Mengs had been readily accepted in the United States where, as William Gerdts has pointed out, "classical forms were considered the symbol of an ideal way of life reborn" and "provided America with inspiration, from its democratic political goals to the classical temples that America turned into her homes, her colleges, her churches, and her government buildings."[19] In fact, Neoclassicism made its debut in this country partially

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[19]Gerdts, American Neo-Classic Sculpture, 21.

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through the efforts of Thomas Jefferson whose love of the art of the ancients received expression in, among other things, his architecture (e.g., the University of Virginia, 1809-25, Charlottesville).[20] The style was promoted by the reputation of the American-born but thoroughly Anglicized Benjamin West,[21] and the example of short-term expatriate painters such as John Vanderlyn who, having studied with Francois-André Vincent in Paris, returned to America in

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[20]See Frederick D. Nichols, "Jefferson: The Making of an Architect," Jefferson and the Arts: an Extended View, William Howard Adams ed. (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1976), 161-85; and Jack McLaughlin, Jefferson and Monticello: The Biography of a Builder (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1988).

[21]While Americans had limited opportunities to see West's mature works, which were executed in England mostly for English consumption, a number of his more important historical compositions were engraved and, therefore, were presumably more widely available in America. For example, one of his most classicizing paintings, Agrippina Landing at Brundisium with the Ashes of Germanicus (1768, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Conn.), which remained in England until 1947, was engraved by Richard Earlom and published by John Boydell in 1776. (See Helmut von Erffa and Allen Staley, The Paintings of Benjamin West [New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1986], 179). This is not to say, of course, that West toed the strict Neoclassic line. His style could be as varied as that of any so-called Neoclassicist and at times even verged on the blatantly Romantic (as in his The Death of General Wolfe, 1771, National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa). Nevertheless, he was a believer in the importance of the hierarchy of art as delineated by Reynolds, his predecessor as president of Britain's Royal Academy. West's role in passing these lessons on to the next generation of American artists is part of the story told in Dorinda Evans, Benjamin West and His American Students (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press for the National Portrait Gallery, 1980).

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1815.[22] The clarity of the Neoclassic vision infused the work of history painters (e.g., Washington Allston's The Dead Man Restored to Life by Touching the Bones of the Prophet Elisha, 1811-14, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts); scenes depicting characters, often nude, from ancient literature or myths (Vanderlyn's Ariadne Asleep on the Island of Naxos, 1812, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts); and even humble still-lifes (the paintings of Raphaelle Peale).

Likewise, beginning in the 1830s, American Neoclassic sculptors "reiterated the classical concept of the human body as the ultimate artistic ideal, an ideal of beauty rather than expressiveness," as has recently been stated.[23] In fact, by 1827 the didacticism of Neoclassicism had already taken such a firm hold on American critical thought that the same ranking, or hierarchy, of categories of artistic subject matter ascribed to by British and

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[22]The influence of France on American art has produced a large and growing bibliography. One might begin with three recent studies, all of which include discussions of Neoclassic artists, although, for the most part, they focus on the later nineteenth century: H. Barbara Weinberg, The Lure of Paris: Nineteenth-Century American Painters and Their French Teachers (New York: Abbeville Press, 1991); Lois Marie Fink, American Art at the Nineteenth-Century Paris Salons (Washington, D.C.: National Museum of American Art, 1990); and William H. Gerdts, "American Art and the French Experience," Lasting Impressions: American Painters in France 1865-1915 (Evanston, Ill.: Terra Foundation for the Arts, 1992), 13-124.

[23]Gerdts, American Neo-Classic Sculpture, 21.

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European Neoclassicists, including Reynolds and West, found its way into print as part of an article written on the occasion of the second annual exhibition at the National Academy of Design in New York. For the author of that review, which appeared in The United States Review and Literary Gazette, the scale held true for both painting and sculpture and, for the latter, the ranking was as follows:

1. Historical or Fabulous Group, in *the round*
2. Single Statue, in *the round*
3. Figures in Alto-relievo
4. Figures in Basso-relievo
5. The Portrait Bust
6. Ornamental Sculpture[24]

The closer a sculpture came to being fully three-dimensional, the higher it ranked, because achieving three-dimensionality was relatively more difficult, and the

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[24]"Review. The Exhibition of the National Academy of Design, 1827. The Second," The United States Review and Literary Gazette 2 (July 1827): 244. The writer of the review confessed that his comments on sculpture were limited by his having spent too much time discussing painting and by the paltry amount of sculpture that was in the exhibition. He lamented that there was "nothing in the present exhibition in the higher departments of sculpture," by which he meant the ideal, and he had to content himself with brief remarks on a few of the portrait busts present (John S. Cogdell's bust of Dr. Holbrook, Hezekiah Augur's of Professor Fisher, and John Frazee's self-portrait). The writer also admitted that Americans "have been often taunted by foreigners for the dearth of sculptural talent in the country, and apparently with truth" (Ibid., 260-261).

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observation of such sculptures was deemed more edifying. Therefore, the top of the hierarchy was reserved for elevated subjects rendered in the round.

By the time of the publication of the National Academy review, Neoclassicism had already appeared in North America in three major sculptures commissioned from English and European artists, and in the products of sculptors who actually crossed the Atlantic to reside in this country. Before 1830, Jean-Antoine Houdon, Antonio Canova, and Francis Chantrey each sculpted a life-size marble image of George Washington. Houdon's standing version was sent from France and set up in the Virginia state capital building in Richmond in 1796; the Italian Canova's seated Washington, commissioned in 1815 for the North Carolina State House in Raleigh, was unveiled there in 1821 (and, unfortunately, was destroyed by fire in 1831); and Chantrey's Washington, commissioned from the Englishman by the state of Massachusetts, was unveiled in the new State House in Boston in 1826.[25] Each of these statues became a symbol of civic

[25]The bibliography for these imported Washingtons is substantial. For Houdon, see especially Gilbert Chinard, Houdon in America (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1930); H. H. Arnason, The Sculptures of Houdon (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 72-77; and John S. Hallam, "Houdon's *Washington* in Richmond: Some New Observations," The American Art Journal 10 (Nov. 1978): 72-80. For Canova, see R.D.W. Connor, Canova's Statue of Washington (Raleigh: North Carolina Historical Commission, 1910); Philipp Fehl, "Thomas Appleton of Livorno and Canova's Statue of George

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pride for the citizens of the respective states and were mandatory stops for tourists in the cities in which each work resided.[26]

Only Houdon actually crossed the ocean and spent a few months in Philadelphia and Virginia. The Neoclassic aesthetic as practiced by these artists, then, arrived in the United States pre-packaged in the sculptures themselves. In contrast, some Italian sculptors executed their commissioned works here. Some of these commissions were private, but most were coveted public ones which were

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Washington," Festschrift Ulrich Middleldorf (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1968): 523-552; and Fred Licht, Canova (New York: Abbeville Press, 1983), 103-107. For Chantrey, see Ilene D. Lieberman, "Sir Francis Chantrey's Monument to George Washington: Sculpture and Patronage in Post-Revolutionary America," The Art Bulletin 71 (June 1989): 254-268.

[26]Because of the stylistic similarities and, perhaps more importantly, differences among these three sculptures, they make an interesting case study in the diversity of Neoclassicism as it was transported across the Atlantic and became assimilated in America. While it is not my intention to undertake a lengthy discussion of this topic, it might be briefly stated (and admittedly rather simplistically) that the sculptures represent three levels of Neoclassicism. Houdon presented Washington in contemporary dress and his image is therefore the most realistic of the three. The sculptor went beyond strict realism, however, when he aligned Washington with the Roman general, Cincinnatus, and surrounded him with objects which have specific symbolic meaning (as has been discussed by Hallam, cited above). Canova, on the other hand, chose to show the American patriot in the garb of a Roman soldier and thereby created the most classicizing of the three images. Meanwhile, Chantrey combined the best of both approaches by dressing Washington in contemporary costume and then covering that with a long, classisizing cloak.

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usually given reluctantly and parsimoniously by the United States government as part of an attempt to create an architectural environment suitable for the political institutions of the new, idealistic democracy.[27] Among the hopefuls were Giuseppi Ceracchi (1751-1802), who came to Philadelphia in the 1790s seeking portrait commissions from famous Americans, including Alexander Hamilton and George Washington; and Giuseppi Franzoni (d. 1815) and Giovanni Andrei (1770-1824), proponents of Neoclassicism who emigrated to this country in 1806 to work on Benjamin Latrobe's new federal Capitol building in Washington.[28]

Until the 1820s, these importations of sculptures and sculptors were necessary due to the lack of native-born talent capable of executing the desired works in marble. As has been discussed elsewhere and at some length, the development of American sculpture occurred later than that

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[27]Wayne Craven summarized the government's desire to do this when he stated that the politicians "found [Neoclassicism] thoroughly compatible with their political and philosophical foundations. The United States Capitol took on a Roman revival form because this nation could align itself politically with ancient republican Rome, just as Napoleon had compared his own regime to that of imperial Rome. Thus was Neoclassicism successfully received in the early years of the Republic, and it was the Italian sculptors who quite naturally carried the Neoclassical style to America" (Craven, Sculpture in America, 59).

[28]See Kathleen Raben Castiello, "The Italian Sculptors of the United States Capitol: 1806-1834" (Ph.D. diss., The University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, 1975); and Fryd, Art & Empire, 9-41.

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of American painting for a number of reasons. Lack of educational facilities which taught sculptural technique and the absence of workmen needed to manipulate the marble made it all but impossible for artists to seriously consider sculpture as a profession during the first fifty years of this nation's existence.[29]

It was also assumed that another important element for artistic success was missing: patronage. The warning that John Trumbull gave to John Frazee is frequently cited as evidence of this. The elder painter visited Frazee in his new studio in New York in 1820 but offered the sculptor little encouragement in the pursuit of his career. Instead, Frazee remembered, Trumbull stated

> that he thought it a game of chance, for me or any other artist, to think of accomplishing anything in sculpture in this country, for a century yet to come!--that, in his sincere opinion, "there would be little or nothing wanted in this branch of art, and no encouragement given to it in this country, for yet a hundred years!" These are his very words, uttered during the first interview I had with him.[30]

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[29]For an excellent recent discussion of the development of sculpture in America and the reasons it lagged behind that of painting, see Seidler, Story, 116-21; and for a brief discussion of attitudes toward sculpture in America prior to 1815, see J. Meredith Neil, Toward a National Taste (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1975), 96-105.

[30]John Frazee, "The Autobiography of Frazee, the Sculptor. Chapter II," The North American Quarterly Magazine 6 (July 1835): 17-18.

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Whether we take Trumbull's warnings as friendly advice or as the result of personal bitterness, there can be no doubt that within a decade of the time he made these statements, his prediction was proven untrue. Indeed, when he spoke, the first generation of American Neoclassic sculptors had already been born and were preparing to make their talents and personalities known to the American and European publics. There were also calls for the government and private patrons to support American sculptors. As early as 1811, Benjamin Henry Latrobe told the members of the Society of Artists of the United States in Philadelphia that foreign patronage had helped promote the careers of American painters; now it was time for American patrons to do the same for American sculptors. "Let the national legislature honour the hero or statesman of the revolution with busts," he declared,

> and sculptors will not be wanting. The genius which under exotic influence has given so high a rank to the American pencil of a West, Copley, Trumbull, and Vanerline [sic], would, under domestic patronage, not refuse to inspire the American chisel.[31]

Governmental inspiration was not immediately forthcoming, however, and twenty-five years later, a writer for the New-York Mirror still found it necessary to remind potential patrons of the importance of supporting American

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[31]Benjamin Henry Latrobe, Anniversary Oration, Pronounced Before, The Society of Artists of The United States, By Appointment of the Society, On the Eighth of May, 1811 (Philadelphia, 1811), 24-25.

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sculptors. The author had recently heard that the Danish sculptor, Bertel Thorwaldsen, had been asked to create a statue of Robert Fulton for the Merchants' Exchange in New Orleans. "Would it not have been more appropriate to have employed some American?" he asked. "We talk of patriotism and of native talent. Ought we not to do more than talk?"[32] By that time, however, a number of Americans had already begun to put their money where their mouths were, so to

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[32]"Statue of Robert Fulton," New-York Mirror 14 (July 23, 1836): 31. The support of Americans expressed here was not necessarily universal. Even an American artist such as the painter John Neagle was not above calling for patronage of foreigners. When the Italian Luigi Persico received employment from the Federal government, some protested. Neagle, however, on behalf of the Artists' Fund Society, petitioned the government to retain Persico. "Mr. Persico is an Italian by birth," he wrote in 1837, "and your memorialists are aware that many of their countrymen believe that none but natives are entitled to Government patronage: but your memorialists dissent from this doctrine, and entertain the opinion that Artists of genius and high moral character, whose works have a tendency to exalt the sentiments, and refine the manners of the age, should, upon the fair principles of competition, find an easy passport to employment in any part of the civilized world" (John Neagle, Philadelphia, to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, Feb. 1, 1837, in George W. Bethune, An Address Before the Artists' Fund Society of Philadelphia, at the Opening of Their Exhibition, May, 1840 [Philadelphia: The Artists' Fund Society, 1840], 44). One wonders what Neagle's response would have been if the artist in question had been a painter instead of a sculptor.

Patronage by Americans of non-Americans was rationalized in other, less liberal ways. For example, in 1858, I. Edwards Clarke wrote to Hiram Powers from Rome that "Mr. Bullett of New Orleans has distributed some 11,000 $ among the Italian sculptors & gives as his reason I am told the American artists are northerners and he does not wish to patronise [sic] them!" (Clarke to HP, Feb. 7, 1858, Powers Papers 1139).

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speak, and were doing their patriotic part for their own, American sculptors, as we shall see.

Private Patrons

For the purposes of this dissertation, the term "patron" is given its broadest definition. The word is not necessarily equated with "collector" and, in fact, a patron is not even required to have purchased or otherwise acquired examples of an artist's work to qualify for the title. Moral support is enough. Conversely, the collector of sculpture is not necessarily considered a patron, especially if his or her patterns of collecting were random or sporadic or if he or she had little or no personal contact with the artists.

TIME FRAME

The period covered by this dissertation begins about the year 1825 when Horatio Greenough, who is often considered America's first professional Neoclassic sculptor, departed for Europe to further his artistic education; and it terminates in about 1876, the year of the centennial of the United States and the fair held in Philadelphia to celebrate it. The art exhibition which was an important part of that fair has been called "the grand finale" of the Neoclassic school, "where major, American Neoclassic

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sculptures were shown but where they were upstaged by the latest technological advances of industrial manufacture which no doubt emphasized the outdatedness of the marmorean dinosaurs."[33] The half-century chosen as the absolute temporal range of this dissertation, then, marks the approximate extent of the period of popularity of the Neoclassic aesthetic in American sculpture.[34]

STRUCTURE

Three major Boston patrons--Thomas H. Perkins, Edward Everett, and Charles Sumner--will be discussed at some length in individual chapters. (The reasons for focusing on Boston will be discussed below). Individuals who played a smaller but noteworthy role in the story will be dealt with in a separate chapter. An attempt will be made to suggest why these persons supported American sculptors, bought Neoclassic sculpture, or had a general interest in the arts. Basic information about the education and professional development of each, as well as details of

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[33]Gerdts, American Neo-Classic Sculpture, 40.

[34]Having allowed these dates to be the guide for researching and structuring this dissertation, it must be said that a majority of the material which will be found herein will have to do with the antebellum years in America. On the other hand, depending on their relative significance, events which occurred or persons who lived outside the 1825-1876 limits were not necessarily rejected for inclusion simply because they did not fall into what are, after all, arbitrary boundaries.

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any European experiences they might have had,[35] will be given. General conclusions about the nature of the patronage of American Neoclassic sculpture will be featured in the final chapter and the dissertation will conclude with an alphabetical list of the names of nineteenth-century American owners of American Neoclassic sculpture.

WHY BOSTON/CAMBRIDGE?

As research on this dissertation progressed, it became apparent that the urban area of Boston, including Cambridge, played an especially important role in the careers of many nineteenth-century American sculptors.[36]

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[35]During the period covered by this dissertation, few opportunities existed for Americans to see and study sculpture in their own country; therefore, their encounter with it in Europe is, I believe, significant. For a recent consideration of Americans on the grand tour of Europe and their encounter with American sculptors while there, see William H. Gerdts, "Celebrities of the Grand Tour: The American Sculptors in Florence and Rome," in Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., The Lure of Italy: American Artists and the Italian Experience 17160-1914 (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), 66-93.

[36]For the purposes of this study, Boston will be assumed to include Cambridge which, even in the nineteenth century, was considered to be very much a part of the larger city. The two urban centers are separated by the Charles River which was first spanned in 1786 and again in 1793, thereby making travel between the two cities easy (Walter Muir Whitehill, Boston, A Topographical History 2nd ed. [Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1968], 48, 51). In fact, by the first quarter of the nineteenth century, it was apparently considered no hardship for people to walk between them, even for casual visits with

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Boston appeared to have had a particularly high concentration of sculptors in the years before the Civil War and, as we shall see, a number of these artists were not native to the area but were attracted by some assurance that they would find patronage there. This centralization of eager artists and willing supporters makes Boston/Cambridge an excellent case study of the important link between artistic production and patronage and a logical starting point in an investigation of that connection as it specifically applies to American Neoclassic sculptors.

Sculptors and Sculpture in Boston

By the 1820s, when the first professional American sculptors began to appear, Boston had developed a sufficiently large economic base to support the arts on both public and private levels. At the same time, a significant number of the town's citizens had acquired a classical education which encouraged their belief in the ascendency of art and its possibilities as a didactic tool.[37] The

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friends or relatives. Edward Everett Hale said as much when he wrote about Boston as it had been in the 1840s: "Cambridge was within forty-five minutes' walk of this little self-poised metropolis, and was really a part of it, in all `its busy life, its fluctuations, and its vast concerns'--and in its pettiest concerns as well" (Hale, James Russell Lowell and His Friends [Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1899], 57).

[37]The general history of the development of the fine arts in Boston has been investigated by a number of authors. See, for example, Arthur Dexter, "The Fine Arts in Boston,"

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quintessential Boston writer, Edward Everett Hale, described the city in the 1820s and summarized the character of the typical prominent Bostonian of the day. Hale was related to just about everyone in town and so, we might assume, knew whereof he spoke. "There was plenty of money," he wrote,

> and the rich men of Boston really meant that here should be a model and ideal city. The country was prosperous; they were prosperous, and they looked forward to a noble future. At the same time they had the advantage of having a university close under their lee, which they were themselves managing. They had started their Athenaeum, with collections of pictures and statues, and a good library. They had a good deal of leisure; and a certain interest, not wholly the interest of dilettanti, in fine arts and literature, gave distinction to their little town.[38]

In a similar vein, John Albee, who was the biographer of the American sculptor Henry Dexter, wrote of Boston during the 1830s and '40s and addressed the topic of local artistic patronage:

> There were many years between 1830 and 1850 when Boston, although commercially pinched, did not suffer artists and the literary class to go altogether unrecognized and unpaid. Its noble citizens were proud of their city and its artists, poets, orators and

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The Memorial History of Boston, ed. Justin Winsor (Boston, 1883), 3:383-414; Jean Gordon, "The Fine Arts in Boston 1815-1879" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1965); Frederic Sharf, "Art and Life in Boston, 1837 to 1850: A Study of the Painter and Sculptor in American Society," (Senior honors thesis, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., 1956); and Carol Troyen, The Boston Tradition: American Paintings from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1980).

[38]Edward Everett Hale, A New England Boyhood, ed. E.D. Mead (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1927), xxiii-xxiv.

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> statesmen, most of whom it encouraged with honors and patronage. Any marked talent was sure of appreciation and reward; and the city was not so big, or so divided in race and taste, but that the interest in art and literature could be general in all classes. In a small way it was the Augustan age of the city. As was said once of Weimar, Boston, in 1840, had ten thousand poets and philosophers, and a few inhabitants. If it did not last long, its influence has been extensive and is a proud memory.[39]

By the first years of the 1850s, an anonymous writer for the Boston periodical Dwight's Journal of Music could note that the town had "princes, too,--our Merchant Princes" who traveled the world "in search of gain" but who always returned to Boston with "some picture, some statue, some beautiful memento of foreign lands to ornament their New England Homes."[40] A similar view was given by Julian Sturgis, whose father, Russell, was a friend of writers and artists, including William Wetmore Story. Sturgis noted that during the first half of the nineteenth century, Boston saw "commerce widening her bounds," but that, at the same time, a "keener zeal for art was also in the air." "Everywhere was the same fresh desire of larger life," he continued, "and bolder achievement, with the restraining power of a wise conservatism, a belief in the ancient ways."[41]

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[39]John Albee, Henry Dexter, Sculptor, A Memorial (Cambridge: University Press, 1898), 54.

[40]"The Athenaeum Gallery," Dwight's Journal of Music 3 (Aug. 13, 1853): 149.

[41]Julian Sturgis, From Books and Papers of Russell Sturgis (Oxford: The University Press, [1890]), 81.

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As these authors suggest, Boston was ripe for the influx of young sculptors, which began in the 1830s, and was well positioned in the following decades to provide the support they needed. Certainly, these artists came to town for various reasons, but I think it is safe to assume that they would not have come if they had not thought that Bostonians would be receptive to their work.[42] At least one European-born sculptor, the Frenchman John B. Binon, had already worked in the town and although his success was limited, he did have an indirect influence on at least one future local artist, Horatio Greenough. Binon was in Boston from 1818 to about 1820 during which he modeled the busts of such celebrated figures as John Adams and, in fact, it was his bust of Adams which evidently inspired the young Greenough to try his hand at sculpting.[43]

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[42]An exception to this was Hiram Powers who wrote from Washington, D.C., to his patron, Nicholas Longworth, in 1835: "I shall try my fortune for a while either in Philadelphia or Boston--altho' I have very little hopes of success in the latter place, from the disposition manifested thus far by its most conspicuous citizens, Mr. Everett and Mr. Webster. It is possible that they are reserving their patronage for Mr. [Horatio] Greenough, who I am sure by this time does not need it" (HP, Washington, to Longworth, Feb. 1, 1835, in "Hiram Powers in Washington," Lippincott's Monthly Magazine 55 [April 1895]: 538). Despite his trepidations about the city, however, Powers went there anyway and eventually cultivated Everett as one of his most loyal supporters.

[43]Nathalia Wright, Horatio Greenough, the First American Sculptor (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), 23-24.

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Another European sculptor who was in Boston and who is worth noting here was John Carew who had come over from England by the early 1840s and worked in Boston until his death in about 1850. His two sons, Joseph and Thomas, were also sculptors as well as designers of decorative architectural elements in plaster and funerary monuments in stone. Both the Carew brothers exhibited occasionally at the Boston Athenaeum and Joseph is known to have taught carving and modeling techniques to at least one younger man, Benjamin Paul Akers, in the late 1830s.[44]

John Albee's subject, Henry Dexter (1806-1876), who was a native New Yorker and a resident of Rhode Island, came to Boston in 1836 because, as Albee reiterated, the town was "the most promising resort of artists and writers in the United States" at the time.[45] The situation there was so promising, in fact, that the sculptor stayed for the rest of his life, becoming one of the busiest local portraitists,

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[44]Little is known about the Carews, including their life dates, although both are thought to have died by 1870. See Craven, Sculpture in America, 206; "Fine Arts," Dwight's Journal of Music 1 (Aug. 14, 1852): 148; and Blanche Linden-Ward, Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1989), 239, 243-44.

[45]Albee, 49. Dexter, who was a painter before he was a sculptor, probably also knew that he could rely on the support of the prominent Boston painter, Francis Alexander, who was his wife's uncle. In fact, it was Alexander who encouraged Dexter to try his hand at sculpture after he found it difficult to get commissions for painted portraits.

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especially after the sculptor Shobal Clevenger ended his stay in Boston and left for Italy in 1840.[46] Dexter's reputation in Boston was established with the touching marble sculpture he created for the grave of Emily Binney at Mount Auburn Cemetery. It was commissioned from Dexter by the child's father in 1839 and shows the child in death. According to Albee, it became the "single purpose" of many excursions to Mount Auburn during the 1840s and '50s.[47] Dexter also benefitted from one of the earlier one-artist exhibitions held by a sculptor in Boston when, in 1848, he showed a selection of portrait busts and three major figural

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[46]Albee lists almost two-hundred busts executed by Dexter between 1835 and 1871. By far, most of these were either of or for Bostonians (Albee, 111-17). Interestingly, Dexter visited New York in 1842 where he received much attention for his bust of Charles Dickens (Free Library of Philadelphia) which he had modeled from life when the author was in Boston earlier that year. But Dexter told Richard Greenough that, even though New York had been very receptive to his work, business in Boston was too good to give up. Furthermore, he maintained that New York sculptors had shown "tastelessness" in their work because of "want of character . . . both as sculptors & men" (see Richard S. Greenough, Boston, to H.K. Brown, Albany, Feb. 22, 1842, Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, AAA P22).

[47]Albee, 59-60. By 1934, the Binney Child had deteriorated so badly that it was removed from its site at Mount Auburn and placed in storage. A contemporary engraving of it in situ is reproduced in Linden-Ward, 252.

Another notable Binney monument at Mount Auburn is on the grave of Amos Binney, cousin of Emily Binney's father, Charles, and was executed by Thomas Crawford. See Lauretta Dimmick, "Thomas Crawford's Monument for Amos Binney in Mount Auburn Cemetery, `A Work of Rare Merit'," Markers IX, Journal of the Association for Gravestone Studies 9 (1992): 159-95.

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works at Horticultural Hall.[48] The largest object in the show, a life-size marble figure called The Backwoodsman (unlocated), was immediately purchased by a group of twenty Bostonians and presented to the Boston Athenaeum early the following year.[49] In the 1850s, he was awarded the commission for a life-size marble sculpture of General Joseph Warren which was unveiled at the Bunker Hill Monument in Charlestown to great fanfare in 1857.[50]

Hiram Powers (1805-1873) of Cincinnati was in Boston briefly during the summer of 1836, having been invited to visit Massachusetts by Daniel Webster. This was long before the sculptor became internationally famous, but he was nonetheless given temporary studio space at the Athenaeum where he modeled the bust of the wealthy Bostonian Abbott Lawrence. In fact, the trip to Boston was successful enough that Powers, who did not even like the city, returned for a

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[48]Dexter's Latest Marble Statues, "The Backwoodsman," and Two Beautiful Figures, Representing "Observation," and "The First Lesson." Now Exhibiting at the Horticultural Hall, School Street (Boston: Press of George C. Rand and Company, 1848); and Yarnall and Gerdts, 1033-34.

[49]Josiah Quincy, The History of the Boston Athenaeum, with Biographical Notices of its Deceased Founders (Cambridge: Metcalf and Company, 1851), 191. The list of donors included many persons who will feature in this dissertation including Thomas H. Perkins, David Sears, John P. Cushing, Francis C. Gray, John Bryant, Jr., and Samuel, Nathan, and William Appleton.

[50]Albee, 77-78.

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short time in the summer of 1837.[51] As Richard Wunder has recently noted, once Powers was settled in Florence later in the decade, his first portrait commissions came from Bostonians.[52] He was also offered support by James Sullivan Amory of Boston who encouraged him to complete his statue of Daniel Webster, and by Edward Everett who proved to be one of his most reliable and significant patrons.[53] Boston's support of Powers was acknowledged very early when, in 1838, the sculptor's great patron, Nicholas Longworth of Cincinnati, presented the Athenaeum with a relief portrait of Powers by his pupil, John C. King.[54]

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[51]For Powers's Boston experience see Wunder, 1:92-95.

[52]Wunder, 1:113. Powers's Boston subjects included Prof. John Farrar of Harvard; the merchant George Watson Brimmer; the philanthropist, Francis C. Gray, who will be considered below; the Unitarian preacher, Charles Lowell; the sculptor, Horatio Greenough; Greenough's sister Louisa; and the poet and scholar, Richard Henry Wilde.

[53]Wunder, 1:119. In 1842, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow raised the possibility of Bostonians gathering a subscription to purchase Powers's full-length Eve but the suggestion came to nothing, perhaps, as Longfellow suggested himself, because Crawford's Orpheus had been ordered only the year before. See Longfellow, Marienberg, to Catherine Eliot Norton, July 24, [1842], The Letters of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, ed. Andrew Hilen (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966), 2:446-47.

[54]Swan, 154. King had exhibited the portrait at the Athenaeum in 1846 and 1847. It was referred to as a "cast" in the Athenaeum exhibition catalogues and, therefore, was probably made of plaster (Perkins and Gavin, 88). It is now unlocated.

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The year of Powers's second visit to Boston, 1837, also saw the arrival of the Connecticut sculptor Chauncey B. Ives (1810-1845) who gained almost immediate success there. He stayed in the city until he was advised to go to Europe for his health which he did in 1841.[55] Meanwhile, in 1839, Shobal Clevenger (1812-1843) arrived, having been encouraged to go east by his Cincinnati patron, Nicholas Longworth.[56] The young sculptor had made stops in Washington, Philadelphia, and elsewhere, but he was so successful in Boston that he lingered for about a year.[57] His talents were heralded by the inclusion of eight busts by him in the Athenaeum's first annual sculpture exhibition which opened in September, 1839;[58] and Bostonians gave him further

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[55]William H. Gerdts, "Chauncey Bradley Ives, American Sculptor," Antiques 94 (Nov. 1968): 714-718.

[56]For Clevenger, see Thomas B. Brumbaugh, "Letters of an American Sculptor, Shobal Clevenger," Art Quarterly 24 (Autumn 1961): 370-377; and, by the same author, "Shobal Clevenger: An Ohio Stonecutter in Search of Fame," The Art Quarterly 29 (1966), 29-45.

[57]Although sources differ on the exact date of Clevenger's arrival in Boston, he was said to be there in April, 1839, by at least one contemporary source ("Shobal Vail Clevenger, The Sculptor," Southern Literary Messenger 5 [April 1839]: 264). He evidently left in April, 1840, or shortly thereafter for, in a letter to the Athenaeum dated April 27, 1840, he stated that he was "about to leave Boston" (quote in Brumbaugh, "Letters of an American Sculptor, Shobal Clevenger," 373).

[58]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the First Exhibition of Sculpture in the Athenaeum Gallery (Boston, 1839), 7-8.

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encouragement by allowing him to set up a studio in the Athenaeum itself where he modeled portrait busts of worthy locals. In fact, the list of his Boston sitters quickly grew and included such luminaries as Washington Allston, Edward Everett, and Lemuel Shaw. According to one source, during his first month in Boston, Clevenger modeled nearly twenty busts and was forced to refuse further orders because of lack of time.[59] Even a New York periodical felt compelled to acknowledge that, in Boston, Clevenger "was taken by the hand with that kindness and warmth which our sister city, with all her notions, is distinguished for."[60] Before the young sculptor left for Europe in the spring of 1840, he expressed his appreciation to the citizens of Boston by presenting the Athenaeum with replicas of eight of his busts.[61] When he became seriously ill in Europe a few years later, it was the citizens of Boston who raised money for his support; and when he died in 1843, it was to Boston that his wife and children eventually came to seek temporary

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[59]Salem Gazette, October 11, 1839, quoted in Brumbaugh, "Shobal Clevenger: Ohio Stonecutter," 34.

[60]"Clevenger," United States Magazine and Democratic Review 8 (Feb. 1844): 203.

[61]Shobal Clevenger, Boston, to the Trustees of the Boston Athenaeum, April 27, 1840, in Brumbaugh, "Letters of Clevenger," 373. In a postscript to this letter, Clevenger listed the eight busts as those of Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Harrison G. Otis, Judge Davis, Judge Shaw, Washington Allston, Jeremiah Mason, and Joseph Tilden. Also see Harding, Athenaeum Collection, 20-22.

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refuge with the family of Horatio Greenough's brother John.[62]

In 1840, two more sculptors who would make Boston their permanent home arrived. One was John Crookshanks King (1806-1882) who had first tried his hand at sculpting in Cincinnati in the 1830s under the aegis of Hiram Powers. Once in Boston, King, like Powers, specialized in portraiture, executing busts and relief portraits of Daniel Webster, John Quincy Adams, and Ralph Waldo Emerson, among others, and exhibiting at the Athenaeum and the Boston Mechanic's Association.[63] In 1842, the sculptor gave his plaster bust of Rev. Francis Greenwood to the Athenaeum, in which collection it remains.[64]

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[62]Brumbaugh, "Clevenger: An Ohio Stonecutter," 43. This is not to say that Bostonians were the only ones to patronize Clevenger or to aid his family after his death. New Yorkers did what they could for the sculptor's widow. For example, with the stated purpose of helping to alleviate her financial problems, the National Academy of Design in New York voted to purchase the original plaster of Clevenger's bust of Allston directly from Mrs. Clevenger (John L. Morton, New York, to Samuel F. B. Morse, Dec. 20, 1843, National Academy of Design Archives). Despite this, she evidently decided that she and her children would be better off in Boston, at least for a while, and she moved there after only a brief stay in New York. Eventually, however, in her destitution, she was forced to return to her father's home in Missouri (Brumbaugh, "Clevenger: An Ohio Stonecutter," 43).

[63]Perkins and Gavin, 88; Yarnall and Gerdts, 2027. Also see Notices by the Press, of King's Bust of the Late Hon. Daniel Webster (Boston: William Chadwick, 1852). In 1842, King gave the Athenaeum a plaster version of his bust of Francis W. P. Greenwood (Harding, Athenaeum, 45).

[64]Harding, Athenaeum, 45.

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The other sculptor who moved to town in 1840 (or perhaps 1841) was English-born Robert Ball Hughes (1806-1868) who had already lived and worked in both New York and Philadelphia.[65] Even before he arrived, however, he had connections in Boston. For example, he had executed a bust of Thomas H. Perkins (unlocated) by 1832 when he exhibited it at the Athenaeum; and in 1839 four additional works by the sculptor, including busts of Washington Irving and Edward Livingston which had been purchased by the Athenaeum the previous year, were included in the first annual sculpture exhibition at the Athenaeum.[66] Two years later, the organization bought the original plaster model of Hughes's statue of Alexander Hamilton, designed in 1835 for the city of New York. The original plaster model for his Uncle Toby and the Widow Wadman was on deposit at the Athenaeum from 1835 to 1860, and his small equestrian statue of Washington was purchased from Isaac P. Davis in 1841.[67]

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[65]For Hughes, see Georgia S. Chamberlain, "Shorter Notes: The Portrait Busts of Robert Ball Hughes," The Art Quarterly 20 (Winter 1957): 383-86; Thomas B. Brumbaugh, "A Ball Hughes Correspondence," The Art Quarterly 21 (Winter 1958): 422-37; and Philipp Fehl, "John Trumbull and Robert Ball Hughes's Restoration of the Statue of Pitt the Elder," New-York Historical Society Quarterly 56 (Jan. 1972): 7-28.

[66]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the First Exhibition of Sculpture in the Athenaeum Gallery (Boston: John H. Eastburn, Printer, 1839), 5-7; Harding, Athenaeum, 42.

[67]Swan, 147.

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Hughes's best known local sculpture, however, was his bronze, seated figure of Nathaniel Bowditch which was commissioend by a group of interested Bostonians and for placement in Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge. The life-size figure, the first sculpture to be cast in bronze in America, was unveiled in 1847 and a full-size plaster version was given to the Athenaeum four years later.[68]

Powers and Clevenger were not the only sculptors to come to Boston from Cincinnati. They were followed in 1841 by Edward Augustus Brackett (1818-1908), a native of Maine who had been working in Cincinnati as a stonecutter. Having heard of Clevenger's good fortune in the east, Brackett went first to New York where he had only a limited success and where he was rather rudely advised by the local press to seek further study.[69] So he moved on to Boston. By September, 1842, he could write to a friend, "I am getting to be quite famous here in Boston, and as a sculptor no doubt I shall do well."[70] His prediction began to come true when he scored a significant critical victory with a

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[68]Linden-Ward, 237; Harding, Athenaeum, 42-43.

[69]"Editor's Table. Our Young Artists," Knickerbocker 16 (Sept. 1840), 36. This article stated that "Mr. Brackett needs but study, to acquire that additional mastery of the details of his art, which will place him in the van-rank to which his ambition naturally aspires."

[70]Edward A. Brackett to "My Dear Friend," Sept. 2, 1842, Gratz Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, AAA P22.

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posthumous bust of Washington Allston (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) which Brackett had modeled after a death mask in 1844. His greatest triumph, though, was with his only known ideal work, Shipwrecked Mother and Child (fig. 1), which had been commissioned by a group of Bostonians.[71] When it was shown at Amory Hall in Boston in 1852, it received wide coverage in the press, including the publication of a letter of support from no less a figure than Horatio Greenough.[72] The sculpture even inspired a poem by Thomas Buchanan Read which, along with a selection of favorable reviews of the work, was reprinted in a pamphlet published on the occasion of the exhibition.[73] Undoubtedly, its success helped gain Brackett the important commission for a life-size marble sculpture of Rev. Hosea

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[71]William J. Hennessey, "White Marble Idealism: Four American Neo-Classical Sculptors," Worcester Art Museum Bulletin 2 (Nov. 1972): 9.

[72]"Fine Arts. Brackett's Group--Mr. Greenough's Letter," Dwight's Journal of Music 1 (April 17, 1852): 12-13.

[73]Edward A. Brackett's Marble Group of the Shipwrecked Mother and Child (Boston, [1852]). This catalogue also pointed out that the group was carved from Vermont marble, a fact which caused some observers to wax patriotic. One Boston author stated that Brackett had shown "that it is not absolutely essential that all our artists should leave our shores to pursue their vocation abroad: the beauty of his statue shows that an artist may be in a congenial atmosphere here, and the stone from which he has wrought it proves that it is not necessary to go abroad for the materials to work with" ("Fine Arts," To-Day: A Boston Literary Journal 1 [Jan. 17, 1852], 41).

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Ballou which was placed on Ballou's grave at Mount Auburn in 1860, financed by the Reverend's followers in Boston and the surrounding area.[74]

In 1843, Peter Stephenson (1823-1861) left New York State, where he had lived since childhood, and moved to Boston. He had started his professional life as a watchmaker but soon developed a talent for the carving of cameos. In Boston, he tried his hand at portrait busts and was soon successful enough to afford a trip to Italy. His best known work, and the one that made his reputation, was his Wounded Indian (or Dying Indian) (fig.2) which was sometimes identified as the first life-size sculpture to be carved from American marble, evidently barely beating out Brackett's Shipwrecked Mother for the distinction. After an auspicious debut in London's Crystal Palace in 1851, the Wounded Indian was exhibited at the Boston Athenaeum for several years after which it was purchased by the Mercantile Library Association in New York.[75] Native Americans were something of a specialty with Stephenson; he executed a relief of Pocahontas, a statuette of an Indian hunting

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[74]Linden-Ward, 241-42.

[75]"Domestic Art Gossip," The Crayon 3 (July 1856): 221; The Illustrated Exhibitor, A Tribute to the World's Industrial Jubilee (London: John Cassell, 1851), 131; Perkins and Gavin, 132; "Sketchings," The Crayon 8 (March 1861): 70.

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buffalo, and a work called The Indian Bride.[76] Of these, only the Wounded Indian is located; but a bust by Stephenson of the Boston lawyer Lucius M. Sargent is in the collection of the Athenaeum, although it did not arrive there until recent times; and The Indian Bride was owned by Bostonian Hannah Lee and then her granddaughter Julia (Bryant) Paine.[77]

Another sculptor from Maine who enjoyed support among Bostonians was Benjamin Paul Akers (1825-1861) who spent 1849-50 in Boston studying plaster casting with Joseph Carew. He returned to the area the following year, 1851, to stay in Cambridge with Henry Wadsworth Longfellow while he modeled the poet's bust.[78] Longfellow and his wife, Fanny, introduced Akers to other Bostonians, including Mrs. Longfellow's uncle, Samuel Appleton, which led to other commissions.

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[76]Perkins and Gavin, 132.

[77]Harding, Athenaeum, 57.

[78]In his journal entry dated June 12, 1851, Longfellow recorded Akers's arrival in Cambridge and noted that the young man possessed "superior talent and high ideas in his art" (Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, ed. Samuel Longfellow [Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1893], 2:209). Two plaster versions of Akers's bust of Longfellow are in the collection of the Boston Athenaeum (Harding, Athenaeum, 11).

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Of course, Boston was home to native talent as well. The city's most famous sculptor before the Civil War was Horatio Greenough who, not surprisingly, was encouraged by Bostonians from his earliest years. When he first proposed to go to Europe in 1825, he was lent or given money by two prominent Bostonians, George Parkman and Amos Lawrence, and the passage given him on one of Thomas Handasyd Perkins's ships is legendary.[79] William Wetmore Story (1819-1895) was second only to Greenough in local fame, especially after he took the shocking step of giving up a promising law career to become a sculptor. Although he was never pleased with the level of patronage he received from his fellow Bostonians, Story was honored by twenty-one Boston businessmen, including Josiah Quincy, Abbott Lawrence, Martin Brimmer, and Thomas Gold Appleton, who ordered his Arcadian Shepherd Boy for the Boston Public Library in 1858.[80] And he certainly benefitted from the encouragement

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[79]Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 29, 37.

[80]Seidler, Story, 294. Of the sculpture, Seidler noted that "Its classical demeanor and Spenserian allusions undoubtedly struck a responsive chord among the library's benefactors. Many of them were individuals who had liberally patronized the careers of Horatio Greenough and Thomas Crawford by purchasing their literarily-inspired, pseudo-antique creations in the 1830's and 1840's."

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and sponsorship given to him by a few other Bostonians, notably Charles Sumner and Russell Sturgis.[81]

Several other sculptors from the Boston area who were part of the generation following Greenough's also found private support in Boston. Thomas Ridgeway Gould (1818-1881), for example, a merchant who turned to sculpture after his business was ruined by the Civil War, gained enough portrait commissions from Bostonians by 1868 to finance a move to Florence, Italy. He spent the rest of his life there, returning to America for only a few brief visits, but he continued to be supported by Bostonians. One of his major ideal pieces, a life-size sculpture of Cleopatra (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston,) was purchased from him in the early 1870s by the businessman Isaac Fenno who exhibited it in a specially built gallery in his home in Boston, thus attracting more local attention to the sculptor and his work.[82]

Better known than Gould, though, was Thomas Ball (1819-1911) who was born in Charlestown, Massachusetts, just

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[81]Story's disappointment at not receiving more commissions, public and private, from Bostonians is addressed in Ibid., passim.

[82]See Jan Seidler Ramirez's entry on Gould's Cleopatra in Greenthal, et al, 91-92. As far as is known, this was the only work by an American Neoclassic sculptor owned by Fenno.

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across the river from Boston.[83] In 1851, he turned from two earlier interests, painting and music, to sculpture. Within a decade, he had modeled the busts of a number of prominent Bostonians, including Thomas H. Perkins and William H. Prescott, and favorite sons of Massachusetts, such as Daniel Webster. In 1857 he won the coveted commission for a bronze equestrian statue of George Washington for Boston's Public Garden and the town's citizens held at least one event to raise money for its erection.[84] Their efforts paid off and when the Washington was unveiled in 1869, it won almost universal approval. Ten years later, Moses Kimball presented the city with another monument by Ball, a life-size bronze version of his Emancipation Group.[85]

Private support in Boston also brought public notice to another native sculptor, Richard S. Greenough (1819-1904), brother of the better known Horatio.[86] After a slow

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[83]For Ball see his autobiography, My Threescore Years and Ten (Boston: Roberts, 1891); and William Ordway Partridge, "Thomas Ball," New England Magazine 12 (May 1895): 291-304.

[84]"Domestic Art Gossip," The Crayon 7 (Jan. 1860): 24.

[85]Boston, Mass., Bronze Group Commemorating Emancipation City Document no. 126 (1879).

[86]For Richard Greenough, see Thomas B. Brumbaugh, "Horatio and Richard Greenough: A Critical Study with a Catalogue of Their Sculpture" (Ph.D. diss., Ohio State University, Columbus, 1955); and by the same author, "The Art of Richard Greenough," Old-Time New England 53 (Jan.-Mar. 1963): 61-78.

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start in the profession, the younger Greenough received an order in 1844 from the historian William Hickling Prescott for his portrait bust. With the promotion of Greenough in mind, Prescott gave a plaster version of the work to the Athenaeum where it received the desired attention which led to further commissions for the sculptor.[87] These included various prestigious public projects in Boston including an order in 1853 for a bronze statue of Benjamin Franklin which was unveiled with some fanfare in front of Boston's City Hall three years later.[88] As Wayne Craven has noted, the Franklin commission was the most important sculptural order which the city of Boston had made since it ordered Chantrey's George Washington some three decades earlier and it is significant, if not entirely surprising, that the job went to a native artist.[89] In 1855, Greenough was commissioned to design a pedestal for William Wetmore Story's sculpture of his father, Joseph Story, which was being erected in the chapel at Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge. He was then asked to execute one of three more statues being commissioned for that place. His contribution

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[87]See Harding, Athenaeum, 36; and The Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott 1833-1847, ed. Roger Wolcott (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1925), 446-448.

[88]Memorial of the Inauguration of the Statue of Franklin (Boston: The City Council, 1857).

[89]Craven, Sculpture in America, 271.

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was a life-size marble figure of John Winthrop, created in 1857.[90]

A third and perhaps more unusual category of sculptors who were supported by Bostonians consists of those who were neither born in the city nor ever worked there. Thomas Crawford (1813?-1857), a native New Yorker, is probably the most obvious example of these phenomenon. One of his closest friends and major promoters was Bostonian Charles Sumner who had little trouble convincing his fellow Bostonians that the Athenaeum should have Crawford's Orpheus and Cerberus (fig. 3). This was in direct contrast with Crawford's treatment by New Yorkers who, according to recent scholarship, never gave the sculptor a significant commission, public or private.[91] And this lack of support by the citizens of his home town was noticed at the time. "This promising young artist, (a native of New York) still

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[90]Linden-Ward, 277, 281. The other two statues were of James Otis by Thomas Crawford, which was finished by Randolph Rogers, and one of John Adams, also by Rogers. All three of these works, as well as Story's portrait of his father, are now in the collection of Harvard University.

[91]Dimmick, Crawford, 233. As Dimmick pointed out, the only significant works by Crawford in New York were his studio plasters which the city acquired only after the sculptor's death; but even in that, there is irony. During the final decades of the nineteenth century, the casts were destroyed by fire, neglect, or both (Ibid., 89-90).

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continues in Rome struggling for a livelihood," noted a writer for a Boston newspaper in 1840, and added:

> New York should endeavor to procure [the Orpheus] . . . by way of encouragement to the future American Phidias, ere his efforts are checked, or his heart chilled by disappointment. He is a Gothamite by birth, and rightfully should look for patronage from the place of his nativity.[92]

A few years later, the same sort of question was asked about Crawford's Adam and Eve (fig. 4). Having seen the model for the sculpture in Crawford's studio in Rome, one New Yorker wondered, "Should not the native city of the sculptor secure from him at least one great work?"[93] But that query elicited only silence and Boston continued to support Crawford more than New York; the only order given for the Adam and Eve was from Bostonian Franklin Dexter.[94]

Erastus Dow Palmer (1817-1904), whose work was rarely seen in Boston, also falls into this category. When favorable notices of an exhibition of his sculpture in New York reached Boston in 1856, several Bostonians, including Edward Everett, sought (in vain) to have the exhibition

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[92]Daily Evening Transcript (Boston), Dec. 31, 1840, 1, quoted in Dimmick, Craword, 244n.

[93]William Gillespie, Rome: As Seen by a New Yorker in 1843-44 (New York and London, 1845), 232.

[94]Dimmick, Crawford, 236-37. As Dimmick discusses, Dexter may not have ordered Crawford's Adam and Eve for himself but for another Bostonian, William H. Prescott, although the commission was evidently aborted. As far as is known, the only sculpture Dexter did own was a bust of William Appleton by Henry Dexter (see below).

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transferred to their city.[95] Randolph Rogers, who never lived in Boston, received his first public commission from the area. In 1854, a group of citizens gave him an order for a statue of John Adams for the chapel at Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge.[96] The recognition he gained from that commission led to others, the most notable of which was for a pair of huge bronze doors for the House of Representatives wing in the U.S. Capital building in Washington.

Other sculptors worked in Boston, too. Martin Milmore (1844-1883), Edmonia Lewis (1844?-c1911), Anne Whitney (1821-1915), Franklin Simmons (1839-1913), and John Adams Jackson (1825-1879) were all there at one time or another. Harriet Hosmer (1830-1908), from nearby Watertown, was well known in Boston. And later, in 1874, Hiram Powers's son, Preston, came to town and established a temporary studio in the basement of the Senate Hall of the

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[95]EE, et al, Boston, to Erastus D. Palmer, Nov. 25, 1856, reprinted in Charles A. Ingraham, "Erastus Dow Palmer, A Great American Sculptor," Americana 24 (1930): 13.

[96]Millard F. Rogers, Jr., Randolph Rogers, American Sculptor in Rome (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1971), 25-32. Rogers also completed the statue of James Otis which had been ordered for Mount Auburn from Thomas Crawford but which had been left unfinished at his death (Linden-Ward, 281-82). As Millard Rogers pointed out, the Massachusetts citizens who commissioned the Adams from Rogers were taking a chance on a man with "scant reputation but great promise" (31). Unfortunately, Rogers (the writer) gave no indication as to why the commission went to Rogers (the sculptor) who had no particular connection with Boston.

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State House.[97] More broadly stated, Boston played some role in the careers of almost every American Neoclassic sculptor. Many of them were lured by well-founded hopes of receiving patronage and by the fact that Boston was home to at least one organization, the Boston Athenaeum, which, for a number of years, gave space for the exhibition of sculpture and occasionally even purchased sculpture for its permanent collection.

The Boston Athenaeum and American Sculpture

As the city's most important cultural organization, the Boston Athenaeum played a key role in shaping awareness of and developing taste for sculpture among the city's citizens during the nineteenth century.[98] By forming an impressive permanent collection of sculpture and by holding a series of annual exhibitions which included and, at times, even emphasized sculpture, the Athenaeum became what a modern scholar has called "a showcase for those values of taste, balance, proportion, conservatism, and loyalty which

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[97]"Art," Atlantic 33 (Jan. 1874): 123.

[98]The best study of American sculpture at the Athenaeum is Rosemary Booth, "A Taste for Sculpture," in Boston Athenaeum, A Climate for Art: The History of the Boston Athenaeum Gallery, 1827-1873 (Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1980), 23-35. Less useful and somewhat inconclusive is Patricia Joyce, "The Boston Athenaeum: 1827-1867 as Proprietor and Patron of Neoclassical Sculpture" (TMs, Graduate Center, City University of New York, 1984).

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came to characterize the Brahmins."[99] In the history of the development of the Athenaeum, then, can be found part of the reason for Boston's reputation as a sculptural hub.[100] Furthermore, almost all of the patrons treated in this dissertation played some part in the founding or growth of the Athenaeum. Obviously, then, a brief discussion of the Athenaeum is not out of place here.[101]

The Athenaeum was founded in 1807 as a literary society whose primary purpose was to provide members with a library for the study of literature and science. But the organization had an educational mandate as well, and although the initial focus of its members was scientific, by the 1820s they were calling for an increase in facilities for the study and enjoyment of the fine arts. A turning

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[99]Ronald Story, "Class and Culture in Boston: The Athenaeum 1807-1860," American Quarterly 27 (May 1975): 191.

[100]For the Athenaeum and its history, see Boston Athenaeum, Change and Continuity: A Pictorial History of the Boston Athenaeum (Boston, 1976), and five works which have already been cited: Quincy; Swan; Perkins and Gavin; Boston Athenaeum, A Climate for Art; and Harding, Athenaeum. An overview of part of the Athenaeum's collection is given in Walter Muir Whitehill, "Portrait Busts in the Library of the Boston Athenaeum," The Magazine Antiques 103 (June 1973): 1141-1156.

[101]Ronald Story has noted that the Athenaeum was part of Boston's "elite cultural constellation" which included Harvard College, the North American Review, the Lowell Institute, and Mount Auburn Cemetery (Story, "Class and Culture in Boston," 179). As we shall see, almost all of the Bostonians featured in this dissertation played a major role in one or more of these institutions.

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point came in 1821 when new quarters were purchased on Pearl Street and, at the same time, James Perkins gave the Athenaeum his own home which was adjacent to the newly purchased property.[102] Less than two years later, construction began on an auxiliary building, the stated function of which was to provide "the means of literary & scientific instruction, as well as [to encourage] Native Artists in Sculpture & painting."[103] The building featured laboratories, a lecture hall which could double as an art gallery, and space for the Athenaeum's growing permanent art collection which included sculpture. In fact, the history of the Athenaeum's earlier acquisitions reveals the increasing interest in sculpture at the Athenaeum.[104]

The earliest sculptures to be acquired were casts from or copies of antique works. William T. Andrews gave a marble copy of a relief of a horse from Herculaneum in 1812; Solomon Willard provided casts of Laocoon and The Dying Gladiator in 1817; and in 1823 Augustus Thorndike donated

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[102]The two buildings were altered to serve their new, joint function by the architect-sculptor Solomon Willard (Pamela Hoyle, "Introduction: The Making of an Art Museum," A Climate for Art, 2).

[103]Quoted in Athenaeum Centenary, 76.

[104]The main sources used for this discussion are Swan, especially the chapter "The Sculpture Gallery," 134-159; Athenaeum Centenary, especially the chapter "Chief Gifts and Bequests to the Boston Athenaeum," 75-87; and Harding, Athenaeum, passim. All uncited statements in this section are taken from one of these sources.

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eleven casts of antique favorites such as the Apollo Belvedere and the Venus de Medici.[105] The following year the poet Henry Pickering of Salem, Massachusetts, gave a marble copy of the bust of the Apollo Belvedere; and a bust of George Washington by the Italian sculptor, Raimondo Trentanove, was purchased with the donations of one-hundred-four subscribers. One of the earliest original works of sculpture to enter the collection, a gift from the artist in 1819, was a bust of John Adams by the French sculptor John B. Binon who worked in Boston between 1818 and 1820.[106]

In 1827, Chester Harding suggested that the Athenaeum's sculpture be gathered together in a larger and more convenient room so that it could be used by artists for sketching in the academic manner. This recommendation was soon carried out with the creation of a Sculpture Gallery within the newer auxiliary building. That same year, Thomas Handasyd Perkins gave the organization Francis Chantrey's

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[105]One contemporary source stated that the casts which Thorndike had presented to the Athenaeum "for the accomodation of such professional gentlemen as might desire to exercise themselves in drawing," had actually been selected by Canova, although I have found no verification of this ("Catalogue of Books in the Boston Athenaeum," North American Review 25 [1827]: 479).

[106]While Binon's bust of Adams is still at the Athenaeum, Trentanove's of Washington was de-accessioned in the early twentieth century. However, H. Nicholas B. Clark of the Chysler Museum, Norfolk, Va., has suggested that it might be the object, signed and dated 1820, which is now part of the James H. Ricau Collection at the Chrysler. (Nick Clark, Chrysler Museum, conversation with the author, Nov. 1992).

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bust of Sir Walter Scott in plaster; and the Athenaeum acquired its first work by an American sculptor, a plaster bust of John E. Holbrook by John Stevens Cogdell (1778-1847) of South Carolina. These works were joined the following year, 1828, by Cogdell's bust of Major-General William Moultrie, also a gift from the artist.[107] A bust of Lafayette by Houdon, which had been owned by Thomas Jefferson, was purchased in 1828 from one of Jefferson's heirs, Joseph Coolidge, Jr., of Boston;[108] and in 1829 Greenough's bust of John Quincy Adams, one of the sculptor's first works in marble, was bought for two-hundred dollars.

The collection continued to grow at a fairly lively pace throughout the 1830s. In 1832, for example, three members donated Horatio Greenough's marble bust of John T. Kirkland, which is still in the Athenaeum's collection; and

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[107]Swan (140) identifies the first bust as that of Dr. Amos Holbrook; but Harding, Athenaeum, 23, states that it is of John Edwards Holbrook. While this work is still in the Athenaeum's collection, Cogdell's bust of Moultrie is not.

[108]Joseph Coolidge, Jr., of Boston, had married one of Thomas Jefferson's grandaughter's, Ellen Randolph, and owned several sculptures which had been part of Jefferson's collection at Monticello, including several busts by Houdon and a marble statue of Ariadne. He also owned a bust of Lord Byron by Bertel Throwaldsen; a figure or bust of Cleopatra; and marble or plaster masks of Sir Isaac Newton, Francis Bacon, and Oliver Cromwell (Perkins and Gavin, 193; Swan, 160ff; Hammond and Wilbur). Some or all of these may have come from Monticello as well but, as far as is known, Coolidge did not own any works by American sculptors.

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Washington Allston gave Cogdell's statuette of Hagar and Ishmael, now lost. The following year, the Athenaeum commissioned marble busts of Nathaniel Bowditch and Daniel Webster from John Frazee. These works arrived at the Athenaeum in 1835, the same year Thomas H. Perkins gave the institution a marble bust of John Marshall, also by Frazee. Perkins had deposited copies of Michelangelo's figures of Day and Night the year before and his own bust by Frazee also arrived at the Athenaeum in 1835, as did three others by Frazee, those of John Lowell, Joseph Story and William Prescott. All of these marbles remain at the Athenaeum and, with the exception of the bust of Marshall, all were purchased for the Athenaeum by "several subscribers."[109]

In 1836 two busts by Ball Hughes were purchased and two years later the plaster of Hughes's Nathaniel Bowditch became the first full-scale, life-size sculpture to enter the Athenaeum's collection. In 1839-40, Clevenger made the gift of his busts to the Athenaeum, mentioned above, and in 1840 four reliefs representing the winds by Thomas Crawford were donated by several gentlemen. One of the most significant events concerning sculpture at the Athenaeum occurred in the following year, 1841, when Crawford's statue of Orpheus and Cerberus was commissioned in marble by the Athenaeum.

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[109]Harding, Athenaeum, 28-31.

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By 1838, the Athenaeum's permanent collection consisted of over fifty sculptures and the Sculpture Gallery was filled. Consequently, in that year the Athenaeum's lecture room was remodeled to form a new Sculpture Gallery and the first annual exhibition of sculpture was mounted to inaugurate the space.

In keeping with the Athenaeum's educational mission, plans were made in the mid 1820s to begin a series of yearly exhibitions of art which would prove to be an annual display of both historic and contemporary works. The exhibitions were held in almost every year from 1827 to 1873. In mounting these shows, the Athenaeum followed the lead of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia and the National Academy of Design in New York where annuals had begun in 1811 and 1826, respectively.

For the first twelve years of their existence, the Athenaeum's exhibitions did not seem auspicious for the promotion of American sculpture. During that time, the emphasis was on painting; sculpture was all but ignored. In the first exhibition, for example, only two sculptures appeared and these were busts of Rubens and Raphael lent by Thomas H. Perkins.[110] No sculpture was shown from 1828 to

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[110]Boston Athenaeum, A Catalogue of the First Exhibition of Paintings, in the Athenaeum Gallery (Boston, 1827), 8. The history of these works, both of which are now

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1831 but in 1832 five busts appeared--three by Horatio Greenough, one by Ball Hughes, and one by Hezekiah Augur.[111] Nothing comparable was included in the shows of 1833 and 1834, but sculpture was at least suggested by the inclusion of a drawing of Bertel Thorwaldsen's Minerva Delivering the Armour of Achilles to Ulysses in 1835 and one of Orestes Tormented by the Furies by Horatio Greenough in 1836.[112]

Several more years passed before sculpture was again included. With the completion of the new Sculpture Gallery in 1838, the Athenaeum began planning its first annual exhibition specifically for sculpture. The primary aim was to off-set the costs of the recent renovations with ticket sales, a goal which apparently was met, and it is certainly notable that the proprietors felt this could be achieved with sculpture.[113] It is worth considering, too, that the

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in the Athenaeum's collection, will be discussed in the chapter on Perkins.

[111]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Sixth Exhibition of Paintings in the Athenaeum Gallery (Boston, 1832), 8. The importance for the Athenaeum of Thomas H. Perkins, who will be discussed in detail below, is evidenced in the small selection of sculpture shown there in 1832, for he was the subject of the bust by Hughes, and he was a lender of a work by Augur, a bust of Sappho.

[112]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Ninth Exhibition of Paintings in the Athenaeum Gallery (Boston, 1835), 7; Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Tenth Exhibition of Paintings in the Athenaeum Gallery (Boston, 1836), 12.

[113]See Booth, 23.

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show, which was held in 1839, may have been planned, at least in part, with the hope of compensating for the lack of sculpture in previous displays. Whatever the case, nothing quite like the exhibition had been held in either Philadelphia or New York[114] and the fact that it happened at the Athenaeum--which, after all, was a literary society, not an art organization--is some indication of the manner in which Bostonians were beginning to regard sculpture. The history of these exhibitions and an analysis of their contents has been undertaken elsewhere;[115] but a few points about the shows should be made here.

First of all, an overwhelming number of works in the exhibitions were classical or classicizing, which certainly seems to indicate that contemporary taste in Boston was classical.[116] Furthermore, the organizers of the first sculpture exhibition explained in the accompanying catalogue that since the Athenaeum's permanent collection of sculpture

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[114]At the National Academy, for example, the first ten annual exhibitions (1826-1835) included a total of fewer than twenty-five sculptures, an average of two or three works per year--and most of these were portrait busts. A notable exception occurred at the seventh annual exhibition (1832) which boasted Horatio Greenough's Chanting Cherubs, the first ideal work to be included in an Academy annual; but this was an exception, and, after all, although it was commissioned by a New Yorker (James Fenimore Cooper) it had been created by a Bostonian.

[115]Notably by Booth, cited above.

[116]See Booth, passim.

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had not been previously available to the public, the current installation consisted mainly of examples from it; but, they hoped, future exhibitions would contain more loans of "*new pieces* by modern artists."[117] They evidently meant what they said, for in the second annual sculpture exhibition, held in 1840, over half of the one-hundred-sixteen objects shown came from private collections, including those of Thomas H. Perkins, Samuel Cabot, Samuel Appleton, Francis C. Gray, and David Sears. Now the organizers could state with pride that "the present exhibition will be found to be inferior to none ever before established in this part of the world."[118] And they were probably right.

Occasionally, the exhibitions included major ideal works that attracted more than usual attention. The best known of these was Thomas Crawford's Orpheus and Cerberus (fig. 3) which had been commissioned by the Athenaeum in 1841 and which was put on display, with other works by the artist, early in 1844. The immediate fame of Orpheus and

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[117]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the First Exhibitions of Sculpture in the Athenaeum Gallery (Boston, 1839), 1. The catalogue also stated that the Athenaeum's permanent collection had been assembled by "different public spirited gentlemen . . . with the hope of thus forming a general taste for this art."

[118]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Second Exhibition of Sculpture in the Athenaeum Gallery (Boston, 1840), 1. The organizing committees for the early sculpture exhibitions included Isaac P. Davis, William T. Andrews, Thomas B. Curtis, Henry Greenough, John J. Dixwell, Stephen H. Perkins, and R. H. Eddy, among others.

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the proceeds it brought, allowed the Athenaeum to pay for both the sculpture and the special little building which had been built to house it.[119] The popularity of the show also helped improve attendance at the sculpture exhibitions for the rest of the decade.

Similarly, a full-size cast of one of the early icons of Neoclassicism in America, Houdon's George Washington, mentioned previously, was commissioned by the Athenaeum and went on view there in 1847. The importance that the organizers of that year's annual exhibition placed on this new acquisition is evidenced by the fact that it joined Crawford's Orpheus in being specifically identified on the cover of the exhibition's catalogue.[120] Several years later, in 1852, Edward Brackett's Shipwrecked Mother and Child (fig. 1) attracted similar attention and, although the Athenaeum never officially owned it, it remained on the property until 1904 when it was returned to the sculptor.[121]

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[119]Booth, 29.

[120]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Twenty-First Exhibition of Paintings and Statuary in the Athenaeum Gallery, Including Crawford's Statue of Orpheus and Houdon's Statue of Washington (Boston, 1847). Almost two whole pages of the catalogue were devoted to a description of Houdon's statue, including quotations from several letters of Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, and the sculptor himself concerning the commissioning of the original statue.

[121]Swan, 156. Brackett eventually gave it to the Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass., where it remains.

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Beginning in 1841, painting and sculpture were again shown together at the Athenaeum but this signaled merely an integration of the sculpture into the exhibitions and sculpture continued to play a major role in subsequent annual exhibitions held at the Athenaeum at least into the late 1860s.[122] In about 1845, for example, sculpture's visibility at the Athenaeum in both the annuals and in those works on permanent display caused one British visitor to comment that the Athenaeum's gallery of sculpture was "worth visiting, and the Bostonians are not a little vain of the native talent it displays." She added, "talent of every kind meets with great encouragement at Boston."[123]

Other Sculpture Exhibitions in Boston

Although the Boston Athenaeum was without question the most important venue for the exhibition of sculpture in Boston during the antebellum period, sculpture appeared in other temporary public exhibitions as well. For example, in the year of the Athenaeum's first annual exhibition, 1827, an institution known as the New England Museum which was quartered in a building on Court Street in Boston, held a

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[122]For a more detailed discussion of sculpture in later exhibitions at the Athenaeum during the 1850s and 1860s, see Booth.

[123]Matilda Houstoun, Hesperos; or Travels in the West (London: J. W. Parker, 1850), 66.

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display of antiquarian objects, curiosities, and art. A marble statue of Venus by or after Antonio Canova along with "various other full-length statues," probably copies from the antique, were included.[124] A few years later, in 1833, another exhibition of "statuary and sculpture," all of which was for sale, was held at Corinthian Hall in Boston. According to an article in the New-England Magazine, probably written by George Hillard, the objects in the show had been brought to Boston by an unidentified local "enterprising merchant."[125] An extant but undated catalogue which was evidently published for this exhibition lists thirty-nine objects including Canova's Dancer and Venus, copied by Leopoldo Vanelli, his Hebe copied by Pietro Tenerani (1789-1869), and his Three Graces.[126] The copyists were identified as "pupils, and of no small merit, of Canova." The article in the New-England Magazine stated that the exhibition also included "several pieces of

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[124]See Troyen, 15.

[125][George S. Hillard?], "Sculpture," The New-England Magazine 5 (Dec. 1833), 480-485. This article will be discussed in detail in the section on Hillard, below.

[126]Catalogue of Statuary and Sculpture to be Sold At Corinthian Hall On Saturday, Aug. 31, 10, A.M. (Boston, n. publ., n.d.). Harold Lancour dated this catalogue "186-?" (American Art Auction Catalogues, 1785-1942 [New York: The New York Public Library, 1944], 34) but evidence from other sources, including the article in New-England Magazine cited above, indicates 1833 as the correct date. Furthermore, in 1833, August 31 did fall on a Saturday as stated in the title of the catalogue in question.

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monumental marble [which] would have been suitable ornaments to the cemetery at Mount Auburn." These correspond to a number of objects identified in the printed catalogue as "monuments," most of which had funerary themes. One of these was Genius Extinguishing the Torch of Life, based on a design by Thorwaldsen and carved by his pupil Luigi Bienaimé.[127] Almost all of the works were either classical or classicizing.

The following year, 1834, a similar exhibition of European sculpture, mostly copies, was held at Harding's Gallery in Boston. Evidently, many of the objects which had been shown at Corinthian Hall the year before were in the latest exhibition; but some of these were now more specifically identified in the accompanying catalogue, and other objects were added to the display for a total of one-hundred-forty-eight pieces. Italian sculptors, such as Antonio Canova, Lorenzo Bartolini, Pietro Tenerani, Pietro Cardelli, a member of Carrara's Baratta family, probably Lorenzo, and four otherwise unidentified copiers of Canova named Bellucci, Benassai, Bombardi, and Fidia were all represented.[128]

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[127]Catalogue of Statuary. . . At Corinthian Hall, 2.

[128]Catalogue of Marble Statuary. Now Exhibited at Harding's Rooms (Boston: W. W. Clapp, 1834).

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Harding's was also the site of a series of annual exhibitions mounted by the Boston Artists' Association beginning in 1841 and at least one of these shows included sculpture. This is not surprising since Henry Greenough, Horatio's brother, was treasurer of the organization, Edward A. Brackett was a member of the council, and William Wetmore Story was on the committee of arrangements. Members of the Association included the sculptors Henry Dexter, Richard S. Greenough, and Thomas Ball, and friends of sculptors, such as Thomas B. Read, Francis Alexander, and Thomas Gold Appleton, were active in the organization. Washington Allston was its first president.[129] The third annual exhibition, held in 1844, was the first to include sculpture. Nine works, mostly busts, by four sculptors--Brackett, Dexter, Richard Greenough, and John C. King--were shown. The only ideal work in the show was Sleep and Death, as Twin Brothers, designed from Shelley by Brackett which presumably was either a relief or a small figural group.[130]

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[129]The Constitution of the Boston Artists' Association, with a Catalogue of the First Public Exhibition of Paintings at Harding's Gallery (Boston: John H. Eastburn, Printer, 1842), 2. The history of the organization is given in Leah Lipton, "The Boston Artists' Association, 1841-1851," The American Art Journal 15 (Autumn 1983): 45-57.

[130]Catalogue of Paintings, of the Third Exhibition of the Boston Artists' Association (Boston: Clapp and Son's Press, 1844), 9.

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Canova was again featured in an exhibition in Boston in 1841 when a copy of his Venus De Medici was shown at the newly established Boston Museum and Gallery of Fine Arts.[131] It joined almost two-hundred paintings, assorted engravings, and about twenty-six "busts and plaster casts" in the exhibition. Although the published catalogue of that show failed to give the names of the creators of the objects in the last category,[132] an almost identical listing published

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[131]According to one of the museum's catalogues, the organization, was opened in June, 1841, at Tremont and Bromfield Streets in Boston and, in the summer of 1846, moved to a new building, erected expressly for the purpose, on Tremont Street near Court. The new building was faced with granite and housed a number of shops on the first floor. Above these, rising to the height of three floors, was a large hall, fifty feet wide and fifty feet high, the roof of which was supported by twenty Corinthian columns which gave the space its name as Corinthian Hall, evidently mimicking an earlier space in Boston which was also known by that name. (The earlier Corinthian Hall, which was originally J.L. Cunningham's Auction House, was located at Federal and Milk Streets, Boston). An exhibition hall, 117 feet long and 70 feet high, was in the rear of the building and was intended for "concerts, Light Dramatic or other Entertainments." An observatory for enjoying views of the surrounding city and harbor topped the structure (Catalogue of the Paintings, Portraits, Marble and Plaster Statuary, . . . in the Collection of the Boston Museum [Boston: William Marden, Printer, 1849], 29-30). The museum was not unlike the one established in the late eighteenth century in Philadelphia by Charles Willson Peale and a recent source has described it as "a rather gaudy multimedia display of curiosities" which, in the nineteenth century, "attracted throngs of people--including the awestruck young P.T. Barnum--to its building" (Susan and Michael Southworth, The Boston Society of Architects' AIA Guide to Boston 2nd ed. [Chester, Conn.: The Globe Pequot Press, 1992], 3).

[132]Catalogue of the Paintings, Marble and Plaster Statuary and Engravings Comprised in the Collection of the Boston Museum and Gallery of Fine Arts (Boston: Henry P. Lewis, 1841).

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in 1844 did name some of them. The later catalogue reveals that since 1841, the museum had acquired several other works by or after Canova including his Dancing Girl; but now the works of American artists were included and were identified as such. Clevenger's busts of Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and Martin Van Buren, were shown; as were Henry Dexter's of H. J. Finn, Charles Dickens, and Ellen Tree. The Cincinnati artist John P. Frankenstein was also represented with a bust of Gov. Seward.[133] These sculptures were joined at the museum in 1847 by Clevenger's bust of Abbot Lawrence and one of John Pierpont by a member of the Carew family, and all of these works were still there as late as 1849.[134]

Busts of Van Buren and Webster, along with others of Alexander Hamilton, Ellen Tree, and Nicholas Biddle, were among the objects shown the following year, 1842, at Harrington's Museum in Boston. Unfortunately, the names of

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[133]Catalogue of the Paintings, Marble and Plaster Statuary and Engravings, Comprised in the Collection of the Boston Museum and Gallery of Fine Arts (Boston: Tuttle & Dennett, 1844). Frankenstein may have been in Boston briefly at some point between 1844 and 1854. See William Coyle, "Introduction," in John Frankenstein, American Art: Its Awful Altitude. A Satire (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1972; originally published Cincinnati, 1864), xi.

[134]Catalogue of the Paintings, Portraits, Marble and Plaster Statuary, . . . in the Collection of the Boston Museum (Boston: Stacy, Richardson, Filmer & Co., Printers, 1847); Catalogue of the Paintings, Portraits, Marble and Plaster Statuary, . . . in the Collection of the Boston Museum (Boston: William Marden, Printer, 1849).

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the sculptors of these objects were not included in the exhibition's catalogue.[135]

Boston also saw several one-artist exhibitions of sculpture, most notably the show of Thomas Crawford's work at the Athenaeum in 1844, and that of some of Henry Dexter's sculpture at Horticultural Hall in 1848, both of which will be discussed in more detail below.[136]

A number of single-object exhibitions were held in the city, too. Horatio Greenough's Chanting Cherubs (unlocated) was shown at 5 Summer Street in Boston in the spring of 1831; his Medora (fig. 5) appeared at Chester Harding's studio in 1833; and his The Ascension of a Child Conducted by an Infant Angel (fig. 6) was exhibited at Amory

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[135]Catalogue of Splendid and Rare Curiosities, Consisting of Paintings, Engravings, Wax Figures, Busts, Animals, Birds, Fishes, Shells, Minerals, &c., to be Sold at Auction . . . at Harrington's Museum in Boston (Boston: David Hooton, Printer, 1842).

[136]Of some interest, too, was the exhibition of "wax statuary" by the little-known sculptor Mrs. W. Pelby which was held at the former Swedenborgian Chapel in Tremont Street, Boston, in 1846. Mrs. Pelby showed six large works and five "in miniature or cabinet size," all of which had Christian subjects. One, "The Trial of Christ," involved "85 figures, never before exhibited." In total, the exhibition featured one-hundred-forty life-size figures! (Grand Exhibition of Statuary; Executed by Mrs. W. Pelby [Boston: Hooton's Press, 1846]; also see Description of Wax Statuary; Executed by Mrs. W. Pelby [Boston, 1846]). Pelby seems a likely candidate for the unnamed artist who exhibited a "faithful copy in statuary" of Leonardo da Vinci's The Last Supper in Boston, probably in the 1840s (The Last Supper. . . . Statuary the Size of Life [Boston?, n.d.]). In fact, a Last Supper was among the smaller works shown in Mrs. Pelby's exhibition of 1846.

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Hall in 1834-35.[137] Hiram Powers' internationally famous Greek Slave (fig. 7) was seen at Horticultural Hall in 1847-48;[138] Edward Brackett's Shipwrecked Mother and Child (fig. 1) was shown at Amory Hall and then at the Athenaeum in 1852; and the life-size marble Virginia Dare by the sculptor Louisa Lander (1826-1923) of Salem, Massachusetts, was shown at the Studio Building on Tremont Street in about 1861.[139]

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[137]Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 71-72, 87-88, 99.

[138]Henry Tuckerman had written from New York to the trustees of the Athenaeum suggesting that they "offer one of their rooms *gratis* for the exhibition of the Greek Slave" (Tuckerman to the Athenaeum, Sept. 7, 1847, in Swan, 153). Although that organization was in the process of moving to a new building, it did offer the use of the temporary structure which had been used for the display of Crawford's Orpheus. Tuckerman and Miner Kellogg, Powers's agent, decided that that the little building was inadequate and, therefore, the Slave was shown at Horticultural Hall instead (Swan, 154).

Almost everywhere it went, the Greek Slave was accompanied by publications which explained its didactic purpose to Americans suspicious of its nudity. Boston was no exception. The pamphlet Powers's Statue of the Greek Slave was published there in 1848. Naturally, the sculpture's appearance also spawned other journalistic reactions. A notable one was "Art. II.--Powers' Greek Slave," Massachusetts Quarterly Review 1 (Dec. 1847): 54-62, which used the opportunity to hold forth on beauty, nudity, and art in general.

[139]The National Statue, Virginia Dare. By Louisa Lander (Boston: Geo. C. Rand & Avery, Printers, n.d. [c1861]). This pamphlet states that the sculpture was shipped from Leghorn in 1860; was wrecked off the coast of Spain; was retrieved; and after some delay was restored by the artist prior to its current exhibition. Unfortunately, the statue was not purchased from the sculptor and remained in her possession until it was bequeathed by her to the state of North Carolina. Today it is in the Elizabethan Gardens, Roanoke Island, N.C. (Rubinstein, 61).

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Finally, it should be mentioned that the New England Art Union's one and only exhibition, held in 1851-52, included a few sculptures, specifically Thomas Ball's Amina, from La Somnambula and The Young Artist, and Peter Stephenson's Ulysses Ploughing the Sea Shore, a relief, and his The Wounded Indian, mentioned above.[140]

Publications on Sculpture in Boston

Before closing this outline of sculptural activity in Boston, one other aspect of the topic should be mentioned, that is the appearance of a number of important publications on American sculpture in Boston before the Civil War. George S. Hillard's articles on sculpture which were published in The New-England Magazine during the 1830s, and Edward Everett's seminal two-part article, "American Sculptors in Italy," which appeared in the Boston Miscellany

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A smaller version of Lander's Virginia Dare, described as a statuette, was in Boston in 1858, but evidently was not exhibited publicly. See "Domestic Art Gossip," The Crayon 5 (Oct. 1858): 296.

[140]New England Art Union, Catalogue of Paintings Now on Exhibition in the Free Gallery of the New England Art Union (Boston, 1852), 4, 7, 8. For reasons which have are not clear, a catalogue with the same title as the one cited here but dated 1851 lists exactly the same objects as the 1852 publication. I assume that the New England Art Union's exhibition simply continued from one year into the next; or perhaps the show closed and later reopened unchanged. Whatever happened, I think it would be inaccurate to identify these as separate exhibitions and that, in fact, the Art Union actually had only one exhibition before it folded in 1852.

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in 1842, will be discussed later. Of equal interest, though, is the fact that Boston saw the publication of the first book to include a section on American sculptors. This was Pickering Dodge's Sculpture: and the Plastic Art which appeared in Boston in 1850 and followed his earlier Painting: Its Rise and Progress.[141] The later text was a survey of the history of sculpture from the ancient world to the nineteenth century, including more modern such luminaries as Canova, Chantrey, and Thorwaldsen. In a final chapter, after a rather lengthy consideration of Pre-Columbian carvings, the author turned to sculpture at the U.S. Capitol in Washington. The first American sculptor to be mentioned was Horatio Greenough who was followed by Robert Ball Hughes, Thomas Crawford, and Hiram Powers. Dodge's commentary on all of these men, though, was brief and consisted mostly of short descriptions of their major public works. Little indication of the author's opinion of their oeuvre or the style in which they worked was given.

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[141]Pickering Dodge, Sculpture: and the Plastic Age (Boston: John P. Jewett, 1850); [Pickering Dodge], Painting. Its Rise and Progress From the Earliest Ages to the Present Time (Boston: John P. Jewett & Co., 1846). The latter was not exactly ground-breaking but it does contain a chapter on American artists including John S. Copley, Charles W. Peale, Gilbert Stuart, John Trumbull, Edward Malbone, Washington Allston, and Henry Inman (340-70). The only other writing by Dodge which I have located is a thirty-eight-page manuscript at Harvard University entitled "Brief Account of the Class of 1819-23." According to The National Union Catalogue, Pre-1956 Imprints (London: Mansell, 1970), in which that manuscript is listed, Dodge died in 1863.

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Following this, however, Dodge turned to an artist whom he obviously thought was the best or at least most impressive of the Americans: Shobal Clevenger. Clevenger's name, Dodge wrote, "fills the heart of every American with feelings of painful regret at the early death of one, whose acknowledged talent and genius entitle him to a high rank in the list of American sculptors."[142] As he pointedly did not do for any other American sculptor, Dodge gave a fairly detailed account of Clevenger's life and work and, in fact, allowed the young man's inspiring but tragic story to bring the book to a close. Dodge was especially careful to point out that as soon as Clevenger arrived in Boston in 1838, "warm friends and admirers of his talents came forth to welcome him [and] commissions were crowded upon him to a most flattering extent. . . ."[143]

Curiously, at about the time that Dodge was writing his survey of world sculpture, another Boston author, Hannah F. Lee, was doing the same thing.[144] In her book, Familiar Sketches of Sculpture and Sculptors, which was also published in Boston, Lee, too, included a section on

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[142]Dodge, 332.

[143]Dodge, 334.

[144][Hannah Lee], Familiar Sketches of Sculpture and Sculptors (Boston: Crosby, Nichols, and Company, 1854). Although this book was published in 1854, its copyright is dated 1853.

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American sculptors and was, therefore, the second book to do so. Unlike Dodge, Lee actually owned several ideal works by American Neoclassic sculptors and, therefore, her text will be discussed in more detail in the section on her, below.[145] It is mentioned here to indicate again the level of respect which Bostonians evidently had for the products of American sculptors.

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[145]While I have found no evidence to indicate that Pickering Dodge owned sculpture, a "P. Dodge" lent a painting by George Loring Brown (Landscape. The Last Gleam of Sunlight on the Campagna) to the Athenaeum's annual exhibition in 1854 (Perkins and Gavin, 26).

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CHAPTER II

THOMAS HANDASYD PERKINS (1764-1854) AND THE PERKINS FAMILY

Thomas Handasyd Perkins, who was usually referred to simply as Colonel Perkins, has recently been credited with introducing "the spirit of collecting" to Boston. While his interest in art was not fueled by the classical education from which, for example, Edward Everett benefited, Perkins's stature as one of Boston's leading citizens "made his involvement with the arts almost obligatory."[1] During his lifetime and long after his death, he was and has been recognized as an important, early patron of the arts in America. One nineteenth-century author believed that "a marked element in the Colonel's character was his constant desire to investigate for himself remarkable developments in nature and art."[2] Perkins's son-in-law Thomas G. Cary, noted that he "took a lively interest in the progress and welfare of American artists, kindly aiding some who desired to improve by studying the great models in Europe, and liberally purchasing the works of those who deserved

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[1]Wayne Craven, "Introduction: Patronage and Collecting in America, 1800-1835," Mr. Luman Reed's Picture Gallery: A Pioneer Collection of American Art, ed. Ella M. Foshay (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1990), 13, 14.

[2]John K. Rogers, "Daniel Webster and Col. T.H. Perkins," New England Magazine 4 (Jan. 1886): 15.

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encouragement."[3] It might even be said that beginning in the 1820s, Perkins set the tone for philanthropic pursuit in Boston and established a regional tradition by which the profits gained from business were actively and proudly used for the patronage of art.

Early Years

Perkins was born in Boston in 1764, the son of James Perkins and Elizabeth Peck for whose father, Thomas Handasyd

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[3]Thomas G. Cary, "Thomas Handasyd Perkins," Hunt's Merchants' Magazine 33 (July 1855): 44. Thomas Graves Cary (1796-1859) was a son of Samuel and Sarah (Gray) Cary of Boston and was married to Col. Perkins's daughter, Mary Ann Cushing Perkins. He was an important member of the Perkins firm and was evidently very close to his father-in-law, both professionally and personally, and was therefore well-suited to write this biography of Perkins. The year after it was published in Hunt's Magazine, it was reprinted in Lives of the American Merchants, ed. Freeman Hunt (New York: Office of Hunt's Merchant's Magazine, 1856), 1:33-101, and was expanded by Cary into the book-length biography, Memoir of Thomas Handasyd Perkins (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1856)..

Cary himself had a small art collection which consisted of copies of European masterpieces but, evidently, no sculpture (Perkins and Gavin, 191). In 1845, however, he delivered a lecture at the Boston Mercantile Library Association in which he discussed the advantages of private patronage of artists in America (Thomas G. Cary, The Dependence of the Fine Arts for Encouragement, In a Republic [Boston: Charles C. Little & James Brown, 1845]). His model was the New York collector Luman Reed whom he knew personally. While Cary did not mention his father-in-law, his exposition on the importance of patronage and its dependency on the ownership of property might have been composed with Col. Perkins in mind. At the very least, Cary's oration could have served as an explanation, conscious or not, of his father-in-law's activities in this area.

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Peck, the child was named.[4] When James Perkins died in 1773, his wife took charge of his affairs and quickly made a place for herself in Boston's business world. She was widely known for her strength, common sense, and philanthropic interests, all of which attributes were evidently inherited by more than one of her children.[5]

Thomas Perkins studied at Reverend Timothy Hilliard's school in Barnstable, Massachusetts, where his family spent some time during the American Revolution, but he decided to forego Harvard, where it had been assumed he would matriculate, in favor of a career in commerce. To that end, he apprenticed at a counting house in Boston until he left for South Carolina and Santo Domingo to join his brother, James, in business in 1785. In 1792, back in

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[4]The standard modern biography of Thomas H. Perkins is Carl Seaburg and Stanley Paterson, Merchant Prince of Boston, Colonel T. H. Perkins, 1764-1854 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971) from which any uncited biographical information given here was taken. Also see the entry on Perkins in DAB; the early biography by his son-in-law, Thomas G. Cary, cited above; and L. Vernon Briggs, History and Genealogy of the Cabot Family 1475-1927 2 vols. (Boston: Charles E. Goodspeed & Co., 1927) which contains a lengthy section on Perkins, his life and his business affairs, as well as an account of his descendants in the Cabot line. The Thomas Handasyd Perkins Papers are at the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

[5]Elizabeth Perkins's ability to handle complicated business affairs was sometimes acknowledged with the rather back-handed compliment of addressing her mail to Mr. Elizabeth Perkins; but she was long remembered in Boston as "an excellent friend, of active benevolence, and as a lady of dignified, but frank and cordial manners" (Cary, "Perkins," Hunt's, 19-20).

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Boston, the brothers founded the firm which operated under the name J. & T. H. Perkins until James's death in 1822, and which survived under a variety of other names until Thomas retired in 1838.[6]

In 1788, Perkins married Sarah Elliot, daughter of Simon Elliot, who had a relative in the China trade. Ever the entrepreneur, Perkins used this new family connection to pursue his interests in commercial traffic with China. He soon shipped out for Batavia and Canton in February, 1789.[7] The China trade proved to be the initial source of his fortune which continued to accumulate for the rest of his life.[8] In addition to his shipping concerns, he was active in the financial world, eventually serving as president of the Boston branch of the United States Bank. He also participated in politics, was a prominent member of the

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[6]For a list of the various Perkins firms, see Seaburg and Paterson, 434.

[7]For this part of Perkins's life, see Edwin B. Hewes, "Thomas Handasyd Perkins, Supercargo of the *Astrea* of Salem," Essex Institute Historical Collections 71 (July 1935): 203-215. Hewes noted that during this, his only trip to China, Perkins "gained enough insight into the methods of trade at Canton to make his firm of James and T. H. Perkins a leader in the Canton trade for forty years. . . ." (Hewes, 215).

[8]Perkins's early role in the development of the China trade is mentioned in Margaret C. S. Christman, Adventurous Pursuits: Americans and The China Trade 1784-1844 (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1984), 35-36, which is an excellent introduction to this aspect of American business history.

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Federalist party, and served in the Massachusetts legislature from 1805 to 1824. His title of Colonel was earned as a member of the Massachusetts militia and leader of the corps of cadets which escorted the Governor and State Legislature.[9]

Fortunately for the city of Boston and for a number of financially needy persons and organizations, Perkins was also a generous man and was always willing to lend his power, position, and name to worthy causes and projects. He supported a number of public institutions in Boston, including the Massachusetts General Hospital and the New England Asylum for the Blind to which he donated his own residence as an unconditional gift and, eventually, his name. He was also a major supporter of several Boston organizations through which he had contact with artists, especially sculptors and architects, as will be discussed below; and he was even made an Honorary Member of the National Academy of Design in New York.[10]

European Trips

Perkins's appreciation for the fine arts began fairly early in his career and was probably born during one

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[9]Rogers, 13.

[10]National Academy of Design, Minutes, May 7, 1828, National Academy Archives, New York.

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or more of his early trips to Europe, of which he eventually made many.[11] He crossed the Atlantic twice in 1794, the first time being in the spring when he went to England on business. Then, in December, he embarked for France where he arrived in January, 1795. He remained there until August when he returned to England and then, near the end of the year, to America.[12] The French Revolution was in full swing while Perkins was in Paris and, having concluded his business, he had what he called "leisure. . . to observe what was passing," including a number of executions at the guillotine.[13] Besides meeting political luminaries in France, including the American minister, James Monroe, Perkins encountered the American artist John Trumbull whom he evidently already knew since he referred to him as "my friend."[14] Perkins accompanied Trumbull on one or more excursions in search of old master paintings and copies of them. Two of the works that Trumbull bought at about this

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[11]Perkins evidently regretted not having pursued a more formal, classical education which would have allowed him, at least from his point of view, to be more fully versed in the fine arts. See Cary, "Perkins," Hunt's, 21n.

[12]Briggs, 1:353-54..

[13]Quoted in Briggs, 1:354.

[14]Perkins could have met Trumbull in 1778-80 when the painter was living in Boston, although Perkins would have been awfully young at the time. See Helen A. Cooper, John Trumbull: The Hand and Spirit of a Painter (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1982), 4.

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time, possibly while he was with Perkins, were two marble busts, one each of Raphael and Rubens. They were eventually bought from him by Perkins who, in 1851, gave them to the Boston Athenaeum where they remain. The first of these appears to be a copy but at any rate is by an unidentified artist; and the second is possibly from the hand or the studio of the French sculptor, Jean Villette.[15] On the occasion of his gift of the busts to the Athenaeum, Perkins recalled the history of the works as far as he knew it. "When I was in Paris in 1794-5," he wrote,

> I there met with my friend the late Col. John Trumbull, who was on the Continent attending to the Engraving of his Battle of Bunker Hill and the Death of Montgomery. Whilst in Paris he employed his leisure time in collecting old Paintings, and works in marble, under the advice and aid of M. Le Brun . . . .
>
> At that period, many of the works of Art of the Old Masters, had left their stations on the Walls or in the Halls of the Nobility of France, and had fallen into the hands of Brokers and sellers of furniture.--It was from one of these, that Col. Trumbull purchased the Busts now presented to the Athenaeum. Both Le Brun and Col. T. expressed to me their firm opinion, that they are the works of artists in the lifetime, of the persons they represent.
>
> They were pledged to the late Saml. Williams of London, against an advance of money to Colonel Trumbull, and after the failure of Mr. Williams in 1825 they were sent to this country to be purchased by me. . . . The Busts are at my House in Temple Place and are at your disposal.[16]

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[15]Harding, Athenaeum Collection, 89.

[16]THP to Thomas G. Cary, Pres. of the Boston Athenaeum, Sept. 8, 1851, in Swan, 156-57. Also see Harding, Athenaeum, 84, 89. Helen Cooper has noted that in 1796 Trumbull was "engaged in art dealing with the connoisseur Jean-Baptiste Pierre Lebrun, buying Old Master

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In the same letter, Perkins revealed his own taste in such matters by suggesting that the Athenaeum replace the pedestal of variegated marble which accompanied the bust of Rubens and replace it with a more fitting one in white marble.

The decorative arts and music were also on Perkins's agenda during these first two European trips. He attended opera and dance performances; visited porcelain factories in Paris and at Sèvres where, among other things, he also bought several unidentified pictures; and toured the Gobelin tapestry works in the company of Trumbull. In fact, throughout his travels in France he bought works of art including porcelain figures, engravings, prints, and paintings (see below).[17]

After his return to Boston toward the end of 1795, he made another trip, this time a domestic tour, the primary purpose of which was to visit the proposed site of the new United States capital. He met George Washington at a ball and the president invited him to spend a few days at Mount Vernon. Years later, Perkins clearly remembered seeing several paintings at Mount Vernon, including a portrait of

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Paintings from families made destitute by the French Revolution" (Cooper, 11).

[17]THP, Account of Private Expenses, Jan., 1796, Perkins Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

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Lafayette and an historical work which he called The Key of the Bastile.[18]

He was back in England on business during another politically turbulent era in 1811-12. When business matters allowed, he was entertained by the wealthy and famous; in October, 1811, for example, Perkins joined Benjamin West and Mr. and Mrs. Washington Allston for a dinner party at the home of Barney Smith, not the last time he would encounter Allston, as we shall see. Soon thereafter, he visited the studio of West whom he noted was "as industrious as ever."[19] In April, 1812, Perkins left England for France where he spent several months. In Paris, he visited Lafayette, inspected paintings by Jacques-Louis David in the artist's studio,[20] and may have even met Napoleon.[21] But the political situation soon became tense and Perkins rather quickly returned to America at the outbreak of the War of 1812.[22]

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[18]THP, "To my Children," Saratoga Springs, July 18, 1846, Perkins Papers.

[19]THP to Sarah Perkins, Oct. 11, 1811, in Briggs, 1:415.

[20]Thomas H. Perkins Diary, May 24, 1812, Paris, Perkins Papers.

[21]A family tradition states that Perkins met Napoleon and a portrait of the Frenchman which descended in the family from the Colonel's own collection was said to have been given to him by Napoleon himself (Briggs, 1:420).

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Once the war was over, though, he returned to England and, in fact, was there a number of times over the next two decades. In 1818, for example, he was in England for three months during which time he toured Stonehenge, Salisbury, and other British sites in the company of the young Bostonian and future patron of the arts, Edward Everett.[23] In 1820, he used his free time in London to visit the annual exhibition of the Royal Academy where he saw "many fine pictures" including one by [James?] Ward, "who painted the little picture which I have of `Moses Saved'."[24] Three years later, he was in Europe again and this time went to Holland. A memorable souvenir of that visit was a still-life of dead game by (or after) Jan Weenix which Perkins bought in Delft for 1,200 florins.[25]

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[22]During this trip Perkins became unwillingly involved in a scheme to smuggle messages out of France to England. The story of this spy mission was told by him in a letter to his wife, Sarah Perkins, written at Cherbourg, France, June 2, 1812, and quoted in Cary, "Perkins," Hunt's, 36-38.

[23]Paul Revere Frothingham, Edward Everett, Orator and Statesman (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925), 56. Everett and Perkins had a long relationship based on mutual admiration. At one point Everett even referred to Perkins as "my friend ever since I have been old enough to have a friend--the patron of my youth and the benefactor of my poverty" (quoted in Seaburg and Paterson, 367).

[24]THP, Diary, June 30, 1820, in Briggs, 1:423.

[25]THP, Diary, Aug. 4, 1823, in Briggs, 1:425. The painting by Weenix is illustrated in Briggs opposite page 424.

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He was back in England in 1823 and this time visited the studio of the sculptor Sir Francis Chantrey to "ascertain what progress was made in the statue of General Washington" which had been commissioned in 1816 by the city of Boston.[26] Perkins was accompanied on his visit by Alexander Everett, brother of Edward, and Samuel Williams, a financial adviser for the Perkins firm as well as London agent for Washington Allston. Chantrey had purchased a block of marble for the statue as early as 1819 but had not yet touched it and, it would seem from the passage quoted below, that he had not even decided on the final form of the figure. According to some sources, it was only after the visit of Perkins and his friends that Chantrey finally designed the work and began the actual carving.[27] "Mr. Chantry [sic] was much engaged in mind on the subject of the statue," Perkins wrote in his diary,

> tho' a chisel had not been applied to the block that the Sculptor himself had selected at the celebrated marble mines of Carrara in Italy. He asked our opinion as to whether a sitting or standing position would be best, and whether the costume should be military or civil. We were unanimously in favor of a standing figure but Mr. Everett was for the military and the rest of us for the civil dress. Mr. Chantry was in

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[26]See Ilene D. Lieberman, "Sir Francis Chantrey's Monument to George Washington: Sculpture and Patronage in Post-Revolutionary America," The Art Bulletin 71 (June 1989): 254-68.

[27]See Miller, Patrons and Patriotism, 144-45; William T. Whitley, Gilbert Stuart (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), 202; and Lieberman, 260.

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> favor of an erect figure and said that had not Canova already executed a sitting figure he should have leaned to that position. . . I am led to think he will use a civil dress throwing a cloak loosely over the shoulders. He said he hoped the statue would be ready in a year.[28]

Perkins's supposition about the costume for the figure turned out to be correct; Chantrey eventually combined contemporary dress with a classicizing cloak, as we have already seen, and the figure was finally sent to Boston and unveiled in 1827.

During the spring and summer of 1826, Perkins was again in London where he visited a number of galleries and art collections. "Have this day visited two objects of great interest," he wrote on May 9,

> the exhibition of pictures and statuary at Somerset house, and the panorama of Pompeii--many fine pictures are in exhibition, tho perhaps not as many as might be expected, when there are so many painters. Our countrymen [Charles Robert] Leslie and [Gilbert] Stuart [Newton?] stand high in the exhibition.[29]

It was the sculpture, though, which most impressed him at Somerset House. The statuary room boasted a "cast of Mr. Grattan, the celebrated brash lawyer" which was "admirably modeled," and a cast of the statue of George

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[28]THP, Diary, n.d. [Oct. 1823?], in Briggs, 1:427.

[29]THP, Diary, London, May 9, 1826, Perkins Papers. In 1826, Leslie exhibited Don Quixote Having Retired into the Sierra Morena at the Royal Academy in London; and Newton exhibited Captain Macheath Upbraided by Polly and Lucy (Algernon Graves, The Royal Academy of Arts [London: Henry Greaves and Co. Ltd. and George Bell and Sons], 5:39, 356). Eventually, Perkins owned several works by both of these artists.

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Washington which Sir Francis Chantrey had finally, and only recently, completed. "It is a noble object," Perkins was able to record at long last, "and I am told Mr. Chantrey is well satisfied with it and I have no doubt the public will be also."[30] A few days later, he went to the auction of the collection of Lord Radstoacks at Christie's in London. He bid on, but did not acquire, one or more objects in the sale.[31] A few days later, he had better luck at the British Institution where he bought four pictures.[32]

Toward the end of that same month he saw a selection of paintings by John Singleton Copley in London, including his Watson and the Shark. "Just returned from seeing Mr. Copley's pictures," he wrote in his diary, "the scene at Havana, Brook Watson caught by a shark, Major Pearson [sic] attacked by the French at Germany--those I have seen engraved--Mr. Copley's Grand Father, Father, Mother and children. . . [and a] fine likeness of Mr. Copley the painter."[33]

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[30]THP, Diary, London, May 9, 1826, Perkins Papers. Lieberman (254) stated that the marble, which is inscribed with the date 1826, was shipped to Boston only after it was shown at the Royal Academy in that year. But if Perkins was correct, it was not the marble but a cast, probably the original plaster, which was exhibited there.

[31]THP, Diary, London, May 15, 1826.

[32]THP, Diary, May 24, 1826, in Briggs, 1:431.

[33]THP, Diary, London, May 24, 1826. Besides Watson and the Shark (1778, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), Perkins

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Perkins made his seventh crossing to England in July, 1829. This visit, which, like almost all of Perkins's trips undertaken primarily for business, was augmented by a side trip to Paris and a tour of the Low Countries.[34] More important in terms of his interest in the arts, however, was his next journey to Europe, made in 1835. His traveling companions that time were his son and grandson, Thomas H. Perkins, Jr., and Thomas H. Perkins, III. As he had done on previous trips, Colonel Perkins again made the rounds of galleries and museums in London.[35] He also "improved" one morning, as he put it, by visiting the American ornithological painter, John J. Audubon, who was working in London at the time.[36] Audubon already knew Perkins, for the Bostonian had purchased a set of his Birds of America in 1831 for presentation to the Boston Athenaeum; and in 1832

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was referring to The Death of Major Peirson (1782-84, Tate Gallery, London); The Copley Family (1776-77, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.); and possibly the self-portrait of Copley which was in the Lyndhurst Sale of 1864. See Jules David Prown, John Singleton Copley (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), 2:passim.

[34]Seaburg and Paterson, 364.

[35]For example, in his diary entry for April 15, 1835, he recorded having visited "the Gallery where are the paintings of living artists" where he saw some historical pictures of events which happened while he was in Paris in 1795 such as "when Fernard was killed in the Tribune of the Convention by the mob."

[36]THP, Diary, London, April 4, 1835.

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Audubon had been a guest at Perkins's Brookline Farm near Boston.[37]

Perkins's next stop was Paris where, he reported, he spent four or five hours alone in the Louvre and was moved by certain unnamed paintings of the French Revolution which reminded him of earlier days. He and his namesakes then went on to Italy, this being the first time in that country for all three of them. According to one of the Colonel's biographers, he "looked with lively interest on the wonders of history and art to be seen there."[38] (This Italian trip will be discussed below in connection with Perkins's relationship with Horatio Greenough). In 1841, Perkins took a two-month trip to London and Paris in the company of his nephew Bennet Forbes[39] and in September, 1845, he took his last and briefest journey, a trip to England with Forbes and

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[37]Seaburg and Paterson, 388-89; Francis Hobart Herrick, Audubon the Naturalist (New York & London: D. Appleton and Company, 1917), 29n. Audubon's friend, Richard Harlan, wrote him just prior to the artist's visit to Perkins, "I am happy to hear of yr. safe arrival and reception in Boston, in Mr. Perkins you will find an amiable, liberal, and efficient patron" (Richard Harlan, Philadelphia, to J. J. Audubon, Aug., 1832, in Herrick, 28). In 1837, Perkins bought a second copy of Birds of America which he gave to the Boston Society of Natural History three years later. Today, it is in the collection of the Hancock Library of Biology and Oceanography at the University of Southern California (Seaburg and Paterson, 421). A hand-written inscription on its fly-leaf records that Perkins paid $1125 for it.

[38]Cary, "Perkins," Hunt's, 50.

[39]Seaburg and Paterson, 405-406.

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Forbes's sister Emma. By that time, Perkins was too old to endure the rigors of travel and, after only sixteen days abroad, he sailed for home.[40]

Boston Philanthropy

Possibly under the influence of his brother, James, Thomas H. Perkins became active in Boston's premier private library and art organization, the Boston Athenaeum. When it was incorporated in 1807, James Perkins was one of its initial subscribers and in 1821, shortly before his unexpected death, he gave the association his home on Pearl Street to use as its headquarters.[41] That extremely generous gift allowed for an immediate expansion of the Athenaeum's collection of books and the formation of a permanent collection of paintings and sculpture. In fact, the first work purchased was a portrait of James Perkins himself by Gilbert Stuart which arrived at the Athenaeum in October, 1822.[42]

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[40]Ibid., 409.

[41]James Perkins was evidently a quiet, thoughtful man who had a passion for reading. His contemporaries remembered him as "retired and domestic . . . his virtues were those of the fireside" (quoted in Seaburg and Paterson, 148).

[42]The history of Stuart's portrait of James Perkins and THP's role in its execution is told in Swan, 4-5.

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Thomas H. Perkins also became active in the expansion of the Athenaeum's facilities when, in 1824, he joined the building committee which had the immediate task of finding funds for the purchase of more property and for the completion of a lecture hall. Two years later, he donated $8,000 dollars toward the first of these goals and his nephew James Perkins, son of the elder James, gave another $8,000.[43] With matching funds raised by the building committee, an "Auxiliary Building for Lectures and Exhibitions" was erected. The fact that the new building was to be used to promote local groups and local artists, as noted above, must have been known to Colonel Perkins when he helped initiate the expansion and, in fact, the idea to expand in the first place may have even been his. (The Athenaeum occupied the Pearl Street complex until 1849-50 when it moved to its present Beacon Street headquarters).

Similar concerns must have prompted Perkins's pace-setting donation of five-hundred dollars in 1835 for the building of a new wing to house statuary and casts from the Athenaeum's collection, an offering which, as we have seen, reflected the growing taste for sculpture in Boston.[44] Perkins also made a number of smaller donations to the

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[43]See THP to the Boston Athenaeum, March 30, 1826, in Josiah Quincy, The History of the Boston Athenaeum (Cambridge: Metcalf and Company, 1851), 97.

[44]See Swan, 99.

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Athenaeum over the years. In 1824, for example, he subscribed to the purchase of a bust of Washington by Raimondo Trentanove; in 1831 he and George Ticknor gave money toward and supervised the purchase of Gilbert Stuart's portraits of George and Martha Washington which became known as The Athenaeum Portraits; in 1835 he donated Frazee's bust of John Marshall (see below); in 1848 he helped with the purchase of part of George Washington's library; and in the 1850s he even donated a large teak table for the use of the trustees.[45]

Among the many roles which Perkins assumed at the Athenaeum was that of chairman of the committee which organized its first annual art exhibition in 1827. Through his many connections and those of the other members of the committee--Franklin Dexter, George W. Brimmer, Francis Calley Gray, and Charles Codman--Perkins managed to procure over three-hundred paintings and miniatures for the show.[46] He had evidently benefited from one of his trips to Europe the year before (1826) during which he inspected galleries and exhibitions for clues on how to organize an art show. While at Somerset House in London, for example, he was careful to observe the ways in which the various rooms of

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[45]The Athenaeum Centenary (Boston: The Boston Athenaeum, 1907), passim.

[46]Jonathan P. Harding, "The Painting Gallery," A Climate for Art, 9.

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paintings and sculpture were lit and to note which were more successful.[47]

Not surprisingly, Perkins lent several works from his own growing collection to the Athenaeum's first annual exhibition. These included Saul and the Witch of Endor by Washington Allston (1820, Amherst College, Mead Art Museum, Amherst, Massachusetts); a portrait of a Mrs. Stillman by S. E. Jones; The Finding of Moses by [Joshua?] Shaw; the busts of Rubens and Raphael which were mentioned above; and several works by European and British artists, living and dead.[48]

Besides his committee work at the Athenaeum, Perkins also served as its president from 1830 to 1832 and only his voluntary withdrawal from the competition prevented his re-election to that post. Nevertheless, by that time his importance to the Athenaeum was widely acknowledged and universally appreciated. The Athenaeum's trustees had already, in May, 1826, commissioned a portrait of him from Gilbert Stuart which was to serve as a pendant to that of his brother James.[49] When Stuart died in 1828, leaving the portrait unfinished, the commission was transferred to

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[47]Swan, 19.

[48]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the First Exhibition of Paintings in the Athenaeum Gallery (Boston, 1827), passim.

[49]Quincy, 105.

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Thomas Sully. That artist began painting the full-length image of Perkins on July 7, 1831, at Perkins's home in Pearl Street, and finished it in May, 1832. It was immediately exhibited at the Athenaeum--in which collection it remains--and subsequently become the best-known image of the man.[50]

The members of the Athenaeum expressed their appreciation of the generosity shown to the organization by Thomas Perkins and his family in the following statement:

> In the year 1826, Thomas Handasyd Perkins, the brother, and James Perkins, the son, of our first benefactor of that name, came to its aid, and, by donations noble in amount and wise in their conditions, gave a further impulse to the spirit of the community; and thus this institution was at once raised to an enviable height of prosperity by the reiterated munificence of a family, which, for patronage of science and the arts, and for generous support of institutions of charity and philanthropy, may well vie, in the city of Boston, with that of the Medici in Florence.[51]

Perkins and American Artists

Perkins knew several prominent American artists, including Trumbull, who worked in Boston. Another was

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[50]Thomas Sully, Register of Paintings, June [sic] 7, 1831, and Thomas Sully, Journal (typescript), July 7, 1831, Thomas Sully Papers, AAA N18; Edward Biddle and Mantle Fielding, The Life and Works of Thomas Sully (Philadelphia, 1921), 246. The portrait is still in the Athenaeum's collection. In the spring of 1831, Perkins wrote to Sully to invite him to spend the coming summer at Nahant, Mass., where Perkins had a summer home. Sully took him up on the offer and spent a day or so there in July (Sully, Journal, May 2 and July 17, 1831).

[51]Quoted in Quincy, 178.

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Gilbert Stuart who Perkins knew both professionally and as a friend and of whom he often told amusing anecdotes.[52] Possibly more important, though, was Perkins's relationship with Washington Allston whom he probably met in Boston in 1809 when Allston settled there briefly following his first European residency. The painter returned to England in 1811 and, when Perkins was in London later that year, he joined the artist and his wife for Christmas dinner at the home of Samuel Williams, the Perkins firm's British contact.[53] When Perkins sailed for home at the conclusion of his second European trip during the summer of 1818, Allston was a fellow passenger on board the ship Galen. During the voyage, the artist painted a watercolor of a storm and Perkins bought it from him, evidently on the spot.[54] Two

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[52]One of Perkins's favorite stories about Stuart is told in Cary,"Perkins," Hunt's, 46-47.

[53]Seaburg and Paterson, 227. Williams was Allston's financial agent while Allston was in England and the artist painted his portrait (Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland, Ohio), possibly about the time Perkins was in England. (See William H. Gerdts, "The Paintings of Washington Allston," in William H. Gerdts and Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., "A Man of Genius:" The Art of Washington Allston (1779-1843) [Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1979], 86). This was the same Samuel Williams who, in 1825, defaulted on the busts of Rubens and Raphael that Perkins then bought, as detailed above.

[54]Gerdts, "Paintings of Allston," 114. Perkins lent the watercolor, which is now lost, for exhibition at the Boston Athenaeum in 1850 under the title Sketch, in water colors, of the packet ship "Old Galen" in a storm, when the artist and the owner of the picture were fellow passengers, in 1818. Drawn at Sea (Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Twenty-Third Exhibition of Paintings in the Gallery of the

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years later, on a commission from Perkins, Allston painted Saul and the Witch of Endor, mentioned above, which became a popular feature of Perkins's growing art collection and which he lent to exhibitions at the Athenaeum in 1831, 1843, and 1850.[55] In 1827, he joined other well-meaning supporters of Allston, including David Sears and George Ticknor, in subscribing to a fund which, it was hoped, would allow Allston to finish his doomed masterpiece, Belshazzar's Feast (Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan).[56] It seems likely that Perkins would have felt his share of frustration and, ultimately, disappointment when Allston continued to procrastinate, unfortunately leaving the work unfinished and in poor condition at his death in 1843.

Boston Athenaeum [Boston, 1850], 6). It has been suggested that Perkins may have given Allston the encouragement he needed to leave England in 1818 for America, along with assurances that patronage would not be lacking in Boston. See David Bjelajac, Millennial Desire and the Apocalyptic Vision of Washington Allston (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 132.

[55]Perkins and Gavin, 10. He also lent the painting, under the title The Witch of Endor Raising the Spirit of Samuel Before Saul, and the Sketch, in water colors, of the packet ship "Old Galen" (a.k.a., Storm at Sea) to the Allston retrospective exhibition at Harding's Gallery, Boston, in 1839 (Harding's Gallery, Exhibition of Pictures Painted by Washington Allston [Boston, John H. Eastburn, Printer, 1839], 4, 8). In 1852, he allowed the New England Art Union to engrave the painting for distribution to its members (New England Art Union, Catalogue of Paintings Now on Exhibition in the Free Gallery of the New England Art Union [Boston: Dutton & Wentworth, 1852], 2).

[56]Gerdts, "Paintings of Allston," 127; Swan, 48-49.

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Following that sad event, Perkins headed a committee to erect a monument to the deceased artist.[57]

Of a happier nature was Perkins's relationship with Allston's friend, the sculptor Horatio Greenough. It seems Perkins met Greenough in about 1818 when he saw the future sculptor, who was only about twelve years old at the time, making a copy in chalk of a bust of John Adams by John B. Binon, probably the version which had been commissioned by the citizens of Boston and recently placed in Faneuil Hall.[58] In hopes of helping Greenough, Perkins took him to the Boston Athenaeum, introduced him to the librarian, William S. Shaw, and saw to it that the young man was permitted to copy whatever he wanted there.[59]

Perkins encountered Greenough again when the merchant joined the Bunker Hill Monument Association for which he served on various committees (he acted as a vice-president and eventually became its president). The group

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[57]Seaburg and Paterson, 408.

[58]As mentioned previously, another version in plaster was given by the artist to the Boston Athenaeum in 1819 (Harding, Athenaeum, 74).

[59]In her monograph on Greenough, Nathalia Wright did not identify "the observer" who introduced the sculptor to Shaw (Wright, Horatio Greenough, the First American Sculptor [Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963], 23) but Perkins's modern biographers stated that it was Perkins (Seaburg and Paterson, 398), as did Walter Muir Whitehill ("Portrait Busts in the Library of the Boston Athenaeum," Antiques 103 [June 1973]: 1141).

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held one of its first meetings at Perkins's home in the spring of 1823 and was chartered by the state shortly thereafter. Eventually, a competition for a suitable design for the monument grew out of the Association's efforts. Perkins preferred a classicizing column as opposed to an obelisk such as the one the young Greenough designed for the project. Perkins therefore lent his support to Solomon Willard, the architect/sculptor who, as it turned out, would be more involved with the project that any other artist.[60]

Nevertheless, Perkins assisted Greenough in other, perhaps more important ways. The best known of these was his offer to give Greenough free passage to Gibraltar when the sculptor was planning his second trip to Italy in 1828. Greenough availed himself of Perkins's generosity and sailed out of Boston harbor for Europe in May of that year on board

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[60]Nathalia Wright, "The Monument that Jonathan Built," American Quarterly 5 (Summer 1953): 170. Once the actual construction of the Bunker Hill Monument began, Perkins transported the stone for it on his so-called Granite Railway which had been chartered on March 4, 1826, and which was one of the earliest railroads in America. (The stone was taken from the quarry at Quincy to the sea and then made its way to Charlestown by boat). In fact, it seems that the Bunker Hill monument was the initial incentive for the building of this short but historic railroad. (See Seaburg and Paterson, 329-344, and Briggs, 1:432-34).

Some years after the Bunker Hill project, Perkins was involved in the planning of a monument to George Washington in the nation's capital although he was not as active there as he had been at Bunker Hill. See Cary "Perkins," Hunt's, 50; Seaburg and Paterson, 415; and especially "November Meeting, 1885," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society 2 (Nov. 1885): 140-146.

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Perkins's brig Bashaw which was bound eventually for Canton, China.[61] During the early 1830s, Perkins commissioned Greenough to execute a now unidentified work for him;[62] and perhaps the Colonel was the "Mr. Perkins" who, in 1832, bought a portrait of Greenough by Rembrandt Peale which had been painted in Italy in 1829.[63] Such a purchase would

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[61]Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 56.

[62]In December, 1831, Greenough wrote to James Fenimore Cooper that he had heard that the Colonel was going to offer him a commission (HG to Cooper, December 17, 1831, Letters of Horatio Greenough American Sculptor, ed. Nathalia Wright [Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1972], 99). Perkins's son-in-law, Samuel Cabot, had evidently relayed an offer from Perkins to Greenough and, a year after the sculptor wrote Cooper, he wrote to Cabot that "I should be most happy to do any thing to show my sense of Col Perkins' kindness to me, . . . [but] the present commission rather adds to by obligations" (HG to Cabot, Dec. 17, 1832, Letters of Greenough, ed. Wright, 151). Greenough was probably referring here to Cabot's own order for The Ascension of a Child Conducted by an Infant Angel (fig. 6) which will be discussed below. It is not known if Greenough actually did design and execute something for Perkins at the time.

[63]An article published in 1832 stated that a "Mr. Perkins" paid forty-five dollars for the portrait of Greenough by Peale from a recent sale "of pictures copied by Peale on his Italian tour" ("The Fine Arts," New-York Mirror 10 [Nov. 17, 1832]: 159). It should be pointed out, though, that the article did not refer to the buyer as "Colonel Perkins," as was usual for the Boston merchant, and this fact which casts some doubt on whether the reference is actually to our man. Whatever the case, the painting owned by "Mr. Perkins" was probably not the portrait of Greenough by Peale which is now in the National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C., since that painting descended in the Greenough family although it may have been a copy of it. See Carol Eaton Hevner, Rembrandt Peale 1778-1860, A Life in the Arts (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1985), 72; and Margaret Christman, Dept. of

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certainly be an indication of support of and perhaps even affection for the artist.

As noted above, Perkins made his first visit to Italy in 1835 and he used the opportunity to learn more about sculptural procedures and to visit his friend Greenough. The quantity and quality of art in Italy almost overwhelmed Perkins and forced him to admit that it left him in a "sort of amaze," that it was "too much for my head."[64] Early in May he passed through Carrara which, he noted in his diary, "is said to be a great Studio."[65] Time did not permit a lengthy visit to the quarries but, Perkins noted with expectation, "the marbles, I shall see elsewhere." Obviously with that in mind, within twenty-four hours of his arrival in Florence on May 11, he went to Horatio Greenough's studio where he saw "some fine busts" including those of Col. Joseph M. White (ca. 1834-35, New-York Historical Society, New York City), Bostonian David Sears (ca. 1834-35, Somerset Club, Boston), and his wife (1835, unlocated). Greenough's group portrait of Sears's son and daughter, known as Forest Children (fig. 33), was there, too, and Perkins thought it "in good taste."[66]

Painting and Sculpture, The National Portrait Gallery, to the author, Oct. 30, 1992.

[64]Quoted in Seaburg and Paterson, 397.

[65]THP, Diary, May 6, 1835.

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After giving his patron a tour of his studio, Greenough took him to an unused church which he had "fitted up for the purpose of modeling the figure of Washington, intended to be transformed to Marble" (fig. 8).[67] Perkins recorded his impressions of the sculpture in his journal:

> The figure is of Gigantic stature--seated in a Chair, when standing it would be twelve feet high. Seated it is only nine feet. The upper part of the body is naked, the lower part, to above the hips, has a mantle which reaches nearly to the Andes, winds round the back in graceful folds, and the ends of it fall over the right arm above the elbow. . . . The purient Clay model weighs fifty thousand pounds, and the marble will be yet heavier. The bust is a perfect imitation of Stuart's head in the Athenaeum. Mr. G. has a copy of it by [Francis] Alexander which does him credit. I am much pleased with the design, and the execution so far; and have no doubt it will add to the fame of the Artist.[68]

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[66]THP, Diary, May 11, 1835. While Perkins thought that Greenough's portrait of David Sears was "very like him," he found the one of Mrs. Sears unsatisfactory, complaining especially about the hair which, he thought, "may not be her fault."

[67]Ibid.

[68]Ibid. Perkins himself owned a replica of Stuart's Athenaeum Portrait of Washington which he gave or bequeathed to his daughter, Elizabeth Perkins Cabot, whose grandson, Arthur Tracy Cabot, left it to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, in 1942 (see Cary, Perkins Memoir, 197-201; and American Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston [Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1969], 1:247). Besides Alexander's copy of Stuart's portrait of Washington, Greenough owned a number of paintings and some sculpture by other artists (see Nathalia Wright, "The Art Collection of Horatio Greenough," Old-Time New England 48 [Fall 1957]: 43-47; and HG, "Account of expenses incurred in modeling the statue of Washington--1834--'5--'6,", Letters of Greenough, ed. Wright, 303).

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Like Everett, Perkins suspected that the nudity of the statue would cause some problems in America but, he concluded, "there is nothing to alarm the most fastidious, in those parts of the figure left bare. . . . The work on the whole will be highly esteemed by most people."[69]

Perkins dined with Greenough several times over the next weeks and they visited a number of sites together, including the Pitti Palace where Greenough's acquaintance with the caretaker allowed them to see rooms which were usually closed to the public.[70] In the middle of May, Perkins went to Rome where he visited the studios of Bertel Thorwaldsen and of Thorwaldsen's pupil, Luigi Bienaimé (1795-1878). From the latter, he ordered a marble group "to be finished in a month and sent to Leghorn to be shipped." It was to depict two figures, "the principal, the guardian angel, diverting the eyes of a beautiful child from sin in the form of a serpent and showing by her motion her fear of contamination by a nearer approach."[71] (The work was in

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[69]THP, Diary, May 11, 1835.

[70]THP, Diary, May 12, 1835.

[71]THP, Diary, May 20, 1835, in Briggs, 1:445. The present location of this work is not known. Judging from Perkins's description of it, however, the conception seems to have been close to that of The Ascension of a Child Conducted by an Infant Angel which Greenough executed in 1832 for Perkins's son-in-law, Samuel Cabot, as will be discussed below, although Bienaimé's angel may have been an adult.

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Boston by 1840 when Perkins lent it to the second annual sculpture exhibition at the Boston Athenaeum).[72] Perkins was back in Florence by the first of June when he again went to Greenough's studio. There he bought "a small figure of a boy extracting a thorn from his foot," evidently a copy of the Hellenistic bronze figure, Spinario (Capitoline Museum, Rome).[73] Before leaving town a few days later, he again inspected Greenough's progress on the Washington.[74]

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[72]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Second Exhibition of Sculpture in the Athenaeum Gallery (Boston: Eastburn's Press, 1840), 13. The catalogue quotes a letter from the sculptor to Perkins in which he held forth on the benefits gained by painters who have selected subjects from the holy scriptures. "Under the belief that Sculpture might derive equal benefit from the same source," he wrote, "I composed this group, endeavoring to render the idea as clearly and simply as possible, this being an indispensable requisite in works of our art. In the figure of the boy, I intended to express innocence, unconscious of the dangers of life and the seductions of vice, submitting itself to the will of its divine master, in a posture of humility and obedience. The divine messenger directs his footsteps aside, as he perceives the enemy, (typified as usual under the form of the serpent) is lying in wait for him. I endeavored to reflect from the countenance of the Angel that divine goodness which showers its blessings upon all created beings."

[73]According to Haskell and Penney (Taste and the Antique, 308), Spinario was one of the first antique sculptures to be widely copied in modern times. The copy which Perkins bought may have been executed by Greenough but more likely it was by an anonymous copyist and simply had been acquired by Greenough. In 1989, it was in the collection of Mrs. H. Ropes Cabot who loaned it to the exhibition "Collecting Sculpture in Early America" at Gore Place, Waltham, Mass., mentioned above

[74]THP, Diary, June 1, 1835.

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Later, after Perkins was back in Boston, Greenough wrote to tell him that he had acquired new plaster casts of the figures of Night and Day from Michelangelo's Medici tombs. "They are *proof casts*," he reported, "made to try the moulds ordered here by the King of the French. . . . They are for all purposes of study and criticism identical with their originals and are in the best state and quite new."[75] Perkins may have asked Greenough to shop for these or other casts from antique or Renaissance sculpture for his collection; but, whatever the case, Greenough gave them to Perkins "as a mark of appreciation for that gentleman's kindness."[76] Perkins made a long-term loan of them to the Boston Athenaeum where they were placed at the end of the Sculpture Gallery on the first floor of the organization's headquarters.[77] In that position, they could be used for the purpose which Greenough had intended, that is, for study. At Perkins's death, the executors of his estate gave the casts to the Athenaeum.[78]

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[75]HG to THP, [Fall 1837?], Letters of Greenough, ed. Wright, 223.

[76]Swan, 143.

[77]They are visible in an engraving of the Sculpture Gallery in an 1855 issue of Ballou's Pictorial and Drawing Room Companion which is reproduced in Boston Athenaeum, Change and Continuity: A Pictorial History of the Boston Athenaeum (Boston, 1976), 23.

[78]Perkins and Gavin, 98, 306. At the same time that he procured the casts of Night and Day, Greenough also

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A few years after this, Greenough was involved in another sculptural project, the origins of which have been traditionally traced to Colonel Perkins, although that assignment, as we shall see, is uncertain.[79] The sculpture in question is one of a dog (fig. 9), variously described as a St. Bernard or a Newfoundland, on which Greenough was working during the first few months of 1844, but which he may have been contemplating as early as 1830.[80] The only mention of the sculpture itself in Greenough's surviving

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acquired three other casts, presumably from antique or Renaissance originals. When he died, these passed to Hiram Powers who, through Richard S. Greenough, offered them for sale to the Athenaeum which bought them. Unfortunately, they went down with the ship which was transporting them to America and were not recovered (Swan, 143). The casts of Michaelangelo's Night and Day were deaccessioned by the Athenaeum in 1933 and have since disappeared. It has been suggested that Night at least may have ended up at the Fogg Museum at Harvard (Gordon, 101) but I have not been able to substantiate this.

[79]In his dissertation on the Greenough brothers, Thomas Brumbaugh stated simply that the figure, which he identified as a Newfoundland dog, had been done for members of the Perkins family (Brumbaugh, "Horatio and Richard Greenough," 247); but Nathalia Wright, who said the dog was a St. Bernard, assumed the owner of the work was Colonel Perkins (Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 233).

[80]In August, 1830, one of Greenough's brothers wrote to another that he had "sent Horatio a Newfoundland dog, as he requested, for a model" (Alfred Greenough, Boston, to Henry Greenough, Aug. 30 [1830], Letters of Greenough, ed. Greenough, 66) But it is unclear as to what form the "dog" took; that is, it may have simply been an image of a dog, as opposed to the real thing, since Alfred also stated that, at the same time, he was sending Horatio "a new novel. . . by Miss Sedgwick." Whatever form the animal took, the sculptor does not seem to have used it for its intended modeling function in 1830 or even later since he was still looking for a proper model in 1844, as we shall see.

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correspondence is in a letter he wrote in February, 1844, to one of his brothers in which he stated that he had "begun Perkins's dog" although he fails to say for which Perkins the work was being performed. He then went on to relate his difficulties in finding a proper model for the figure, Madame Catalani's dog having died and that of the Grand Duke being "dead and stuffed." He added that he was sending to Paris for a lithograph of a St. Bernard dog to use as his model.[81]

The resulting sculpture is almost certainly the marble which is now on the Perkins burial lot at Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge, Massachusetts. The most illustrious inhabitant of that spot is Col. Perkins himself; and his residency there is probably the reason for the confusion over exactly who commissioned the sculpture. In fact, the Colonel, who died in 1854, was initially buried in the crypt at St. Paul's Cathedral in Boston and his remains were not moved to Mount Auburn until 1914. The lot in the cemetery was actually owned by his son, Thomas H., Jr., who bought it in 1831 and who was the first to be buried in the large underground tomb there.[82] The sculpted dog, though,

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[81]HG, Florence, to Henry Greenough, Feb. 28, 1844, Letters of Horatio Greenough to His Brother Henry Greenough, ed. Frances Boott Greenough, (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1887), 169.

[82]Kathleen D. Leslie, Archivist, Mount Auburn Cemetery, to the author, Oct. 30, 1992. Thomas H. Perkins,

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was already in place over the tomb by 1848 when an image of it *in situ* was reproduced in a contemporary guide book to the cemetery.[83] This fact and the clarification that Perkins, Jr., was the original owner of the lot, seem to indicate that he was the commissioner and original owner of the sculpture, too. One other common mis-statement about Greenough's dog should be rebutted here, as well: contrary to some sources, the dog depicted in the sculpture is decidedly not a St. Bernard; rather, it is probably a Newfoundland watchdog, as the most recent source on Mount Auburn, as well as several older ones, have indicated.[84]

Jr., died in 1850 but, for unclear reasons, he was not buried at Mount Auburn until 1854. In 1914, evidently at the instigation of a descendant, the bodies of Col. Perkins, his wife, and two of their children were removed from the crypt at St. Paul's and taken to Mt. Auburn Cemetery Crematory. Their ashes were then buried in the Perkins' lot which is no. 108 on Central Avenue at Mt. Auburn. In all, sixteen persons are buried there, the last, Winifred E. S. Parker, having been interred in 1924 (Lot description, Mount Auburn Archives).

[83]Nathaniel S. Dearborn, Dearborn's Guide through Mount Auburn Cemetery 2nd ed. (Boston: N. Dearborn, 1848), 27. Dearborn identified the dog as a Newfoundland watchdog and the owner of the lot as Thomas H. Perkins, Jr. He also stated that the work "was beautifully sculptured in Italy from the purest Italian marble."

[84]See Blanche Linden-Ward, Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1989), 242, 246. Although Linden-Ward properly identified the owner of the lot as Thomas H. Perkins, Jr., she confused him with his father by identifing him as the "Merchant Prince," a title usually reserved for the elder Perkins.

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Greenough's brother, Richard Saltonstall Greenough (1819-1904), also knew Perkins and had carved a marble medallion portrait of him by 1846 when it was exhibited at the Boston Athenaeum, loaned by Perkins himself. This is probably identical with the unsigned relief portrait of Perkins which is in the Athenaeum's collection today.[85]

Among the other American sculptors who benefitted from Perkins's beneficence were Hezekiah Augur of Connecticut, whose bust of Sappho (unlocated) Perkins owned;[86] Thomas A. Carew of Boston, whose bust of Rev. John Pierce Perkins bought and presented to the library at Harvard College in 1850;[87] and John Frazee, of New Jersey and New York.

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[85]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Twentieth Exhibition of Paintings and Statuary in the Athenaeum Gallery (Boston, 1846), 10. The oval marble portrait of Perkins was given to the Athenaeum in 1952 by the Mercantile Library Association which had received it in 1853 from Perkins (Harding, Athenaeum, 38).

[86]Sappho had been purchased by Perkins by 1829 and he lent it to the annual exhibition at the Boston Athenaeum three years later (Craven, Sculpture in America, 88; Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Sixth Exhibition of Paintings in the Athenaeum Gallery [Boston, 1832], 8). It was also shown at the American Academy of Fine Arts in New York in 1833 (Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art-Union Exhibition Record 1816-1852 [New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1953], 195). Also see "Statuary--Jephthah and His Daughter," The Boston Literary Magazine 1 (July 1832): 145-46, which lists Sappho as being in Perkins's collection.

[87]Without identifying the creator of the bust, one of Col. Perkins's descendants has stated that Perkins gave it to Harvard in 1850 (Briggs, 2:588). I am assuming that

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Strictly a sculptor of portraits, Frazee was not a Neoclassicist, per se, but a number of his busts, including his Self-Portrait (National Academy of Design, New York), are classicizing in their use of the herm base, toga-like drapery, and the exposed chest and shoulders. Perkins may have known Frazee from one or more of his many trips to New York or from the sculptor's own visit to Boston where he went in 1833 to model busts of Nathaniel Bowditch and Daniel Webster for the Athenaeum.[88] He obviously made a favorable impression on the members of that organization, including Perkins, for in May of the following year, he received a letter from Perkins personally commissioning him to model a bust of John Marshall. "The consent of the Chief Justice of the United States has been obtained to sit to you for his Bust," Perkins wrote, and he offered Frazee five-hundred dollars for the work. He also pointed out the probability of Frazee's receiving orders for replicas of the bust, "should your attempt be successful, of which I have no doubt." Perkins concluded by mapping out an itinerary for the sculptor who immediately went to Richmond, Virginia, to carry out the order.[89] In 1835, the completed image of

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this is the same bust which is still at Harvard, identified as being by Carew.

[88]John Frazee, "The Autobiography of Frazee, the Sculptor," The North American Quarterly Magazine 31 (July, 1835): 18-21.

[89]THP to John Frazee, April 30, 1834, in Swan, 146.

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Marshall was given to the Athenaeum by Perkins and it is inscribed with a statement to that affect.[90] Undoubtedly, this did help Frazee gain more Boston orders for sculpture, as Perkins had predicted. For example, the year after Perkins gave the bust of Marshall to the Athenaeum, Frazee was commissioned by that organization to execute the busts of four distinguished Bostonians: Joseph Story, William Prescott, John Lowell, and, not surprisingly, Thomas H. Perkins.[91]

It should also be noted here that one of Frazee's studio apprentices in New York at the time he was making the busts of Marshall and Perkins was the young Thomas Crawford; and, in fact, it is thought that Crawford helped carve

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[90]Quincy, 137; Harding, Athenaeum, 29.

[91]Harding, Athenaeum, 29-31. All four of these busts as well as that of Marshall are still in the Athenaeum's collection.

Frederick S. Voss has recently pointed out that the Athenaeum's commissioning of a bust of Perkins in 1834--for which they paid $500--was a surprising extravagance, since they had commissioned Perkins's painted portrait from Sully only two years before (Voss, John Frazee 1790-1852 Sculptor [Washington: The National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1986], 96). Voss is at a loss as to how to explain this; but I think it was simply a reflection of the depth of gratitude which the Athenaeum felt toward Perkins and his family for the unheard of level of support which they had consistently given the institution.

Seaburg and Paterson record that in 1971 the Boston Athenaeum owned two other images of Perkins: a bust by the British sculptor William Behnes, dated 1826; and a marble relief portrait by an unknown artist. While the latter is evidently now unlocated, the former is now thought to be an image of Sir Isaac Coffin, not of Perkins. See Harding, Athenaeum, 73.

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either or both busts.[92] As far as is known, however, Perkins and Crawford did not have a close relationship at any point in either's life; but Perkins was on close terms with Crawford's brother-in-law, Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe, who was in charge of the Institute for the Blind which benefitted from Perkins's philanthropy.[93] Certainly, then, Perkins must have been aware of Crawford's work and may have even met him at least once before Crawford's early demise.

Perkins was also supportive of several other sculptors who were not originally from Boston but who at one time or another worked or resided there, specifically Henry Dexter and Robert Ball Hughes. As noted in the previous chapter, Dexter moved to Boston in 1836, probably due to the need for sculptors in Boston and the receptiveness which Bostonians showed toward sculptors in general and Perkins was one of the first to commission sculpture from him. In 1838, the Colonel ordered a marble bust of the actress Ellen Tree whose portrait Dexter had already painted.[94] And four

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[92]Gale, Thomas Crawford, American Sculptor (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964), 7.

[93]Dimmick, Crawford, 105-109.

[94]Albee, 59. The painter Francis Alexander, who was an uncle of Dexter's wife, wrote to Hiram Powers in February, 1839, that "Dexter has made a bust of Miss Tree that is a marvel in itself, & compared with what he had done before, very extraordinary" (Alexander, Boston, to HP, Florence, February 4, 1839, Powers Papers 1131). A replica of the bust was exhibited at the Apollo Association in New York in 1839 (Cowdrey, 107). It was probably the same

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years later, he paid Dexter fifty dollars for a replica of a cast which the sculptor had made of his daughter Anna's hand.[95] In 1847, Perkins joined a number of other Bostonians, including David Sears and Francis Calley Gray, in giving money toward the purchase of Dexter's The Backwoodsman (unlocated) in order to assist the struggling artist.[96] The subject had been suggested to Dexter by Bostonian George C. Shattuck and the statue was finished in marble by 1848 when it was shown in Boston at Horticultural Hall.[97] That same year, it was presented to the Athenaeum

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replica which had been displayed in the office of the New-York Mirror earlier that year ("Dexter, the Sculptor--His Bust of Miss Tree," New-York Mirror 16 [Feb. 23, 1839]: 279) and it or another version was in the collection of the Boston Museum by 1844 (Yarnall and Gerdts, 1033; and Catalogue of the Paintings, Portraits, Marble and Plaster Statuary. . . In the Collection of the Boston Museum [Boston: Stacy, Richardson, Filmer & Co., Printers, 1847], no. 21). Another replica was at the Boston Athenaeum by 1839 (Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the First Exhibition of Sculpture in the Athenaeum Gallery [Boston, 1839], 5) but none of these versions is located today.

[95]Albee, 59. According to Albee, Perkins paid for the marble hand with one-hundred half-dollar gold pieces which Dexter "took home tied up in a handkerchief. He emptied the shining heap into his little daughter's lap, as the successful result of her own hand. The child had a small wagon which the half-dollars filled heaping full. She drew the wagon about in play, and upset it many times to see the load of silver roll over the floor, and hear its musical chink" (Albee, 59).

[96]Albee, 76; and Athenaeum Centenary: 84.

[97]Dexter's Latest Marble Statues, "The Backwoodsman," and Two Beautiful Figures, Representing "Observation," and "The First Lesson." Now Exhibiting at the Horticultural Hall, School Street (Boston: Press of George C. Rand and Company, 1848).

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by the twenty subscribers, including Perkins,[98] and from 1852 to 1856, inclusive, it was part of the annual exhibitions at the Athenaeum.[99]

Robert Ball Hughes also benefitted from Perkins's attentions and, in fact, it seems the sculptor moved from New York to Boston in about 1840 because he expected patronage from Bostonians, especially Perkins. The Athenaeum already owned several works by Hughes, as mentioned above, and, given the certification of Hughes's

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[98]Swan, 156. The sculpture was returned to Dexter in 1857 at his request and with the permission of the donors. Evidently, he wished to do more work on it, at least that is what Albee says happened after the work was taken back to Dexter's studio. Its history between 1857 and 1898 is not entirely clear, but in 1882 it was owned by a J. J. Horgan of Cambridge, Mass., and Washington, D. C., who claimed that some of those who had originally promised to donate money toward the purchase of the sculpture for the Athenaeum, had failed to do so. Then, Horgan stated, the work reverted to the sculptor's possession where it remained until his death. Now, Horgan was offering the sculpture for sale to the Corcoran Gallery of Art (J. J. Horgan, Washington, to the Trustees, Corcoran Art Gallery, Dec. 4, 1882, Corcoran Gallery Papers, AAA 706). Horgan stated that he also owned other sculptures including a marble statue of James Garfield by an unidentified artist, and busts of James Buchanan, [John?] Chase, Louis Agassiz, Prof. Cornelius C. Felton, Gov. Ellis of North Carolina, and Frederic Tudor, probably all by Dexter. (According to Albee, Dexter did portrait busts of all of these men). This suggests that Horgan was an heir or some how related to Dexter who died in 1876; but, whatever the case, the Corcoran declined to purchase any of these works. By the time Albee wrote his 1898 biography of Dexter, The Backwoodsman was at Wellesley College (Albee, 76), possibly given to that institution by Horgan. The present location of the sculpture, assuming it still exists, is unknown.

[99]Perkins and Gavin, 47.

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talent which these acquisitions implied, it is no wonder that he felt hopeful about making the move to Boston. Hughes had probably met Perkins in New York in the early 1830s, possibly when the latter was on a business trip and the sculptor modeled the Bostonian's bust there in about 1832. That same year the finished work was shown at the Boston Athenaeum, the first time Hughes was represented in the annuals there.[100]

A more personal type of support of Hughes by Perkins came in 1851 when the latter wrote a letter to the Athenaeum asking that Hughes be allowed to borrow his model of an equestrian statue of George Washington from the Athenaeum which owned it. Hughes wanted to display it in New York where a commission for an equestrian statue of Washington was under consideration. Perkins was willing to be personally responsible for the return of the sculpture to the Athenaeum and wrote in high terms of the sculptor. "Mr. H possesses great talent in his profession," he stated, "and it would afford me great pleasure to be in any way instrumental in restoring him to usefulness to his family and to the arts."[101] Thanks to Perkins, the Washington was

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[100]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Sixth Exhibition of Paintings in the Athenaeum Gallery (Boston, 1832), 8. The bust of Perkins was also was exhibited at the American Academy of Fine Arts in New York the following year and is now in the collection of the Perkins School for the Blind, Watertown, Massachusetts (Cowdrey, 195).

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lent to Hughes who, in 1858, actually bought it back from the Athenaeum.[102]

Besides these sculptors, Perkins had contact with a number of other American artists. In fact, Horatio Greenough was not the only one to be offered free passage to Europe on one of Perkins's ships. A year after Greenough sailed for Italy, Perkins wrote to Thomas Cole, advising the painter to book passage immediately if he intended to go to Liverpool. In fact, Perkins offered to pay Cole's passage "and when you are not better employed you can paint me a pendant for the northern scenery which I now have."[103] (He was almost certainly referring to Cole's Vermont Autumnal Scene [unlocated] which Perkins lent to the Athenaeum's annual exhibition of 1829).[104] Although Cole was unable to take advantage of Perkins's offer due to scheduling problems, he immediately wrote to express his gratitude for the generous proposition.[105]

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[101]THP to the Boston Athenaeum, June 28, 1851, quoted in Swan, 148.

[102]Swan, 147. Hughes's (and Perkins's) efforts were to no avail, however, because the commission went to Henry Kirke Brown whose figure of Washington stands today in Union Square Park in New York.

[103]THP, New York, to Thomas Cole, April 3, 1829, Thomas Cole Papers, AAA D30.

[104]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of Pictures, in the Athenaeum Gallery (Boston, 1829), 6.

[105]Thomas Cole, New York, to THP, April 4, 1829, Thomas Cole Papers, AAA D30. It is unclear as to whether or

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Perkins's Art Collection

Thomas H. Perkins supported art and artists not only with financial and other gifts but, as has been indicated above, by actively purchasing paintings and sculpture. By the 1830s, his collection was known as one of the most extensive of its day. Philip Hone, the mayor of New York City, commented on it in his famous diary when, in November, 1838, he visited Perkins. Despite the fact that the Bostonian was "laid up with gout," he was living "*en prince*", as Hone phrased it, amid his "fine collection of pictures, to which he made many valuable additions during his last visit to Europe."[106]

Hone might have added that Perkins owned sculpture, too, some of which has been mentioned above. Evidently the first sculptures he acquired were statues of Flora and Minerva and busts of Francis I and Mazzinghi which were probably acquired for Perkins in Europe by employees of the family firm. All four marbles were shipped from Leghorn in

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not Perkins actually did pay for Cole's passage when the artist finally sailed for Europe on the packet Columbia in June, 1829. Ellwood C. Parry III (The Art of Thomas Cole, Ambition and Imagination [Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1988]: 94) implies that he did; but, as far as I know, there is no firm evidence to support this nor is there any indication that Cole ever painted another picture for Perkins.

[106]Allan Nevins, ed., The Diary of Philip Hone 1828-1851 (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1927), 359.

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April, 1805, and arrived in Boston shortly thereafter.[107] Among the other works in this category which were in the collection were statues of Aristides and of Charity. The first was acquired for Perkins by his son-in-law, Samuel Cabot, during a trip to Europe in 1832-33; and the last was said to be a copy of a work by Bartolomeo Schicone, the original of which was in the Naples Museum.[108] As usual, Perkins was generous in lending most of these works to various exhibitions at the Boston Athenaeum beginning in the 1820s.[109] He also lent two other sculptures by or at least after Antonio Canova, Dancing Girl and Hebe, both of which appeared in the Athenaeum exhibition of 1840;[110] he donated a plaster bust of Sir Walter Scott by Sir Francis Chantrey to the Athenaeum in 1827;[111] and he owned Shobal Clevenger's marble bust of his friend, Edward Everett, which had been

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[107]"Invoice 3 cases Marble Statuary per Ship Trent," April 6, 1805, in Briggs, 1:405.

[108]Cabot saw the original of the Charity in Europe in 1832 and, in his journal, he noted that Col. Perkins owned a copy of it (see Briggs, 1:308).

[109]Perkins and Gavin, 127, 216. Apparently, these marbles were the earliest which Perkins bought and may have been acquired for him in Italy by one of his employees in 1804 or 1805. See Tanya Boyett, "Thomas Handasyd Perkins: An Essay in Material Culture," Old Time New England 70 (1980): 45-62.

[110]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Second Exhibition of Sculpture in the Athenaeum Gallery (Boston: Eastburn's Press, 1840), 11.

[111]Harding, Athenaeum, 78.

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finished after Clevenger's death by Hiram Powers (fig. 24; and see below). Perkins had evidently ordered the last work from Clevenger before the sculptor left for Italy in 1840. Shortly after receiving the bust in 1844, Perkins decided to bequeath it to Harvard University, in which collection it remains. He instructed his son-in-law, Thomas G. Cary, to have his name engraved on a small silver plate which was then attached to the base of the bust before it was given to Harvard.[112]

Among the paintings by American artists which Perkins owned, besides those already identified, were at least six landscapes by Alvan Fisher; works by Thomas Sully which Perkins had purchased as early as 1818; portraits by Gilbert Stuart; and landscapes and seascapes by Robert Salmon, bought between 1828 and 1831.[113] He owned one religious and two literary subjects by Charles Robert Leslie, whose paintings he had seen at the Royal Academy in London during the 1820s; a landscape by Thomas Doughty; a painting of the Mandarin, one of his own ships, by Michele

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[112]Thomas G. Cary, Boston, to President Walker, Harvard University, April 4, 1854, Harvard College Papers, Harvard University Archives.

[113]Seaburg and Paterson, 398. Two of the portraits by Stuart which Perkins owned were probably those of himself and his wife, Sarah (Elliott) Perkins, which were in private collections as late as 1964 (Charles Merrill Mount, Gilbert Stuart, A Biography [New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1964], 373).

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Corné; Samuel F. B. Morse's The Tribute Money; Robert W. Weir's The Dying Greek; and two works by Joshua Shaw.[114]

The major part of Perkins's collection, however, consisted of paintings by European artists, living and dead, including copies from the old masters and the like. Among these were nine maritime scenes by Horace Vernet which Perkins bought in Paris in 1795;[115] several works by the Italian painter Giuseppe Bezzuoli; seven landscapes by the Englishman Caleb Robert Stanley; a copy of a St. Jerome by Domenichino; and a portrait of Perkins himself by Spiridione Gambardella.[116] In about 1837, Perkins gave the Athenaeum a copy of Ary Scheffer's Count Eberhardt Mourning over the Body of His Son, the original of which was in the Louvre,[117] and he also may have owned Overbeck's The Wise and the Foolish Virgins.[118]

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[114]Perkins and Gavin, 216; Yarnall and Gerdts, passim. Neither Weir's Dying Greek nor Morse's Tribute Money is located today although the latter was in the collection of Mrs. Robert F. Hubbard in 1932 when she lent it to a Morse exhibition at the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Corné's Mandarin is also unlocated.

[115]THP, Account of Private Expenses, Jan., 1796, Perkins Papers.

[116]Perkins and Gavin, 216. An engraving of the portrait by Gambardella was used to illustrate Cary, "Perkins," Hunt's.

[117]Swan, 127.

[118]"Fine Art Gossip," Bulletin of the American Art Union 2 (June 1849): 26. This article mentions that a Mr.

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Perkins's extensive collection, which he proudly showed to interested parties,[119] was housed in the two residences which he maintained. He had a house outside Boston at "Brookline Farm" which he built on property acquired in 1799. It was a large structure with white columns, a piazza along the front, and a veranda which opened off the second floor and afforded a memorable view of Boston in the distance.[120] Behind the house was a small, Greek Revival temple which served as a billiard room. The interior of this classicizing out-building was festooned with pictures, engravings, and mezzotints which were placed "as close together as stripes of wallpaper would be," thus turning the building into a miniature, informal art gallery. Far from being a rustic country farm, the Brookline estate was a local show place and was frequented by many of Boston's most distinguished citizens and visitors.[121]

Perkins of Boston, probably the Colonel or a close relative, had purchased the painting by Overbeck.

[119]For example, while in Boston in November, 1838, the Englishman Charles Daubeny noted in his journal: "After making some calls, and seeing Colonel Perkins's pictures, one of which, by Alston [sic], "The Witch of Endor," is a fine specimen of art, I took a drive." (Journal of a Tour Through the United States and Canada, Made During the Years 1837-38 [Oxford: T. Combe, 1843]: 73-74).

[120]A photograph of the house, which was razed in the 1860s, is reproduced in Boyett, 51.

[121]Seaburg and Paterson, 389-90.

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In town, Perkins and his family lived, in succession, in two mansions on Pearl Street. They occupied the first from 1799 to 1811 and the second from 1811 to 1833 when it became the Perkins Institution for the Blind. Their second Pearl Street home, a three-story federal style brick mansion, was built in 1810 and had a large front yard and a garden and summer house behind.[122] The interior featured parlors paneled in oak, marble mantelpieces, and a large square dining room with Chinese wallpaper depicting peacocks perched on a garden balustrade.[123] In 1832, Perkins bought property on Temple Place in Boston and began building a large, four-story brick mansion there.[124] It was described by a contemporary as "exceedingly elegant and convenient"[125] and was the subject of a long memoir by one of Col. Perkins's descendants.[126] The vestibule of the house, it was recalled, "was very pretty with marble statues on each

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[122]A drawing of the house is reproduced in Boyett, 54.

[123]Seaburg and Paterson, 141-42, 327.

[124]Seaburg and Paterson, 376.

[125]John Pierce, "Memoirs," Massachusetts Historical Society, quoted in Seaburg and Paterson, 387.

[126]"Memories, Old Temple Place," in Briggs, 1:380-384. Briggs did not identify the name of the author of this essay, but it was given to him by Samuel Cabot, a great-grandson of the Samuel Cabot who married Col. Perkins's daughter, Eliza, who will be discussed below, and it was probably written by a member of that branch of the family.

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side, and steps again led up to the door opening into the hall." Many rooms were lined with engravings "instead of wallpaper," showing the Colonel's love of pictures, and in one of the parlours were the busts of Rubens and Raphael which would later go to the Boston Athenaeum. Also there and in an adjoining room were "interesting paintings, chiefly of the English School, and strongly influenced by the School of Constable. There were two beautiful bas-reliefs of Thorwaldsen's and some exquisite ornaments in Sèvres and other precious materials."[127] The house was said to have twenty-three fireplaces, some with mantelpieces of Italian marble, a furnace for central heating, and indoor plumbing. It was truly the palace of an American merchant prince and all the trappings of wealth, including sculptures and paintings, were there to prove it.[128]

Thomas Handasyd Perkins, Jr. (1796-1851)

Col. Thomas H. Perkins was not the only member of his family interested in the fine arts. For example, his

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[127]Ibid.

[128]Perkins's will, written Feb. 13, 1852, specified that "all the furniture, paintings, statuary, and engravings, plate, and other moveables and chattels" in both his Boston and Brookline homes were to go to his daughters at his death. The document was probated Feb. 13, 1854, in Suffolk Co., Mass., and is recorded there in Book 152, page 98, record no. 38877. David Sears, who will appear again in this dissertation, was one of the witnesses of the will.

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brother James evidently owned a few paintings and sculptures, although no specific information about them has been located;[129] and James's son, James, Jr., was a major benefactor of the Boston Athenaeum, as mentioned above.

The Colonel's son, Thomas Handasyd Perkins, Jr., had a fairly cosmopolitan upbringing and, certainly under the influence of his father, he acquired a taste for art. He spent much of his youth abroad, in the Orient and in London working for the Perkins firm, and his life was summarized by a contemporary:

> He eventually joined his father's commercial house in Boston, and after a few years of remarkable success, withdrew with a good fortune, and lived in affluence and leisure, amusing himself with field sports, of which he was fond, and varying his life with an occasional tour in Europe. After rearing a beautiful family, he fell the victim of a distressing illness, and died in the prime of life.[130]

During his mature years, Perkins lived in Boston and in nearby Nahant, Massachusetts, where he gathered a respectable art collection.[131] As far as is known, the only

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[129]The inventory of James Perkins's estate, taken in 1822, listed pictures and statues valued at $340.00 among his possessions (Suffolk Probate Records, Suffolk Co., Mass., vol. 120, no. 2: 380-381).

[130]Cary "Perkins," Hunt's, 48. More information on Thomas Handasyd Perkins, Jr., especially on his early life and his career abroad as an agent for his father's firm, can be found in a brief genealogical text by his son, Augustus Thorndike Perkins, A Private Proof . . . of the Perkins Family (Boston: T. R. Marvin & Son, Printers, 1890). Also see "Dumaresq Family," New-England Historical and Genealogical Register 17 (Oct. 1863): 320.

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sculpture which he owned was Horatio Greenough's marble Newfoundland dog which he placed on his family lot at Mount Auburn (see above). He also owned a number of paintings by American artists including at least three works by Thomas Doughty: a landscape which he loaned to the Boston Athenaeum in 1827 and Outlet of a Lake and Swiss Scene which he exhibited at Harding's Gallery, Boston, in 1834.[132] In 1839, he loaned Washington Allston's The Poor Author and the Rich Bookseller (1811, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) to a retrospective exhibition of that artist's work at Harding's.[133] He owned landscapes by Alvan Fisher and Henry Cheever Pratt; a Boston harbor scene and a work called Entrance to Leith Harbor by Robert Salmon; and a portrait of a child by Francis Alexander. The last three were shown at the Athenaeum in 1830. In fact, beginning in the 1820s, Thomas, Jr., lent over twenty-five paintings to exhibitions

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[131]See Mary Caroline Crawford, Famous Families of Massachusetts (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1930), 1:206-207. The house at Nahant had been owned by General Charles Jackson Paine, who will be mentioned elsewhere in this dissertation. Col. Perkins had been instrumental in developing Nahant as a resort for the well-to-do. For a history of the place, including Perkins's role in it, see Carl Seaburg and Stanley Paterson, Nahant on the Rocks (Nahant, Mass.: Nahant Historical Society, 1991).

[132]Yarnall and Gerdts, 1077, 178.

[133]Harding's Gallery, Exhibition of Pictures Painted by Washington Allston (Boston, John H. Eastburn, Printer, 1839), 6. According to American Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1969), 12, Allston's painting had left Perkins's collection by 1850 when it was owned by Ignatius Sargent of Boston.

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at the Athenaeum including works by (or thought to be by) European artists such as Giuseppe Bezzuoli, William Derby, Charles Le Brun, George Morland, and Willem Van de Velde.[134] He was also one of the most significant private lenders to the first annual exhibition of the Boston Artists' Association in 1842 where five paintings owned by him were shown.[135]

Perkins's children carried on the family tradition of interest in the arts. One of his sons, Augustus Thorndike Perkins (1827-1891), was a writer, historian, and author of an account of the life and work of John Singleton Copley;[136] and one of his daughters, Louise Dumaresq Perkins (b. 1831), married the American artist, William Morris Hunt.[137] At least three of his first cousins, James

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[134]Perkins and Gavin, 216. Also see Yarnall and Gerdts, 289, 1013, 2390, 3370.

[135]The Constitution of the Boston Artists' Association, with a Catalogue of the First Public Exhibition of Paintings at Harding's Gallery (Boston: John H. Eastburn, Printer, 1842), passim.

[136]Augustus Thorndike Perkins, A Sketch of the Life and a List of Some of the Works of John Singleton Copley (Boston: James R. Osgood & Company, 1873). Through his maternal line, Augustus Perkins was a great-grandson of Copley.

[137]Hunt's marriage into the Perkins family gained him connections to the highest levels of Boston society and, presumably, commissions. For example, in about 1862 he painted the portrait of Susan Brimmer Inches, wife of Robert Shaw Sturgis who was a great nephew of Thomas Handasyd Perkins, Sr. Mrs. Sturgis's mother was a Boit, who was connected to the Perkins family on another line; and one of

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Handasyd Perkins, Stephen Higginson Perkins, and John Perkins Cushing, as well as his brother-in-law Samuel Cabot, had an interest in painting and sculpture and it is to them that we now turn.

James Handasyd Perkins (1810-1849)

The first of these cousins, James Handasyd Perkins, was the youngest child of Col. Perkins's brother, Samuel G. Perkins, and his wife Barbara Higginson.[138] After studying at Phillips Academy at Exeter and at the Round Hill School at Northampton, Massachusetts, where he was known as an avid reader, James Perkins became a clerk in the firm of his uncles James and Col. Perkins.[139] On their behalf, he went

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Robert Sturgis's nephews was Robert Gould Shaw, the Civil War hero. In 1879, Hunt painted the portrait of William H. Gardiner who was married to Mrs. Hunt's aunt, Caroline Perkins, daughter of Thomas H. Perkins. See Helen M. Knowlton, Art-Life of William Morris Hunt (Boston, 1899), 30-31; and Martha J. Hoppin, William Morris Hunt, A Memorial Exhibition (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1979), 13, 43, 52.

[138]Biographical information on James Handasyd Perkins can be found in William Henry Channing, The Memoir and Writings of James Handasyd Perkins (Cincinnati: Trueman and Spofford, 1851); John H. Heywood and B.F. Barrett, A Tribute To the Memory of James H. Perkins (Cincinnati: Wright, Ferris & Co., 1850); and DAB, 7:474-475. Also see Edmund J. and Horace G. Cleveland, The Genealogy of the Cleveland and Cleaveland Families (3 vols.; Hartford, Conn., 1899), 1:494-95, 2:1067-70.

[139]Edith Perkins Cunningham, Owls Nest: A Tribute to Sarah Elliott Perkins (New York: The Riverside Press, 1907), 28. This book is a memoir of the family of James H. and Sarah (Elliott) Perkins and their family. The title is a reference to the name given to the house that Perkins built in East Walnut Hills near Cincinnati in 1845. The land on

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to England and the West Indies in 1831, but during these travels he spent little time on business matters and more on reading Shakespeare and Milton and attending the theatre where, in London, he became a great fan of Fanny Kemble.[140]

The most dramatic result of these brief travels, though, was to influence Perkins to give up business altogether on his return to America. He is said to have decided that a prolonged tenure in business, especially one as lucrative as the Perkins firm, would only corrupt him as it had done others, presumably his relatives John P. Cushing and Samuel Cabot.[141]

Meanwhile, Perkins had inherited a passion for horticulture and farming from his father and his uncle and in order to pursue these interests in a more bucolic setting, he moved to Cincinnati, Ohio, in the winter of 1831-32. He bought property there and, two years later, he married Sarah Hart Elliott with whom he eventually had five children. Farming was not financially rewarding for him and in order to support his family, he studied law and was admitted to the bar in 1834. But poor health and a growing distaste for the legal profession prevented him from establishing a practice and, instead, he began writing

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which it stood until 1905 was given to the city of Cincinnati by Perkins's descendants for use as a city park.

[140]Cunningham, 33-34.

[141]Heywood and Barrett, 25.

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articles and poems for periodicals such as the Cincinnati Mirror, The Western Monthly Magazine, The Western Messenger, The North American Review, and The New York Review. He also wrote at least one book, an historical account of the exploration of America up to 1850 entitled Annals of the West.[142]

As part of Cincinnati's literary set, Perkins became close friends with the authors James Freeman Clarke and Harriet Beecher Stowe and the painter and poet Christopher Cranch, among others.[143] He was well known as a supporter of local charities such as the Cincinnati Relief Union and the Young Men's Mercantile Library Association. In the late 1830s, he was influenced by his cousin and eventual biographer, William Henry Channing, to become a Unitarian minister. His life ended tragically by suicide when he threw himself into the Ohio River and drowned.[144] But he left his mark on Cincinnati and, according to his granddaughter, was known locally as "a self-sacrificing friend of the poor, a conscientious citizen, and a distinguished writer and divine."[145]

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[142]Cunningham, 132-33; James H. Perkins, Annals of the West 2nd ed. (St. Louis: Chambers & Knapp, Printers, 1852).

[143]Cunningham, 166-67.

[144]Heywood and Barrett, 43-44.

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Besides his rather odd variety of occupations and hobbies, James H. Perkins also had a penchant for art. It is known, for example, that he had a small collection of paintings including works by Thomas Birch, Chester Harding, Gilbert Stuart Newton, and Joshua Shaw.[146] Perhaps more interesting, though, is the fact that he wrote about art, especially American sculpture. Channing noted that when it came to taste, Perkins "kept ever present so pure an ideal" that he was rarely pleased by anything. An exception, although only up to a point, was the sculpture of Hiram Powers who Perkins met in Cincinnati prior to Powers's departure from that city for Europe in 1837.[147]

Perkins praised the sculptor in rather lengthy critiques in which he analyzed the artist's ideal work, notably his bust of Ginevra (fig. 18) and his full-length The Greek Slave (fig. 7). Perkins's views were colored by both a decided taste and a strong religiosity. For example,

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[145]Cunningham, 2. James H. Perkins was evidently of a melancholic nature. In 1831, about to embark for Europe, he wrote to his family: "Pardon me if I have the blues. Melancholy has--much as you believe to the contrary--ever been one of my passions. . . . I have lived in an ideal world of my own creating, knowing at the same time that it was ideal; the world, as it is, does not suit me" (quoted in Cunningham, 32).

[146]Perkins and Gavin, 216.

[147]Perkins's relationship with Powers must have been a casual one for no evidence of it has been found in the Powers Papers at the Archives of American Art, nor is Perkins mentioned by Richard Wunder in his recent biography and catalogue raissoné of Powers.

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he thought that Powers's Ginevra "resembles, in its outline and air, the Grecian sculptures; but has not their strait, hard profile, nor their unromantic expressions." No Greek sculptor, though, could capture the "lovely image of feminine purity, combined with feminine affection" which Powers, the "Christian sculptor," had so successfully captured. He thought, too, that the genius of Ginevra lay in the manner in which it unified "the classic and the romantic, the Greek and the Teutonic," which, he preached, "is the office of Christian art."[148]

Perkins was less certain about the aesthetic and moral success of The Greek Slave. He thought that the feelings of the unfortunate young woman as depicted in the sculpture were not as apparent as they ought to be. "No five persons who see the statue . . .," he complained, "see the same expression." On the controversial matter of the figure's nudity, he stated immediately that he did not "believe such statues to be incentives of licentiousness." Nevertheless, he concluded that the sculpture was in bad taste, not because of its powers to deprave, but because it "does not cleanse us and bring us nearer to the angels." In other words, for Perkins, The Greek Slave failed to fulfill the traditional, didactic purpose of art. Its moralizing

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[148]Channing, 246.

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lesson, assuming that it has one, is unclear and therefore wasted.[149]

Stephen Higginson Perkins (1804-1877)

Like so many other members of the family, James H. Perkins's brother, Stephen, was a successful Boston merchant. His acquired wealth allowed him to form a modest art collection which included paintings or copies of paintings by Raphael, Rubens, and Caravaggio, and a miniature by Richard M. Staigg.[150] He was said to have been a close friend of Staigg and he even may have encouraged the painter to send examples of his work to exhibitions at the Royal Academy in London which Staigg did with some success.[151] Perkins was also responsible for appraising the contents of Washington Allston's studio after the artist's death in 1843 and funded the engraving of a number of Allston's drawings for publication in 1850.[152] He served

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[149]Channing, 250.

[150]Perkins and Gavin, 216. James H. Perkins described his brother Stephen as "a noble fellow--pure and healthy," and added that he was not worthy to tie his (Stephen's) shoe (quoted in Cunningham, 162).

[151]Boston Art Club, Special Exhibition of the Works of Richard Morrell Staigg (Boston, 1881), 5. This catalogue lists Portrait of a Child (no. 19), lent to the show by a Miss Perkins, which may have been the work by Staigg which Stephen H. Perkins had owned in 1846.

[152]The engravings were executed by John and Seth Cheney and were published as Outlines and Sketches by

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on the organizing committees of most of the annual sculpture exhibitions at the Boston Athenaeum in the 1840s; and, in 1870, he gave that organization a plaster copy of the sculpture Inopus, the original of which is in the Louvre.[153] Perkins also owned a portrait by Francis Alexander of Horatio Greenough (unlocated)[154] and it is known that Perkins was friends with Greenough by 1842 when the sculptor, who was visiting Boston at the time, called Perkins "a man after my own heart." Evidently, the two had been discussing politics and Greenough had concluded that Perkins "understands this country better (I think) than any body with whom I have talked about it."[155] Several years after the sculptor's death, Perkins refered to him as "my old intimate."[156]

Washington Allston. See Gerdts, "Paintings of Allston," 165.

[153]Swan, 158.

[154]Alexander's portrait of Greenough was painted in Boston in 1836 and shown at the Athenaeum the following year (with the title Horatio Greenough From One Sitting) by which time it was owned by Stephen H. Perkins (Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Eleventh Exhibition of Paintings in the Athenaeum Gallery [Boston, 1837], 4; also see Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 112).

[155]HG, Boston, to Francis John Higginson, Nov. 13, 1842, Letters of Greenough, ed. Wright, 321.

[156]Stephen Perkins, Boston, to HP, May 3, 1861, Powers Papers 1141.

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More notable, however, was Perkins's relationship with the singular sculptor, William Rimmer.[157] Until he met Perkins in the late 1850s, Rimmer had pursued, somewhat half-heartedly, a career as a physician. But he had also learned to paint and in 1855 he began to sculpt as well. One of his earliest three-dimensional works was a head carved directly from a block of granite, a practice which was certainly unusual at the time. This practice attracted the attention of Stephen Perkins who encouraged Rimmer to develop his talents in sculpture. Happy to have the attention, Rimmer carved a bust which he called St. Stephen (1860; Art Institute of Chicago) in honor of his new patron who then bought it from him. Perkins also funded Rimmer's life-size figural work, The Falling Gladiator (plaster versions, National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C., and Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)[158] and even wrote to Hiram Powers in Italy about the sculpture and its creator. Rimmer could not go to Italy to carve the figure in marble himself, Perkins reported, but hoped to send a

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[157]For Rimmer, see Jeffrey Weidman, Neil Harris, and Philip Cash, William Rimmer, A Yankee Michelangelo (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1985).

[158]For Rimmer's Falling Gladiator including an excellent discussion of Perkins's role in promoting it, see Jan Seidler Ramirez's entry on the bronze version of the sculpture (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) in Greenthal, et al, 71-75.

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plaster model over so that some competent person could see to its completion. Perkins asked for Powers's advice on the cost of marble and labor in Italy and also enclosed a photograph of Rimmer's St. Stephen as an example of his work. He then proudly related the circumstances of the modeling of the bust:

> [Rimmer] took a block of granite set it on a barrel head in his woodhouse, & cut this head (meant for Saint Stephen) directly out of it, without model of any kind. I visited him frequently while he was doing it. He began at the top & cut one side--then the other. He did it in spare hours, & chalked the hours down on the wall. The whole time was 210 hours. He seemed to take no measurements, or very few, & how he brought out this living agonized face was a perfect wonder; but there it is in granite. He used up a chisel in less than half an hour, & had to keep a man sharpening them constantly. He has a genius worth doing something for and I hope you will take an interest for him, for he is poor. . . .[159]

Perkins continued to give Rimmer such support and did what he could to bring Rimmer to the attention of other artists and patrons in Boston, Italy, and presumably elsewhere. These connections eventually led the artist to a successful and important career as a lecturer on anatomy, among other things. It must be stated, however, that Rimmer was not a Neoclassicist and the fascinating story of his life and work, as well as the details of his relationship with Perkins, are beyond the scope of this dissertation and,

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[159]Stephen Perkins, Boston, to HP, May 3, 1861, Powers Papers 1141. Powers evidently sent Perkins the information he required and the Bostonian sent him a photograph and description of the Falling Gladiator in a letter dated Nov. 2, 1861 (Powers Papers 1141).

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at any rate, have been told elsewhere.[160] The important connection between Rimmer and Perkins is worth noting here, though, as yet another indication of the enduring interest in the fine arts which spread into several branches and generations of the Perkins family.

John Perkins Cushing (1787-1862)

Another member of the generation of James Handasyd and Stephen Higginson Perkins who was interested in sculpture was their first cousin, John Perkins Cushing, a son of Robert Cushing and Ann Maynard Perkins (known as Nancy), who was adopted by his uncle, Col. Thomas H. Perkins, following the death of his parents.[161] Early in life, John Cushing joined the firm owned and operated by his mother's brothers, James and Col. Perkins, where he worked first as a clerk and then, beginning while he was still in his teens, as agent for the company in China. Unlike his cousin James Handasyd Perkins, Cushing was perfectly suited to business. He was quickly made a partner in the Perkins

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[160]See especially Jeffrey Weidman, "William Rimmer" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1982); and the same author's essay, "William Rimmer," in Weidman, et al, 3-13.

[161]Briggs, 1:286.

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firm and by the time he returned to Boston in about 1830 he was a wealthy man.[162]

He married Mary Louisa Gardner, daughter of the Rector of Trinity Church, and they purchased and refurbished a mansion on Summer Street which had belonged to Francis Calley Gray, who also features in this dissertation.[163] There, Cushing installed a wall said to have been adorned with Chinese porcelain and a staff of Chinese servants. The Cushings also owned an estate in Watertown, Massachusetts, where they built a conservatory which became famous locally. By 1851, Cushing was worth two million dollars and was known for his generous spirit and unpretentious manner.[164] While it appears that he did not have a large art collection, he did own four landscapes by Thomas Doughty and a portrait of his close friend, Hougua, Chief of the Hong Merchants,

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[162]Cary "Perkins," Hunt's, 34. Information on Cushing's family and its connections to the Perkins clan can be found in "Cushing Family," New-England Historical and Genealogical Register 19 (Jan. 1865): 41; and James S. Cushing, The Genealogy of the Cushing Family (Montreal: The Perrault Printing Co., 1905).

[163]Marjorie B. Cohn, Francis Calley Gray and Art Collecting for America (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 299n.

[164]DAB, 2:630-631. At the time of his death, Cushing was called "one of the wealthiest and most benevolent citizens of Massachusetts" ("Marriages and Deaths," New-England Historical and Genealogical Register 16 [July 1862]: 293). One source states that his eventual worth was seven million dollars (Briggs, 1:284).

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Canton, by George Chinnery, a souvenir of Cushing's years in China.[165]

More interesting, though, in the context of this dissertation, was Cushing's patronage of the American sculptor Henry Dexter. Beginning in the mid 1840s, he joined other Bostonians such as Colonel Perkins, David Sears, and Francis C. Gray, in a subscription to have Dexter's life-size figure, The Backwoodsman, put into marble (see fig. 10).[166] In 1848, Cushing commissioned the sculptor to create two marble statues for him: Observation (or Boy and Squirrel, or The Young Naturalist) and The First Lesson, both of which are now lost (see fig. 11).[167]

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[165]Cushing lent the Chinnery portrait to the annual exhibition of the Boston Athenaeum in 1829. In 1833, he did the same with the four landscapes by Doughty, namely A Swiss Scene, Sunset, after the Shower, The Happy Valley, and Winter Sunset (Perkins and Gavin, 194). None of these works has been positively located, but an engraving of Chinnery's portrait of Houqua (or a replica of it) is reproduced in Julian Sturgis, From Books and Papers of Russell Sturgis (Oxford: The University Press, [1890]), opp. 201.

[166]Dexter's Latest Marble Statues, "The Backwoodsman," and Two Beautiful Figures, Representing "Observation," and "The First Lesson." (Boston: Press of George C. Rand and Company, 1848), 9-10.

[167]A nineteenth-century photograph of Observation is in the collection of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston. The sculpture is shown displayed on a pedestal and appears to have been less than life size. A photograph of Dexter's studio in Cambridge, Mass., (fig. 10) shows several dozen busts arranged on shelves and, in the center of the room, the sculptor's Backwoodsman. Behind that work and to either side are small figural sculptures on pedestals which are almost certainly the two portraits of the Cushing children.

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Although these marbles possessed genre qualities, as suggested by their titles, they were actually portraits of Cushing's two children.[168] In the first, Thomas Forbes Cushing (born 1838) was depicted contemplating his pet squirrel; and in the second, Mary Louisa Cushing (born 1846) was seen reading a book.[169] The sculptures were included in the special exhibition of Dexter's sculptures at Horticultural Hall in Boston in 1848 where they were joined by the sculptor's other, more well-known life-size marble, The Backwoodsman.

All three of these works were discussed at length in a pamphlet which was published on the occasion of the exhibition. The two portrait statues, it was said, were made under "the liberal patronage of J. P. Cushing, Esq., of Watertown" and "typify the progress of science by the simplicity of childhood--that enchanting period, when `heaven lies about us,' and in which our being is true to itself." Observation, it was said, showed "pure Nature."

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[168]In this blend of genre and portraiture, Dexter's sculptures of the Cushing children were probably not unlike Horatio Greenough's portraits of the sons of James Thomson of New York which were two separate statues of the boys playing battledore (see Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 103). Another sculpture by Greenough which was similar to these in conception is Forest Children, a single, life-size group which depicts the son and daughter of David Sears of Boston (Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; see below). Neither Greenough's figures of the Thomson children nor Dexter's of the Cushings are located today.

[169]Craven, Sculpture in America, 195.

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> The little squirrel with its nut, is earnest for the sweet and hidden kernel within, and the pleasingly intent face of the boy, betrays no less ardor to know and taste the secret kernel of Knowledge, which will be infinitely relished by the increased hunger of his awakening soul.

In The First Lesson, Mary Cushing was seen at the age of about two-and-a-half years, "with a beautiful head and richly clustering locks, sitting in about half undress upon a cushion, with bare feet crossed, and looking upon a little book." The conception and finish of the sculpture were very elegant, and "of the whole seems to whisper to you that, if you keep silence a moment, the innocent face will glance away from its play-book."[170] Henry T. Tuckerman called the two statues "exquisitely graceful and truthful."[171]

According to Dexter's biographer, John Albee, the sculptor also produced half-size portrait busts in marble of all four of John Cushing's children: John Gardner, Robert Maynard, Thomas Forbes, and Mary Louisa Cushing. The busts

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[170]Dexter's Latest Marble Statues, 10-12. In part, the catalogue quotes from an unidentified local newspaper.

[171]Henry T. Tuckerman, Book of the Artists (New York, 1867), 588.

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were done in 1849, but none is located today.[172]

Samuel Cabot (1784-1863)

In 1812, Thomas Handasyd Perkins's daughter, Elizabeth (Eliza) (1791-1885), married Samuel Cabot, a son of Samuel Cabot and Sally Barrett and a member of one of Boston's most famous Brahmin families. Like his father-in-law, Cabot developed an interest in the arts and was the patron of at least one American sculptor.[173] He was born in Boston and, in 1804-05, made his first trip abroad, spending two years in Europe, mostly in France. After his return to America, he established a wholesale business with a branch in Philadelphia, where he lived from 1807 to 1809. He returned to Boston, though, and, following his marriage, he joined the Perkins firm. He was made a partner in 1817 and was an active participant in the organization until his retirement in 1838.

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[172]Albee, 77, 113. Art was to play a role in the later life of at least one of the Cushing children. In 1864 Mary Louisa Cushing, who was known as Isa, married the Boston painter Edward Darley Boit (1840-1916). Her daughters are the subject of John Singer Sargent's famous group portrait, The Daughters of Edward D. Boit (1882; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). Mary (Cushing) Boit, whose portrait was also painted by Sargent (1888; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), died at Dinard, France, in 1894. See Kent Ahrens, Oils and Watercolors by Edward D. Boit (Scranton, Pa.: Everhart Museum, 1990).

[173]For Samuel Cabot, see Briggs, 1:281-325.

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In 1832, Cabot, who by then was a wealthy man, made a second trip to Europe, this time accompanied by his wife and two of his children. Other than the understandable desire to see treasures of Old World culture, the Cabots probably went for two reasons of a more personal nature. Their two-year-old daughter, Susan Copley Cabot, died in January, 1832, and Samuel Cabot immediately began planning the trip in order to help his family, especially his wife, deal with the subsequent grief. Mrs. Cabot had read much about Italy which had become "the land of her dreams," as one of her descendants put it, and so Italy became an important focus of the Cabots' tour.[174]

The second impetus for their trip grew out of Samuel Cabot's decision to build a new house in Boston. The family had lived on Winthrop Place since 1823, but Cabot now wanted to relocate to a residential development in Temple Place which was being planned and funded by Col. Perkins. While the new house was under construction--it was directly across the street from Col. Perkins's own house--Cabot thought it best to take his family abroad.[175] Both of these facts of the Cabots' lives in 1832--the death of their daughter and

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[174]Briggs, 1:302.

[175]Briggs, 1:288. The street was filled with relatives. For example, John P. Cushing lived on one side of the Cabots and Colonel Perkins's daughter and son-in-law, the Thomas G. Carys, lived across the street, next to the Colonel himself.

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their decision to build a new home--may also be related to at least one of the commissions which they gave to Horatio Greenough in Italy later that year.

The Cabots left Boston in June bound for England where they spent the next two months.[176] Their travels were chronicled in two journals, one of which was kept by Samuel Cabot and the other by his eighteen-year old son, Thomas Handasyd Cabot (1814-1835), who was generally called by his middle name.[177] The younger Cabot was said to be "of an artistic temperament" and "thoroughly enjoyed" the family's European tour. His early desire to become an artist was later discouraged by his parents who, after they returned from Europe, sent Handasyd to China to work for the Perkins firm. Within a year, however, in Canton, he was dead of smallpox at the age of twenty-one. The only remnant of his youthful hopes is a sketchbook filled with drawings made during the European trip. Some of these have survived, at least in reproductions, and they seem to have been quite competent. As might be expected, most of them are fairly romantic and show picturesque landscape views, architectural details, and ruins. Likewise, the young man's diaries reveal a fascination with art and are filled with lengthy

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[176]Samuel Cabot, [Journal], 1832, quoted in Briggs, 1:303-307.

[177]For Thomas Handasyd Cabot, see Briggs, 2:657-683.

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descriptions of museums and galleries, old master paintings, and antique sculptures.[178]

At the end of August, 1832, the Cabots left England for Paris. They then toured Germany and Switzerland, and entered northern Italy in late September. By the end of October, they were in Florence where, shortly after their arrival, they visited Horatio Greenough. Handasyd Cabot recalled this part of the journey:

> Father and mother have become lately much interested in Mr. Greenough, the same that sculptured the "Chanting Cherubs." He has been in Italy studying for several years, but not till lately has he been able scarcely to support himself, even working the marble with his own hands. The U.S. have commissioned him to make a statue of Washington for the Rotunda of the Capitol.[179]

As Handasyd implied, the Cabots' interest in Greenough was sincere and more than passing for almost immediately Samuel Cabot asked the sculptor to model the bust of his nine-year-old daughter Elizabeth Perkins Cabot (fig. 12). Lizzie, as she was called, sat for Greenough several times during the following weeks.[180]

More impressive, though, was Cabot's commission from Greenough for "a group of children, the subject of which is

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[178]See Briggs, passim

[179]Thomas Handasyd Cabot, [Diary], Oct. 1832, quoted in Briggs, 2:660.

[180]The bust descended in the Cabot family and is now in the collection of the Boston Athenaeum (Harding, Athenaeum, 35).

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to be an angel leading the soul of a child to heaven," as Handasyd Cabot noted in his diary. This was the figural group The Ascension of a Child Conducted by an Infant Angel (fig. 6) the subject of which seems touchingly appropriate for the Cabots, considering the recent loss of their daughter, Susan. Certainly, infant mortality and the salvation of the young soul were themes which they could not have helped but take personally. It seems likely, too, that they thought of the sculpture from the start as an appropriately cultural and decorative addition to their new home in Boston.[181]

Naturally, being more complicated and presumably more expensive than the bust of Elizabeth Cabot, The Ascension of a Child received more attention from both patron and sculptor. In November, 1832, Greenough recorded the terms of their agreement for the group in a brief note to Cabot who was still in Florence.[182] The following month, after Cabot had left town, Greenough wrote again to instruct his patron on the proper manner of displaying the sculpture once it had arrived in Boston. In this letter, Greenough

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[181]The sculpture was later owned by Thomas B. and Laura (Greenough) Curtis, the sculptor's brother-in-law and sister, and was eventually given to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, by their descendants. See Jan Seidler Ramirez's entry on the piece in Greenthal, et al, 14-18.

[182]HG, Florence, to Samuel Cabot, Nov. 12, 1832, Letters of Greenough, ed. Wright, 149-50)

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indicates that he had some knowledge of the layout of Cabot's new home, then under construction.[183] This knowledge must have come from recent conversations between the two men. "I have been much struck with the simplicity and elegance of your rooms in form and arrangement," Greenough wrote.

> I like much the project of a niche--It is almost necessary indeed, for the protection of the work from accidents--Nothing will be lost--for as you remark the statues should be placed on a turning plinth--I should prefer the situation marked by dotted lines were the groupe to be seen by day. But the other is preferable at night on account of narrowness of the wall on that side--by day it would sacrifice the work as it is between the windows. I should say 5 or 6 feet for the height of the niche--3 feet in breadth will be necessary and if you can command 18 inches of depth I think it will be so much the better though a foot would answer if you cannot.[184]

The Cabots spent most of the next few months in Rome where Handasyd Cabot was ecstatic over the quantity and quality of paintings in the Vatican and the romantic, historic, and aesthetic attributes of the Forum which he visited in the company of fellow Bostonian John Bryant, Jr.[185] While in Rome, the young Cabot bought a collection of plaster medallions which bore representations of various

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[183]In December, 1832, Col. Perkins wrote to Cabot in Italy, "Your house goes well. The Roof is to be put on this week" (quoted in Briggs, 2:579).

[184]HG to Samuel Cabot, December 17, 1832, Letters of Greenough, ed. Wright, 150-151.

[185]Thomas Handasyd Cabot, [Diary], passim, quoted in Briggs, 2:661.

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statues by Canova and Thorwaldsen.[186] The family was back in Florence by March and dropped in on Greenough again to check on his progress. Handasyd recorded that they "found him at work on the group father ordered. It is nearly finished in the clay but the head of the eldest child is not yet sufficiently along to judge of the effect. Lizzy's bust not quite done." Four days later, he noted that Greenough had "improved the group by partly finishing the face of the larger child" and, the young man judged, it would be "even superior to the Chanting Cherubs which created so great a sensation in Boston a year since."[187]

The Ascension of a Child was completed in 1834 and shipped to Boston where it was first seen by the public at Amory Hall between November, 1834, and February, 1835.[188] Unwilling to face the possibilities of a controversy like the one caused by the nudity of The Chanting Cherubs

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[186]Ibid., 2:662.

[187]Thomas Handasyd Cabot, [Diary], March 10, 14, 1833, in Briggs, 2:665-666.

[188]The commission from Cabot had kept Greenough so busy that he was reluctant to commit himself even to executing something for Col. Perkins, as was mentioned above. (See HG to Cabot, December 17, 1832, Letters of Greenough, ed. Wright, 151). On the occasion of its exhibition in Boston, The Ascension of a Child was reviewed by George S. Hillard in an article in The New-England Magazine which will be discussed below in the section on Hillard. The general critical reception of the piece, which included an ecstatic poem from Washington Allston, is discussed by Ramirez in Greenthal, et al, 16.

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(unlocated) several years earlier, Greenough insisted that the genitals of the figures be covered with alabaster fig leaves for the duration of the exhibition.[189] But he had trouble convincing Cabot that this was politic and, early in 1833, he wrote of his struggle to his friend and patron James Fenimore Cooper who, having commissioned The Chanting Cherubs from Greenough, certainly fully understood the reasons for the sculptor's actions. "My journey to Heaven groupe is far advanced," Greenough told him.

> I feel confident it will take quite as well at least as the former one--Angels never wear clothes you remark--This comes strangely from you--I never saw one that was not dressed and very tastefully too--I make 'em both stark naked--The conversation that passed between me and the gentleman who ordered the group was a scene--I fought hard and carried the day--the little fellows are to be provided with alabaster fig leaves which shall fall at the tap! of the hammer when the discerning public shall have digested the fruit of the knowledge of good and evil.[190]

Despite this minor disagreement, however, Greenough was evidently on excellent terms with Cabot and he even gave his patron a discount of two-hundred dollars on the original price of The Ascension of a Child. In part, this was done in recognition of Cabot's connections to Col. Perkins. "I am under obligation to the Perkins family," Greenough

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[189]See Nathalia Wright, "The Chanting Cherubs: Horatio Greenough's Marble Group for James Fenimore Cooper," New York History 38 (April 1957): 177-197.

[190]HG, Florence, to James Fenimore Cooper, Jan. 29, 1833, Letters of Greenough, ed. Wright, 156.

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explained to his brother Henry in 1835, "and was very unwilling to have the charge [for The Ascension of a Child] appear extortionate."[191] Cabot's own generosity of spirit is indicated by the fact that he donated the proceeds from exhibition of his new sculpture at Amory Hall to his favorite philanthropic cause, Father Edward Taylor's charities for the wives and children of dead seamen.[192] In 1840, he again lent the sculpture for public display, this time to the second annual sculpture exhibition at the Boston Athenaeum. The catalogue of that show included a lengthy description and critique of the sculpture by a respected former professor at Harvard, the late Dr. Charles Follen, possibly as an attempt to fend off any lingering suspicions concerning the puerile nudity displayed in the work. Whatever the case, the passage was one of the longest ever published in any of the Athenaeum's exhibition catalogues.[193]

The Cabots had left Italy by the end of March, 1833, and, after stopping again in Paris and London, they sailed

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[191]HG, Florence, to Henry Greenough, Feb. 17, 1835, Letters of Greenough, ed. Greenough, 104-05.

[192]George S. Hillard, "Mr. Greenough's New Group of Statuary," The New-England Magazine 8 (Jan. 1835), 43; Nathalia Wright, "Horatio Greenough, Boston Sculptor," Old-Time New England 45 (Jan.-March 1955), 55-60.

[193]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Second Exhibition of Sculpture in the Athenaeum Gallery, 9-11.

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for America in June.[194] Like so many of their fellow countrymen who made the grand tour, they did not come home empty-handed. As one of Cabot's descendant noted, they "bought many pictures and statues" while abroad including a number of copies from old master paintings, some of which were acquired for them by Greenough.[195] They purchased at least one copy of an antique sculpture, Diane Chasseresse (Diana and the Stag), the original of which they could have seen in Paris at the Louvre, and Samuel Cabot told Col. Perkins that the cast he had acquired was "of the first workmanship and of the finest marble."[196] By the end of the

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[194]Briggs, 1:308.

[195]These included a copy of a Mary Magdalene by Guido Cagnacci; a still life of dead game; a Dante Consigning His Poem to Flames; and a copy of a work by Rubens (Briggs, 1:310). The Mary Magdalene is probably the painting which appears in a photograph of the drawing room of the Cabot home in Brookline, Mass., reproduced in Briggs, 1: opp. 298. Another work from the Cabot collection, a copy of Caravaggio's Two Gamblers Cheating a Youth which Samuel Cabot commissioned from the painter Galliadi in Rome in 1832, is also illustrated in Briggs, 2: opp. 661. Handasyd Cabot's diary, quoted in Briggs, mentions several other paintings which his father ordered in Italy. Samuel Cabot continued to buy pictures after his return to America; for example, in 1834, he bought a head of St. Paul from Samuel Curzon of New York. (See S. Curzon to Cabot, Aug. 11, 1834, in Briggs, 2:579-80, which gives a lengthy description of the painting and its provenance).

[196]Quoted in Briggs, 1:311. Cabot also sent home a work called Ganymede and the Boy which was probably a sculpture; and he sent Col. Perkins a work called Ballina and a copy of the Aristides in the National Museum in Naples (Ibid.; Gordon, 82). He also kept an eye out for respectable copies of old master paintings for his father-in-law, too. He wrote to the Colonel from Florence to

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decade, Cabot also owned a copy or replica of Bertel Thorwaldsen's Origin of the Lyre which he may have acquired in Europe and which he lent to the annual exhibition of the Boston Athenaeum in 1840.[197] Cabot may have encouraged at least one of his siblings to order a sculpture from Greenough or at least to visit the sculptor while he was in Europe. At any rate, when in December, 1837, Greenough wrote his brother that "the Cabots have gone to Rome. I made a bust of Madame,"[198] he was probably referring to Samuel Cabot's brother Edward (1797-1868), a wealthy shipping broker, and his wife Julia Pease.[199] Nothing further is known of the bust of Mrs. Cabot, including, if it still exists, its present location.

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recommend the sevices of the copyist Durantini whose canvases, Cabot thought, were almost indistinguishable from the original paintings on which they were based (Cabot to Perkins, March 10, 1833, Perkins Papers, quoted in Gordon, 79).

[197]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Second Exhibition of Sculpture in the Athenaeum Gallery (Boston, 1840), 15. The title as given in the catalogue is The Origin of the Lyre. A cherub with a Lyre, a marble figure, by a pupil of Thorwaldsen, from an original of that artist.

[198]HG to Henry Greenough, Dec. 19, 1837, Letters of Greenough, ed. Greenough, 118.

[199]Wright (Greenough, American Sculptor, 204) has suggested that Greenough was referring to Julia Pease although she incorrectly identifies Julia Pease's husband as Edward C. Cabot. As far as is known, her husband did not have the middle initial "C" (see Briggs, 2:639-40) and Wright may have been confusing Edward with his nephew, Edward Clarke Cabot.

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As we have seen, Samuel and Eliza Cabot's son, Thomas Handasyd Cabot, was very interested in art. Had he lived, perhaps he would have pursued a career in that direction, despite his parents' objections. Certainly, other members of the immediate family did so. For example, another of Samuel and Eliza's sons, also named Samuel, was the father of Lilla (Cabot) Perry who became a successful painter and who lived for a time at Giverny, France, where she befriended Monet.[200] Edward Clarke Cabot (1818-1901), son of Samuel and Eliza, was also a painter, evidently self-taught, and exhibited several works, mostly landscapes, at the Boston Athenaeum during the late 1850s.[201] He is best known, though, as an architect and especially as the designer of the Boston Athenaeum's current headquarters on Beacon Street. His design for the neo-Palladian building, which was his first architectural project, was chosen in preference to others by Hammatt Billings and George Minot Dexter in a competition held in 1846.[202] Cabot's

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[200]For Lilla Perry's family connections, see Briggs, 2:745-46; for her life and work as an artist, see Meredith Martindale, Lilla Cabot Perry, An American Impressionist (Washington, D.C.: The National Museum of Women in the Arts, 1990). In 1874, she married the scholar Thomas Sergeant Perry, a grandson of Commodore Oliver Hazard Perry.

[201]Perkins and Gavin, 29. Edward Cabot's early life, which involved some interesting escapades in the American west, is discussed in Briggs, 2:686-93. He returned to Boston from these forays in 1842 and, after an attempt at raising sheep in Vermont, turned rather surprisingly to art.

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professional coup led to other commissions for him, including that for the new Boston Theatre. In preparation for that project, he went to Europe for a year where he studied, among other things, the design and acoustics of La Scala in Milan. Beginning in 1875, he was a partner in the architectural firm of Cabot & Chandler and served as the first president of the Boston Society of Architects, founded in 1867.[203]

Following his retirement from architecture, Cabot returned to painting and he was given several solo exhibitions of his oils, watercolors, drawings, and sketches by the J. Eastman Chase Gallery in Boston beginning in 1881; and a memorial show of his works was held at the St. Botolph Club in 1902. Again, most of the paintings included in these exhibitions were landscapes set in New England, although some depicted sites as far afield as Nova Scotia and Mississippi.[204] From 1856 to 1865, Cabot lived in the summer home of his grandfather, Col. Perkins, in Brookline, Massachusetts.[205] Evidently, he did not own any sculpture,

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[202]Hoyle, in Climate for Art, 6.

[203]Briggs, 2:690.

[204][J. Eastman Chase], Water Colors by Edward C. Cabot (Boston, 1887); Chase's Gallery, Catalogue of Oils and Water-Colors, by Edward C. Cabot (Boston, 1891); J. Eastman Chase, Sketches by Cabot (Boston, n.d.); St. Botolph Club, Memorial Exhibition of Paintings and Drawings by the Late Edward Clark Cabot (Boston, 1902).

[205]Briggs, 691.

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but his second wife, Louisa Sewall, whom he married in 1873, owned a bust of her father Samuel Edmund Sewall (unlocated) which had been given to her by its creator, the American sculptor Anne Whitney, in 1884.[206]

One of Edward's brothers, James Eliot Cabot (1821-1903), was also an architect, joining his brother's firm in 1849.[207] He had been graduated from Harvard Law School in 1845 after having spent two years in Europe. He was a close friend of Ralph Waldo Emerson, whose writings he edited,[208] and worked for the Sanitary Commission in Boston during the Civil War. Like so many other members of his family, he was an active supporter of Boston's Museum of Fine Arts and of the Boston Athenaeum for which he served as trustee and as vice-president from 1886 to 1898.[209] But unlike many of his relatives, he evidently was not especially fond of

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[206]Elizabeth Rogers Payne, "Anne Whitney, Sculptor," The Art Quarterly (Autumn 1962): 254. For Louisa Sewall, see Briggs, 2:692.

[207]For James Elliot Cabot, see Briggs, 2:693-698.

[208]A plaster bust of James Elliot Cabot by an unknown artist is in the collection of the Ralph Waldo Emerson House, Concord, Mass., and presumably belonged to Emerson. Emerson also owned a statuette of John Flaxman's Psyche, which was given to him by Horatio Greenough, as well as a number of small copies of antique works (Nancy S. Shackford, Director, Emerson House, to the author, Sept. 9, 1992).

[209]Mary Caroline Crawford, Famous Families of Massachusetts (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1930), 1:184-85; Athenaeum Centenary, 116.

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Neoclassic sculpture, at least not by 1864 when he called Erastus Dow Palmer's marble White Captive (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) "a painful incongruity that no study or skill can obviate." Even Thorwaldsen's much revered relief of Night was, to this member of the usually Neoclassicizing Perkins family, nothing more than "a pretty parlor-ornament." The ideality of the work revealed "a fatal sense of unreality" which "even Thorwaldsen's genius was unable to remove."[210]

Charles Callahan Perkins (1823-1886)

Of all the members of the large and well-connected Perkins family, Charles Callahan Perkins probably left the most memorable mark on the art world of Boston during the second half of the nineteenth century. We consider him here because he took the Perkins family's traditional interest in the arts into another generation and, not surprisingly, because he patronized at least one major American Neoclassic sculptor.

Charles Perkins was born in Boston, a son of James Perkins, Jr., and his wife Eliza Greene Callahan, and grandson of James Perkins, the brother of Thomas Handasyd Perkins. Both Charles's father and grandfather, then, were

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[210][J. Eliot Cabot], "On the Relation of Art to Nature," Atlantic 13 (Feb. 1864): 187.

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important supporters of the Boston Athenaeum and Charles was raised in an atmosphere where art, music, and literature were commonplace. He learned to draw and play the piano at an early age and was educated at Harvard where he took his degree in 1843. In a memorial to Perkins written after his death, Samuel Eliot reiterated the philanthropic activities of Perkins's grandfather, James Perkins, and great-uncle, Colonel Perkins, emphasizing their association with the Athenaeum. "These are facts of influence in the biography now to be sketched," Eliot wrote.

> They show the tone of the family, the interest in literature and art, of which the Athenaeum was the chief if not the sole representative, and the public spirit expressing itself not only in words but in deeds; all these being traits that entered richly and deeply into the character and the career of Charles Perkins.[211]

In the autumn of that year, he went to Italy with the purpose of studying the fine arts. "I hope that my pilgrimage to Rome may be perfected in a sufficiently humble spirit," he wrote to his family from abroad. "I do feel that I know nothing, that I have everything to learn, that the foundations are not yet laid. Rome and its studies look quite as attractive to me, and even more so than when I left

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[211]Samuel Eliot, Memoir of Charles Callahan Perkins (Cambridge, Mass.: John Wilson and Son, 1887; reprint from Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society 2 [1886-87]: 223-246); and DAB, 7:464-65.

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you. I never felt so well, so full of life before."[212] He was in Rome for almost three years during which he spent most of his time drawing and painting in his own private studio.[213] He also mingled with the expatriate colony in the city and one of the most memorable encounters he had there was with the sculptor Thomas Crawford whom he may have met with the help of a letter of introduction from Charles Sumner.[214] Perkins and Crawford quickly developed what was later characterized by one of their contemporaries as "a true friendship"[215] and by the spring of 1844, the sculptor was writing to Sumner about Perkins in the most glowing

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[212]Quoted in Eliot, 5.

[213]One of Perkins's sketchbooks from this period survives (Charles Callahan Perkins Papers, AAA 4677). It consists of about twenty drawings, most of which are dated April and May, 1844. They include figure studies and a number of landscape views executed mostly in Rome but also in Florence and elsewhere in Italy. The book ends with a study of the head of one of the princes in Paul Delaroche's Children of Edward IV (c1830, Louvre).

[214]Sumner's role in the introduction of Perkins to Crawford has been suggested by Dimmick, Crawford, 481.

[215]Thomas Hicks, Thomas Crawford: His Career, Character, and Works, A Eulogy (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1858), 39. Interestingly, one of the drawings in Perkins's sketchbook, cited above, is a study in pencil and wash of a young woman's head and is inscribed "Lady Louisa, April 23rd, 1844." This was exactly the time that Perkins was establishing his friendship with Crawford who, also at just this time, was falling in love with Louisa Ward. It is possible that Perkins's sketch is a portrait of the young woman.

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terms. "I must say a word in regard to Mr. C. Perkins," he reported.

> The gentleman's deportment and truly amiable character of this young man reflect the highest honor upon those to whom his education has been entrusted & you should be proud of him as your Townsman. I am proud of him here in Europe as an American. I must say that I have never met with so young a person in whom I could find united the many qualifications Mr. Perkins possesses to make existence the highly intellectual state it should be. Mr. P. has really been a hard worker this winter, not merely in sight seeing which forms a part and portion of life in Rome, but also in music, drawing, painting, and oh patience immeasurable! the German language. What think you? Masters in each, and half a dozen lessons a day![216]

The admiration expressed here was certainly mutual and Perkins spent much time at Crawford's studio and home. Thomas Hicks later remembered that during the autumn of 1845, Perkins joined other Bostonians including George Hillard, Franklin Dexter, George W. Curtis, and William W. Story as "constant evening visitors" at the Crawford home in Rome. "The hours passed away in music and conversation, or some other pleasant entertainment," Hicks recalled. "Many such evenings were passed in the kind and agreeable society of the host and hostess."[217]

Perkins's affection and admiration for Crawford was translated into a commission for a major work of art. Acting for the first time as a patron of the arts, Perkins

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[216]TC, Rome, to CS, Boston, March 13, 1844, Sumner Papers 3.

[217]Hicks, 39.

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ordered a marble copy, the first and only one ever made, of Crawford's life-size ideal group of the mythological Hebe and Ganymede (fig. 13).[218] The commission was said to have "lifted the sculptor from the depths of depressing struggle, and great was his gratitude"[219] and it undoubtedly gave Crawford further cause to rejoice in Perkins's erudition and good taste. Crawford helped Perkins with his "studies of Art hitherto uncounselled and uninspired."[220]

Crawford had conceived Hebe and Ganymede in clay and plaster as early as 1841, and Perkins's commission, therefore, was for a translation into marble. Crawford sent his new patron a drawing of the sculpture in 1846 which, with other unidentified drawings by the artist, Perkins lent to that year's annual exhibition at the Boston Athenaeum.[221]

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[218]In January, 1844, Crawford wrote to Sumner, that Perkins had given him the commission (TC to CS, Jan. 15, 1844, quoted in Dimmick, Crawford, 481). Actually, it may be inaccurate to name Crawford as the first benefactor of Perkins's patronage. While in Italy, Perkins also gave his assistance to an unidentified local engraver, a man whose primary means of income came from making and selling copies of Correggio's frescoes (Eliot, 6). But Crawford was certainly the first significant and documented artist to receive Perkins's support.

[219]Eliot, 6.

[220]Ibid.

[221]Dimmick, Crawford, 490; Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Twentieth Exhibition of Paintings and Statuary in the Athenaeum Gallery (Boston, 1846), 11. The drawing was exhibited in the "Orpheus Room" with Crawford's Orpheus and Cerberus.

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Work on the marble Hebe and Ganymede was delayed, however, evidently because Perkins was remiss in sending Crawford payments for it, but the sculpture was finally completed and shipped to America by 1855.[222] That same year, Perkins sent it to the annual exhibition at the Athenaeum where it remained until 1876 when he gave it to the new Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.

Shortly after he commissioned the Hebe and Ganymede from Crawford, Perkins also played a role in the fate of one of the sculptor's other conceptions. In September, 1846, Sumner wrote Crawford, telling him that Perkins wanted a replica of his small figure, Christian Pilgrim in Sight of Rome (1845-46; Boston Athenaeum), for his sister, Sarah Perkins, wife of the architect Henry Russell Cleveland.[223]

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[222]See Dimmick, Crawford, 27, 479-493; Gale, 41-42; and Jan Seidler Ramirez's entry on Crawford's Hebe and Ganymede in Greenthal, et al, 64-66. The Bulletin of the American Art Union for April, 1851, stated that the statue was "almost finished in marble for Mr. Perkins of Boston," while Dwight's Journal of Music, August 7, 1852, quoting from a July 29, 1852, article in the Boston Transcript, stated that it was "now finished." Perkins and Gavin list the sculpture as having been included in the Athenaeum's exhibition of 1851 but the object shown that year was almost certainly the drawing of the group which had already appeared at the Athenaeum in 1846. (In the catalogue for the 1851 exhibition, Hebe and Ganymede is listed in the first section with paintings, drawings, and watercolors, not in the separate "Statuary" section. See Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Twenty-Fourth Exhibition of Paintings and Statuary, at the Athenaeum Gallery [Boston, 1851], 2).

[223]CS to TC, Sept. 1, 1846, Sumner Papers 63; also see Dimmick, Crawford, 352-359. Sumner wrote, "Charles Perkins wishes the pilgrim for his sister & hoped that Mr. Austin's friend here would release it. They do not feel

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It seems that Mrs. Cleveland had suggested the subject of the Christian pilgrim to Crawford, probably during a visit by her to Italy, and, therefore, it was only fitting that she would want to own a version of it. The marble Pilgrim on which Crawford was then embarked had been commissioned by Edward Austin of Boston, but Crawford, Perkins, or both convinced Austin to sell it to Mrs. Cleveland within a year of its completion. Her daughter, Elizabeth Callahan Perkins, inherited the work and her descendants gave it to the Athenaeum in 1914.[224]

Perkins was back in Boston for the summer of 1846 but returned to Europe in the fall of that year. This time, he settled in Paris where he established a studio and where he studied painting with Ary Scheffer and etching with Félix Bracquemonde and Maxime Lalanne.[225] He did not, however,

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authorized in his absence. So, you will please send it to Edward Austin, Boston, & draw on him at sight. If he should not be here, his brother will attend to the draft. As Mrs. Cleveland earnestly desires the work, there can be no doubt that Austin will let her have it. . . ."

[224]Harding, Athenaeum, 24. Another replica of the sculpture is in a private collection in New York City. Sarah (Perkins) Cleveland lent her version to the Boston Athenaeum's annual exhibitions during the 1850s; she also lent various paintings, drawings, and watercolors, most of which had Italian themes, during the next decade (see Perkins and Gavin, 192). As far as is known, Edward Austin was not a notable art collector, and the specifics of his order for the Christian Pilgrim from Crawford are not known.

[225]Whitehill, Museum of Fine Arts, 8. It is not known how long Perkins studied with any of these men, but he stated that he was in Scheffer's studio in Paris in 1847 and

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make the actual practice of art his profession. Nevertheless, he evidently produced some paintings and, although no oils by him are known today, one, entitled Pilgrim Telling His Beads, was shown at the annual exhibition of the Boston Athenaeum in 1850.[226] His engravings survive as illustrations for many of the books on art which he wrote in his maturity and a small collection of original sketches and drawings by him, probably dating from the 1860s, is in the Archives of American Art. Most of these are images of antique, Romanesque, Gothic, or Early Renaissance sculptures and some are quite detailed and highly finished, obviously executed with engraving and publication in mind.[227]

Perkins returned to America from his second European trip in 1849 and, although he did not totally abandon

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that he saw the painter again in 1851 (see Perkins's letter to the editor of The Crayon 1 [March 28, 1855]: 204).

[226]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Twenty-Third Exhibition of Paintings in the Gallery of the Boston Athenaeum (Boston, 1850), 12. One wonders if there was any connection, thematically or otherwise, between this painting and Crawford's sculpture, Christian Pilgrim in Sight of Rome.

A watercolor by Perkins, called The Birches, is at the Museum of the American China Trade, Milton, Massachusetts.

[227]Charles C. Perkins Papers, AAA 268. This collection includes, for example, drawings of the Elgin Marbles in London and of Andrea del Verrocchio's Coleoni Monument in Venice. A few drawings after Old Master paintings are here, too, including one of Velasquez's Forge of Vulcan.

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painting and drawing, his focus now shifted to music. He began holding chamber concerts in his Boston home and in 1850 he was elected to the presidency of the Handel and Haydn Society for which he also sometimes served as conductor at public concerts.[228] (He resumed the presidency at the Society again in 1875 and held the post until his death). In 1851, he went back to Europe where he spent the next three years, mostly in Germany studying music. For a brief time in the spring of 1852, though, he was in Florence where he may have visited Hiram Powers but at least met the sculptor's son, Longworth.[229] On his way back to America in 1854, he stopped in Rome where he again visited Crawford before going on to Spain to investigate that country's historical art.[230] Soon after he got back to Boston, he

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[228]Perkins also composed music, some of which was published, for example, Eight Melodies Dedicated to My Sister (Paris: Chez Brandus et cie, [1840s]), and Pensées Musicales pour Piano et Violon (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1855]).

[229]Perkins sent Powers a note saying that he had been to Longworth's photographic studio and had meant to visit the elder Powers's rooms, too, but he had to delay that because he had to get to the banks before they closed (Charles C. Perkins to Hiram Powers, May 15, 1852, Powers Papers 1135). As far as is known, this was Perkins's only contact with Powers.

[230]Crawford wrote his wife in June, 1854, that "Perkins has gone to Spain and plans not to return to Rome," which would seem to imply that he had recently been there (TC to Louisa W. Crawford, June 14, 1854, quoted in Gale, 119). A short, illustrated journal of Perkins's Spanish trip is in the Charles C. Perkins Papers, AAA 268.

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married Frances Davenport Bruen of New York with whom he eventually had three children.[231]

During these years, the 1850s, Perkins actively participated in the planning and erection of the Boston Music Hall and the project prompted him to commission another sculpture from his friend Thomas Crawford: a life-size, bronze portrait statue of Beethoven which is now at the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston. The circumstances of the order were described in a contemporary periodical as having come from "one of the artist's most cherished friends, one to whom Crawford felt himself under peculiar obligations."[232] Although he evidently paid for it himself, Perkins intended the sculpture to be a public monument from the start.[233] It was commissioned, the periodical continued,

> in a most munificent spirit for a public purpose, to adorn, one might almost say to consecrate, the structure which had been reared to the honor of Music and the Arts. Affection for the friend, devotion to the cause which the friend was so nobly supporting, formed the twin-inspiration of the sculptor.[234]

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[231]Perkins's youngest son was a student at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in Paris during in late 1880s (Eliot, 17).

[232]"Thomas Crawford," The American Quarterly Church Review and Ecclesiastical Register 2 (April 1858): 44

[233]Crawford scholar Robert Gale doubts that Perkins could have afforded the full expense of a costly life-size bronze statue of Beethoven and surmises that the Music Hall may have paid for Crawford's expenses (see Gale, 101-102).

[234]"Crawford," American Quarterly Church Review, 44.

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Perkins had placed the order for the statue by the summer of 1853 and Crawford readily agreed with his terms, evidently having recovered from any hard feelings he might have had over Perkins's slow payment for the Hebe and Ganymede.[235] Surprisingly, there seems to have been some sort of gossip about the sculpture and Perkins's role in its creation once it arrived in Boston although the specifics of this development are unclear. Whatever the impetus, in July, 1856, Dwight's Journal of Music printed a letter of rebuttal from Crawford which is worth quoting here as an indication of the strong bond of support that existed between Crawford and Perkins. "I arrived here [Newport, R.I.] a few days since from Rome," Crawford began,

> and hasten to express my surprise at there having been any question regarding the right of proprietorship exercised by Mr. C. C. Perkins in presenting the bronze statue of Beethoven to the Music Hall of your city. I find that attempts have been made to claim for me a portion of whatever thanks the public owe to Mr. Perkins for the liberality of his donation, by suggesting that he merely paid the expense required for the model of the statue and its execution in bronze; while I gave my time and thought to the creation of it, as an acknowledgement of the obligations I may be under for the appreciation your townsmen have conferred upon me.

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[235]See TC, Rome, to Louisa W. Crawford, Interlaken, Switzerland, June 23, 1853, Thomas Crawford Papers, AAA D181 (also quoted in Gale, 101) in which Crawford briefly writes of the Beethoven commission.

The music of Beethoven was much favored by Perkins. For example, when he was in Rome in 1854, he attended a concert of the master's music in the company of William Wetmore Story (Seidler, Story, 386n).

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> I desire that it may be distinctly understood, in justice to Mr. Perkins, that such a representation is without any foundation whatever.
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> I shall only observe in reply to it, that when Mr. Perkins expressed to me his intention of ordering the bronze statue in question, I immediately requested that he would allow me to dedicate my time in the production of the model, as an indication of my esteem, of my regard for the friendship with which he has honored me during many years. . . . I have only to add that I shall always consider the statue to be in every sense of the word the property of Mr. Perkins, and that I have no more right to question his disposition of it than I should have to claim any portion of the praise due to him for a donation without example, I believe, in the city of Boston.[236]

As indicated in his letter, Crawford was in America at the time he wrote it and, naturally, he wanted to see the Beethoven as it was installed at the Music Hall; but he promised Perkins not to go there until Perkins could accompany him, an event which evidently occurred shortly after the above letter was published.[237] This would have been the last time the sculptor and his patron met for Crawford died prematurely the following year in London.

In 1857, Perkins accepted a temporary lectureship at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut, where he taught a

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[236]Thomas Crawford, "A Note From Mr. Crawford, the Sculptor," Dwight's Journal of Music 9 (July 26, 1856): 135.

[237]Two days after his letter appeared in Dwight's, Crawford told his wife about the promise to Perkins. "I hope Charlie will not fail," he wrote. "I have kept out of the Music Hall and Athenaeum in consequence of my promise to wait his arrival. This is self-restraint with a vengeance, as it may be supposed I am naturally anxious to see the `Beethoven.' I have been enthusiastically praised to my face here for the statue" (TC to Louisa W. Crawford, July 28, 1856, quoted in Gale, 166).

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course called "The Rise and Progress of Painting to the Beginning of the Sixteenth Century." According to his earliest biographer, the experience changed his life and he decided to devote himself to a more scholarly approach to art history.[238] For that purpose, he took his family to Europe in 1857 and there they lived, mostly in France and Italy, for the next twelve years. During this time, Perkins made Tuscan sculpture his speciality and he eventually wrote several seminal and much needed books on the topic. Tuscan Sculptors was published in 1864 and Italian Sculptors came out four years later; both had etchings and engravings from drawings by the author.[239] Other art historical works by Perkins include Raphael and Michelangelo: A Critical and Biographical Essay (1878) which included some translations

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[238]Eliot, 10; also see "Sketchings," The Crayon 4 (April 1857): 123.

[239]Tuscan Sculptors: Their Lives, Works, and Times (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1864); Italian Sculptors (London: Longman, Green, and Co., 1868). Of the importance of these works, Van Wyck Brooks wrote, "Italian sculpture had always been measured by the standard of the antique, a standard that did not exist in painting, and the great Italian works of sculpture were not collected in galleries but were scattered in streets and churches everywhere. There were few books on the subject, and Perkins searched the peninsula, north, south, east and west, drawing and collecting photographs in hundreds of towns. . . . Almost a century later, Tuscan Sculptors and Italian Sculptors were virtually as authoritative and living as when they were written. Perkins was one of those gifted minds, deeply cultivated and mature, that mid-century Boston was producing in numbers" (Van Wyck Brooks, The Dream of Arcadia: American Writers and Artists in Italy 1760-1915 [New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1958], 109).

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by Longfellow of Michelangelo's poems, published there for the first time; A Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture (1883), based on Perkins's earlier writings; and Ghiberti et Son Ecole (1886) which was published in Paris in several editions. Perkins also served as critical editor of John D. Champlin's standard, four-volume reference work, Cyclopedia of Painters and Paintings (1885-87); wrote the preface and introduction to Stephen Thompson's Sepulchral Monuments of Italy (1883); and edited and annotated Charles L. Eastlake's Hints on Household Taste (1872) and Jakob von Falke's Art in the House (1879). His work in the field of Italian sculpture as well as services he performed for the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1867 earned him membership in France's Legion of Honor.[240]

Perkins returned with his family to America in 1869 and, except for a short trip to Europe in 1881, he remained in this country for the rest of his life. His chief interest during the 1870s was in art education which he announced with a lecture delivered in 1870 to the American Social Science Association at the Lowell Institute in Boston and subsequently published. The theme of the lecture had to

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[240]Clara Erskine Clement and Laurence Hutton, Artists of the Nineteenth Century and Their Works 7th ed. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1894), 2:171. A certificate of commendation awarded to Perkins for his work at the Exposition is among the Charles C. Perkins Papers, AAA 268.

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do with the educational benefits of casts of famous or important sculptures. At the root of this was Perkins's belief that people's minds and spirits are improved by the contemplation of beautiful things. This could be accomplished in America, he posited, by the establishment of museums. While these new institutions, he assumed, would not be able to afford original works of art, they could be stocked with casts as well as with architectural models and copies of old master paintings. The model for his plan, Perkins stated, was London's South Kensington Museum (now the Victoria and Albert Museum) which had taken this approach with more than satisfactory results.[241]

The year following this lecture, Perkins demonstrated the rationality and efficiency of his plan when he gave a series of lectures on Greek and Roman art to the Girls' High and Normal School in Boston. As he spoke, he pointed to various plaster casts of antique sculptures which he had convinced the American Social Science Association to purchase for the school and which had been arranged around the lecture hall with Perkins's didactic plan in mind.[242]

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[241]Charles C. Perkins, Art Education in America (Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside Press, 1870), 4-5.

[242]Whitehill, Museum of Fine Arts, 1:8. Perkins participated in the founding of the Massachusetts Normal Art School in 1873 and is often credited with bringing the overall South Kensington methods for the teaching of drawing and design to Boston.

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Besides remaining active in the Handel and Haydn Society, he also served as president of the Boston Art Club for ten years and was active in the founding of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in 1870.[243] "The growth of the Museum was his reward," one of his contemporaries wrote. "He took delight in its constantly spreading power, its schools for students, its sympathies with the men and women unable to visit it on week days and to whom it was thrown open on Sundays. . . . Exhibitions of American artists within its walls gave him peculiar pleasure."[244]

His role at the museum, in fact, led him to write and publish an article on the subject of art museums in America in general in the North American Review in 1870.[245] The purpose of these institutions, he stated, must be educational. Rather oddly, though, he believed that American museums should not be filled with art from the past

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[243]For Perkins's role in the founding of Boston's museum, see Whitehill, Museum of Fine Arts, 1:9-11; and Dexter, "The Fine Arts in Boston," Memorial History of Boston, 408. (Dexter also states that the Boston Art Club began flourishing only after Perkins became president [Ibid., 413]). Evidently, Perkins was not a major force at the Boston Athenaeum, as were some of his relatives, but he was a proprietor (share-holder) there beginning in 1845 (Athenaeum Centenary, 149). Since his interests were educational and since the Athenaeum was a private club, Perkins probably did not see it as a likely outlet for his ideas.

[244]Eliot, 16.

[245]Charles C. Perkins, "American Art Museums," North American Review 111 (July 1870): 1-29.

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("Raphaels and Correggios, . . . ancient and mediaeval masterpieces") nor works by modern American artists ("a Hunt or a Kensett. . . Ball's equestrian statue of Washington, or Story's Cleopatra"). Objects in the first group, he thought, were "entirely out of our reach" financially and those in the second, supposedly because they were of recent date, "are not fit implements for the instruction of a nation in art." Rather, Perkins's philosophy was that museums should "aim at collecting material for the education of a nation, not at making collections of objects of art" (emphasis in the original). Again, his solution to the problem was the acquisition of casts of the best sculptures from the past. The purchase of original works of art should be delayed to "a later stage of national development, when we are willing to pay for them."[246] Perkins thoughtfully provided a list of seven categories in which a collection of casts could be logically divided (the age of Pericles, the age of Alexander, etc.) with examples of the best sculpture from the past in each category (the Parthenon frieze, the Laocoon, etc.). He discussed various European museums which might act as models (for example, the Dresden collection, the South Kensington Museum, and the Museum at Moscow); and he closed by stating that America should designate one place in which art education--i.e., museums and art schools--could

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[246]Ibid., 7-8.

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be centered. Neither Washington nor any one of the state capitals would be adequate for this purpose. Instead, Perkins believed, one of the great universities, say Harvard or Yale, would be ideal. "Our hope for the success of the proposed Museum of Art in Boston, for instance," he closed, "is mainly grounded upon the consent of its educational institutions to take an active part in its government, and to loan it their art collections."[247] Finally, he did not rule out the importance of the loan or gift of private collections to museums which, he believed, would prove the best way to build public collections.[248]

From some of his statements in "American Art Museums," Perkins might appear to be an enemy of modern art and even of American art. But it must be remembered that he was writing in terms of education and proposing what he thought might best serve a public which was relatively ignorant, at least in terms of art. Art education must begin with the past, most notably with classical sculpture. This was, of course, no different from the academic route taken by young artists of the day who began their training by drawing from plaster casts of antique sculptures. As far as any antipathy toward American artists which might be

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[247]Ibid., 27.

[248]Ibid., 28-29.

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perceived in Perkins's writings, we only have to think again of his enthusiastic patronage of Thomas Crawford.

There is evidence, too, that when it came to practice, Perkins was more supportive of acquisitions in the field of contemporary art than his article in the North American Review seems to indicate. In his role in the establishment and growth of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, he evidently proved to be a proponent of purchases of works by modern artists as well as of those from antiquity.[249] Furthermore, although Perkins's own rather large art collection was mostly European in origin, he did own some contemporary American works. Besides the previously discussed Hebe and Ganymede by Crawford, he owned a plaster bust of that sculptor's Beethoven, undoubtedly a gift from the artist, as well as a group of drawings of Crawford's conceptions, mentioned above. He also owned a landscape by Thomas Doughty; a marine by Thomas Birch; two works, Roman Shepherd Boy and Study of an Angel, by James E. Freeman; Sunset by John F. Kensett; and two Venetian scenes by John R. Tilton.[250]

Perkins also knew the sculptor, Thomas Ball, though he does not seem to have owned any works by him. Ball modeled a small, cabinet size bust of Perkins, probably in

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[249]See DAB, 7:465.

[250]Perkins and Gavin, 214-15.

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the 1850s,[251] and Perkins gave Ball some encouragement in his musical career. When Ball sang the title role in Mendelssohn's Elijah in Boston in 1848, Perkins remembered the performance as being one of "feeling, power, and dignity," although he thought Ball "wanted fire" in one section of the oratory.[252]

European sculptors were represented in Perkins's collection, too. This included a bust of a vestal virgin by Canova, a statuette of Dante by Giovanni Dupré, and a statue of Ceres by an unidentified artist.[253] Related to these were several drawings by Leonardo Camia after Thorwaldsen's reliefs of the seasons[254] and a depiction, probably a drawing, of Mercury and Psyche by the English sculptor John Flaxman. Many of the European paintings in Perkins's collection had Italy or Italians as their subjects, including works by Angelica Kauffmann, Karl Lindemann-Frommel, Friedrich Overbeck, Benno F. Toermer, and Karl F.

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[251]Thomas Ball, My Threescore Years and Ten (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1892), 136.

[252]Charles C. Perkins, History of the Handel and Haydn Society (Boston: A. Mudge & Son, 1883), quoted in Ball, 151.

[253]The Boston sculptor Henry Dexter exhibited a statuette of Ceres at Horticultural Hall, Boston, in 1848 (Yarnall and Gerdts, 1034) and perhaps this was the same object which was later in Perkins's collection.

[254]Interestingly, Camia was the same draftsman who was employed by Thomas Crawford to execute drawings of his sculpture. See Dimmick, Crawford, 91 and passim.

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H. Werner, and he was especially proud of a replica of Ary Scheffer's Dante and Beatrice which the artist had painted especially for him in Paris in 1851.[255] Perkins was a generous lender. Most of his collection was shown at one time or another at the Boston Athenaeum; a large part of it was sent to the 1864 Sailors' Fair in Boston; and selections appeared at the Boston Art Club in the 1870s.[256]

In August, 1886, Perkins was in Windsor, Vermont, visiting his friend William Maxwell Evarts who, coincidentally, was an early patron of the American sculptor, Augustus Saint-Gaudens.[257] While taking an afternoon ride with Evarts, Perkins was thrown from his carriage and died instantly.

Russell Sturgis (1805-1887)

Russell Sturgis was the grandson of Thomas Handasyd Perkins's sister, Elizabeth, and her husband, Russell

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[255]For this painting, see Perkins's letter to the editor of The Crayon 1 (March 28, 1855): 204.

[256]Information on Perkins's art collection has been culled from Perkins and Gavin, 214-215; Yarnall and Gerdts, passim; and Janice H. Chadbourne, Karl Gabosh, and Charles O. Vogel, comps., The Boston Art Club: Exhibition Record 1873-1909 (New York: Sound View Press, 1991), 433.

[257]By the time of Perkins's visit, Evarts already owned marble copies of the Young Augustus, the Psyche of Naples, busts of Cicero and Demosthenes, and a portrait bust of himself, all by Saint-Gaudens. See John H. Dryfhout, The Works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1982), 63, 64-66, 74.

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Sturgis (1750-1826), and he was related or connected to several other families who will appear in this dissertation.[258] His first wife, Lucy Lyman Paine, for example, was related to the family of Charles and Julia (Bryant) Paine, who will be discussed below. One of his father's cousins was William Sturgis (born 1782) who began his career as a ship's captain, working for both Theodore Lyman and for the James and Thomas H. Perkins firm. Later, William was a partner in business with John Bryant, Sr., Julia Paine's grandfather, and served in the Massachusetts legislature.[259] He may also have been the William Sturgis who was the second owner of Horatio Greenough's marble figure of the dog Arno which was later owned by Edward Everett (see below).[260]

Russell Sturgis was born in Boston and was graduated from Harvard in 1823. He began a law practice but in 1828-29 went to Europe on the requisite Grand Tour.[261] He spent

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[258]For Russell Sturgis, see Julian Sturgis, From Books and Papers of Russell Sturgis (Oxford: The University Press, [1890]).

[259]Crawford, Famous Families, 1:321-22; Sturgis, 66-71.

[260]Ramirez, in Greenthal, et al, 21. Arno was finished by Greenough in 1839 and, the following year, was lent by Sturgis to the annual exhibition at the Boston Athenaeum (Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Second Exhibition of Sculpture in the Athenaeum Gallery [Boston, 1840], 13). By 1842, it was in the possession of Peter Chardon Brooks (Ramirez, in Greenthal, et al, 21-22).

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several months in London during which he met Samuel Coleridge who he found to be "most entertaining."[262] He was impressed with a diorama of St. George's Chapel which he saw in London and he noted in his journal that a taste for such things had recently been revived.[263] After visiting the British Museum, where he noted the presence of many "beautiful casts and statues," he went to see Sir Thomas Lawrence's paintings. Despite his own "limited knowledge of the art," Strugis "easily distinguished a great difference between [Lawrence's] portraits and all others which I had ever seen."[264]

In October, 1828, he left London for Paris. One of the notable events of his stay there was a visit to Versailles. "I had seen Vanderlyn's panorama [of Versailles], lately exhibited at the Athenaeum in Boston," he noted in his journal, "and studied it carefully, and I was absolutely astonished to find how exact a picture it gave me of the scene. Indeed, I could scarcely believe that

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[261]For Russell Sturgis, see the biography by his son, Julian Sturgis, From the Books and Papers of Russell Sturgis (London: Oxford University Press, 1890).

[262]Russell Sturgis, Journal, Sept. 29, 1828, quoted in Sturgis, 106.

[263]Sturgis, Journal, Sept. 30, 1828, quoted in Sturgis, 107.

[264]Sturgis, Journal, Oct. 1, 1828, quoted in Sturgis, 109.

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I was at Versailles for the first time."[265] He found the Louvre to be "the most splendid gallery in the world" although he was sorry to have missed the great treasures which Napoleon had gathered there and which had since been returned to Italy. Sturgis's stay in France was climaxed with a visit to Lafayette at his home at La Grange.[266]

Sturgis's tour took him next through Switzerland and then to Italy where he saw the major sites of Milan and Venice before arriving in Florence in early December. Italy itself was obviously the ultimate goal of his tour and, if the biography of him compiled by his son, Julian, is any indication, he spent more time in and gave more attention to Italy than he did any other country.[267]

One of his first stops in Florence was the Tribune Gallery where, he noted, the Venus de Medici "deserves all that has been said of it and completely delighted me." He spent a whole day at the Uffizi, returned the next morning, and then went to the Pitti Palace to see Canova's Venus which, he thought, suffered by comparison to the antique

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[265]Sturgis, Journal, Oct. 14, 1828, quoted in Sturgis, 118. Vanderlyn's panorama is now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

[266]Sturgis, 124.

[267]In his biography of his father, cited above, Julian Sturgis devoted about sixty pages to Russell Sturgis's stay in Italy; and the longest quotations in the book are taken from the Italian section of his father's journal.

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work he had seen the day before. "Canova's Venus disappointed me," he wrote, "it has not ease about it."[268]

Sturgis's journal clearly indicates that among the most memorable events of his stay in Florence were visits he made to two contemporary sculptors' studios, those of Stefano Ricci and Lorenzo Bartolini.. The latter artist, Sturgis noted, "is the *big bug* at present" and was in the process of copying Titian's Venus of Urbino in marble for a British patron. Sturgis thought that this sculpture "when compared with the picture completely established with me its claim to superiority." Bartolini himself gave Sturgis some advice to pass on to any aspiring young American sculptors who he might know. "Americans should not come to Europe to *borrow* a style," the Italian told Sturgis, "but should have an original school. . . . In Nature they have the best models, for in Nature are no faults."[269] Considering his later relationship with William Story, we might suppose that Sturgis had occasion to share this advice.

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[268]Quoted in Sturgis, 153.

[269]Sturgis, Journal, n.d., quoted in Ibid., 154. In compiling his father's biography, Julian Sturgis was obviously so interested in Bartolini that he related several anecdotes about the sculptor and quoted at length from Giovanni Duprè's Thoughts on Art and Artists (Edinburgh and London: WIlliam Blackwood & Sons, 1884) which, Julian noted, had been translated by Edith Story Peruzzi, daughter of his father's friend, William Wetmore Story.

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Sturgis next went on to Rome where he partook in the ritualistic viewing of the Coliseum by moonlight. He had evidently been prepared for an encounter with classical sculpture by having seen casts of certain examples, probably in the Boston Athenaeum's collection back home. "To the Apollo, Laocoon group, Antinous, &c.," he observed in his journal, "the casts do more justice than to the Venus of Florence; and, with the exception of the Apollo, about which there is a something above the rest, they had already given me almost as much pleasure as I received from the marbles."[270]

Naturally, while he was in Italy, Sturgis looked at paintings as well as sculpture. He admired certain examples by Titian and Raphael and even liked Michelangelo's frescoes on the Sistine Ceiling; but he seems to have mentioned sculpture more often in his journal and devoted longer passages there to its discussion. Whatever the case, the passages on art in any form as written there are always tempered by a self-deprecating disclaimer of expertise. In fact, Sturgis's son, Julian, writing in the 1890s, noted that "At no time in his life did my father pretend to be a critic of pictures or statues; he liked them as the more

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[270]Sturgis, Journal, Dec. 20, 1828, quoted in Sturgis, 165-66.

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refined adornments of life; but he had no passion for colour, nor peculiar sense of form."[271]

On his return to America, Sturgis worked as a lawyer and indulged a love of the professional theatre which he had acquired in Europe by attempting to manage a theatre in Boston. Inspired by other members of his family, however, he gave up his law practice in 1833 and sailed for China where he worked as an agent for the family business for the next ten years, during which he amassed his own fortune.[272] Having done so, he retired in 1844 and began the long journey back to America, traveling west. He paused in India and Egypt, where he climbed the Pyramid of Cheops, and then made his way via Alexandria to Naples. In Rome, "he met the Boston to which he was going home" in the form of his cousin, Mrs. Sarah (Perkins) Cleveland, and Thomas Gold Appleton.[273]

Soon after returning to Boston, Sturgis married his third wife Julia Overing Boit who was described by Henry Cabot Lodge as a handsome, clever, and charming woman.[274] In 1849, the Sturgises expatriated to England where Russell Sturgis accepted an offered of partnership in the London

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[271]Sturgis, 140.

[272]Ibid., 210.

[273]Ibid., 246.

[274]Quoted in Crawford, Famous Families, 1:325.

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banking firm of Baring Brothers.[275] The Sturgis home, Mount Felix, an Italianate villa at Walton-on-Thames in Surrey, became a gathering place for visiting Americans, especially the literary and artistic set. According to their son, their friends, on both sides of the Atlantic, included Ralph Waldo Emerson, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Charles Dickens, Henry Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, Edwin Forrest, Daniel Webster, and Robert Browning.[276]

One of their closest friends, though, was William Wetmore Story for whom Sturgis also acted as financial advisor. The Sturgises owned at least four works by the sculptor: statues of Venus Anadyomene (1860) and Bacchus (1863), both of which were given to the Museum of Fine Arts by Mrs. Sturgis in 1888;[277] a figure of Marguerite from Faust;[278] and a statuette of Beethoven.[279] The first two are among the most classicizing of American Neoclassic sculptures, and the Bacchus (fig. 14) is a rare example of a

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[275]Crawford, Famous Families, 1:322; Sturgis, 254.

[276]Sturgis, 77.

[277]See Jan Seidler Ramirez's entry on the two works in Greenthal, et al, 110-12, 119-22.

[278]For Story's Marquerite, see Seidler, Story, 318-31. One of the three replicas of the sculpture made by Story, dated 1858, is now owned by the Esssex Institute in Salem, Mass.

[279]For Story's Beethoven, see Seidler, Story, 276-78.

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nude male figure by an American Neoclassic sculptor. No record of the purchase of these works from Story has been found but it seems possible that he gave them to the Sturgises as a token of friendship and gratitude. Undoubtedly, as Jan Ramirez has suggested, Story's Bacchus and Venus were displayed as a pair in the Sturgis home at Walton-on-Thames.[280]

The Sturgises also owned a number of paintings, mostly souvenirs of Russell Sturgis's years in China. Among these were four portraits of Chinese merchants, including one by George Chinnery of Houqua of Canton which evidently was a replica of one owned by Sturgis's cousins, the John P. Cushings; and three large cityscapes of Macao, Hong Kong, and Canton.[281]

One of Russell and Julia Sturgis's grandsons, Richard Clipston Sturgis, was an architect and he designed, among other things, a new headquarters for one of Colonel Perkins's favorite philanthropic endeavors, the Perkins Institute for the Blind, in Watertown, Massachusetts. He also made preliminary studies for the second home of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.[282] He was actually following

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[280]Jan Seidler Ramirez in Greenthal, et al, 112. Also See Jan M. Seidler, "William Wetmore Story's Venus Anadyomene and Bacchus: A Context for Reevaluation." The American Art Journal 14 (Winter 1982): 32-41.

[281]Sturgis, 201, 206.

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in the footsteps of one of his uncles, John H. Sturgis, a son of Russell Strugis by his second wife, Mary G. Hubbard, who was also an architect and a partner in the firm of Sturgis and Brigham which designed the original Museum of Fine Arts on Boston's Copley Square.[283]

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[282]Crawford, Famous Families, 1:325; Whitehill, Museum of Fine Arts, 1:176, 204-205.

[283]Sturgis, 265; Whitehill, Museum of Fine Arts, 1:23.

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CHAPTER III

EDWARD EVERETT (1794-1865)

Edward Everett, whose name was once a household word, has been all but forgotten today. During his lifetime, though, he was famed as a politician and especially as a great orator. He was a representative to the United States Congress, Governor of Massachusetts, U.S. Minister to the Court of St. James, and President of Harvard University. After having accomplished all of this, he spent the final decade of his life traveling throughout America delivering lectures on George Washington, the proceeds from which went toward the salvation of Mount Vernon. Everett's impeccable character led Oliver Wendell Holmes to call him the yardstick by which men are measured in Boston.[1] He was also acknowledged as an active supporter of the arts.

Proudly American, Everett recognized the importance of cultural development in this country and sought to nourish native artistic achievement whenever he found it.[2]

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[1]Writing about Bostonians in general, Holmes stated, "We all carry the Common in our head as the unit of space, the State House as the standard of architecture, and measure off men in Edward Everetts as with a yardstick" (quoted in Cleveland Amory, The Proper Bostonians [New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1947], 22).

[2]Everett's opinion of the term "patronage" was expressed in a letter of 1841 to Horatio Greenough concerning the death of the English sculptor Francis Chantrey. "Chantrey, you see, is dead," he reported from London. "This creates a chasm in the art here. I wish my countrymen, who posses so much of the talent required to fill it, were here to divide among themselves the patronage. (I dislike that word), which was monopolized by him" (EE to

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He had a special relationship with American sculptors and through his writings, monetary contributions, and political connections, he played a key role in the careers of Horatio Greenough, Hiram Powers, Shobal Clevenger, and others.[3] His support was sought on many occasions by American artists, both painters and sculptors, whose attitudes toward him, revealed in letters and other documents, indicate their awareness of his interest in their work and his willingness to help. No evidence exists, though, to suggest that this was done by Everett for any but selfless reasons. Nevertheless, he obviously benefitted from his close association with artists, especially sculptors, whose tastes had an impact on his own, changing him from a conservative, Greco-centric dilettante to a more open-minded, liberal, and self-proclaimed amateur.

HG, Dec. 23, 1841, Horatio Greenough Papers, David Richardson, Washington, D.C., and AAA 1215).

[3]To my knowledge, the only source to give more than brief attention to Everett's role as a patron of American sculptors is Jean Gordon, "The Fine Arts in Boston 1815-1879" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1965) in which the author devotes an entire chapter to the man (111-44). Although Gordon's account is astute, it is necessarily superficial and deals mostly with the assistance which Everett gave to Hiram Powers. Nevertheless, considering the date of Gordon's work, she produced a reasonably impressive introduction to the topic. A more recent dissertation by Janet A. Headley ("English Literary and Aesthetic Influences on American Sculptors in Italy, 1825-1875" [Ph.D. diss., University of Maryland, College Park, 1988], 166-77), includes a brief section on Everett's lobbying efforts on behalf of Powers for public sculpture.

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Early Years

The roots of Everett's artistic proclivities are difficult to trace specifically, but hints of his later development in this regard occurred from the time he was a young man.

He was born in 1794 in Dorchester, Massachusetts, the son of Oliver Everett who was a member of the class of 1779 at Harvard where he studied divinity.[4] The elder Everett preached at New South Church in Boston from 1782 to 1792 but evidently was also very interested in politics, a fact which almost certainly had some influence on his son's development. Like most educated persons of his day, Oliver Everett was also a great believer in a classical education and saw to it that his son was provided with one. As far as is known, however, Oliver Everett had no particular fascination with art; no evidence exists that he owned paintings or sculptures or that he was anything like the firm supporter of the arts that his son became. Perhaps the

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[4]The standard biography of Edward Everett is Paul Revere Frothingham, Edward Everett, Orator and Statesman (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925). The Edward Everett Papers are in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, and have been published in a microform edition. See Frederick S. Allis, Jr., and Phyllis R. Girouard, Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the Edward Everett Papers (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1972). For Everett's early life, see the autobiographical sketch, written in 1833 and published as Edward Everett, "Memoir of Edward Everett," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society 18 (Dec. 1903): 91-117, with an addendum by William Everett. Genealogical information on Everett's family can be found in Edward Franklin Everett, Descendants of Richard Everett of Dedham, Mass. (Boston: Privately printed, 1902).

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sole exception to this was the fact that he allowed an artist, one Abiel Chandler, to board at his home in Dorchester, probably around 1800-1802. Chandler taught at a local school and introduced the art of painting to the Everett family.[5] His presence probably gave Edward Everett his first close contact with art; but at the time Chandler lived with the family the boy was considered too young to participate in the technique of painting, a situation for which he later expressed regret.[6]

Following Oliver Everett's death in 1802, his widow, Lucy Hill Everett, moved her family to Boston where, five years later, Edward entered Harvard. His class included Harrison Gray Otis, who would become a leading Boston lawyer, orator, and member of the U.S. Senate, and Joseph Story, the future Supreme Court Justice and father of the American sculptor, William Wetmore Story. In 1811, Everett, like his father before him, entered Harvard Divinity School.

It seems likely that Everett's interest in art began in some earnest during his college years although, again, no certain evidence exists to confirm this. He was among the most respected scholars in his class, showing equal proficiency in all subjects except metaphysics, and it can

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[5]The standard biographical dictionaries contain no information on an Abiel Chandler nor is he represented in the Inventory of American Paintings, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

[6]Stuart Horn, "Edward Everett and American Nationalism" (Ph.D. diss., Graduate School and University Center, City University of New York, 1972), 11-12.

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be assumed that he partook of a curriculum which included, at least as part of the study of other subjects, an examination of the fine arts.[7] Furthermore, presumably while at Harvard, he wrote a paper called "A Dissertation on the Art of Painting" which unfortunately is now lost.[8]

His editorial talents in general, which served him well all of his life, became apparent while he was at Harvard. With one of his roommates, John C. Gray, he initiated the publication of a short-lived biweekly literary magazine, The Harvard Lyceum, thereby foretelling his later involvement with the North American Review.[9] Everett was the chief contributor to the magazine and his articles were seen as bearing "unmistakable marks of the genius and scholarship for which he was distinguished."[10] The primary purpose of the publication was to provide a forum for the analysis of American literature; but it was hoped that

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[7]Frothingham, 12.

[8]The paper is cited in Horn, 391, as being in the Harvard University Archives but attempts by this author to locate it have been in vain. Horn implies that it was published in something called College Records but the librarian of Houghton Library, Harvard, has not been able to locate such a publication.

[9]Frothingham, 13. Copies of The Harvard Lyceum still exist; its first number is dated July 14, 1810. In his early memoirs, Everett called the publication "a boyish affair" but seemed proud of the fact that it survived to eighteen issues (Everett, "Memoir," 96).

[10]Joseph Allen, "Cambridge Sixty Years Ago," Boston Advertiser, July 8, 1870.

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articles on classical literature, mathematics, botany, and religion, as well as original poems could be presented, too.

For our consideration of Everett's support of American Neoclassic sculptors, another interesting aspect of his years at Harvard was the development of a passion for the history and culture of the classical world.[11] He took a Master of Arts at Harvard in 1813 and for the subsequent graduation ceremony delivered an oration entitled "On the Restoration of Greece." Obviously, he had acquired at least an elemental Neoclassic sensibility, not unusual for someone of his social standing and time.

Everett was undoubtedly encouraged in this by his professors at Harvard and certainly by his close contact with the erudite and cultured president of the school, John T. Kirkland, in whose house Everett lived during his years at the Harvard Divinity School.[12] Everett later remembered that Kirkland "had ever been the friend of the family, and

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[11]As might be expected, The Harvard Lyceum, was very supportive of classical education. The topic was specifically addressed in its first issue in the article "Classical Learning," The Harvard Lyceum 1 (July 14, 1810): 4-6. If this was not written by Everett, it surely had his approval.

[12]Frothingham, 15. Kirkland had succeeded Oliver Everett as pastor of New South Church, Boston, in 1794, but the elder Everett was evidently a hard act to follow. One commentator recorded that he was "a man greatly beloved by his congregation" and that his discourses "had been distinguished for an intellectual power, which made it more difficult for his successor to satisfy the taste which had been thus cultivated and gratified" (Josiah Quincy, The History of the Boston Athenaeum [Cambridge: Metcalf and Company, 1851], 68). This would seem to indicate an obvious source for Edward Everett's own oratorical talents.

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treated me at all times with a kindness and rendered me services which have laid me under the strongest obligations."[13]

European Education

After Harvard, Everett became pastor of the Brattle Square Church in Boston, an elite congregation which included among its members the cream of Boston society such as the Otises, the Lawrences, the Amorys, the Ticknors, and the Boylstons. A career in divinity, however, proved unsatisfactory in the extreme for Everett and within a year he suffered a complete nervous breakdown. He left Boston in the fall of 1814 and traveled to Washington, D.C., where he was impressed by the ruins of the Capitol and the White House which recently had been destroyed by the British.

On his return to Massachusetts, Everett accepted the chair of Eliot Professor of Greek Literature at Harvard. He was well suited for the role and, as his biographer later wrote of him during this period:

> In taste and temperament he was essentially a scholar--a Greek in the wide acceptance of the term, as defined by Matthew Arnold, and not in the same sense Christian. Classic models were the ones he had set before himself, and he lacked both the missionary spirit of the apostle and the organizing genius of the pastor.[14]

Certainly no greater evidence exists for this statement than that Everett, as part of his agreement to

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[13]Everett, "Memoir," 96.

[14]Frothingham, 35.

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accept the position at Harvard, insisted on the postponement of his teaching duties for two years while he traveled and studied in Europe. His purpose was to recover from his illness and to further his knowledge of the classics with the hopes of making him a better teacher and a more deserving candidate for the honor which Harvard had bestowed upon him.

He left for Europe in April, 1815, in the company of his good friend and fellow Bostonian, George Ticknor, and the two enrolled in the university at Göttingen, Germany.[15] The curriculum was intense and required almost constant study but Everett managed to find time to travel in Germany, visiting Dresden, Leipsic, and Berlin. He and Ticknor had similar interests and the youths almost certainly had an impact on one anothers' developing erudition.[16] Ticknor was known for his preoccupation with good taste and while a student at Göttingen, he translated Johannes Wincklemann's Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture, first published in 1755. It seems highly likely that Everett read the treatise in its original German as well as in his friend's translation. Obviously, like

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[15]The most complete account of Everett's student years in Europe is given in Orie William Long, Literary Pioneers (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1935), 63-76. For the impact of German education on Americans in the early nineteenth century, see Reginald H. Phelps, "The Idea of the Modern University--Göttingen and America," The Germanic Review 29 (Oct. 1954): 175-190.

[16]David B. Tyack, George Ticknor and the Boston Brahmins (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 71-73.

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Everett, Ticknor was fascinated with antiquities and, therefore, he went to Rome to study them first hand. Emulation of the ancients and a firm belief in idealization in art were two powerful aesthetics that both Ticknor and Everett learned from Wincklemann and from the works of art, especially the classical sculpture, which had inspired him. (For Ticknor, see pages 608-46).

Everett received his doctorate from Göttingen in September, 1817, the first American to do so.[17] He spent the following winter in Paris and went to England in April, 1818. He was there for five months and the experience proved to be one of the most enjoyable and memorable of his entire European sojourn.[18] Among the works of art that he encountered were the monuments at Westminster Abbey in London where he noted the portrait sculpture in "Poets' Corner," including monuments to Shakespeare, Goldsmith, and Addison. The deterioration of these and other statues in the church caused him to protest "the scrawls and names with which every monument is defaced and the still greater barbarity which has been exercised upon fingers, arms, noses, etc., and all the projecting members of the statues." That Everett was beginning to develop a critical eye for sculpture is revealed in his ultimate unflattering comment

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[17]Frothingham, 41. Everett recounted some of his European experiences during 1818 in Edward Everett, The Mount Vernon Papers (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1860).

[18]Frothingham, 41-44.

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on the Westminster marbles: "The only consolation is that most of them are in so bad a taste that no mutilation can make them look worse than they do."[19]

In Southampton, England, while on his way back to the continent in late summer, 1818, Everett ran into Thomas Handasyd Perkins, a fellow Bostonian and patron of the arts in America who we have already considered, and the two went together to Stonehenge, Salisbury, and Wilton.[20] For the most part, Everett was impressed with the English Gothic architecture which he encountered on this side trip. "We call the ages, which produced the earlier forms of this mysterious architecture, `the dark ages,'" he recorded, "and dark in some things they were. But," he quickly added,

> with respect to art, this arrogance would be more excusable, if, instead of the portentous abortions of modern public architecture, we produced any thing which can for a moment compare with the cathedrals of `the dark ages' for purity of conception, sublimity of thought, unity of design, richness and tastefulness of decoration, or even mechanical execution.[21]

Also in England, Everett met another of America's foremost art patrons, Robert Gilmor, Jr., of Baltimore, and while Everett was investigating the academic charms of Oxford and Cambridge in the late spring of 1818, the two corresponded. Gilmor envied the tete-a-tetes, as he called

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[19]EE, Journal, March 31, 1818, quoted in Frothingham, 47.

[20]Frothingham, 56. Everett and Perkins made the crossing to Le Havre together and then parted (Everett, Mount Vernon Papers, 203).

[21]Everett, Mount Vernon Papers, 199.

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them, which Everett was having with the British literati and told the younger man of his recent experiences while sitting for his portrait to the English painter Sir Thomas Lawrence. "Thank God my wife & I finished with Lawrence today," he wrote in June, 1818,

> tho he will I fear be some time before he finishes with us. . . . My wife says it is a stiring [?] likeness & Sir Thomas says it is his best picture. . . . I really believe he has taken a greater interest in the execution of the pictures than he otherwise would have done.[22]

Gilmor went on to express his didactic reasons for commissioning the portrait. Lawrence, he wrote, felt "a pride in thinking that these portraits (as I have taught him correctly to believe) will be models for the imitation of our young artists, and that in the new world they will be viewed in a light which will give them more importance in his eyes than any of his works exhibited here."[23] The use for which Gilmor hoped to put these portraits--the promotion of art and taste in the United States--was one which certainly must have interested the young Everett and it possibly had an influence on his own developing cultural nationalism.[24]

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[22]Robert Gilmor, London, to EE, Oxford, June 2, 1818, Boston Public Library.

[23]Ibid.

[24]Everett and Gilmor kept in touch over the years. For example, in 1844, the Baltimorean wrote to Everett, who was in London serving as U.S. Minister to the Court of St. James, and asked him for donations to his autograph collection. Everett replied that he was not a collector of autographs as such but that he would be happy to send all he

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After leaving England, Everett went to Florence where he spent two weeks in late October and early November, 1818. He visited the studio of the Italian sculptor, Lorenzo Bartolini, and his opinion of the artist as recorded in his journal, suggests, if not an intimacy with the man himself, a prior familiarity with Bartolini's sculpture:

> Bartolini, the sculptor most reputed at Florence, tho' not a Canova, is more fortunate in his Art. He [makes?] copies of the Apollo & the Venus, as fast as his Workmen can cut them out of the quarry. . . [and] has his handful of commissions for busts & occasionally the statues of the wealthy English, who do not want their fat cheeks & pug noses shall be lost to posterity. The price of an original bust is 50 Louis D'Or; of a copy of the Venus 140 dollars, of a copy of the Apollo 240 dollars, of a copy of an ancient bust, such as Virgil for instance, 70 dollars. We saw in his study the model of a group consisting of two daughters of Lady Campbell, dancing.[25]

Everett's encounter with Bartolini was his first recorded one with a living sculptor. Besides furthering his aesthetic awareness, especially where sculpture was concerned, it seems to have taught him something about prices and the possibilities of the type of marketing which was more common to sculpture than to painting, that is, the producing and selling of replicas of popular pieces, old or new.

As did most travellers on the Grand Tour, Everett went next to Rome where he settled in to study first hand the remnants of the classical past. He went almost every

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received on notes and letters from time to time (EE, London, to Gilmor, Feb. 24, 1844, Everett Papers 22).

[25]Everett, Journal, 1818-1819, Everett Papers 35.

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day to the Vatican libraries and met the German painter Wilhelm Schadow, a member of the group known as the Nazarenes, and the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorwaldsen, both expatriates living in Rome.[26]

His European studies culminated with a trip to Greece which he toured in 1819 in the company of a friend from Harvard, Theodore Lyman.[27] He had been inspired by the writings of his contemporary Greco-philes, especially by Chateaubriand's L'Itinerarie de Paris a Jerusalem and by Lord Byron's Childe Harold's Pilgrimage. Personal encouragement for the trip also came from Byron himself, whom he had met in London in 1815.[28] The poet is said to have provided Everett with letters of introduction which gained him entrance to various monuments in Athens, Delphi, and elsewhere.[29] In his carefully-written journal of the trip, which he probably hoped to have published, Everett recorded his great admiration for classical culture and for the ancient monuments of Greece, especially those on the Athenian Acropolis.[30]

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[26]Frothingham, 57. Everett later corresponded with Thorwaldsen and even sent him a poem called "Thorwald's Lament" which Everett had written and translated into Italian (EE to Thorwaldsen, Oct. 22, 1838, Everett Papers, cited in Gordon, 145).

[27]Ibid., 59.

[28]Ibid., 37.

[29]Ibid., 58.

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As would be true for any person with an inquiring mind, the effect of Everett's youthful educational trip to Europe on his development can not be overstated. Surely what he saw there, especially culturally speaking, left an impression that lasted the rest of his life. There can be little doubt, it seems, that he observed the importance of the development of culture in general and of the humanities specifically in the growth and strength of societies and governments. This knowledge was to effect his approach to patronage of the arts, public and private. As one historian has recently observed about the young Everett, returning to America from Europe:

> Certainly Everett desired to have America emulate the cultural achievement he had witnessed in Europe. With the spirit of nationalism apparent throughout all aspects of European culture, Everett during these years came to the conclusion that only by creating similar national institutions could such heights be attained in America.[31]

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[30]See G. Ch. Soulis, "American Travelers in Greece Before 1821," Athene 10 (Spring 1949): 8-11; 10 (Summer 1949): 14-15, 46.

[31]Horn, 64. Lillian B. Miller has said much the same thing: "Everett's cultural nationalism was born during the early years of the republic and so reflected the classical thought of that period; like others of his generation, his tastes and judgments were derived mainly from European sources and developed during the many years he lived abroad. . . . [He] had disregarded the thought and achievement of the Romantics and remained loyal to eighteenth-century classical theories of art" (Patrons and Patriotism [Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1966], 71).

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Return to America

Following his self-imposed educational exile in Europe, Everett returned to America in the autumn of 1819 to take up his duties as a member of the Harvard faculty. His experiences abroad served him well. His knowledge of classical culture, learned in situ, as it were, made him a popular and memorable teacher at Harvard and he was soon recognized as one of the best Hellenist scholars on either side of the Atlantic.[32] Ralph Waldo Emerson, writing in oddly marmorean terms, later remembered Professor Everett from his early days in Cambridge:

> There was an influence on the young people from the genius of Everett which was almost comparable to that of Pericles in Athens. He had an inspiration which did not go beyond his head, but which made him the master of elegance. . . . They will easily recall his radiant beauty of person, of a classic style, his heavy large eyes, marble lids, which gave the impression of mass which the slightness of his form needed; sculptured lips; a voice of rich tone, such precise and perfect utterance, that, although slightly nasal, it was the most mellow and beautiful and correct of all the instruments of the time. The word that he spoke, in the manner in which he spoke it, became current and classical in New England.[33]

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[32]"Edward Everett," Cosmopolitan Art Journal 3 (Dec. 1858): 31.

[33]Ralph W. Emerson, "Life and Letters in New England," Lectures and Biographical Sketches (Boston, 1911), 330-333. Students at Harvard were not the only ones to benefit from Everett's "mellow and beautiful" voice. For the general public in Boston, he gave several series of lectures on antiquities which proved to be very popular (Frothingham, 66).

Of course, Emerson was not the first to realize Everett's singleness. In 1813, Francis Jeffrey of the Edinburgh Review wrote that Everett was "the most remarkable young man I have seen in America" (Jeffrey to Everett, December 13, 1813, quoted in Orie, 63) and, the following

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In 1820, Everett was appointed editor of the North American Review which at last gave him a steady, reliable outlet for his literary talents. His effectiveness in this position was succinctly summarized some years later by his friend George S. Hillard, who stated that as editor of the Review Everett "became the most popular and effective exponent of American talent and culture which had appeared in the form of periodical literature."[34] Everett himself summarized his achievements at the magazine thusly:

> The work had for some time been conducted with great ability, but was nevertheless in a lanquid state. The subscription list was under six hundred, and it was not increasing. It was published six times a year. I changed it to a quarterly journal, and commenced a new series. I received very efficient aid from the former contributors and from many new ones. The circulation rapidly increased; and the subscription list swelled so fast, that it became necessary to print the second and third editions of several of the numbers. I edited the journal till the end of 1823, when it passed into the hands of Mr. Sparks. I have, however, continued ever since to contribute to its pages.[35]

His impact on the journal was remembered years later, at the time of his death, when the Review paid him this tribute:

> If [Everett] did not originate our journal, he may certainly be said to have established it, to have given it influence, and to have obtained for it that foreign recognition which implied its independent nationality.

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year, President John Adams wrote to Thomas Jefferson that the young man was "respectable in every vein; in Family fortune, Station, Genius, Learning and Character" (Adams to Jefferson, Oct. 28, 1814, quoted in Orie, 64).

[34]George S. Hillard, "Edward Everett," in Little Journeys to the Homes of American Authors (New York & London: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1896 [reprint of 1853 edition]), 352.

[35]Everett, "Memoir," 101-102.

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> He was its second founder, and what came to him brick he left marble.[36]

(Everett's writings on art, including those for the North American Review, will be discussed below).

Everett made a major career change when he resigned from his professorship at Harvard on the occasion of his election to Congress in 1824.[37] He served as a representative from the Middlesex District of Massachusetts until 1835 when he was elected governor of Massachusetts. Once established in Washington, he was appointed to the important Committee on Foreign Affairs and to the Committee on the Library and Public Buildings.[38] As a member of the latter, he was immediately involved in a fight which brought his two fledgling interests, art and politics, very close together.

The incident concerned one of the paintings to be commissioned for installation in the Rotunda of the national Capitol building. Representative James Hamilton, Jr., of South Carolina, a strong supporter of Andrew Jackson's bid for the presidency, had proposed that the painting depict

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[36]"Death of Mr. Everett," North American Review 100 (April 1865): 560.

[37]The citizens of Charlestown, Mass., were especially supportive of Everett's candidacy because of his important role as a member of the committee to erect a monument to the Revolutionary battle of Bunker's Hill, a project which is discussed elsewhere in this chapter. He had been "a prime mover in the Association which had been formed to promote the scheme, and had served with great acceptability and activity, writing to the newspapers and arousing public sentiment" (Frothingham, 88).

[38]Frothingtham, 97.

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the battle of New Orleans. In a clever move, Hamilton suggested that it should be executed by Washington Allston who, although he was born in South Carolina, was by 1828 a long-time resident of Boston. Hamilton assumed he would have the support of Everett who was Chairman of the Library Committee and, of course, a native of Massachusetts, Allston's adopted state. Proving that politicians are alike in any age, he stated with assurance that he "felt entire gratification in confiding his resolution to the judgement and patriotism of his honorable friend from Massachusetts [Everett], who was well acquainted with the merits of the great artist to whom he had referred."[39] By giving Everett the chance to further the career of a Massachusetts artist, Hamilton was hoping to force him to do the same for the Southerner Andrew Jackson, for whom Everett had no particular sympathy.

Everett, however, was not to be trapped so easily. His political astuteness was revealed when he simply suggested that the plan be broadened to include paintings of other events from American history and that the Committee accordingly be given authority to "procure a suitable *series* of historical paintings for the empty `panels of the Rotunda'."[40] Thanks to Everett's savvy--and with the

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[39]Quoted in Ibid., 113.

[40]Quoted in Ibid., 113.

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avoidance of any overt hostility--the resolution "for the aggrandizement of General Jackson" was defeated.[41]

Although Everett's exact feelings on the subject were not recorded, it seems likely that, besides being pleased with his success in this matter from a political standpoint, he felt some gratification in having helped increase the possibilities of major public commissions now being awarded to four American artists (instead of only one) for depicting scenes from American history.[42] This was only the first of many occasions on which Everett used his political position to further the cause of American art and artists.[43]

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[41]Ibid., 114.

[42]The history of the Rotunda paintings is given in Miller, 45-57. See also, Joseph R. Frese, "Federal Patronage of Painting to 1860," Capitol Studies 2 (1974): 71-82; and Glenn Brown, History of the United States Capitol 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1900 and 1903). For more information on the controversy over the Battle of New Orleans as a possible subject for one of the paintings, see George R. Nielsen, "Paintings and Politics in Jacksonian America," Capitol Studies 1 (1972): 87-92; and Charles Warren, "Why the Battle of New Orleans Was not Painted," Odd Byways of American History (Cambridge, Mass., 1942). For an eye-witness account of the debate in Congress over the proposed selection of Allston for the commission, see Basil Hall, Travels in North America in the Years 1827 and 1828 (Edinburgh: Cadell and Co., 1829), 3:50-59.

[43]Everett was approached on other occasions in reference to the Rotunda commissions. Thomas Cole, for example, wrote him in 1834, evidently inquiring about the project and Everett told him that he had doubts about whether the resolution for funding the project would pass. If it did, however, Everett stated that it would give him "great pleasure to lay your application before the Committee who may be designated to appoint the artists" (EE, House of Representatives, to Thomas Cole, March 13, 1834, Thomas Cole Papers, AAA D30). Also see Ellwood C. Parry III, The Art of

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Everett and Horatio Greenough

More than any other group of artists, American sculptors gained the most from Everett's support. Timing was certainly one of the factors in this; during the same period in which Everett reached maturity, a new generation of professional American sculptors was beginning to appear. The first of this group was Horatio Greenough who was born in Boston in 1805. In his association with Greenough, Everett revealed his special fascination with sculpture and, for the first time, showed an intense interest in becoming a private patron of the arts in America.

Everett's initial meeting with Greenough seems to have taken place by 1821, when Greenough matriculated at Harvard; but it may have occurred as early as during Greenough's childhood. (In a letter of 1832, Greenough referred to Everett's having "distinguished me when a boy,

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Thomas Cole: Ambition and Imagination (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1988), 151. Everett evidently saw Cole briefly when the painter was passing through London in the summer of 1842 (EE, London, to G.W. Greene, Nov. 12, 1842, Everett Papers 22).

In a similar matter, a committee of the Union Party of Charleston, S.C., undoubtedly aware of Everett's earlier involvement with attempts to get Allston a commission for the Rotunda, wrote to Everett in 1833 asking him to encourage Allston to execute a large "national picture" depicting a mob storming the hotel where the U.S. minister to Mexico was staying. Everett took the request to Allston who refused it, saying that he was not qualified to paint a "battle piece" (EE, London, to Edmund T. Dana, Jr., Aug. 30, 1843, Dana Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; and EE, Cambridge, to Charles Sumner, Sept. 5, 1846, Everett Papers 27).

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by kindness to which I had no claim").[44] Whatever the case, the two Bostonians soon met again when Greenough participated in a project to erect a monument to commemorate the Revolutionary War battle which took place on Bunker's and Breed's Hills in Charlestown, Massachusetts.[45] The Bunker Hill Monument Association was incorporated in 1823 and Everett served as Secretary for the Standing Committee of Directors which handled the organization's affairs.[46] In 1825, a competition for designs for the monument was announced and Greenough, who was only nineteen years old at the time, submitted a wooden model for a commemorative obelisk, one-hundred-twenty feet high. To decide the outcome of the contest, the Board of Directors of the Association appointed a new committee which was dubbed the Board of Artists and which included Daniel Webster, Laommi Baldwin, and George Ticknor, as well as two members who actually were artists, Gilbert Stuart and Washington

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[44]HG to James Fenimore Cooper, May 28, 1832, Letters of Horatio Greenough American Sculptor, ed. Nathalia Wright (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1972), 123-124.

[45]The project is described in detail in Nathalia Wright, "The Monument that Jonathan Built," American Quarterly 5 (Summer 1953): 166-174; see also Nathalia Wright, Horatio Greenough, The First American Sculptor (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1963), 33-37.

[46]The other members of the Standing Committee were H.A.S. Dearborn, John C. Warren, George Blake, and Samuel D. Harris. Among the other directors were George Ticknor, Theodore Lyman, Jr., and Isaac P. Davis. John Brooks was president and Thomas H. Perkins and Joseph Story were vice presidents. See William W. Wheildon, Memoir of Solomon Willard (Boston: The Monument Association, 1865), 61-62.

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Allston. This committee recommended the approval of Greenough's plan, but the indecisiveness of the Association as a whole led to the formation of another committee which included among its members Everett and Thomas H. Perkins. They and their colleagues agreed that a column, not an obelisk, should mark the historic spot. However, in a general vote of the Association, the column plan was defeated, and yet another, third committee finally settled on an obelisk design.

Unfortunately, by that time Greenough had left for Europe and the position of architect of the monument was given to Solomon Willard, a Boston stoneworker and builder who had been involved in the project since its initiation. The monument as it stands today, then, is either an adaptation of Greenough's plan, or that of architect Robert Mills who also had submitted a design for an obelisk, or both.[47]

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[47]Despite his disapproval of the obelisk plan, Everett continued to actively support the monument project. On May 28, 1833, for example, he delivered a speech to the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association at a meeting which had been called to form a plan for the completion of the memorial. Everett praised the foundations and work that had been done thus far on the obelisk and stated his belief that it would last forever. He feared that, without it, the battle would be remembered but not the spot on which it took place. The site would be as forgotten, he said, as those of the city of Troy and the pass of Themopylae. (Edward Everett, "The Bunker Hill Monument," Orations and Speeches on Various Occasions, 1:354-65).

Throughout his career, Everett was involved in various monument projects. For example, in 1826 he accepted nomination to the Washington Monument Association which had been founded to study the possibilities of erecting an appropriate memorial to the first president in Washington,

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In the debate over the Bunker Hill Monument, it is clear that Everett did not support Greenough, perhaps because Greenough was still an unknown. Undoubtedly, another factor was Everett's already established preference for the Greek (the column) over the Egyptian (the obelisk).[48]

Greenough evidently felt at least some irritation toward those who had not supported his plan. At least, some rancor was still apparent in 1832 when, in letter to Samuel F. B. Morse, he criticized an article on sculpture which Everett had written for the North American Review (see below). Greenough found it "superficial pretending--insolent--abounding in blunders," but had to concede that it was "very learned withal."[49] Greenough was almost certainly referring to Everett's article, "Statuary" which had

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D. C. (EE, Medford, Mass., to Lemuel Blake, 20 June 1826, Boston Public Library); and in 1850 he chaired a committee to commission a statue of the Revolutionary War hero General Warren for Fanueil Hall in Boston ("Monthly Record of Current Events," Harper's New Monthly Magazine 2 [Dec. 1850]: 131).

[48]When Solomon Willard submitted his original design of a column for the monument in 1825, Everett, as secretary of the Standing Committee, wrote to thank him for the "very beautiful plan." He added a personal note, though, which reveals his own feelings on the topic. "Permit me, dear sir," he wrote Willard, "in communicating this vote, to offer you my private tribute of thanks for the display of talent, science and taste, in the plan prepared by you" (EE, Cambridge, to Solomon Willard, March 22, 1825, in Wheildon, 72).

[49]HG to Samuel F. B. Morse, 5 Jan. 1832, Letters of Greenough, ed. Wright, 102.

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appeared in the North American Review in January, 1831, and which will be discussed in more detail below.

On the other hand, Everett does not seem to have allowed the circumstances or outcome of the Bunker Hill project to taint his view of Greenough, at least not for very long. It may be true that, as the sculptor later told his friend James Fenimore Cooper, he had received a "cold reception" from Everett when they encountered one another at a presidential reception in Washington in February, 1828;[50] but by 1832 Everett was proving to be a staunch supporter of the young sculptor. By that year, Greenough was living more or less permanently in Europe. He had left America in 1825, with the assistance of his early Boston patron, Thomas H. Perkins, as we have seen, and had settled in Rome. Ill health soon forced him to return to America but he was back in Italy in 1828, this time in Florence where, except for occasional trips home, he remained until 1851.[51] He achieved some notoriety in America when his marble group, The Chanting Cherubs (unlocated), which featured two, nude

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[50]HG to James Fenimore Cooper, May 28, 1832, Letters of Greenough, ed. Wright, 123-124. In a letter to his brother the day after the event, Greenough mentioned having seen Everett at the reception but did not elaborate further (HG, Washington, to Henry Greenough, 21 Feb. 1828, Letters of Horatio Greenough to His Brother, Henry Greenough, ed. Frances Boott Greenough (Boston: Ticknor and Company, 1887), 27. Greenough spent much of 1828 traveling to the major eastern cities of America, including Washington, D.C., where he went to model the busts of famous politicians, living (e.g., John Quincy Adams) and dead (e.g., John Adams). See Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 50-55.

[51]Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, passim.

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singing cherubs, toured America to mixed but nevertheless attentive reviews.[52] Greenough's career was made and his fame assured when, in 1832, the United States Congress commissioned him to design and execute a monumental marble statue of George Washington for the Rotunda of the United States Capitol building in Washington (fig. 8).

At this point Everett revealed his positive feelings toward Greenough, a benevolence which had evidently grown out of his encounter in Boston with the touring Cherubs. Seeing accomplished sculpture by professional, American-born sculptors was probably a new experience for Everett; besides Greenough's Chanting Cherubs, the only other sculpture by an American that he is known to have seen by this time was Hezekiah Augur's Jephthah and His Daughter (figs. 15a and 15b), which he had seen in New Haven, Connecticut, around 1831 (see below). No doubt with some excitement, Everett now wrote to Greenough to express his support of the Washington commission and to relay his deep admiration for and faith in the young artist. "I took great pleasure," he recounted in a letter of April 12, 1832, "in lending my feeble aid toward the passage of the Resolution [for the statue of Washington] after its adoption." Everett had urged Secretary of State Edward Livingston to see that Greenough was fairly compensated for his work, stating that

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[52]The Chanting Cherubs was commissioned from Greenough by Cooper in 1829. See Nathalia Wright, "The Chanting Cherubs: Horatio Greenough's Marble Group for James Fenimore Cooper," New York History 38 (April 1957): 177-197.

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he thought $10,000 was the least that should be offered. Similar terms, Everett reported to Greenough, had been reached with Luigi Persico who was executing two figures, War and Peace, for the Capitol. (Persico's two sculptures are now in storage). Everett's suggestion prompted Livingston to offer $20,000 with a $5000 advance. Everett then gave his warm opinion of the Washington project and of Greenough himself:

> I cannot but repeat my congratulations to you on the commission. The Hall, where the Statue is to be erected, the vast rotunda of the capitol of the United States is unquestionably the noblest in the world. You are employed by a Resolution in which you are designated by name, adopted by the House of Representatives by a large majority. . . .In a word, Dear Sir, I know not what you could look forward to at the end of Your career, more honorable than the trust, which your country has confessed to you, almost at its commencement. I have often before now intended to write to you, to express to you the pleasure which your works, particularly the Chanting Cherubs, have given me. I envy you the happiness of pursuing your noble proposition under the great masters of Europe, the living and the dead; and I look forward to the time when you will return to your own country rich in the fruits and fame of your Italian studies.

He ended the letter with a postscript which again referred to the Cherubs: "I hope your friend Mr. Cooper will think we have not unworthily followed his good example."[53]

This support from Everett was wholly unexpected. Greenough wrote to Cooper of his surprise at having received the letter, "full of paternal congratulation and expressing an esteem of my past and a hope of my future works, which I

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[53]EE to HG, April 12, 1832, Greenough Papers, AAA 1215.

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had never supposed he would feel." Everett's efforts to see that Greenough was paid fairly were "magnanimous," Greenough declared,

> because if My eye can talk English I have told him that I did not care a rush for him either one way or the other--He has heaped coals of fire on my head--But when a man cuts one at a President's Soire what can one do--I hope we shall understand one another better hereafter --He speaks of the thing as decided. . . .He concludes by offering his services in the most obliging way.[54]

Now that both the artist and the would-be patron held a more favorable opinion of one another, Everett wrote to Greenough again offering specific advice on the form he believed the statue of Washington should take. He began by stating that he had objected to that part of the congressional resolution which required Greenough to use Houdon's bust of Washington as the model for the statue's head. "A literal compliance with the requisition," Everett believed, "would have made the work not yours but Houdon's." He emphasized his preference for the Neoclassical style when he stated that Houdon's bust was too real and had "little of the pure ideal" or heroic in it. However, he shared Greenough's opinion, which had been conveyed to him in a recently received letter, now lost, that "complex action," which was more suited to painting than sculpture, should be avoided. "So foreign is dramatic action from the genius of Statuary," Everett pointed out, "that it remains undecided, you know, to the present day, what the Apollo Belvedere is

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[54]HG to James Fenimore Cooper, 28 May 1832, Letters of Greenough, ed. Wright, 124

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doing."[55] He then gave full support to Greenough's plan to model his statue after "the greatest work of the greatest master, the Jupiter Olympus of Phidias."[56] Everett ended his letter with a long discussion of the pros and cons of seated vs. standing figural sculptures. Greenough's Washington, he pointed out, would definitely be larger and therefore more monumental and impressive if it were seated.[57]

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[55]EE, Charlestown, Mass., to HG, July 29, 1832, Greenough Papers, AAA 1215. Everett's opinion that "complex action" in sculpture was distasteful is reminiscent of Winckelmann's recognition of the "noble simplicity and quiet grandeur" of classical statuary (Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works, 33) and it is certainly possible that Winckelmann was Everett's source, acknowledged or not.

[56]For a discussion of Phidias' Zeus and its influence on Greenough, see Wayne Craven, "Horatio Greenough's Statue of Washington and Phidias' Olympian Zeus," The Art Quarterly 26 (Winter 1963): 429-440. Other considerations of Greenough's statue are George L.McKenna, "Horatio Greenough's Washington: A Study in Greenough's Theory and Practice" (M.A. thesis, Wayne State University, Detroit, Michigan, 1951); Garry Wills, "Washington's Citizen Virtue: Greenough and Houdon," Critical Inquiry 10 (March 1984): 420-441; and Vivien Green Fryd, "Horatio Greenough's George Washington: A President in Apotheosis," The Augustan Age, Occasional Papers 1 (June 1987): 70-86.

[57]Given the present location of Greenough's Washington in the low-ceilinged Museum of American History in Washington, D. C., there is something ironic and rather prophetic about Everett's statement that Greenough would not "be in any danger of committing the fault . . . of Phidias in making his Jupiter so large that he could not have risen from his throne without unroofing the temple" (EE, Charlestown, Mass., to HG, July 29, 1832, Greenough Papers, AAA 1215).

Due to the inadequate lighting of his Washington, Greenough himself asked Congress to remove it from the Rotunda. This was done in February, 1842, just over two months after the marble had been installed, and it was moved to the grounds of the Capitol building. See U.S. Senate, 27th Congress, 3d Session, Senate Document 57 (Washington,

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Similar advice on the Washington project continued. In June, 1833, for example, Everett wisely advised against Greenough's proposal to send a plaster model of the statue to Washington for public display. Such a move would serve no useful purpose, Everett counciled, and would prompt "discordant gossip and malicious strictures" from the public, other sculptors, and the press.[58] In January, 1834, Everett gave his opinions on the proper height, type of marble, and appropriate drapery for the statue. On the last subject, he reminded Greenough of the on-going controversy over costume which had plagued would-be Neoclassic painters and sculptors since the time of Benjamin West. He expressed his doubts--justifiable, as it turned out--that Americans would be able to appreciate Greenough's conception in terms of its classical, Phidian influence. "Your statue," he wrote, "will be regarded by ninety-nine out of a hundred as a representation of Washington in marble, and in no other light; & who ever saw Washington with his shoulders & breast bare? On the other hand, what artist, who had a grain of taste, would submit to make a Washington, in the old continental uniform, hussar boots, clubbed hair, and a three cornered hat."[59] Again, he used Canova's and Chantrey's

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1843). The body of this document was reprinted with an introduction by Nathalia Wright, "Horatio Greenough's Memorial to Congress Praying the Removal of His Statue of Washington from the Capitol," The Art Quarterly 20 (Winter 1957): 400-406.

[58]EE, Washington, to HG, Florence, June 8, 1833, Everett Papers 25.

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statues as examples of possible approaches to the problem and encouraged Greenough to keep experimenting. He also expressed his doubts that Greenough would be allowed complete freedom in deciding on the subject matter of the reliefs which were to decorate the base of the statue and advised him to enter into a friendly correspondence with Secretary of State Livingston on the matter. He closed his letter by congratulating Greenough on his Medora which Everett had seen in Boston where it was exhibited in the studio of the painter Chester Harding from October through December, 1833.[60]

The same month that Everett wrote the above, Greenough sent a drawing of his planned statue of Washington to Livingston. Except for a few minor changes, it depicted

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[59]EE, Washington, to HG, Florence, January 13, 1834, Greenough Papers, AAA 1215. Thomas Brumbaugh thought that this letter was evidence of Everett's having changed his mind about Neoclassicism and that, in doing so, he may have confused Greenough. In context, though, Everett's question "Who ever saw Washington with his shoulders & breast bare?", is simply part of a presentation of possible American reactions to a nude figure rather than an expression of Everett's personal misgivings. See Thomas B. Brumbaugh, "Horatio and Richard Greenough: A Critical Study with a Catalogue of Their Sculpture" (Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, 1955), 58. Nevertheless, Greenough eventually did become confused as to Everett's opinions, as will be seen below.

[60]EE to HG, Florence, January 13, 1834, Greenough Papers, AAA 1215; Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 87. Everett almost saw Greenough's Medora again in Baltimore in March, 1835, when he spent an evening with Robert Gilmor who had commissioned the statue. Unfortunately, although Gilmor had received the statue from Greenough by the time of Everett's visit, he had not uncrated it. As Everett recorded in his diary, Gilmor could not decide where to put the statue in his house (Everett Diary, March 11, 1835).

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the sculpture more or less as it finally appeared. Washington was shown seated, partially covered with classical drapery, nude to the waist, with one hand pointing toward heaven while the other held a sword. As Nathalia Wright has observed, criticism of the conception fell into two categories: artists and intellectuals generally praised the figure, the general public ridiculed it.[61]

The negative reaction apparently made Everett uneasy and within a few months he gave Greenough some new advice. Much of the criticism of the statue had to do with the upraised hand, he reported. It was the costume, however, that remained of greater interest to him. "A figure, as naked as your Washington," he wrote nervously, "appears to our People just as an Apollo would to the ancient Grecians, if dressed in Persian Pantaloons."[62] Modern dress, Everett had decided, was preferable for the carved figure of such an illustrious American after all. The reason for the change or at least solidification of his attitude on the subject is not clear. As a politician, Everett was known to be overly concerned with public opinion and was thought to be too willing to allow it to effect his own attitudes.[63] While

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[61]Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 127-128.

[62]EE, Washington, to HG, December 15, 1834, Greenough Papers, AAA 1215.

[63]On the occasion of Everett's death in 1865, Charles Francis Adams wrote to Richard Henry Dana that Everett's "chief defect was his timidity, which was almost like that of a woman. . . . Neither could he ever have devoted himself to sustain an unpopular cause" (quoted in

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for a politician this might be interpreted as a sign of weakness or insecurity, Everett was not unwise in encouraging Greenough to act in a manner which would more likely lead to future artistic commissions, even if it meant that the artist had to effect some aesthetic compromises. "I want you to make a popular, as well as a good, statue of Washington," he told the sculptor, "because I want to have you employed, to execute a series of Presidential Statues, to adorn the Rotunda. It is in this form only that we can hope to make our government patronize the art."[64]

Unfortunately, by the time Everett wrote these lines, the large model for Washington was already well advanced and the only effect that his belated advice could

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Charles Francis Adams, Richard Henry Dana 2 [Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1890], 279-80).

[64]EE, Washington, to HG, Dec. 15, 1834, Greenough Papers, AAA 1215. Over a decade later, in a letter to Hiram Powers in which he gave that sculptor advice on handling the nude human figure, Everett summarized his attempts to give similar counsel to Greenough on his Washington: "When Mr. Greenough was meditating his statue of Washington he sent home a drawing giving the figure substantially as he finally executed it. I wrote to him that I had some apprehensions about the effect of representing Washington with the upper half of the body naked. I feared that in a work addressed directly to the popular feeling, so wide a departure from well-known and recent historical truth, would give offense. He replied to me by such arguments as an artist would be likely to use, and of which I admitted theoretically the soundness. When his statue went home, it encountered a storm of disapproval, chiefly on this ground. I have done all I could to defend it, and to propagate the received artistical view on the subject of drapery, but not I fear with much success. I suppose that the nude affords the greatest scope for the artist's skill; and yet the handling of the drapery gives opportunity in its way for much mastery" (EE, London, to HP, May 20, 1845, Powers Papers 1132).

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have had on Greenough was to arouse frustration and confusion. The situation forced the artist to begin to appreciate the advantages of remaining aloof from the interference of others, as well meaning as they, including Everett, might be. Greenough wrote of his misgivings to Washington Allston who, considering the difficulties that he was having with the completion of his painting, Belshazzar's Feast (Detroit Institute of Art, Detroit, Michigan), must have been painfully aware of what Greenough meant. "I received a letter from Mr. Everett a few weeks since," Greenough began,

> in which he tells me he fears my plan [for the Washington] will never do in our country--He takes a view of the matter directly contradictory to that he has hitherto taken and at this moment when the work may be said to be done--I question neither his sincerity nor the friendliness of his motives but I draw from his various and inconsistent advice the strongest arguments in favour of an artist's thinking for himself and acting resolutely from his own convictions.[65]

Even so, Greenough maintained his benevolent feelings for Everett and warned Allston to "show this letter to no one" as he did not wish to harm Everett, "even in his reputation as a connoisseur for the world."[66]

Although Everett and Greenough's relationship may have been somewhat strained by the confused advice described

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[65]HG, Florence, to Washington Allston, March 7, 1835, Greenough Letters, ed. Wright, 186.

[66]Ibid. Everett vacillated on the issue once again when, in early 1841, he told Greenough that he agreed with the sculptor's choice of dress for Washington after all (EE, Florence, to HG, Jan. 28, 1841, Greenough Papers, AAA 1215).

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above, it continued. In July, 1836, Everett noted having seen Greenough's marble statue of young Cornelia Grinnell (1830-32) at her father's home in Nantucket;[67] but when the sculptor was in Boston in September of that year, he evidently did not even call on the politician until Everett ran into him on the street and invited him to do so.[68] Their correspondence seems to have tapered off after 1836, as well; or at least fewer letters between them from that period have survived.

Nevertheless, when the Everetts began planning a trip to Europe in 1840, they did not hesitate to ask Greenough for assistance. Everett had suffered a defeat in his bid for re-election to the governorship of Massachusetts in 1839. This, and his wife's poor health--she had respiratory problems--prompted them to go to Europe where Everett's career took a temporary holiday as he waited to hear of a possible federal appointment. In March, 1840, having learned that the Greenoughs might be returning to America for a visit, Everett wrote to the artist in Florence, asking if his house would be available for rent during their absence. He also sought advice on local educational facilities for his sons. Agreements were made

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[67]EE to Charlotte G. Everett, July 19, 1836, quoted in Frothingham, 143.

[68]Everett Diary, Sept. 22, 1836. Greenough had come to America to inspect the Rotunda of the Capitol for the proper placement of his Washington (Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 109).

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concerning the rental but, as it turned out, the Greenoughs had to cancel their plans for an American trip and alternate arrangements were made for the Everett family to take rooms at the Casa Lagersward, which was close to the Greenoughs' residence. Far from being disappointed by this change, Everett expressed his happiness at the possibility of having the sculptor's company during his stay in Italy.[69]

After a few weeks in Paris and a short delay at Avignon due to the illness of one of the Everett children, the family arrived in Florence in early November, 1840.[70] Almost immediately, Everett called on the Greenoughs and found them "charmingly situated amidst pictures of the ancient masters, books, & music." Everett and Greenough evidently discussed the state of sculpture during this initial visit for Everett recorded that a "bust of President [John Quincy] Adams by Powers was pronounced by Greenough the finest bust, ancient or modern which he has ever seen."[71] That evening, Greenough returned the visit[72] and a

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[69]EE to HG, March 13, July 31, Aug. 4, Sept. 29, 1840, Everett Papers 26.

[70]Everett Diary, Nov. 7, 1840.

[71]Everett Diary, Nov. 7, 1840. This was praise indeed from Greenough who had also modeled a bust of John Quincy Adams (1828, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). In fact, Greenough liked Powers's bust of Adams so much that he agreed to buy it from Powers when the latter was desperate for money in about 1841. The bust is now part of the Adams tomb monument in the United First Parish Church, Quincy, Mass. See Wunder, 2:15-17.

[72]Everett Diary, Nov. 8, 1840.

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few days later, Everett was invited to Greenough's studio where, at long last, he was able to see the Washington in person. "I was agreeably impressed with a sight of this great work," he recorded in his diary.

> It is of colossal dimensions. If the figure stood up it would be 12 feet high. The likeness is fine, founded on Houdon's bust. The benignity, firmness, and tranquility of Washington's character are firmly impressed. All the accessories are in excellent taste.[73]

Obviously, by this time Everett had put aside whatever doubts he had about the figure and even about the requirement that Greenough use Houdon's bust as his model. In fact, not long after he saw the Washington, Everett wrote,

> I regard Greenough's `Washington' as one of the greatest works of sculpture of modern times. I do not know the work which can justly be preferred to it, whether we consider the purity of the taste, the loftiness of the conception, the truth of the character, or, what we must own we feel less able to judge of, the accuracy of an anatomical study and mechanical skill.[74]

A few months later, he visited Greenough's studio to view Washington by torchlight during a planned--and extremely romantic--fete to which a number of persons had been invited. "Washington appeared to glorious advantage,"

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[73]Everett Diary, Nov. 12, 1840.

[74]This quotation appears as part of the entry on Horatio Greenough in Clara Erskine Clement and Laurence Hutton, Artists of the Nineteenth Century and Their Works (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1894), 314. Clement and Hutton's source for this is Edward Everett, Italian Letter (1841), a source which has not been more specifically identified.

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Everett recorded in his diary afterwards, "though the lights were not quite strong enough. It seems to me that if it had been the work of a European sculptor it would have been extolled as one of the master productions of the day."[75]

Other works by the sculptor were naturally on view in his studio as well and, on several occasions, Everett recorded what he saw there in his diary. An entry made in November, 1840, for example, notes that the sculptor's studio contained

> a beautiful bust of Gino Capponi, a nobleman of Florence distinguished for the liberality of his character, of Dr. Franklin & of a little daughter of the Austrian minister between 2 & 3 years old. She is contemplating a butterfly who has lighted on her arm. The expression combines the gravity with which a child of that age contemplates a novel & striking object.[76]

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[75]Everett Diary, Jan. 7, 1841.

[76]Everett Diary, Nov. 12, 1840. None of the three works which Everett mentioned here are located today. The bust of Marquis Capponi was begun late in 1839 and was cut in marble by the following summer. According to Wright, Capponi bequeathed it to the Academy of Fine Arts in Florence. It was moved to the Gallery of Modern Art in the Pitti Palace about 1930 and was apparently destroyed during World War II by order of Mussolini (Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 345-46n). The bust of Benjamin Franklin which Everett saw was either a colossal version, done in 1839 and presented by the sculptor to the Boston Athenaeum in 1842 or 1843 (but which is now lost), or a life-size version of the same subject (Ibid., 204).

The Austrian minister to the Tuscan court was Count Adam Reviczky. Greenough modeled a full-length statue of his two-year-old daughter Ada in 1840 and put it into marble the following year (Ibid., 215). Everett noted that "Greenough informed me that Count Revicksky is the first European that had ever given him an order. He had also greatly served him by obtaining from the Duke of Modena the permission to import the plaster necessary for making the model [of the Washington], duty free, an important object considering the great quantity required. The size of the

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During another visit, Everett noticed that Greenough was working on the back of one of his marble busts of Benjamin Franklin which indicated to Everett that certain recent criticisms of the methodology of the Neoclassic sculptors were unfounded.[77] That is, the fact that professional marble carvers, as opposed to the sculptors themselves, did much of the actual laborious carving of the stone had led to charges that the sculptors had not created the works. To Everett, Greenough's presence in the studio and his physical involvement in the labor was "new proof that much must be done by the artist himself."[78] Also on this visit, he saw Greenough's beloved dog, the greyhound Arno, which was the original, Everett noted, of the sculptor's life-size, recumbent statue (fig. 16) which a Mr. Whitwell had ordered but which Peter Chardon Brooks, Everett's father-in-law, had recently purchased.[79] As will be discussed below, this sculpture was eventually owned by Everett himself.

During the numerous visits between Everett and Greenough over the next several months, they discussed many

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work makes it necessary to send the model to Carrara to be there blocked out" (Everett Diary, Jan. 7, 1841).

[77]Everett Diary, Nov. 18, 1840.

[78]Ibid.

[79]Ibid. Whitwell may have been related to Greenough, at least distantly, for one of the sculptor's third cousins was Willaim Whitwell Greenough (1818-1899), a wealthy businessman, civic leader, and expert in Oriental languages. See John H. Sheppard, "Genealogy of the Greenough Family," New England Historical and Genealogical Register 17 (April 1863): 169.

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topics, the most common naturally being art. For example, Greenough evidently allowed Everett to read some of his writings on architecture prior to their publication and Everett fully agreed with his theories concerning form and function. "I wish you had leisure to demonstrate this soundness," he told the artist, "by a few plans of the principal kind of buildings, public & private, conceived according to these views."[80] They discussed the importance of morality, popular opinion, and their effect on art: "The question on decency in works of art," Everett noted, "is one of some difficulty. Regard must, I think, be had to public sentiment, which is not the same in all countries, and hence a difficulty in laying down general rules." And he discussed academies of art: "I agree with you on the subject of Academies," Everett told the sculptor.

> In America there is a fondness for getting up the machinery of societies but little social cooperation of the right kind. Men engaged in kindred pursuits belong to the associations in which nothing of account is done, by way of mutual encouragement, and they rarely

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[80]EE, Florence, to HG, Jan. 28, 1841, Greenough Papers, AAA 1215. Greenough's architectural theories first appeared in print in his article, "Remarks on American Art," U. S. Magazine and Democratic Review 13 (Aug. 1843): 205-210. Nathalia Wright has called this "the first full and coherent public statement of the functional theory of architecture to be made by an American (Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 183). See also Greenough's The Travels, Observations, and Experiences of a Yankee Stonecutter (Gainsville, Fla.: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1958, reprint of 1852 edition); and two modern compilations of his writings, Form and Function: Remarks on Art, ed. Harold A. Small (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1947); and The Miscellaneous Writings of Horatio Greenough, ed. Nathalia Wright (Delmar, New York: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints, 1975).

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> meet, I fear, in a friendly informal way to compare notes with each other.[81]

Besides the monumental Washington, Greenough was working on his second major governmental commission while Everett was in Florence. This was the so-called Rescue Group which Congress had ordered from the sculptor in 1837 and which was destined to festoon the exterior staircase at the eastern end of the Capitol in Washington.[82] The model was well under way by the time Everett arrived in Florence and he did not fail to comment on it to the sculptor.[83] He also wrote a letter to President John Quincy Adams praising the group which, he said, was "intended to present a striking image of the perils which awaited the first planting of America." He called it "a composition of great spirit & significance." The real purpose of his letter, however, was to ask Adams's support in attempting to get Congress to change the commission to one for a bronze version instead of the intended marble which, Everett rightly feared, would suffer damage when exposed to the

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[81]EE, Florence, to HG, Jan. 28, 1841, Greenough Papers, AAA 1215.

[82]Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 160. Rescue was removed from the staircase on the east facade of the U.S. Capitol in 1958 and has been in storage since that time. A recent discussion of the work will be found in Vivien Green Fryd, Art & Empire: The Politics of Ethnicity in the United States Capitol, 1815-1860 (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1992), 89-105.

[83]Everett saw Rescue several times in Florence, once during an excursion to "Mr. Greenough's study in the country" with a group of family and friends which included the sculptor's brother John Greenough and a Mr. and Mrs. Rogers (Everett Diary, Jan. 8, 1841).

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climate of Washington.[84] Furthermore, this change in medium would "furnish an opportunity of exhibiting the progress of our ingenious countrymen in another branch of the fine arts." While most of his letter was about Greenough, Everett also took the opportunity to praise the progress of other American sculptors in Florence, namely Hiram Powers and Shobal Clevenger.[85]

Although Everett considered his months in Italy as a time for relaxation, he did not remain idle. "It was characteristic of this busy worker and indefatigable student," his biographer wrote, "that, finding himself in a famous art centre, [he] began at once to take lessons in drawing."[86] He worked hard at it but found that he had no real talent for drawing and was soon tempted to give it up. "Took a drawing lesson in the morning," he wrote in mid December, 1840, "but doubt greatly whether I have any talent."[87] He persisted in the lessons, however, so that he would not set a bad example for his children by lending "the appearance of beginning a thing and not seeing it

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[84]Everett's fears were justified. By the 1960s, the marble sculpture had been so badly damaged by the natural elements that it was removed from its place near the entrance to the Capitol building and placed in storage.

[85]EE, Florence, to Pres. J.Q.A. Adams, Jan. 12, 1841, Everett Papers 26.

[86]Frothingham, 170. Unfortunately, Frothingham does not state from whom Everett took drawing lessons.

[87]Everett Diary, Dec. 16, 1840.

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through."[88] It seems that even in this small way, Everett felt a responsibility to promote the development of aesthetic sensibilities.

He also made sure that members of his family were introduced to the artists with whom he associated. The Everetts had not been in Florence much more than a month before the eldest daughter, Anne, wrote to a friend, "We are acquainted with three of the American sculptors [Greenough, Powers, and Clevenger], and I really think some of their works are equal to the ancient ones."[89] The family often went together to galleries, exhibitions, and artists' studios and the objects and personalities they encountered there were discussed at length.[90]

Everett also recorded a number of dinners and other social events that he shared with an international set of politicians, artists, and literati. A particularly memorable evening during which he participated in discussions on topics dear to him was spent with an American

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[88]Frothingham, 179. At least one of his children, Anne, took drawing and painting lessons in Florence. She executed a number of landscapes and views of the city in her "studio" in the house in which the family was staying (Philippa Call Bush, Memoir of Anne Gorham Everett [Boston, 1857], passim).

[89]Anne Gorham Everett, Florence, to Philippa Call, January 6, 1841, in Bush, 123.

[90]Bush, passim. In her letters and journal, Anne Everett makes it clear that she and the rest of her family were very familiar with the names and lives of not only historic artists but also the major contemporary ones who were residing in Florence. She shared her father's tastes in statuary, preferring the works of Greenough and Powers.

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friend (Col. James Thomson), an Englishman (Sir George Back), a German (Mr. Schmidt), and an Italian (Lorenzo Bartolini, the sculptor) among others. "After dinner," Everett wrote in his diary, "I had considerable conversation with Bartholini [sic] in Italian & with Mr. Schmidt in German. Schmidt says the Dusseldorf and Munich schools of painting flourish because the governments extend a liberal patronage to young artists. That the art languishes elsewhere because the patronage all goes to Old pictures or the copies of them."[91]

Everett almost certainly found this topic interesting on several levels and it was of immediate importance to him because he was spending many days himself during the winter of 1840-1841 visiting various art collections and making picture hunting expeditions. He was looking specifically for passable copies of famous works to send home to friends and acquaintances who had asked him to perform this service for them.[92] Almost immediately upon

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[91]Everett Diary, Dec. 3, 1840. It is interesting to note that, four years earlier, in 1836, Colonel Thomson had introduced George Ticknor to Bartolini in Florence. See below.

[92]Even after he went to England late in 1841, Everett was asked by Americans to seek out copies of paintings for their own collections or for those of organizations with which they were affiliated. In 1844, for example, Samuel F. B. Morse, President of the National Academy of Design, New York, asked Everett, who was then in London, to obtain copies of the Elgin marbles for the Academy. Everett replied that, contrary to popular American opinion, the British government had not made copies of the ancient sculptures. Furthermore, Everett could not ethically solicit the U.S. government for funds for such an

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his arrival in Florence, for example, he obtained a copy of an unidentified "famous" picture for thirty-one-dollars for a Mr. Ladd back in America.[93] On several other occasions, he bought and sent to Boston a number of paintings--some copies, some supposed originals--for his father-in-law, Peter Chardon Brooks.[94] Greenough, Powers, and other artists assisted him in these projects but his most frequent companion in his search for pictures and in other ventures was Col. James Thomson of New York, a fellow art lover and collector.[95] Together they searched for paintings, Old

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undertaking since it was for a private institution, "however respectable." If the Academy were willing to pay for the casts, however, Everett believed that he could probably get them at a discounted rate. "It will afford me much pleasure," he wrote Morse, "in that event, to give all the personal attention which might be requisite in making the purchase and superintending the packing and forwarding of the casts" (EE, London, to Morse, January 22, 1844, Everett Papers 22).

[93]EE, Florence, to Mr. Ladd, Nov. 20, 1840, Everett Papers 26.

[94]EE, Florence, to P. C. Brooks, Dec. 17, 1840, Jan. 10, 1841, Everett Papers 26. In these and other letters, Everett was not above throwing in some free advice on the proper placement of the pictures in Brooks's home. Everett's daughter, Anne, also wrote to her grandfather Brooks about the new acquisitions: "I hope you will be pleased with the pictures papa has sent you, for we all think they are very beautiful. I do not see but what those which are copies are almost as good as the originals, and some are originals themselves" (Anne Gorham Everett, Florence, to Hon. P. C. Brooks, March 1, 1841, in Bush, 114).

[95]Everett Diary, passim. In a letter of Dec. 14, 1840 to Col. Thomson (Everett Papers 26), Everett detailed his recent activities in seeking out copies of paintings. He mentions copies of works by Salvator Rosa, which he saw while with Greenough, several historical paintings and landscapes, various Magdalenes, Madonnas, etc., and two

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Masters and copies of them, and visited the studios of the American sculptors Powers and Clevenger and of the most well-known Italian sculptor of the day, Bartolini.[96] At the latter's rooms, Everett observed an example of artistic modeling as it occurred in a sculptor's studio and noted the difficulties involved in the procedure:

> Bartolini's rooms are a vast Pantheon of the gods and goddesses of modern fashion principally English. There are also several groups finished or in progress. We were admitted into his working room where he was employed upon a group of Ulysses about to hurl Astyanax over the walls, Andromache lying faint with fatigue at his feet. A man & a boy sitting or rather standing as models were present, and by Mr. B.'s direction put themselves in position naked. The attitude of course is immensely painful both for the boy & the man; the boy hanging with his head down, the man supporting the boy at arms' length over his head. . . . The group

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supposed Caravaggio's, all or which he was considering for purchase.

Thomson was one of Greenough's patrons, having commissioned his own bust from the sculptor as well as full-length portraits of his two sons. In these, the children were depicted playing battledore, and the sculptures, one of each child, were meant to be placed across a room from one another. (See Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 103). None of the Thomson sculptures are located today. The Colonel died by 1848 when his estate was auctioned in New York. The catalogue for that sale reveals that he had a large library and owned a number of supposed old masters including works said to by by Boucher, Andrea Del Sarto, Salvator Rosa, Poussin, Murillo, and Guercino. Unfortunately, no sculpture, American or otherwise, is listed in the catalogue but Thomson did own at least one painting by an American artist, a head of a boy by John Singleton Copley, now unidentified and presumably unlocated. See Catalogue of Valuable Oil Paintings, and An Extensive Private Library, To be Sold at Auction, By Dumont & Hosack, By order of the Executors, at the residence of the late owner, James Thomson, Esq., deceased (New York: George F. Nesbitt, Stationer, 1848).

[96]Everett's diary mentions Col. Thomson a number of times. For example, see the entries for Nov. 17, Nov. 19, and Dec. 3, 1840, and Jan. 4, 1841.

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> reminded me of Canova's Hercules & Lichas but the addition of Andromache adds greatly to its interest.[97]

During the summer of 1841, Everett and his family lived in the hills near Florence at the Villa Careggi, a former home of the Medici family. The Everetts left the city for the villa at almost exactly the same time that Greenough's great marble figure of Washington left town for the United States. On May 29, 1841, Everett wrote in his diary:

> In the Evening we have our usual reception, the last in the city. Mr. Greenough was obliged to send his statue by the Porta Romana instead of the Porta San Frediano, the pavement of the street leading to the latter having been rendered impassible by the great Egyptian base. It was necessary to cut off the branches of the mulberry trees in the road between the two gates outside the walls at an expense of 400 lire.[98]

Despite their removal from town, however, Everett went almost daily into the city to continue the pursuit of his interests in art, history, and literature; but much of his time that summer and into the early autumn was spent not with Greenough but with Hiram Powers who was modeling his bust, as will be discussed below.

In fact, as Everett became closer to Powers that summer, his intimacy with Greenough seems to have diminished and it had all but ended by the time the politician departed

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[97]Everett Diary, Jan. 4, 1841. Everett visited Bartolini again in the summer but saw little in his studio that he had not seen before. "In his busts he finishes nothing in the heads but the face in plaster," Everett noted disapprovingly, "every thing else is left to his assistants to execute in the marble" (Everett Diary, Aug. 5, 1841).

[98]Everett Diary, May 29, 1841.

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Italy for England in October. This is not to say that the two Americans did not keep in touch after that date and certainly Everett continued to offer the sculptor occasional support. For example, while in London he provided Greenough with some financial assistance,[99] and in January, 1842, he wrote Daniel Webster to ask for his help in pressuring Congress to send Greenough the second, overdue payment for his Rescue group.[100] Early in 1844, he wrote the sculptor to acknowledge receipt of some engravings of his Washington and to state his approval of Greenough's hopes of publishing something about the statue;[101] and as late as 1848, he wrote

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[99]EE to HG, Dec. 23, 1841, Greenough Papers, AAA 1215.

[100]EE, London, to Webster, Jan. 27, 1842, Everett Papers 26. Greenough had evidently written to Everett of his anxiety over the Rescue commission and Everett wrote to reassure him that Congress had no intention of cancelling it (Everett to Greenough, Feb. 23, 1842, Everett Papers 25). When he wrote again to update the sculptor on the status of his paycheck, Everett indicated his frustration over the situation in Washington, viz-a-viz patronage: "With respect to every thing at Washington pertaining to the fine arts, I am in a state bordering on despair. Every thing is carried by personal solicitation. This shuts out at once those artists who have any pride of personal character, & gives all the advantage in the competition to those who besides being on the spot, are willing to work in the only way by which commissions are to be obtained. This is a difficulty independent of those which arise from the character of larger popular bodies like Congress, acting on questions of taste" (EE, London, to HG, March 14, 1845, Greenough Papers, AAA 1215).

It should be noted, too, that Everett was not the only member of his family to appreciate Greenough. His brother, Alexander Everett, wrote a full-length, laudatory article on the sculptor's Washington in 1844 (Alexander Everett, "Greenough's Statue of Washington," U. S. Magazine and Democratic Review 14 [June 1844]: 618-621).

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Greenough about some expressions of praise for the statue he had recently heard.[102] Later, as was typical of him, Everett assisted in clearing up the sculptor's unfinished business after his death. In 1853, for example, he was involved in making arrangements for the completion and shipping to America of Greenough's Rescue group.[103]

Everett's months in Italy had brought him very close to another American sculptor living and working there, Hiram Powers. Of all the artists Everett knew, Powers proved to be his favorite.

Everett and Hiram Powers

When Edward Everett's son William was summing up the great man's life, he noted that a "most Admirable bust" of his father had been executed by Hiram Powers, "whom Mr. Everett always held to be the first of American sculptors."[104]

Certainly, of all the artists with whom Everett came in contact, none was closer to him than Powers. Their relationship spanned many years and they corresponded more

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[101]EE, London, to HG, Feb. 26, 1844, Everett Papers 22.

[102]EE, Cambridge, to HG, Dec. 25, 1848, Greenough Papers 1215.

[103]Powers acknowledged Everett's role in the matter when he wrote him to say that Greenough's group was still at Leghorn. "I believe that you have the control of this matter," he wrote, "and I have alluded to it on that account" (HP to EE, Jan. 12, 1853, Powers Papers 1136).

[104]Everett, "Memoir," 117.

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often and for a longer period of time with each other than they did with almost anyone else.[105] Everett followed Powers's career with the greatest interest; offered him advice on matters large and small; defended him against detractors; and sought and gained both private and public commissions for the artist. In his own letters to the great statesman--and to others, too--Powers repeatedly acknowledged Everett's support and constantly and sincerely expressed his gratitude for having had it. He eventually even named one of his sons after the man.[106]

The exact date of Everett and Powers's first meeting is not certain but most sources place it during the time Powers spent in Washington (November 1834 to June 1836).[107] Many years later, in 1868, the sculptor told Henry Bellows that Everett had visited his studio in the basement of the U.S. Capitol building soon after he had finished his bust of Andrew Jackson (fig. 17), which was in the spring of 1835.[108] On that occasion, Everett brought Baron Louis Von

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[105]Powers's letters are extremely difficult to read but research in this large manuscript collection has been made a great deal easier by the transcription of all of the letters contained therein. If only Powers had heeded the advice of Everett on the subject: "The bluish letter paper which you use soaks the ink & makes your letters hard to read. They merit better paper" (EE to HP, Feb. 10, 1853, Powers Papers 1136).

[106]Edward Everett Powers, known as Ned, was Elizabeth and Hiram Powers's eighth child. See Wunder, 1:169.

[107]Wunder, 1:386-387.

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Krüdener, the Prussian minister to the United States, who "had a great reputation as a critic of art," to see the bust. Although the Baron expressed pleasure with it, he thought that since the president was "the idol of the people," Powers should have graced him with more dignity and elegance which, the Baron admitted, were not qualities found in the original. Rather than feeling chastised by this criticism, Powers claimed to have been inwardly proud that the Baron had acknowledged the bust's "truth" which was exactly the quality Powers sought to achieve instead of the classicizing idealization the Prussian preferred.

Unlike Krüdener, Everett was "silent" during the visit, a fact which evidently irritated the sculptor for he later remembered it and on several future occasions, after he and Everett had developed a warm friendship, he wrote Everett about it. As had been the case for Greenough, Powers's first impression of Everett was not good. Based on what he observed at their initial meeting, he would have found it hard to believe that the Bostonian harbored the "warm and good heart" that he would later grow to know and

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[108]The primary source for information on Everett and Krüdener's visit to Powers is Henry W. Bellows "Seven Sittings With Powers, the Sculptor," Appletons' Journal 1 (June 19, 1869): 360. The details of the meeting were repeated a number of times, for example in Walter R. Houghton, ed., Kings of Fortune (New York: Manhattan Publishing Co., 1885), 514-515, which almost certainly relied on Bellows's article for the story.

According to Wunder, Jackson's sittings to Powers ended in January, 1835, but the sculptor worked on the bust intermittently until early the next year. Wunder has also stated that the date of Everett's meeting with Powers was that same month, January, 1835 (Wunder, 1:129, 2:55).

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appreciate.[109] Powers unabashedly wrote as much to Everett in 1844; and, on another occasion he reiterated his negative response to their first meeting:

> The first time I ever saw you as I have told you before I was not favorably impressed. I thought you cold and formal -- but the 2nd time I got a gleam from the inner furnace of your nature. The doors opened a little, allowed me to look in upon the warm fire and the molten metal of your soul flowing with promise of any form of charitable structure which might present itself to its flow--and it has flowed upon me and mine.[110]

Rather than being insulted by these recollections, Everett agreed with Powers's assessment. He acknowledged the narrow views he had held on art when he first met Powers and assured him that, thanks to the sculptor himself, his own vision had broadened. Everett even offered direct evidence of the influence that Powers had on him and that statement is worth quoting here. "I am very much touched by your allusion to our first acquaintance at Washington," Everett wrote,

> I certainly then undervalued you, or I should not have been so very cold. The truth is, I had not then got rid of some false notions of art, which I brought from a former visit to Europe, and I was terrified with the old General's forehead & hair;--not the first man, by the way, whom he has frightened. The study of your works has rectified my taste in that respect.
>
> With respect to general coldness of exterior there is too much foundation for the remark, which has been made by many a one before, though not always with your kindly qualifications. When the secrets of all hearts

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[109]HP to EE, May 29, 1844, Powers Papers 1132. Powers was not the only person to think Everett cold, at least at first. For references to several of the sculptor's contemporaries who shared this view, see Wunder, 1:176-77n.

[110]HP to EE, April 5, 1855, Powers Papers 1137.

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> are laid open, that matter &, I suppose a good many others, will be satisfactorily cleared up.[111]

Everett had stated his original attitude toward Powers's art--the attitude he held at the time of his visit to the sculptor with Krüdener--shortly before or after that event; for in February, 1835, Powers wrote Nicholas Longworth that Everett, like Krüdener, found the bust of Jackson too realistic. Everett "is the only one as yet to criticize my work," Powers stated. "He found that I had copied all the President's wrinkles, & that he considered a fault in the Bust--& he remarked that the Antique Statues had no wrinkles!"[112] For the time being, Everett, like Krüdener, preferred the ideal to the real, the Greek to the Roman, and did not hesitate to say so.[113]

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[111]EE, London, to HP, June 12, 1844, Powers Papers 1132.

[112]HP to Longworth, Feb. 19, 1835, Hiram Powers Papers, Cincinnati Historical Society, Cincinnati, Ohio, quoted in Headley, 170. As was mentioned earlier in this dissertation, Powers had already written to Longworth indicating Everett's coldness. On February 1, Powers told Longworth of possible plans to leave Washington for Philadelphia and Boston, "altho' I have very little hopes of success in the latter place, from the disposition manifested thus far by its most conspicuous citizens, Mr. Everett and Mr. Webster" (HP, Washington, to Longworth, Feb. 1, 1835, in "Hiram Powers in Washington," Lippincott's Monthly Magazine 55 [April 1895]: 538).

[113]In 1869, Powers told Bellows: "I wrote Mr. Everett, many years after, reminding him of this interview, and also remarking on his silence at the time. He wrote me frankly that his silence was caused by his consciousness of a very poor right to speak on such a subject, but that he had often pondered it since, and had come to the deliberate conclusion that the baron was wrong in his criticism and counsel. If I have since done any thing in my art (said Powers), it is due to my steady resistance to all attempts

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Everett and Powers saw each other on at least one other occasion during the 1830s when the sculptor was in Boston. In May, 1837, Everett dined at Gov. Winthrop's and, he noted in his diary, "Mr. Powers the sculptor sat next me."[114] Their relationship remained merely cordial, however, and they had little contact with one another until late in 1840 when Everett arrived in Florence. (Powers and his family had sailed for Europe in October, 1837, and were in the Tuscan capital the following month). As Janet Headley has recently noted, Powers's Italian encounter with Everett was crucial to the artist's career.[115] It was also important in adjusting Everett's taste as it shifted away from the Neoclassical or at least broadened to include other artistic styles.

Everett was not in Florence long before he made the first of many visits to Powers's studio. During his initial foray, which Everett made in the company of Col. Thomson of New York, Powers told him that "he found it very difficult to get workmen to finish off work and that he was obliged to do a great deal himself." Everett saw "several of his busts which I had seen before in America" as well as the model for Powers's statue of Eve, contemplating the apple.[116] A few

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to drive me from my love and pursuit of the truth" (Bellows, 360).

[114]Everett Diary, May 31, 1837.

[115]Headley, 171.

[116]Everett Diary, Nov. 17, 1840.

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weeks later, Everett was in the studio again and this time Powers was working on a marble version of his first ideal conception, a "beautiful head of Genevra [sic]," which Everett thought could not be outdone for its loveliness.[117] Always interested in the technical aspects of sculpture, Everett discussed the various types of marble with Powers and noted that marble from Serravezza was preferable to that from Carrara for its purity and transparency.[118] Later, Powers explained that the products of the Serravezza quarries could enhance sculptural realism because of its slightly yellow tint which "occasionally makes a near approach to flesh."[119]

Technical considerations were again under discussion two weeks later when Everett brought his daughters to Powers's studio. The sculptor showed them an instrument made of whalebone which he used for finishing clay models. He told them that he had just sent a marble replica of Ginevra (see fig. 18) to Leghorn to be shipped to its owner, George Tiffany of Baltimore, and he indicated that he was at work on a bust of David Urquhart of New Orleans (private collection, New Orleans, La.). Everett was given a special showing of the Eve Tempted (fig. 19) which, he noted, was

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[117]Shortly after this, Everett suggested to his father-in-law, Peter C. Brooks, that he order a replica of Ginevra but he did not follow Everett's advice (EE, Florence, to P.C. Brooks, Dec. 17, 1840, Everett Papers 26).

[118]Everett Diary, Dec. 2, 1840.

[119]Everett Diary, Jan. 19, 1841.

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taller than the famous Venus de Medici, and a lengthy exchange with Powers on the merits of the latter statue ensued. Using the sculptor's Eve as a model for comparison, they discussed what they saw as the incorrect proportions of the older statue. They decided that Venus's feet were too long, her thigh too short, her patella too large, and her ankle clumsy. Her head, though beautifully conceived, was too small and the smallest of her toes was cramped, possibly due to the disfiguring constraint of a sandal, Everett surmised. Powers's Eve was better and, they audaciously acknowledged, was actually an improvement on the antique.[120]

Being a blatant admirer of the artistic habit of improving upon nature, Everett was obviously pleased with Powers's idealized statue. At the same time, he had begun to adjust his own taste to allow himself to admire Powers's realism. In the same diary entry in which he praised the perfected proportions of Eve, Everett acknowledged the equally admirable "imitation of flesh" which Powers was able to achieve in his bust of Judge Jacob Burnet (1837, Cincinnati Art Museum). As he had done with Greenough, Everett was allowing the taste and experience of the artist to influence his own opinions about art and he platonic love affair between Everett, the patron, and Powers, the artist, had begun.

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[120]Everett Diary, Feb. 9, 1841.

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During his many visits to Powers's studio, Everett was deeply impressed with how hard the sculptor worked and with the fullness and hectic nature of his schedule. "Nothing," Everett wrote, "can exceed the conscientiousness of his labor."[121] He fretted about the crowds of visitors in the studio who might interfere with the artist's important work; and he was in awe of the number of workmen who were kept employed turning out marble replicas of Powers's busts.[122] By April, 1841, Everett had been completely "persuaded. . . of Mr. Powers superiority to all living artists." Soon he was promoting the sculptor to the rich and powerful by encouraging the Grand Duke and Duchess of Tuscany, who he knew socially in Florence, to visit Powers's studio, which they promised to do.[123]

During the late summer of 1841, while Everett anxiously awaited the results of the United States Senate's debate on his appointment as Minister to Great Britain, he sat to Powers for his bust. Everett "had gone through the tedious process more than once with others," his biographer wrote, "and looked forward to it with no exhilaration, although he had a very high opinion of Mr. Powers's art."[124]

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[121]Everett Diary, Dec. 17, 1840.

[122]Everett Diary, Jan. 19, 1841. During one of his visits, Everett saw three workmen carving busts, one chipping away at the bust of Judge Jacob Burnet, one working on David Urquhart, and another having at Ginevra (Everett Diary, Jan. 27, 1841).

[123]Everett Diary, April 26, 1841.

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Everett's admiration for Powers is evident in his willingness to endure the unpleasant sittings. In fact, instead of complaining about the impending process, he wrote to his brother-in-law, Sidney Brooks, that he "should deem it the greatest honor & happiness to have my bust by Mr. Powers."[125]

The sittings began on September 4, 1841, and continued at a regular pace until September 30, the day before the Everett family left Florence for good. The boredom Everett often felt while posing to others for his portrait was somewhat relieved during his sittings to Powers by their interesting conversations. Although the focus was usually on art, many topics were discussed. For example, Powers told Everett of discussions he had had with Andrew Jackson about astronomy, of all things, while the president was posing for his bust in the mid 1830s. (Jackson was convinced that the moon was the same size as other heavenly bodies). Jackson's nephew was present during some of those sittings and he told Powers to "make allowances in the bust on account of the loss of teeth." Powers, however, intended to model the face as he saw it and Jackson agreed, telling him to "follow nature."[126]

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[124]Frothingham, 182.

[125]Everett Diary, Sept. 1, 1841.

[126]Everett Diary, Sept. 6, 1841. Everett thought that Jackson probably got the phrase "follow nature" from Powers himself.

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Everett also learned that Powers had been thinking about modeling a statue of Washington and, in order to avoid the old problem of how to dress the man, Powers simply intended to depict him nude.[127] (Unfortunately, we do not know Everett's response to this idea). At another time, the sculptor announced that the Danish sculptor Thorwaldsen had been to see him, had given him some helpful advice concerning the clay model of his Eve, and had approved of his work in general.

As high-minded as they probably tried to be during these discussions, Everett and Powers occasionally could not help but gossip. Everett was particularly fascinated by the sculptor's recollections of his early days in Cincinnati and recorded some of Powers's autobiographical anecdotes in his diary. For example, on September 9, 1841, he wrote:

> Sat to Mr. Powers two hours and a half. He gave me many anecdotes of his early struggles into life. He first saw the operation of modelling in Clay performed by an Old Prussian of the name of Eckstein who had taken likenesses of Genl. Jackson & Dewitt Clinton. Eckstein was so ignorant & unskilled that he was obliged to employ Mr. Powers to take the Casts from his moulds. After a while Mrs. Trollope & Mr. Hervieu came to Cincinnati. Hervieu who had talent as a painter entered into a kind of partnership with Eckstein to keep a drawing school. The people at C. refused pretty soon to patronize the school on the ground that H. was living in open concubinage with _____. To quiet the clamor on this head, H. set up a bed in the loft over a clock factory where Powers also lodged which bed he occupied two nights--no more.[128]

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[127]Everett Diary, Sept. 4, 1841.

[128]Everett Diary, Sept. 9, 1841.

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As the bust of Everett progressed, religion eventually cropped up, too. Powers stated his favorable views of Swedenborgianism which he felt had satisfactorily explained, among other things, the phenomenon of animal magnetism. Everett did not agree. He found Swedenborg and his theories of "correspondences" to be "utter nonsense," although it appears that this strong, negative opinion was reserved for his diary and not verbalized to Powers directly.[129]

It was during one of the sittings for his bust that Everett first heard Powers speak of "a wish to execute a statue of a Grecian slave girl carried captive to Constantinople, the hands folded before her, and a chain round her neck with a cross."[130] This idea eventually led to Powers's most famous work, The Greek Slave (fig. 7), the model for which was finished early in 1842, not long after the artist told Everett of his plans.[131]

By the time Everett's bust was complete, he had heard of the Senate's confirmation of his appointment to the Court of St. James. The day following the last of his sittings with Powers, he and his family left Florence and soon left Italy altogether, as will be discussed below.[132]

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[129]Everett Diary, Sept. 22, 1844.

[130]Everett Diary, Sept. 11, 1841.

[131]Wunder, 2:157.

[132]Richard Wunder has recently written, "It was on the basis of their five-month stay in Florence that the

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Before going, however, he wrote to Powers offering his services as the sculptor's agent in London. He reminded him of "the purpose you intimated to me of sending to my care in London a copy of your Genevra [sic]. I shall spare no pains in having it seen to the best advantage in my power, and in disposing of it on the most advantageous terms for you."[133] After he was settled in London, he wrote again to remind Powers to send the bust and reported that he already knew of a prospective client for it. In addition, a friend had expressed an interest in placing an order with Powers and Everett had encouraged the unnamed person to read the article he had recently written and which was soon to appear in the Boston Miscellany (see below). He hoped that the friend would order "one of [Powers's] original works, those spoken of as being in contemplation."[134] Obviously, Everett understood the important difference between an order for a replica of an already existing sculpture and a commission for something completely new.

Although Powers evidently never sent Everett the Ginevra,[135] he did send Everett's own bust to London. It

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Everetts and the Powerses began a friendship that lasted until Everett's death in 1865. From 1841 to 1865 nearly six hundred letters were exchanged between the two men which forms an extraordinarily important record of the lives of both persons and gives insight into the thinking process of each" (Wunder, 1:130).

[133]EE, Rome, to HP, Oct. 20, 1841, Power Papers 1131.

[134]EE to HP, Dec. 29, 1841, Powers Papers 1131.

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had been carved in marble in 1842 (fig. 20) and was in Everett's hands by December 8 of that year. Everett pronounced it "a fine likeness" and believed that he had "never seen any thing superior to it, from your or any other man's chisel ancient or modern."[136] Although by definition it was a very personal work, Everett showed it to as many people as he could and was encouraged to send it to the annual exhibition of the Royal Academy of Arts in London in 1843. He delayed doing this, however, because, as he told Powers, "I thought that standing in a fine light in my parlor, [the bust] would be more likely to be advantageously seen by a large number of intelligent persons, than if placed,--possibly in a bad light,--in an exhibition room." He was correct in this assumption for the bust was soon seen "by large numbers of persons, competent to appreciate its merit, and is, without exception regarded by them as a masterpiece of art."[137] Everett even wanted to send the bust to the Royal Academy the following year with the hope of attracting the attention of the most important would-be British client of all, Queen Victoria.[138] While this did

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[135]Everett regretted the fact that Powers did not send the Ginevra to England and as late as September, 1842, he was still trying to convince the sculptor of the benefits that would inevitably result from such a move (EE to HP, Sept. 7, 1842, Powers Papers 1131). For Ginevra, see Wunder, 2:153-55.

[136]EE, London, to HP, Dec. 8, 1842, Powers Papers 1131.

[137]EE, London, to HP, July 28, 1843, Powers Papers 1132.

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not transpire, Everett knew of plenty of other ways to promote Powers.

Unlike many patrons, Everett showed little or no interest in actually buying works from Powers or any other artist for his own delectation. True, he had a small collection of paintings and sculpture, the specifics of which will be given later, but he firmly believed that he could best serve the interests of artists, art and American culture in general by prompting others to buy their works. For example, he was almost certainly involved, at least indirectly, in gaining a commission for Powers for a replica of his own bust from the Duke of Devonshire in whose stately home, Chatsworth, the bust remains.[139] Everett ordered another replica of the bust in 1856, but not for himself. Instead, seeing another chance to further Powers's fame in America, he intended to present it as a gift to the Mercantile Library Association in Boston. Powers wanted to simply give the bust to the library himself, in honor of Everett, but Everett insisted upon paying for the marble and the labor.[140] The finished work, which is now in the

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[138]Wunder, 2:40. See EE to Charles Robert Leslie, Feb. 26, 1844, Everett Papers 22.

[139]Wunder, 2:40. The Duke visited Powers's studio in Italy in 1847 and delighted the sculptor with his encouragement (EE, Cambridge, to the Duke of Devonshire, April 29, 1847, Everett Papers 27). Also see EE, Cambridge, to HP, Feb. 19, 1849; and HP to EE, April 30, 1849, Powers Papers 1134. Everett and his family thought the bust was "the only satisfactory likeness ever made of the original" (EE, Cambridge, to HP, Sept. 6, 1849, Powers Papers 1134).

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collection of Boston University, was sent to Boston in May, 1857, with the suggestion from Powers that it be placed under a light in order "to produce the necessary shade upon the features--otherwise the expression will be lost."[141] In November, Everett proudly wrote, "My bust gives great satisfaction. It is set up on a square pedestal of black walnut, & over it a plate glass case also square; the corners held together by plated sash-work. I suggested this mode to keep it nice and clean; and the effect is very pleasing."[142]

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[140]HP to EE, Jan. 7, 1857, Powers Papers 1138; and EE to HP, April 7, 1857, Everett Papers 31.

[141]HP to EE, May 6, 1857, Powers Papers 1138. In the same year that Everett ordered the replica for the Mercantile Library Association, he delivered his first oration on George Washington as part of that organization's lecture series of 1855-56. It seems likely that the gift of his bust was meant as a token of appreciation for the Association's first suggesting that he speak on the topic which would bring him fame and ultimately make the restoration of Mount Vernon possible. See Frothingham, 373-374 and passim.

Another marble replica of Everett's bust (Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan) was ordered by his daughter, Charlotte Everett Wise, in 1855; and a plaster cast of it (unlocated) was ordered in 1857 by J. C. Hooker for his wife who was related to Everett. See Wunder, 2:39-41.

[142]EE, Boston, to HP, Nov. 3, 1857, Everett Papers 31. The placement of the bust in the Mercantile Library was noted in a letter from Boston, signed only with the initial "F", which was published in The Crayon 4 (Dec. 1857): 378. Besides Everett's bust by Powers, the letter also mentions the sculptor's statue of Webster, a portrait of Everett by Moses Wight (see below), and the building of the Boston Public Library. All of these concerns were linked to Everett and perhaps the letter was actually written by him. At any rate, the author, whatever his or her identity, expressed the following sentiment which could very well have been at least inspired by Everett: "Now that the building for the Public Library is nearly completed, liberal

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Everett was also instrumental in the promotion of Powers's most famous work, The Greek Slave. Powers wrote to him in April, 1844, to introduce John Grant, who had purchased the first marble version of the statue, and told Everett that much depended on its favorable reception in England. "Should it succeed there," Powers predicted, "I may hope for better times but if it fails, I shall have little reason for making further exertions, as I know of nothing which I can do that would be more likely to place me favourably before the public."

Powers was certain that Grant would do everything he could to assure the sculpture's critical success; but it had occurred to him that Everett "may be able--as I know you have the will--to aid him in his designs."[143] Grant was evidently amicable to this and Everett soon proved his willingness to do his part. Shortly after the Slave arrived in England in early May, 1845, Grant told Powers that Everett would "never loose sight of your interest and promote your advancement in every possible way in my power." He then added:

Bostonians have a good opportunity to patronize Art, by giving our sculptors commissions for portraits and busts of eminent men with which to adorn its walls. Such patronage to be useful ought not to be bestowed upon one or two persons, but should be impartially distributed among all meritorious artists."

For a contemporary view of Everett's role in the Library, see George S. Hillard, "The Public Library of the City of Boston," American Journal of Education 2 (July 1856): 203-209.

[143]HP to EE, April 24, 1844, Powers Papers 1132.

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> I had an interview with Mr. Everett some weeks ago. . . He was anxious to aid me in every way, but the delicacy of his situation as Minister precluded him from taking any active or prominent part. . . . I propose calling upon him again this morning and pay him the compliments of giving him the opportunity of being the first person to inspect the work of his countryman.[144]

Within days of its arrival, Everett got his first look at The Greek Slave, courtesy of Grant who had placed it on exhibition at Henry Graves and Company, a print shop in the Pall Mall.[145] Grant had originally intended to exhibit it in a hall owned by the British Institution and to charge an admission fee to see the statue. Because Graves did not intend to share any of the exhibition profits with Powers, Everett, for one, was against the idea.[146] Grant eventually decided to show it at no charge at Graves's shop and this, therefore, was where Everett saw it. "I went with daughter & young Mr. G. H. Shaw to look at it," he wrote to the sculptor, "It is indeed of surpassing beauty." As with Greenough's Washington, however, Everett had his doubts about the Slave's decency and wondered if "the taste of

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[144]John Grant to HP, May 8, [1845], Powers Papers, quoted in Wunder, 1:214.

[145]EE, London, to HP, May 13, 1845, Powers Papers 1132. The version which Everett saw, which was the first of six marble versions eventually executed, is now in the collection of Christopher William Vane, tenth baron Barnard, Raby Castle, County Durham, England (Wunder, 2:158).

[146]EE, London, to HP, April 8 and May 13, 1845, Powers Papers 1132. Everett was not against the idea of charging admission, he only believed that Powers should reap some of the benefit. Later, he wrote Sidney Brooks that he was certain that if a shilling had been charged each of the Slave's visitors, Powers would have earned at least five-hundred pounds (EE to Brooks, June 18, 1845, Everett Papers 23).

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England & America will support an entirely nude figure, not a goddess or mythological personage."[147] His concern over public reaction to the Slave also prompted him to offer Powers advice on parts of the figure's anatomy, especially the bones which he thought might be too sharp; and he wondered about the sculpture's historical accuracy. Powers assured him that women's bones, being smaller, were more visible and that he was not altogether certain if the Turks had actually sold slaves in the nude although he had never heard it denied.

Everett's fears about public response to the Slave, at least as far as the English were concerned, were soon allayed. He kept a close watch on the statue by going to see it often, alone and with friends. He also sent others to the exhibition, even when he could not accompany them, and he proudly recorded their enthusiasms in his diary and in letters to Powers.[148] On many occasions, he took great pleasure in informing the sculptor "that your statue stands the ordeal of public inspection in this city in the most satisfactory manner. It has been seen by a large number of those whose opinion is of value; and as far as I know is universally deemed a first rate work."[149] The sculptor Sir Richard Westmacott, for example, was "most enthusiastic" and

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[147]Everett Diary, May 7, 1845.

[148]Everett Diary, May 13 and May 15, 1845.

[149]EE, London, to HP, May 20, 1845, Powers Papers 1132.

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said that the Slave "was the best thing he had seen for 20 years." Robert Peel, a member of Parliament and Everett's friend, noted that the Prince of Wales had been to see it and admired it;[150] and both Lord Northhampton, President of the Royal Academy, who visited the statue twice, and the painter Edwin Landseer "spoke of it very handsomely." Everett himself visited it in the company of Roderick Murchison, President of the Royal Geographical Society, among others. It was all the talk at a dinner given by Lord and Lady Zetland and the Duchess of Sutherland spoke of it with the highest praise. When the owners of the print shop in which the Slave was being shown tried to close the exhibition, throngs of people continued to come anyway. All other works paled by comparison and Everett's obvious conclusion from the whole affair was that "a great deal has been done by the exhibition of it to extend Powers's reputation."[151] His "fame may be said, almost at one burst, to have risen to the Zenith."[152] This was due in no small

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[150]EE to Sir Robert Peel, May 8, 1845, Everett Papers 23. The following year, Peel was planning a visit to Florence and Everett told him that it would please Powers if he gave the sculptor his favorable opinions of his work to him in person (EE to Peel, October 14, 1846, Everett Papers 27). Everett wrote to Powers expressing his desire to pay him to model Peel's bust, a task that was evidently never performed (EE to HP, Oct. 15, 1846, Powers Papers 1133).

[151]Everett Diary, May 17, May 19, May 22, May 27, 1845; EE to George Ticknor, May 19, 1845, Everett Papers 23; EE to HP, May 20, 1845, Powers Papers 1132. Also see EE to HP, May 23, 1845, Powers Papers 1132; EE to HP, May 28, 1845, Powers Papers 1132; EE to Nathan Hale, June 2, 1845, quoted in Frothingham, 252.

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part to Everett himself, as Richard Wunder has recently pointed out:

> On every occasion, particularly at Buckingham Palace, where he was frequently a dinner guest, Everett sang the sculptor's praises and urged that Britishers place orders for statues and busts by Powers. His efforts were singularly successful, for a number of English, Scotch, and Irish travelers came to Florence, bringing with them letters of introduction from Everett. More times than not they placed orders for sculpture before taking their leave.[153]

Everett also kept a close eye on the response of the British press to the statue. When an article on Powers appeared in the London Times, Everett was quick to write the editor of that paper to clear up a few errors made therein. The sculptor had not studied under Thorwaldsen as the piece claimed, Everett clarified, and the Times writer was wrong in stating that the Slave was the "first specimen of progress in the higher order of art produced by an American." Powers had already modeled Eve, an ideal head of Ginevra, a bust of Proserpine, and a statue of a Fisher Boy. Furthermore, in a sort of mini-history of American Neoclassic sculpture, Everett recounted that Greenough had created the Chanting Cherubs, Abdiel, and other ideal works, and Crawford had modeled Hebe and Ganymede.[154]

Later, when the Greek Slave was touring the United States during the late 1840s, Everett, who was back in

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[152]EE, London to Sidney Brooks, June 18, 1845, Everett Papers 23.

[153]Wunder,1:152.

[154]"A Friend of Mr. Powers" [EE], London, to the Editor, the Times, May 28, 1845, Everett Papers 23.

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America by then and serving as president of Harvard University, kept Powers apprised of the statue's American reception. He was impressed with the efforts of Miner Kellogg, the painter and friend of Powers who was acting as his agent and promoter in America, and exchanged several letters with Kellogg about the Slave's tour. For the most part, these consisted of discussions of American reaction to the statue's nudity. Late in 1848, Everett wrote Kellogg of his sorrow at hearing of some of the strong objections to this aspect of the conception and derided those who insisted on seeing it in a licentious light.[155]

Naturally, all the fuss over the Greek Slave brought Powers further commissions from private citizens, a number of whom placed orders through or at least because of the intercession of Everett. By June, 1845, Everett reported, Powers had orders for five replicas of his bust of Proserpine, three of which were from English clients.[156] Another potential British patron, the statesman and poet, Sir Francis Egerton, asked Everett if Powers had any new ideas he would like to execute in marble, Egerton preferring to leave the choice of subject to the artist. He was

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[155]EE, Cambridge, to Miner K. Kellogg, Nov. 27, 1848, Miner K. Kellogg Papers, AAA D30.

[156]EE, London, to Sidney Brooks, June 2, 1845, Everett Papers 23. Everett was probably refering to orders placed by Henry Robartes, third viscount Clifden, Cornwall, England, in November, 1844; Sir Digby Macworth, Glen Usher, Caerleton, Monmouthshire, England, in January 1845; and William Bevan, London, probably in early 1845. See Wunder, 2:190.

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supposedly willing to pay up to fifteen-hundred pounds for something by Powers but found it necessary to postpone any purchase temporarily because he was building a new residence in London, Bridgewater House, and therefore had no suitable place to exhibit a new sculpture as yet.[157]. He did state that he preferred a statue of a female figure and Everett suggested he order a replica of a revised version of Eve or perhaps one of Powers's other ideas, Miriam or The Rose of Sharon, two conceptions which never made it off the drawing board, if they even got that far.[158] Egerton offered to advance Powers two-hundred pounds toward a statue but the sculptor declined on Everett's advice. (Everett believed that Powers should not take money from a client until work had actually begun on the ordered piece, thereby avoiding any embarrassing misunderstandings caused by start-up delays, etc.).

Everett's role as Powers's direct agent to Egerton was terminated when his tenure as U.S. Minister to Great Britain ended in 1845 and, as far as is known, Egerton never purchased a sculpture from Powers.[159] Everett did not loose

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[157]Lord F. Egerton, London, to EE, June 30, 1845, Powers Papers 1132.

[158]EE, London, to HP, May 29, 1845, Powers Papers 1132; EE, London, to Sidney Brooks, Everett Papers 23; EE, London, to HP, July 1, 1845 1137.

[159]EE, London, to Lord Frances Egerton, July 1, 1845, Everett Papers 23. Everett wrote, "Among the most agreeable recollections I shall carry home will be that of my intercourse with your Lordship, particularly of this last portion of it, in which you have given me the gratification

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interest in the matter, however, for as late as June, 1846, he reminded Powers of the importance "for your reputation in England, that you should execute [Egerton's] order with brilliant success."[160] When the deal fell through, Everett expressed his keen disappointment and hoped that it was only the subject, Eve, which Egerton had decided against and that he would still find it possible to order something from the sculptor.[161]

Meanwhile, Everett was attempting to get Powers some public commissions as well. In May, 1842, for example, he sang Powers's praises in a letter to John C. Calhoun, who had sat to Powers for his bust in Washington in 1835. "I have for a long time," he began,

> had some thoughts of writing you a line on the subject of your bust modelled by Powers. It was thought at Florence one of his best heads. Powers's talent is of the very highest order--for busts I think him superior to any living artist. Indeed in passing through the galleries of Europe, I have seen no work, ancient or modern, which I have thought equal to his, in this branch. The patronage he has received is not yet equal to his merit. He would hardly live but for the liberal assistance he has received & is receiving from one of your countrymen. I mean Mr. Preston. I hope you will pardon me for having mentioned the subject to you. I have been influenced partly by a wish to enrich our country with as many of the busts of our living men as possible, by this first rate native sculptor, and partly from a wish to render a service to a most

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of announcing to Powers, (in whom I take a most affectionate interest), your disposition to give him an order: an act of patronage from a person like yourself to a young artist of inestimable value."

[160]EE, Cambridge, to HP, June 24, 1846, Powers Papers 1133.

[161]EE, Cambridge, to HP, Oct. 9, 1849, Powers Papers 1134.

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> meritorious & worthy countryman. Mrs. Calhoun & your family & friends will thank me, & in fact my letter must be considered as addressed to them.[162]

In this letter, Everett appealed to Calhoun on several levels. He emphasized the fact that Powers was an American, thereby arousing Calhoun's nationalism; he identified the sculptor's major patron, John Smith Preston, who happened to be a South Carolinian, thereby invoking Calhoun's strong sense of regionalism; and he suggested that those nearest and dearest to Calhoun would fully approve of any support given to the American sculptor, thereby making Powers attractive to Calhoun as a family man. These efforts were not in vain. The following summer, Everett wrote Powers to congratulate him on receiving a commission to execute a statue of Calhoun for the state of South Carolina and hoped "that a letter which I wrote to Mr. Calhoun. . . contributed to your receiving the order."[163] Later, when it took Powers longer than expected to complete the statue, Everett wrote the appropriate persons in South Carolina to assure them of the integrity of the sculptor and the progress of the project.[164]

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[162]EE, London, to J. C. Calhoun, May 19, 1842, Powers Papers 1132.

[163]EE, London, to HP, July 28, 1843, Powers Papers 1132.

[164]EE, Cambridge, to Hon. R.B. Rhett, Oct. 9, 1849, Everett Papers 29. Powers's statue of Calhoun was almost certainly the most physically abused of all American Neoclassic sculptures. Its history in brief is as follows: In 1842, Senator Francis W. Pickens of South Carolina contracted with Powers for the statue on behalf of a number of private citizens of Charleston. The marble figure was

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Early in 1844, Everett made another attempt to gain public commissions for Powers by writing to the editors of the National Intelligencer in Washington to report some flattering remarks that Mrs. Trollope had made about the sculptor.[165] Everett also used the opportunity to suggest that the U.S. Capitol building should contain busts of all the presidents and that Powers would be the most logical choice as the artist hired for such a project. The government should immediately order busts of Presidents Adams, Jackson, and Van Buren from Powers, Everett suggested, and Clevenger's head of General Harrison might be thrown in for good measure. "Powers busts are really of inimitable truth and beauty," he declared.[166]

The government actually made at least a feeble attempt to implement Everett's idea; but the venture eventually failed due to lack of funding. Everett acknowledged to Powers that the idea of the presidential

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shipped to America in 1850, only to end up at the bottom of the ocean off Fire Island, New York, along with Margaret Fuller Ossoli and family. Unlike the Ossolis, Calhoun was resurrected from the deep, minus an arm. Although that appendage was finally replaced in 1857, the entire statue was destroyed during the Civil War. See Wunder, 2:115-116.

[165]In 1845, Everett also sent Mrs. Trollope's account of a visit to Powers's studio--as she had recorded them in her book, A Visit to Italy--to the London Morning Post. See EE, London, to the Editor, Morning Post, May 23, 1845, Everett Papers 23, which he signed "A Friend of Mr. Powers."

[166]EE, London, to Messers. Gales and Seaton, Jan. 30, 1844, Everett Papers 22. Also see EE, London, to Mrs. Trollope, Jan. 30, 1844, Everett Papers 22; and EE to HP, Feb. 22, 1844, Powers Papers 1132.

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busts was his but he reassured the sculptor that he had nothing to do with the paltry sum ($500) the government was offering for each work.[167] "I suppose the limitation introduced in the Senate in the order for your busts," he explained, "was prompted by the friends of some rival artist --rival I mean in his own estimation. Our dear countrymen cannot learn, that it is a common interest of all artists not to make the public patronage worthless, by frittering it away."[168] The idea of filling the Rotunda with portraits of all the U.S. presidents seems to have been a favorite of Everett's. As noted above, in 1834 he had mentioned the possibility of Greenough executing presidential statues for the space, and now he focused his scaled-down hopes on Powers doing busts. Unfortunately, none of his ideas in this regard were to be realized.

At about that same time in 1844, Everett asked his friend in Boston Isaac Davis to use his influence to get the Boston Athenaeum to order a work from Powers who "has as yet no orders except for busts, which in consideration of the vast labor he puts into them yield him no profit."[169] If

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[167]EE, London, to HP, Jan. 1, 1844, Powers Papers 1132.

[168]EE, London, to HP, June 12, 1844, Powers Papers 1132.

[169]EE, London, to I.P. Davis, Feb. 24, 1844, Everett Papers 22. A few months later, Everett wrote Davis again to praise Powers and, while he was at it, suggested that perhaps the city of Boston should buy a copy of Greenough's "noble bust of Franklin" (EE to Davis, June 12, 1844, Everett Papers 23).

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such an order was ever placed by the Athenaeum, no record of it exists.

Occasionally, Powers asked Everett for assistance in gaining a specific commission of which he had heard. One of these occurred early in 1845 when Powers read that a group of businessmen in Philadelphia were planning to erect a monument in the form of a column to honor Henry Clay and that they were prepared to spend as much as ten or twenty thousand dollars. Powers informed Everett that a statue would be cheaper and asked if he knew anyone in Philadelphia who could provide information on the project. Despite the fact that he did not even like Clay, Powers wanted the commission, he wrote, because it would almost certainly lead to other work in America but especially because it would give him an excuse to return to his native land to visit friends and family.[170]

Within days of receiving Powers's request, Everett wrote to an acquaintance in Philadelphia who was involved in the project, John Sergeant, to offer advice on it. He opened with a general, supportive statement on American artists: "I suppose it will be agreed on all hands that if our own country affords the requisite talent, a native artist ought to have the preference." He declared his familiarity with the work of the three most important American sculptors--Greenough, Crawford, and Powers--but

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[170]HP, Florence to EE, Jan. 16, 1845; and HP, Florence, to EE, Feb. 10, 1845, both Boston Public Library.

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stated that it was to the last that an order for a statue of Clay should be made. After all, he pointed out, Greenough already had received two major commissions from Congress and Powers had won only one, and that was merely for a bust for which he had not even been paid. (Everett was referring to Powers's bust of Justice John Marshall).[171] "I can say with great truth," Everett went on, "that there are busts from [Powers's] chisel superior to any other ancient or modern, which I have ever seen." Realizing that Sergeant might think this extravagant praise, he cited for support an article by a presumably unbiased Italian, Prof. A. M. Migliarini, which had appeared in the Giornale Arcadico several years before and which gave Powers high accolades, as will be discussed later in this dissertation. In closing, Everett expressed his deep feelings on the plight of many American artists:

> I own I feel a deep interest in this matter. I have witnessed and with very painful feelings, the hardships which most of our young artists abroad are obliged to encounter. They have sometimes rather too much reason to think they are forgotten at home. I trust it will not be so on the present occasion.[172]

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[171]Powers's bust of Marshall was ordered by Congress in 1836 (Wunder, 2:71-72). The following year, a resolution was introduced in the House of Representatives to appropriate two-thousand dollars to contract with Powers to execute a statue of Marshall (Bill H.R. 933, 2d Session, 24th Congress, February 14, 1837, copy in Powers File, Office of the Architect of the Capitol, Washington, D.C.) but nothing ever came of this project.

[172]EE, London, to Hon. John Sergeant, Feb. 25, 1845, Everett Papers 23. Everett sent Powers a copy of his letter to Sergeant and the sculptor immediately thanked him for his support. Powers went on to explain that, in fact, the only

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Unfortunately, it *was* so on the present occasion; Powers did not receive a commission from Philadelphia, a fact which Everett regretted. Nevertheless, he optimistically reminded Powers that at least the affair had brought his name to the attention of a number of prominent Philadelphians.[173] As it turned out, Powers was not forgotten in Philadelphia; the year following the discussion over the Clay commission, William B. Reed of that town wrote Everett to announce that a committee was being formed to erect a statue of John Marshall and to ask him for information on Powers as a possible artist for the venture. Everett replied by again pointing out Powers's early bust of Marshall and by stating that, due to the exhibition of the Greek Slave in London, Powers was now an artist of international repute. He suggested that the sculptor would

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reason he pursued commissions for busts and portrait statues was for the support of his family. If he had his preference, he went on, he would do nothing but ideal works (HP, Florence, to EE, March 14, 1845, Boston Public Library).

[173]Sergeant wrote Everett in April, 1845, to say that the Philadelphians decided not to use the funds for a statue but to honor Clay in some other way (EE, London, to HP, May 1, 1845, Powers Papers 1132).

At exactly this time, Everett wrote to Horatio Greenough about his general dismay over the lack of major commissions for American sculptors, specifically from the United States government. "Every thing is carried by personal solicitation," he lamented, "This shuts out at once those artists who have any pride of personal character, and gives all the advantage in the competition to those who, besides being on the spot, are willing to work in the only way by which commissions are to be obtained. This is a difficulty independent of those which arise from the character of large popular bodies like Congress, acting on questions of taste" (EE, London, to HG, March 14, 1845, Everett Papers 23).

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not consider doing a full-length statue for less than five-thousand dollars and that the cities of Boston and New York might be asked to contribute to the effort.[174] Once again, however, Everett's efforts were in vain; a commission for a statue of Marshall was not forthcoming. Several years later, though, Reed wrote to Everett again, this time on behalf of Mrs. Edward S. Burd, a Philadelphia widow whose husband had left $10,000 to erect a monument to their deceased children. Everett told Reed that he did not know the extent of Powers's current work but was certain that he would be interested in knowing of the Burd project.[175] Although it is not certain whether or not Powers was ever seriously considered for the commission, the outcome obviously irritated Everett. The monument was eventually executed by the European sculptor Carl Johann Steinhauser, possibly with the use of designs by Henry Kirke Brown;[176]

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[174]EE, Boston, to W. B. Reed, Feb. 10, and May 8, 1846, Everett Papers 27; EE to HP, Feb. 28, 1846, Powers Papers 1131.

[175]EE, Cambridge, to William B. Reed, Sept. 27, 1848, Everett Papers 28.

[176]The monument was erected to the memory of the three children of Mr. and Mrs. Edward Shippen Burd in St. Stephen's Church, Philadelphia. Supposedly, Powers, Greenough, Crawford, Henry K. Brown, and Carl Johann Steinhauser were invited to submit models for the sculpture. It is not known exactly how many responded to the request but Brown, at least, executed a plaster model for the sculpture. The model was seen in his studio in Brooklyn in 1849 ("Brown's Studio," Bulletin of the American Art-Union 2 [April 1849]: 18) but the commission eventually went to Steinhauser, a German-born sculptor who lived in Rome and who enjoyed a surprising amount of patronage from Philadelphians, including Edward Carey. At least one writer

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but something about the affair--probably the fact that it was not awarded to an Amerian--prompted Everett to comment rather disparagingly on businessmen as patrons of the arts. "You must remember," he warned Horatio Greenough after telling him of the Burd commission, "that the training for our men of business is in the counting house & that every thing to be paid for is regarded as a matter of mercantile bargain. . . . You must be thankful that they do not call for a sample."[177]

Later in 1846, J.F. Simmons, Chairman of the Joint Library Committee of the U.S. Congress, which was contemplating commissioning an equestrian statue of George Washington, wrote to Everett asking his opinion of Powers. In terms that were as laudatory as possible, Everett gave Simmons a sketch of Powers's life and listed his most important works to date. He followed this with a summary of Powers's distinguishing characteristics:

> First, a profound study of nature in her minutest details, but Secondly, united with this close imitation of nature, A perception of character & expression and an air of life & feeling which I think have never been combined with a severe study of nature in a higher degree, Thirdly, a mechanical handling of the marble which gives it to the eye the softness of living flesh.

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thought that Steinhauser's Burd Monument, completed in 1851, was based on Brown's design ("Recent Church Decoration," Scribner's Magazine 15 [Feb. 1878]: 570). Also see "The Burd Monument," Philadelphia Art Union Reporter 1 (May 1851): 31; and, for Steinhauser, Rev. W. H. Furnes, "Hero and Leander," The International Art-Union Journal 2 (March 1849): 24-27.

[177]EE, Cambridge, to HG, June 17, 1849, Everett Papers 29.

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> This effect has been in some degree produced by the use of instruments of his own invention.[178]

Everett sent a copy of this letter to Powers and promised to do whatever he could to see that he got the commission "because you desire it." He wondered, however, if it would be the best thing for Powers to do since he already had so many other orders.[179] The issue was made moot, however, with the outbreak of the Mexican War which, as Everett told Powers, "knocked in the head all measures for the patronage of any other arts than those of destruction."[180] Once again, no commission was given by the U.S. government to Powers.

Everett's most intensive efforts to gain Powers a governmental commission, however, revolved around the sculptor's America (fig. 21), a standing, full-length, partially nude female allegorical figure which the sculptor began in 1848. He announced the project to Everett in January of that year and in November wrote that he had been working continually on the new statue which, at the time, he called variously Liberty or America, finally settling on the latter title. He feared Everett might think it was "an old and stale subject" but he explained that he was "trying to

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[178]EE, Boston, to Hon. J.F. Simmons, March 11, 1846, Everett Papers 27.

[179]EE, Boston, to HP, March 23, 1846, Powers Papers 1133.

[180]EE, Cambridge, to HP, May 15, 1846, Powers Papers 1133. The following year, Everett told Powers that still nothing was being done in Washington "for art" due to the war (EE to HP, Feb. 28, 1847, Powers Papers 1133).

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make something out of it, suited to our day and the peculiar institutions and feelings of our country and nation."[181] Despite his later protestations to the contrary, Powers's reference here was almost certainly to slavery. In fact, such symbolism, obvious or not, would eventually help doom the project.[182]

Everett did his best--again in vain, as it turned out--to see that Powers received an order for the sculpture from the United States government.[183] Meanwhile, he also entered into discussions with Powers about the iconography of the work. As has been pointed out elsewhere, the sculptor gradually altered the symbolic content of his

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[181]HP to EE, Jan. 4, 1848, Nov. 13, 1848, Powers Papers 1133. Powers seems to have had some trouble making up his mind about what he wanted to call the figure. In his letter of Jan. 4, 1848, he told Everett that he was "progressing rapidly with my new statue which I intend to call America--not Liberty;" but in the letter of Nov. 13, he again refers to it as Liberty.

[182]For a discussion of Powers's allusions to slavery in his America, see Vivien Green Fryd, "Hiram Powers's *America*: `Triumphant as Liberty and in Unity'," American Art Journal 18 (1986): 55-75. There can be no doubt as to Powers's strong opposition to slavery; he wrote to Everett (and others) about it on a number of occasions, especially immediately before and after the outbreak of the Civil War. See, for example, HP to EE, Jan. 19, 1861, Powers Papers 1141; and EE to HP, March 31, 1861, and March 17, 1862, Everett Papers 32.

[183]The story of the America has been told in three recent works: Jean Fagan Yellin, "Caps and Chains: Hiram Powers' `Statue of Liberty'," American Quarterly 38 (Winter 1986): 798-826; Vivien Green Fryd, "Hiram Powers's *America*," American Art Journal: 55-75; Wunder, 1:281-83 and passim. See also, Vivien Green Fryd, "Sculpture As History: Themes of Liberty, Unity and Manifest Destiny in American Sculpture, 1825-1865" (Ph.D. diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1984).

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design in a conscious effort to obtain patronage, specifically from the federal government.[184] In these revisions, he sought the advice of Everett who gave his queries careful consideration and even conducted some informal research on appropriate related topics.

Two traditional symbols which were being considered by Powers for the adornment of the figure were of particular concern to Everett: the liberty, or Phyrigian, cap, and the fasces, a traditional symbol of unity in the form of bound rods. Soon after Powers had arrived at the exact design for his America, he wrote Everett about the appropriateness of having the figure hold a cap. After giving the idea careful consideration, which involved an examination of the use of the symbol in ancient Roman art, Everett decided that he did not like it. The symbol, he concluded, was wrong for a statue which represented "constitutional freedom" and it should be reserved as an emblem of personal freedom such as in the desire of a slave to be free.[185] Nevertheless, Everett sought the advice of Italian experts on symbolic devices and within a few months he reversed his decision. He told Powers that perhaps the cap could be used to stand for republican liberty after all, although he was evidently still anxious about it's use and advised the sculptor to

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[184]Yellin, 798.

[185]EE, Cambridge, to HP, Jan. 22, 1849, Powers Papers 1134. Powers's friend Charles Eaton also opposed the liberty cap. See Fryd, "Hiram Powers's *America*," 66-67.

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give the problem more thought.[186] Perhaps the possibility of misinterpretation raised by Everett gave Powers pause; or, as has been suggested elsewhere, the sculptor may have become discouraged by contemporary Italian political events which included the defeat of the Italian republican party.[187]

At any rate, in January, 1850, now definitely calling the statue America, Powers told Everett that he had decided to delete the liberty cap all together and to adorn the head of the statue with a diadem of thirteen stars; but, he asked, should it include an inscription?[188] Everett thought not. "Let it tell its own story," was his reply.

The iconographic program which Powers eventually decided upon for his America was expressed by him in a letter to Everett:

> I intended by this work to embody our national creed, truth, Justice, Union, and Freedom. The hand pointing to Heaven signifies the first, the fasces on which "America" leans, the second, and the broken chains under foot, the third. The figure itself embodies the youth and vigour of our great country and I have made it as beautiful as I could.[189]

In 1851, once America was completed in plaster, Powers sent Everett daguerreotypes of it and it was declared

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[186]EE, Cambridge, to HP, June 5 and Oct. 9, 1849, Everett Papers 29. A decade later, in connection with Powers's statue of Daniel Webster for the city of Boston, Everett researched the use of the fasces in art. See below.

[187]Yellin, 806.

[188]HP to EE, Jan. 1, 1850, Powers Papers 1134.

[189]HP to EE, June 5, 1855, Powers Papers 1137.

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"truly beautiful, dignified, & graceful." However, just as he had raised the issue of the nudity of Greenough's Washington and Powers's Greek Slave, Everett also expressed concern that America might be "too naked" for America. Powers evidently shared these fears but did nothing to prevent them.[190] In fact, the sculpture was later attacked on just this point--its shocking and, to some, disrespectful state of undress--and President Franklin Pierce, who was eventually involved in the sculpture's rejection by the U.S. government, was almost certainly influenced by such negative criticisms.[191]

Everett also agonized over exactly how the matter of a commission for Powers's statue should be placed before the U.S. Congress. He decided that the best approach was to convince the representatives from the sculptor's home state, Ohio, to introduce appropriate legislation;[192] but he also

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[190]EE, Cambridge, to HP, April 7 and April 20, 1851, Powers Papers 1135. Powers wrote that "your remarks about the nudity of `America' tally with my own fears but I hope to execute such a work as will win a favourable sentiment from my fellow countrymen, and atone for scanty drapery" (HP to EE, May 14, 1851, Powers Papers 1135).

[191]See Yellin, 814, who cites an article from the New York Daily Times (Sept. 16, 1856) which asked, "Does a half-naked female figure. . . . with one hand pointing upwards, and one foot trampling on the symbol of emancipated slavery, truthfully, historically typify America?" This criticism was not new for Powers who had already read disparaging remarks about America, published in the Illustrated London News, as early as 1851 (HP to EE, Nov. 9, 1851, Powers Papers 1135).

[192]EE, Cambridge, to HP, Oct. 9, 1849, Powers Papers 1134.

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realized that Congress in 1850 was too pre-occupied with the "great question before them"--the Compromise of 1850--to give immediate attention to the suggestion.[193] Nevertheless, in August, 1850, he wrote Congressman David T. Disney of Ohio, extolling Powers's reputation and abilities and suggesting that Disney seek a commission for him. Powers would be happy to undertake any subject, Everett suggested diplomatically, but, as it happened, he was working on a statue representing America at that very moment. "I really wish the Ohio delegation would take the matter in hand," he reiterated in December. "They would render a service to American Art of the first order and the time is coming, if it has not already arrived, when your great & noble state will consider Powers's fame the brightest jewel in her crown."[194]

Sure enough, within a few days of this request, Disney offered a resolution to the House for employment of Powers to execute an unspecified commission.[195] Meanwhile, at Disney's suggestion, Everett gathered signatures on a petition which urged Congress to support such legislation. Among the signers were well-known Bostonians George Ticknor,

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[193]EE, Cambridge, to M.K. Kellogg, March 16, 1850, Everett Papers 29.

[194]EE, Cambridge, to Hon. David T. Disney, August 14, 1850, Everett Papers 29; same to same, Dec. 11, 1850, Everett Papers 30.

[195]D.T. Disney, Washington, to EE, Dec. 16, 1850, Powers Papers 1135.

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William H. Prescott, Francis Calley Gray, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.[196] The petition was presented to Congress in March, 1851, by Kentucky congressman Richard Stanton, a member of the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds. The petitioners, it was stated, "are gentlemen of the highest literary and political distinction" who acted out of "patriotic desire of obtaining, from the greatest living sculptor our own or any other country has produced, a work which at the same time will illustrate the perfection of American genius and reflect credit upon the liberality of our government."[197]

Next, Everett wrote to the current President, Millard Fillmore, asking for his support. In his letter, Everett indicated that he had decidedly changed his mind about the older sculptures at the Capitol by the Italian sculptor, Luigi Persico, which Everett himself had praised some years before (see below). Referring to these works, Everett told the President in no uncertain terms that "Congress. . . squanders thousands on the frightful abortions which disfigure the Capitol [but] has not thought proper to give any commission to this (as I think) first sculptor of the day."[198] Despite Everett's efforts, however, Congress failed to pass the resolution.[199]

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[196]EE to D.T. Disney, Dec. 18 and Dec. 19, 1850, Powers Papers 1135. Also see Wunder, 1:166.

[197]"Statue of America," in 31st Congress, 2nd Session, Report No. 92, March 3, 1851.

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Everett's next move came in 1853 when he convinced Congressman Stanton to amend a bill concerning an equestrian bronze figure of George Washington being designed by Clark Mills' with a proposal to appropriate $20,000 for Powers's America. Unfortunately, this attempt also failed.[200]

Both Powers and Everett seem to have let the matter rest for the next two years until word was received in 1855 that Salmon P. Chase, senator from Ohio, had succeeded in getting a resolution passed in both congressional houses for the allocation of $25,000 for the purchase of "some work of art" from Powers. The amendment was left purposefully vague; that is, it did not specify the purchase of America or any other work by name. Chase believed that earlier resolutions for the purchase of sculpture from Powers had failed because many congressmen objected to "allegorical

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[198]EE, Washington, to President Fillmore, March 4, 1851, Everett Papers 30. At the same time, Everett was attempting to gain an appointment for Powers's son, Longworth, who was known as Nicky, to West Point and asked the President to help. Everett assured him that he had no personal interest in the matter but that he was "actuated only by admiration of the artist & love for the man."

[199]At this point, Powers claimed not to care about the government's indifference to him and even contended that he gained strength from his freedom from such concerns. "I can manage to swim along unaided by Government patronage--I begin to feel ambitious and confident of some success independent of my country as a government (HP to EE, July 15, 1852, Powers Papers 1136).

[200]EE, Washington, to HP, Feb. 10, 1853, Powers Papers 1136. Mills' bronze statue of Washington was completed in 1860 and erected at Washington Circle, Washington, D.C. See James M. Goode, The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D.C. (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1974), 384.

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statuary." He thought it advisable, therefore, to remain ambiguous in the wording of his amendment.[201] Unfortunately, while this lack of specificity may have been politically correct for Chase, it led to confusion and, ultimately, bitterness for Powers.

In March, 1855, Everett, who had by then retired from Congress due to ill health, wrote Powers to tell of the passage of Chase's resolution. "There," he cheered, "is not that good news! I suppose you will offer the President [who was now Franklin Pierce] your America, & he no doubt if satisfied that this is the true thing, will take it & pay you the $25,000."[202] Powers was encouraged by the news, at least at first, and hoped that the promised income would allow him and his family to return to America.[203] He told Everett of his belief that America, in its current size, would be best suited for a room in the Capital or for the Library of Congress; but he hoped the legislature would order a larger version to be placed out-of-doors under a temple raised on columns.[204]

On the sculptor's behalf, Everett wrote President Pierce, reminding him of the recent congressional

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[201]EE, Boston, to HP, May 7, 1855, Powers Papers 1137.

[202]EE, Boston, to HP, March 5, 1855, Everett Papers 31.

[203]HP to EE, April 5, 1855, Powers Papers 1137.

[204]HP to EE, June 5, 1855, Powers Papers, 1137.

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appropriation and asking him to consider Powers's America as the proper choice for the expenditure. He also displayed his knowledge of the history of art and lent his support to the ideal conception of America. Throughout history, the best sculptures have been the ideal ones, he told Pierce. The Capitol city had enough historical sculpture and, besides, "procuring a beautiful specimen of sculpture for the instruction of young artists" was reason enough to buy America.[205] Pierce replied that in matters of art he intended to rely on the opinion of qualified persons such as Everett; and Everett, in turn, again assured him that the statue, which fulfilled the symbolic requirements of an allegory, was an appropriate ornament for the Capital. Everett staved off any of the president's possible objections to the figure's nudity by posing the questions "How is a great country to be symbolized?--how is any abstract idea to by symbolized?--certainly by some such material embodiment as this."[206] As an allegorical precedent, he referred to Dr. Dwight's celebrated ode which proclaimed, "Columbia, Columbia, to glory arise, The queen of the earth & the child of the skies" [Everett's emphasis]. Powers, he told Pierce, had put Dwight's queen into marble and surely the symbols chosen by the sculptor were better

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[205]EE, Boston, to Franklin Pierce, June 28, 1855, Everett Papers, 31.

[206]EE, Boston, to HP, July 30, 1855, Powers Papers, 1137; EE, Boston, to Franklin Pierce, Oct. 5, 1855, Everett Papers 33.

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than a "rapacious bird of pray [sic], with a flash of lightning in one claw and a shield in the other;--a heap of monstrous incongruities (artistically viewed) which nothing but familiarity renders endurable."[207]

In April of the following year, 1856, Powers expressed frustration that neither Congress nor the president had as yet acted upon the proposal to employ him. His work had been rejected in 1853 because it might interfere with a commission for Mills' Washington; now, he complained, it was being put aside to avoid a defeat in Congress of the funding of a proposed monument of "The Republic" to be executed by Horatio Stone.[208] As usual, Everett made inquiries and discovered that Pierce did not feel that he was authorized to spend the entire appropriation of $25,000 on one statue--the America--especially since he had heard that it originally had been offered at $12,000.

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[207]EE, Boston, to Franklin Pierce, Oct. 5, 1855, Everett Papers 33.

[208]HP to EE, April 3, May 1, May 15, 1856, Powers Papers 1138. Therein, Powers mentioned that Congressman Lewis Cass of Ohio had introduced a bill to commission the Republic from Stone, a fact that Everett later advises him not to take personally, since such proposals are often made by congressmen for their constituents. The Republic was never executed in marble but a small, plaster figure by Stone, now known as Uncle Sam '76 and which is in the collection of the Office of the Architect of the Capitol, U.S. Capitol Building, Washington, D.C., might be the model for Republic. See Martha Morris, "Horatio Stone (1808-1875), Nineteenth Century American Sculptor," (M.A. thesis, George Washington University, Washington, D.C., 1969), 25-28, 149.

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Over the next several months, between April and June, 1856, Pierce stalled and made excuses to Everett, claiming that no fitting site had been located in Washington for America; that the statue was unsuitable for public display; that Powers should make counter-proposals on the price; and that the sculptor should suggest other works of art to fulfill the commission. All of this left Everett "at a loss to account for the President's strange inaction on the subject of the America."[209] In typical governmental fashion, a committee was formed to mediate differences of opinion, especially any which might arise between the President and Powers. Everett's interest earned him a spot on the committee where he joined Secretary of War Jefferson Davis, Attorney General Caleb Cushing, and others.[210]

At this point, Everett began to urge Powers to come to the United States to supervise the progress of the commission himself. Though the sculptor never followed this

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[209]EE, Boston, to HP, April 22, June 3, June 17, 1856; EE to Franklin Pierce, May 6, June 10, 1856; Franklin Pierce to EE, June 5, 1856, Powers Papers 1138. Also see U.S. Congress, House, Works of Art for the New Capitol. Message from the President of the United States, 34th Cong., 1st sess., 1856.

[210]EE, Boston, to HP, June 17, 1856, Everett Papers 31. Powers was certain that Everett's presence on the committee would assure an acceptable resolution to the problem. "I leave everything to you dear friend," he wrote. "Let the gentlemen the President has named with yourself judge of my work, the price, fitness and all to approve or condemn according to their discretion, and I have no doubt that strict justice will be done. I shall be grateful for their kindness" (HP to EE, July 22, 1856, Powers Papers 138).

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advice, Everett was probably correct in believing that Powers's presence would have alleviated certain problems surrounding the project. Among these was the undesirable and unsought interference of outside parties who, through their advice, had succeeded in confusing President Pierce and thereby causing him to delay placing an order with Powers. These postponementss led to the stagnation and eventual abandonment of a possible commission for the America.

Among these meddlers, Everett came to believe, was Montgomery Meigs who was supervising engineer of the U.S. Capitol building from 1853 to 1861.[211] Meigs' brief relationship with Everett began in July, 1853, when he wrote the statesman for advice on sculptural designs for the pediments of the new Senate and House wings of the U.S. Capitol building.[212] He sought Everett's opinion on "those

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[211]Everett stated his suspicions of Meigs in a letter to Powers, February 8, 1857, Powers Papers 1138; and again on June 7, 1857, Everett Papers 31.

[212]Another of these supposed meddlers was Samuel Y. Atlee who recently had published an article on Powers (Atlee, "Hiram Powers," Littell's Living Age 42 [Sept. 16, 1854]: 566-571). Everett thought Atlee had overstepped his bounds and was falsely representing himself as Powers's agent in Washington. Congressman Harrison of Ohio had also taken it upon himself to interfere in the matter by calling for an inquiry into the delays surrounding the Powers affair. Everett believed that Harrison's actions would cause the abortion of current negotiations between the committee and the President and he asked Harrison to terminate his efforts (EE, Boston, to HP, June 9, 1856, Everett Papers 31; EE, Boston, to HP, July 1, 1856, Powers Papers 1138. Also see Samuel Yorke Atlee to Capt. Montgomery Meigs, Nov. 15, 1853, and Jan. 10, 1854, Powers

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whom you think most capable of designing and executing these works in such a manner as to reflect honor upon themselves and our country."[213] Everett's reply was instrumental in forming Meig's decision on the project:

> I have no hesitation in expressing the opinion that Mr. Hiram Powers, of Ohio, now at Florence, and Mr. Crawford, of New York, I believe now at Rome, are at the head of the artists of this country and perfectly competent to design and execute the proposed works in a manner to do honor to the country. I consider Mr. Powers in some respects the first living artist; he is the author, as you are aware, of several first-rate works. He has lately been selected by the Committee of Mr. Webster's friends in this region to execute a statue of our great statesman. Mr. Crawford, now engaged in a great monumental work for Richmond, is also a first-rate artist and quite competent to design and execute a work like that proposed.[214]

While the story of the Capitol sculptures has been told elsewhere,[215] it should be noted here that Meigs followed Everett's advice exactly: he offered a commission for sculptures for the south wing of the Capitol to Crawford and one for those for the north wing to Powers. By December, 1853, Crawford had submitted the requested designs

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File, Office of the Architect of the Capitol, Washington, D.C.).

[213]Quoted in Robert L. Gale, Thomas Crawford, American Sculptor (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964), 104.

[214]EE, Boston, to Montgomery Meigs, Washington, July 12, 1853, Powers File, Office of the Architect of the Capitol, Washington, D. C.

[215]See Charles E. Fairman, Art and Artists of the Capitol of the United States of America (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1927), 140-150; and Russell F. Weigley, "Captain Meigs and the Artists of the Capitol: Federal Patronage of Art in the 1850's," Records of the Columbia Historical Society of Washington, D.C. (1969-1970): 285-305.

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to Meigs for his portion of the work, and Everett urged Powers to do likewise.[216] Powers seems to have been receptive to the idea, at least at first, and he even told Everett that he thought Meigs was "a man of taste and great ability."[217] Despite these comments, though, he sent Meigs a curt refusal and claimed he was no longer interested in governmental commissions. After all, he had only recently lost hope of receiving a commission for America and, obviously, the experience had left him bitter. His frustration evidently led him to balk at having to send Meigs designs on such short notice, especially for a multi-figured composition, and he thus refused the commission.[218]

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[216]EE, Washington, to HP, Dec. 4, 1853, Powers Papers 1136.

[217]HP to EE, Jan. 12, 1854, Powers Papers 1137. In this letter, Powers also thanked Everett for his continued efforts on the sculptor's behalf. "Your own good heart," he wrote, "has stood by me in all my trials and there is nothing you could and would name that I would not do for you my dear, very dear friend."

[218]Weigley has suggested that Powers might have refused Meigs' offer because, "as the foremost American apostle of sculptural classicism, [he] resented Meigs's reference to the inability of Americans to appreciate `too refined and intricate allegorical representations'" (Weigley, 289). Wunder believes that it was the complicated nature of the required design that caused Powers's anxiety (Wunder, 1:282-283). In a letter to Everett, Powers stated that at least one of his reasons for the refusal was the haste with which the designs would have to be made and the shoddy workmanship that would probably result from the necessity of having the figures carved in America. "You have alluded with apparent regret," he wrote, "to my having declined to accept Capt. Meigs' invitation. . . . But what was the nature of that invitation, and the works to be done? . . .It would have been for works rapidly modelled and executed, not under the direction of the artist employed,

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Not surprisingly, this in turn seems to have caused Meigs to become frustrated with Powers and to lose faith in his ability to perform efficiently and professionally. By 1856, therefore, he was evidently discouraging President Pierce from acting on Congress' appropriation for a sculpture from Powers.[219]

Despite these setbacks, Everett persevered in his attempts to gain Powers a governmental commission. Franklin Pierce completed his term as President of the United States in March, 1857, leaving unspent the $25,000 which Congress had appropriated for Powers.[220] The new president, James Buchanan, was naturally preoccupied with other matters during his first months in office and Everett feared that

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but by labourers in Washington, and in a coarse marble of the country" (HP to EE, Dec. 4, 1857, Powers Papers 1139).

[219]Although he had previously thought well of Meigs, Powers quickly decided that Meigs was "at the bottom of the whole difficulty" surrounding the failure of the America commission (HP to EE, Aug. 6, 1857, Powers Papers 1139).

[220]Due to the delay in spending the money, it was almost transferred to a separate account of unused funds. Thanks at least in part to Everett, the appropriation was instead renewed and therefore saved for future application to sculptures by Powers. See EE, Boston, to HP, Feb. 8, Feb. 24, and June 7, 1857, Powers Papers 1138.

In the fall of 1858, after he left the presidency, Pierce visited Powers's studio in Florence and assured the sculptor that he had been ignorant of the means by which Crawford had recieved the commission for the Liberty surmounting the dome of the Capitol while Powers had received no order, and he blamed Meigs for the confusion. Pierce also told Powers that one of the last things he did as president was to assure the salvation of the $25,000 appropriated by Congress for Powers; but he declared that he was not aware of Everett's role in making sure the appropriation remained available. See HP to EE, Oct. 24, 1858, Powers Papers 1139.

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this would cause him to give Meigs authoritative control over the America problem, as he called it, thereby guaranteeing a continuation of troubles.[221] Additionally, Powers rather paranoically believed that Buchanan could not be relied upon to be sympathetic to any American artist; after all, the sculptor pointed out, Buchanan was the person who, as a senator twenty years before, had lobbied for sculptural commissions for the Italian artist, Luigi Persico.[222]

Nevertheless, within a year of his taking office, Buchanan was approached by Everett and others concerning a possible commission for Powers. Everett had been unsuccessful in his repeated attempts to convince Powers to come to America and handle the terms of the commission himself; therefore, the politician again stepped in and did what he believed Powers should have been doing for himself: he visited the president in Washington and discussed with him the prospects of spending the languishing $25,000 appropriated for Powers. Buchanan assured Everett that he would not necessarily rely upon Meigs for making aesthetic choices and, instead, would agree to the purchase of any sculpture by Powers named by Everett and Senator James A.

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[221]EE, Boston, to HP, June 7, 1857, Everett Papers 31.

[222]HP to EE, Oct. 2, 1857, Powers Papers 1139. For Powers's and Buchanan's role in the congressional commissions that eventually went to Persico, see Wunder, 1:83-84.

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Pearce, Chairman of the Committee on the Library.[223] Pearce and Everett agreed to recommend the purchase of two portrait statues from Powers, one of George Washington and one of Benjamin Franklin, each eight feet tall. In July, 1858, they wrote the president to that effect.[224] The terms of a contract were negotiated over the next several months during which the president decided that a statue of Thomas Jefferson would be more desirable than one of Washington since images of the first president were already numerous in the capital.[225] The final agreement was signed in January and February, 1859, with Everett acting as Powers's agent in America.[226] It was understood from the start that the $10,000 for each statue was to come from the original, 1855

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[223]Wunder, 1:296.

[224]EE, Boston to HP, May 31, 1858, Everett Papers 31; EE and J. A. Pearce, Boston, to Pres. James Buchanan, July 9, 1858, Everett Papers 31. Everett and Pearce had evidently discussed the appropriate subjects for the statues, with the names of Clay, Webster, Calhoun, and Jackson being introduced by one or both parties. Powers decided on Washington and Franklin but wrote Everett that he had considered a statue of Webster, Calhoun, or Clay for the Capitol building. The Clay, at least, was ruled out due to Powers's lack of a bust of him from which to work and because he did not like Clay whom he had met in Washington in the 1830s. "He would not sit to me as you know already," he wrote Everett, "and I thought him very unfriendly--kind to me he certainly was not" (HP to EE, June 20, 1858, Powers Papers 1139).

[225]EE, Boston, to HP, Oct. 12, 1858, Everett Papers 31.

[226]Contract between James Buchanan, President of the United States, and Hiram Powers by his agent Edward Everett, and Theodore Dehon, his attorney, signed at Washington Jan. 26, Boston Feb. 11, and New York Feb. 28, 1859, Powers Papers 1139.

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appropriation of $25,000 which President Pierce had failed to spend and Powers enthusiastically thanked Everett for his role in the long proceedings which culminated in this commission.[227] The Franklin statue was completed in 1862 and shipped to Washington where it was placed in a hallway in the Senate wing of the Capitol; that of Jefferson, destined for a hallway in the House wing, followed in 1863.[228]

Meanwhile, Everett was instrumental in obtaining a public commission for Powers on another front, this time in Boston. In May, 1853, he told Powers that a group of Daniel Webster's friends had raised a large subscription for a memorial which would probably take the form of a full-length statue of the deceased statesman, either a marble for

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[227]On receiving word of the commission, Powers wrote Everett that "My wife read it with tears of joy and my own satisfaction was hardly less. . . . We did not forget either your own watchfulness to signal the happy news at once" (HP to EE, Oct. 27, 1858, Powers Papers 1139; quoted in Wunder, 1:304).

[228]Wunder, 1:304-305; 2 (1991), 149-151, 180-181. A decade before he received the commission for the Jefferson from Washington, Powers had heard of the possibility of a statue of the man to be commissioned for erection at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville. Against the sculptor's wishes, Everett wrote to John Reuben Thompson, editor of the Southern Literary Messenger proposing Powers for the job. Thompson replied that, unfortunately, the Virginia state legislature had failed to pass a resolution for the statue but if the project should ever be revived, he would do what he could to see that Powers was hired. (See EE Boston, to HP, June 22, 1852, Powers Papers 1136; and Wunder, 2:180). The project was revived in the 1850s but the commission went to the Virginia sculptor, Alexander Galt. (For Galt, see William B. O'Neal, "Chiselled Lyrics," Arts in Virginia 7 [Fall 1966]: 4-18).

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Fanueil Hall in Boston or a bronze for the exterior of the State House there. As it happened, Everett had been appointed as chair of a three-person subcommittee to select a sculptor for the project and, predictably, he favored Powers.[229] By late June, the subcommittee and the organization at large had approved the selection of Powers, who readily agreed to the fee (which had been suggested by Everett) of $15,000 for a marble figure or $12,000 for one in bronze.[230] The contract was signed on October 5, 1853, and delivery of the statue was expected within two years.[231]

Powers was well prepared for the Webster commission. He had modeled the man's bust from life at Webster's home in Marshfield, Massachusetts, in 1836,[232] and except for some problems with the mouth, the bust was deemed appropriate as the model for the head of the statue.[233] Evidently quoting from Webster himself, Powers expressed his ideas about the statesman's figure to Everett and, in doing so, revealed his own political beliefs:

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[229]EE, Boston, to HP, May 9, 1853, Powers Papers 1136.

[230]HP to EE, May 30, 1853; and EE, Boston, to HP, June 26, 1853, Powers Papers 1136.

[231]Wunder, 2:117.

[232]See Wunder, 2:104-106. Two marble replicas of Powers's bust of Webster exist. One is at the Boston Athenaeum and the other is in the collection of the Union League Club, Chicago.

[233]EE, Boston, to HP, June 26, 1853, Everett Papers 30.

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> He should stand as defender of the Union, with his left arm partially around [a fasces] and his right hand pointing to it while with his face turned to the right he should be "frowning indignantly upon the first dawning of every attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts."[234]

At Powers's request, Everett sent him a suit of Webster's clothes and daguerreotypes and a death mask of the subject, the last having been made by George Ticknor.[235] Powers stated his preference for executing the statue in marble. The only advantage of bronze, he believed, was that it could be placed out-of-doors.[236] Everett agreed with Powers's marmorean bias but they were voted down by the committee who preferred bronze.[237]

Work progressed slowly. Powers complained that he had many other commissions on which he was obliged to continue working, and besides, as he pointed out to Everett, he had never executed a statue in modern dress, a task which he was finding more difficult than he had supposed. By December, 1854, he was already apologizing to Everett for the delays he was experiencing in completing the model and hoped that Everett would "not let this add even a mite to

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[234]HP to EE, July 23, 1853, Powers Papers 1136.

[235]EE, Washington, to HP, December 4, 1853, Powers Papers 1136; EE, Washington, to HP, February 18, 1854, Powers Papers 1137.

[236]HP to EE, April 11, 1854, Powers Papers 1137. It should be noted, too, that Powers was not and never became particularly adept at designing sculptures intended to be cast in bronze.

[237]EE, Boston, to HP, Jan. 16, 1855, Powers Papers 1137.

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your perplexities, but let the displeasure if there should be any fall entirely on me."[238] Naturally, this was not possible; Everett had to go before the committee the following February to warn them of the likelihood that the statue would not arrive in Boston on schedule.[239] In fact, the full-scale model was not finished until April, 1856; the bronze was cast at the Grand Ducal bronze foundry in Florence during the first half of 1857; and the statue was finally placed on board the Oxford bound for Boston in August of that year. Unfortunately, the ship foundered and although the crew was saved, the entire cargo, including the statue of Webster, was lost. A bronze replica was quickly ordered from Powers by the committee, though, and the second statue (fig. 22) arrived in Boston in January, 1859.

While a pedestal was being made for the Webster, it was temporarily displayed in the entrance hall of the Boston Athenaeum, probably at the suggestion of Everett who assured Powers that he could "be sure of the best light, which the vestibule of the Athenaeum affords."[240] Unfortunately, the

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[238]HP to EE, Dec. 21, 1854, Powers Papers 1137. Powers's apologies to Everett would continue. "How long did it take Gray to write his Elegy," he asked Everett in April, 1857, "or Milton his Paradise Lost, or Pope's Essay on Man. . . . You have been pleased to admire my little bust of Proserpine, but little does any one know the time and study it cost to produce it" (HP to EE, April 2, 1857, Powers Papers 1138).

[239]EE, Boston, to HP, Feb. 12, 1855, Everett Papers 31.

[240]EE, Boston, to HP, Jan. 22, 1859, Everett Papers 31; and Wunder, 2:117. Also see EE, Boston, to HP, June 7,

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statue was put into position while Everett was out of town; and when he returned he was distraught to find that he had been mistaken and that the lighting at the Athenaeum was "disadvantageous."[241]

The results were devastating. Powers's image came under the critical eyes and sometimes vicious tongues of the citizens of Boston. The statue was said to be badly proportioned; the costume was criticized as being, of all things, too real and, therefore, undignified; and the general posture of the figure was described as slouching, just the opposite of the vigorous, energetic Webster that Bostonians wanted to remember. Suggestions were made that the statue be melted down into pennies or simply buried.[242] Not helping matters was the fact that in May, again while Everett was out of town, a statuette of Webster by Thomas Ball was placed in the vestibule of the Athenaeum next to

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1857, Powers Papers 1139, in which Everett expressed his belief that Powers should display the statue in Boston. Later, probably as a result of the subsequent negative criticism leveled at the statue, he changed his mind. In June, 1859, he objected to such a public display as one which would be unfair to the artist ("Powers's Statue of Webster," The Evening Post [New York], June 14, 1859: 1).

[241]EE, Boston, to HP, Feb. 15, 1859, Everett Papers 31.

[242]For a brief history of the Webster commission and the critical reaction to the sculpture see Frederic Alan Sharf, "Daniel Webster in Bronze," Old-Time New England 56 (Winter 1966):77-80. Therein, Sharf attempts to explain why the Webster Committee chose Powers for the commission and why they persisted in their efforts to erect the statue despite the public outcry against it. His discussion, however, leaves out the most obvious reason for these actions: Powers's relationship with Edward Everett and Everett's place on the committee.

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Powers's statue where it was used for comparative purposes. As Everett reported, "this procedure gave new impulse to the opposition."[243]

Despite the on-going controversy, the Webster Committee met in February and voted to mount the statue on a pedestal in front of the Massachusetts State House; but at a meeting in June, they rescinded that decision. Everett, who was present at the latter meeting, was compelled to deliver an oration defending Powers's work.[244] Typically, he began with a comparison of the statue to other major sculptures in America, specifically the five images of George Washington in this country created by Houdon, Canova, Chantrey, Greenough, and Crawford respectively. He then addressed the four areas in which Powers's Webster had been criticized: the facial expression, the bodily posture, the costume, and the accessories. In the last group was the fasces, that same symbol which had caused Powers some concern in his America and on which Everett had conducted some independent research. In his speech to the committee, Everett admitted

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[243]EE, Boston, to HP, May 31, 1859, Everett Papers 31. Everett insisted that Ball was not aware of the manner in which his statue was to be displayed at the Athenaeum and, once he learned of the situation, he demanded the sculpture's removal.

[244]The speech was reprinted in "Powers's Statue of Webster," The Evening Post, June 14, 1859, and has been mistaken for the speech delivered by Everett at the dedication ceremony of the statue which did not occur until the following September (see Wunder, 2:117; and below).

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that he did not like symbolism mixed with portraiture and left it at that.[245]

Next, he addressed the costume of the figure and its posture, probably the most discussed aspects of the work. He reminded the committee that Powers had been supplied with actual examples of Webster's clothing on which to base the costume; and, having known Webster since his youth, he assured the committee that for most of his adult life Webster had actually assumed the slouching posture that was represented in the statue. As for the head of the figure, Everett stated that he had personally heard Webster praise his bust by Powers as the best likeness of him in existence. Furthermore, Everett predicted, Powers's bust of Webster "will as surely go down to posterity as *the* head of the illustrious statesman as Houdon's head of Washington will go down to all after time as the head of the Father of his Country."[246] He closed with a list of Powers's

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[245]As he had done for the America, Everett discussed the fasces with Powers as it was to be used in the Webster statue. See EE, Boston, to HP, August 6, 1859, Powers Papers 1140. He also conducted some research on the topic and asked Charles Folsom of Boston to provide him with information on the fasces as it appeared in art. In a letter which arrived too late to be of use to Everett and Powers, Folsom stated that the bundle of rods had not been used as a symbol of permanent union during Roman times and that the confusion which caused it to be accepted as such dated from the French Revolution. He told Everett to have Powers sculpt the fasces on the base of the statue and not to show Webster holding it as that would be inappropriate; it was held or carried only by lictors in the ancient world and not by those in power (Charles Folsom to EE [draft], Sept. 16, 1859, Boston Public Library).

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accomplishments, including an account of the Greek Slave and its unparalleled success in London. He recalled that at the time of its exhibition there, he had been "a guest on five successive days. . . at as many entertainments in the most intelligent and cultivated circles in London, where this statue was the universal theme of admiring comment." "Is it not mournful to reflect," he asked in conclusion, "that a great work of an artist, so honored and appreciated abroad, should be the butt of denunciation and ridicule at home, on the part of his own countrymen?"[247]

To further emphasize his support of Powers and his rejection of the committee's decision, Everett resigned his position on the ruling body of the organization.[248] He authored and circulated a petition calling for the immediate erection of Powers's statue and by the end of June had acquired at least fifty-eight signatures for it.[249]

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[246]"Powers's Statue of Webster," The Evening Post, June 14, 1859. Although he mentioned Thomas Ball's statuette of Webster several times during his speech, it was typical of Everett that he did not criticize it. On the contrary, he stated that "considering that Mr. Webster never sat to Mr. Ball, it is truly an admirable work."

[247]"Powers's Statue of Webster," The Evening Post, June 14, 1859.

[248]EE, Boston, to C.P. Curtis, June 10, 1859, Everett Papers 31. Everett wrote Powers about his actions and enclosed a copy of his speech before the committee (EE, Boston, to HP, June 13, 1859, Everett Papers 31).

[249]EE, Boston, to HP, June 28, 1859, Everett Papers 31. Everett's efforts for Powers in connection with the Webster commission evidently continued unabated during the summer of 1859, despite the death of his wife in July after many years of illness. See Frothingham, passim.

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Everett's efforts paid off. By the end of the summer, the committee had reversed itself once again and Powers's Daniel Webster was finally erected in front of the State House in Boston and unveiled on September 17, 1859.[250] Everett delivered the dedicatory oration at the conclusion of which he inserted a supportive plug for Powers:

> We present you this day, fellow-citizens, the Statue of Webster, in enduring bronze, on a pedestal of granite from his native State, the noble countenance modelled from life, at the meridian of his days and his fame, and to his own satisfaction, and his person reproduced, from faithful recollection, by the oldest and most distinguished of the living artists of the country.[251]

Everett's role in the proceedings was acknowledged by the Cosmopolitan Art Journal when it reported that "the Webster statue, by Hiram Powers, has, at length, been `inaugurated' and *Everetted*, and may now be regarded as one of the facts of Boston."[252] Powers, too, realized the importance of Everett's role in the long affair. He later conceded to his agent, Sidney Brooks, that the entire project probably would

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[250]Sharf, 77. Due to inclement weather, the ceremony was held at the Boston Music Hall but Everett was invited to deliver his speech again in front of the statue five days after the main event (EE, Boston, to HP, Sept. 20, 1859, Everett Papers 31).

[251]Edward Everett, Eulogy Delivered at the Dedication of the Statue of Daniel Webster in Boston, September 17, 1859 (Boston: Geo. C. Rand and Avery, City Printers, 1859), 76-77.

[252]"Art Gossip," Cosmopolitan Art Journal 3 (Dec. 1859): 234. The editors of this publication were obvious admirers of Everett. Besides stating in the cited article that Everett's Webster oration was one of his best, the Journal had published a two-page biography of the man the previous year (Cosmopolitan Art Journal 3 [Dec. 1858]: 31-32.

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have failed "had it not been for the efforts of my dear Mr. Everett."[253]

As we have seen, Everett acted as a willing advisor on iconographic details such as the liberty cap and the fasces for several of Powers's commissions discussed above. He occasionally also suggested overall subject matter for the sculptor's consideration. In 1845, for example, he proposed that the artist try his hand at allegorical, literary themes such as "Melancholy" from Milton's poem "Il Penseroso," or "Mirth" from the same poet's "L'Allegro."[254] Later, he agreed with Powers that "Miriam," mentioned above in connection with Lord Egerton, would be "a very noble subject and would make a most charming statue."[255] "Rose of Sharon" was offered as a viable subject in 1848 and, at the same time, Everett asked Powers if he had ever considered executing any of the great Biblical figures such as Moses. "There is a terrible one by Michael Angelo at Rome," he wrote Powers, and jokingly warned, "You see, there is to be no rest for you."[256]

Of these, only the suggestion of "Penseroso" was actually adopted for a sculpture by Powers; but he did not

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[253]HP to SB, Dec. 18, 1868, Powers Papers 1144.

[254]EE, London, to HP, May 20, 1845, Powers Papers, 1132. See also HP to EE, July 31, 1851, Powers Papers 1135.

[255]EE, London, to HP, June 25, 1845, Powers Papers 1132.

[256]EE, Cambridge, to HP, June 13, 1848, Powers Papers 1133.

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actually begin working on it until Everett reiterated his original thoughts at least twice, in 1846 and again in 1849. A model for Powers's version of the subject, which he called La Penserosa, was finished in the autumn of 1852 by which time a marble replica had been ordered by James Lenox of New York.[257] The statue was sent to Lenox in 1857 and Everett, who had requested and been granted permission to visit Lenox's private gallery with the express purpose of inspecting Powers's "beautiful statue," saw it there. "The subject was originally suggested to him by me, with reference to Milton's description," Everett proudly noted in his journal, "but he has not followed Milton closely. There is nothing `sad' in the air or expression of the figure; and the costume is not imitated from that of Milton's `Nun.' It is extremely beautiful."[258]

In 1853, Powers told Everett that he was having a smaller replica of the La Penserosa made for him as a gift in recognition of his having suggested the topic. Unfortunately, that version was never completed because the marble block intended for it "had a flaw in the middle and broke in two on inserting a chisel to prove its

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[257]Wunder, 2:182-83.

[258]Everett Diary, March 6, 1859, quoted in Frothingham, 387. Everett went to Lenox's house with Sidney Brooks and wrote Powers that the Penserosa was "pure, masterly, and delicate" and that he preferred it to the sculptor's California (EE, Boston, to HP, May 2, 1859, Powers Papers 1140).

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strength."[259] In its place, Powers wanted to execute another Eve for Everett but, instead, eventually sent him a bust of America which was carved from another part of the block meant for the small La Penserosa.[260]

Occasionally, Everett found it necessary to defend Powers's reputation as an artist, a battle he usually took on voluntarily, willingly, and with some vehemence. For Powers, one of the most disturbing of these events was the publication in New York in 1845 of C. Edwards Lester's The Artist, the Merchant, and the Statesman of the Age of the Medici and of Our Own Time. This pretentiously titled two-volume work purported to be, at least in part, a biography of Powers. Immediately before it was published, Lester wrote to Everett asking permission to dedicate the volumes to him, a plan that Powers supposedly had already approved. "You are fond of Powers, whom I love better than any man in the world," Lester reasoned with Everett, "and you are a friend of art & commerce."[261] Everett consented to Lester's request but warned that since the text of the manuscript was based on conversations with the artist it should be cleared with him prior to publication .[262] To Powers, he voiced his

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[259]HP to EE, March, 1859, Powers Papers 1139.

[260]Wunder, 2:182-83.

[261]C. Edwards Lester, New York, to EE, Boston, October 2, 1845, Boston Public Library.

[262]EE, Boston, to HP, Oct. 13, 1845, Powers Papers 1132.

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misgivings about the entire project. "I am not entirely satisfied of Mr. Lester's discretion or capacity to do you justice," he wrote Powers, "and I am rather sorry that you countenanced his publication. You will, as your fame increases, be constantly beset by persons who wish to make themselves of importance as a bob to your kite."[263]

The eventual dedication to Everett as it appeared in Lester's book was made in the form of a flowery letter in which he compared Everett, who was identified as a statesman and lover of the arts, to several Roman senators. On the surface, Lester appeared to share many of Everett's interests. "In publishing these Conversations with our gifted Countryman," he wrote

> I knew I should render a service to Art. . . . I hoped to excite a warmer desire, at least in the minds of a few, for the day to come when the Arts in America shall, by the judicious but generous aid of the State, take the high eminence they held in Greece under Pericles.[264]

Unfortunately, Lester did not allow Powers to read his manuscript, as Everett had suggested, and when Powers did read the published book, he was horrified. "He has taken such liberties with what I told him," Powers wrote Everett, "that much of the `conversations' are as new to me as they will be or have been already to you." Lester

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[263]EE, Boston, to HP, Oct. 13, 1845, Powers Papers 1132.

[264]C. Edwards Lester, The Artist, the Merchant, and the Statesman of the Age of the Medici and of Our Own Time (New York: Paine & Burgess, 1845), 1:viii.

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supposedly told blatant lies and printed some of Powers's personal opinions, which he had promised not to do. Powers pleaded with Everett to defend him by seeing to it that some public retraction was made. "I cannot and I ought not to ask you to do this," he wrote from Florence, "but perhaps you will be kind enough to get some one else to do it and state that I disavow the conversations as published with the variations and additions of Mr. Lester."[265] Everett felt that Powers was over-reacting and assured him that the book was not receiving much attention in America and that perhaps the best course was to ignore it.[266] Powers did not follow this advice, however, and responded with a six-page letter denouncing Lester and explaining why he had trusted him.[267] Everett sent the letter to a group of the sculptor's friends who were vacationing at the Newport home of George Calvert and who might be able to advise Powers on the matter.[268] The group responded with a letter, a copy of which they sent to Everett asking him to see that it was published, preferably in Boston's Daily Advertiser, which he did.[269]

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[265]HP to EE, Dec. 6, 1845, Powers Papers 1133.

[266]EE, Boston, to HP, March 23, 1846, Powers Papers 1133.

[267]HP to EE, May 30, 1846, Powers Papers 1133.

[268]EE, Cambridge, to HP, July 15, 1846, Everett Papers 27.

[269]EE, Cambridge, to Mr. Hale, Aug. 5, 1846, Everett Papers 27; EE to HP, Oct. 15, 1846, Powers Papers 1133.

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Everett also attempted to help Powers during the other most notable crisis in his professional life, that is, the artist's violent disagreement with James Robb of New Orleans. This controversy, which involved misunderstandings concerning replicas of Powers Greek Slave and who owned which one, has been discussed elsewhere.[270] Suffice it to say that Everett, who naturally sided with Powers, again thought that he should not over-react to the situation. Doing so, he believed, would only bring more undeserved attention to the matter, some of which would not be favorable to Powers.[271] But, Everett believed, the worst aspect of such controversies was that they would sap Powers of energies best reserved for the creative process. "The mind, agitated with any strong passion," Everett wrote to Powers's agent, Miner Kellogg, "is incapable of working in any other direction with spirit. . . . I doubt not the controversies in which Powers (by no fault of his own) has been engaged, have strangled more than one lovely creation of his genius, at it lay slumbering in the yet unshaped marble."[272] Furthermore, he reminded the sculptor, "Every hour is the germ if not of an entire work, at least of some happy touch."[273]

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[270]See Wunder, 1:passim, 2:161-63.

[271]EE, Cambridge, to Sidney Brooks, June 2, 1848, Everett Papers 28.

[272]EE, Cambridge, to M. K. Kellogg, Feb. 15, 1849, Everett Papers 29.

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Besides his association with Powers on a professional level, Everett was also attentive to the Powers family in general. He was instrumental in arranging for the appointment of Powers's son, Longworth, who was known as Nicky, to West Point, and he supervised the young man on his arrival in America for that purpose.[274] It may have also been at Everett's later suggestion that Longworth Powers, who by that time was attempting to become a professional photographer, undertook the photographing of his father's works. In July, 1862, Everett wrote to the elder Powers on the subject: "Has it occurred to you to let Longworth make photographic cards of all your works taking front, profile & rear views of all the ideal compositions? They could then be placed in photographic albums, which, I am sure, would be eagerly purchased by the numerous visitors to your studio, & be a most effective mode of diffusing an accurate knowledge of your works."[275] Longworth's photographs of his father's sculptures are well known and examples of them are among the Powers Papers in the Smithsonian Institution.

Powers, his wife, and probably his whole family, relished the moral support and the sincere friendship which Everett offered them so willingly. "Your letters are always most cheering to us," Powers wrote in 1850, "they fortify us

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[273]EE, Cambridge, to HP, June 5, 1849, Everett Papers 29.

[274]Wunder, 1:163-164, 168-170.

[275]EE, Boston, to HP, July 7, 1862, Powers Papers 1141.

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against many misgivings and disappointments--what you say has indeed much effect with us, but the fact that it is you who say it, and that we have such a friend to say such things to and for us, gives us more real satisfaction than any thing else."[276]

By the start of the American Civil War, Everett, who was then in his late sixties, became increasingly involved in lecture tours and his important and consoling correspondence with Powers began to taper off. By then, too, Powers's fame was assured and perhaps the sculptor found it less pressing to seek the constant advice of his old friend. Besides, his major works and commissions were behind him. Nevertheless, although the two friends did not meet again, they never lost contact and Everett's death in 1865 was a great blow to Powers. "While your father lived," he wrote Charlotte Everett Wise shortly after her father's death, "I felt at home in this world."[277]

As a final tribute to his long-time supporter, Powers began the design of a full-length sculpture of Everett (see fig. 23) immediately after his death, evidently

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[276]HP to EE, Jan. 1, 1850, Powers Papers 1134. The previous year, Powers had written to Everett: "Your letters always afford me consolation and pleasure, I am cheered and supported when I read them, and this good and soothing influence is felt also by my wife, I am happy to say--for she sometimes desponds as is natural after so long an absence from her parents and sisters, to say nothing of numerous relations and friends in America" (HP to EE, April 30, 1849, Powers Papers 1134).

[277]HP to Mrs. Charlotte Wise, May 26, 1865, Powers Papers 1142.

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at the suggestion of his financial agent and Everett's brother-in-law, Sidney Brooks. In February, 1865, Brooks informed Powers that a committee in Boston had already raised $30,000 to purchase a statue of Everett. "I wish the order given to you first," Brooks wrote, "and then because I know dear Mr. Everett thought so and furthermore I know that could he speak he would say: let Hiram Powers make my statue." Brooks pessimistically added, though, that the committee "will not listen to this thus far, and I feel sure never will."[278] Brooks was correct: as he informed Powers within the month, the commission eventually went to William Wetmore Story, as will be discussed below.

Despite this, Brooks encouraged Powers to model a statue of Everett in plaster anyway in hopes that a commission for such an image would indeed come to pass. "He would look well represented with one hand resting on something like a stand with a manuscript, and his other raised in gentle motions as if delivering an address!" He offered to send a photograph of Everett which showed him in exactly that position. "Could I help you a little in this in these hard times?" Brooks asked. "I should like to have you do it as your own idea and be at it at once before any one else thinks of it or gets an order."[279] A year later,

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[278]SB, New York, to HP, Feb. 23, 1865, Powers Papers 1142.

[279]SB, New York, to HP, March 10, 1865, Powers Papers 1142.

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he reassured Powers that once the statue was completed, a proper place would be found for it, and he suggested Statuary Hall in the U.S. Capitol buildings.[280] In 1868, Powers offered to have his model cast in bronze or carved in marble for Everett's children for $4000;[281] and within a few months, Brooks reported that his nephew, Henry Sidney Everett, had asked if Powers would like to have his statue placed on Everett's grave at Mount Auburn, Cambridge, or in the chapel there.[282]

Powers's thoughts on this suggestion are not known; but by September, 1868, he had ordered a block of marble for the statue which was expected to arrive in late December.[283] The marble was not finished until the spring of 1871 and was probably sent to Everett's son, William, in America shortly thereafter.[284] William gave it to Harvard University in

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[280]SB, New York, to HP, March 16, and September 30, 1866, Powers Papers 1143. In the later letter, Brooks also stated that Henry Tuckerman, "a most excellent person," was working on behalf of the Everett statue. For a description of Tuckerman's role in the matter, see Wunder, 1:326.

[281]HP to SB, Jan. 12, 1868, Powers Papers 1144.

[282]SB, New York, to HP, April 28, 1868, Powers Papers 1143. The idea of placing Powers's statue of Everett on his grave was soon abandoned by the Everett family. By 1870, they had commissioned an ill-fated monument from Harriet Hosmer for this purpose, as will be discussed below.

[283]SB, Newport, to HP, Sept. 17, 1868; and HP to SB, December 18, 1868, Powers Papers 1144.

[284]Wunder, 2:116-117. It was also suggested that Powers's statue of Everett be erected at Mount Vernon as a companion to a statue of Washington; but the head of the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association decreed that Washington's

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1891 and it stood on the campus, in or near Memorial Hall, until about 1956 when it was removed and subsequently disappeared.[285]

There can be little doubt that the career of Hiram Powers would have been quite different if he had not had the support of Edward Everett. The close, mutually beneficial emotional link between the two men was recognized in their own time and was poignantly expressed by their friend, I. Edwards Clarke, who wrote on the subject in 1859:

> It is alike honorable to Pericles and Phidias that they were friends. The friendship of Everett and Powers will hereafter be equally known and is equally honorable. I know nothing nobler of Everett than his course towards yourself--it goes far towards rebutting the charge of cold selfishness brought against him by many and it is beautiful to see in the evening of his days his unrivalled powers of oratory exerted in the cause of friendship.[286]

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should be the only image allowed at the site. See Wunder, 1:326.

[285]William C. Lane, ed., Bibliographical Contributions (Cambridge, Mass.: Library of Harvard University, 1898), no. 53, A List of Portraits in the Various Buildings of Harvard University, by Justin Winsor, 17; Louise Todd Ambler, Curator, Harvard University Portrait Collection, Fogg Art Museum, to Prof. William H. Gerdts, New York, April 18, 1984; Curatorial files, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

[286]I. Edwards Clarke, London, to HP, Sept. 30, 1859, Powers Papers 1131.

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Everett and Shobal Clevenger

Due to timing as much as anything else, Everett also formed a noteworthy relationship with the American sculptor Shobal Vail Clevenger (1812-1843).[287] Like Powers, Clevenger's earliest patron was Nicholas Longworth of Cincinnati but in the final years of his short life (and even after his death) he benefitted from the interest of Edward Everett, who was eventually referred to as his "untiring benefactor."[288] As Henry Tuckerman wrote, "Edward Everett took evident pleasure in unfolding his mental treasury of taste and wisdom to [Clevenger], and ever has been one of his most steady and efficient friends."[289]

Everett met Clevenger in Boston in 1839 when the young artist was in town in search of portrait commissions. As he did with most American artists, Everett took an interest in him and gave him sittings for a bust.[290] These took place in a room at the Boston Athenaeum which had been made available for Clevenger as a temporary studio. When Everett's bust was finished, a plaster replica was given by

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[287]For the facts of Clevenger's life and career, see "Clevenger," United States Magazine and Democratic Review 8 (Febr. 1844): 202-205; and two articles by Thomas B. Brumbaugh, "Letters of an American Sculptor, Shobal Clevenger," The Art Quarterly 24 (Winter 1961): 370-377, and "Shobal Clevenger: An Ohio Stonecutter in Search of Fame," The Art Quarterly 29, no. 1 (1966): 29-45.

[288]"Clevenger," United States Magazine, 205.

[289]Henry T. Tuckerman, "Clevenger," The Columbian Ladies and Gentlemen's Magazine 1 (1844): 11.

[290]Brumbaugh, "Clevenger: Ohio Stonecutter," 34.

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the sculptor to the Athenaeum (see fig. 24).[291] Clevenger took another plaster to Italy to be put into marble and at least one replica was ordered in that medium by Col. Thomas H. Perkins of Boston,, probably before Clevenger left America for Europe. The sculptor was working on it during the months that Everett was in Italy in the early 1840s;[292] but it was not until after the sculptor's death that it was finished at the request of Mrs. Clevenger and under the supervision of Hiram Powers. Perkins sent money for it through Everett and the marble was finally shipped to America in 1844.[293] Perkins eventually bequeathed it to Harvard University (see below).

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[291]Harding, Athenaeum, 21. Another plaster replica of Clevenger's bust of Everett was one of five busts by the artist given to the New-York Historical Society in December, 1840, by various donors. See The New-York Historical Society, Catalogue of American Portraits in The New-York Historical Society 2 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974), 258-59.

[292]In fact, Clevenger took advantage of Everett's presence in Italy to rework parts of the bust with which he was not pleased. "He proposes to remodel the neck and bust of mine," Everett wrote, "thinking the projecting attitude and settled posture of the head ungainly" (Everett Diary, April 3, 1841). To assist him in this project, Everett gave the sculptor additional sittings in Florence in 1841 (Everett Diary, April 26, 1841) and in September of that year Clevenger took a plaster cast of Everett's forehead "with a view to correcting some points in the statue bust. The operation was neither painful nor unpleasant" (Everett Diary, Sept. 2, 1841).

[293]See Wunder, 2:223. Everett wrote to Powers in April, 1844, to ask him to "put the workmen on my bust as soon as possible. I want my dear old friend Colonel Perkins to see it before he dies; & he will not live long" (EE, London, to HP, April 16, 1844, Powers Papers 1132).

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Although details of Everett's early encounter with Clevenger in Boston are not known, the politician was obviously impressed by the young man's talent and confident of his ability to succeed. His admiration was such that, when Clevenger was about to depart for Europe, Everett wrote a poem in his honor dated December 21, 1839:

> Time, care, & sickness bend the frame
> Back to the dust from whence it came
> The blooming cheek, the sparkling eye
> In mournful ruins soon must lie
> The pride of form, the charm of grace
> Must fade away nor leave a trace.
> They shall not fade for art can raise
> A counterpart, which ne'er decays.
> Time, care, & sickness strive in vain
> The power of genius to restrain.
> Thou Clevenger, from lifeless clay,
> Canst mould what ne'er shall fade away,
> Fashion in stone that cannot die,
> The breathing lip & sparkling eye;
> And while frail nature sinks to dust,
> Create the all but breathing bust.[294]

The two Americans met again late the following year when the Everetts went to Florence, arriving in the city not long after the Clevengers had done so. As he did with other artists, Everett visited Clevenger many times during the following months, once, for example, in December, 1840, when Clevenger was living with Powers and his family, and again the following month when Everett found the sculptor "still at work on [the bust of] Genl. Harrison which will turn out

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[294]Copy enclosed in I.P. Davis, Boston, to J. H. Clifford, New Bedford, April 22, 1840, Clifford Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston. A handwritten copy, dated Dec. 26, 1839, is also in the Everett-Peabody Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

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better than I thought."[295] In March, 1841, he gave Clevenger one-hundred-fifty dollars "being the residue of the sum due for Mr. [Peter Chardon?] Brooks' bust now making for Mr. Frothingham. This I did for Mr. C's convenience."[296] In May of that year he assisted Clevenger in "drawing on Mrs. Edward & Co. of Paris on account of the bust of Mrs. James F. Curtis which he is making."[297]

By that time, Everett had become painfully aware of and had begun to express concern about Clevenger's precarious financial state. He wrote to Peter C. Brooks in the autumn of 1841 to disclose that he had discovered that "neither Clevenger nor Powers do any too well in money matters," although the latter was getting better at it.[298] Even after he had left Italy for England, Everett remained interested in Clevenger's affairs, both artistic and financial. In 1842, he told Powers that he was "very sorry for the state of Mr. Clevenger's affairs" and volunteered to write letters to America encouraging support for a plan initiated by Powers to raise a subscription of financial support for the struggling sculptor.[299] One of Everett's

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[295]Everett Diary, Jan. 27, 1841.

[296]Everett Diary, March 1, 1841.

[297]Everett Diary, May 4, 1841.

[298]EE, Careggi, to Hon. P. C. Brooks, Sept. 27, 1841, Everett Papers 26.

[299]EE, London, to HP, March 13, 1842, Powers Papers 1131.

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letters, for example, went to Isaac P. Davis. He told Davis of his plan and added that Clevenger "is very industrious & diligent at his work, & frugal in his mode of living, and I hardly know a case in which those able & willing to do a handsome thing, could do it with greater benefit to a deserving man."[300]

Powers's and Everett's efforts evidently paid off, at least temporarily. Clevenger received a commission from Everett's brother-in-law and Powers's supporter, Sidney Brooks, for a bust which was shipped to him in 1842 and Everett expressed joy that "Clevenger's `Circular' has had some effect."[301] The following year, however, Clevenger's plight was worsened by a sudden decline in health. "It is indeed a sad tale," Everett told Powers. For Clevenger's use and "to show the sympathy, which my wife and I feel," Everett immediately authorized fifty dollars to be doled out by Powers as he saw fit. "I prefer this to sending it to him directly," he instructed Powers, "as in his feeble state of health, & unable perhaps himself to go to the bankers, it might get into the hands of some creditors, who had better

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[300]EE, London, to I.P. Davis, April 2, 1842, Everett Papers 26. Davis was already aware of Clevenger's abilities for the sculptor had modeled his bust in Boston in 1839. A plaster of this conception is in the collection of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia.

[301]EE, London, to Hiram Powers, Nov. 12, 1842, Powers Papers 1132. The bust which Sidney Brooks ordered may have been a replica of the bust of "Mr. Brooks" (Peter Chardon Brooks?) cited in Everett's diary on March 1, 1841, and for which Everett sent Clevenger money, as mentioned above.

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wait, than have him suffer." He also suggested that Powers inquire into the possibilities of Nicholas Longworth sending some small sum to Clevenger as well.[302]

Everett again appealed to Isaac Davis for help, lamenting that "there are hardly any Americans at Florence able to assist" Clevenger and that he must depend upon the generosity of his countrymen and friends at home. Clevenger was planning to return to America where surely "he will find ample employment." In the likely event that he did not make it home, however, "we must not let his last hours be embittered by the miseries of entire destitution." Davis was encouraged to start another supportive subscription in Clevenger's name and to show Everett's letter "to some of our kind hearted Bostonians, who are never wearied of doing good, not confining yourself to those for whom Clevenger has made busts. . . . and above all remember that there is no time to be lost."[303] In fact, by this time Clevenger was slipping fast. Everett made hasty arrangements for he and his family to sail to America on the ship Duc d'Orléans which departed Leghorn on September 13, 1843. By the time

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[302]EE, London, to HP, Aug. 31, 1843, Powers Papers 1132.

[303]EE, London, to I. P. Davis, Aug. 31, 1843, Everett Papers 22. Word of Clevenger's troubles and Everett's efforts to help evidently spread fast in Boston and the surrounding communities. As one Bostonian wrote to her relatives in New Bedford, Mass., "Clevenger is in great distress at Rome, sick with a spine complaint & Everett has written to this country to get up a subscription" (Lucia Weston [?], Boston, to Caroline and Deborah Weston, New Bedford, September 28, 1843, Boston Public Library).

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the ship docked in New York, however, the unfortunate artist was dead.[304]

Meanwhile, Everett's efforts continued to be at least partially successful. By October Isaac Davis had remitted one hundred pounds sterling to him for the relief of Clevenger's widow and family. Everett immediately wrote Powers for a list of the dead man's debts toward which the money could be applied.[305] He also reported that Davis had asked him to see to it that a replica of Clevenger's bust of Harrison Gray Otis be finished in marble for the Boston Athenaeum, toward which Davis himself had pledged a personal contribution of one-hundred-fifty dollars.[306] Within a few months, other Bostonians had pledged money to help Mrs.

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[304]Brumbaugh, "Clevenger: Ohio Stonecutter," 42.

[305]Clevenger's debts were mostly to marble carvers and workmen. See EE, London, to I. P. Davis, Nov. 17, 1843, Everett Papers 22.

[306]EE, London, to HP, Oct. 19, 1843, Powers Papers 1132. Interestingly, Everett discussed Clevenger at some length in this letter and only at the end did he turn briefly to his own affairs with the announcement of the tragic news of the death at the age of twenty-one of his eldest daughter, Anne Gorham Everett. The great love that he had for his unfortunate child is evidenced by the care with which he saved her journals and letters and the pride he took in giving them to Anne's friend, Philippa Call Bush, to be edited for publication. (Everett wrote the introduction for Bush's book on Anne Everett).

The bust of Otis by Clevenger was evidently not put into marble for the Athenaeum, although a plaster version which the artist had given to that institution (and which is now lost) was exhibited there from 1840 to 1848 (Swan, 154; Perkins and Gavin, 36). The only known marble replica is that which is on loan from the Otis family to the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Harrison-Gray Otis House, Boston (Wunder, 223).

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Clevenger and her children; Amos Lawrence and Samuel Appleton had each subscribed one hundred dollars and a Mr. Barnard (James M. Barnard?) had proposed paying the educational expenses of Clevenger's daughter for three years.[307]

Besides these financial considerations, Everett also took an interest in Clevenger's unfinished sculptures which remained in his studio in Florence. Most notable among these was the ideal figure of an American Indian which Clevenger had left in plaster at his death. Late in 1843, Isaac Davis wrote Everett that it had been proposed in Boston that Powers should be employed to finish the piece--i.e., have it carved in marble--and that six hundred dollars had already been pledged for that purpose.[308] Everett had his doubts about this suggestion, however, and warned Powers of the dangers of one artist interfering with the creations of another. "Our friends do not seem to understand," he wrote, "that no sculptor of talent can mingle up himself in another's labors."[309] Perhaps Powers took Everett's advice to heart for the marble was evidently never carved and the plaster has since disappeared.[310] However, twelve other

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[307]EE, London, to HP, Dec. 16, 1843, Everett Papers 22.

[308]Isaac P. Davis to EE, Dec. 16, 1843, quoted in EE, London, to HP, Jan. 1, 1844, Powers Papers 1132.

[309]EE, London, to HP, Jan. 1, 1844, Powers Papers 1132.

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conceptions by Clevenger, all but one of which was a portrait bust, were finished in marble by Powers and Everett was involved in seeing that at least some of these were done.[311]

As was the case in his dealings with other American sculptors, Everett's interest in Clevenger and his affairs was apparently almost completely selfless. Naturally, his immediate motive was to benefit the destitute and ill Clevenger and his family; but Everett seems to have had a higher purpose in mind, too, which he expressed to his friend, Isaac Davis, in 1843. His intent was to set a precedent, he said, which he hoped would encourage others to support American artists. He acted

> for the credit of the country and for the benefit of unfortunate American artists, who may happen hereafter to be in like need. . . . The condition of our young countrymen, whose talent is too often their only wealth, pursuing their studies with noble zeal in foreign countries, when often they have hardly the means while in health to get their daily bread, becomes truly pitiable, when they are taken down by illness."[312]

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[310]Wunder, 1:, 135. Other sources (e.g., Craven, Sculpture in America, 187) are erroneous in stating that Powers supervised the translation of the figure into marble.

[311]For example, at the request of Isaac Davis, Everett sent Powers twenty pounds in partial payment for a replica of Clevenger's bust of Henry Clay; and in 1844 he sent Powers a contribution toward having Clevenger's bust of Otis carved in marble (Wunder, 2:222-223). One further kindness which Everett performed for the Clevenger family might be mentioned. During Clevenger's final illness, the Florence Academy awarded him a medal of honor which was accepted on his behalf by the British artist Brian Duppa. Following Clevenger's death, Duppa took the medal to England and gave it to Everett who brought it back to America and presented it to Mrs. Clevenger in Boston (Wunder, 1:135).

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The British Period

On August 28, 1841, Everett heard from America that he had been nominated to the post of U. S. Minister to England and he spent the following month waiting anxiously to hear the results of his confirmation debate in the Senate. In September, word of his approval came and the Everett family immediately began planning their move to England.[313] After a brief tour of the south of Italy, they left Leghorn on October 26, 1841, and arrived in France in early November. In Paris, they visited the studio of the American painter George P. A. Healy and saw his portrait of the French statesman and author, Francois Guizot (1841; National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C.) which Everett thought "splendid."[314] On November 18, they arrived in London where Everett assumed his duties as U. S. Minister, a post he held until 1845. His position naturally afforded him the opportunity to meet many of Europe's wealthiest and most powerful people. As he was expected to do, he used his new situation to promote the interests of

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[312]EE, London, to Isaac P. Davis, Nov. 1, 1843, Everett Papers 22.

[313]See John O. Geiger, "A Scholar Meets John Bull: Edward Everett as United States Minister to England, 1841-1845," The New England Quarterly 49 (Dec. 1976): 577-595.

[314]Everett Diary, Nov. 16, 1841. The portrait had been commissioned by a group of Americans who admired Guizot's biography of George Washington. They presented the painting to the United States government (The Virginia Museum, Healy's Sitters [Richmond, 1950], 20).

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his country and one of those interests, for Everett anyway, was American art and American artists.

On a personal level, Everett and his family continued their own pursuit of art, both European and American. Whenever the opportunity arose, they visited art collections and exhibitions and, not surprisingly, were eager to meet or at least see the work of any American artist who might be in England. Late in 1841, for example, they attended the exhibition organized by the American painter George Catlin which included his own paintings documenting the lives and culture of the American Indians as well as artifacts he had gathered during his excursions to the American West.[315] (Everett must have liked what he saw or at least was impressed by Catlin's personality for several years later he provided the artist with a letter of introduction to the American Minister in France).[316]

In 1844, while attending a New Year's Day reception for Americans at the London home of George Palmer Putnam, Everett saw two recently executed works by the American

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[315]Everett Diary, Dec. 31, 1841. After Catlin had gone on to Ireland, he wrote Everett asking him to send information on patents. Everett replied that he knew nothing of them but that he "was exceedingly rejoiced to hear of the success which has attended you in Ireland" (EE, London, to George Catlin, May 20, 1843, Everett Papers 22).

[316]Brian W. Dippie, Catlin and His Contemporaries, The Politics of Patronage (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1990), 460. Dippie quotes Everett's letter (Dec. 2, 1844, Everett Papers) in which he stated that Catlin's "reputation as an artist and an author supersedes the necessity of a farther recommendation."

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painter Henry Inman: a portrait of Mrs. Putnam and a landscape executed in the vicinity of William Wordsworth's home, Rydall Water (1844; Bernard and S. Dean Levy, Inc., New York).[317] Again, Everett attempted to assist the artist, this time by asking the Duke of Wellington to sit for Inman. Unfortunately, by the time Wellington agreed to do so, Inman was unable to take advantage of the opportunity.[318]

Everett spent much of his time in England continuing to give support, now from afar, to Hiram Powers, as we have seen; but he was interested in British artists, too. For example, in April, 1842, he and his family visited the studio of the late Sir Francis Chantrey, the celebrated English sculptor. As Anne Everett recorded in her journal, "the cast of the statue of Washington is there, the original of which is in the State House in Boston." However, Anne--and probably her loyal father, too--was "disappointed in

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[317]Everett Diary, Jan. 1, 1844. Putnam was an American publisher who had come to London to open a bookstore in 1841 (William H. Gerdts, The Art of Henry Inman [Washington City: The National Portrait Gallery, 1987], 54).

[318]Gerdts, Henry Inman, 54. The New York collector James Lenox had commissioned Inman to paint Wellington's portrait which Lenox hoped to use as a pendant to a portrait of Washington which he owned. See EE, London, to the Duke of Wellington, Feb. 18, 1845, Everett Papers 27. In Wellington's reply to that letter, he told Everett that he was flattered at Inman's desire to paint him but that it was difficult for him to name a specific time when he would be available for a sitting (The Duke of Wellington to EE, Feb. 22, 1845, Everett, The Mount Vernon Papers, 88). Everett noted that shortly after this, Wellington invited Inman to his home at Srathfieldsaye but Inman was unable to go (Ibid., 88).

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this statue, after seeing that by Mr. Greenough.--which, by the way, is now fixed in its place in the Capitol." The Everetts were given the additional treat of a visit to Chantrey's foundry, "where the bronze statues are cast, and where they are now casting an equestrian bronze statue of the Duke of Wellington. . . . There was also an equestrian statue of George the Fourth."[319]

Also in London, they visited the studio of the sculptor, Sir Richard Westmacott, where they saw Thorwaldsen's statue of Lord Byron, the head of which Everett found "charming" and "full of inspiration."[320] Previously, they had been to Drayton Manor near Tamwroth, the home of Sir Robert Peel, former Prime Minister and leader of the Tory party, which was famous for its sculpture and picture gallery. "Sir Robert recieved us in the library," Everett wrote, "which appeared the chief place of

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[319]Anne Gorham Everett, Journal, April 24, 1842, quoted in Bush, 220. On the casting of bronze, Anne commented that it was "very curious, but I could not quite understand it."

[320]Everett Diary, June 11, 1845. Thorwaldsen had modeled Byron's bust in Rome in 1817 and the monument to him, which was originally intended for Westminster Abbey, in 1830-31. (A marble replica of the former and the plaster model for the latter are in the Thorvaldsen Museum, Copenhagen). Through the efforts of Westmacott, in whose studio the marble statue was temporarily residing in 1845, and other interested parties, the sculpture eventually made its way to Trinity College, Cambridge, where it remains. Interestingly, only a few days after Everett made the entry in his diary, cited above, an article on Thorwaldsen's Byron, which mentions it being at Westmacott's studio, appeared in the New York periodical, The Broadway Journal 1 [June 21, 1845]: 391-92).

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rendezvous, a most beautiful room sixty-seven feet by twenty-seven. . . . Thorwaldsen's Shepherd, one of his most beautiful works, is at one end of the library, and a group by Wyatt at the other."[321] They visited the home of the aged painter, J.M.W. Turner, who unfortunately was not in residence. As did many Americans during the first half of the nineteenth century, Everett preferred Turner's more classicizing earlier paintings as he stated in his diary:

> Went with wife & daughter. . . to 47 Queen Street to see Turner's pictures. They are kept & exhibited in a forlorn and neglected gallery in a house tenanted only by an Old Woman, who has been in his service for more than 40 years but who does not know where Turner lives. He is now 74 years old, fond of money of which he has acquired a great deal by his art--son of a barber--goes to the Athenaeum daily when he is beginning to indulge in brandy & water--unsocial in his habits--not married but having a family. Some of his earlier pictures--particularly the views of Carthage--are beautiful.[322]

Evidently, Everett's British contemporaries recognized his particular interest in art and his expertise in its appreciation for, in 1843, he was invited to speak on behalf of the diplomatic corps at the opening of the Royal Academy's annual exhibition. In his brief speech, Everett pointed out art's role as a universal language capable of "expressing a dialect equally intelligent to all nations." Ever mindful of his own nationality and self-adopted responsibilities to his fellow citizens, he inserted a plug

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[321]EE, Drayton Hall, England, to P. C. Brooks, Dec. 19, 1842, quoted in Frothingham, 205.

[322]Everett Diary, June 9, 1845.

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for American artists. "Before I take my seat you will pardon me," he added,

> if I say a single word as the American Minister. In that capacity I cannot but have the highest satisfaction in reminding you, sir, of my countrymen, living and departed, who have filled, and still occupy a distinguished place among your associates or fellow laborers. I might with propriety allude to the venerable artist (Mr. West) who so long presided over the Royal Academy; and when I repeat the names of Copley, of Stuart, of his nephew Newton among the deceased, and of Alston, and I must be permitted to add of Leslie (to whose pencil the present exhibition is so highly indebted) among the living, I think I have said enough to vindicate for my countrymen the honor of having contributed their share of the talent, taste, and success with which the art of painting has been cultivated under your auspices.[323]

Everett's years in Europe ended with the termination in 1845 of his appointment as ambassador to Great Britain, a result of a Whig defeat and the election of James K. Polk as the United States president the previous year. Everett was offered the presidency of Harvard University which he accepted. The experience was not a happy one, though, and his resignation from Harvard in 1849 coincided with the death of his father-in-law, Peter Chardon Brooks. Mrs. Everett inherited a substantial fortune from her father that allowed the Everetts to live rather comfortably.[324]

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[323]"The World of Science and Art. Speech of Mr. Everett," The New World (June 24, 1843): 758.

[324]William Kenneth Christian, "The Mind of Edward Everett" (Ph.D. diss., Michigan State College, 1952), 37. The respect Everett had for his father-in-law is evidenced by the biographical sketch of him which Everett contributed to Lives of American Merchants, ed. Freeman Hunt (New York: Office of Hunt's Merchants Magazine, 1855), 133-183.

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Everett remained unemployed until 1852 when President Fillmore appointed him as interim Secretary of State following the death of the previous occupant of that position, Everett's old friend Daniel Webster. The following year, Everett was elected to the U.S. Senate from Massachusetts but resigned in 1854 due to ill health. That same year, he became deeply interested in the restoration of Mount Vernon, which was threatened with destruction, and offered his substantial support to the Ladies Mount Vernon Association by donating the proceeds of lecture tours during which he traveled around the country delivering orations on the life of Washington. His fame as one of the greatest classical orators in America dates from these years and his career as a speaker culminated with the soon eclipsed and now forgotten address he delivered at the dedication of the cemetery at Gettysburg, Pennsylvania, on November 19, 1863.[325]

Everett and Other American Artists

While his relationships with Horatio Greenough, Hiram Powers, and even Shobal Clevenger were comparatively intense, Everett naturally knew and encouraged other artists as well. Since the focus of this dissertation is patronage of American sculptors, this section will focus on Everett's contact with sculptors (in addition to those discussed

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[325]See Fred Stripp, "The *Other* Gettysburg Address," Civil War History 1 (June 1955): 161-173.

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above); but some mention of Everett's relationship with American painters seems in order before we return to that he had with sculptors.

Everett's interest in and eagerness to help all types of artists was evidently well known and appeals were often directed to him in hopes of gaining his assistance. For example, in 1830 John J. Audubon, whose style and interests were quite different from those of the Neoclassic sculptors, wrote to Everett from England where, he was sorry to report, he had obtained no new subscriptions for his Birds of America series. Nevertheless, he assured Everett that the letters of recommendation that Everett had written on his behalf had been useful. Audubon also noted that he had sent a box of prints of his Birds to Robert Gilmor in Baltimore and he hoped that Everett would like them when he saw them. He closed by asking Everett for advice on which Americans he should add to his list for possible subscribers.[326] Everett was evidently impressed by the Birds series for he arranged for the aquatints to be shown at the Library of Congress and at the Boston Athenaeum; and his opinion of the artist is shown in his nomination of Audubon to membership in the American Academy of Arts and Letters.[327]

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[326]John J. Audubon, Liverpool, to EE, Boston, June 7, 1830, Everett Papers.

[327]Alice Ford, John James Audubon: A Biography (New York: Abbeville Press, 1988), 289.

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Everett's benevolent attitude toward painters in general is reflected in his fairly liberal policy in granting artists permission to paint his portrait. Gilbert Stuart executed at least three portraits of him, one done as early as about 1815.[328] Samuel F.B. Morse may have painted him in 1832; and in November, 1834, he began sitting for a portrait by Chester Harding.[329] In 1835 he did the same for a full-length portrait by Henry Pratt and for a half-length by Asher B. Durand;[330] two years later, Bass Otis painted

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[328]One of these is at Harvard and is illustrated in Richard McLanathan, Gilbert Stuart (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Publishers, 1986), 142; another is in the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, and is dated 1820 (Andrew Oliver, et al, Portraits in the Massachusetts Historical Society [Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1988], 39); and a third is at the Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford, Connecticut (Charles Merrill Mount, Gilbert Stuart, A Biography [New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc.], 368).

[329]Everett Diary, Nov. 3, 1834. A portrait of Everett attributed to Harding and assigned the dates 1846-49 is in the collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan. (American Paintings in the Detroit Institute of Arts [New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1991], 1:115).

[330]Everett Diary, May 8, 1835, June 10, 1835, and passim. Everett noted that he sat for Durand at the request of Mr. C. A. Davis of New York and recorded that Durand "discovers great talent more resembling Stuart, I think, than any other artist & bidding fair to become very eminent." Everett also commissioned Pratt to copy a miniature portrait of his father (Everett Diary, May 9, 1837). The present locations of these portraits are not known. Durand's picture was exhibited at the National Academy of Design, New York, in 1837 (National Academy of Design, Catalogue of the Twelfth Annual Exhibition [New York, 1837], no. 59); and an engraving of it by George Parker was reproduced in James B. Longacre and James Herring, The National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans (Philadelphia and New York, 1839), 4:324.

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his portrait from life;[331] in 1841 in Italy he sat for a Mr. Nichols;[332] and the following year the American George P. A. Healy painted his portrait in London.[333] Joseph Alexander Ames painted a small image of Everett on paper, probably during the 1840s;[334] Richard M. Staigg made a crayon and chalk portrait of him about 1846 and Moses Wight of Boston painted him in the 1850s;[335] both George W. Conarroe[336] and

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[331]Everett Diary, May 9 and May 18, 1837 ff. An unsigned portrait of Everett, which was given to Harvard University by William G. Brooks in 1865 and which remains at Harvard, has been attributed to Bass Otis (Laura M. Huntsinger, comp., Harvard Portraits, [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936], 54) as has been a smaller version of it in the collection of the University of Michigan Museum of Art (Hilarie Faberman, Curator of Western Art, The University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor, to the author, August 5, 1991). The latter painting, attributed to Otis at the time, was sold in 1870 in an estate auction in New York (Henry H. Leeds & Miner, Catalogue. Executrix's Sale. Mr. Thomas Thompson's Extensive and Valuable Collection [New York, 1870], no. 421).

[332]Everett Diary, passim.

[333]Healy's bust portrait of Everett is at the Newberry Library, Chicago. At the time he was painting this, he was also working on a likeness of Everett's daughter, Charlotte. See Marie De Mare, G.P.A. Healy, American Artist (New York: David McKay Company, Inc., 1954), 93, 110; and Alexander E. Lucas, Reference Librarian, The Newberry Library, to the author, Sept. 3, 1991.

[334]Ames (1816-1872) was born in Boston where he worked as a portraitist from 1841 to 1847 after which he went to Italy. His portrait of Everett is now in the collection of the New-York Historical Society. The Society also owns another small, painted portrait of Everett by an unidentified artist as well as the bust by Clevenger, mentioned above (New-York Historical Society, Catalogue of American Portraits, 258-59).

[335]Staigg's portrait is now at the Massachusetts Historical Society (Oliver, et al, 40). It was painted in about 1844 and may be the same image which was listed for sale in 1881 at the Boston Art Club's Special Exhibition of

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Matthew Wilson painted him in 1859;[337] and James Harvey Young took Everett's likeness (American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts), probably in the early 1860s.[338] Other portraits of Everett, which were probably painted from

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the Works of Richard Morrell Staigg (Boston, 1881), 5, 14. Staigg had previously exhibited a portrait of Everett in 1854 at the Rhode Island Art Association (Yarnall and Gerdts, 3342).

Wight's portrait of Everett was mentioned in "Sketchings," The Crayon 4 (Dec. 1857), 378. It was engraved by H. Wright Smith, published, and sold to benefit the restoration of Mount Vernon, one of Everett's favorite causes. (See "Engraving and Portraiture," Cosmopolitan Art Journal 3 (March 1859): 83-84). Everett was instrumental in procuring other commissions for Wight, including orders for portraits of Alexander von Humboldt and Thomas Dowse. The latter was commissioned by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1856. (See Oliver, et al, 33-34; and Harding, Athenaeum, 64).

[336]Connarroe (1803-1882) was a portrait and genre painter who lived most of his adult life in Philadelphia where he was an active exhibitor at the annual exhibitions of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. His large (60 x 48 1/2 inches) three-quarter length portrait of Everett is in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia. He stated that Everett "sat to me for the portrait at the time he delivered in this city [Philadelphia] his oration on the character of Washington" (Quoted in Nicholas B. Wainwright, comp., Paintings and Miniatures at The Historical Society of Pennsylvania [Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1974], 59).

[337]Wilson (1814-1892), who was a student of Henry Inman, lived and worked in a number of cities on the east coast, including Boston where he painted portraits from 1856 to 1860. His image of Everett is in the collection of the Pilgrim Society, Plymouth, Massachusetts (Peggy Timlin, Curator of Manuscripts & Books, Pilgrim Society, to the author, Aug. 21, 1991)

[338]Young (1830-1918) was a portraitist from Salem, Mass. He opened a studio in 1848 in Boston and lived in that city for most of the rest of his life (George C. Groce and David H. Wallace, The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America 1564-1860 [New Haven and London: Yale University Press], 710).

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life, are those by Gilbert Stuart Newton and the British artist Samuel Laurence.[339]

Everett was also forthcoming in giving painters other forms of attention. For example, when Chester Harding was preparing to leave London in 1846, Everett wrote important letters of introduction which called him "one of the most distinguished portrait painters" and urged potential clients to pose for him as "a service to the world."[340] Later, in 1852, Everett recommended Harding to the committee of the Harvard Law School as an appropriate candidate for a commission for a portrait of Daniel Webster and told the artist he would be personally pleased if the order were given.[341] In 1849, Henry Pratt asked Everett to

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[339]Perkins and Gavin, 90, 103. The present locations of these portraits are not known.

[340]EE to George Hamilton Gordon, Lord Aberdeen, 1846, quoted in Leah Lipton, A Truthful Likeness, Chester Harding and His Portraits (Washington: The National Portrait Gallery, 1985), 37. Harding was an obvious admirer of Everett and told the following anecdote about him in his autobiography: "When Edward Everett stood for reëlection for the governorship of Massachusetts in 1839, the Democratic candidate in opposition was Marcus Morton. On election day, Mr. Harding was indulging in his favorite recreation of fishing and lost his vote which would have been cast for Governor Everett. After the returns were all in, it was found that Marcus Morton was successful by a majority of one vote. Had Mr. Harding voted, there would have been a tie which would have thrown the election into the Legislature, which body, undoubtedly, would have chosen Governor Everett. To the day of his death, Mr. Harding deeply regretted this fishing trip (Chester Harding, A Sketch of Chester Harding, Artist, Drawn by His Own Hand ed. Margaret E. White [Boston and New York, 1929], 158-59).

[341]EE, Boston, to Chester Harding, Nov. 1, 1852, Everett Papers 30. For Harding's portraits of Webster,--and a number of them are extant--see Lipton, 114-17.

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visit the installation of a panorama he had executed and which was on display in Boston and the politician obliged, proclaiming the work "highly credible to your skill as an artist."[342] In 1852, Healy again contacted Everett who assisted him in raising a subscription for a large, unspecified painting he wished to execute. Everett also offered advice on the type of exhibition room and studio Healy should plan to have in Boston if he happened to decide to settle there.[343]

Naturally, as we have seen, Everett was immortalized in sculpture, too. In 1838, for example, the Connecticut sculptor, Chauncey Bradley Ives, modeled Everett's bust in Boston, although nothing is known about the work, which is now lost, or the circumstances of the sittings.[344] Earlier, in November, 1835, Luigi Persico, an Italian sculptor who had emigrated to America in search of lucrative public commissions, asked Everett to pose for a bust and the American agreed. The sittings commenced on November 17, 1835, and although Everett found them tedious, he took advantage of the opportunity "to practice speaking Italian, which I have greatly revived in the 8 sittings I have

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[342]EE, Cambridge, to Henry C. Pratt, Dec. 22, 1849, Daniel David Addison Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

[343]EE, Boston, to G.P.A. Healy, June 23, 1852, Everett Papers 30.

[344]Chauncey B. Ives, Studio List, typescript in possession of Elizabeth Ives Bartholet, New York.

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given."[345] Before the month was out he composed a letter on Persico's behalf to Judge William Gaston of North Carolina recommending the sculptor as a suitable person to make a marble copy of Canova's recently destroyed statue of Washington. "Mr. Persico is an Italian artist of merit," Everett wrote.

> I have no hesitation in saying, that, in my opinion, [he] would be able to execute from the original model of Canova, a statue nearly, if not quite, as good, as that which has been destroyed. . . . Mr. P. has lived many years in this country. In his private capacity, he is an amiable & intelligent gentleman & I feel entire confidence that he may be relied upon to execute with fidelity any contract which may be made with him.[346]

Everett's motives in writing to Gaston were two-fold: to "do what is in my powers to retrieve the public loss inflicted on the whole country, by the destruction of that beautiful work of art, with which North Carolina so much to her credit had enriched it"; and to aid "an artist of talent & worth."[347]

In 1837, Persico, who was about to leave for Europe, visited Everett in Boston and asked his advice on handling the figure of Columbus in a group depicting the landing of Columbus in the New World which he was about to execute for

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[345]Everett Diary, Nov. 25, 1835.

[346]EE, Charlestown, Mass., to William Gaston, Nov. 21, 1835, William Gaston Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina Library, Chapel Hill. Also see Everett Diary, Nov. 22, 1835.

[347]EE, Charlestown, Mass., to William Gaston, Nov. 21, 1835, Gaston Papers.

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the U.S. Capitol building in Washington. Everett replied that the best bust of the navigator was at Genoa and that it had been engraved in the Codice Diplomatico.[348] Four years later, in Italy in 1841, Everett took his family to visit Persico's studio in Naples and to see the Columbus group. Everett's daughter recorded that "the figure of Columbus is yet only sketched out in marble," but, she added, "We saw here a bust of papa, taken in Boston four years ago."[349] Persico told Everett that he intended to make a marble replica of the plaster bust and hoped he would accept it as a gift, although he evidently never got around to sending this or any other replica of the bust to Everett.[350]

Everett's informal and sporadic connection with Persico continued over the years. In 1844, for example, he wrote to the sculptor on behalf of an unnamed party in England to request a copy of his bust of Dr. Channing but the price Persico asked was too high for the potential buyer. However, Everett told Persico that if he ever brought the bust to England, he would be happy to assist him in its sale.[351] This aside, by 1851 Everett had changed his

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[348]Everett Diary, May 20, 1837. Everett was probably referring to Codice Diplomatico Colombo--americano (Genova: Dalla stamperia e fonderia Ponthenier, 1823).

[349]Anne Gorham Everett, Journal, October 16, 1841, quoted in Bush, 177.

[350]Everett Diary, Oct. 16, 1841.

[351]EE, London, to Luigi Persico, April 17, 1844, Everett Papers 22. Everett sent this letter to President

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mind about the merit of Persico's work, as mentioned above, and, in his over-riding desire to aid Hiram Powers, became greatly critical of the U.S. government for having given commissions to foreign artists such as Persico while neglecting Americans.[352]

On the other hand, Everett usually kept an open mind on such matters. Certainly, his help had been sought on behalf of other foreign-born sculptors. In 1839, for example, Julia M. D. Taylor of Washington, D.C., who greatly admired the sculpture of Ferdinand Pettrich asked Everett to encourage Bostonians to subscribe to a fund for the purchase of a replica of his statue of George Washington which Pettrich was modeling for City Hall in Washington. Pettrich was an historical sculptor, Taylor noted, who wanted to do more than portrait busts and the city which gave birth to Horatio Greenough should certainly welcome him to America and its citizens should give him commissions.[353] Unfortunately, Everett's response to this request is not known.

During his stay in Italy in 1841, Everett naturally encountered sculptors, both American and European, other than those mentioned above. For example, on a brief visit

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Buchanan in Washington and, "recollecting your friendship for [Persico]," asked him to forward it to the sculptor.

[352]For example, see EE, Washington, to President Fillmore, March 4, 1851, Everett Papers 30.

[353]Julia M. D. Taylor, Washington, to EE, Boston, July 29, 1839, Boston Public Library.

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to Rome made prior to their departure from the Continent for England, the entire Everett family was escorted by the American consul, George W. Greene, to the studios of Thomas Crawford and Bertel Thorwaldsen.[354] Anne Everett recorded in her journal that they had seen

> some very beautiful works: [Crawford's] statue of Orpheus, just entering *Inferno*, and having put Cerberus asleep by the power of his music; and a group of Hebe and Ganymede, very fine; as yet only in clay. He has also some very beautiful bass-reliefs [sic]. Everybody knows who the celebrated Thorwaldsen is, and his works are astonishing in number and beauty. There is a group of large statues, consisting of the Saviour and the twelve Apostles, of which the marble went to Copenhagen. . . . The group is very fine, and must have been an immense labor. There is another group representing the preaching of John the Baptist. . . . Some of the bass-reliefs are very beautiful, there is such truth and nature in their expression. The statues are innumerable, and he has two other *studios*, each full."[355]

Of the three most important first-generation American Neoclassical sculptors--Greenough, Powers, and Crawford--the last was the least intimate with Everett, possibly due to the sculptor's long-term residency in Rome as opposed to Florence where the Everetts spent most of

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[354]Everett Diary, Oct. 23, 1841. Greene was a great friend and supporter of Crawford, as we will see again in the next chapter of this dissertation, and the day after the Everetts visited the sculptor's studio, both men dined with them (Everett Diary, Oct. 24, 1841). Of Thorwaldsen's studio, Everett said that it was "itself a gallery of Art" (Ibid.).

[355]Anne Gorham Everett, Journal, Oct. 23, 1841, quoted in Bush, 187-88. While Everett was in Florence, Greenough showed him an engraving of Crawford's Orpheus which, Everett noted, had not as yet been put into marble. "Crawford," he wrote in his diary, "is deemed an artist of great promise; he is struggling at present against the ris Augusta dormi [?]" (Everett Diary, Nov. 28, 1840).

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their time while in Italy.[356] Despite a lack of intimacy, though, Everett thought well of Crawford whom he evidently had not met prior to his visit to Rome in the winter of 1841-1842.[357] His opinion of the artist is stated in a letter of introduction to his father-in-law, Peter C. Brooks, written on the sculptor's behalf in 1844. Crawford was preparing to return to America to marry Louisa Ward and Everett hoped that he would receive sculptural commissions while there. "I consider that our country," Everett wrote, "in the possession of this gentleman & his brother artists Powers and Greenough, combines more talent for sculpture than any country in Europe."[358] This sentiment was reiterated when in 1853 Montgomery Meigs asked Everett's opinion on which American sculptors should be considered for the important commission of pedimental sculpture for the planned extensions of the U.S. Capitol building in Washington, as discussed above.

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[356]Crawford's biographer, Robert Gale, assumes with good reason that Everett had only a casual acquaintance with Crawford and supports this supposition with the fact that Everett is never mentioned in the sculptor's correspondence with his wife (Gale, 218n). Nor is Crawford mentioned in Frothingham's biography of Everett.

[357]Crawford wrote to Charles Sumner of his meeting with Everett: "Mr. Everett passed through Rome a short time ago on his way to England. He appeared interested in my efforts and took a note of them which I believe he intends putting [in] a proper form for printing so you will learn about all I have done since Mr. Green's article appeared in the Knickerbocker" (Crawford to Sumner, Jan. 4, 1842, Sumner Papers 3).

[358]EE, London, to Hon. P. C. Brooks, July 16, 1844, Boston Public Library.

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Everett's final connection with Crawford actually occurred after the sculptor's death, on the occasion of the dedication of Crawford's bronze equestrian monument to George Washington in Richmond, Virginia. Everett delivered the main oration at those ceremonies which took place in February, 1858. While his speech was naturally more concerned with Washington than with Crawford, Everett did not fail to mention the sculptor who he called a "gifted artist." He also gave his opinion on sculpture in general and its didactic powers. "I believe in monuments," he forthrightly stated,

> I believe in them even as works of art. To carve the speaking marble, to mould the breathing bronze, is one of the noblest efforts of genius and taste, but a patriotic monument is a far nobler work. It embodies patriotism, truth and faith; it gives form and expression to the best feelings of our nature, and while the noble works which you have this day inaugurated shall brave the snows of Winter and the heats of Summer, that brazen arm shall point the unerring road to the welfare of the country more surely than any arm of living flesh; and a fiercer thunder than that of the elements shall clothe the neck of the monumental war-horse, and strike terror to the hearts of the enemies of the Constitution and the Union.[359]

After his return from Europe in 1846, Everett continued to show an interest in American sculptors, both those who had expatriated to Italy and those who had not. In Washington in 1854, for example, he sat for his bust to

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[359]"Edward Everett in Virginia--His Speeches at the Crawford Inauguration," New York Times, Feb, 27, 1858, 2. A brief, though ultimately negative, consideration of Everett's attitudes toward monuments can be found in Christian, 121-124.

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Benjamin Paul Akers (fig. 25);[360] and three years later he spoke at the dedication ceremonies in Boston for Henry Dexter's statue of General Joseph Warren (Bunker Hill Monument, Charlestown, Massachusetts), a hero of the Battle of Bunker Hill. At that event, which was said to have been attended by 10,000 people, Everett praised not only Warren but also the statue and its sculptor Dexter, whom he called "a meritorious self-taught American artist."[361] That same year, 1857, perhaps in gratitude for Everett's support, Dexter made a "duplicate marble bust" of him which was evidently a copy of or at least based on Powers's bust of Everett.[362] The connection to Everett was used again a few

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[360]Craven, Sculpture in America, 283. Craven stated that Akers' bust of Everett "is an example of the sculptor's theory that he could represent the soul through a naturalistic rendering of the physical features. That this theory met with general and enthusiastic approval is obvious from the many portraits he modeled in the nation's capital." Akers had approached Everett for a commission on the advice of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (Longfellow, Cambridge, to EE, Dec. 13, 1853, The Letters of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, ed. Andrew Hilen [Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966], 3:402) and Everett, who thought Akers was an artist "of great merit," encouraged the young man to compete for a possible government commission for a statue of Benjamin Franklin (EE, Washington, D.C., to [Robert Winthrop?], Feb. 9, 1854, Winthrop Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston). As we have already seen, however, an order for such a work was not made until 1858 and then it went to Hiram Powers, thanks again to Everett.

[361]Quoted in "Latest Intelligence . . . The Bunker Hill Celebration," New York Times, June 18, 1857, 4. Everett said that, in his statue of Warren, Dexter had "united the sympathetic ardor of the patriot with the conscientious zeal of the sculptor."

[362]John Albee, Henry Dexter, Sculptor, A Memorial (Cambridge: University Press, 1898), 114. Dexter copied the

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years later when Dexter asked for his support of the sculptor's idea of executing a bust of every state governor. According to his biographer, Dexter later "went forth armed with letters of general introduction from Edward Everett and others."[363]

Another sculptor Everett attempted to advance in America was Erastus Dow Palmer who, until the late 1850s, was little known outside Albany, New York, where he lived.[364] With Everett as their leader, a group of prominent Bostonians sought to help change this when they wrote to Palmer in 1856 asking that he consider showing his work in Boston. The group included Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Louis Agassiz, John R. Lowell, Everett's old friend George S. Hillard, and others. They expressed their wishes to Palmer as follows:

> Learning that you propose shortly to place some of your work on exhibition in New York, we take the liberty of addressing you in order to express our strong desire that you may find it convenient to exhibit the same for a while in Boston also, and to assure you of the gratification which this step would afford us.[365]

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bust again in 1863 and Albee stated that at the time he was writing, that copy was in Philadelphia (Albee, 116).

[363]Albee, 80. Dexter's plan to model the governors' busts got off to a good start in 1859-60 but was aborted with the outbreak of the Civil War.

[364]See J. Carson Webster, Erastus D. Palmer (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1983).

[365]EE, Longfellow, Hillard, Lowell, et al, Boston, to Erastus D. Palmer, Nov. 25, 1856, in Charles A. Ingraham, "Erastus Dow Palmer, A Great American Sculptor," Americana 24 (1930): 13.

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Since Everett's is the first signature on the letter, it might be assumed that he either instigated the correspondence or at least was one of the organizers of it. The impetus for the unusual letter was the well publicized exhibition of twelve of Palmer's marbles at the Church of the Divine Unity in New York which had been requested by a similar letter written to Palmer by a group of New York gentlemen. Among these were Hamilton Fish, Daniel Huntington, William Cullen Bryant, and Asher B. Durand.[366] Evidently, the Boston letter received no response although Palmer did send two busts, Spring and Moses, to the annual exhibition of the Boston Athenaeum in 1858, the only time he exhibited at that institution.[367] Perhaps his participation that year was a result of the letter from Everett and his friends; but whatever the case, Palmer probably felt an allegiance to New York State and New York City which he did not feel for Massachusetts and Boston. In fact, his major private patrons continued to be New Yorkers such as Hamilton Fish who was the first owner of several works by Palmer including his most famous ideal figure, The White Captive (1859, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).

Closer to his own home, Everett also knew the sculptor Thomas Ball who, after a brief stay in Italy,

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[366]Webster, 26-27. While Webster gives the specifics of the letter from the New York businessmen, he does not mention the one from Everett and his friends.

[367]Perkins and Gavin, 107; Webster, 162, 176-178.

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resettled in Boston in 1858. He took a studio in the Mercantile Library Building on Summer Street, not far from the Everett home, and there, in the summer of 1858, he modeled a statuette of Henry Clay as a companion to his earlier one of Daniel Webster. He invited Everett, who was quite familiar with Clay's features, to view the work. Always ready to help any artist, Everett quickly wrote a note of support for its creator. "I have much pleasure in expressing the opinion that Mr. Ball has been completely successful in his statuette of Mr. Clay," Everett stated, "as respects both the face and the person. The likeness is excellent, and the carriage of the figure true to life."[368] In 1859, Everett took part in an effort by Bostonians to give Ball a commission for a full-size bronze version of his model for an equestrian statue of George Washington with the hopes of placing it in the Boston Public Garden. A special event, the Washington Statue Fair, was held at the Music Hall in Boston in November, 1859. Among its supporters were artists who contributed works for sale, the proceeds to go toward the statue commission. Everett joined his fellow Bostonians by donating the original manuscript of his famous oration on Washington, bound in leather.[369] He also posed

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[368]Quoted in Thomas Ball, My Threescore Years and Ten (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1891), 210.

[369]"A Brief History of Ball's Equestrian Statue of Washington," Boston Journal, reprinted in Ball, 374. Everett was actually credited with having indirectly instigated Boston's desire to have Ball's statue of Washington cast in bronze. "Mr. Everett's efforts in behalf

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for his portrait to the painter Matthew Wilson with the intention of donating the picture to the fair as the prize in a raffle. Unfortunately, ticket sales were sluggish and the painting was given instead to Mrs. Mary Ellen Russell, wife of Judge Thomas Russell who had also served on the original Washington Statue Committee.[370]

Likewise, Ball was an obvious admirer of Everett, and in 1859, shortly after Ball's return from Italy, he modeled a plaster relief of the man (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).[371] A year before the great orator's death, Ball made a bust of him based on a life mask and measurements of his head which Ball had taken.[372] The sculptor probably thought he might gain a commission for a full-length statue of Everett but his hopes in this regard were never realized.

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of Mount Vernon stimulated the veneration of the people for the name of Washington, and imparted, as it were, to the people a deeper reverence for the name than had manifested itself for many years" (Ball, 367).

[370]Letter to the author from Peggy Timlin, Curator of Manuscripts & Books, Pilgrim Society, Plymouth, Massachusetts, August 21, 1991. Mrs. Russell eventually presented the portrait of Everett to the Pilgrim Society in which collection it remains.

[371]Greenthal, et al, 98-99. An engraving by J. H. Bufford Lithographers, Boston, of the relief of Everett, inscribed "Thos. Ball Sculptor," illustrates "Tribute to Edward Everett," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society 8 (Jan. 1865): 101-170.

In February, 1859, Everett wrote to Ball, asking him to confirm an appointment so that they might "resume our sittings next week" (EE, Boston, to Ball, Feb. 19, 1859, Register and Scrapbook for the Villa Ball, Thomas Ball Papers, AAA 4039).

[372]A plaster version of the bust is at the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; marble replicas are at Harvard and in the Boston Public Library.

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Such a commission was given, but not to Ball. Days after Everett's death in January, 1865, a group of Bostonians met to commission a memorial statue of him.[373] Although Ball was the obvious choice, he was passed over in favor of William Wetmore Story. Unlike both Ball and Powers, Story had not modeled Everett's features from life. For his statue, therefore, he wanted to use Ball's life-mask of Everett but Ball would not allow this. (Story eventually used Powers's bust of his old patron). Attended by some controversy and a great deal of negative criticism, Story's Everett was erected in 1867 in the Boston Public Garden. It stood there until 1911 when it was moved, first, to Edward Everett Square in Dorchester, Massachusetts, and then, n 1935, to nearby Richardson Park where it stands today.[374]

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[373]General Committee of the Everett Statue Fund, Minutes, passim, Boston Public Library. Among those on the committee were George Ticknor, George Hillard, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Thomas Gold Appleton. The group was so successful in raising money for the statue that they were able to buy Matthew Wight's painted portrait of Everett to present to Fanueil Hall and a marble replica of Ball's bust of Everett to give to the Boston Public Library.

[374]Walter Muir Whitehill, Boston Statues (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishers, 1970), 33. For the story of the Story commission, see Seidler, Story, 651-660. Those who favored Story for the Everett commission claimed that he was one of Everett's good friends and that Story's father, Justice Joseph Story, had known Everett extremely well. One of Justice Story's biographers recorded the following anecdote about the friendship, "On one occasion, at a public dinner in Boston, Mr. Justice Story and Mr. Everett were present, the former presiding. In one of those felicitous little speeches for which he was distinguished he concluded by calling Mr. Everett up and saying: `Fame travels where Ever-ett goes.' Mr. Everett's remarks, bright and scholarly, as was always the case with him, closed with the repartee: `However far my name may go, it can never rise

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Of the American women sculptors, Harriet Hosmer seems to have been the only one who had any noteworthy contact with Everett, and it was brief. The date of their first meeting is not known nor is Everett's opinion of Hosmer's work, but he was evidently friendly with her for in 1861, at a ball in Boston to honor the visiting Prince of Wales, Everett made sure that Hosmer was presented to the royal heir.[375]

In 1870, after Everett's death, his children approached Hosmer about the possibility of designing a statue for their father's grave at Mount Auburn. It is unclear why they had decided against using Hiram Powers's portrait statue of their father, discussed above, but very possibly they realized that a bronze figure, as opposed to the marble one which Powers was planning, would be more durable. Powers was not known as a sculptor in bronze, while Hosmer had only recently, in 1868, enjoyed the success and attendant publicity of the dedication in St. Louis of her huge bronze statue of Thomas Hart Benton. Also,

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above one Story.'" (Quoted in Mary E. Phillips, Reminiscences of William Wetmore Story [Chicago and New York: Rand, McNally & Company, 1897], 153).

In 1871, funds were raised by the Everett Statue Committee for a new pedestal for Story's sculpture of Everett. Enough money remained after the pedestal was purchased that a donation could be made, under the name "The Everett Fund," to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. See Museum of Fine Arts,"Records of Museum of Fine Arts, March 10, 1870, to October 21, 1880," July 1, 1875, AAA 536.

[375]Dolly Sherwood, Harriet Hosmer, American Sculptor, 1830-1908 (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 196-97.

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Charlotte Everett Wise had visited Hosmer's studio in Rome about 1868 and when, in the winter of the following year, her brothers asked for her opinion on a monument for their father's grave, she suggested Hosmer. She later told Hosmer that she also assumed that due to "old associations & personal admiration for Papa, you would probably be pleased to undertake the work."[376] Mrs. Wise was correct; although Hosmer was as surprised as anyone that the Everetts had chosen her for the commission, she excitedly accepted it.[377]

The order for the statue was placed early in 1870 and by June of that year Hosmer was receiving payments from the Everett family.[378] The grave figure was not to be a portrait but, instead, an allegory of "Eloquence." Hosmer agreed to have it completed by 1872 but it soon became obvious that that deadline could not be met. By 1874, the

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[376]Charlotte B. Wise, Washington, D.C., to Harriet Hosmer, March 15 [1876], Harriet Goodhue Hosmer Collection, the Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Mass., microfilm M-60. Mrs. Wise had not totally forgotten Powers, though. In May, 1869, she wrote Powers that she and her husband had been planning a trip to Florence to see his statue of her father but that her husband had suddenly died the previous month in Naples. He was to be buried in the Everett plot at Mount Auburn and she wanted a simple monument for the site. She asked Powers if could send her a drawing for such a work. "I know how you loved Papa," she wrote, "and how glad you will be to serve his daughter" (Charlotte Everett Wise to HP, May 2, [1869], Powers Papers 1145). Powers's reply to this request, assuming there was one, is not known.

[377]Sherwood, 313.

[378]Charlotte Everett Wise, Paris, to Harriet Hosmer, June 5, 1870; and Sidney Everett to Hosmer, June 13, 1870, both Hosmer Collection, M-60.

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sculptor was already expressing a desire to send the figure, once completed, to the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia which was not to be held for another two years; but the Everetts, shocked by Hosmer's apparent nonchalance in suggesting such a delay, understandably refused.

Furthermore, Sidney Everett did not like the pedestal which Hosmer proposed for the monument and suspected that she had originally designed it for some other statue. More importantly, he voiced his objections to the idea of having an allegorical statue on the grave at all, especially since, as he pointed out, his mother was buried there as well as his father and a statue of "Eloquence" would fail to acknowledge her presence. Sounding much like his father, Sidney stated his belief that "in a cemetery the simpler the monument the better unless it is a statue of the real person; but the modern costume is the great objection to this." He suggested that Hosmer use her "Eloquence" for some other purpose and design something new for the Everett grave. In any event, frustrated by the delays, he demanded that the statue be finished "this year" (1874) and warned Hosmer that no further payments would be made until the statue was in place.[379]

By March, 1876, the whole project had been abandoned, much to the Everetts' disgust.[380] Hosmer had

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[379]Sidney Everett to Harriet Hosmer, Feb. 11, 1874, Hosmer Collection, M-60.

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evidently gone to Munich to investigate having the figure cast in bronze but exactly how far she got on its actual design and modeling is not known.[381] Evidently, no trace of the statue or its design remains. Everett's grave at Mount Auburn is marked by a comparatively simple granite stone decorated with marble panels.

Everett's Writings on Art

One of Edward Everett's self-defined functions as a supporter of the arts was as an amateur critic, a role that seems to have been an inevitable result of the very personal interest he took in artists and his tireless promotion and defense of them. He also saw it as a means of fulfilling his duties as an educator, a philosophy he expressed in a letter to Horatio Greenough in 1839. Therein, he outlined his major concerns--education, literature, and art--and he told Greenough that he thought America needed a book, "a history of the arts of Painting, Architecture & Sculpture, treated in a popular way & in a manner to engage the attention of the mass of youthful readers."[382] While Everett himself was not to write that book--nor did he ever pretend that he had the qualifications to do so--his writings on art form a fairly impressive body of literature,

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[380]Charlotte B. Wise, Washington, D.C., to Harriet Hosmer, March 15 [1876], Hosmer Collection, M-60.

[381]Sherwood, 313.

[382]EE to HG, May 20, 1839, Everett Papers 26

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considering that they were composed by an amateur in the field, and they are certainly worth considering here.

One of the most readily available forums for Everett's expression of his views on art was the North American Review. As stated above, he continued to write articles on various subjects for the periodical long after his resignation from its editorship in 1823. In fact, during the forty-five years following that event he contributed at least one-hundred-sixteen pieces to it and, predictably, some of these were about art.[383] For example, in 1820, the very year in which he assumed his position at the Review, he wrote one of the first lengthy articles to be published in America on the Italian sculptor Antonio Canova.[384] His verbosity was stimulated by the public commission and execution of Canova's George Washington which was nearing completion and which would be unveiled the following year, 1821, at the capital building in Raleigh, North Carolina. In his article on Canova, Everett identified the artist as the first sculptor in Italy since Bernini to produce any work of note. Loyal to his classical training, Everett gave Anton Mengs and Johannes Winckelmann credit for reviving "the taste for the beautiful models of

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[383]Christian. See also the list in the Boston Public Library compiled by Everett in about 1840 of the 105 articles he had written up to that year for the North American Review.

[384][Edward Everett], "Canova and His Works," North American Review 27 (April 1820): 372-386.

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antiquity" thereby overthrowing "the dominion of bad taste" in Italy and opening the way for Canova's success. He provided his readers with a biographical sketch of the sculptor and, in doing so, revealed his own understanding of sculptural technique, including the importance of procuring flawless white marble, the preferred methods of polishing the stone, and the difficulties of carving relief. He readily cited two sources for his information on Canova at the beginning of the essay;[385] but the ease with which he edited and interpreted the information he had found and the seeming pleasure with which he discussed sculpture in general reveals a particular understanding and appreciation of the medium.

In fact, Everett ventured to give his own opinion of Canova, at least in terms of the sculptor's statue of Washington, the clay model for which he had probably seen in Canova's studio in Italy in 1818 or 1819.[386] He expressed

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[385]Everett's sources were the Giornale Enciclopedico of Naples (April 1807) and Isabella Albrizzi, Opere di scultura e di plastic di Antonio Canova (Firenze, 1809). The latter was expanded by Albrizzi into the two volume set The Works of Antonio Canova (London, 1824), a copy of which Everett owned. See Catalogue of the Private Libraries of the Late Dr. William Everett, of Quincy, Mass., and of His Father, the Hon. Edward Everett (Boston: C. F. Libbie & Co., 1910), no. 359.

[386]Everett later implied that he had met the sculptor, which is not unlikely, and that he had had some form of personal discussion with him, probably brief, which at least touched on the subject of patronage and control of artistic style. Canova, he remembered, "told me that those who employed him, should not dictate to him the rules of his art" (EE, Washington, to HG, Florence, January 13, 1834. Greenough Papers, AAA 1215).

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concern over the mode of dress which Canova had selected for the former president--a Roman military costume--which he described as "unbecoming" and correctly predicted that it "will not suit the American taste."

Even worse in Everett's opinion, however, was his understanding that the English sculptor Francis Chantrey had chosen modern military dress for his standing figure of Washington which had been commissioned by the city of Boston and which was under way at the time. "Neither [Canova's nor Chantrey's] principles is just in the art," Everett continued, revealing his taste for pure Neoclassicism and, at the same time, sounding very much like Winckelmann. "Nature is to be imitated," he continued, "only in her noble, select, and pleasing parts, and historical truth adhered to no farther than it adds to the beauty, grandeur, and charm of the work."[387] Fully aware of the fickleness of taste and fashion, Everett warned that posterity "perhaps will judge more severely of [Canova's] productions, and the very applause that has been lavished on them may awaken the severity of criticism."[388] Already, he observed, Thorwaldsen had reached a level of acclaim equal to that of Canova and, in England anyway, certain connoisseurs had almost sacrilegiously announced that Chantrey was superior to the Italian.

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[387]Everett, "Canova and His Works," 385-386.

[388]Ibid., 373.

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Another of Everett's early articles for the North American Review was, not surprisingly, about classical art. His "History of Grecian Art" was published in January, 1821, and began with a discussion of painting and architecture. The author berated his fellow Americans for having failed, thus far at least, to develop a taste for sculpture and, at the same time, he again revealed his preference for Neoclassicism. "In statuary," he wrote "we fear our account stands less fairly than in either of the other arts; nor do we yet seem to have caught the spirit so extensively prevailing in Europe for this admirable art. . . . The good modern statuary is indeed wholly in Grecian taste."[389]

A decade later, in 1831, inspired to do so by the unveiling of Chantrey's Washington in Boston, Everett wrote again on the topic of statuary. Sculpture, he counciled his fellow Americans, "is an art certainly deserving the studious attention of the man of taste, as in the highest degree beautiful and attractive in itself,--singular in its history, and in some respects endued with advantages, over every other effort of human genius to express and immortalize itself." Furthermore, unlike architecture, sculpture usually exists for its own sake: "Statuary, in its highest application, is addressed purely to the taste, and like poetry, though capable of being made useful, aims in itself at another object, the refined pleasure produced by

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[389][Edward Everett], "The History of Grecian Art," North American Review 12 (Jan. 1821).

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the survey of a beautiful work of art."[390] Despite his earlier distress at the mode of dress of both Chantrey's and Canova's statues of Washington, he ultimately rejoiced in America's acquisition of them. Together, they were "of great importance to the study and practice of sculpture in America."[391]

Naturally, Everett mentioned aspects of the fine arts other than sculpture in several of his articles for the North American Review. In 1820, for example, he wrote about the architecture of the University of Virginia. He described Jefferson's plan for the institution but found it impractical: two or even four rooms, as provided by Jefferson, were not enough for the professors; and the one-story student accommodations would be too cold in the winter and too hot in the summer.[392] Everett seems to have been convinced that, while Neoclassical aesthetics could exist for their own sake in sculpture, they should be subordinated to more utilitarian purposes in architecture.[393]

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[390][Edward Everett], "Statuary," North American Review 32 (Jan. 1831): 3.

[391]Ibid., 2.

[392][Edward Everett], "*Proceedings and Report of the Commissioners for the University of Virginia. . . 1818. . .* by Thomas Ritchie," North American Review 10 (Jan. 1820): 115-136. At the time he wrote about the buildings of the University of Virginia, Everett evidently had not been to Charlottesville and therefore had no first-hand experience of them. When he toured the eastern seaboard in 1814, he had in his possession letters of introduction to Thomas Jefferson, but he never made it as far as Monticello on this trip (Everett, "Memoir," 97).

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Records exist, too, of Everett's opinions on the subject of patronage of the fine arts, at least as far as the role of the United States government went. On August 26, 1824, for example, he spoke before a meeting of the Society of Phi Beta Kappa in Cambridge, Massachusetts, on the topic "The Circumstances Favorable to the Progress of Literature in America." His skills as a classical orator, which would eventually help to make him famous, were already well developed. Accordingly, his lecture covered a wider spectrum of topics than that suggested by the title and, in keeping with the traditional style in which he spoke, he ranged from the general to the particular in an oration of some length. (In its published form, the text runs to forty-four pages of fairly small print).[394] At one point, Everett held forth on the question of public patronage of the fine arts in a democratic society. "I am aware," he said, "that it is a common notion, that, under an elective government, of very limited powers, like that of the United

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[393]In 1831, Everett repeated this view on architecture which, he wrote, "is by necessity, to a certain degree, a useful art, and in a climate like ours, not a little of the beauty of almost any building, must be sacrificed to its purposes of utility" (Everett, "Statuary," 3).

He also lectured on architecture, delivering three talks to the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic's Association in Boston in the fall of 1829 (Everett, "Memoir," 104). The exact nature of these lectures, which were evidently not published, is unknown.

[394]Edward Everett, "The Circumstances Favorable to the Progress of Literature in America," Orations and Speeches on Various Occasions (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1850), 1:1-44.

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States, we lose that powerful spring of action which exists in the patronage of strong hereditary governments, and must proceed from the crown."[395] Europeans, he reported, believed that America lacked the funds ("that powerful spring of action") which a monarchy had at its disposal and should therefore forego public patronage. This, Everett objected, was a fallacy. "For in the first place," he believed, "it is by no means true that a popular government will be destitute either of the means or the disposition to exercise a liberal patronage. No government, as a government, ever did more for the fine arts than that of Athens." Art patronage in America, however, must not be confined to the capital city, as it was in Athens, but must "pervade the republic, like the air; to reach the farthest, and descend to the lowest." It must not be limited to any particular class of citizen but must "search out, and bring forward, whatsoever of ability and zeal for improvement are contained in any part of the land."[396] The message here is clear: patronage of the arts, if it is to exist in the United States, must be thoroughly democratic.

Everett further elaborated on this point in 1831 in a discussion of the probability of private individuals in America becoming patrons of the arts. In whatever form it took, he began simply, patronage was of the utmost

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[395]Ibid., 13.

[396]Ibid., 14.

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importance because the arts "are expensive."[397] As he often did, Everett compared the situation in America to that in classical Greece where the state was the major and perhaps only patron of the arts. On the other hand, he noted, in ancient Rome individuals were "munificent patrons" but regrettably were able to be so only because of ill-gotten funds gathered as "presents of suppliant kings, the plunder of the allies, and the spoils of the enemy."[398]

Everett was not altogether certain what effect democracy in its American form would have on private patronage of the arts. He rather naively believed that "Private fortunes in consequence of the law of distributions, which is the corner-stone of the republic, will always remain small in this country." Nevertheless, he thought that individuals might still have a role in supporting the arts. Certainly, the interest was there. The best example of this was the universal concern with finishing and decorating the national capitol building in Washington "in a style becoming the metropolis of the Union"; and, he continued, "we hope to see its superb rotunda gradually filled up with the statues of the distinguished statesmen and heroes of our annals,--an historical pantheon of liberty." Furthermore, wealth did occasionally fall into the hands of individuals and might be

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[397]Everett, "Statuary," 18.

[398]Ibid., 19.

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democratically used to further the arts. Everett then gave one of the strongest calls for private patronage of the arts made up to this time in America:

> We greatly mistake the character of the country if the cabinet-makers and the carpet-weavers are the only artists, who are to enjoy the patronage of our rich citizens. If we are not mistaken, the age of rosewood and carved mahogany is already passing away; as for that of *bois doré* (thank heaven) it never fairly dawned on us. We have a pleasing hope, that out young men and women of fortune are beginning to feel that, if they have money to spend in luxuries, it had better be appropriated to objects, that evince rather their own taste, than that of the upholsterer. Let this sentiment be fashionable, and the advancement of the art among us will begin.[399]

By the time he shared these thoughts with his audience, the educator had also formed a personal but clear notion as to what constituted artistic talent. His opinions on that subject were included in a lecture delivered in October, 1830, at the Lyceum in Charlestown, Massachusetts. Painting, he believed, was made possible by "a peculiar organic structure of the eye and of the muscles of the hand" combined with "the intellectual talent, the poetic fire." Together, the attributes of physical ability and spiritual inspiration produced "a Raphael or a Titian; a Wilkie or an Allston."[400] Likewise, sculpture depended upon both technical and aesthetic astuteness. An accomplished sculptor

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[399]Ibid., 20.

[400]Edward Everett, "Lecture on the Workingman's Party," Importance of Practical Education and Useful Knowledge (Boston: Marsh, Capen, Lyon and Webb, 1840), 129.

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> such as Canova or Chantrey, must on the one hand, possess a soul filled with all grand and lovely images, and have a living conception of ideal beauty; and, on the other hand, he must be a good stonecutter, and able to take a hammer and chisel in his hand, and go to work on a block of marble, and chip it down, to the lip of Apollo or the eyelid of Venus.[401]

On this point Everett was more specific when, a year later, on 14 November 1831, he introduced the Franklin Lectures in Boston with a discourse entitled "Advantage of Useful Knowledge to Workingmen."[402] In this speech, he recalled his first recorded encounter with an identifiable example of American sculpture which he had recently seen in New Haven, Connecticut. These two marble figures, Jephthah and His Daughter (figs. 15a and 15b) by the American sculptor, Hezekiah Augur, combined to make "a most beautiful work of art . . . of exquisite taste." Augur's career, Everett noted, was an excellent example of what the common working person could achieve. Although he had been an obscure retailer of liquors, the sculptor had worked his way out of deep debt by turning to art, "without education, without funds, without instruction." He had attained "extraordinary proficiency in this difficult and beautiful art, and bids fair to enrol his name among the distinguished sculptors of the day."[403]

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[401]Ibid., 130.

[402]Edward Everett, "Advantage of Useful Knowledge to Workingmen," Importance of Practical Education and Useful Knowledge, 138-161.

[403]Ibid., 156.

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Clearly, Everett found Augur interesting because of his ability to transcend the limitations of class; in other words, Augur fit very comfortably into Everett's idea of a democratic art which would be accessible to all. It is probably not too speculative to imagine that by this time Everett had decided that Augur was an example of the sort of self-made artist who was worthy of support, financial and otherwise.

Considering his professed and almost exclusive preference for the Neoclassical, Everett's unqualified praise of Augur, whose style was closer to the Baroque than to the Classical, is somewhat surprising. True, Augur was dealing with an elevated theme in Jephthah and His Daughter and his sculpture was carved in marble, a favored material of Neoclassicism; but Everett's praise may not have been based on Augur's style, medium, or message but rather on the fact that he was an American artist. That Everett had developed a heightened sense of nationalism should not be surprising since by the time he wrote about art, democracy, and Hezekiah Augur he had been active in politics for a number of years.

Everett's sense of national pride was also at least part of the impetus for his authoring a full-length, two-part article, "American Sculptors in Italy," which appeared in 1842 in the first two issues of the Boston Miscellany of Literature and Fashion.[404] It had been written the previous

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summer while Everett and his family were living in Italy at the Villa Carregi outside Florence. At the time, he was going into the city almost every day, usually to pose for the bust being modeled by Hiram Powers, as discussed above. His thoughts as recorded in the Boston article were almost certainly influenced by the conversations he had with Powers during these sittings as well as from his broad general knowledge of American sculpture. His understanding of the methodology employed by American sculptors and his expertise in the field in general, rare for someone who was not an artist, were made apparent in the Boston Miscellany article.

"In no one of the fine arts has greater improvement been made by our countrymen, than in that of sculpture," he began the article. Greenough, Powers, Clevenger, and Crawford were immediately identified as the four stars of American sculpture who "have either already attained or bid fair to attain a degree of excellence." This was desirable, Everett believed, because it reflected credit on America as it would "on any country in any period" including even ancient Greece. The purpose of his article, though, was not simply as a puff for the Americans. Instead, as Everett himself stated, it was meant to explain the long period of expatriation undertaken by many American sculptors in Italy.

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[404]Edward Everett, "American Sculptors in Italy," Boston Miscellany of Literature and Fashion 1 (January 1842): 4-9; 1 (February 1842), 49-54. The second part of the article was reprinted in The Statue of the Greek Slave, Exhibiting at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (Philadelphia: T.K. and P.G. Collins, Printers, 1848), 5-9.

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Quite rightly, Everett noted that Americans were not in Italy to study with contemporary artists because most of them arrived in Europe already trained. They were there instead for the following reasons, most of which were economic:

(1) some of the greatest sculpture of the ancient world as well as that of the Renaissance and of contemporary sculptors was to be seen in Italy;

(2) it was possible to study from the live model in Italy, unlike in America;

(3) high quality marble was readily available and, again, was cheap in Italy;

(4) skilled workmen could be procured for a reasonable price;

(5) the climate of Italy is conducive to producing sculpture because the clay used in modeling is less likely to freeze in the temperate Italian environment; and

(6) the cost of living in general is lower in Italy than in the United States.[405]

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[405]A number of recent studies of American sculpture agree with Everett's summary of reasons that American sculptors went to Italy to live and work. In fact, in her dissertation on William Wetmore Story, Jan Seidler used Everett's list as the basis for chapter subheadings to explain the methodology of nineteenth-century American sculptors in general (Seidler, Story, 157-159). Everett, she noted, was "not a practicing artist himself" but was "deeply committed to championing the cause of American art" and wrote his article in response to a controversy over the expatriation of American sculptors which was "teeming" in the American art press at the time.

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Most of the rest of the first section of the article was devoted to Horatio Greenough and featured a list of his important works, most of which Everett had seen in his studio in Florence during the previous year.

The second part of the article concentrated on Hiram Powers who, Everett wrote, "is already to be regarded less as a sculptor of the highest promise, than as one of the highest reputation." This opinion was bolstered by the inclusion of a translation of another article on Powers by Prof. A. M. Migliarini from the Giornale Arcadico.[406] Everett had already recorded in his diary his pleasant surprise that Migliarini, who was an archaeologist affiliated with the Grand Ducal Gallery in Florence, approved of Powers's work despite the fact that Migliarini was "a great admirer of antiquity."[407] While Migliarini praised the sculptor, though, he placed a bit too much emphasis on Powers's extremely realistic reproduction of the details of the human face and Everett was compelled to explain. Powers's "principle, as practised by himself," Everett wrote,

> we understand to be to reproduce the man in the best and most accustomed expression of his character. To attain this end, whatever is essentially characteristic

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[406]See A. M. Migliarini, "Il giovine sig. Hiram Powers, scultore americano," *Gironale Arcadico* 85 (Oct.-Dec. 1840): 344-352. The article was translated by Richard Henry Wilde and was also published in the Knickerbocker with an introductory letter by Wilde ("Powers the Sculptor," Knickerbocker 18 [Dec. 1841]: 525-529).

[407]Everett Diary, Feb. 15, 1841.

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> in the original must be preserved, whether it be great or small, feature or wrinkle. The consummate skill of the artist is shown in thus selecting what is thus characteristic--however seemingly inconsiderable--and still more in making these innumerable details work together towards the uniform and appropriate expression and life of the whole.[408]

Obviously, Everett had an intimate understanding of Powers and his work. He also had first-hand knowledge of the basic facts of Powers's life and took this opportunity to add to Migliarini's summation of it and to clear up a few minor errors made by the Italian.[409] "Our country has much to boast of in Mr. Powers," Everett proclaimed, and ended the article with the hope that Powers "will have as much to be grateful for to his country"--by which Everett meant commissions by the U.S. government for busts of famous men, a list of whom Everett graciously provided. Powers's native state, Vermont, would also do well to order something from him, Everett added.

One further attempt at the promotion of American art, including American sculpture, was made by Everett in

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[408]Everett, "American Sculptors in Italy," (Feb. 1842), 8.

[409]In general, Powers approved of Migliarini's article. On Sept. 18, 1841, Everett made the following entry in his diary: "I read to [Powers] Migliarini's article on himself in the Giornale Arcadico for October 1840. The facts as he stated were most correct having been furnished to Mr. M. by our countryman [Richard Henry] Wilde." (He was referring to A.M. Migliarini, "Il giovine sig. Hiram Powers, sculptore americano," Giornale Arcadico di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti [Rome] 85 [Oct.-Dec. 1840]: 344-352). Powers was also evidently pleased with Everett's article about him for Everett read it to him on Sept. 18, 1841, and, as Everett noted in his diary that night, Powers was "much pleased."

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his role as a writer or, more accurately in this case, as a publisher. That was in the founding of the short-lived New England Art Union of which Everett was president.[410] The organization was based on the more famous American Art-Union of New York and, following the lead of its predecessor, it published its first, and evidently last, bulletin in 1852. Everett wrote part of the brief periodical, perhaps even all of it. In an article meant to introduce the organization, he stated that its main purpose was to "encourage American Art in its present struggle into life, in our own age and country." In keeping with precedents set by the American Art-Union, it was intended that engravings of well-known examples of American art would be distributed to members. The first of these was a reproduction of Washington Allston's Witch of Endor and Everett thanked Boston's Thomas H. Perkins who owned the painting and who had generously allowed it to be copied.[411]

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[410]The other officers were Franklin Dexter and Henry W. Longfellow, vice presidents; James B. Gregerson, Secretary; and James Lawrence, treasurer. Among the directors were George S. Hillard, N. L. Frothingham, Edward C. Cabot, Charles Sumner, Thomas Gold Appleton, Chester Harding, and Cephas Thompson (New England Art Union 1 [1852]: 1). A brief history of the organization can be found in Leah Lipton, "The Boston Artists' Associaton, 1841-1851," The American Art Journal 15 (Autumn 1983), 54-55.

[411]Everett again revealed his belief in the true purpose of art when he stated that the directors of the Union "have also considered it as quite important, in reference to the higher influence of art in America, to select for distribution a work which is calculated to elevate and purify, rather than to startle by dramatic incongruities, or amuse with scenes of low life. In this way painting, like poetry, may be made the instrument of

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In the bulletin, Everett also addressed the issue of art patronage which, as we have seen, was quite dear to him. Even in Europe, he said, some patrons had limited themselves to buying only the work of living artists instead of the more common practice of buying Old Masters. "Such was the course pursued by the great sculptor Thorwaldsen," the article went on.

> For the liberal purpose of encouraging the professors of a kindred art, he formed an extensive gallery of pictures, the production of living painters. One or two liberal patrons of art in England possessed of fortunes which would enable them to acquire the gems of all the cabinets of the continent, as they find their way from year to year, to London, prefer purchasing the best works annually exhibited at the Royal Academy. Let this course be pursued for an adequate period in this country, and a new and auspicious era would dawn upon American Art.[412]

Everett's Art Collection

For one who was so interested in painting and sculpture, Edward Everett's own art collection was not extensive. What he did own, he displayed for some years at his home in Cambridge, the traditional home of the

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raising the tone of public sentiment" (Edward Everett, "Bulletin of the New England Art Union," New England Art Union 1 [1852]: 2).

[412]Ibid., 2. The same year Everett published the New England Art Union's bulletin, the organization held its first, and evidently only, annual exhibition. One-hundred-thirty-two works were shown but only a few of these were sculptures: Thomas Ball's Amina and The Young Artist, and Peter Stephenson's The Wounded Indian, copies of which were for sale (New England Art Union, Catalogue of Paintings Now on Exhibition in the Free Gallery of the New England Art Union [Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, 1852]).

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presidents of Harvard.[413] The old house was not comfortable, though, and not particularly suitable for the display or useful arrangement of paintings, sculpture, or books.[414] Therefore, when the family finally moved to their home on Summer Street in Boston at the beginning of 1852, Everett had a spacious study and library added to the rear of the house where he was able to arrange his collection more impressively. His biographer noted that the new study was quite large but, nevertheless, "barely sufficed to contain his books and works of art. It had become quite the talk of the town, and for a time visitors came almost daily to ask if they might see it."[415]

Among the books Everett owned were many which reflected his major interests in the classical world and education as well as in art. In the last group were J. S. Harford's Life of Michael Angelo (London, 1857); John J.

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[413]Everett continued to live in the house in Cambridge even after his resignation from the presidency of the university in December, 1848. His successor to the post, Jared Sparks, had his own house in Cambridge and did not care to live in the presidents' house. See Frothingham, 303.

[414]Everett wrote Greenough in 1849 that his house in Cambridge did not have walls sufficient for hanging paintings and, therefore, Greenough should delay buying any more pictures for him until the situation changed (EE, Cambridge, to HG, Sept. 10, 1849, Everett Papers 29).

[415]Frothingham, 363. In the nineteenth century, Summer Street was described as "the most beautiful avenue in Boston. Magnificent trees then skirted its entire length, overarching the driveway with interlacing branches, so that you walked or rode as within a grove. . . ." (Samuel Drake, Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of Boston [Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1873], 381).

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Audubon's seven volume Birds of America; Michael Bryan's Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Painters and Engravers (London, 1849); and a complete set of Vasari's Lives of the Painters. Countess Albrizzi's 1824 monograph on Antonia Canova which Everett had used in writing his article on Canova, cited above, was there, as was a copy of Henry Tuckerman's Memorial of Horatio Greenough (1853), presented to Everett by Mrs. Greenough. Hiram Powers's important patron, John Smith Preston, gave Everett a copy of his oration Celebration of the Battle of King's Mountain (1855) as well.[416] Everett's library was enhanced by his acquisition in 1852 of the collection of books which Eleonora Graberg, his friend and a resident of Florence, had inherited from her father. She had written to Everett for assistance in locating a purchaser for the collection and Everett immediately decided to buy it himself, a feat accomplished with the help of Hiram Powers who acted as his agent in the transaction.[417]

Everett also eventually owned about three-hundred images of George Washington, presumably engravings and the like, which he kept in portfolios. This collection grew out of his interest in the restoration of Mount Vernon, a project which preoccupied him during his final years.[418]

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[416]Catalogue of the Private Libraries of the Late Dr. William Everett, passim.

[417]EE, Boston, to HP, February 9, March 3, April 22, 1852 and ff, Powers Papers 1135.

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On the other hand, Everett does not seem to have acquired paintings and sculpture with the fervor of an avid collector. His collection consisted mostly of portraits. For example, he owned a portrait of Lord Brougham by Spiridione Gambardella and at least two of himself, one each by Gilbert Stuart and James Harvey Young.[419]

Everett's friend George S. Hillard gave the most detailed contemporary account of the collection and its setting:

> Mr. Everett is again residing in his own home on Summer Street, in Boston. Many years since this house was occupied by the Hon. Daniel Webster. Mr. Everett has recently added to it a beautiful library. The bookcases, which already wholly surround the room, are of carved oak. No glass doors hinder the student. A single cabinet protects manuscripts and other private documents. It is lighted from above, and above the books there is, therefore, an excellent light for some fine pictures. Among those which hang in the room are portraits of Hon. P. C. Brooks; of Webster by Healy and by Stuart; of Lord Brougham; of the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel; of Burke, and of John Quincy Adams. There are some curious antiquities and memorials of Mr. Everett's travels, in the room; and

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[418]EE, Boston, to John Wood Dodge, July 29, 1864, John Wood Dodge Papers, AAA 960. In an earlier letter to Dodge, Everett briefly discussed Houdon's and Stuart's portraits of Washington (EE to Dodge, July 2, 1864, John Wood Dodge Papers, AAA 960).

[419]Yarnell and Gerdts, passim. Gambardella was an Italian-born artist who was in Boston in 1841, and possible before, and who lived and worked in London from 1842 until 1868. Everett owned the portrait of Brougham by 1862 when he lent it to the exhibition of the Sailor's Fair in Boston; two years later he lent it to the Boston Athenaeum (Perkins and Gavin, 62).

The portrait by Young of Everett which is now in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, has a Boston provenance and may have been the version originally owned by Everett (Georgia B. Barnhill, Curator of Graphic Arts, American Antiquarian Society, to the author, August 6, 1991).

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> between the doors is stretched, a-couchant, a beautiful marble hound, by Horatio Greenough,--the quiet guardian of the entrance.[420]

This last object, Greenough's sculpture of his dog Arno (fig. 16), was perhaps the most important piece of American Neoclassic sculpture that Everett owned. It was in his possession by May, 1849. The model for the statue, which was begun in 1838, was Greenough's much loved "tall milk-white greyhound"[421] whom Everett had met during his stay in Italy. The marble Arno which Everett eventually owned was originally ordered by a Mr. Whitwell of Boston but was in the possession of William Sturgis of Boston by the spring of 1840 when it appeared in the annual sculpture exhibition at the Boston Athenaeum.[422] By November of that year, however, it had been bought, evidently directly from Sturgis, by Everett's father-in-law, Peter C. Brooks,.[423]

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[420]Hillard, Little Journeys, 346-347.

[421]HG to Henry Greenough, Jan. 18, 1835, Letters of Greenough, ed. Greenough, 102.

[422]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Second Exhibition of Sculpture in the Athenaeum Gallery (Boston, 1840), 13.

[423]Everett Diary, Nov. 18, 1840. On that day, Everett "called at Mr. Greenough's studio. Saw there the original of the dog made for Mr. Whitwell which Mr. Brooks has lately purchased." On Feb. 24, 1841, Everett recorded the following incident concerning the dog Arno, "A fine large Grey hound belonging to Mr. G. in fighting with another dog was thrown under a carriage whose wheel passed over him & broke the dog's leg in two places. They have had it set & it remains to be seen with what effect. It is the same dog which Mr. G. copied in marble, a work now in Mr. Brooks' possession." Everett mentioned the statue again in his article, "American Sculptors in Italy," Boston Miscellany 1 (Jan. 1842): 6.

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At Brooks' death in 1849, it passed to his son, Sidney; but Everett, who greatly admired the statue, made a bargain with the younger Brooks for the sculpture. He wrote to Greenough concerning the circumstances of this transaction:

> I have lately made the acquisition of a most agreeable souvenir of Florence & yourself, which keeps you in constant remembrance in our domestic circle. Your ARNO whom you have immortalized in marble and which belonged to our late honored father Brooks, is now in our possession. It did not fall to my wife's share of her father's property, but being very desirous of having it, we exchanged with Mr. Sidney Brooks, giving for it a large and very good Picture, which I had bought for Mr. P.C. Brooks in Florence. Its placed in a very good light in our family room and forms its chief ornament. My bust by Powers is in the opposite room, so that in the periodical migrations which we make, like the vicar of Wakefield, from one side of the house to the other, we have always the agreeable company of one of our Florentine friends. Arno happens to be the dog star of our Summer quarters. I have long since forgiven him an ill-mannered snap at my leg, which materially accelerated my steps, as I was going up your staircase one day in Florence.[424]

Evidently not long after Everett acquired the statue, it was seen in his house in Cambridge by Henry Adams who later recalled the circumstances of his visit there:

> Far back in childhood, among its earliest memories, Henry Adams could recall his first visit to Harvard College. He must have been nine years old when on one of the singularly gloomy winter afternoons which beguiled Cambridgeport, his mother drove him out to visit his aunt, Mrs. Everett. Edward Everett was then President of the College and lived in the old President's House on Harvard Square. The boy remembered the drawing-room, on the left of the hall-door, in which Mrs. Everett received them. He remembered a marble greyhound in the corner. The house had an air of colonial self-respect that impressed even a nine-year-old child.[425]

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[424]EE, Cambridge, to HG, May 21, 1849, Everett Papers 29.

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When he constructed the library addition to his Boston house, Everett, who was always interested in artists' opinions about the proper placement of works of art, called upon Greenough for advice on Arno. "I propose to place it in a new Library room, which I am arranging at my house in Boston," he wrote in 1852 to Greenough who had recently returned to America, "A question of taste has arisen as to the position of the work. . . . If you could look in upon me at your early convenience it would much oblige me, as I shall stay the workmen till I have the benefit of your taste & judgment."[426] As requested Greenough visited the Everett home and over the next several weeks the artist and his patron discussed the figure of Arno, its pedestal, and its general arrangement.[427] As the dog had been in life, the

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[425]Henry Adams, The Education of Henry Adams (1906), in The Library of America, Henry Adams: Novels, Mont Saint Michel, The Education (New York, 1983), 993. Adams was born in 1838; therefore, if his memory served, he must have visited the Everetts at Harvard in about 1847.

[426]EE, Boston, to HG, Feb. 20, 1852, Everett Papers 30.

[427]On Feb. 28, 1852, Everett wrote to Greenough, "What should you think of substituting for the pedestal on which you saw Arno something in the style of that on which Brackett's work is placed; which is a square box without mouldings covered with red velvet, with a narrow gilt edging. I have a vague notion that a box like that which you saw, with panels & mouldings has a vulgar carpenterish unartistic look. This may be mere fastidiousness on my part. If so, please say so, & let me spare the cost of a change" (Everett Papers 30). The sculpture by Edward A. Brackett to which Everett referred was probably The Shipwrecked Mother and Child (Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Mass.) which was exhibited at the Boston Athenaeum in every year from 1852 to 1864 inclusive (Perkins and Gavin, 24).

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marble Arno was treasured by its owners and it remained in the Everett family into the twentieth century.[428]

Besides Greenough's Arno, Everett owned several sculptures by Powers. Among these was the bust of Everett which Powers had modeled in Florence in 1841 (fig. 20). He sent the marble version to Everett in London at the end of the following year.[429] Everett may have also owned one of Powers's early replicas of Proserpine, at least for a while. Late in 1843, Powers sent a plaster of the conception to him in London and it was in Everett's hands in February of the following year. Everett contemplated sending it to the Royal Academy exhibition along with the bust of himself but evidently did not do so.[430] The fate of the plaster Proserpine is unknown, although Everett may have eventually brought it back to America. If he did keep it in his private collection, however, he did not mention the fact in any of his correspondence, as far as is known.

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[428]See Jan Seidler Ramirez's entry in Greenthal, et al, 21-23.

[429]Wunder, 2:40.

[430]EE, London, to HP, Jan. 1, 1844, and Feb. 26, 1844, Powers Papers 1132. In the latter letter, Everett told Powers that Proserpine had arrived a few days before. Wunder has suggested that a marble replica dated 1844 which is now in the collection of the Honolulu Academy of Arts, Hawaii, may have been the one which Powers had carved to be sent to Everett for exhibition at the Royal Academy, London. Whatever the case, he did send a plaster version which is the bust to which Everett referred in his letters cited above (Wunder, Hiram Powers 2:189, 203).

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In 1849, Powers told Everett that he wanted to create an original work especially for Mrs. Everett. The Everetts were naturally delighted with the idea but insisted on "waiting their turn." Besides, Everett wrote Powers, he would have to insist upon paying Powers for the work--in advance, if Powers liked.[431] Perhaps with this idea still in mind, in 1851 Powers suggested sending the Everetts a statuette of his California but then changed his mind and suggested one of La Penserosa, since that conception had been Everett's idea anyway.[432] This pleased Everett[433] but the project was aborted when the marble from which the statuette was being carved was found to be flawed.[434]

Perhaps it was at least partially to fulfill his earlier, informal promise to present something to Mrs. Everett that Powers eventually sent a bust of his ill-fated America to the Everetts. Naturally, the work also served as a token of Powers's great appreciation for the many years of hard work that Everett had devoted to the attempt to get a governmental commission for the full-length statue of America. In November, 1859, Powers shipped a cast of the bust and a column in marble for its pedestal to Everett with

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[431]EE, Cambridge, to HP, June 5, 1849, Everett Papers 29.

[432]HP to EE, July 31, 1851, Powers Papers 1135.

[433]EE, Cambridge, to HP, Sept. 15, 1851, Powers Papers 1135.

[434]Wunder, 2:122.

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the suggestion that the work be placed in front of a curtained window.[435] Everett declared that he would welcome the bust "with great satisfaction, not only for its intrinsic beauty, which I know must be of the highest order but as a most expressive token & abiding monument of your friendly regard."[436] It arrived in April, 1860, and Everett declared that it "surpasses my most sanguine expectation. . . . [and] will ever form the chief ornament of my house."[437] A year later he reiterated that "America is the great charm & attraction of my parlor."[438] He soon decided that he needed a pedestal for Powers's portriat bust of him to match the newer pedestal on which America stood. Without hesitation, Powers quickly shipped the duplicate out of Leghorn for Boston.[439]

At his death, Everett's library "with book cases" was valued at $2000.00 and his "statuary and paintings,

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[435]HP to EE, Nov. 14, 1859, Powers Papers 1140. With this letter, Powers enclosed a sketch of the bust in profile, indicating how the light should fall over the nose to touch the upper lip.

[436]EE, Boston, to HP, Dec. 13, 1859, Powers Papers 1140. Everett added that he intended to have the bust inscribed.

[437]EE, Boston, to HP, April 29, 1860, Powers Papers 1140.

[438]EE, Boston, to HP, March 31, 1861, Powers Papers 1141. The bust of America which Everett owned is now unlocated. See Wunder, 2:122.

[439]EE, Boston, to HP, March 17, 1862, Everett Papers 32; and HP to EE, May 20, 1862, Powers Papers 1141.

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objects of art and curiosities including one emerald ring were said to be worth $5438.50.[440] But his true legacy consisted of things invaluable. Although his contributions to American culture are, for the most part, unappreciated today, his generosity, selflessness, and loyal support of those who deserved it, were readily recognized by his contemporaries. Shortly after his death, one of these, George Bancroft, summed up Everett's life in the following manner:

> [Everett] took pleasure in every success that any man could gain, alike in other pursuits and in those kindred to his own. He never doled out scant praise. He never withheld from any one the applause that was due. I never could discern in him the slightest vestige of envy. His heart expanded at observing merit in others; and if sometimes he was too forbearing or too complacent toward mediocrity, he gloriously redeemed that foible by the keenest and most willing perception of all kinds of excellence.[441]

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[440]"Schedule of Personal Estate [of Edward Everett]," Suffolk County Early Probate Records, Massachusetts Archives at Columbia Point, Boston, Mass.

[441]George Bancroft, "George Bancroft on Edward Everett," Historical Magazine 9 (March 1865), 79.

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AMERICAN NEOCLASSIC SCULPTORS AND THEIR PRIVATE PATRONS IN BOSTON

by

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CHAPTER IV

CHARLES SUMNER (1811-1874)

Charles Sumner was arguably the most important Boston patron of American artists in the generation following that of Edward Everett. Like Everett, he was neither professionally connected to the art world nor wealthy enough to commission many original works of art himself, although he did manage to amass a collection which was impressive in quantity if not in quality. The consistency of his support for American artists, however, especially American sculptors, and the level of his interest in art in general was almost equal to Everett's. Also like Everett, Sumner was a politician who used his position and connections to help bring success to individual artists and thereby improve the cultural climate of the young nation at large; and he, too, helped make Boston a center for the patronage of American Neoclassic sculptors.[1]

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[1]Sumner's importance as a patron of the arts was recently noted by Jan Seidler in her dissertation on William Wetmore Story. Seidler acknowledged Sumner's importance as a statesman and abolitionist and then stated that, often omitted from Sumner's list of accomplishments, "is the leadership role he played as a patron of American art, and specifically, as a promoter of the `new' art of neoclassical sculpture in the United States" (Seidler, Story, 81).

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Early Years

Sumner was born in Boston,[2] a son of a lawyer and later sheriff of Suffolk County, Massachusetts, Charles Pinckney Sumner, and his wife Relief Jacobs. The father was educated at Harvard and was known for his erudition and literary interests which he dutifully passed on to his offspring. His son's biographer, Edward L. Pierce, stated that the elder Sumner

> took pains to lead his son Charles and his other children to the studies which he had himself pursued, teaching them, as their minds developed, to love history and all knowledge. Other homes enjoyed more of luxury; but his was enriched at least with the atmosphere of culture.[3]

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[2]The most recent account of Charles Sumner's life is given in two books by David Herbert Donald, Charles Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War, 2d ed. (New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1988), and Charles Sumner and the Rights of Man (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970). Sumner's papers are at Harvard University and are available in a microfilm edition (Beverly Palmer, ed., The Papers of Charles Sumner [Alexandria, Va.: Chadwyck-Healey, Inc., 1978]). The papers were extracted for Edward L. Pierce, Memoir and Letters of Charles Sumner, 4 vols. (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1877-93) which remains a basic source for information on Sumner and his times. The history of Sumner's family can be found in William Sumner Appleton, Record of the Descendants of William Sumner of Dorchester, Mass., 1636 (Boston, 1879), and William B. Trask, "Genealogy of the Sumner Family," New England Historical and Genealogical Register 8 (Apr., 1854): 128d-128s.

[3]Pierce, 1:28. Pierce added that Charles Pinckney Sumner's "rigid and cheerless nature was not one which makes a happy home." Nevertheless, at least one of Charles Sumner's brothers was also a success: George Sumner was a distinguished scholar, traveler and author. Another brother, Horace Sumner, died in the wreckage of the ship Elizabeth off Fire Island, New York, in 1850, in the same tragedy that took the life of Margaret Fuller and almost destroyed Hiram Powers's statue of John C. Calhoun (see Trask, 128k; and Wunder, 2:115-116).

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Accordingly, the younger Sumner studied at the Boston Latin School and, after an unsuccessful application to West Point, matriculated at Harvard College from which he was graduated in 1830. He then entered Harvard Law School where his most memorable teacher and mentor was Joseph Story, Supreme Court Justice and father of the future sculptor, William Wetmore Story, whose relationship with Charles Sumner will be discussed below. Judge Story's influence on Sumner was not limited to his law studies, however; he encouraged the young man to broaden his knowledge of the arts, particularly literature.[4] Sumner readily admitted his ignorance of art, art history, and music, but completely agreed with Story's attitude toward learning, an opinion he expressed in a letter written to one of his classmates shortly after he entered law school:

> Volumes upon volumes are to be mastered, of the niceties of the law and the whole circle of literature and science and history must be compassed. For what is a lawyer, brim-full, though his head may be, with statutes and precedents and points, if he lacks that elegance and taste which will set off his own mind and infuse itself into every thing which passed through it.[5]

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[4]William Story remembered that "my father took an interest in [Sumner] at first, because of his father, and this interest soon ripened into a warm affection" (quoted in Pierce, 1:105). Among Sumner's other professors at Harvard was George Ticknor under whom he studied literature.

[5]CS to Charlemagne Tower, Sept. 29, 1831, quoted in Donald, Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War, 25. Sumner's interest in a wide variety of topics was also remembered by William Story who wrote that although Sumner was "a devoted student of law, he did not limit his reading to it, but ranged over the whole field of literature with eager interest" (quoted in Pierce, 1:106).

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Sumner's law degree was granted in 1833 and, after a brief trip to Washington, D.C., he settled in Boston where he joined the law firm of Benjamin Rand. He found it difficult to sit still, though. As one of his biographers noted, "the love of travel was with Sumner an inherited passion,"[6] and in February, 1834, he left Boston for a two-month trip to Hartford, New Haven, New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, D. C. His prime activity in the last city was to observe the legal process on the federal level. Accordingly, most of his time in Washington was spent at the Supreme Court where his mentor, Judge Story, was presiding. Otherwise, he found little to interest him in the city, although the Capitol building was "a sumptuous edifice, worthy in every way its high object" and the White House was "of equal attraction."[7] Less than overwhelmed by the city, he predicted, ironically, that he "probably shall never come to Washington again."[8]

Sumner returned to Boston in April, 1834, and, with his friend, George Hillard, founded the law firm which bore their names. Sumner also taught for a time at Harvard Law School; gave lectures on the law in and around Boston; and, with Hillard, edited a law review, The Jurist. For social

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[6]Pierce, 1:124.

[7]CS, Washington, D. C., to Jane Sumner, Mar. 4, 1834, Pierce, 1:139.

[8]CS, Washington, D. C., to Simon Greenleaf, Mar. 18, 1834, Pierce, 1:141.

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and intellectual stimulation, he and Hillard joined Cornelius C. Felton, Henry W. Longfellow, and Henry R. Cleveland in an informal literary group which they called "The Five of Clubs." At weekly meetings, they discussed the latest books and their own studies and research.[9] The intellectual stimulation which this brought Sumner, together with a growing dissatisfaction with his chosen occupation, made him long to see more of the world. Feeling overworked, he left Boston for the summer of 1836 to take a trip down the Hudson River to New York City. He then crossed New York State to Niagara Falls, and visited Montreal and Quebec before returning home.

Far more dramatically, though, and to the surprise and even horror of his friends, especially Judge Story,

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[9]Of the Five of Clubs, Sumner's biographer wrote, "Their mutual confidence seemed to know no limitation of distrust or fear of possible alienation; and they revealed, as friends do not often reveal, their inner life to each other. Rarely in history has there been a fellowship so beautiful as that of these gifted young men" (Pierce, 1:162). Interestingly, both Felton and Cleveland married granddaughters of Thomas H. Perkins and Longfellow married a daughter of Nathan Appleton who will be discussed later in this dissertation.

Sumner and Hillard's law office, which was located at 4 Court Street in Boston, seems to have been a part-time gathering place for the town's literary and artistic elite. In a poem he wrote as a tribute to Hillard, William Wetmore Story listed a number of such persons who frequented the firm. Besides Felton, Longfellow, Ticknor, and Story's father, Judge Story, this included George Bancroft, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Frances Lieber, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Thomas Gold Appleton, Samuel G. Howe, Daniel Webster, William H. Prescott, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Francis C. Gray, and Washington Allston. See William Wetmore Story, "George Stillman Hillard," in Francis W. Palfrey, Memoir of the Hon. George S. Hillard, LL.D. (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1882), 346-48.

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Sumner decided to put his career on hold and take an extended tour of Europe. This, for Sumner, was merely a continuation of his education. "My journey will not be peculiarly legal," he wrote a few months before his departure. "I shall aim to see *society* in all its forms which are accessible to me; to see men of all characters; to observe institutions and laws; to go circuits and attend terms of parliaments; and then come home and be happy."[10] He finally persuaded Judge Story of the necessity of the tour and, somewhat placated, the jurist gave him $1000 toward his expenses. Laden with letters of introduction from influential Bostonians with European connections, Charles Sumner, aged twenty-six, finally left America in December, 1837.[11]

First European Trip

Sumner's point of debarkation in Europe was Le Havre, France. From there he made his way to Rouen where he had his first encounter with monuments of Western art. The famous Gothic cathedral of Rouen, which he called "the great lion of northern France," impressed him as did the smaller

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[10]CS, Boston, to Charles S. Davies, Pierce, 1:192.

[11]Donald, Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War, 43-44. The textile merchant Samuel Lawrence and the lawyer Richard Fletcher, both of Boston, also made financial contributions to Sumner's sojourn; and among those who wrote letters of introduction for Sumner were Judge Story, Edward Everett, Henry W. Longfellow, Ralph Waldo Emerson, John Neal, and Washington Allston. See Pierce, 1:197.

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church of St. Ouen; and he was thrilled by the paintings he saw in the provincial art museum in the Hôtel de Ville. "I cannot but record the admiration, blind and untutored," he wrote in his journal, "which was excited by this first view of the arts in Europe."[12] He could not help compare the pictures in Rouen, particularly a Madonna by Raphael, to those he had seen in America which now seemed "mere daubs."[13]

In fact, the more Sumner saw of Europe and its treasures, the more he realized "the littleness of American life," as he put it.[14] This judgement was apparently confirmed in Paris, which left him intellectually dazzled (as well as morally shocked). Within days of his arrival in the French capital, he began to realize the sophomoric nature of his previous artistic experiences. "You can imagine my feelings in such a scene," he wrote Hillard in January, 1838,

> as I passed through [the Louvre] to-day, when you think that Mr. [David] Sears's house was my type of a palace, the Athenaeum Gallery, of a collection of paintings, and the plaster casts in the Athenaeum reading-room and Felton's study, of a collection of antiques. My voyage has already been compensated for--sea-sickness, time, money, and all--many times over.[15]

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[12]CS, Journal, Dec. 28, 1837, Pierce, 1:222.

[13]Quoted in Donald, Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War, 46.

[14]Quoted in Ibid., 70.

[15]CS to Hillard, Jan. 13, 1838, Pierce, 1:234. For David Sears, see below.

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His "artistic appreciation," as one of his biographers put it, "was much quickened" during his months in France.[16] Although he confessed to being "cabined, cribbed, confined from my ignorance of the principles of art and of its history,"[17] his perseverance in its study was not in vain. "I had often read and heard of the Louvre," he wrote in his journal after his first visit to that great repository of art,

> but I had no adequate idea of its vastness, or of the extent of its collections. Here were upwards of three thousand pictures, of the French, Dutch, German, and Italian schools,--with a Spanish gallery also, which was just opened,--containing numerous productions of the first masters, Raphael, Leonardo da Vinci, Rubens, Carracci, Murillo, &c. A portion of these galleries was open to all, both citizens and strangers, without question of any kind. At what is called the long gallery, however, containing the principal collection of paintings, strangers were required to exhibit their passports and sign their names in a book preserved at the porter's lodge. In this gallery numerous artists, many of them women, were employed in making copies of the paintings, liberty being always given for this purpose on proper application.[18]

He visited every room in the museum and was particularly impressed with paintings by Raphael and Leonardo which, he wrote, "touched my mind, untutored as it is, like a rich strain of music."[19]

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[16]George H. Haynes, Charles Sumner (Philadelphia, 1909), 50.

[17]Quoted in Ibid., 50.

[18]CS, Journal, Jan. 11, 1838, Pierce, 1:232.

[19]CS, Journal, Jan. 19, 1838, Pierce, 1:241.

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He also went to the Luxembourg Palace to see "the collection of paintings by the modern artists of France." After marveling at the Renaissance masters at the Louvre, most of whom had dealt with Christian themes, Sumner was struck by the dominance of classical subjects at the Luxembourg. "Classical scenes seem to be more taken than Scriptural now-a-days," he noted, "and Helen and Paris are instead of the Virgin and the Infant." He was impressed by the "extremely sensuous character" and "more than flesh-like attractiveness" of the figures in the paintings--but he did not disapprove of them. On the contrary, he actually seems to have discovered his own taste for Neoclassicism while standing in the Luxembourg. For Sumner, paintings in this style displayed "great beauty, brilliancy, and finish of coloring" with "none of the roughness of Nature which the older artists often hit upon."[20]

Sumner was active in other ways in Paris. He studied the French language; frequented the theatre; heard Luigi Lablach and Giulia Grisi sing Don Giovanni; attended lectures at the Sorbonne and elsewhere; visited with other temporarily expatriated Bostonians, such as Mr. and Mrs. George Ticknor; witnessed sessions in the courts of law; and made day trips to places such as Versailles. At the "immense city of the dead," Père-la-Chaise, he read "characteristic inscriptions, and gazed on the memorials

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[20]CS, Journal, Feb. 13, 1838, Pierce, 1:250.

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raised to genius and virtue and merit." In a letter to Judge Story, he compared the place to Mount Auburn in Cambridge which he thought much better suited as "a place of mourning, to be visited by the pious steps of friends and kindred."[21] Not long after he wrote this, at the end of May, 1838, reeling from but hardly sated by his French experiences, he reluctantly left the Continent for England.

During the next ten months, Sumner became a regular participant in London's social scene, even attending the coronation of Queen Victoria at Westminster Abbey.[22] Despite such distractions, though, he dutifully continued to study and observe local law in action, as he had done in Washington and Paris, and to pursue the best that British culture had to offer. He visited Wordsworth at Rydal Mount and discussed with him the work of Washington Allston who, according to Sumner, Wordsworth regarded "as the first artist of the age."[23] He visited friends of Sir Walter Scott at Melrose in Scotland; made a brief trip to Dublin; and was a guest at Chatsworth, Wentworth House, Raby Castle, and other stately homes. He was especially delighted with Wentworth where he saw, among other riches, "paintings by

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[21]CS, Paris, to Judge Story, May 14, 1838, quoted in Henry James, William Wetmore Story and His Friends (London: Thames & Hudson, 1903), 1:86.

[22]Pierce, 1:298.

[23]CS, Keswick, England, to George S. Hillard, Sept. 8, 1838, Pierce, 1:356. Sumner began this letter with the declaration "I have seen Wordsworth!"

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Vandyke [sic], Reynolds, and Raphael, of which all the world has heard"; and at Holkham Hall, the residence of the Earl of Leicester in Norfolk, he studied paintings by Titian, Rubens, and others.[24] But the Earl's sculpture collection was equally impressive. It was displayed in "a gallery of surpassing grace and proportions," and there Sumner saw for the first time a notable group of classical sculpture. It was part of

> a collection of antique statues and busts, the completest in England,--a `Pythian Apollo,' a `Venus' with a veil, a `Meleager,' a `Faun' in most beautiful preservation, a `Neptune,' a `Diana' (for sending which from Rome the old Lord Leicester was thrown into prison), with busts of Seneca and Cornelius Sylla,--the latter said to be the only one that has come down to us. . . . And you dine with noble and almost colossal heads of Juno and of Lucius Verus looking from their high niches down upon you.[25]

In the library at Holkham, Sumner saw a more modern sculpture, a still life in relief by Sir Francis Chantrey, Two Woodcocks (Collection of Viscount Coke, England). Sumner described it as "a beautiful marble tablet . . . on which are two woodcocks falling together,--the offering of the sportsman and the sculptor to his noble host."[26] As he

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[24]CS to George S. Hillard, Oct. 26, 1838, Pierce, 1:371.

[25]CS, Holkham, to George S. Hillard, Nov. 2, 1838, Pierce, 1:374. The "old Lord Leicester" to whom Sumner referred was Thomas Coke whose arrest in Italy for "stealing" antique sculpture was evidently only a rumor. See Haskell and Penny, 62.

[26]CS, Holkham House, to George S. Hillard, Nov. 2, 1838, Pierce, 1:374. (See Pierce, 1:378). See Alex Potts, Sir Francis Chantrey 1781-1841, Sculptor of the Great (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1981), 31.

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related in a letter to Hillard, the work had grown out of an incident which occurred during a visit by Chantrey to Holkham Hall in 1829. While hunting on the grounds with Lord Leicester, the artist killed two woodcocks with one shot. Delighted at this lucky marksmanship, Chantrey's host commissioned him to commemorate the event "in a most classical way" by creating the relief. An inscription on the sculpture identified the artist and the date of the event and a space had been reserved for the inclusion of an appropriate verse. In his letter to Hillard, Sumner quoted several possibilities which had already been submitted and he asked Hillard and friends to send similar verses. When Cornelius Felton did so, Sumner dutifully gave copies of his poem to a number of interested parties in England including Chantrey whom he met at a dinner party. (As far as I know, no poetic inscription was ever added to the sculpture). This was evidently Sumner's first personal encounter with a sculptor and possibly one of his earliest intimacies with any artist. Following the experience, he described Chantrey to Hillard:

> He is an unlettered person, who was once a mere joiner, but has raised himself to a place in society, and to considerable affluence. He lives well, and moves in the highest circles. . . . He has shown me the casts of all his works, and explained his views of his art. He gave me the history of his statue of Washington. . . . The covering which I have sometimes heard called a Roman *toga* is nothing but a cloak. Chantrey laughed at the idea of its being a *toga*, saying that he had never seen one; it was modelled from a cloak,--a present from

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Canova to Chantrey. This cloak was stolen by a servant of an inn where the sculptor was changing horses.[27]

Despite his hectic social schedule in England, Sumner displayed a generous attitude toward the accomplishments of others by taking time to promote books written by friends back in America, including a novel by John L. Motley, published lectures on Jewish antiquities by John Palfrey, and a political essay by Francis Lieber. This was done willingly and voluntarily, and, as one of Sumner's biographers put it, "with a zeal he did not show for himself."[28]

In the spring of 1839, Sumner left England by ship for Italy, the "enchanted ground of literature, of history, and of art," as he called it.[29] His purpose there, as elsewhere in Europe, was to study; and once he was established in the country, he spent as many as twelve hours a day reading Italian literature, poetry, and history.[30] There, too, he had his first sustained contact with American

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[27]CS to George S. Hillard, Mar. 1, 1839, Pierce, 2:69. In this same letter, Sumner also told Hillard about sculpture he had seen at the London home of Lord Brougham, including four modern busts and "a beautiful piece of sculpture,--Mercury charming Argus to sleep." The reference here may have been to Bertel Thorwaldsen's rendition of that subject, done in 1818-22.

[28]Donald, Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War, 60.

[29]Quoted in Elias Nason, The Life of Charles Sumner (Boston: B. B. Russell, 1874), 54.

[30]Nason, 56-57.

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artists, the most important of whom, as it turned out, were sculptors.

Sumner's Italian experience began with a brief tour of Naples, Capri, and the sites near Vesuvius, including Pompeii. In late May, he arrived in Rome where he devoted the entire summer to the study of Italian language and literature. This was also an important period of development, though, for his interest in and understanding of art. As his friend William Wetmore Story later remembered, "It was during this visit that the world of art first opened to him; and though he liked living men better, the great statues and pictures he saw made a profound impression on him."[31] "What joys open to one here in Rome!" Sumner wrote to Hillard. "Art in these noble galleries, and antiquity in these noble ruins, afford constant interest." His study of paintings by the masters in various museums and collections, he reported, was followed by reading "the various books in which their lives and merits are commemorated."[32] A few years later, he fondly recalled this, his first visit to Rome: "Images of art and the olden time all rise before me as I think of Rome. Those three months that I passed there were the happiest of my life."[33]

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[31]Quoted in Pierce, 2:94.

[32]CS, Rome, to George S. Hillard, July 18, 1839, Pierce, 2:104.

[33]CS, Boston, to TC, Mar. 31, 1841, Pierce, 2:175.

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In fact, perhaps having had enough of the social scene in London, Sumner took few breaks from his studies in Italy. In those few moments of recreation which he allowed himself, he was accompanied by his friend George Washington Greene. Greene was American consul in Rome from 1837 to 1845 and was "a scholar of kindred tastes, with whom [Sumner] established a perpetual friendship."[34] He became Sumner's constant companion and guide to the city and saw to it that Sumner was introduced to many visiting or exaptriated American artists, the most significant of whom was the sculptor Thomas Crawford.[35]

In August, Sumner left Rome for Siena and Florence. In the latter city, he visited the studios of the sculptors Horatio Greenough and Hiram Powers. Powers had only recently arrived in Italy and, according to Sumner, had "not

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[34]Pierce, 2:92.

[35]Greene served as tour guide for a number of Americans visiting Rome. For example, when Thomas Preston of Virginia was on his way to Rome in 1839, Sumner, who had met Preston in Milan, asked Greene to be sure to take him to the Vatican and to the studio of the Danish sculptor Bertel Thorwaldsen once he got to the Eternal City (CS, Milan, to George W. Greene, Oct. 5, 1839, Pierce, 2:119). Early the next year, Sumner advised his brother, George, who was then on his way to Rome, to go immediately to Greene who "knows more about Italy than any person I know" (CS, Berlin, to George Sumner, Jan. 8, 1840, Pierce 2:133). A few months later, Sumner told Greene to expect another friend, Joseph Parkes of England, who, he hoped, Greene would escort around the city. Among Sumner's suggestions for a possible itinerary for Parkes was the admonition to Greene, "Do not fail to take him to [Thomas] Crawford," the young American sculptor with whom Sumner had become intimate, as we shall see (CS, London, to George W. Greene, Mar. 30, 1840, Pierce, 2:145). Greene later served as professor of modern languages at Brown University and Cornell University.

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gone beyond bust-making." The Bostonian visited his studio a number of times and found that he liked Powers, thought him "an ingenious man," and was fascinated with his experiments with various pointing devices "to use instead of compasses in transferring measurements from a cast to the marble."[36] Sumner thought Powers's busts to be "truly remarkable," without the "coarseness or vulgarity" of the portraits of John Frazee, which Sumner called "Frazeeism." But, Sumner finally decided, while the few ideal works which Powers had done thus far were "quite pretty," they were also "rather tame and insignificant." He saw Powers's Eve in the planning stages and had his doubts about the advisability of coupling an ugly serpent with the figure of a beautiful woman.[37]

In the long run, he found Powers less impressive than he did the already famous Horatio Greenough and he did not hesitate to tell Greene a rather disparaging remark he had heard about Powers. When Sumner asked Greenough if he thought Powers would carve a Young Augustus for him, Greenough replied that he would but only if "he had a young Augustus to sit to him."[38] Sumner's enjoyment of this

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[36]CS to George W. Greene, Rome, Sept. 11, 1839, Pierce, 2:110-11.

[37]CS to George Hillard, Sept. 29, 1839, quoted in Donald, Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War, 67. See also Walter G. Shotwell, Life of Charles Sumner (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Company, 1910), 87.

[38]CS, Florence, to George W. Greene, Sept. 11, 1839, Pierce, 2:110-11.

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anecdote seems to indicate his preference for idealization in sculpture as opposed to the over-stated realism which he had perceived in Powers's portrait busts.

After Florence, Sumner visited Venice and Milan and then, with much regret, he left Italy in October, 1839. Foregoing a trip to Greece, he spent several months in Germany and then went back to England for a few more months. Early in April, 1840, he reluctantly "quit these iris-colored visions," as he called the charms of Europe, for "the stern realities of American life."[39] He had been away from home for over two years and, for the rest of his life, they remained for him an idyllic time, especially the months he spent in Italy. "How pleasant is the memory of my Roman life!," he wrote in 1844,

> the happiest days I have ever passed. . . . Art, literature, antiquity, and the friendship of Greene and Crawford, warm and instructive, shed choice influences; while, at the close of each day, I could discern a certain progress in the knowledge of things which I was happy to know. Such another summer would make me forget much unhappiness.[40]

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[39]CS, London, to Joseph Story, Mar. 24, 1840, Pierce, 2:143.

[40]CS to Dr. Samuel G. Howe, May 31, 1844, Pierce, 2:306. When Sumner's brother George was on his way to Italy in Jan., 1840, he gave him advice on how to best approach an Italian experience. "Do not fail to study art," he told the younger man. "Greene will be your mentor about this. Make yourself a master of the principles of taste with regard to sculpture, and understand the characteristics of all the great schools of painting. Read Sir Joshua Reynolds's lectures; Flaxman's; De Quincy's `Life of Raphael' (in French) and if you read Italian, Lanzi's `Storia Pittorica;' one of the `Lives' of Canova, in French or Italian. Whatever portion of time you allot to Italy,--four, or six, or twelve months,--spend half of it in Rome. I think summer

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Return to America

With his first and most important trip to Europe complete, Sumner rejoined George Hillard at their law firm in Boston, but once again he found it difficult to settle into the routine of the place. William Story, who was working as an assistant to the lawyers at the time, recalled that "after the flush of those exciting days abroad, [Sumner's] office and daily occupations seemed dull and gray. . . . America seemed flat to him after Europe."[41] "I moil at law, sit in my office," Sumner wrote to Greenough in February, 1841, "but visions of Europe will flash upon me."[42]

For diversion, he rejoined his old friends Longfellow, Cleveland, Felton, and Hillard, at the instructional meetings of the Five of Clubs; and he became a favorite participant in Boston's social scene in general, frequently accepting invitations to the houses of the city's elite--George Ticknor, Nathan Appleton, Harrison Gray Otis, and Abbott Lawrence, among others.[43] When famous Europeans such as the Britishers Lord Morpeth or Charles Dickens were

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decidedly the best season" (CS, Berlin, to George Sumner, Jan. 8, 1840, Pierce 2:132).

[41]Quoted in Pierce, 2:151.

[42]CS, Boston, to HG, Feb. 28, 1841, Pierce, 2:174.

[43]Pierce, 2:153; Donald, Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War, 71.

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in town, Sumner often acted as their unfailing local guide.[44]

Also at this time, Sumner became friends with the painter, Washington Allston, and visited him often at his home in Cambridgeport, Massachusetts. Together, they plotted the best means by which Sumner could promote the careers of the two sculptors, Greenough and Crawford, whom he had met in Italy.[45] Of course, while he was at it, Sumner also generously supported Allston's career and reassured friends far and wide that the artist was working on his great painting, Belshazzar's Feast, despite rumors to the contrary.[46] After Allston's death in 1843, Sumner joined Thomas H. Perkins, Joseph Story, Henry Dexter, George Hillard, and Richard Henry Dana in an attempt to raise money for a monument to the artist.[47]

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[44]Donald, Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War, 78-79.

[45]Allston and Sumner exchanged several letters in 1840 concerning Greenough's Washington and the sculptor's frustrations with it (see Allston to CS, Oct. 6, 1840, Sumner Papers 2); and in 1843, they consulted about Crawford and his career (see Allston to CS, May 21, 1843, Sumner Papers 3).

[46]In Sept., 1840, for example, he wrote to Horatio Greenough: "You know that [Allston] has unrolled his Belshazzar;' it stretches across an entire end of his studio, but is covered with a curtain large as itself, which is the breakwater to our curiosity" (CS, Boston, to HG, Sept. 30, 1840, Pierce, 2:167).

[47]Sumner wrote to Thomas Crawford on July 16, 1843, that he had "just started a subscription for a monument [for Allston], and hope to raise two thousand or twenty-five hundred dollars." He suspected that Greenough would be consulted about the project, since he was a friend of Allston (CS, Boston, to TC, July 16, 1843, Sumner Papers 66

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Sumner's greatest tribute to Allston, though, was in his address to the Phi Beta Kappa Society, given at Harvard on August 27, 1846, and published that same year as The Scholar, the Jurist, the Artist, the Philanthropist. The section of the oration which concerned Allston began with a rather romanticized account of the painter's final hours and included a statement from the British writer Anna Jameson. "It seemed to me," Sumner quoted her as saying of Allston, "that in him America had lost her third great man. What [George] Washington was as a statesman, [William Ellery] Channing as a moralist, *that* was Allston as an Artist."[48]

[copy]). Several days before this, on July 11, 1843, Dana made the following entry in his journal: "Sumner called with reference to a monument to Mr. Allston. Judge Story had been quite urgent about it. Judge S., Mr. Dexter, Hillard, and Sumner are to control it. Colonel Perkins will head it. Brackett says he has made a very good cast, and seems quite encouraged" (quoted in Charles Francis Adams, Richard Henry Dana 1 [Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflen, and Co., 1890], 1:74). The monument was never realized due to objections made by Allston's widow (William H. Gerdts, "The Paintings of Washington Allston," in William H. Gerdts and Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., "A Man of Genius:" The Art of Washington Allston (1779-1843) [Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1979], 165).

[48]Quoted in Charles Sumner, The Scholar, the Jurist, the Artist, the Philanthropist (Boston: William D. Ticknor and Company, 1846), 37. Besides Allston who, of course, was the artist referred to in the title, Sumner's speech was a tribute to John Pickering (the scholar), Joseph Story (the jurist), and William Ellery Channing (the philanthropist). Sumner's search for "representative men," as expressed in this speech, is reminiscent of a similar search which, in 1857, resulted in commissions for three sculptures for the chapel at Mount Auburn Cemetery: Winthrop by Richard Greenough, Otis by Crawford and Randolph Rogers, and Adams by Rogers, mentioned above. These joined the slightly earlier statue of Joseph Story by his son, William. See Linden-Ward, 277-82.

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Sumner then undertook a lengthy analysis of Allston's art as well as a sketch of his life. The painter, Sumner summarized, was a "good man, with a soul refined by purity, exalted by religion, softened by love. . . . His life was consecrated to Art."[49]

After Allston's death, Sumner loyally continued to sing his praises. When England's Lord Morpeth asked for information on Allston's works, Sumner told him that the classical landscape, Diana and Her Nymphs in the Chase (1805; Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.), which belonged to Isaac Davis of Boston at the time, was for sale. He also reported on the condition of the unfinished Belshazzar's Feast which he now called "a melancholy ruin." "Twenty years ago," Sumner lamented, "it was so far finished that only two or three months' work seemed wanting to its completion. As many years would not suffice now." But Sumner added hopefully that he thought the picture might "be preserved as a valuable study for artists. Some parts of it are supposed to be equal to any thing from Allston's hand."[50]

Certainly the interest Sumner took in Allston and other artists, especially Thomas Crawford, as we shall see, helped to pass the time and probably made the lawyer feel

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[49]Ibid., 37.

[50]CS, Boston, to Lord Morpeth, Oct. 31, 1843, Pierce 2: 276. Also see Gerdts, "The Paintings of Washington Allston," 156-57.

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that he was not altogether out of touch with the rich, cultural life he had experienced in Europe. He continued to travel whenever he could--spending a few weeks in New York and Philadelphia early in 1841, for example--but the ultimate boredom of his chosen profession eventually became too much for him. He was grateful to have the opportunity to take over some of Judge Story's classes at Harvard when Story was ill in 1840 and again in 1843; and he spent a fair amount of time during the 1840s lending support to various reform movements, notably the campaign to abolish slavery. In this pursuit, he discovered his oratorical powers when he delivered a speech in 1845 at Boston's Independence Day celebration and subsequently gave other speeches, mostly on political themes, during the remainder of the decade. Having thus found favor with a wider audience, Sumner decided to enter politics and, in 1851, he was elected to the U.S. Senate. He was a member of that body for the rest of his life and, from the start, he established himself there as a staunch opponent of slavery.

During these antebellum decades, Sumner also took an interest in art organizations in Boston, including the short-lived New England Art Union for which he served as a director.[51] Like so many of his philanthropically-minded contemporaries, however, he was especially active in the Boston Athenaeum. Perhaps his most notable achievement

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[51]New England Art Union 1 (1852): 2.

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there was the planning and execution of the special exhibition in 1844 of Thomas Crawford's sculpture. He used his influence, too, in attempts to enlarge the Athenaeum's permanent collection of art. In 1842, for example, he wrote to Crawford in Rome, asking him to persuade the great Danish Neoclassicist Bertel Thorwaldsen to present casts of his work to the Athenaeum.[52] Although Crawford did not approach Thorwaldsen directly about this, he and George Greene visited a plaster caster in Rome to have examples of the sculptor's works copied, notably his Mercury, Venus, and Shepherd Boy.[53] Whether these were ever actually sent to the Athenaeum is unknown, although it would appear that they were not.[54]

In 1845, Sumner served on the Athenaeum's building committee which had been formed to plan the construction of new facilities on Beacon Street. He wrote to Thomas Crawford about the designs for the building which various architects had submitted. "There is no single plan that satisfies me," he reported. "Perhaps a new plan might be composed by adopting features from all. In one I was pleased with the *facade*; in another, with the entrance hall

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[52]CS, Boston, to TC, May 14, 1842, Sumner Papers 66.

[53]TC, Rome, to CS, June 12, 1842, Sumner Papers 3.

[54]None of the casts mentioned here are in the Athenaeum's collection today. A copy of Thorwaldsen's Venus, but probably not one sent by Sumner, Crawford, or Greene, was exhibited at the Athenaeum in the 1860s (Perkins and Gavin, 141).

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and stairway; and in another with the arrangement of rooms."[55] While the competition was eventually won by Edward Clarke Cabot, Sumner's particular concern proved to be the design of the building's foyer and, as was the case so often in his adult life, his European experience influenced him in this regard. Because he was "anxious to secure a large, generous, hospitable vestibule, hall and stairway," he asked his brother George to obtain and send the measurements of the Scala Regia, Bernini's staircase at the Vatican, evidently hoping to use them in designing the interior of the Athenaeum.[56] As it turned out, although Bernini does not seem to have had any direct influence in Boston, the Athenaeum's staircase was imposing. It occupied almost one-fourth of the interior space of Cabot's new Beacon Street building and, although the staircase itself was designed by Hammatt Billings, one of the losers in the competition for the design of the building as a whole, Sumner's role in its realization was acknowledged by its name, the "Sumner staircase." Unfortunately, and to the Athenaeum's later regret, the foyer was redesigned by Cabot

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[55]CS, Boston, to TC, Apr. 17, 1845, Sumner Papers 67 [copy]. For the history of the Boston Athenaeum building, see Jane S. Knowles, "Changing Images of the Boston Athenaeum," Change and Continuity: A Pictorial History of the Boston Athenaeum (Boston: Boston Athenaeum, 1976), 5-10.

[56]Quoted in Boston Athenaeum, The Athenaeum Centenary: The Influence and History of the Boston Athenaeum From 1807 to 1907 (Boston, 1907), 50.

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in 1889 and the staircase was dismantled to make room for more book stacks.[57]

While Sumner's local philanthropic activities continued, a turning point came in his political career in May, 1856. Since joining Congress in 1851, his abolitionist views had become more and more radical and, following a particularly virulent speech he gave in the Senate, he was openly attacked and beaten there by Preston Brooks, a senator from South Carolina.[58] Sumner's injuries were very serious and required a long period of recuperation. In fact, it would be three-and-a-half years before the senator could resume his political duties. His initial period of healing was spent in Boston; but in the spring of 1857, despite his physical ailments, he decided to return to Europe.

Second and Third European Trips

Sumner left Boston in March, 1857, and spent the ensuing season in France where he immediately began to renew his interest in and knowledge of Western art. In Paris he went to the Louvre several times, spending most of one day

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[57]Ibid., 50-51. A photograph of the Sumner staircase as well as one of Cabot's redesigned foyer are reproduced in Change and Continuity, 21, 24. Also see Walter Muir Whitehill, Museum of Fine Arts Boston, A Centennial History (Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970), 1:5.

[58]The details of the attack are given in Donald, Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War, 288-297.

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in the sculpture galleries there. He was most impressed with the classical Dianna à la Biche, commonly known as the Diane Chasseresse, which, he wrote, "has always seemed to me one of the most agreeable remains of ancient art."[59] The following week, he viewed an exhibition of the paintings of Paul Delaroche which pleased him;[60] and in May he visited the studio of the American painter, Minor Kellogg. Besides admiring an unidentified portrait on which Kellogg was then engaged, Sumner was also interested in a small collection of "old masters" which the painter had formed and which included works purported to be by Raphael, Leonardo, and other Renaissance artists.[61] Sumner bought one of these from Kellogg, a painting which was thought to be a study for Tintoretto's Miracle of the Slave (also known as St. Mark Freeing a Christian Slave, 1548, Galleria dell'Accademia, Venice) but which was probably merely a copy of it. (Sumner's art collection will be discussed below). Sumner was especially interested in the subject matter of the

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[59]Sumner Journal, Apr. 17, 1857, Pierce, 3:536.

[60]Sumner Journal, Apr. 28, 1857, Pierce, 3:537.

[61]Sumner Journal, May 14, 1857, Pierce, 3:540. Kellogg's collection of "Old Masters" was inventoried as it existed in 1858. It included, among other things, a painting titled The Daughter of Herodius Receiving the Head of St. John, the Baptist which Kellogg thought was by Leonardo da Vinci; a version of Raphael's The Belle Jardiniere, thought to be by Raphael himself; and several works said to be by Salvatore Rosa, Tintoretto, and Titian. Sumner's Miracle of the Slave was listed as number 23 in the inventory ("Works of Art Composing the Collection of Mr. Minor K. Kellogg, American Painter," Paris, 1858, Minor Kilbourne Kellogg Papers, AAA D30).

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picture and it was even said that when he first saw the original by Tintoretto, he felt the initial stirring of those anti-slavery feelings which would eventually make him famous.[62] One of the senator's contemporaries gave the following anecdote about the painting:

> Standing before this picture, the wife of one of the leading members of the Massachusetts delegation said to me: That painting made Charles Sumner Senator! The statement--I tell the story as it was told to me--shows the manner of Mr. Sumner's entrance into the ranks of antislavery.[63]

After touring France for a few weeks, Sumner headed for England. On the train from Paris to Boulogne, he met Harriet Hosmer, her teacher John Gibson, and other artists who were on their way from Rome to England although no details of the encounter are known. Sumner spent most of the summer and fall in England and Scotland and returned to Boston in November.

Back in America, the senator continued to convalesce but he did not remain idle. In fact, he took this time to develop a new interest: the study of prints and engravings, a discipline he undertook with an amateur's eagerness and

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[62]In fact, even before he bought the picture from Kellogg, Sumner had already mentioned the legend of St. Mark as it was depicted in Tintoretto's painting in a speech entitled "Our Immediate Antislavery Duties," which he delivered at Faneuil Hall, Boston, on Nov. 6, 1850 ("Recollections of Charles Sumner: II," Scribner's Monthly 9 (Nov. 1874):109). In 1859 and again in 1860, he lent his copy of the painting to the annual exhibition of the Boston Athenaeum, evidently the only time that he lent a work to an annual there (Perkins and Gavin, 142).

[63]Quoted in "Recollections," 109.

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one which he pursued for the rest of his life. Under the guidance of Dr. Louis Thies of Harvard, who Sumner described as "my most amiable and faithful teacher in engravings," he focused his initial studies on the large collection of engravings which Francis Calley Gray had given to Harvard and of which Thies was curator.[64] Ever the eager student, Sumner made trips to Philadelphia and Washington specifically to study engravings in various private collections; and he went to New York to see others at the Astor Library. He bought examples as well. For instance, in March, 1858, he gave Thies a check for one-hundred dollars to pay for "a few choice" engravings which Theis had ordered from Europe on Sumner's behalf.[65]

Some years later, in 1871, Sumner wrote an article on the subject of engravings which was published after his death as a pamphlet entitled The Best Portraits in Engraving.[66] "Engraving is one of the fine arts," he began,

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[64]For Gray's collection, see Louis Thies, Catalogue of the Collection of Engravings Bequeathed to Harvard College by Francis Calley Gray (Cambridge, 1869); and Marjorie B. Cohn, Francis Calley Gray and Art Collecting for America (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), 238-266. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow saw Sumner and Thies at the exhibition of Gray's collection so many times that he predicted that Sumner, who he described as "insatiable," would "be the death of Thies, who is ill" (Longfellow, Journal, Jan. 21, 1858, Life of Longfellow, ed. Longfellow, 2:351).

[65]CS to Samuel G. Howe, Mar. 17, 1858, quoted in Pierce, 3:559-60.

[66]Charles Sumner, The Best Portraits in Engraving (New York: Frederick Keppel, 1875). The essay is dated Dec. 11, 1871, at Washington, D.C and was originally published in the first and only issue of The City (New York), Jan., 1872. See "Recollections," Scribner's, 102. In 1885, evidently as

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"and in this beautiful family has been the especial handmaiden of painting." A brief account of how he became interested in engravings was given, after which he narrowed the focus to portraiture, due to its "important place" in the field. (Sumner recalled that, while in Paris, he had seen portfolios with as many as forty-seven engraved portraits of Benjamin Franklin, forty-three of Lafayette, and the same number of George Washington). He then gave a brief history of portraiture in general after which he identified the best engravers, including Albrecht Dürer, Henry Goltzius, Anthony Vandyck, Philippe de Champagne, George F. Schmidt, Robert Strange, and William Sharp.[67]

In May, 1858, still not fully recuperated from Brooks's assault, Sumner again went to Europe. He spent the rest of that year and part of the next in London and Paris where he continued his study of engravings;[68] and he toured various countries on the Continent, including Germany where

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a tribute to Sumner's interest in engravings, an exhibition based on his essay was organized by the Providence Art Club, Providence, Rhode Island. The show featured seventy-eight prints by or after the European artists who Sumner had chronicled. See Providence Art Club, Catalogue of a Collection of Engravings Illustrating the Essay by Charles Sumner, Entitled "The Best Portraits in Engraving," Loaned by Isaac C. Bates (Providence: J.A. & R.A. Reid, Printers, 1885).

[67]Sumner, Best Portraits, passim.

[68]George William Curtis, "Charles Sumner: A Eulogy," Harper's Weekly 18 (June 10, 1874): 525-31. To demonstrate how active Sumner's mind was, even in the most difficult of circumstances, Curtis related the fact that Sumner studied engravings during his 1857-58 European trip.

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he visited the gallery at Dresden. "Everywhere," he wrote, "I have taken to the pictures, and also to engravings." He looked at sculpture, too, and even made a trip to Brescia in northern Italy "because there was the original of Thorwaldsen's `Day and Night'."[69]

In April, 1859, he returned to Italy. In Florence, he made the usual rounds of churches and galleries, but he also became interested in the collection of pre-Renaissance Italian paintings which was being assembled by the American, James Jackson Jarves. Sumner had met Jarves at Longfellow's home in Cambridge in 1855, and Jarves wrote to him from Florence in 1858, inviting him to see the paintings. "As a scholar & lover of art," he flattered Sumner, "you cannot fail to be interested in the collection." Jarves's plan was that the works would form the "nucleus of a Free Gallery" to be established in America. Sumner evidently shared his hopes.[70] The year after Sumner saw the paintings in Italy, Jarves took them to Boston and sought Sumner's help in promoting them. "Would you be willing to write me a few

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[69]CS to Samuel G. Howe, Nov. 10, 1858, quoted in Pierce, 3:571. Sumner was referring to Thorwaldsen's allegorical relief sculptures, Night and Morning, which had been modeled in 1815. They were among Thorwaldsen's most popular conceptions and were replicated a number times in both marble and plaster versions. Sumner must have seen replicas which are in the collection of the Tosi Gallery at Brescia. See Eugene Plon, Thorvaldsen: His Life and Works, Mrs. Cashel Hoey, trans. (London: Richard Bentley and Son, 1874), 255.

[70]James J. Jarves to CS, Mar. 28, 1858, Sumner Papers 17. Also see Pierce, 3:581n.

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lines stating your opinion?" he asked Sumner. "It would be very useful in attracting attention among the very numerous class who pay homage to your taste & erudition in art & of essential service in introducing them to the public."[71] Sumner was one step ahead of him, however, and in fact had already written a letter to the Boston Transcript to express "the great interest I feel in the plans of Mr. Jarves, who is now making, in Florence, a collection of pictures, which he hopes may be the beginning of a Public Gallery in Boston." It was "a noble idea," thought Sumner and the collection itself was "singularly successful."[72] Unfortunately, Sumner's efforts were in vain. Due to their insistently Catholic subject matter, Jarves's paintings did not interest Bostonians, and Sumner's own wishes that the collection might go to the Boston Athenaeum were not fulfilled.[73]

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[71]James J. Jarves, Boston, to CS, Aug. 16, 1860, Sumner Papers 20.

[72]Charles Sumner to Boston Transcript, Aug. 2, 1850 [sic?], reprinted in James J. Jarves, Descriptive Catalogue of "Old Master," Collected by James J. Jarves (Cambridge: H.O. Houghton & Co., 1860), 32-33. This pamphlet also reproduces letters of support from Harriet Hosmer and Louis Thies, at least the second of which may have been solicited by Sumner.

[73]Over the next several years, Jarves kept Sumner informed about his efforts to sell the collection. See Jarves to CS, Nov. 23, 1869, Sumner Papers 48; and Jarves to CS, Dec., 1872, Sumner Papers 55. It is now at Yale University. Among the best known paintings in the group are Antonio Pallaiuolo's Hercules and Deianira (ca. 1470) and Sassetta's St. Anthony Tempted by the Devil in the Shape of a Woman (ca. 1450). For a recent discussion of the Jarves Collection, see Lillian B. Miller, "Italian Art and American Taste in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," The Italian Presence

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After his visit to Florence, where he first saw Jarves's collection, Sumner moved on to Rome where, for several weeks, he was the guest of William Wetmore Story and his family at their apartments in the Barberini Palace. Story later remembered the time:

> After the terrible assault upon him in the Senate chamber, . . . he came to Rome, and was my guest during his whole visit. He was terribly shattered. . . . But he still took interest in going over the old ground and renewing the old associations, and, despite his broken health, was still a student of everything that came in his way. . . . he took great interest in art, and visited, when he was well enough to do so, the galleries and churches, and the studios of the artists.[74]

This last group, Story noted, included the studio of Randolph Rogers, the American sculptor who was busy working on a set of bronze doors, called The Columbus Doors, for the U.S. Capitol building in Washington.[75] Sumner visited Rogers a number of times to discuss the project and, even after he had left Italy, he sent advice about it to Rogers, via Story. Sumner was especially concerned with the iconography of the doors. "The arms of the U.S. are at the

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in American Art 1760-1860, ed. Irma B. Jaffe (New York: Fordham University Press, 1989), 35-48; and Harding, "The Painting Gallery," A Climate for Art, 17.

[74]Quoted in Pierce, 3:584.

[75]Once finished, the doors were placed at the entrance to Statuary Hall in the Capitol building in 1864, but in 1870 they were moved to the east entrance of the building where they remain. For the history of the commission and the iconography of the doors, see Millard F. Rogers, Jr., Randolph Rogers, American Sculptor in Rome (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1971), 40-68.

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top of the arch above the door," he wrote a few days after leaving Rome. "If the two copper corners require ornament there might be on one side the shield of Genoa, where Columbus was born & to which he was attached, & on the other the shield of Spain--both as they existed at the time of the discovery." He asked Story to remind Rogers of the various places in Rome where he could find portraits of the historic individuals to be represented on the doors.[76]

According to Story, Rogers took Sumner's advice in good spirits and "begged me to thank you for your continued interest in his work."[77] Later, Rogers remembered and was grateful for Sumner's interest in his work. In 1863, he wrote from Cincinnati to ask the senator to assist him in getting the doors out of Munich where they had been cast in bronze and where they had been languishing, "finished and boxed" since October, 1862. "Upon the strength of the interest which you took in my models for the Bronze doors for the United States Capitol, while in Rome," he wrote, "I take the liberty of asking your assistance towards getting them home." It had been difficult, he told Sumner, to get the government to agree to pay the fee for transporting the works. "I am sorry that I am obliged to ask so much of your time," he concluded, "but you must consider it as a

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[76]CS, Turin, to WWS, May 18, 1859, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

[77]WWS, Rome, to CS, June 4, 1859, Sumner Papers 17.

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sacrifice at the shrine of art."[78] The doors finally did arrive in America in 1863, but Sumner's exact role in the matter, if he had one, is not known.[79]

At the same time, and not surprisingly, the senator was very much interested in the original sketches for a similar pair of doors which had been executed by his old friend, Thomas Crawford who, by this time, was dead. Crawford's doors were intended to cover entrances to the House and Senate wings at the Capitol. According to Story, Sumner was concerned that these "should be executed so as to uphold [Crawford's] fame."[80]

Sumner visited the studios of other American artists in Rome. Among these were the painters Christopher Cranch and William Page; and the sculptors Harriet Hosmer and Chauncey B. Ives.[81] Cranch had communicated with Sumner several years before, in 1851, asking his assistance in finding a suitable place in Washington, D.C., for the artist to exhibit a landscape he wished to sell.[82] The two had

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[78]Randolph Rogers, Cincinnati, to CS, Feb. 22, 1863, Sumner Papers 27.

[79]See Rogers, Randolph Rogers, 64, which, by the way, does not mention Sumner in connection with the shipping of the doors.

[80]Quoted in Pierce, 3:584. For Crawford's doors for the U.S. Capitol, see Robert L. Gale, Thomas Crawford, American Sculptor (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964), 123-125, 142-144.

[81]Pierce. 3:583.

[82]Christopher P. Cranch, New York, to CS, Dec. 24, 1851, Sumner Papers 8. Cranch's landscape was titled Sunset in the Wilderness and was shown at the National Academy of

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evidently met prior to this, possibly through the Storys who were friends of Cranch;[83] but, as far as can be ascertained, any role Sumner played in promoting Cranch's career is undocumented. William Page was probably already known to Sumner, too; but in any event, they would meet again, many years later and back in America. In fact, Page was painting Sumner's portrait at the time of the statesman's death in 1874.[84]

Sumner's health improved while he was in Rome, thanks no doubt to the attention of friends such as Story.[85] Nevertheless, he was still unable to do all that he wanted and when he left Italy on May 13, 1859, it was, as it had been in 1839, reluctantly. He expressed the pain of departure to Story:

Design, New York, in 1851 (National Academy of Design, Catalogue of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Exhibition [New York, 1851], no. 389. At the time Cranch wrote, the painting was in his father's house in Washington, D.C., and he was offering it for sale for $250, "to suit the hard times."

[83]William Wetmore Story sketched a portrait of Cranch in pencil in 1843 and it is reproduced in Leonora Cranch Scott, The Life and Letters of Christopher Pearse Cranch (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1917), 81.

[84]In 1884, Page's portrait of Sumner was shown at the National Academy of Design where it was for sale for $1000. The catalogue of the show stated that it had been left unfinished at Sumner's death (National Academy of Design, Catalogue of the Fifty-Ninth Annual Exhibition [New York, 1884], no. 662). Its present location is unknown, but by 1902, it was in the possession of the William Macbeth Gallery in New York (Art Notes [Macbeth Gallery], no. 19 [Apr. 1902]: 197.

[85]Pierce, 3:588.

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> What I have left undone at Rome haunts me even more than all that I enjoyed. I think perpetually of pictures & statues unseen; but more than this, I am unhappy in beautiful opportunities I let slip. Why did not I press you to go with me to the Capitol & the Vatican? And why did I not press [Hamilton] Wilde to a similar service in the picture galleries? You know that I am always a learner & such tutors with such means would have added forever to my knowledge & pleasant memories of art. But this is lost.[86]

After spending most of the summer in France and England, Sumner returned to America in November, 1859. By that time, he was finally well enough to resume his seat in Congress where, undeterred by the famous attack, he continued his vehement opposition to slavery. Naturally, he became intimately embroiled in the great conflict of the Civil War which soon descended upon the nation and his political concerns took precedence over all of his other interests, including art.

The Post-War Years and a Final European Trip

Shortly after the war, another distraction from both his vocation and his avocation occurred when Sumner attempted--for the only time in his life, as far as is known--to commit himself to a personal relationship with a woman. That is, he got married. The event took place on

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[86]CS, on board the Lombardo, to WWS, May 14, 1859, Huntington Library. Hamilton Gibbs Wilde (1827-1884) of Boston was a painter of portraits, genre scenes, and landscapes, who studied and worked in Europe during the 1840s and 1850s. He had evidently nursed Story through a difficult illness; but Story repaid this service by snubbing Wilde in Rome, probably due to his "effeminate" manner. See Elihu Vedder, The Digressions of V (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1910), 371-372.

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October 17, 1866, but soon proved disastrous. Sumner had made all the necessary arrangements for a new life--he even bought a house in Washington which he could not really afford--but within a year, he and his wife, Alice (Mason) Hopper, a widow with one child by a previous marriage, were divorced.[87]

The humiliation of the whole affair caused Sumner to throw himself into his senatorial duties with even more passion than he had before.[88] Finally, overworked and needing rest, he decided to take another trip to Europe. He sailed for England in September, 1872, and passed his first week abroad in London. He spent a day at the British Museum and went to see Louis Cesnola's collection of Cypriot antiquities.[89] His companion for the latter visit was his old friend William Wetmore Story, whose family was vacationing in England, at the time. The two discussed at length what they saw and, according to Sumner's biographer, the senator "plied [Story] with many questions of a

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[87]The reasons for the separation are unclear. Pierce hints at failure to consummate; but he was so reluctant to chronicle the affair and was so delicate when he did, that he did not even identify the bride by name (Pierce, 4: 302-305).

[88]See Pierce, 4:532.

[89]The year after Sumner saw it in London, Cesnola's collection was bought by the fledgling Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York and Cesnola himselfserved at the museum's director from 1879 to 1904. See Calvin Tomkins, Merchants and Masterpieces, The Story of the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1973), 41-42.

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technical character" about the collection.[90] The senator admired Lord Exmouth's porcelain collection; was given a private showing of Dutch paintings at Buckingham Palace; and spent a good deal of time studying London's architecture.[91] Story tried to convince Sumner to return to Rome with him, but the senator's brief sojourn had already fulfilled its purpose. "Every day of this visit gave him health and strength," Story affirmed.[92] Accordingly, Sumner felt he must return to his duties in America and he sailed from Liverpool for New York in mid-November.

By that time, he had less than two years to live and he spent almost all of it fulfilling his political duties. Nevertheless, he kept in touch with his artist friends and continued to assist them whenever he could. His renown as a connoisseur of the arts remained intact and was noted as late as 1871 by a writer who stated,

> No man now living, either at home or abroad, more keenly enjoys music, painting, and poetry, and talks better about them, than Charles Sumner. His tastes are refined, his hospitalities generous, and his plate, pictures and engravings rare; and he could pronounce as learned a discourse upon art as upon politics.[93]

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[90]Pierce, 4:541.

[91]Ibid., 4:540, 543.

[92]Quoted in Ibid., 4:541.

[93]John W. Forney, Anecdotes of Public Men (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1873), 83.

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Sumner and William Wetmore Story

Sumner and the American sculptor William Wetmore Story (1819-1895) became close friends while the latter was still a child. At the time, Sumner was a student at Harvard College, studying under Story's father, U.S. Supreme Court Justice Joseph Story.[94] Due to Sumner's academic association with the judge, he was a constant visitor to the Story home in Cambridge, going there as often as two or three times a week, enough to be considered a member of the family. In fact, Mrs. Story later said that when Sumner was in Europe, she missed him as she would an absent son.[95]

Judge Story solicited Sumner's assistance in the education of his young son who, he hoped, would also follow a career in the law. "Allure William occasionally to your room," he asked Sumner, "to keep him on correct ground, for he has infinite confidence in your kindness and judgment. . . . A word from you, will do more than an hour of my preaching."[96] Sumner agreed and, almost immediately, he and the younger Story became intimates, a situation later recalled by William Story. "I was a mere boy when I first knew [Sumner]," he wrote, "but the affectionate kindness which he then showed me remained unclouded by the slightest

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[94]As stated above, Joseph Story was the subject of the "scholar" section of Sumner's The Scholar, the Jurist, the Artist, the Philanthropist (Boston, 1846).

[95]Pierce, 2:3.

[96]Joseph Story to CS, Feb. 5, 1835, Pierce, 1:166.

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shadow until the day of his death."[97] They studied Latin and read the ancient authors as well as the English poets together. Story remembered that when Sumner discussed these and other matters, the younger man would

> listen night after night with eager pleasure. His simplicity and directness of character, his enthusiasm and craving for information, his lively spirit and genial feeling, immediately made a strong impression on me. My father was very fond of him, always received him with a beaming face, and treated him almost as if he were a son; and we were all delighted to welcome him to our family circle. . . . When I heard that he was in the room, I quitted all occupations to see and hear him, though for the most part I only played the *rôle* of listener.[98]

Sumner told Story "I first loved you on account of your father; I soon learned to love you on your own account . . . [and promise] to take a lively interest in your studies & welfare."[99] In fact, whenever Sumner heard reports that Story was not performing adequately in his studies, he chastised the younger man; but his criticism was always of the constructive kind and he never failed to reassure Story of his love.[100]

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[97]Quoted in Pierce, 1:105. One of Sumner's nineteenth-century biographers characterized the beginnings of the relationship as follows: "Between Sumner and the professor's son, William W. Story, then a mere slip of a boy, there sprang up an altogether charming friendship, a repetition in miniature of that between the father and Sumner" (Archibald H. Grimke, The Life of Charles Sumner [New York, 1892], 32).

[98]Quoted in Pierce, 1:105.

[99]CS to WWS, Jan. 1, 1834, Story Papers.

[100]For example, see CS, Niagara Falls, Canada, to WWS, Aug. 30, 1836 (Huntington Library) in which Sumner states that he is "grieved & astonished" to hear that Story has a low standing in his class at school. "Do you decline

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While Sumner unquestioningly followed Judge Story's wishes by encouraging William to study the law, he also made sure that the boy experienced the finer things in life, especially art. A representative example of this occurred late in 1837 when Sumner was preparing to leave for Europe. Just before his departure, he gave Story letters of introduction to the artists Henry Flagg and Chester Harding and wrote to a Mr. Waterston who, he promised, would introduce Story to Washington Allston. He also arranged for Story to visit several private art collections in Boston, including those of Thomas Gold Appleton, "who has a great taste for the arts and a large collection of engravings, pictures, & c.," and of Samuel Cabot, who owned statues and paintings worth seeing.[101] Evidently, all of this was meant to keep Story busy--and to further his education--while Sumner was out of the country.

Once in Europe, Sumner wrote to Story on a regular basis, informing the young man of his adventures, some of which involved art. For example, he wrote from Paris in April, 1838, to tell of that city's wonders which he knew would interest Story. A friend had recently introduced Sumner to the sculptor, David D'Anger, and Sumner went to

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to gratify my ardent hopes of you & my long attachment?" he asked.

[101]CS, Boston, to WWS, Nov. 20, 1837, Story Papers. In his letter to Chester Harding, Sumner introduced Story as "a young friend of mine, who has a passion for your art, & a great desire to visit the studio of an artist" (CS, Boston, to Chester Harding, Nov. 26, 1837, Story Papers).

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his atelier. He used the occasion to give Story a brief lesson in accepted sculptural methodology, thereby describing a technique with which Story would become intimately familiar:

> The model, as you know, is of clay; this being completed the chief care of the sculptor is over; the model is put into the hands of workmen in stone, who imitate it precisely in marble & then, the great sculptor gives the statue, after it has left the vulgar hands, some finishing touches.[102]

He then described those visits to the Louvre and the Luxembourg Palace which were mentioned above. "To an American, who comes from a country where art in its beautiful & sublime & graceful manifestations exists not," he marvelled, "there seems a prodigality of beautiful works in Paris. . . . All these you will desire to see one day." But, he cautioned Story, "do not think of going abroad till you are between 25 or 30; &, in order to prepare your self for it, study French--study French."[103]

Sumner thought of Story often while he was in Europe, especially, as the above implies, when he was contemplating paintings or sculpture. On a visit to Wortley Hall in Yorkshire, England, for example, his thoughts turned to Story as he looked at portraits by Godfrey Kneller and Joshua Reynolds. "I wish that you could have a view of them," he wrote, "And you will, if you work, study, think &

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[102]CS, Paris, to WWS, Apr. 14, 1838, Story Papers.

[103]Ibid.

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prepare yourself."[104] Later, in Rome, he confessed that "I have thought of you often in these wonderful galleries of painting, & in the noble collections of ancient art. How you would revel here!"

Many of the masterpieces he described to Story were sculptures and, in fact, one of the longest passages on art in his European letters, is the following, composed after a visit to the Vatican Museums. In the context of this dissertation, it is worth quoting at length as evidence of Sumner's powers of observation and as an indication of his own knowledge of and appreciation for the Neoclassic aesthetic:

> I have stopt for hours before the Apollo; the marble is still unsoiled, & though some parts of it are modern, it stands proudly, yet gently--every inch a God. . . . Pass to the next room, there is Laocoon--the same figures that Pliny admired. From the heavenly looks, beaming in the countenance of the Apollo, you pass to the terrible Hell of struggles, where the father & his sons are expiring in the folds of serpents. . . . There is a small bust of Augustus--not so large as one of Frazee's--which I have stopped before twenty times. It has been broken in pieces, & put together. Is entirely simple--there are no deep lines--none of Frazee's sharp cuts--the cheeks are smooth; & yet, in the long line of a thousand, where it stands, you are struck by its magnificent beauty, its perfect grace & expression. . . . There is a full-length of Demosthenes that has been found in some comparatively recent excavations; it still has the marks of the soil in which it was discovered; yet under this dirty exterior you cannot fail to see that it was a great artist who put his hand to this work. I wish you were here to walk with me through the immense galleries where these things are kept.[105]

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[104]CS, England, to WWS, Oct. 21, 1838, Story Papers.

[105]CS, Rome, to WWS, July 6, 1839, Story Papers.

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From the Vatican, Sumner went to the Capitoline Museum where the antique marble Dying Gladiator (or Dying Gaul), with "drops of blood just welling from the fatal stab, & breath leaving his body," reminded him of the work of Thorwaldsen. This prompted a letter to Story in which Sumner gave a brief history of the great contemporary Danish sculptor. Thorwaldsen had come to Rome, he wrote, "as every artist must, who aspires high, in sight of the great masters of Antiquity," and there he had made ancient Greek and Roman sculpture "his constant study." "Their simplicity he has imitated," Sumner stated, "& he has almost reached their beauty. Much that Thorwaldsen has done would do honor to the ancients." Of the living Neoclassicists, it would seem, Sumner liked Thorwaldsen best. Canova was a great artist, although inferior to Thorwaldsen, while Chantrey "should not be mentioned in the same century." Sumner's letter to Story concluded with a passage about the young American sculptor, Thomas Crawford, whom Sumner had discovered in Rome and who he was promoting among his friends back home. He asked Story to join in the effort. "I wish you would put all your heads together," he pleaded, "& see what can be done. . . . Poor, & full of genius, & devoted to his art--he deserves patronage."[106]

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[106]CS, Rome, to WWS, July 6, 1839, Story Papers. By the end of this letter, Sumner realized what he had done. "I have written you a crowded letter about art," he added in a postscript, "when I should have written you about the law, & given you a great deal of advice, not one word of which you would have listened to!"

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On his return, Sumner continued to regale Story with the details of his experiences abroad. "He took me, so to speak, by the hand," Story later recalled, "and carried me through the great galleries, and talked enthusiastically of the great works he saw there,--of Titian and Correggio, the Elgin marbles and Phidias; of all the great names."[107]

Beginning in 1840, Story spent about two years as a student in the law firm of Hillard and Sumner and it was an experience that he remembered as being "pleasant and instructive."[108] He then set up his own practice in partnership with his brother-in-law, George Ticknor Curtis, and was, by all accounts, a success at his chosen career. After his father's death in 1845, however, he was given the commission to model a statue of the deceased jurist for the chapel at Mount Auburn Cemetery.[109] A revisionist analysis of this seemingly strange turn of events has recently been undertaken by Jan Ramirez, making it unnecessary to recount this key episode in Story's development here. Nevertheless, it should be noted, as Ramirez has done, that Story had already been encouraged to pursue art by the painter

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[107]Quoted in Pierce, 2:94-95.

[108]Quoted in Ibid., 2:151.

[109]The subscribers for the statue of Story were Samuel A. Eliot, Nathan and William Appleton, William Sturgis, C. G. and F. C. Loring, Ignatius Sargent, Charles P. Curtis, Richard Fletcher, N. J. Bowditch, J. C. Gray, C. T. Bigelow, William Gray, and John A. Lowell (Linden-Ward, 370n).

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Washington Allston; and, as has been indicated above, he had been pushed in the direction of sculpture by his mentor and teacher, Charles Sumner.[110] "Ironically enough," Ramirez writes, "Charles Sumner managed to excite the imagination and ambition of his junior colleague far more effectively about art and sculpture than about contracts and the Constitution."[111] Undoubtedly, Sumner's discussions with Story about the great works of art which he had seen in Europe piqued the younger man's interest. As Edward Emerson later put it, refering to some of Story's sculptures and poems, "the seed there sown sprang up later, in the Italian studio--Medea, Alcestis, the Libyan Sibyl--or in classic verses."[112]

Story's first major work, the statue of his father for Mount Auburn, was a critical success and gave him confidence to pursue a career as a sculptor.[113] Sumner was completely supportive of this. Later, he told Story that, of the statues at Mount Auburn, his "seemed to me more

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[110]See Seidler, Story, 17-27, 78. Seidler discusses Story's relationship with Sumner on pages 78-90. It was also the subject of Andrew F. Rolle, "A Friendship Across the Atlantic: Charles Sumner and William Wetmore Story," American Quarterly 11 (Spring 1959): 40-57.

[111]Seidler, Story, 81.

[112]Edward W. Emerson, "William Wetmore Story 1819-1895," Later Years of the Saturday Club 1870-1920, ed. M. A. DeWolfe Howe (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1927), 123.

[113]The sculpture is now at Harvard University.

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beautiful than ever, both as portrait and as art. I doubt if there be a finer statue in existence."[114] While such praise was to be expected from a good friend, there can be little doubt that Sumner was sincerely impressed with Story's accomplishments and completely confident in his future as an artist. He wrote of Story's achievements as early as 1847, the year Story left America for Europe. In a letter to Mrs. George Bancroft of that year, Sumner bragged that Story had recently published a volume of poems which "has beauty, and is full of the spirit of humanity;" he had written a "grave and valuable" book, A Treatise on the Law of Contracts Not Under Seal (which he had dedicated to Sumner); and he had created "the bust of his father in marble [which] has taken its place in the Library." Sumner concluded the roster with a declaration that Story was a "Poet, jurist, sculptor, musician!"[115]

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[114]CS to WWS, Aug. 10, 1860, Pierce 3: 621.

[115]CS to Mrs. George Bancroft, Feb. 28, 1847, Pierce, 3:26. Sumner was referring to Story's first volume of poetry, entitled simply Poems (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1847). Story had sent Sumner a copy of A Treatise on the Law of Contracts Not Under Seal in 1844, the year of its publication, and wrote in an accompanying letter, "Of all persons in the world you have most truly earned a right in it, for to you it is indebted for many of its graces & much of its completeness, if it have either. For the very kind interest which you have shown in it during its preparation, I most sincerely thank you. You have thereby only enlarged the debt of gratitude of affection which I owed you before" (WWS to CS, August 5, 1844, Sumner Papers 4). Sumner wanted to write and publish an article to help promote the book but Story discouraged him from doing so (WWS to CS, August 7, 1844, Sumner Papers 4).

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Story's first European trip lasted for three years, from 1847 to 1850, and he kept in touch with Sumner throughout that time. Early in 1848, he notified his friend that he had rented a temporary studio in Rome where he had "put up three figures & am ready for orders." While he was charmed with Italy, the country did not yet "revolutionize" him, as he put it. He told Sumner that he would not let art be his sole guide but would look more to nature for inspiration. In this, he seems to have been motivated by John Ruskin's Modern Painters, the popularity of which, Story believed, was evidence of the beginning of a "new era of art."[116]

Story's initial dissatisfaction with Europe did not stop him from returning to Italy for a second time in 1851. Again, his primary purpose was to work at sculpting and, this time, completing the model for his father's statue. As he prepared to leave Boston, he told Sumner of his "feelings of gratitude and affection which well up in my heart towards you." Sumner, he said, had "always been to me more a brother than a friend, ever solicitous for my well being & well doing, ever ready to do me kindness, ever true & warm & noble."[117] Just before he sailed, he drew a portrait of Sumner at the request of the Earl of Carlisle which was

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[116]WWS, Rome, to CS, Feb. 11, 1848, Sumner Papers 6. The multi-volume Modern Painters was published in England beginning in 1843.

[117]WWS to CS, Oct. 12, 1851, Sumner Papers 8.

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later engraved.[118] Once the sculptor had left America, Sumner felt his absence keenly and, within a year, expressed his own envy of Story's being in Italy, "enjoying Rome & art."[119]

By 1856, Story had grown to love Rome and he soon decided to settle permanently in the city. "Rome is all to me that my imagination ever pictured and more," he wrote Sumner early in 1858. "Every day I go to my studio and work all day. . . . I have so many things to do, so many ideas to work out, that life seems too short to give them all shape & reality."[120] Times were hard, though, and during Story's first years as a resident of Italy, commissions were scarce. But in 1859 he received a major commission from Harvard University for a full-length statue of Josiah Quincy and Sumner immediately wrote to congratulate him on the project and to encourage him to persevere. "Mark me," he assured

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[118]The drawing was evidently not quite finished when Story left America, and final touches were put on it by Seth W. Cheney. It was engraved by S. W. Chandler before it was sent off to the Earl of Carlisle at Castle Howard, England (Pierce, 4:39).

[119]CS, Boston, to WWS, Rome, Nov. 28, 1852, Huntington Library. Despite his feelings as expressed in this letter, Sumner confessed that his busy life made it difficult to keep in touch. In fact, his schedule kept him from writing Story from November, 1852, to August, 1853, a situation for which he apologized.

[120]WWS, Rome, to CS, Jan. 27, 1858, Sumner Papers 16.

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the sculptor. "The time will soon come when you will have orders enough. . . . Do not be disheartened."[121]

As it turned out, many of the commissions Story needed for financial and professional success came from European, not American, patrons.[122] Nevertheless, Charles Sumner remained an important force in his life and did what he could to promote the artist. He had already assisted Story in compiling, writing, and editing a biography of his father that was published in Boston in 1851. Story confessed to Sumner that the multi-volume work "would not have had half its merit had it not been for your watchfulness and your real assistance."[123] When Sumner was attacked by Preston Brooks in the U.S. Senate in 1856, Story was in "a passion of indignation." He compared Sumner to

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[121]CS, Le Harve, France, to WWS, Aug. 11, 1859, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

[122]See William H. Gerdts, "William Wetmore Story," The American Art Journal 4 (Nov. 1972): 16-33; and Seidler, Story, 639. Gerdts identifies some of Story's patrons as Marshall Roberts and Pierpont Morgan of New York, and Mr. and Mrs. Theodore Shillaber of San Francisco. But none of these were as important to the sculptor as was Count Janos Palffy of Paris who bought at least ten of Story's major, figural works.

[123]WWS to CS, Oct. 12, 1851, Pierce, 3:27. To help him compile information on his father, Story had asked Sumner to send him all letters by the Judge which Sumner had in his possession and to inform him of any personal recollections which Sumner had of the man (WWS, Boston, to CS, May 22, 1846, Sumner Papers 5; also see WWS, Rome, to CS, Feb. 11, 1848, Sumner Papers 6, in which Story discusses the progress of the biography of his father). The biography appeared in two volumes under the title Life and Letters of Joseph Story; it was followed in 1852 by The Miscellaneous Writings of Joseph Story, also compiled by the subject's son.

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the Christian martyrs and predicted that such suffering "will raise an army of freedom."[124]

As mentioned above, part of Sumner's recuperation period following the assault was spent in Rome with Story and his family. Story had lured him there in 1859 with promises of fine weather and good company. "All the world is here," he wrote Sumner. "Thackeray is in the Corso writing hard on his new volumes & Hawthorne has again taken up his pen near the fountain of Trevi." As Sumner had done to Story some years before, Story now encouraged the older man to put his boring career aside, at least temporarily, in favor of art. "Give up politics," he exhorted Sumner, "and take again to Literature."[125]

Sumner followed Story's advice, at least to some extent, as he revisited the major sites of Rome and again studied art and Italian literature. Despite his frustrations at not being able to do all he wanted, Sumner took many pleasant memories with him when he reluctantly left Italy in May. "I have been so happy with you," he told Story. "Perhaps it will be long before we meet again, but I cannot forget these latter delicious days."[126]

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[124]WWS, Boston, to CS, May 26, 1856, Sumner Papers 13.

[125]WWS, Rome, to CS, Jan. 2, 1859, Sumner Papers 17.

[126]CS, on board the Lombardo, to WWS, May 14, 1859, Huntington Library.

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Sumner returned to America in November, 1859, but even before he left Europe, he was working toward getting Story a new commission from the city of Boston. "You have seen in the papers," he wrote Mrs. Story in October, "that a subscription has been started for a statue in bronze of Horace Mann, to be placed in the State House yard. I have written to insist that William must do it."[127] The following month, Story wrote to thank Sumner for his kindness in proposing him for the commission and to tell him his thoughts of the composition of such a statue. Story thought that if the figure was to be placed outside, it should be in bronze; but it would be best indoors, seated, and in marble. In any event, it should be life size, not monumental, which "could not fail to be hideous." To assist him in modeling the statue, he asked Sumner to record his memories and impressions of Mann's gestures and manners.[128]

Meanwhile, Story spent the rest of the year working on a plaster model of the proposed figure of Mann and making sketches of it, examples of which he promised to send to Sumner. In order to avoid having his ideas stolen, though, he warned Sumner not to show the sketches to anyone.[129] Evidently, Story's model depicted Mann seated and dressed in

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[127]CS, Paris, to Mrs. Story, Oct. 9, 1859, in James, Story and His Friends, 2:47.

[128]WWS, Rome, to CS, Nov. 9, 1859, Sumner Papers 18.

[129]WWS, Rome, to CS, Nov. 27, 1859, and Dec. 20, 1859, Sumner Papers 18.

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a classicizing cloak draped over a contemporary suit, not unlike Chantrey's treatment of Washington. The effect of this, Story told Sumner, was "dignified and at the same time modern."[130] As the months passed, however, Story became uneasy about the commission and in May, 1860, Sumner found it necessary to assure him that a decision had still not been reached and to allay his concerns that the order was to go to Robert Ball Hughes.[131] By that time, however, Story seems to have given up on the idea or at least was pretending to have done so. "I have no ambition in the direction of portrait statues," he told Sumner. "It is in the ideal range of art that I prefer to work where I can give expression to all that is best & deepest in me. . . . When one has to deal with Pantaloons & Coat, it is impossible to make any thing very noble & grand." But, he added, "I would accept the Mann statue if I were asked to make it & I would do my best to make it well."[132]

In the end, Sumner's efforts were in vain. Neither Story nor Hughes received the commission. Instead, it went to the American sculptor Emma Stebbins whose bronze, standing figure was cast in 1864 and, the following year, erected in front of the Massachusetts State House in

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[130]WWS, Rome, to CS, Nov. 27, 1859, Sumner Papers 18.

[131]CS, Washington, to WWS, May 8, 1860, Huntington Library.

[132]WWS, Leghorn, to CS, June 22, 1860, Sumner Papers 20.

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Boston.[133] Considering Story's ideas for the statue, it is interesting to note that Stebbins's version shows Mann dressed in contemporary garb which is partially concealed beneath a toga-like cape.

At the same time as the Mann commission, Sumner was urging the trustees of the Boston Public Library to purchase Story's bust of Theodore Parker. The original had been modeled in Rome in 1859, without a commission and simply for the benefit of the sculptor. Parker was ill from tuberculosis at the time and, in fact, died of the disease the following year. Shortly after the bust was finished, Sumner wrote to Story that it was "spoken of with great admiration" by those who had seen it in the sculptor's studio in Rome and that it "ought to be ordered in marble for the Public Library," an idea which Sumner would "push."[134] With that purpose, he wrote of the work to the trustees of the Public Library:

> Of all the busts of Parker I have seen this by Story is the only one which, without destroying the likeness, idealizes the face sufficiently to do justice to the man who was an incarnate conscience. Conscience crudely portrayed is unattractive, but tinted with poetic fire it kindles the world. Parker was not a poet, but only a poet could represent him.[135]

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[133]For the Mann commission, see Seidler, Story, 419-423; and Elizabeth Milroy, "The Public Career of Emma Stebbins 1857-1882," TMs, 1980, 35-39, 47-49.

[134]CS, Boston, to WWS, Aug. 10, 1860, Huntington Library.

[135]Quoted in Gerdts, "Story," 17.

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But again, Sumner's efforts came to naught. Evidently Story had given a marble replica of the bust to Parker shortly before his death and, unfortunately for the sculptor, Parker expressed the desire that his widow should give it to the Boston Public Library. Although this was not accomplished until 1881, the promise of the bequest prevented the trustees of the library from ordering another marble directly from the sculptor.[136]

Meanwhile, Sumner asked Story to assist him in obtaining casts from antique sculptures in bronze or terra-cotta. Story sent him information on bronze foundries in Rome (he thought one managed by a man named Hoffgarten was the best) and Sumner sent Story a list of the sculptures he wanted most: the Demosthenes, the Ludovisi Mars, the Minerva of the Vatican (Minerva Giustiniani), and a bust of Marc Antonio. He reminded Story that he already owned a dozen bronze casts which he had bought in Paris at Barbedienne's foundry, including copies of the Venus de Milo, the Seated Mercury of Naples, and others, all "of the best quality."[137] Story placed the orders for the bronze casts and, knowing Sumner's love of Italy, sent him some large photographs of various Roman monuments including St. Peter's Basilica, the

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[136]Seidler, Story, 348-351.

[137]WWS, Rome, to CS, Dec. 20, 1859, Sumner Papers 18; CS, Washington, to WWS, Jan. 27, 1860, Huntington Library. Sumner later wrote that the bronze which he "absolutely required" was that of the Demosthenes (CS, Washington, to WWS, May 8, 1860, Huntington Library).

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Palazzo Barberini, and the Colosseum.[138] Some of the bronzes were sent to Sumner in the spring of 1861;[139] but others were unfortunately lost off the coast of Spain when, late in 1863, the ship on which they were being transported sank. The loss of that uninsured shipment prompted the disappointed Sumner to exclaim longingly, "Oh! if I were rich. I would surround myself with sculpture."[140]

Sumner also asked Story to procure marble copies of the bust known as Young Augustus, the original of which was in the Vatican, and of a Psyche, probably taken from a life-size antique work known as the Psyche of Naples.[141] Story complied, personally supervising their execution by marble carvers in his own studio, and they were sent to Sumner in 1861.[142] "The Psyche is superb & I enjoy it much," the

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[138]WWS, Leghorn, to CS, June 22, 1860, Sumner Papers 20. Story's ultimate order was for copies of the Demosthenes, Ludovisi Mars, and a bust of Sophocles.

[139]WWS, Rome, to CS, May 13, 1861, Sumner Papers 2.

[140]CS, Washington, to WWS, Jan. 1, 1864, Huntington Library.

[141]CS, Boston, to WWS, Aug. 10, 1860, Huntington Library. Story told Sumner that "a really good copy" of the Young Augustus would cost between seventy and eighty dollars (WWS, Leghorn, to CS, June 22, 1860, Sumner Papers 20). A visitor to Sumner's Washington home in the 1870s noted the presence there of a life-size marble figure taken from the Psyche of Naples and it was probably the Psyche which Story had acquired for him (Mary Clemmer Ames, Outlines of Men, Women, and Things [New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1873], 45.

[142]WWS, Rome, to CS, May 13, 1861, Sumner Papers 2; and WWS, Rome, to CS, Jan. 9, 1862, Sumner Papers 24.

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excited owner wrote. "There is also the Young Augustus which delights me always."[143]

Over the years, Story naturally kept Sumner apprised of his own progress in sculpture and of the development of his major projects. In June 1860, for example, he wrote of his ideas for The Libyan Sibyl, or "Africa seeing her fate in the Future." "Is not that a grand subject?" he asked Sumner. Although he realized that the conception would not be "as popular as a child & a dog with the name `Fidelity'," he was adamant in his belief that it is "the duty of every artist to do all that in him lies to elevate the standard of his art & thus create & educate his audience."[144] Certainly, Sumner would have agreed with this and must have been pleased when, only a month after the beginning of the Civil War, Story described the Libyan Sibyl as "my anti-slavery `sermon in stone.'"[145] When his Sibyl as well as his Cleopatra were exhibited in London in 1862, Story finally achieved the fame he had sought and Sumner congratulated him with understandable pride:

> Of course, I watch your ascending glory. Nobody followed with intenser interest your English success, and now I am preparing for something grander; for George Russell tells me that your Saul is "the finest

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[143]CS, Washington, to WWS, Jan. 1, 1864, Huntington Library.

[144]WWS, Leghorn, to CS, June 22, 1860, Sumner Papers 20.

[145]WWS, Rome, to CS, May 13, 1861, Sumner Papers 2. A marble version of the Libyan Sibyl is at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

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> statue he ever saw." Good! It made me happy & proud to hear this. . . . The time will come when all that you have done will be recognized. I wish it were at once. But I know of hope deferred. Go on. Chisel, write, win new triumphs. . . .[146]

By that time, too, Sumner had realized that Story's prospects were better in Europe than they ever could be in America. After all, several of Sumner's own efforts to promote the sculptor here had failed. "Don't draw from America if you can help it," he wrote in 1864. "Live on Europe as long as you can."[147]

Nevertheless, Sumner had not totally despaired of America and he kept trying to get more public commissions for Story in this country. With slavery abolished and the end of the Civil War in sight, Sumner thought the opportunity might be ripe for Story "You will be happy to know the fate of Slavery is settled," he wrote the sculptor in 1864. "This will be a free country. Be its sculptor. Give us--give mankind--a work which will typify or commemorate a redeemed nation. You are the artist for this immortal achievement."[148]

There could be no more appropriate monument for Story to execute, thought Sumner, than one to the Civil War

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[146]CS, Washington, to WWS, Jan. 1, 1864, Huntington Library.

[147]CS, Boston, to WWS, Oct. 4, 1864, Huntington Library.

[148]CS to WWS, Jan. 1, 1864, Huntington Library. Seidler has proposed that Story's opposition to slavery, like Sumner's, was radical and that, during the 1850s, his stance on the issue led conservative Bostonians to be wary of giving him sculptural commissions (Seidler, Story, 513).

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hero, Boston's Robert Gould Shaw, who had recently died while leading the first all-black regiment of Union soldiers into battle. On Story's behalf, Sumner actively pursued the commission for a memorial to Shaw beginning in 1865.[149] Shaw's family had expressed an interest in such a project and Sumner was part of the committee organized to see to its execution. He evidently encouraged Story to develop some preliminary sketches for it and Story optimistically made inquiries about bronze foundries.[150] In January, 1866, he sent Sumner photographs of a model he had made for his version of the monument--an equestrian statue of Shaw--and reported that Shaw's mother and sister had seen it and liked it.[151] By the end of the year, the Shaw committee was experiencing internal conflicts but Sumner continued to hope for a favorable outcome.[152] Once again, however, his efforts failed and the matter was not resolved until a

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[149]Story greatly admired Shaw and wrote to E. L. Pierce of his sadness at the man's death: "I cannot be consoled for the loss of Shaw. But where better could a young commander die than on the parapet of an enemy's fort which he had stormed? That death will be sacred in history and in art" (CS to E. L. Pierce, July 29, 1863, Pierce, 4:142).

[150]In Oct., 1865, Story wrote Sumner that he had just read of "your meeting for the Shaw Statue" and stated that he had written to the Royal Bavarian Foundry in Munich for an estimate on casting monuments (WWS, Walton on Thames, England, to CS, Oct. 26, 1865, Sumner Papers 34).

[151]WWS, Rome, to CS, Jan. 25, 1866, Sumner Papers 35.

[152]CS, Boston, to WWS, Dec. 10, 1866, Huntington Library.

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decade after his death. In 1884, the commission for a Shaw monument was finally given to a sculptor of the next generation, Augustus Saint-Gaudens.[153]

Meanwhile, also in 1866, Sumner recommended Story for a commission from the United States government for a statue of Abraham Lincoln;[154] but again, the work went to another sculptor, this time to the little-known and inexperienced Vinnie Ream. Story's loss of that commission prompted a tirade from Sumner which appeared in the form of a speech he delivered to Congress in 1866. Suffice it to say here that in the oration, Sumner publicly declared his unqualified support of Story whom he identified as the sculptor who he would "name first of all if I were called to express freely my unbiased choice." "In the great exhibitions of Europe," he continued, Story's full-size sculptures of Cleopatra and of Saul

> have been recognized as equal in art to the best of our time and, in the opinion of many, as better than the best. He brings to sculpture not only the genius of an artist, but scholarship, literature, study, and talent of every kind. Summon him to the work.[155]

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[153]For the Shaw monument, see John H. Dryfhout, The Work of Augustus Saint-Gaudens (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1982), 222-228; Burke Wilkinson, Uncommon Clay: The Life and Works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens (San Diego, London, New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, 1985), 274-288; and Lincoln Kirstein, "The Memorial to Robert Gould Shaw and His Soldiers by Augustus Saint-Gaudens," Lay This Laurel (New York: Eakins Press, 1973), np.

[154]Seidler, Story, 611-612; CS, Boston, to WWS, Dec. 10, 1866, Huntington Library.

[155]Charles Sumner, Art in the National Capitol (Boston: Wright & Potter, Printers, 1866), 8. In addition

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The relationship between Sumner and Story continued undiminished in the years following the Civil War. Only months after that conflict ended, in fact, the old friends met again when Story and his family were visiting Boston;[156] and a final encounter occurred in England where the Storys were vacationing at the time that Sumner was making his last visit abroad. Story later remembered this meeting, which took place in London: "Again I was enthralled by the old charm," he wrote,

> I had now begun to think I was growing old, but to see Sumner again renewed my youth. He treated me as he did when I was twenty, and to his mind and thought I was still a youth. He so pleasantly patronized me that I was delighted and laughed into thorough good-will, and began to think I had still the world before me. He had the same pleased astonishment at all he saw that he had in his early manhood, the same stern and unflinching adherence to his friends.[157]

From this there can be little doubt that the old, mutual affection had not waned. The love expressed here was given a final outlet in a poem which Story dedicated to his life-long advisor and friend, written shortly after Sumner's death:

> For years, dear friend, but rarely had we met,

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to the sculptural commissions mentioned above, Sumner also attempted to get Story an appointment as minister to Italy, which Story had asked him to do. Once more, though, Sumner's efforts came to nothing and the job went to the Vermont lawyer, George Perkins Marsh (Seidler, Story, 609-610).

[156]Pierce, 4:266.

[157]Quoted in Ibid., 4:536, 541-542.

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Fate in a different path our feet had set;
Space stretched between us, yet you still were near,
And friendship had no shadows of regret.
. . . . . .
A vaster sea divides us now--a stretch
Across whose space we varily strive to reach,
Whose deeps man passes never to return,
From whose far shores there comes no human speech.
. . . . . .
Rest, brave soldier, from the well-fought fight!
Rest, genial scholar, from the dear delight
Of arts and books! Rest, steadfast, stainless friend!
For ever ours--though lost to sense and sight.[158]

Sumner and Horatio Greenough

Of all the artists, American and otherwise, who Sumner met in Europe in the 1830s, none impressed him more for "conversation and culture" than Horatio Greenough.[159] Even before they met, Sumner acknowledged Greenough as a "high priest of the Temple of Art," although he was somewhat intimidated by the sculptor, at least at first. Once the

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[158]W. W. Story, "To Charles Sumner. In Memoriam," Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine 116 (Sept., 1874): 342-346. The relationship between Sumner and Story has been summarized in modern times as one which "proved to be a sort of bridge over which flowed the outlook of two men concerning a great variety of subjects and transcending a period of some forty years. Two nineteenth-century worlds--the frenzied American world of slavery, sectional tension and civil war met a more intellectually tranquil European world of culture in the trans-Atlantic friendship of Story the artist and Sumner the statesman" (Rolle, "Sumner and Story," 57)

Despite this long friendship, though, Story evidently felt that somehow Sumner never really understood art. "The world of art, as art purely," Story reminisced, "was to [Sumner] always a half-opened, if not a locked world. He longed to enter into it, and feel as an artist does; but the keys were never given to him" (quoted in Haynes, 407).

[159]CS, Washington, D.C., to Richard H. Dana, Jr., Dec. 25, 1852, Letters of Greenough, ed. Greenough, 245.

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two became better acquainted, however, Sumner realized that Greenough was "a wonderful fellow--an accomplished man."[160] Within weeks of their first meeting, which took place in Florence late in the summer of 1839, Sumner was able to say that he had become very close to Greenough, that he had decided he liked the sculptor "infinitely," and that Greenough was a better artist than Jacques-Louis David, Francis Chantrey, or any other European artist whose work Sumner had seen. Sumner praised Greenough as "a thinker of great force, and a scholar who does not trust to translations, but goes to the great originals."[161] He summed up Greenough's character in a letter to his friend George Washington Greene:

> He is a person of remarkable character in every way,--with scholarship such as few of our countrymen have; with a practical knowledge of his art, and the poetry of it; with an elevated tone of mind that shows itself equally in his views of art, and in all his conversation. I am firmly convinced that he is a superior person to any of the great artists now on the stage.[162]

In Florence in 1839, Sumner inspected a number of Greenough's works, including his monumental statue of George Washington. For a more romantic effect, and as he had done for Everett, Greenough showed Sumner the statue by torchlight. Sumner thought the Washington better than

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[160]CS to George Hillard, Sept. 29, 1839, quoted in Donald, Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War, 67.

[161]CS to George S. Hillard, Sept. 29, 1839, Pierce 2:116.

[162]CS to George W. Greene, Sept. 11, 1839, Pierce 2:110.

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Chantrey's version of the same subject in the State House in Boston which, he now decided, was "childlike."[163] He offered Greenough some advice on the statue, notably on the small allegorical figures which were planned for the chair in which Washington was to sit. Sumner evidently thought that the statuette of a black man which Greenough was contemplating should be altered. The sculptor followed this suggestion, at least in part, and changed the figure to one of Columbus. A corresponding figure of "Virgin America" was also replaced by one of an American Indian. "I took your advice respecting the accessory ornaments of my chair," Greenough wrote Sumner late in 1839,

> as having been most well-timed and fortunate for me--not that I think the figures you object to can not be rendered poetical as well as effective, but because, as you convincingly observed--I ought in a *first great* work, appealing to great national sympathies, to keep clear, quite clear, of debatable ground--so as to carry with me all hearts and all consciences as likewise all tastes as far as Art (as in me) will allow.[164]

The following year, when Greenough's Washington was being vilified in some circles for both its iconography and nudity, the artist became concerned that Sumner might be compelled to defend it and cautioned him not to get involved in the dispute, evidently feeling that that might bring even

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[163]Ibid., 111.

[164]HG to CS, Nov. 16-18, 1839, Letters of Greenough, ed. Wright, 267-71. In July, 1840, Greenough again told Sumner that the back of Washington's chair had been varied "by making it of ornamental open work" (HG to CS, July 12, 1840, Letters of Greenough, ed. Wright, 285-87. Also see Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 133).

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more (unfavorable) attention to the problem. "I am right glad that nothing has happened to induce you to open a defense of my conduct with reference to the Statue," he wrote, assuring Sumner that the sculpture would speak for itself.[165]

When the statue was shipped to Washington and unveiled in the U.S. Capitol building, Sumner was predictably laudatory. "It will give you fame," he vouched; but he then warned Greenough that the "disagreeable ordeal" of public opinion must still be breached, and added,

> I refer to the criticisms of people knowing nothing of art. . . . The people will not hesitate to judge your work, & some will perhaps, complain that Washington is naked; that he has not a cocked hat & a military coat of the Continental cut; that he is not standing etc., etc.[166]

To stem the flow of negative criticism, Sumner suggested that Greenough write an article on the statue and the use of the nude figure in art in general, based upon "some of the papers you read me during my visit to Florence." Whatever the case, Sumner believed, it should be written by Greenough himself, "because it is your theme, and you can manage it so much better than anybody else; and second, because whatever you write will be read, and have weight."[167] Greenough

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[165]HG to CS, Oct. 24, 1840, Letters of Greenough, ed. Wright, 296-97.

[166]CS, Boston, to HG, Feb. 28, 1841, Sumner Papers 62; Pierce, 2:173-74.

[167]CS, Boston, to HG, Feb. 28, 1841, Sumner Papers 62.

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evidently followed Sumner's advice, although, as far as is known, the essay he prepared was never published.[168]

Sumner and Greenough kept in touch during the later 1840s and probably saw each other frequently once the Greenoughs returned permanently to Boston in the autumn of 1851. The personal affiliation between the sculptor and Sumner was acknowledged by a group of men in New York who were planning to erect a monument to Greenough's early patron, the author James Fenimore Cooper. The committee, which consisted of New Yorkers Washington Irving, William Cullen Bryant, Fitz-Greene Halleck, Rufus Griswold, and others, asked the Bostonian Sumner to join them, evidently in hopes that his association with Greenough might help the project proceed more smoothly.[169] Whatever Sumner's role was or might have been, the project failed, and Greenough had disassociated himself from it by April, 1852.[170]

As it turned out, not much could have come of the commission anyway for, before the year was out, Greenough was dead. Less than a month before that tragic event, Sumner had joined him, Longfellow, Emerson, Hawthorne, James Russell Lowell, and others, at a dinner to honor the English poet Arthur Clough at the Tremont House in Boston, and this

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[168]See Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 135.

[169]Rufus W. Griswold, New York, to CS, Dec. 9, 1851, Sumner Papers 10.

[170]For the ill-fated Cooper Monument, see Wright, Greenough, First American Sculptor, 270-272.

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may have been the last time the two old friends met.[171] Later, when Sumner heard the news of Greenough's death, he sent his condolences to the sculptor's widow and summarized his feelings about the sculptor. "Sincerely and deeply I mourn for you," he wrote.

> The death of Horatio Greenough is a loss not only to wife and children, but to friends and the world, to art and literature. With sorrow unspeakable I learned the first blow of his fatal illness; now I am pained again by the tidings of to-day. Only a few days before I left home he read to me for an hour or more some portions of his book on the Beautiful; and particularly his criticism of Burke. I was then struck by his mastery of the subject, and admired him anew, not only as an artist, but as an expositor of art. I doubt if any European artist has ever excelled him with his pen. He cannot be forgotten in our history, or in the grateful memory of friends.[172]

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[171]Longfellow, Journal, Nov. 20, 1852, Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, ed. Samuel Longfellow (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1893), 2:244; Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 296.

[172]CS to Mrs. Greenough, Dec. 21, 1852, Pierce, 3:322. Sumner was almost certainly referring to Greenough's essays "Burke on the Beautiful" and "Criticism in Search of Beauty" which were written in 1852 and published the following year in Henry T. Tuckerman, A Memorial of Horatio Greenough (New York: G. P. Putnam & Co., 1853), 150-69. Some years earlier, Sumner had been impressed by a letter which Greenough had written to Secretary of State Daniel Webster about the Washington statue in which Greenough stated, among other things, that the sculpture was "the birth of my thought. I have sacrificed to it the flower of my days and the freshness of my strength" (HG to Webster, May 12, 1841, Letters of Greenough, ed. Wright, 312-13). For Sumner, this "touched chords of the human heart which stifled all paltry, mean considerations, and the pride of the artist was respected as just" (CS, Boston, to HG, Sept. 6, 1841, Sumner Papers 62).

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Sumner and Thomas Crawford

Sumner's relationship with Thomas Crawford was the most intense of any that he had with an artist. While the affiliation has been discussed in some detail elsewhere--most recently by Lauretta Dimmick--it is worth summarizing here.[173]

Sumner's introduction to Crawford occurred in Rome in 1839 and was arranged by George Washington Greene who, as mentioned previously, was the American consul there and a close friend and supporter of Crawford.[174] William Wetmore Story later remembered the circumstances of that meeting as told to him by Sumner:

> It was in Rome that [Sumner] first made the acquaintance of Thomas Crawford . . . for whom he formed a strong friendship and sympathy. Crawford was then a young man, struggling up the first difficult steps of his art, with high ambition and very small means. . . . Sumner, with that natural kindness and geniality of heart which always characterized him, sought his society, lent him encouragement, and prophesied for him the fame which he afterwards acquired. More than this: his friendship did not

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[173]Dimmick, Crawford, 198-223. Also see, by the same author, "Thomas Crawford's *Orpheus:* The American *Apollo Belvedere*," The American Art Journal 19 (1987): 47-84; and the catalogue entry for Crawford's bust of Sumner by Jan Seidler Ramirez in Greenthal, et al, 57-59.

[174]For an account of Crawford's relationship with Greene (1811-1883), see Dimmick, Crawford, 136-151. Greene's own summation of Crawford's life was published as a chapter in his Biographical Studies (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1860), 121-154, wherein Greene called Sumner one of Crawford's "earliest, firmest, and most judicious friends."

Crawford had arrived in Rome in May, 1835, but it is not known how his trip was financed (Dimmick, Crawford, 15).

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exhaust itself in words, but took the shape of earnest acts of kindness.[175]

Sumner's major act of kindness toward Crawford was his role in gaining a commission for and arranging an exhibition of the sculptor's idealized, life-size figure, Orpheus (fig. 3) which Sumner first saw in plaster in the sculptor's studio in Rome in late spring or early summer, 1839. "It is, without exception," he declared, "the finest study I have seen in Rome and if completed in corresponding style . . . will be one of the most remarkable productions that has come from an artist of his years in modern times."[176]

While Sumner himself was not financially able to commission sculpture from Crawford, he immediately began writing his friends back in America, praising the artist and asking for their assistance in promoting him. "There is a young American sculptor here, Mr. Thomas Crawford, who has great merit," he wrote to William H. Prescott in June, "and has found considerable favor among artists. . . . Can't something be done for him in Boston? I shall write at length to Hillard or Longfellow about him, and should feel

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[175]Quoted in Pierce, 2:95. One modern writer has pointed out that although Sumner did not have enough money to support Crawford financially or give him a commission, he lent the sculptor "his energy and his persuasive tongue and pen" (Thorp, Literary Sculptors, 154).

[176]CS, Rome, to George S. Hillard, July 26, 1839, Pierce, 2:105. Sumner later wrote that it was the clay model of the statue which he first saw in Rome (Charles Sumner, "Crawford's Orpheus," The United States Magazine, and Democratic Review 12 [May, 1843]: 453).

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much gratified if you would counsel with them as to the proper way of promoting his interests."[177] As promised, he wrote Hillard the following month, gave an expanded account of Crawford's life and work, and praised his Neoclassical style. "I have seen his bas-reliefs," Sumner reported,

> the heads he had done, and some of his most important studies. They all show the right direction. They are simple, chaste, firm, and expressive, and with much of that air (heaven-descended, I would almost call it) which the ancients had, which was first reproduced in modern time by Canova, and has since been carried so far by Thorwaldsen.[178]

Sumner described the Orpheus and expressed his dismay that, thus far, most of Crawford's commissions "have come from foreigners,--English and Russians." Hopefully, "a good order from some gentleman of established character" would be forthcoming so that Crawford's work could be seen in America. Sumner was well aware of how private patronage could benefit an artist and, in his letter to Hillard, he used Greenough's relationship with James Fenimore Cooper as the most apposite example. Cooper had commissioned a bust of himself from Greenough; had been pleased with that effort; had subsequently given a commission for a more elaborate group, The Chanting Cherubs; and had allowed Greenough to exhibit it in various American cities to help

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[177]CS, Rome, to William H. Prescott, June 28, 1839, Pierce, 2:102.

[178]CS to George S. Hillard, July 26, 1839, Pierce, 2:104-105.

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further the artist's career.[179] "From that moment," Sumner noted, "Greenough's success was complete." Sumner ended with the suggestion that Hillard show his letter to Cleveland, Felton, and Longfellow and that he speak to Everett, Ticknor, and Prescott on Crawford's behalf.[180] These wishes were repeated in a letter to Longfellow written the same day. If Longfellow could not personally give Crawford an order for sculpture, Sumner suggested, perhaps he could write an article about the artist and his work.[181] "I wish somebody would send him an order for something--anything," he wrote another friend, "a bust, a bas-relief, or a statue."[182]

Besides sending these pleas for patronage to America, Sumner also encouraged old friends and new acquaintances in Europe to visit the sculptor in Rome and place orders with him. For example, in the autumn of 1839,

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[179]Dimmick has pointed out that "Clearly, Sumner had Cooper in mind as a model for himself. . . . " (Dimmick, "Crawford's *Orpheus*," 61). For Greenough's Chanting Cherubs, see Nathalia Wright, "The Chanting Cherubs: Horatio Greenough's Marble Group for James Fenimore Cooper," New York History 38 (Apr. 1957): 177-197.

[180]CS, Rome, to George S. Hillard, July 26, 1839, Pierce, 2:104-106.

[181]CS, Rome, to Henry W. Longfellow, July 26, 1839, Pierce, 2:106-107. See also Donald, Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War, 67. According to Dimmick (Crawford, 147n), Longfellow did not write an article about Crawford, as Sumner had suggested he do, possibly because Longfellow had not even met Crawford yet. (They did not meet until 1844; see Dimmick, Crawford, 437).

[182]CS to William F. Frick, Aug. 4, 1839, Sumner Papers, quoted in Gordon, 146.

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in Milan, he met Thomas Preston of Virginia and George R. Lewis of Connecticut, both of whom were on their way to Rome, and who, according to Sumner, wished "to spend some money in paintings, engravings, and sculpture."[183] Naturally, Sumner pointed them in Crawford's direction. "I have promised them your friendly counsel . . .," he wrote Crawford, "and wish you would show them what you can about art in Rome. Go to the Vatican with them, and let them see the work of your studio."[184] As it turned out, Preston and Lewis joined a Mr. De Hone of South Carolina and William Minot, Jr., of Boston--all four of whom were in Rome in 1840--to commission a sculpture or sculptures from Crawford, possibly at Sumner's instigation, as a gift to the Boston Athenaeum. The result was the relief, Anacreon, which remains in the Athenaeum's collection.[185]

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[183]CS, Milan, to TC, Oct. 5, 1839, Pierce, 2:117.

[184]CS, Milan, to TC, Oct. 5, 1839, Pierce, 2:117.

[185]Dimmick, Crawford, 246-256, 714-717. Minot gave Sumner credit for having introduced him to art and good taste and wrote him a letter of gratitude shortly after they met in Italy: "I consider, my dear Mentor, my having met you at my entrance to Italy as a great piece of fortune. You have set me at once on the right track, have stimulated all my motives and tastes, and have made the paths of improvements and pleasure clear to me" (William Minot, Jr., to CS, Sept. 26, 1839, Pierce, 2: 97). Two years later, Minot himself published an article on the state of the fine arts in America (William Minot, Jr., "Art in America," The North American Review 52 [Apr., 1841]: 311) and it may have been Minot or Minot and Sumner who convinced the other three men--all non-Bostonians--to join in the contribution to the Boston Athenaeum.

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Sumner himself was the subject of a bust which Crawford modeled during the summer of 1839, shortly after the two had met (fig. 26). Greene convinced Sumner that sitting for it would help bring more attention to Crawford and, to that end, Greene displayed the finished plaster version of the bust in the library of his home in Rome for several weeks. (Greene was soon proven correct. At least two visitors, Englishmen Sir Charles Richard Vaughn and John Kenyon, ordered portrait busts from Crawford after having seen the bust of Sumner in Greene's library).[186] A few years later, in 1842, Crawford sent a marble version of the work to Sumner "as a token that I have not forgotten the obligations I owe to you for having given so much of your valuable time and thought to the advancement of my poor endeavours to enter the Temple of Art."[187]

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[186]Pierce, 2: 94-95; Dimmick, Crawford, 159-160, 223-224. Sumner believed that the order from Vaughn, who was well known in America, might prompt Americans to give Crawford more patronage. "Many of our countrymen," he wrote to Greene, "are so weak as to make their judgements depend upon Englishmen, and I know none of [Vaughn's] countrymen whose patronage ought to avail more with Americans" (CS, Berlin, to Greene, Dec. 30, 1839, Pierce, 2:130). Later, from London, he wrote Greene that "Vaughn speaks of your kindness in the warmest terms, and of Crawford also: he has spoken to several of his countrymen of Crawford. I hope some good may come of it. . . ." (CS, London, to Greene, Mar. 30, 1840, Pierce, 2:145).

Crawford's bust of Vaughn is unlocated, but Dimmick believes it might be identical with an unsigned bust of Vaughn which is in the collection of All Souls College, Oxford, England. Crawford's bust of Kenyon is at Armstrong Browning Library, Baylor College, Waco, Texas.

[187]TC, Rome, to CS, Nov. 3, 1842, Sumner Papers 3. The bust was bequeathed to the city of Boston by Sumner and is now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

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Still in Europe, Sumner spent the final months of 1839 anxiously awaiting replies to his entreaties for support of Crawford and, particularly, for word of a commission to put the Orpheus into marble. "How good it would be," he wrote Greene from Milan in October, 1839, "if the `Franklin' and `Orpheus' were both ordered!"[188] By the end of December, his efforts were beginning to pay off. Greene wrote to tell him that a letter he had written to Longfellow about Crawford was to be published in the Knickerbocker magazine in New York and, more importantly, that interest in Crawford's Orpheus was spreading.[189] In March, 1840, Greene told Longfellow that the author Catherine Sedgewick, had "written a letter on Crawford proposing the purchase of Orpheus for the Boston something or other. Tell Sumner of this and leave no stone unturned to accomplish it."[190] Evidently Longfellow followed Greene's advice, despite his overly casual reference to the

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See Dimmick, Crawford, 198-223; and Jan Ramirez's entry on the bust in Greenthal, et al, 57-59.

[188]CS, Milan, to George W. Greene, Oct. 5, 1839, Pierce, 2:119.

[189]CS, Berlin, to George W. Greene, Dec. 30, 1839, Pierce, 2:130. Greene's letter to Longfellow was published as "Letters from Modern Rome. No. One. To Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Oct. 1, 1839," The Knickerbocker, 15 (June, 1840): 488-91. (Dimmick identifies this as the beginning of the published literature on Crawford [Dimmick, Crawford, 51]). Greene later wrote an article on Crawford which was published as "Crawford, the Sculptor," Knickerbocker 17 (Feb. 1846): 174.

[190]Greene to Longfellow, March 21, 1840, quoted in Gordon, 148-49.

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Boston Athenaeum, and by the end of the year an article praising Crawford appeared in a Boston newspaper. It has been suggested that it was written by Sumner or one of his friends which seems likely since it specifically called for the purchase of the Orpheus by the Athenaeum.[191]

In fact, as soon as he got back to Boston from Europe, Sumner began a subscription for the purchase of the statue with the specific intention of presenting it to the Athenaeum. By March, 1841, he could write Crawford that "the sum I proposed to raise is now subscribed,--twenty-five hundred dollars."[192] "Your name is already honorably known throughout our country," he added encouragingly, and

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[191]"Crawford, the American Sculptor," Daily Evening Transcript, Boston, Dec. 31, 1840. See Dimmick, "Thomas Crawford's *Orpheus*," 62.

[192]CS, Boston, to TC, Mar. 31, 1841, Pierce, 2:175. Among the twenty-seven subscribers to the Orpheus were Thomas Handasyd Perkins, Joseph Story, George Ticknor, and Henry Cabot (Dimmick, Crawford, 616n). The Athenaeum itself subscribed five-hundred dollars for the sculpture, "on condition, that when completed it should be the property of the Athenaeum" (Josiah Quincy, The History of the Boston Athenaeum [Cambridge: Metcalf and Company, 1851], 153). Oddly, Sumner failed to collect the promised private subscription funds promptly and it was only after Crawford wrote to him asking if the first payment for the statue had been sent that Sumner remembered to gather the money. See CS, Boston, to TC, May 14, 1842, Sumner Papers 66 [copy].

The sum of $2500 for a full-length, life size sculpture is surprisingly low but Crawford himself had evidently volunteered to execute the marble Orpheus for $2000. Therefore, Sumner had actually raised more than was required. But surely the low purchase price was one reason that Sumner was able to raise the money in a relatively short period (about three months). Besides, as Sumner pointed out to Greene, Crawford "is not known" (Ibid.; emphasis in the original).

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predicted that as soon as the Orpheus arrived in America, it "will confirm your fame." He also told Crawford that his bust of Greene, which was on display in Longfellow's rooms, was greatly admired.[193] Sumner and Longfellow had discussed the bust and had compared it to the work of Shobal Clevenger, the Cincinnati sculptor who had recently arrived in Boston. "We are amused when we compare it with one [by] Clevenger," Sumner reported to Crawford.

> This self-made man has met with great success; he goes to Italy laden with orders. I see his busts in every house. They are very good portraits, but devoid of grace, poetry, and artistic finish. He preserves all the hardness of features, every wrinkle, and even multiplies the crow's-feet at the corners of the eye. In this way he gives you an unmistakable face, but a wretched bust. He never has produced a `Young Augustus'![194]

Obviously, for Sumner, Greek idealism was far preferable to Roman realism. For him, Clevenger's sculpture suffered from containing too much of the latter and not enough of the former.

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[193]Crawford gave Greene a plaster version of his bust and Greene, in turn, gave it to his old friend Longfellow. It is now owned by the National Park Service, Longfellow National Historic Site, Cambridge, Massachusetts (Dimmick, Crawford, 136-151). In June, 1841, Longfellow wrote to Greene about it and its creator: "My kind regards to Crawford. He is a true man of genius. The country will be very proud of him. His bust of you is exquisite. How many times must I tell you this? Often, as I look at it, my eyes grow moist with feeling. Every one is delighted with it. Indeed, you seem to be in the midst of us here; and not long ago, in the middle of dinner, Sumner cried aloud, `What a bust that is! How like Greene!'" (Longfellow, Cambridge, to G. W. Greene, Rome, June 10, 1841, Life of Longfellow, ed. Longfellow, 1:392).

[194]CS, Boston, to TC, Mar. 31, 1841, Pierce, 2:175.

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The contract for the Athenaeum's purchase of a marble version of Crawford's Orpheus was signed in March, 1841.[195] With financial assistance from Greene, Crawford procured a block of marble for the sculpture, and, by March, 1843, the carving had been completed.[196] That same month, Crawford sent the figure's measurements to Sumner and asked him to forward them to the Athenaeum so that the site for and illumination of the Orpheus could be planned. Crawford hoped that the figure could be displayed in the Athenaeum's painting gallery instead of in the poorly lit room where the rest of the Athenaeum's sculpture and its plaster casts were housed. He knew Sumner would agree with him. "There is no necessity of entering into an argument here," he wrote his friend,

> to prove the possibility which exists for the union of painting and sculpture in the same gallery. This subject you are already familiar with, ... You are aware that Light and Shadow is the Life and Soul of art. . . . I can (and I am proud to be able to do so) ask with more propriety yourself, Mr. Felton and Mr. Longfellow to act as my representatives in this affair.[197]

He ended the letter with a summary of sculptures in his studio which might join the Orpheus in a special exhibition in Boston if such an installation could be arranged.

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[195]The contract is quoted in full in Dimmick, Crawford, 562-563.

[196]TC, Rome, to CS, Jan. 4, 1842, Gratz Collection, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, AAA P22 ; TC, Rome, to CS, Mar. 16, 1843, Sumner Papers 3.

[197]TC, Rome, to CS, Mar. 16,. 1843, Sumner Papers 3.

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Through all of this, he was mindful of Sumner's continuing role and was very grateful for it. "I desire to thank you again and again," he wrote a few months after the contract for the Orpheus had been signed, "for the confidence you have reposed in me by procuring the commission for my first statue. Damn me, but I think I shall engrave your name with my own upon its base and yours shall be wreathed with eternity-flowers in this case, my dear Sumner."[198]

As the date of the arrival of the Orpheus in Boston neared, Sumner helped prepare the American public for it by writing an article for The United States Magazine, and Democratic Review. Published in May, 1843, the piece was accompanied by an engraving of a drawing, possibly by Crawford himself, of the sculpture. Most of the text was concerned with retelling the story of Orpheus and Eurydice, part of which was accomplished by the inclusion of quotations from several Classical and Renaissance sources. This was done undoubtedly to offer proof of Sumner's belief that the artistic success of Crawford's statue lay in "the selection of the scene and the poetical conception of it."[199] Specifically, the sculptor had chosen to depict the moment "when Cerberus has yielded to the music, and closed the eyes of his three heads in sleep." The hero's body and "countenance" are "in harmony" and symbolize "the strong

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[198]TC, Rome, to CS, June 12, 1842, Sumner papers 3.

[199]Sumner, "Crawford's Orpheus," 453.

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resolve which inspires the heart of the lover to seek his lost companion." "Move on, then eager soul," Sumner urged the figure. "Such devotion shall not be without its reward." The article ended with a proclamation about the state of sculpture in America:

> From such works as the Orpheus, and the wonderful statue of Washington by Greenough, and, if report speaks true, the scarcely less wonderful representation of Eve by Powers, we may augur proudly for American art. The star of Art, perhaps, shall follow that of Empire in its westward way. Already we see and bless its mild effulgence.[200]

Meanwhile, Sumner was having difficulties finding a satisfactory location in the Athenaeum for the sculpture. Evidently, the officers of that institution were unable or unwilling to display it in the painting gallery as Crawford had wished and Sumner agreed that the sculpture gallery, "originally contrived as an evening lecture-room," was inadequate. "It is dark, and with cross lights," he told Crawford. "The `Orpheus' must not go there; but where to put it we are at a loss." He hoped the problem might induce Bostonians to "subscribe for a building to be devoted

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[200]Ibid., 455. The editor of the United States Magazine added a note to Sumner's article complaining that the city of New York had not attempted to purchase Crawford's Orpheus and that it was to go to Boston. But he concluded with a tribute to Sumner: "It may not be improper to mention here, to the credit of Mr. Charles Sumner (who is also the author of the above paper), that it is mainly to his exertions that his native city will owe the honor and advantage of possessing this noble sculpture" (Ibid., 455).

A large section of Sumner's article was quoted by Charles Edwards Lester in the chapter on Crawford in his The Artists of America (New York: Baker & Scribner, 1846), 242-250.

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exclusively to art."[201] In fact, that is more or less what happened.

The Orpheus arrived in Boston in September, 1843, and Sumner was present when it was uncrated. As has been noted in detail elsewhere, he was distressed to find that it had broken in several places. The Boston sculptor Henry Dexter was called in to restore it, a process which was satisfactorily completed by December under Sumner's careful supervision.[202] By that time, too, it had been decided that in its initial exhibition the Orpheus would be accompanied by several other examples of Crawford's work. Due to Sumner's dissatisfaction with the Athenaeum building and as a direct result of his insistence, a small, separate structure was quickly erected next to the Athenaeum to house the Crawford exhibition. Sumner himself saw to the new building's interior decoration which included selecting a color for the walls (mahogany brown, although his first choice had been "porphyry red") and the purchase of a carpet (also red). He instructed that the windows be covered with "a thin curtain of pink or crimson gauze" and had "a few chairs and settees" arranged around the room.[203]

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[201]CS to TC, July 16, 1843, and Aug. 1, 1843, Sumner Papers 66 [copies]. Also see CS, Boston, to George W. Greene, Aug. 17, 1843, Pierce, 2: 266, in which Sumner again expresses his difficulties in finding a place for Orpheus.

[202]See Dimmick, "Thomas Crawford's *Orpheus*," 72.

[203]CS, Boston, to TC, Apr. 30, 1844, Sumner Papers 67 [copy].

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The exhibition opened to the public on May 6, 1844, and was an immediate success. A small catalogue which was published for the show listed the Orpheus and four other ideal works, two busts and two reliefs. Appropriately, Crawford's bust of Sumner was also displayed although, probably again at Sumner's insistence, it was not identified in the catalogue.[204]

A few months later, during the summer of 1844, Crawford and Sumner met again, when the sculptor was on a visit to America. While he wanted to see the Orpheus in its new setting, the primary purpose for his visit was to marry Louisa Ward who, as it happened, had once been courted by Sumner, although evidently without much conviction.[205] Before Crawford returned to Europe the following year, he actively pursued a proposed commission from the United

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[204]Description of The Orpheus and Other Works of Sculpture by Thomas G. Crawford, of Rome, Now Exhibiting at the Athenaeum, Pearl Street (Boston: Eastburn's Press, 1844). The other sculptures in the show were the busts, The Bride of Abydos (private collection) and Hyperion (The Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh, Pa.); and the reliefs, Anacreon (The Boston Athenaeum) and Christ Blessing the Children (unlocated). Sumner was instrumental in arranging for the loan of these works from their owners (see Dimmick, Crawford, 24, and passim). Although the bust of Sumner was not listed in the catalogue, it is known from other sources that it was in the exhibition. Sumner himself informed Crawford of its inclusion and added, "I felt that, in keeping it back, I was thinking more of myself than of you,--which I trust is not the case" (CS, Boston, to TC, June 1, 1844, Pierce, 2:307-308). For details on the exhibition and its reception, see Dimmick, "Thomas Crawford's *Orpheus*," 72-79.

[205]Pierce, 2: 290; Donald, Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War, 88-89.

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States Congress for an equestrian statue of George Washington. Again, Sumner gave what help he could. The senator feared that Luigi Persico might be given the work which, he thought, "would be discreditable to Congress" since "to lavish this important patronage on a foreigner" would mean neglect of "their worthy countryman."[206] To avert this calamity, Sumner sent a letter supporting Crawford to Judge Joseph Story, and asked the Judge to read it to various senators.[207] Unfortunately, Congress decided it was not ready to appropriate the amount needed for such a project and it was temporarily tabled.[208]

In the interim, Sumner had also helped Crawford obtain an order for a sculpture, Christian Pilgrim in Sight of Rome, from Edward Austin of Boston, as mentioned above. He had reminded Crawford of the possibility of the

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[206]CS, Boston, to Judge Joseph Story, Washington, Feb. 5, 1845, Pierce, 2:331-332.

[207]Ibid.

[208]Congress finally gave the commission to Clark Mills in 1853 and his bronze equestrian statue of Washington was unveiled at Washington Circle in 1860. See James M. Goode, The Outdoor Sculpture of Washington, D. C. (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1974), 384.

It is interesting to note that Crawford was also on very friendly terms with Sumner's brother, George, who, like Charles, helped promote the sculptor and his work. For example, when Crawford was pursuing the commission for the statue of Washington in 1845, George Sumner sent him specifics on bronze casting in America in "three closely written sheets filled with particulars such as no one but himself could obtain, a perfect mine of information upon the subject!" (TC, New York, to CS, Apr. 18, 1845, Sumner Papers 4).

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commission before the sculptor returned to Europe in late summer, 1845, and he acted as messenger between Crawford and Austin as the project developed.[209] He also played a role in Crawford's receipt of an order for a bust of Josiah Quincy from the students of Harvard College on the occasion of Quincy's retirement from that institution's presidency. On April 17, 1845, Sumner wrote to Crawford, who was still in America, about the order,[210] and, as has been suggested by Lauretta Dimmick, the idea for the commission may have even originated with Sumner.[211] Whatever the case, as Dimmick has also noted, Sumner sought to have the order upgraded. "I propose a *statue*," he told Crawford, believing that "Quincy will make an admirable statue in his robes as President of the College."[212] Unfortunately, a bust of Quincy was all that the students could afford and that was the only form that Crawford's tribute took.[213]

Before the end of the decade, Sumner again assisted Crawford in his pursuit of an important and potentially lucrative sculptural commission. This was for another

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[209]See TC, New York, to CS, Aug. 2, 1845, Sumner Papers 4; TC, Rome, to CS, July 4, 1846, Sumner Papers 5; and CS, Boston, to TC, Rome, Sept. 1, 1846, Sumner Papers 63.

[210]CS, Boston, to TC, Apr. 17, 1845, Sumner Papers 67 [copy].

[211]Dimmick, Crawford, 181.

[212]CS, Boston, to TC, May 10, 1845, Pierce, 2:334.

[213]The bust remains at Harvard. Details of the commission are given in Dimmick, Crawford, 179-191.

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equestrian monument of George Washington, desired by the state of Virginia for the grounds of its capital building in Richmond. The competition for the project was fierce. Crawford's design, submitted in 1850, was one among seventy.[214] Pulling strings as usual, Sumner wrote letters to various persons involved in the selection process and even composed an article on Crawford which he submitted to the Richmond press.[215] At first, he was pessimistic about the likelihood of Crawford getting the commission and he cautioned the sculptor that the citizens of Virginia might not appreciate a work of his "fine sculptural taste." Nevertheless, he advised Crawford to persevere. "I say now as I said more than ten years ago," he wrote in January, 1850, "that your light cannot be extinguished. If you keep your health & temper, it will yet be seen by all men. I know this."[216]

By the beginning of February, Crawford knew that he had won the commission and Sumner quickly wrote to congratulate him. "I give you joy in your great success," he cheered. "This engagement will advertise you to the whole country. . . . Fortune has at last perched on your

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[214]For Crawford's Washington Monument, see Thomas B. Brumbaugh, "The Evolution of Crawford's `Washington,'" Virginia Magazine of History and Biography 70 (Jan., 1962): 3-6; and Gale, 71-87.

[215]See TC, Richmond, Va., to CS, Jan. 9, 1850, Sumner Papers 7; and Pierce, 3:45-56.

[216]CS, Boston, to TC, Jan. 15, 1850, Sumner Papers 63.

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head."[217] As he had done so often in the past, Sumner again made sure that a wider public learned of Crawford's triumph by personally writing to the Boston Transcript announcing the fact.[218] After Crawford returned to Italy to begin work on the monument, Sumner, who by then had been elected to Congress, reminded him that he was willing and even anxious to be "of service to you at Washington. Let me know. I long to hear of your progress on the group for Virginia. I should like to be able to speak of it if necessary."[219]

During the first part of the 1850s, Sumner and Crawford kept in touch and even met on those occasions when Crawford came to America to conduct business, usually having to do with the Virginia commission. By then, thanks to that same commission, his name was known nationwide and Sumner felt at least partially responsible. "I rejoice in the constant tidings of your great name in art," he told Crawford, "& think often of my early predictions."[220]

One of Sumner's goals during his 1857 trip to Europe, was to see Crawford, certainly realizing that it could be the last time. For by then, the sculptor's health

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[217]CS to TC, Feb. 9, 1850, Pierce, 3:46.

[218]Pierce, 3:46. The notice appeared in the Transcript on Feb. 11, 1850.

[219]CS, Boston, to TC, June 9, 1851, Sumner Papers 63.

[220]CS, Allegheny Mountains, Pennsylvania, to TC, Aug. 6, 1856, Sumner Papers 63.

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had reached a critical level. His wife had taken him to Paris in search of medical advice for the brain tumor which would soon take his life. Crawford's final meeting with Sumner took place in Paris on March 29, 1857, and Sumner recorded his impressions of the occasion in his journal:

> Called again at Crawford's; his wife told me that he had expressed a desire to see me. The diseased eye was covered with a shade; but the other eye and his face looked well. The fatal disease seems, however, daily to assert its power, and has already touched the brain. I held his hand, and expressed my fervent good wishes, and then after a few minutes left. I was told that it would not do to stay long. Before he came into the room, his faithful Italian servant, when I told him I was a friend of Crawford for eighteen years, fell on his knees before me, and poured out his affection and his grief for his master. The whole visit moved me much.[221]

The following October, Crawford died. His body was taken to his native New York and he was buried in Greenwood Cemetery in Brooklyn. Among the pallbearers, active and honorary, were the author Henry Tuckerman, the artists Thomas Hicks, John Kensett, and Thomas Rossiter, and, naturally, Crawford's friend and early supporter, Charles Sumner.[222]

Back in Rome the following year, Sumner went to Crawford's old studio where many of the artist's unfinished works remained. He wrote of this to his friend and Mrs. Crawford's brother-in-law, Samuel G. Howe:

> Crawford's studio. . . . was full of peculiar interest. It was just twenty years before that I had found him poor, struggling on three hundred dollars a year, but

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[221]Sumner Journal, Mar. 29, 1857, Pierce 3:531.

[222]"Funeral of Thomas Crawford, the Sculptor," New York Times, Dec. 7, 1857, 4.

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> showing the genius that has since borne such fruit. Then it was I predicted that if I ever came again to Rome, I should find him living in a palace,--in a palace, but not living, alas![223]

Sumner was especially concerned with the state of the set of bronze doors which Crawford had designed for the U.S. Capitol and on which he had been working at his death. Hearing of Sumner's interest, Mrs. Crawford invited him to meet her in her husband's studio so they could discuss the matter.[224] Sumner went and Mrs. Crawford gave him a photograph of the model for one of the panels planned for the doors. She also assured him that she had no ulterior motive in asking him to see her; that is, she claimed that she did not necessarily expect his assistance in getting the doors finished. "Learning of the interest you had expressed in the work," she told him, "and knowing the affectionate friendship you had ever felt for the dear, dearest Crawford, it seemed your right to know of the progressive state of the panels."[225] Even if Mrs. Crawford had secretly hoped that Sumner would help with the project, it probably would have been to no avail. For after the visit to Crawford's studio, Sumner concluded that the doors should be abandoned due to the sketchy, unfinished state in which Crawford had left them. Ever watchful over Crawford's reputation, Sumner

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[223]CS to Dr. Samuel Howe, May 25, 1859, Pierce, 3:584.

[224]Louisa Crawford, Villa Negroni, to CS, [Apr. 25, 1859], Sumner Papers 17.

[225]Louisa Crawford, Villa Negroni, to CS, [May 12, 1859], Sumner Papers 17.

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confided his fears to Howe. The models and plans for the doors, he wrote,

> seemed to be in a very crude condition; so that if the doors were finished according to them, I fear they would not come up to his great fame, or sustain the competition with the careful works of other artists; and if the sketches were completed by another hand, then the work would in great measure cease to be Crawford's.[226]

As it transpired, the doors were eventually finished. Mrs. Crawford hired the Baltimore sculptor William Henry Rinehart to do so. He made plaster casts of Crawford's models and saw to their transport to America. The doors for the Senate wing of the Capitol were cast in bronze and installed in 1868; those for the House of Representatives, after some delay due to the misplacement of Rinehart's casts, were finally installed in 1905.[227]

As Sumner must have realized when he visited Crawford's studio in Rome shortly after the sculptor's death, and as he may have discussed with Mrs. Crawford at the time, the numerous original plaster versions of Crawford's other works needed a proper home. Sumner discussed possible solutions to the problem with the critic Henry Tuckerman of New York. Sumner hoped to keep the collection together and to have it placed on permanent exhibition at some suitable location in America. Tuckerman

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[226]CS to Dr. Samuel Howe, May 25, 1859, Pierce, 3:584.

[227]Gale, 190.

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immediately went to work on the project. "I have not lost sight of this matter," he wrote Sumner in 1861,

> but have found little encouragement either here or in Boston until the idea occurred to me [that] this collection would be very desirable as an ornament & attraction for the Central Park. . . . Such a disposition of the Casts, if completed in good order, would be a beautiful memorial to Crawford's genius.[228]

In fact, this is exactly the plan that was followed and, therefore, it would not be an exaggeration to state that it was through Sumner's efforts that a venue for the collection was found.[229] Louisa Ward Crawford presented seventy-five plasters to the Commissioners of Central Park in 1862. Tragically, most of them were destroyed in a fire in 1881; and the rest evidently disintegrated or otherwise disappeared by the end of the century.[230] Thus, Sumner's final efforts on Crawford's behalf, like so many of his other campaigns to promote artists, had an unsuccessful outcome.

Sumner and Other American Artists

By the mid 1840s, Sumner's interest in the fine arts was widely known and acknowledged. He had already made an extensive tour of Europe; had become friends with several

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[228]Henry T. Tuckerman, New York, to CS, Jan. 12, 1861, Sumner Papers 24.

[229]Gale does not mention the presentation of the works to Central Park; and Dimmick (Crawford), does not specify Sumner's (or Tuckerman's) role in it.

[230]See Dimmick, Crawford, 88-90.

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artists; and was participating in the building of the new headquarters for the Boston Athenaeum. No wonder, then, that Henry Tuckerman wrote to him from New York in 1845 asking him to lend his support to the American Art-Union.[231] Nor is it surprising, that the author Lydia Maria Child, also of New York, asked for Sumner's help in furthering the career of the little known sculptor, Horace Kneeland. While Child admitted that she did not know Kneeland personally, she had seen examples of his work and had been impressed. She had sent the sculptor to Edward L. Carey of Philadelphia, whom she knew to be interested in art, and Carey had become especially excited about a plaster model of an equestrian statue of Washington which Kneeland had created. He ordered a replica of it and planned to send Kneeland to Berlin to have it cast in bronze. Meanwhile, Child solicited subscriptions for further replicas from Sumner and others. "Can one or two [orders]. . . be obtained in Boston?" she asked him, adding that Kneeland was a "genuine genius struggling manfully against the hardest pressure of external circumstances."[232] The nature of

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[231]Henry T. Tuckerman, New York, to CS, Sept. 9, 1845, Sumner Papers 4. Specifically, Tuckerman asked for the names of Bostonians who might wish to become members, "such individuals as are most likely to promote the design of the Art Union," as he put it.

[232]Lydia Maria Child, New York, to CS, June 1, 1845, Sumner Papers 4. Child's efforts in general were evidently successful. A few weeks after Child wrote to Sumner, The Broadway Journal reported that Kneeland had received "a very liberal order from a few gentlemen of this City, Philadelphia and Boston, for another equestrian statue of Washington, which is to be cast in bronze." It was also

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Sumner's responses to Tuckerman and Child, assuming there were any, is not known; but it is significant that out of all the persons in Boston to whom they might have written, they chose Sumner.[233]

Among the other American sculptors of whom Sumner was aware was Harriet Hosmer, whose work he praised, at least in passing. He even sent Hosmer money in September, 1864, to help with her expenses and offered to send more if she needed it.[234] Later that year, he made a point of seeing her monumental sculpture, Zenobia, while in New York. He wrote that the figure was quite successful in its "character and drapery" which were "given with consummate skill." "I know enough of the sculptor's art," he continued, "to recognize the labor, as well as talent, which Miss Hosmer must have brought to this masterpiece. . . . I rejoice in such a work by an American artist, as in a new

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reported that Kneeland was to take the model to Berlin for casting ("Horace Kneeland," The Broadway Journal 1 [June 21, 1845]: 397). Ironically, an obituary for Kneeland's patron, Edward L. Carey, appeared on that same page of The Journal.

One version of Kneeland's equestrian Washington was owned by James C. McGuire of Washington, D.C. (Catalogue of the Collection of Paintings, Statuary, Bronzes, & c. Belonging to the Estate of the Late James C. McGuire To be Sold... [Washington, 1888]).

[233]Child even confessed, in the first sentence of her letter, that she hardly knew Sumner, but this obviously did not stop her from writing to him.

[234]CS, Boston, to Harriet Hosmer, Sept. 23, 1864, Sumner Papers 78. Sumner's consideration of Hosmer is also indicated by the fact that he thoughtfully sent her a copy of a speech he made, presumably in Boston, in 1860 (H. G. Hosmer, Watertown, Mass., to CS, June 26, 1860, Sumner Papers 20).

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poem."[235] Hosmer's talents, he later said, proved that a woman, after all, was capable of making a statue; but he hastened to point out that she was the only woman thus far to have done it successfully.[236]

Nevertheless, Sumner continued to reserve his staunchest patronage for male artists. In fact, it appears that he had little use for women in general, as the history of his brief marriage might indicate.[237] His decided preference for men was an aspect of his character which was recognized during his lifetime and which was described by William Wetmore Story:

> Of all the men I ever knew at his age, he was the least susceptible to the charms of women. Men he liked best, and with them he preferred to talk. It was in vain for the loveliest girl to seek to absorb his attention. He would at once desert the most blooming beauty to talk to the plainest of men."[238]

Perhaps this was a result of Sumner's "absorption in the pursuit of knowledge," as Story believed; or evidence of Sumner's sexual preference, almost certainly unacknowledged; or simply a manifestation of some lurking, debilitating

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[235]CS, Washington, D.C., to [unidentified], Nov. 31, 1864, Harriet Hosmer, Letters and Memories, ed. Cornelia Carr (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1912), 204.

[236]Sumner, Art in the Capitol, 6.

[237]After their separation, Sumner wrote of his wife, "As for that bad woman, do not believe that I have any sorrow, except from the sense of my solitude and disappointment. It is an infinite solace that she is outside of my house never more to disturb me by her presence or to degrade the house" (CS to Mrs. John E. Lodge [Oct., 1868], quoted in Donald, Sumner and the Rights of Man, 327).

[238]Quoted in Grimke, 35.

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insecurity.[239] Whatever the reason, his preference for the company of men may have been at least partially responsible for an incident which might be called Sumner vs. Vinnie Ream, an episode which is a rare example of Sumner openly attacking an artist, especially a struggling one.

The occasion for this confrontation was the pending award of a Congressional commission for a statue of Abraham Lincoln which, as has been noted, was not given to William Wetmore Story, much to Sumner's dismay. Instead, it went to the younger (female) sculptor, Vinnie Ream (1841-1914). Needless to say, due at least to his great affection for Story, Sumner was vehemently opposed to this decision and

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[239]All of Sumner's closest relationships were with men. Those with Judge Story, William Wetmore Story, and Thomas Crawford have been discussed; another was that with Samuel Gridley Howe with whom Sumner was intimate in the early 1840s. In fact, their friendship was so intense that, when Howe was on his honeymoon in 1844, the frequency with which he wrote letters to Sumner prompted his new wife, Julia Ward Howe, to exclaim, "Sumner ought to have been a woman and you to have married her!" (quoted in Donald, Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War, 91n). While Howe was courting Ward, Sumner, who did not want to be the third party in an uncomfortable threesome, followed suit by courting Ward's sister, Louisa. But his heart was not in it and as soon as it became apparent that the route he had taken might lead to something serious, he fled the scene. (See Donald, Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War, 88-91). As already mentioned, Louisa Ward later became the wife of Sumner's great friend, the sculptor Thomas Crawford.

While we are on this topic, we might note that no evidence exists to suggest that Sumner was ever in love with a woman. On the contrary, in 1842, on the occasion of William Story's engagement, Sumner asked, "Is it true that persons in your situation see nothing but rainbows in the sky?" (CS to WWS, Dec. 29, 1842, Huntington Library). Sumner was probably simply teasing Story but there is a vaguely melancholic suggestion in the query that Sumner had never actually experienced a similar "situation" (CS to WWS, Dec. 29, 1842, Story Papers).

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stated as much in a speech delivered to Congress on July 17, 1866. (The oration was published later that year as a pamphlet with the rather pretentious and imprecise title Art in the National Capital).

Besides revealing his prejudices (none of which are surprising) in the speech, Sumner summarized his own knowledge of American sculptors and their work. He started with an attempt at kindness. "I am unwilling to utter a word," he lied, "that would bear hard upon any one, least of all upon a youthful artist where sex imposes reserve, if not on her part, at least on mine." But the prospect of the squandering of $10,000--the sum which had been appropriated for the statue of Lincoln--on an inexperienced sculptor such as Ream, was too much to bear. After a humble statement of his own credentials in the field of art ("with the little knowledge that I have of such things--with the small opportunities that I have enjoyed of observing works of art --and with the moderate acquaintance that I have formed with artists") he felt "bound to express a confident opinion that this candidate is not competent to produce the work which you propose to order." The U.S. Capitol, "so beautiful and interesting," deserved better. "Only the finished artist should be admitted here," Sumner declared.

He then identified the few works of art in the building which he thought worthy of the site: Peale's portrait of Washington; Trumbull's paintings in the Rotunda; Weir's The Landing of the Pilgrims (with some reservations);

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and Ary Scheffer's Lafayette. Notable in sculpture were Thomas Crawford's Liberty, which attested to "a genius that must always command attention"; the same sculptor's figures in the pediment of the Senate wing; Randolph Rogers's bronze Columbus doors, which compared favorably to Ghiberti's Gates of Paradise on the Baptistery in Florence; and Horatio Greenough's "remarkable" Rescue group.[240] Sumner evidently hoped that this litany would serve as an answer to accusations by other Senators that he "was unwilling to patronize native art" and that he "had dwelt on the productions of foreign artists to the disparagement of our own artists."[241] On the contrary, Sumner declared, his full support was with Americans, and he again listed them as proof:

> There is Powers, an artist of rarest skill with the chisel; of exquisite finish perhaps with less of variety and freshness than some other artists; perhaps with less of originality; but having in himself many and peculiar characteristics as a remarkable artist. Summon him to the work.
>
> There also was Greenough, the earliest American sculptor, and, until Story took the chisel, unquestionably the most accomplished of all in the list of American sculptors. . . . Of him I never fail to speak in praise. There also was Crawford, an American sculptor, born in New York, and my own intimate personal friend, whose early triumphs I witnessed and enjoyed. He was a true genius, versatile, fertile, bold. . . . It is because I would not have the art of my own country suffer, and because I would have its honors follow merit, that I oppose the largess you propose. If you

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[240]Sumner, Art in the Capitol, 5.

[241]Such accusations might have been prompted--and with some justification--by the fact that almost all of the art which Sumner actually bought was by Europeans, as will be discussed below.

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> really wish to set up a statue of our martyred President select one of the acknowledged sculptors of your own country. Do not go to a foreigner, and do not go to the unknown.[242]

According to Sumner, then, Ream's sin was not her gender but her inexperience which in no way was outweighed by her being an American. "All who have the most moderate acquaintance with art," the senator declared, "know that it is one thing to make a bust, and quite another thing to make a statue. . . . The statue is one of the highest forms of art."[243]

In his battle against Ream, Sumner had the full support of the critic Clarence Cook, among others, and Cook's comments to Sumner give us an idea of just what Vinnie Ream was up against. "Surely there can be but one statue in the Capitol of Mr. Lincoln," Cook declared,

> and we have men (both male and female) [!] who have earned the right to make it. This girl cannot do the thing creditably, and she ought not to ask it. . . . At all events, I shall write about the affair and shall be glad to know what you say, yours being our only voice in either House that stands for creditable action with regard to the Fine Arts.[244]

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[242]Sumner, Art in the Capitol, 5-6. Sumner also named Erastus Dow Palmer and Henry Kirke Brown in his discussion of American sculptors. In this context, it should be noted that one of the few works in the Capitol which Sumner disparaged was the Discovery Group (now in storage) by the Italian artist, Luigi Persico, which featured a figure of Columbus holding up a globe. Sumner recalled that it had been referred to as "a man rolling nine-pins."

[243]Sumner, Art in the Capitol, 6.

[244]Cook, Willard Hotel, Washington, to CS, n.d. [July 1866?], Sumner Papers 36. For a brief consideration of Cook's views on sculpture, see Jo Ann W. Weiss, "Clarence Cook: His Critical Writings" (Ph.D. diss., The John Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md., 1977), 55-58.

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Ultimately, Sumner's (and Cook's) rhetoric was useless, as the commission went to Ream. In January, 1871, Ream sent a special invitation to Sumner to "see my Lincoln statue, at a private exhibition in the Rotunda to-morrow at 9 A.M."[245] Undoubtedly, she wanted the senator to see for himself that the commission had not been wasted on "this girl."

Another American sculptor who was interested in depicting Abraham Lincoln and who called upon Sumner for assistance was Larkin Goldsmith Mead (1835-1910). In 1866, Mead was competing for a coveted commission for a national monument to Lincoln to be erected in Springfield, Illinois. He sent Sumner a photograph of his design which featured groups of figures representing various branches of the military as well as relief panels with scenes from Lincoln's early life and presidency. Subsidiary figures were to adorn the base and the whole structure was to be surmounted by a bronze statue of the slain leader. "Knowing of the valuable assistance you [have given] to artists," Mead wrote Sumner, "I wish to subject my design to your criticism and if you think it a worthy design . . . I hope you will favor my wishes for obtaining the commission for executing the

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[245]Vinnie Ream to Charles Sumner, Jan. 6, 1871, Sumner Papers 52.

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monument."[246] Again, Sumner's response and the level of his participation in helping the sculptor are not known; but Mead did win the commission and the monument he had described to Sumner was finally completed in the 1880s.[247]

Henry Kirke Brown also had reason to be grateful to Sumner. When his statue of Major General Nathaniel Greene became the first statue to be unveiled in Statuary Hall in the Capitol building in Washington, an event which took place on January 20, 1870, Sumner delivered one of the dedicatory speeches and, in doing so, did not fail to praise the sculpture as well as its subject. "How brief is life; how long is art!" he declared. "Standing always in the beautiful Hall, the statue will be a perpetual though silent orator. The marble will speak!"[248] Sumner was an obvious admirer of Brown and his work--he had evidently expressed as much in a letter to Martin Milmore[249]--but no further evidence of a relationship between Brown and Sumner is known. Nevertheless, on the occasion of Sumner's death in 1874, Brown told his wife that the event "seems to have sent

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[246]Larkin G. Mead, Venice, to CS, Jan. 25, 1866, Sumner Papers 35.

[247]Craven, Sculpture in America, 323-324.

[248]Quoted in Presentation of the Statue of Major General Greene, By the State of Rhode Island (Washington, D.C.: F. & J. Rives & Geo. A. Bailey, 1870), 4-5.

[249]See Martin Milmore, Boston, to CS, Jan. 22, 1870, Sumner Papers 49.

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a sorrow through my heart & I have lost a kind, helpful friend. His loss casts a gloom over my spirits."[250]

More information is known about Sumner's brief relationship with the American sculptor Martin Milmore who modeled the senator's bust from life in Boston beginning in 1864.[251] The portrait, in fact, has been credited with making Milmore's career.[252] In January, 1866, the sculptor sent a photograph of it to Sumner, who was back in Washington by then, and told him that it was being exhibited at Doll's gallery in Boston, "where it finds favor in the eyes of those who see it."[253] In March, the bust was shown at an artists' reception in Boston where, according to Milmore, it was given the place of honor. "Nothing I have done or will do," he wrote Sumner, "can be more profitable than the honor of being the Sculptor of America's greatest Statesman." Several people in Boston had inquired about obtaining plaster copies of the bust but, as Milmore told

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[250]Henry K. Brown, Washington, to Lydia Brown, Mar. 12, 1874, Henry K. Brown Papers, AAA 2771.

[251]Pierce, 4:199.

[252]Wayne Craven has written that the bust of Sumner established Milmore as "an accomplished--even inspired--portraitist" (Craven, Sculpture in America, 234).

[253]Martin Milmore, Boston, to CS, Jan. 25, 1866, Sumner Papers 35. Sumner had evidently tried to obtain a commission from some other, unidentified Bostonian for Milmore but, the sculptor informed Sumner, he had not as yet heard "from the gentleman on Tremont St." who had written to Sumner about a commission.

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Sumner, he was reluctant to comply with their requests until he had translated the portrait into marble.[254]

At the same time, Milmore lamented over the fact that offers of patronage in Boston did not extend to his ideal conceptions, a condition he felt more keenly since Sumner, who obviously appreciated his work, had left town. "It may be that I have not friends to push for me," he grieved, "or perhaps the minds of the community that surround me are so expanded as to imagine if I have the power of making gods of men, I need no earthly patronage."[255]

Meanwhile, in 1869, a group of Sumner's friends in Boston commissioned a marble replica of the bust for presentation to the state government.[256] Milmore finished it the during the summer and it was placed in the State House in Boston in January, 1870.[257] Another replica was

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[254]Martin Milmore, Boston, to CS, Mar. 10, 1866, Sumner Papers 35. With this letter, Milmore enclosed a sketch of the installation of his bust of Sumner at the artists' reception in Boston. In May, 1866, the bust was shown at Williams & Everett's Gallery in Boston, and in 1874 it appeared with other plaster busts by the artist at the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association (Milmore, Boston, to CS, May 5, 1866, Sumner Papers 36; Yarnall and Gerdts, 2439).

[255]Martin Milmore, Boston, to CS, Mar. 10, 1866, Sumner Papers 35.

[256]Martin Milmore, Boston, to CS, Jan. 16, 1869, Sumner Papers 44.

[257]Martin Milmore, Boston, to CS, Apr. 3, May 18, and Dec. 10, 1869, and Jan. 22, 1870, Sumner Papers 46-49. The Bostonians who commissioned the bust wanted an inscription taken from one of Sumner's speeches placed beneath the visage, but Sumner evidently refused to allow

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given by the state to George William Curtis in recognition of the eulogy he delivered at Sumner's funeral in 1874. Twenty years later, it was presented to the United States government by Anna Shaw Curtis and is now in the Senate wing of the U.S. Capitol.[258]

Of course, Milmore was not the only American artist to create a portrait of Charles Sumner. In fact, once Sumner became famous, portraits of him were turned out on a regular basis. A survey of this artistic activity gives an idea of the number of artists with whom Sumner had contacts, although, admittedly, some of these must have been quite brief.

Crawford's bust of Sumner, mentioned above, is the first known formal portrait of him. It was followed in 1846 by a drawing of him by Eastman Johnson which Sumner

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this. In the end, only his name was placed on the work. See Milmore to CS, Dec. 10, 1869, and Jan. 22, 1869, Sumner Papers 48, 49.

While Milmore was working on his marble version of Sumner's bust, he visited the senator in Washington (Milmore, Boston, to CS, Jan. 29, and Feb. 26, 1869, Sumner Papers 44, 45). Later, Milmore was among those who said farewell to Sumner at the pier in Boston as he embarked on his final trip to Europe (Pierce, 4:199).

[258]Charles E. Fairman, Art and Artists of the Capitol of the United States of America (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1927), 353. The Evening Post in New York (Aug. 12, 1874, 2) reported that Joseph Milmore had been given the commission to carve a marble version of Sumner's bust after the model made by his brother Martin. I have found no further evidence that this was actually done although the marble now at the U.S. Capitol may have been the work in question.

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apparently gave to Henry W. Longfellow.[259] Sumner heard from Johnson again, some twenty years later, by which time Sumner had become powerful and influential. In February, 1865, the painter asked Sumner's support in overturning Congress's recommendation that $25,000 be spent on commissioning a painting from William H. Powell for the east stairway of the Senate wing of the Capitol in Washington. Powell had already received an order for a painting for the Capitol Rotunda and, Johnson believed, he should not now receive another from the government. Johnson took the liberty of contacting Sumner, he explained, "in the belief that you will not suffer [the appropriation] to pass the Senate unnoticed."[260] Sumner evidently agreed with Johnson and did what he could to fight the commission, but again, his efforts were in vain. The critic Clarence Cook wrote Sumner in March, 1865, as he would the following year concerning the Vinnie Ream order. He asked for a complete report on the final Congressional debate on Powell's painting and expressed his regret that Sumner had not succeeded in his efforts to block the commission.

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[259]The drawing by Johnson belonged to the Longfellow family by the 1890s when it was engraved for the frontispiece of the second volume of Pierce's biography of Sumner, and it remains the property of the Longfellow National Historic Site. Johnson made similar studies of Longfellow, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Cornelius Felton, all of which were owned by Longfellow (Life of Longfellow, ed. Longfellow, 2:56-57).

[260]Eastman Johnson, New York, to CS, Feb. 15, 1865, Sumner Papers 32.

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"Americans, everywhere," Cook wrote, "will hold that you have added to the many obligations which you have already placed them under, this last of striving to save them from such an evil as the placing of another bad picture in the Capitol."[261]

Five years after Johnson drew Sumner's image, William Wetmore Story did so in answer to a request from the Earl of Carlisle, as mentioned above. Evidently, the Earl had already asked Daniel Huntington, who was at Castle Howard painting the Earl's portrait at the time, to execute a portrait of Sumner when he got back to America. Huntington wrote Sumner in December, 1851, requesting a sitting for such a portrait but, as far as is known, Sumner did not comply.[262] Perhaps this was the reason the Earl turned to Story, although the precise history of these commissions and any possible connection between them is unclear.[263]

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[261]Clarence Cook, New York, to CS, Mar. 2, 1865, Sumner Papers 32. Powell's much vilified and regretted Battle of Lake Erie still hangs in the Senate staircase. See Fairman, 229-230.

[262]Daniel Huntington, New York, to CS, Dec. 1, 1851, Sumner Papers 8.

[263]A lithograph of Story's portrait of Sumner was made by Leopold Grozelier and printed by S. W. Chandler in 1854. Two years later, Grozelier made a lithograph of a daguerreotype of Sumner by Southworth and Hawes. Examples of both of Grozelier's images are in the collection of the National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D. C. (Linda T. Neumaier, comp., National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Permanent Collection, Illustrated Checklist [Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1978], 121).

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The 1850s were busy years for the production of portraits of Sumner. In 1854, Walter M. Brackett of Maine and Boston painted Sumner;[264] and a year later his brother, the sculptor Edward Augustus Brackett, modeled a bust of the man. The latter work was presented to Harvard University by the artist in 1857.[265] In 1856, the Boston painter Moses Wight executed a three-quarter length portrait of Sumner which, in 1874, was given to the Boston Public Library where it remains.[266] Shortly before it was presented to the library, the painting was included in the exhibition of Sumner's personal collection of paintings and engravings at

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[264]Pierce recorded that Walter Brackett's painting of Sumner was in the collection of Edward A. Presbrey, Brookline, Mass., in 1894 (Pierce, 4:39). A portrait of Sumner was presented to Harvard by Palmer E. Presbrey in 1936 and, although the name of the artist is not given in the catalogue of that collection (Laura M. Huntsinger, comp., Harvard Portraits, [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1936], 132), it is almost certainly the same painting as that referred to by Pierce.

[265]In Mar., 1855, The Evening Post in New York noted that Brackett had recently completed his model for a bust of Sumner and that it was "a faithful portrait . . . dignified and noble" and deserved being put into marble ("Art Gossip in Boston," The Evening Post, Mar. 1, 1855, 2). Two years later, The Crayon reported that the sculptor had just finished putting Sumner into marble ("Sketchings," The Crayon 4 [Oct., 1857]: 316).

[266]Pierce, 4:39. In Mar., 1857, The Crayon reported that "M. Wight" of Boston had recently painted a portrait of Sumner for a committee of citizens (The Crayon 4 [Mar., 1857]: 91). Rev. Frederick Dan Huntinton and others eventually presented the work, which is dated 1856, to the Boston Public Library (Janice H. Chadbourne, Curator of Fine Arts, Boston Public Library, to the author, 18 Feb. 1993). Like Story's portrait of Sumner, Wight's was also the subject of an engraving, this one by S. A. Schoff.

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the Boston Athenaeum (see below).[267] Other portraits of Sumner done in the 1850s included those by Wellman Morrison and William H. Furness, both painted in 1856.[268]

Thomas M. Johnston and S. H. Kimball painted Sumner in the early 1860s;[269] and between August and September, 1865, Sumner gave William Willard twenty-one sittings for a portrait, probably a full or at least a half-length image. Willard replicated the work in 1877 and, at another time, painted a version showing only the subject's head.[270] As Sumner was finishing his sittings with Willard, he received

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[267]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of Pictures Exhibited by the Athenaeum; of Pictures and Engravings Bequeathed to the Museum of Fine Arts by the Hon. Charles Sumner, and of Works of Art lately added to the Collections of the Museum (Boston: Press of Rockwell & Churchill, 1874), 4. Wight's painting was also listed in Leonard & Co., Catalogue of Paintings and Engravings from the Collection of the Hon. Charles Sumner. To be Sold by Auction on Friday, Dec. 18th, 1874 (Boston: W. F. Brown & Co., Printers, 1874), 7. In both of these sources, the portrait was identified as the property of the Athenaeum. It had been exhibited at the Athenaeum many times, beginning in 1859, and was evidently presented to the Boston Public Library by the Athenaeum.

[268]Pierce listed a portrait of Sumner by a Wellman Robinson but he was almost certainly referring the portrait by Wellman Morrison, signed and dated 1856, which is now at Harvard University (Pierce, 4:39). It was given to Harvard by Oliver C. Everett in 1874 (Huntsinger, 132). Furness's portrait was exhibited at the Boston Athenaeum in 1858 (Perkins and Gavin, 61). It was left unfinished and was bequeathed to Harvard University by the artist's father in 1896 (Huntsinger, 131).

[269]Johnston's portrait was exhibited at the Boston Athenaeum in 1861 when it owned by a T. Hyatt (Perkins and Gavin, 86). It is now unlocated. Kimball's portrait is owned by the New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord.

[270]Pierce, 4:39. One of Willard's portraits is now in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.

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a letter from the sculptor, Margaret Foley, requesting sittings for a medallion portrait which Mrs. James Furness had commissioned. Sumner agreed, and between September and November, 1865, he sat for Foley.[271] In 1868, the Boston portrait and landscape painter, Nahum Ball Onthank, represented Sumner in a full-length painting which was later presented to Harvard University by the artist's son.[272] Other portraits of the senator from the 1860s are those by Francis Bicknell Carpenter (American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.) and Ernest Wadsworth Longfellow (Longfellow National Historic Site, Cambridge, Mass.).

During the first years of the 1870s, William Page, whom Sumner had met in Italy in the 1850s, painted two portraits of him on a commission from an unidentified source. In his biography of Page, Joshua Taylor wrote that the artist told Sumner that "he had suffered only one poorer model--his own wife" and, because Page was having difficulties with the portrait, he decided to paint two

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[271]Margaret Foley, Boston, to CS, Sept. 24, Nov. 13, 1865, Sumner Papers 34. A version of Foley's medallion was shown at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876 (Yarnall and Gerdts, 1275); and that or another replica was exhibited at the Union League Club in Philadelphia at an unspecified date ("List of Articles Loaned to the Union League," Union League of Philadelphia Records, AAA 3580). One was also owned by the New England Women's Club by 1902 (Ednah Dow Cheney, Reminiscences of Ednah Dow Cheney [Boston: Lee & Shepard, Publishers, 1902], 146); but the only located version of the portrait today is in the collection of Harvard University. It is signed and dated, Rome, 1866.

[272]Huntsinger, 132.

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versions, one full-face and one in profile. The project came to a halt with Sumner's death, however, and neither version of the portrait was finished.[273]

At about the time Page was painting Sumner, the senator joined several of his colleagues in persuading the Architect of the Capitol in Washington to allow the construction of an artist's studio on the roof of the Capitol itself. The intent was to provide a suitable place for Freeman Thorp, a painter from Ohio and Minnesota, to execute portraits of notable members of the government. A temporary wooden structure, twelve by twenty-four feet with a slanted skylight and a coal stove, was built and Sumner himself was said to have sat there for his portrait, presumably by Thorp, in 1872.[274]

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[273]Joshua C. Taylor, William Page, the American Titian (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957), 208. At the time Taylor wrote, Page's full-face portrait of Sumner was still owned by the Page family and this is probably the one now at the National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C.; and the profile was in the collection of Mrs. Harry Davies of Denver, Colorado. The latter was offered for sale to the Sumner Memorial Committee in 1883 but was rejected (Taylor, 273-274). Pierce stated that the sittings for Page's portraits of Sumner took place in New York (Pierce, 4:610).

Sumner had been approached in 1869 by a group of New Yorkers, including Marshall O. Roberts, Hamilton Fish, William T. Blodgett, and Henry T. Tuckerman, who asked Sumner to subscribe to the purchase of Page's portrait of Admiral Farragut. The group wanted to give the painting to the Tsar of Russia "in token of American appreciation of the sympathy manifested by the Government and people of Russia during our war for the union" (Simon Stevens, et al, New York, to CS, Washington, Jan. 14, 1869, Sumner Papers). Sumner's response to the request is not known.

[274]James Henry Moser, "Art Topics," Washington Post, Mar. 5, 1903, clipping in James Henry Moser Papers, AAA 985. Also see Fairman, 284-85. According to the current

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Another painted representation of Sumner which was created in the early 1870s was Edgar Parker's three-quarter length portrait of him, sittings for which were given in Boston in 1873. Several versions of the portrait were made and one of these is now in the collection of the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C..[275]

Evidently the last likeness of Sumner made from life was a full-length portrait executed by Henry Ulke in Washington in 1873-74 on a commission from the government of the island of Haiti which wanted to show its gratitude for Sumner's assistance in political matters.[276] Another candidate for the status of final life portrait of Sumner is John Adams Jackson's bust (unlocated) which was finished in about 1874. In that year, the sculpture was shown in New York at the Leavitt Art Rooms where it was proclaimed to be

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Architect of the Capitol, no further information is known about Thorp's roof-top studio (George M. White, Architect of the Capitol, Washington, D.C., to the author, June 29, 1992). Thorp's portrait of Sumner is unlocated.

[275]Neumaier, 121; Inventory of American Portraiture, National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

[276]Ulke painted two replicas of the work, neither of which is now located. One was in the collection of John B. Alley, Lynn, Mass., in 1894, and the other was presented to the State of Massachusetts by James Wormley in about 1884. Although Pierce thought the painted portraits of Sumner were "generally unsatisfactory," he liked Ulke's which he found to be the most representative since it showed Sumner in the "attitude of debate" (Pierce, 4:610).

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"Jackson's greatest triumph in art."[277] No less a figure than William Lloyd Garrison wrote to Jackson about it. "Your bust of my honored and lamented friend, Charles Sumner," he declared, "is next to his living presence. It ought to be put into the purest marble that can be found in Italy, and then deposited in Faneuil Hall or the Boston Library, where the people may contemplate it from generation to generation."[278]

The senator's death did not stop the production of portraits of him. About the time of that event, for example, Constantine Brumidi painted Sumner's image on a wall of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee Room (now the Democratic Policy Committee Room) in the Capitol building in Washington where it joined portraits of other early chairpersons of the Committee.[279] At the end of 1874, it was announced that the little-known sculptor Sidney H. Morse of Boston had recently completed a "striking" bust of Sumner based on "memory or photographic material." The process was then reversed, one might say, when one Warren of Boston took

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[277]"Some New Sculptures," The Evening Post (New York), May 21, 1874, 4.

[278]William Lloyd Garrison to John A. Jackson, May 14, 1874, quoted in Ibid., 4. Garrison might have seen the bust when it was exhibited at the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association in Boston in 1874 (Yarnall and Gerdts, 1906).

[279]William S. Allen, Simon E. Cameron, and Henry Clay were also represented on the walls of the room. See The Architect of the Capitol, Art of the United States Capitol (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1978), 321.

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photographs of Morse's bust from various points of view which were also available for sale.[280]

In fact, the number of sculpted portraits of Sumner which were produced in Boston in the mid 1870s prompted an article about the phenomenon in the New York Evening Post.[281] Among the recent images of the deceased senator, it was noted, were those by Milmore and Jackson, discussed above, as well as one each by Thomas Ball (unlocated), John D. Perry (unlocated), and Preston Powers (Treat Gallery, Bales College, Lewiston, Maine). Milmore's bust was thought to be the best of the lot; Jackson's was fine but showed evidence of having been done too quickly; and Preston's was devoid of life due to the fact that it was based on a death mask.[282] Ball's bust was excellent (and, within a few

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[280]"A Portrait Bust of the Late Charles Sumner," Evening Post, New York, Dec. 17, 1874, 2. This article went on to say that Morse had also modeled busts of Ulysses S. Grant, Theodore Parker, and Horace Greeley. His bust of Sumner, in plaster and dated 1874, is now in the collection of the Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts (Robert K. Weis, Curator, Essex Institute, to the author, Jan. 26, 1990).

[281]The Evening Post, Oct. 31, 1874, 3. Slightly later, in 1878, General Ulysses S. Grant, who was touring Europe at the time, supposedly entered the studio of Thomas Ball in Florence, saw the sculptor's portrait of Charles Sumner, and exclaimed, "Charles Sumner! that's the fourth Sumner I've seen this morning" (quoted in Thomas Ball, My Threescore Years and Ten [Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1892], 287).

[282]Preston Powers's bust of Sumner was shown at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876 (Craven, Sculpture in America, 210); was seen a few years later by a visitor to Powers's studio in Florence ("Florence the Fairest City on Earth," Norfolk Landmark, June 27, 1878, quoted in Greta Couper, An American Sculptor on the Grand Tour: The Life and Works of William Couper (1853-1942) [Los

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years, would bring the sculptor a major commission, as will be seen); but the work by the little-known sculptor John Perry seemed to be the most interesting of the lot. Perry's sculpture was not a bust but a statuette which showed Sumner sitting at his desk in a thoughtful pose. Already, it was reported, many plaster casts of the figure had been sold from the artist's studio and other replicas were soon to be available in various New York art stores.[283]

The year after Sumner's death, the last official photograph which had been taken of him (in 1873) was used by William Morris Hunt as the basis of a portrait. According to Helen Knowlton, Hunt's student and biographer, Hunt did not much like Sumner and, therefore, was just as glad not to have painted the senator from life. His portrait of Sumner was commissioned by a committee in New York and was to have been presented to Sumner's friend and fellow congressman,

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Angeles: Trecavalli Press, 1988], 31); and was again shown at the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association in 1881 (Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, Catalogue of the Department of Fine Arts. Fourteenth Exhibition [Boston, 1881], 38). In addition to the sculptors named here, Edmonia Lewis also modeled Sumner's bust in 1876. A plaster version of that work was in the collection of Ida Barnett Wells in 1940 (see Marilyn Richardson, "Edmonia Lewis Checklist" [TMs, 1988], 93-95).

[283]John T. Sargent's comments on Perry's statuette of Sumner appeared in the Boston Transcript, Oct. 29, 1878, and are quoted in the biographical entry on Perry in Clara Erskine Clement and Laurence Hutton, Artists of the Nineteenth Century and Their Works, A Handbook (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1894), 2:175. The statuette probably dates from 1878 or just before and, according to the Inventory of American Portraiture, an example of it is in the collection of the Newark Museum, Newark, N.J.

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Carl Schurz, but it was deemed unsatisfactory and the committee never paid Hunt for it.[284] It remained in the Hunt family until it was purchased by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in 1925.[285]

A photograph of Sumner was probably the source, too, of a portrait by Darius Cobb, dated 1877, which is now in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, which owns another, slightly earlier portrait of Sumner, dated 1873, by an unknown artist.[286] Another posthumous portrait, dated 1876, of Sumner is one by Walter Ingalls that was bought from the artist by the U.S. government ten years later for placement in the south corridor of the Senate wing of the Capitol building in Washington.[287] A painted portrait by C. V. Hamilton (Mead Art Museum, Amherst College, Amherst, Mass.) also dates from the mid or late 1870s.[288]

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[284]Helen M. Knowlton, Art-Life of William Morris Hunt (Boston, 1899), 131-132.

[285]Natalie Spassky, American Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1985), 2:207-208. Also see, Martha J. Hoppin, "William Morris Hunt: Portraits from Photographs," The American Art Journal 11 (April 1979): 47.

[286]Andrew Oliver, Ann Millspaugh Huff, and Edward W. Hanson, Portraits in the Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1988), 100.

[287]Fairman, 321-322.

[288]This work appears in the Inventory of American Portraiture which also lists an undated portrait of Sumner by Cecilia J. Smith in the collection of the Chicago Historical Society. Paintings and sculptures of Sumner, artists unknown, are in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the Society of the Preservation of New

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Other portraits of Sumner were produced as part of the competition for a commission for a memorial statue of him beginning in 1875 in Boston, as will be discussed below.

Sumner's Art Collection

Like most tourists, Sumner returned to America from his European trips laden with souvenirs. In fact, while he was abroad in 1858 and 1859, he supposedly spent at least two-thousand dollars on books, manuscripts, engravings, bronzes, and other works of art. It appears that he was not a particularly good bargainer[289] and his biographer, Edward Pierce, noted that he paid as much as fifty dollars each for engravings in Europe.[290] Whatever the case, his purchases of 1858-59 were actually additions to an already developing collection which possessed in quantity what it lacked in quality. One of Sumner's biographers stated that the senator

> pursued art, in all its forms, poetry, painting, music, all his life with insatiable curiosity. He collected rare books, engravings, bric-a-brac, with untiring zeal. He collected them intelligently and system-

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England Antiquities, and the Boston Public Library, all in Boston; Harvard University; and Brown University, Providence, R.I.

[289]This opinion was expressed by another of Sumner's many biographers, George H. Haynes, in Charles Sumner (Philadelphia, 1909), 229n. Also see Donald, Charles Sumner and the Rights of Man, 325.

[290]Pierce, 3:594.

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> atically. He could talk of them by the hour and write of them by the yard.[291]

Sumner's art collection was best remembered by his contemporaries as they saw it in the Washington home which he had purchased on the occasion of his ill-fated marriage. Despite the negative associations which the structure had for Sumner, he decided to keep it even after his marriage ended and, in fact, he eventually came to love it.[292] The house was conveniently located at the corner of Vermont Avenue and H Street not far from the White House. It faced east but had windows which looked south onto Lafayette Square. A parlor, dining room, and library were on the first floor; a study, bedroom, and guest room were on the second.[293]

A few months after Sumner's death, a lengthy description of the house and its contents was published in Scribner's Monthly. According to the unidentified author, Sumner had superintended "the hanging of every picture, the placing of every bust." Every wall was covered with

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[291]Gamaliel Bradford, "Charles Sumner," Yale Review 5 (Apr., 1916): 543.

[292]Donald, Sumner and the Rights of Man, 327.

[293]Donald, Sumner and the Rights of Man, 324. A romanticized description of the interior of the house was published shortly before Sumner died: "The sunshine, glimmering through the green roof of the park, enters the eastern windows of a house opposite, and, hovering over its pictures and works of art, seems to flood its rooms with somewhat of that light which never was on sea or shore. It needs all the potency of the eastern sun to bring out upon these canvases the full glory of color, and to suffuse the tints of the artist with the vivid splendors of actual Nature" (Ames, 44).

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paintings and engravings, "in the halls as well as the principal rooms . . . but many pictures hung on the doors, stood in the corners, acted as screens for fire-places, or stood on movable easels."[294] A bust of Minerva, probably the copy which Sumner had asked Story to acquire for him, was in the entrance hall.[295] The dining room contained two Dutch paintings which were displayed on walnut easels placed in front of one of the windows; between them stood the life-size marble copy of the Psyche of Naples.[296] A still-life said to be by Jan-Baptist Weenix and a landscape by John Frederick Herring were also in the dining room as were portraits of Benjamin West (sometimes listed as a self portrait), the Duchess of Cleveland (supposedly by Peter Lely), and Hannah More (said to be by Joshua Reynolds). Perhaps here but certainly somewhere in the house was also a portrait, either a painting or an engraving, of the sculptor Bertel Thorwaldsen.[297] The study for or, more likely, the copy of Tintoretto's Miracle of the Slave, which Sumner had bought from Minor Kellogg in Paris in 1857, as previously discussed, was over the dining room mantle.[298]

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[294]"Recollections of Charles Sumner: II," Scribner's Monthly 9 (Nov., 1874): 101.

[295]Donald, Sumner and the Rights of Man, 324.

[296]Ames, 45.

[297]Martin Milmore, Boston, to CS, May 18, 1869, Sumner Papers 47.

[298]"Recollections," 108-109.

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The bust of Young Augustus which had been carved under Story's supervision in 1860 and Crawford's bust of Sumner, discussed above, were on either side of the sliding doors which connected the dining room with the library.[299] Entering the latter room, one contemporary visitor was "bewildered, on the first glance, at its profusion of bronzes, busts, statuettes in marble, antique souvenirs, various vases, photographs, engravings and paintings."[300] The sculptures in the room were mostly copies of antique works, including a figure of Mercury, Venus de Milo, Hercules, Demosthenes, and a bust of Pericles.[301] A painting by or after Richard Wilson, called A View of Italy, hung above one of the bookcases and, according to one source, dominated the room.[302] Beside it was a study of the head of a Jew, thought at the time to be by Washington Allston,[303] and nearby were paintings supposedly by Lucas Cranach, Albrecht Dürer, Caravaggio, and Sebastiano del

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[299]"Recollections," 111.

[300]Ames, 46.

[301]Ibid, 46. Engravings of views of Sumner's library are reproduced in C. Edwards Lester, Life and Public Services of Charles Sumner (New York: United States Publishing Company, 1874), 103; and in "Charles Sumner," Harper's Weekly 18 (Apr. 4, 1874): 292.

[302]Ames, 47. None of the sculptural copies nor the painting by Wilson are located today.

[303]By the time the so-called Allston was shown at the Boston Athenaeum with the rest of Sumner's collection in 1874 (see below), it had been downgraded to "artist unknown."

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Piombo, as well as a copy by Charles Robert Leslie of Guido Reni's Ecce Homo. Anonymous busts of Henry W. Longfellow and Edward Everett, probably less than life size, were on the mantle where they flanked a portrait, probably a relief carving, of Benjamin Franklin.[304]

Three landscapes dominated the parlor, one each by Thomas Gainsborough, Jacob Von Ruysdael, and Meindert Hobbema. These shared the room with one of the few paintings by an American artist in the collection, a portrait of George Washington thought at the time to be by Rembrandt Peale but actually by his father, Charles Willson Peale.[305] Other American painters represented here were Thomas Cole and Elihu Vedder; Sumner owned a landscape by, or at least thought to be by, each. Evidently the only work

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[304]A terra cotta medallion portrait of Franklin was among Sumner's personal effects which were auctioned in Boston in June, 1874, and this, or something very much like it, may have been the work displayed in Sumner's Washington home. See Henry C. Bird & Co., Catalogue of Personal Property of the Late Hon. Charles Sumner To Be Sold By Auction (Boston: Alfred Mudge & Son, Printers, 1874), no. 136. Several unidentified parian figures were also in this sale.

Sumner seems to have had a special reverence for Franklin. In 1872, he was instrumental in the acquisition of a portrait of Franklin by the French artist Jean-Baptiste Greuze for the Boston Public Library. See the scrapbook entitled "Documents Accompanying an Original Portrait of Franklin Given to the Boston Public Library by Gardner Brewer, Esq. Mar. 1872," Boston Public Library; and Janice H. Chadbourne, Curator of Fine Arts, Boston Public Library, to the author, 18 Feb. 1993.

[305]American Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1969), 1:207-208. Of the American paintings in the Sumner Bequest, the portrait of Washington by Peale is evidently the only one still owned by the Museum of Fine Arts.

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by a woman artist in the collection was Sophanisba Anguisciola's The Sybil.[306]

The second floor of the house was described by Sumner's biographer, Edward Pierce:

> [Sumner's] time was passed chiefly on the second floor, in a large room in the centre taken for his study,--opening into his bedroom at one end, whence the Executive Mansion was visible, and into the guest chamber at the other. The walls of each room--even the doors and hall as well--were covered with paintings, engravings, and photographs, many of them having a personal or historical interest. Bronzes and vases, with here and there a piece of sculpture, filled each nook and niche.[307]

Generally speaking, the quality of Sumner's engravings was better than that of his paintings, thanks to the intense study he had given the medium. Examples were hung throughout the house and, in certain rooms, they were arranged according to subject matter. For example, the walls of the stairway which led from the front hall to the study were hung with representations of beautiful stairways from all over the world; and an engraving called Modesty hung on the bathroom door. The walls of the study were evidently covered from floor to ceiling with engravings.[308] Six were given places of honor: Jonas Suyderhoff's engraving of Gerard ter Borch's The Second Treaty of Westphalia; Jean Godefroy's engraving of Jean-Baptiste

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[306]"Recollections," 111-113; Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of Pictures . . . Bequeathed to the Museum of Fine Arts by the Hon. Charles Sumner.

[307]Pierce, 4:338.

[308]Donald, Sumner and the Rights of Man, 326.

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Isabey's The Congress of Vienna; August Blanchard's engraving of Claude-Marie Dubufe's The Congress of Paris; John Hall's engraving of Benjamin West's Penn's Treaty with the Indians; Jean Jazet's engraving of John Trumbull's The Declaration of Independence; and Jazet's engraving of Jacques-Louis David's Oath of the Tennis Court. Other works --photographs, paintings, and more engravings--which were somehow related to these six engravings were grouped around them, filling all available wall space. Three engravings of portraits of Edmund Burke at various ages, two of which were after Joshua Reynolds, hung over the study's mantel.[309] After Sumner's death, at least one-hundred-thirty-three engravings were found in his house and, together, were appraised for $10,240.[310]

Sumner's bedroom featured a painting whose history was related to his abolitionist interests. This was Ellen's Isle, executed by the African-American artist, Robert Duncanson, in about 1870. Duncanson wanted to give the canvas to Sumner "in token of my appreciation of your long and faithful labors in the cause of human Rights;"[311] but

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[309]"Recollections," 101-103. In one of these portraits, Burke supposedly looked very much like Sumner. A visitor is said to have remarked, "Why, Senator, I didn't know of that engraving of you; when was it made?" Sumner replied, "When Dr. Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith and I dropt in on Sir Joshua once at the Mitre Tavern" (Ibid., 103).

[310]"Recollections," 101.

[311]Robert S. Duncanson to CS, [Oct., 1870], Sumner Papers 55.

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Sumner had a policy of not accepting gifts for public service and refused it. Later, however, when Duncanson was ill and needed money, Sumner sent him a check for the painting, a generosity which surprised and delighted the artist. "Let me thank you for your timely gift," he wrote in 1872, "the good of which you never can know, and your words of encouragement, which are golden."[312]

Sumner also owned a number of small bronze casts based on antique sculptures, most of which he had purchased at Barbedienne's foundry in France. In addition, he owned a relief sculpture of Christ as the Good Shepherd which he had had copied from a carving in the Roman catacombs.[313] Many of the photographs in his collection were views of European architectural monuments or of sculptures, ancient and modern. Among these was a large photograph of the plaster

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[312]Robert S. Duncanson, Cincinnati, to CS, Aug. 18, 1872, Sumner Papers 59. Also see "Recollections," 113. Ellen's Isle was part of the Sumner Bequest to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (see below). In 1877, however, the artist's widow requested that the Museum return the painting to her, which it did (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, "Records of Museum of Fine Arts, Mar. 10, 1870, to Oct. 21, 1880," Jan. 18, 1877, AAA 536). In the 1880s, Mrs. Duncanson gave it to the lawyer, Ralzemond Allen Parker of Detroit, Michigan, in exchange for his assistance with some legal matters (Grace E. Parker, "The Painting `Ellen's Isle' by Robert S. Duncanson," Ralzemond Parker Papers, Burton Historical Collection, Detroit Public Library, Detroit, Michigan). In 1980, it was presented to the Detroit Institute of Arts by Parker's descendants.

Duncanson may have painted a portrait of Sumner but, if he did, it has not been located. See James A. Porter, "Robert S. Duncanson, Midwestern Romantic-Realist," Art in America 39 (Oct. 1951): 149.

[313]Nason, 334.

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model of Erastus Dow Palmer's Angel of the Sepulchre which the sculptor had sent to Sumner "as a token of my admiration . . . of your useful & noble life."[314] Sumner's reaction to Palmer's thoughtfulness has not survived, but he was evidently quite pleased with the photograph for he hung it so that he could see it from his bed.[315] Nor did he forget Palmer's kindness: several years later, he sent the artist a copy of an article from The Art Journal about the Angel of the Sepulchre for which Palmer thanked him. The sculptor added, though, that "the sentiments of sympathy & justification expressed by your note are more precious to me than any thing which the Art Journal could contain."[316]

Besides the items mentioned above, Sumner's collection also contained at least one illuminated manuscript, a prayer book said to have belonged to Margaret of Anjou; and a large assortment of books, autographs, and original manuscripts.[317]

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[314]Erastus Dow Palmer, Albany, to Charles Sumner, Feb. 19, 1869, Sumner Papers 45. Palmer's sculpture, which features the figure of a seated angel, was created in 1867-69 for the Robert Lenox Banks lot in the Albany Rural Cemetery, Albany, N.Y. See J. Carson Webster, Erastus D. Palmer (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1983), 141-142.

[315]"Recollections," 114.

[316]Erastus Dow Palmer, Albany, N.Y., to CS, Oct. 28, 1871, Sumner Papers 55. The article which Sumner sent and which featured an engraving of the sculpture was "The Angel of the Sepulchre, From a Statue by E.D. Palmer," The Art Journal (London) 33 (1871): 248.

[317]Nason, 334-336. Ames gives a lengthy description of Sumner's book and manuscript collection. Also see Anna Laurens Dawes, Charles Sumner (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co.,

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Sumner bequeathed almost all of his paintings and engravings to the city of Boston for the benefit of the Museum of Fine Arts. The only major exception was the study for or copy of Tintoretto's Miracle of the Slave which Sumner left to his friend, Joshua B. Smith, the only black member of the Massachusetts state legislature.[318] The remainder of the collection--ninety-four paintings and one-hundred-thirty-two engravings--were shipped to Boston shortly after Sumner's death and exhibited at the Boston Athenaeum in the spring of 1874.[319] Sumner's will permitted the city to do what it pleased with his paintings and, after ascertaining that many of them were copies and of no great

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1892), 301-306, which gives the following description of Sumner's home and collection: "Mr. Sumner enjoyed these treasures with all the genuine delight of a collector and all the simplicity of his peculiar, somewhat childlike satisfaction; . . . . In the midst of these, his household gods, Sumner lived and worked; for if his house was in some ways a gallery, in others it was a workshop."

[318]Sumner's will was dated Sept. 2, 1873, probated Apr. 6, 1874, and is reprinted in Nason, 353-355.

[319]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of Pictures . . . Bequeathed to the Museum of Fine Arts by the Hon. Charles Sumner. The public display of Sumner's collection disappointed at least some who saw it. Earl Marble, for example, writing for the Aldine, thought that "to have this collection designated as `high art' would do much toward driving people back to chromos and cheap daubs in oil." He accused Sumner of "loving art in a blind sort of way" and of "seeking for effect rather than that which should awaken the sympathies of a glowing heart." He declared Richard Wilson's View of Italy to be a copy and thought that the supposed Reynolds and the so-called Vedder were quite bad; but he liked Van de Neer's Morning on the Coast and Duncanson's Ellen's Isle, with reservations, and even thought that the portrait by Holbein might be genuine (Earl Marble, "Charles Sumner's Fine-Art Legacy," Aldine 13 [Jan. 1875]: 277).

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merit, the city sold most of them at auction on December 18, 1874.[320] The trustees of the museum believed that the wording of Sumner's bequest permitted the sale, but they believed it was Sumner's intent that the proceeds, which amounted to $3,856, should be used for the purchase of works of art rather than to finance or maintain the museum's building. Therefore, at the suggestion of Charles Callahan Perkins, who was a member of the Board of Trustees, the Sumner Bequest was used to buy plaster casts of ancient sculptures.[321] Considering Sumner's love of things classical and Neoclassical, this was not inappropriate.

In contrast to the way they dealt with Sumner's paintings, the trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts decided that his engravings were worthy of a place in their collection. Prior to the Sumner Bequest, the museum had acquired only one such work, making Sumner's generous gift the first major step in enhancing this part of the museum's holdings. Most of the engravings in his collection were by Europeans after paintings by European artists; but the collection also included a copy of the engraving of Crawford's Orpheus which Sumner had used to illustrate his

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[320]Leonard & Co., Catalogue of Paintings and Engravings from the Collection of the Hon. Charles Sumner. One of the few paintings from Sumner's collection to be retained by the museum was Albert Cuyp's The Artist's Daughter (Whitehill, 1:49).

[321]Whitehill, 1:22, 30, 33; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, "Records of Museum of Fine Arts, Mar. 10, 1870, to Oct. 21, 1880," Nov. 17, 1874, Jan. 7, 1875 (also on microfilm, AAA 536).

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article on the sculptor in The United States Magazine and Democratic Review in 1843, cited above; an engraving by J. F. Ferrera of Crawford's plaster model for Glory to God in the Highest (Shepherds and Wisemen Before Christ);[322] an engraving by John Cheney of a drawn portrait of Judge Story by his son, William Story; another engraving by Cheney of a portrait of Henry W. Longfellow by his brother, Seth W. Cheney; and an engraving by David Edwin of John Neagle's portrait of Gilbert Stuart. Sumner's engravings entered the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts on April 27, 1874, and, until 1890, they were hung together in the museum's first print room.[323]

Most of Sumner's sculpture was distributed among his friends and relatives. He left a selection of marble copies of antique sculpture to his sister, Julia (Sumner) Hastings, and the full-length Psyche and the bust, Young Augustus, to Henry W. Longfellow. His collection of bronzes were divided between Longfellow and Samuel G. Howe.[324] Crawford's bust of Sumner went to the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and thus became the first sculpture to enter the permanent collection

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[322]The engraving of Glory to God was evidently sent to Sumner by George W. Greene in 1843. (See Dimmick, Crawford, 680-689). Another copy, which Crawford sent to Peter Parker of Boston, is now in the collection of the Boston Athenaeum. The sculpture itself, which was probably never put into marble, is unlocated and presumably lost.

[323]Department of Prints and Drawings, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Accession Book, 1 (1872-1887), 2-9 (also on microfilm, AAA, 584).

[324]Pierce, 3:594n; Haynes, 229.

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there.[325] Sumner's personal effects--photographs, Japanese fans and trays, lacquered boxes, clothing, rugs, furniture, porcelain, decorative objects, and a large collection of fine wines--were divided and sold at auctions held at his home in Washington, D.C., and in Boston in June, 1874.[326]

The year after Sumner's death, a committee of Bostonians was formed for the purpose of commissioning and erecting a memorial to him. Richard Henry Dana, Jr., was the chairperson of the group and members included Charles Eliot Norton, Charles C. Perkins, and Martin Brimmer. The committee announced a competition for which interested artists were required to submit, anonymously, small plaster models for a seated portrait statue of Sumner. Three prizes of five-hundred dollars each were slated for the three best designs. The deadline for submissions was May 1, 1875.[327]

At least twenty-six artists responded including the Americans Thomas R. Gould, Martin Milmore, John D. Perry, Anne Whitney, Harriet Hosmer, Randolph Rogers, Augustus

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[325]Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Accession Records, 1870-1945, n.p. (also on microfilm, AAA 589).

[326]Latimer & Cleary, Catalogue of Furniture, Historical Relics and Curiosities, . . . Belonging to the Late Charles Sumner, to be sold by auction, at His Residence . . . June 3d, 1874 (Washington, D.C., 1874); Henry C. Bird & Co., Catalogue of Personal Property of the Late Hon. Charles Sumner (Boston, 1874).

[327]Richard H. Dana, Jr., et al, "The Sumner Memorial," (Boston, 1875), copy in Thomas Ball Folder, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

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Saint-Gaudens, Alexander Pope, and John Rogers. The British sculptor Marshall Wood and an Italian identified only as "Turini" (?) were also said to have participated.[328] The models which these artists sent to the committee for consideration were exhibited for one month on the third floor of the new Post Office and Treasury Building in Boston where they received a fair amount of attention but mostly negative criticism.[329] An unnamed writer for the New York Art Journal, for example, thought that "none of the designs

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[328]"Notes. The Sumner Statue," The Art Journal (New York) 1 (1875): 286. Evidently none of the models in the exhibition were labeled as to their authors, and viewers had to surmise who had done each piece. The unidentified writer for the Art Journal believed that one of the models was by William Wetmore Story as did Earl Marble who wrote about the show for one of the New York papers ("The Sumner Monument," The Evening Post, Aug. 5, 1875, 3). Marble, however, qualified his statement, reporting that perhaps the figure said to be by Story was actually by Richard S. Greenough. In fact, Seidler has stated that Story did not send a model to the competition because he believed the committee was not offering enough money for the commission (Seidler, Story, 610).

[329]Evidently, most of the models have been lost or destroyed. Perry's was described as representing Sumner "seated at his desk in an easy posture, in the act of writing." Casts of the figure were being made by Perry, it was noted, implying that they would be for sale ("Personal," The Evening Post, New York, Sept. 9, 1874, 2). A correspondent for London's Art Journal visited Milmore's studio in Rome in 1876 and saw a replica of his model for the state. The figure was "natural and unconstrained," the visitor thought, and showed Sumner in a typical pose ("Notes," The Art Journal [London] [1876], 95). In 1876, Whitney's model was exhibited at the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia and at the Boston Art Club (Yarnall and Gerdts, 3885). Two years later a version of it was owned by C. W. Slack, probably Charles Slack, secretary of the Sumner Memorial Committee (Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, Annual Exhibition Catalogue [Boston, 1878]). Perhaps it is one of these that is now in the collection of the Watertown Free Public Library, Watertown, Mass.

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show any great originality of merit."[330] Likewise, Earl Marble of New York's The Evening Post, found the models to be devoid of imagination, calling them collectively "a mass of crude thought and no thought at all." He pointed out that the committee was not obliged to select any of the models for the final commission and had only promised to make the three five-hundred-dollar awards.[331]

In fact, this is precisely what happened, but not without some complications. As the rules of the contest had dictated, the committee made its decision about both the awards and the final commission without knowing the identity of the participating artists. As it turned out, the three cash prizes went to Anne Whitney, Martin Milmore, and Thomas Ball. (As we have already seen, both Ball and Milmore had modeled Sumner's bust prior to this). Whitney's model was deemed the best of the lot and the committee decided that its creator, whose identity they still did not know, was deserving of the commission. Unfortunately, once they learned that the sculptor was a woman, they reneged on their offer and decided to give the commission to Ball instead, much to Whitney's indignation.[332] Ironically, Ball, who

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[330]"Notes. The Sumner Statue," 286.

[331]Marble, "The Sumner Monument," 3.

[332]A recent account of Whitney's role in the Sumner commission is Eleanor Tufts, "An American Victorian Dilemma, 1875: Should a Woman Be Allowed to Sculpt a Man?" Art Journal 51 (Spring, 1992): 51-56. Also see Elizabeth Rogers Payne's two articles, "Anne Whitney, Sculptor," The Art Quarterly (Autumn, 1962), 244-259, and "Anne Whitney, Art

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claimed to dislike competitions, had only reluctantly and belatedly submitted a model to the Sumner Memorial committee.[333] The contract for the final sculpture, which was signed on October 20, 1866, called for a bronze standing figure of Sumner, not less that eight feet in height, to be cast in Munich or Paris.[334] Ball completed the full-scale model for the figure in his studio in Florence and sent it to Paris to be cast at Barbedienne's foundry. The bronze was finally erected in the Boston Public Garden late in 1878. Perhaps due to the controversial nature of the proceedings, no formal ceremonies were held at the unveiling.[335]

Many years later, in 1900, the unfortunate loser of the competition, Anne Whitney, was somewhat vindicated when, with contributions from professors at Harvard University and citizens of Cambridge, Massachusetts, her own design for a

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and Social Justice," Massachusetts Review (Spring, 1971), 245-260.

[333]Thomas Ball, Florence, to Otis Norcross, Nov. 25, 1875, Thomas Ball File, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[334]"Contract between Alexander H. Rice, et al, on behalf of the Sumner Statue Committee, and Thomas Ball of Boston," Oct. 20, 1876, Thomas Ball File, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

[335]Walter Muir Whitehill, Boston Statues (Barre, Mass.: Barre Publishers, 1970), 37; Allan Forbes and Ralph M. Eastman, Other Statues of Boston (Boston: State Street Trust Company, 1947), 81. After all this, Ball's statue of Sumner was a critical failure. See Thomas Ball, Florence, to Hon. Otis Norcross, Jan. 19, 1879, Norcross Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

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portrait statue of Sumner was enlarged, cast in bronze, and erected in Harvard Square where it remains.

These two portraits, then--Ball's standing figure and Whitney's seated one--serve as appropriate memorials from the state of Massachusetts to an illustrious, native son. Naturally, Sumner's death led to much eulogizing in print as well.[336] And few of the obituaries, written tributes, or biographical sketches of Sumner failed to acknowledge his role as a patron and connoisseur of the arts. "What a lover and knower he was of pictures, bronzes, manuscripts, old books, curious relics of the past," said one admirer.[337] And one of Sumner's fellow senators, gave a tribute to the deceased in interestingly marmorean terms: "Let us keep [Sumner's] virtues in remembrance," the senator proclaimed. "May his monument be of spotless marble, for it cannot be purer or whiter than his life."[338] Finally, one of Sumner's early biographers, Alexander Grimke, acknowledged the generosity of spirit which Sumner displayed throughout his life and perhaps it is best to end this examination of Sumner with Grimke's remarks. After

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[336]In fact, a selection of these eulogies was quickly complied into a volume of over three-hundred pages, William M. Cornell ed., Charles Sumner: Memoir and Eulogies (Boston: James H. Earle, 1874).

[337]Cyrus A. Bartol, Senatorial Character: A Sermon in West Church, Boston. Sunday, 15th of Mar., After the Decease of Charles Sumner (Boston: A. Williams & Co., 1874), 17.

[338]Quoted in Pierce, 4:607.

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discussing Sumner's relationship with Thomas Crawford, Grimke concludes:

> If [Sumner] took no pleasure in the details of professional work, there never was a man who took greater delight in personal service for a friend or the public. No exertion seemed to him too much, no expenditure of time too large to make for friendship's sake, or for the sake of a benefaction or enterprise from which the people were to derive advantage, the citizenship of the country to be elevated, the humanity of the world promoted. An immense love of unselfish, unresting labor was in his heart.[339]

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[339]Grimke, 99. Sumner's body was laid in state in the Rotunda of the U.S. Capitol building and his funeral was held in Boston. See the engraving by Edwin A. Abbey of the ceremony in Washington which was published in Harper's Weekly 18 (Apr. 4, 1874): 289; and the article, "Dust to Dust," in the same issue which stated that in Boston "emblems of mourning were at many places draped about a portrait or bust of the deceased senator" (p. 293).

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CHAPTER V

OTHER BOSTON PATRONS

As we have seen, Thomas H. Perkins, Edward Everett, and Charles Sumner, all of whom lived and worked in Boston, were especially active as patrons of American sculptors. But many other residents of that city supported the efforts of these artists as well. Naturally, their patronage ranged from cursory and short-term to consistent and life-long. While few came close to the level of sponsorship achieved by the men discussed above, the contribution made by other Bostonians was important to the success of the sculptors and was instrumental in making Boston a center for the patronage of American Neoclassic sculpture.

The Appleton Family

Appleton is a family name which, like Perkins and Cabot, is synonymous with New England. At least one branch, spawned by Isaac and Mary (Adams) Appleton, produced a number of members, who resided in Boston, who were especially interested in the arts, and who touched the lives of American sculptors.[1]

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[1]For a general history of the Appleton family, see Louise Hall Tharp, The Appletons of Beacon Hill (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company, 1973), a popularly written but well researched book for which Tharp used the large collections of Appleton family papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, and the Longfellow National Historical Site, Cambridge, Mass. The Appleton family was large and well connected. Even William Wetmore

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One of these was Isaac and Mary's third son, Samuel Appleton (1766-1853), who was born in New Ipswich, New Hampshire, and moved in 1794 to Boston where he eventually became a wealthy merchant and local philanthropist.[2] He and his brother Nathan, who was his business partner, made their fortunes in the textile industry, by shrewd investments in the railroads, and by importing goods from England where Samuel Appleton first went in 1799. In fact, he spent much of the first decade of the nineteenth century in Europe pursuing ways of strengthening his business back in America. In 1818, at the age of fifty-two, he married Mary (Lekain) Gore (1788-1870), the widow of John Gore, and retired from business soon after. The couple had no children and, therefore, Appleton adopted the philosophy of spending at least half of his yearly income on various local charities and worthy causes; he quickly became known locally as the most beneficent of men.[3] An example of his generosity on a

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Story was related to them. His father, Judge Story, was a second cousin of Nathan Appleton, discussed below, since both of them were great-grandsons of Isaac and Priscilla (Baker) Appleton.

[2]The facts of Samuel Appleton's life can be found in Ephraim Peabody, "Samuel Appleton," Lives of American Merchants, ed. Freeman Hunt (New York: Office of Hunt's Merchants' Magazine, 1856), 1:429-42; DAB, 1:429-42; and Tharp, The Appletons, passim.

[3]Peabody, 437; Tharp, The Appletons, 88. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow described Samuel and Mary Appleton in 1850 when he dined with them one evening prior to attending a concert by Charles C. Perkins: "What a charming household is [Mrs. Appleton's]! The gentle, glowing, benignant, happy old man, in his crimson velvet dressing-gown, like a sun setting in crimson clouds, shining over all with cheerful, genial light; slowly, slowly rolling down into the great

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small scale, though one of some importance in the context of this dissertation, was the assistance he offered the widow and family of the unfortunate American sculptor, Shobal Clevenger. When Clevenger died in 1843, Appleton joined Edward Everett and others in giving Mrs. Clevenger money to see her through difficult times.[4]

In his biography of the American sculptor Henry Dexter, John Albee noted that Samuel Appleton was one of Dexter's "generous patrons" as well as "the friend of all writers and artists; practical friend of the latter, buying their pictures and sending them to Europe to study; a kind of Beacon Street Maecenas of his city and time."[5] While some of this may be hyperbole--Albee gave no further details and the exact extent even of Appleton's support of Dexter is unclear--it is known that his brother Nathan led a drive to commission a marble bust of Robert C. Winthrop from Dexter in 1854;[6] and Dexter carved a marble medallion portrait of

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sea; yet making us feel that all this worth cannot grow old, all this benevolence cannot die, and that every setting sun is somewhere a rising sun. Then she herself, so young and fresh in her enjoyment of life; with all her French taste and love of the beautiful. . . . The whole presents a very peculiar and charming tableau; and as I looked at it by the fitful firelight this evening, it drew me into many dreams and reveries" (Longfellow, Journal, April 20, 1850, Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, ed. Samuel Longfellow [Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1893], 2:177).

[4]EE, London, to HP, Dec. 16, 1843, Everett Papers 22.

[5]John Albee, Henry Dexter, A Memorial (Cambridge: University Press, 1898), 68.

[6]Petition of Nathan Appleton, et al, Feb. 10, 1854, Winthrop Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. This

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Samuel for King's Chapel, Boston, in 1856.[7] Dexter's source for this posthumous image is not known; he may have modeled Appleton's visage in some earlier form. Or he could have used one of three painted portraits of Appleton, at least two of which were in the family and presumably accessible to Dexter. The earliest of these was painted by Gilbert Stuart Newton, probably shortly before 1827 when it was shown at the Boston Athenaeum, lent by its owner, Nathan Appleton. (It is now at Harvard University).[8] The other two were executed by George P. A. Healy probably between 1845 and 1855. One of these, which is now at the Boston Athenaeum was part of Samuel Appleton's own collection.[9] The other is

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document, which was signed by thirty-nine Bostonians, sought to commission a bust of Winthrop to show their "strong appreciation of the eminent public service" with which Winthrop had "materially advanced" the city of Boston. The work was executed that same year and given to the Massachusetts Historical Society (Albee, 114).

[7]Ibid., 114.

[8]Huntsinger, 15. Newton's portrait of Appleton was copied in about 1844 by Henry Greenough, brother of Horatio and Richard, for a friend in England (Greenough, Letters, ed. Greenough, 175). It should be noted here, too, that Samuel Appleton bequeathed funds to Harvard University which, under the direction of Edward Everett, were used to construct the Appleton Chapel which stood on Harvard Yard from 1858 to 1931 (Tharp, The Appletons, 277).

[9]Harding, Athenaeum, 40. After Appleton's death, a replica of Healy's portrait of him was ordered from the artist by the Massachusetts Historical Society (Andrew Oliver, et al, Portraits in the Massachusetts Historical Society [Boston: Massachusetts Historical Society, 1988], 12). Healy also painted portraits of Nathan Appleton's daughters Fanny and Mary, both of which are at the Longfellow National Historical Site, Cambridge, Mass., as well as a full-length portrait of Nathan Appleton himself which is now in the collection of the Lowell Public Library, Lowell, Mass. (See Tharp, The Appletons, 102-03, 205, 212).

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unlocated but was engraved by S. A. Schoff and used as the frontispiece of a biographical sketch of Appleton published in 1855.[10]

A more likely source for Dexter's medallion, though, is the bust of Appleton by the American sculptor, Benjamin Paul Akers (fig. 27). Akers was introduced to Appleton by his niece, Fanny (Appleton) Longfellow, when Akers was in Cambridge to model the bust of Fanny's husband, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.[11] That occurred in June, 1851, and Akers's bust of Appleton is dated the following month.[12] Mrs. Longfellow was well aware of her uncle's interest in sculpture--at one point she stated that he was "going the whole chisle" to indicate the amount of sculpture he was commissioning or buying--and she took Akers to one of the elaborate dinners which Appleton and his wife often hosted. "Mr. Sam Appleton's is a great head for [Akers] and which he is quite ambitious to undertake," Mrs. Longfellow noted;[13]

Appleton wrote to his son, Thomas, about the last portrait in 1847: "My portrait is generally thought, I think, the best thing Healy has done" (Nathan Appleton, Boston, to Thomas G. Appleton, Jan. 31, 1847, Appleton Family Papers).

[10]Peabody, opp. 429.

[11]Life of Longfellow, Longfellow, 2:209.

[12]A plaster version of Akers's bust of Appleton which descended in the Appleton family, is now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (see Jan Ramirez's entry on the work in Greenthal, et al, 144-45); and another plaster is at the Boston Athenaeum (Harding, Athenaeum, 11). Both bear the inscribed date of July, 1851. The only known marble version of the bust is at the Longfellow National Historical Site, Cambridge, Mass.

[13]Quoted in Tharp, The Appletons, 92-93.

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and, as she had hoped, Appleton soon ordered a bust of himself from the young sculptor.[14] According to some sources, Appleton also commissioned at least two other works from Akers, reliefs of Night and Morning (unlocated), which undoubtedly had some affinities to Thorwaldsen's famous reliefs of the same subjects.[15] The order was probably given in Boston while Akers was working on Appleton's bust, and it was carried out in Florence where Akers lived briefly in 1852-53.[16]

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[14]As mentioned previously, Henry Longfellow himself helped Akers by recommending him to Edward Everett. "Mr. Paul Akers desires earnestly to make a bust of you," Longfellow wrote Everett in 1853. "Were it an ordinary case, and an ordinary artist, wishing to try his hand at a venture, I certainly would not ask you to grant his request. But Mr. Akers is not an ordinary man, but a man of genius, and of a deep and thoughtful nature. If you can find or make time for this work, I feel assured you will never have occasion to regret it" (Longfellow, Cambridge, to EE, Dec. 13, 1853, The Letters of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, ed. Andrew Hilen [Cambridge, Mass.: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966], 3:402). Everett, in turn, encouraged Akers to submit sketches for a statue of Benjamin Franklin which the U.S. government was considering commissioning. (See EE, Washington, D.C., to [Robert Winthrop?], Feb. 9, 1854, Winthrop Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston). Although that project came to nought for Akers, his Boston experience is a good example of how, thanks to these patrons, one artistic commission could lead to others. (A sort of genealogy of business opportunities developed here for Akers: from Henry Longfellow, to Fanny Longfellow, to Samuel Appleton; from Henry Longfellow, to Edward Everett, to the U. S. government).

[15]Leila Woodman Usher, "Benjamin Paul Akers," New England Magazine 11 (Dec. 1894): 462.

[16]"Benjamin Paul Akers," Maine Library Bulletin 13 (Jan., 1928): 69. Samuel Appleton's nephew, Thomas Gold Appleton, was said to have been a friend of Akers, probably introduced to him by the elder man or by Mr. and Mrs. Henry W. Longfellow. See Edward Waldo Emerson, The Early Years of

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The Samuel Appletons also owned several busts by Horatio Greenough. The earliest of these, of Mr. Appleton, Greenough modeled in Boston during the summer of 1836. (Greenough was in America at the time to inspect the Rotunda of the national Capitol building for the placement of his George Washington, and he lingered in Boston after the death of his brother David in July, 1836). The bust was displayed in the Appleton's house on Beacon Hill where, as their niece Fanny wrote, "Uncle Sam's bust frowns down in Cato-like majesty."[17] Nathalia Wright has called Greenough's bust of Appleton one of his most effective.[18] Today it is in the collection of Harvard University.

The second bust by Greenough owned by Samuel and Mary Appleton was that of their niece, also named Mary, which was modeled during the winter of 1836-37 in Paris while the subject and her family were on the Grand Tour. The following summer, back in Florence, Greenough told his brother that he was working on the bust "of Miss Appleton, for her aunt, Mrs. Sam Appleton, to whom pray remember me in

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the Saturday Club 1855-1870 (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1898), 221.

[17]Quoted in Tharp, The Appletons, 92.

[18]Wright goes on to say that Greenough's Appleton "evokes the spirit of the whole mercantile class, upon which so much of his career and the careers of other American artists rested: self-confident and practical, yet dignified and willing to patronize whatever meant the growth of the nation" (Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 112).

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all kindness."[19] But Nathan Appleton evidently did not like the bust and, over a year later, Greenough was still struggling with it. "I cannot tell you how mortified I have been at disappointing Mr. Nathan Appleton of his daughter Mary's bust," the sculptor wrote his brother, and implied that he was attempting to rework the conception from memory. "I could not recall her," he continued, "so there's nothing to say but that I'll try again."[20] As far as is known, however, Greenough did not complete a second version of the bust or, if he did, it was not sent to America.[21] We have no record of what Mrs. Samuel Appleton, the owner of the first version (unlocated), thought of it.

Appleton and/or his wife were also patrons of the American sculptor Harriet Hosmer. Two marble busts were ordered from her either by Samuel Appleton shortly before his death in 1853 or by his wife, Mary, soon thereafter.[22] These were Hosmer's Daphne of 1853 (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) and Medusa of the following year (fig. 28). The Appletons' version of the latter bust was the first of

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[19]HG, Florence, to Henry Greenough, June 16, 1837, Letters of Greenough, ed. Greenough, 114.

[20]HG, Florence, to Henry Greenough, Jan. 2, 1839, Ibid., 127.

[21]See Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 196.

[22]Tharp has stated that both orders came from Mrs. Appleton and that the second commission, for the Medusa, was a direct result of her satisfaction with the slightly earlier bust of Daphne. See Tharp, The Appletons, 325.

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at least three marble replicas made by Hosmer.[23] The exact history of the Appletons' commissions from Hosmer is not clear. The young sculptor left her native Massachusetts for Rome late in 1852 and, although it is possible, it seems unlikely that the Appletons would have given her a sculptural commission (or two) before this date. During the early 1850s, several articles about Hosmer appeared in the Boston publication Dwight's Journal of Music and perhaps the Appletons knew of her through these;[24] or they may have met her or heard of her through one of her early local

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[23]William H. Gerdts, "The *Medusa* of Harriet Hosmer," Bulletin of the Detroit Institute of Art 56 (1978): 99. The Appleton's Medusa, now at Detroit, is the only version of the sculpture which has been located. Dr. Gerdts suggests that it is probably the same object which was later owned by George William Curtis of Boston, a theory which is strengthened when one considers that one of Samuel Appleton's nieces, Harriot, daughter of Nathan Appleton, married into the Curtis family. Another artistic link is found in this branch of the family as well: one of Harriot (Appleton) Curtis's daughters, Elinor, was the second wife of the painter Charles S. Hopkinson (Vose Galleries, Charles Hopkinson, N.A., (1869-1962): Moods and Moments [Boston, 1991).

For Hosmer's busts, also see Henry T. Tuckerman, Book of the Artists (New York, 1867), 602; Margaret Wendell LaBarre, "Harriet Hosmer: Her Era and Art" (M.A. thesis, University of Illinois, 1966), 190; and Dolly Sherwood, Harriet Hosmer, American Sculptor, 1830-1908 (Columbia and London: University of Missouri Press, 1991), 101.

[24]X.Y.Z., "Fine Arts. Hesper--The Evening Star," Dwight's Journal of Music 1 (Sept. 4, 1852): 171-72; "Miss Hosmer's Progress," Dwight's Journal of Music 4 (Oct. 8, 1853): 7. These are among the earliest--perhaps they are the earliest--articles to have been published about Hosmer. See Joseph L. Curran, "Hosmeriana: A Guide to Works By and About Harriet G. Hosmer" (1975), Harriet Goodhue Hosmer Collection, Watertown Free Public Library, Watertown, Mass., AAA 1039. Curran's extensive bibliography does not list anything of an earlier date.

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supporters and friends such as the author, Lydia Maria Child. Child herself later wrote of the Appleton's commission:

> Before long [Hosmer] began to embody ideals of her own. The first was a head of Daphne, the nymph who was changed to laurel when pursued by Apollo. Her next was a head of Medusa, representing her as the beautiful maiden she originally was, and not as the frightful Gorgon. . . . They were ordered by the late Samuel Appleton, of Boston, always a liberal patron of the fine arts, and on their arrival, in the autumn of 1853 [sic?], they were publicly exhibited.[25]

Perhaps Hosmer's unusual, although not unheard of interpretation of Medusa had something to do with the desires of her patrons, the Appletons; but lack of evidence limits further consideration of this theory.[26] Both busts were in Boston, presumably at the Appleton home, by October, 1854, when they were seen by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. "After dinner, [we went] to see Miss Harriet Hosmer's two busts, Daphne and Medusa," he wrote in his journal. "The latter is peculiarly brilliant in conception and execution. The hair is just beginning to change to serpents, and the agony of the face hardly mars its strange beauty. What a

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[25]L. Maria Child, "Harriet E. Hosmer, A Biographical Sketch," The Ladies' Repository 21 (Jan., 1861), 5. Child may have been wrong about the date of the arrival of these busts in Boston. A notice in Putnam's Monthly early in 1855 stated that "Miss Hosmer has recently sent home two busts in marble--Medusa and Daphne, which have attracted much attention in Boston. They are the property of Mrs. Samuel Appleton" ("Editorial Notes," Putnam's Monthly 5 [Feb. 1855]: 214).

[26]For a brief history of the treatment of Medusa in art and Hosmer's choice and interpretation of the theme, see Gerdts, "*Medusa*," 100-104.

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fable lies hid in that classic tale. Beauty, sin, despair!"[27]

Besides the sculptures named here, Samuel Appleton also owned two other marbles which he lent to the second annual sculpture exhibition held in 1840 at the Boston Athenaeum. The catalogue of that show identifies one of these as a Nymph "after Canova" and the other as Cupid Sleeping by an unnamed artist.[28] The Nymph was almost certainly a replica or copy of Canova's Dancer with Her Hands on Her Hips, the original of which dates from 1805-12, which is clearly visible in a painting by an unidentified artist (fig. 29) depicting Mr. and Mrs. Appleton in what appears to be the foyer or front hall of their home at 37 Beacon Street, Boston.[29] The Dancer is standing in the background of the picture near the curving staircase, and in the middle of the room is a replica or copy of another work by Canova, his Hebe, the original of which dates from 1796.[30] To the left in the picture, almost behind one of

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[27]Longfellow, Journal, Oct. 21, 1854, quoted in Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, ed. Samuel Longfellow [Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1893], 2:277).

[28]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Second Exhibition of Sculpture in the Athenaeum Gallery (Boston: Eastburn's Press, 1840), 13.

[29]A photograph of the painting from the collection of the Longfellow House Trustees is reproduced in Tharp, The Appletons, 82, but the location of the painting itself is not known. Appleton built the house at 37 Beacon Street beginning in 1819, the year he acquired the property.

[30]Neither of Appleton's Canovas is located today. A marble example of The Dancing Girl is in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, and examples of Hebe are in the

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the slender, two-story columns, is a bust, possibly that of Samuel Appleton by Greenough. The entire setting, with its marble sculptures and its slender classicizing columns, reveals the distinctly Neoclassic taste of its inhabitants. In fact, when Mr. and Mrs. Appleton finally left their home at 37 Beacon Street forever, they entered a new home at Mount Auburn Cemetery which was marked by an equally Neoclassic tomb monument which has been described as "a miniature Grecian temple fashioned of marble in Italy and measuring twelve by six feet."[31]

Appleton's collection of paintings included the usual copies from the old masters but also a landscape by George Loring Brown, a work called Titian's Daughter by George P. A. Healy, and two portraits by the same artist, that of Samuel Appleton himself, mentioned above, and one of Harrison Gray Otis, Jr.[32] According to Fanny Longfellow, the house was also decorated with "Yankee papering" and unidentified "frescoes."[33]

In 1827 Samuel Appleton joined Thomas H. Perkins, David Sears, George Ticknor, and others in subscribing to a fund intended to allow Washington Allston to finish his

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former National Gallery of East Berlin and at the Louisville Free Public Library, Louisville, Kentucky.

[31]Linden-Ward, 243. The writer goes on to say that the Appleton monument cost $10,000 and "was unquestionably the most costly funerary monument at Mount Auburn and perhaps in the nation in the 1830s. . . ."

[32]Perkins and Gavin, 179.

[33]Quoted in Tharp, The Appletons, 92.

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magnum opus, Belshazzar's Feast (Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan).[34] Additionally, Appleton was a proprietor of the Boston Athenaeum beginning in 1822 and, with his brother Nathan, was among those who donated money that year to commission a portrait of James Perkins by Gilbert Stuart for the Athenaeum. In 1849, the Appleton brothers participated in the efforts to purchase Henry Dexter's marble figure, The Backwoodsman, for the same institution, and in 1853, Samuel's executors followed the dictates of his will in establishing the Appleton Fund at the Athenaeum for the purchase of books.[35] A similar fund was set up by his bequest at the Massachusetts Historical Society for the collection, preservation, and publication of historical documents.[36]

Samuel's brother, Nathan Appleton (1779-1861), was educated at Phillips' Exeter Academy and attended Dartmouth College but left school in 1794 to enter business with his brother in Boston. Despite this seeming abandonment of education, he was recognized by his contemporaries as a man

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[34]Swan, 48-49.

[35]Athenaeum Centenary, 70, 75, 84.

[36]Samuel K. Lothrop, "Memoir of Samuel Appleton," Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1856), 3:xix.

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with "a taste for literature,"[37] and after his death, Edward Everett wrote that he "retained to the last his literary tastes, kept up his knowledge of the Latin language, was fond of reading and writing, and gave to the public many carefully prepared efforts of his pen."[38] He was also active in politics; was the founder with Francis C. Lowell of the industrial town of Lowell, Massachusetts; served in the Massachusetts legislature from 1816-26 and the U.S. Congress beginning in 1831; and lived in a mansion on Beacon Hill where he displayed his respectable if not extensive art collection. He was fairly active in the Boston Athenaeum, serving as treasurer there from 1816 to 1827,[39] and he gave generously to the Bunker Hill Monument Association at various times over the years of its existence.[40]

Appleton's interest in art began early and was enhanced by several trips to Europe, the first of which took place in 1799. He went abroad again in 1801, this time for a longer stay, and after doing business in Liverpool that year, he went to the Continent, evidently spending much time

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[37]John H. Sheppard, "Sketch of Hon. Nathan Appleton, L.L.D.," New-England Historical and Genealogical Register 16 (Jan. 1862): 4.

[38]Quoted in Ibid., 10.

[39]Athenaeum Centenary, 116.

[40]In 1843, the Bunker Hill committee gratefully accepted $500 from Appleton, noting that he had "already contributed with great liberality on former occasions" (John C. Warren, et al, Directors of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, to Nathan Appleton, April 1, 1843, Appleton Family Papers).

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in Paris where he visited various galleries and museums. He saw many treasures, including "the spoils which Bonaparte brought from Italy" and, at the Louvre, "an immensely long gallery . . . [with] a collection of paintings, probably the finest in the world."[41] He was well aware that the brief time he spent in the museum gave him "but a faint idea of what it would occupy months throuroughly to examine."[42] But he confessed to his family back home in Boston that he had greatly enjoyed the artistic "curiosities" he had seen in Europe.[43]

Similarly, Appleton was touring the east coast and parts of the south in America in 1805 when, in Richmond, Virginia, he saw Jefferson's Virginia State Capital building and Houdon's statue of Washington within. He approved of both and especially of their classicizing style, recognizing that Jefferson's design was "after the model of a Greek temple."[44] On his way back north, he stopped in New York where, at the American Academy of Fine Arts, he inspected

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[41]Nathan Appleton, Journal in England, Holland, and France, May 30, 1802, Appleton Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Among the classical sculptures which Italy ceded to Napoleon as part of the terms of the Treaty of Tolentino in 1798 were the Apollo Belvedere, the Laocoon, the Belvedere Torso, the Spinario, and the Horses of St. Mark, all of which Appleton probably saw in Paris. See Haskell and Penny, 108-116.

[42]Nathan Appleton, Journal in England, Holland, and France, May 30, 1802.

[43]Tharp, The Appletons, 31.

[44]Quoted in Ibid., 36.

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the antique cast collection. Having seen the originals in Paris, though, he found the casts "not so particularly interesting," but instead was impressed by an unidentified painting with a mythological subject, Cupid Stung by a Bee.[45]

Appleton married Maria Theresa Gold in 1806 and the couple went to Europe together in 1810, this time for the benefit of Mrs. Appleton's health. They spent some time in Scotland and England, especially at Bath where Mrs. Appleton took the waters. She continued in ill health, however, and died in 1833.[46]

That tragedy was compounded two years later when Appleton's son, Charles, aged twenty, also died. In November, 1835, the distraught father took his remaining three children--Thomas, Fanny, and Mary--to Europe. In Paris they visited the studio of the French artist Jean Baptiste Isabey whom Appleton commissioned to paint a double portrait of his daughters (Longfellow House, Cambridge, Massachusetts). The following year, as they passed through Paris again, they attended the exhibition of the Paris Salon where they were delighted to see their own portrait among others displayed by Isabey.[47] They met Horatio Greenough in Paris, too, and he modeled Mary Appleton's bust, as

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[45]Ibid., 37.

[46]Ibid., passim.

[47]Tharp, The Appletons, 168-69, 189.

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mentioned elsewhere in this dissertation. Probably at that time, too, Nathan Appleton acted as an intermediary for a possible commission for Greenough. It began with a request from a relative, Nathaniel Walker Appleton (1783-1848), as Nathan Appleton and his family were about to leave for Europe. Taking it for granted that his cousins would see Greenough in Europe, Nathaniel told Nathan that he wanted to order a monument, "something simple and chaste in design," for his lot at Mount Auburn Cemetery. "I have a high opinion of Mr. Greenough's taste," he wrote, "and you will oblige me, when you see him, to procure from him something suitable, or if you have leisure to consult with him and select yourself a model." Nathaniel liked the idea of a white cross with a handsome back and pedestal for which he was willing to pay as much as four-hundred-fifty dollars. Alternately, "a sarcophagus might look well, if well proportioned," but, whatever the case, Greenough should send a sketch of his ideas. Once in Europe, Nathan Appleton performed as requested and Greenough responded. It would appear, however, that the sculptor merely advised Nathaniel Appleton to hire a marble carver for the project and furnished him with the name of one.[48]

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[48]Nathaniel W. Appleton, Boston, to Nathan Appleton, New York, Nov. 10, 1835, Appleton Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. A notation in the margin of this letter indicates that Greenough answered it on March 24 [1836] and suggested that Appleton contact Giuseppe Rocchi in Carrara.

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After Paris, Nathan Appleton took his children on to Germany and Italy, and in Rome, in 1836, he had his own bust modeled in Rome by the English sculptor Richard James Wyatt.[49] During the sittings, Appleton did not remain idle but took a great interest in the proceedings and even forced Wyatt to make "a vast many alterations" on the bust to which the sculptor acceded "good-naturedly."[50] The bust became part of Appleton's small but growing art collection. He owned, for example, the portrait of his brother, Samuel, by Gilbert Stuart Newton, mentioned above, as well as Washington Allston's Rosalie (1835, Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston), a view of Paestum by Thomas Doughty, and a selection of modern European paintings and copies from works by the old masters.[51] In 1853, he acquired what must have been one of the most impressive pictures in his collection, John

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[49]Sheppard, passim; Harding, Athenaeum, 90. In 1851, Appleton gave his bust by Wyatt to the Boston Athenaeum, an organization in which he had been active, serving as its treasurer, among other things, from 1816 to 1827.

[50]Quoted in Tharp, The Appletons, 176.

[51]Perkins and Gavin, 178. Also see Harding's Gallery, Exhibition of Pictures Painted by Washington Allston (Boston, John H. Eastburn, Printer, 1839), 7. Allston's Rosalie was owned by Appleton's son, Nathan, Jr., in 1876 when the latter lent it to an exhibition at the Boston Art Club (Massachusetts Centennial Art Exhibition [Boston, 1876], 8). He also lent Gilbert Stuart's portrait of his relative, Mrs. Nathaniel Coffin, which he had undoubtedly inherited from his parents. That painting was still owned by the family in 1964 (Charles Merrill Mount, Gilbert Stuart [New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1964], 366).

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Singleton Copley's Mrs. Richard Crowninshield as St. Cecilia (1803-06). Mrs. Crowninshield was Appleton's aunt and he purchased the portrait from the Boston Athenaeum where it had been on view since 1837.[52]

Toward the end of his life, Nathan Appleton apparently ordered a bust of his granddaughter, Edith Longfellow, from the American sculptor William Henry Rinehart. He never saw the finished marble, however, for he died in 1861 and the bust was not carved until the following year in Rome. Presumably, once finished, it went directly to Edith's father, the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.[53]

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[52]Swan, 127; Perkins and Gavin, 40. By 1873, the painting was owned by William Sumner Appleton (Augustus Thorndike Perkins, A Sketch of the Life and a List of Some of the Works of John Singleton Copley [Boston: James R. Osgood & Company, 1873], 51). It descended in the family and, in 1966, was in the collection of Mrs. Daniel M. Coxe, Drifton, Pa. (Jules David Prown, John Singleton Copley [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966], 2:417).

[53]In their catalogue of Rinehart's work, Marvin Ross and Anna Wells Rutledge stated that the bust of Edith Longfellow, which is dated 1862, was "ordered by her grandfather, Mr. Samuel Appleton" (Marvin Chauncey Ross and Anna Wells Rutledge, A Catalogue of the Work of William Henry Rinehart Maryland Sculptor, 1825-1874 [Baltimore: The Peabody Institute and the Walters Art Gallery, 1948], 57). Samuel Appleton was actually Edith's great-uncle and, as previously stated, he died childless in 1853. I am assuming that Ross and Rutledge were correct when they stated that the bust was ordered by Edith's grandfather but that they simply got his name wrong. They also list Samuel (i.e., Nathan?) Appleton as the first owner of the bust; but if the date, 1862, which is supposedly inscribed on the marble, is correct, then neither Samuel nor Nathan Appleton could have owned it. Perhaps it was the bust of Edith said to have been in the collection of Thomas Gold Appleton (see below); but whatever the case, it descended in the subject's family and was in the possession of Mrs. Richard Henry Dana of New York City in 1948.

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Portraits of Nathan Appleton and his first wife, painted by Gilbert Stuart in about 1808, are in the collection of the Longfellow Trust, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

Nathan Appleton made his home at 39 Beacon Street in Boston in a house designed for him by Alexander Parris in 1817-18.[54] The classical revival style of the house is said to have "characterized an entirely new architectural expression" in Boston as seen, for example, in its front door which was acknowledged as the first Greek revival door in Boston.[55] The interior featured marble mantels, at least one of which sported a carving of a laurel wreath; mahogany doors, "unsurpassed in Boston"; a spiral staircase which culminated at a small dome of glass in the roof; and a vestibule with wallpaper by Dufour of Paris depicting Views of Italy and bought by Appleton in France in 1815.[56] A photograph of the front parlor of the house, thought to have been taken in about 1886, shows a few unidentifiable

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[54]Appleton's business concerns are the focus of Frances W. Gregory, "Nathan Appleton, Yankee Merchant (1779-1861)" (Ph.D. diss., Radcliffe College, Cambridge, Mass., 1949) and, by the same author, Nathan Appleton, Merchant and Entrepeneur, 1779-1861 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1975). The two mansions he built in Boston are the subject of Pamela Fox, "Nathan Appleton's Beacon Street Houses," Old-Time New England 70 (1980): 111-24.

[55]Katharine H. Rich, "Beacon," Old-Time New England 66 (Winter-Spring, 1976): 46-48.

[56]Tharp, The Appletons, 104. The house still stands. It was used for many years as the headquarters of the Women's City Club and, in 1983, was converted to condominium apartments (Susan and Michael Southworth, The Boston Society of Architects' AIA Guide to Boston 2d ed. [Chester, Conn.: The Globe Pequot Press, 1992], 156).

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paintings but only one sculpture: a parian figure of Hiram Powers's The Greek Slave.[57] It is unknown, however, how or when this work entered the Appleton family collection.

After the death of his first wife, Appleton married Harriet Coffin Sumner, a relative of Charles Sumner.[58] He had eight children in all, one of whom, Fanny (1817-1861), married Longfellow in 1843, and was the mother of the artist Ernest Longfellow (1845-1921). Another daughter, Mary (1813-1889), who later married Robert J. Mackintosh of London, is said to have studied painting with Thomas Doughty in Boston although it is not known if she actually had hopes of becoming a professional painter.[59] Appleton's youngest son, Nathan Appleton, Jr. (1843-1906), was probably the person by that name who, in 1881, owned an ideal sculpture called Spring by the American artist Edmonia Lewis who was in Boston from 1863 to 1865.[60]

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[57]The photograph is in the collection of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston, and is reproduced in Rich, 52.

[58]Harriot (Sumner) Appleton was a first cousin to Senator Charles Sumner's father. See William B. Trask, "Genealogy of the Sumner Family," New-England Historical and Genealogical Register 8 (April 1854): 1281.

[59]Tharp, The Appletons, 141.

[60]Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, Catalogue of the Department of Fine Arts. Fourteenth Exhibition (Boston, 1881), 39. Lewis's sculpture is probably the work also known as The Bride of Spring. A sculpture by that title was sent by Lewis to the "Grand Bazaar" in Cincinnati in 1879 (New York Times, Sept. 25, 1879, quoted in Richardson, 103, cited below).

Lewis received support from a number of well-known citizens of Massachusetts and/or Boston including the author Lydia Maria Child, Dr. Harriot K. Hunt, and the abolitionist

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Another son, William Sumner Appleton (1840-1903), the historian and genealogist, was a patron of the American sculptor Franklin Simmons.[61] He owned a version of Simmons's bust of Robert Treat Paine (1892, unlocated);[62] but more important, both for his collection and for Simmons's career, was Appleton's commission of a marble version of the sculptor's full-size statue, Jochebed, the Mother of Moses (fig. 30).[63] Appleton, who was on his honeymoon in Rome, saw the figure in plaster in Simmons's studio and ordered a replica in marble for $5000.[64] Simmons completed the sculpture by the middle of 1873 and shipped it to Boston where Appleton displayed it in his home on Beacon Street. When Simmons came to America the following year, the Appletons held a reception to present his statue to

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and publisher William Lloyd Garrison. The last introduced her to the sculptor Edward Brackett with whom she studied informally in Boston. She modeled portraits of Robert Gould Shaw, Wendell Phillips, Charles Sumner, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow. Her group, Forever Free (1867, Howard University, Washington, D.C.) was also funded by a number of Bostonians including Garrison. See Marilyn Richardson, "Edmonia Lewis Checklist," (TMs, 1988); H.W., "A Negro Sculptress," The Athenaeum (London), no. 2001 (March 3, 1866): 302; and Yarnall and Gerdts, 2205.

[61]He was the father of William Sumner Appleton, Jr., who was the founder of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities. See Rich, 43-60. For Simmons, see Pamela W. Hawkes, "Franklin Simmons, Yankee sculptor in Rome," The Magazine Antiques 128 (July 1985): 125-29.

[62]Greenthal, et al, 191. Another replica of the bust of Paine by Simmons, though not the one owned by William S. Appleton, is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

[63]See the entry on this sculpture by Jan S. Ramirez in Greenthal, et al, 188-90.

[64]Hawkes, 127.

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their friends and, we might assume, to promote the sculptor's career.[65] Among those who came to inspect the latest Neoclassical addition to the Boston scene were Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and Charles Francis Adams.[66]

Nathan and Maria Appleton's most famous child was Thomas Gold Appleton (1812-1884) who became a popular figure among Boston's literati at mid-century. He was trained in the law and was admitted to the bar in 1838,[67] but he rarely practiced the trade and was best known as a writer, poet, and artist. He was among the most widely traveled Bostonians and became famous locally for his social skills, brilliance, and wit.[68] Emerson called him "the first

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[65]The Appleton's reception for Simmons was noted in the contemporary press. The Evening Post in New York, for example, reported that Simmons "has been making a visit to his friends in America since the first of Sept., and he has spent most of the time in Providence and Boston. His statue of Jochabed and the infant Moses has been placed by the owner, Mr. Appleton, in his new gallery, and his Boston friends were invited to a reception at the opening" ("Fine Arts," The Evening Post, Jan. 8, 1874, 2).

[66]Hawkes, 127.

[67]Tharp, The Appletons, 197.

[68]The standard biography of Thomas Appleton is Susan Hale, Life and Letters of Thomas Gold Appleton (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1885). Also see DAB, 1:333-334; and Troyen, 21. Among Appleton's published books are Faded Leaves (1872) and Fresh Leaves (1874), both of which are volumes of poems; a collection of essays, A Sheaf of Papers (1875); and travel books such as A Nile Journey (1876) and Syrian Sunshine (1877). He is said to have crossed the Atlantic ocean at least forty times before 1860.

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conversationalist in America,"[69] and Longfellow said he was "a fellow of infinite jest."[70] Later, Van Wyck Brooks noted that he "was the only man who could ride over [Oliver Wendell] Holmes and [James Russell] Lowell and talk them down."[71] He had a deep love of art and as early as 1833, he was said to be constantly "turning his steps. . . to any place whereon was pasted `Gallery of Paintings'."[72] By the time of his twenty-fifth birthday, he had developed strong opinions about American patronage of the arts which he expressed in a letter he sent to Boston from Europe in 1836:

> . . . the Americans are said to have made Rome their own. Every shop is dismantled by them. All the prettiest statues and pictures are marked with their names. This you may imagine delights me. I feel a love for any man who blesses America with a fine Statue or Picture.[73]

Appleton was well known for his *bon mots* which were often quoted by his contemporaries. For example, he has been credited with saying that "good Americans when they die go to Paris;" and for theorizing that Leonardo's Last Supper "may have reached its faded condition from being stared at by sight-seers" (quoted in Mary Caroline Crawford, Famous Families of Massachusetts [Boston: Little, Brown, and Co., 1930], 2:170).

[69]Quoted in Volker Bischoff, "The `New England Conscience,' Thomas Gold Appleton, and Mrs. Vivian," The New England Quarterly 53 (June 1980): 225.

[70]Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Journal, Nov. 30, 1839, quoted in Longfellow, ed. Longfellow, 1:346.

[71]Van Wyck Brooks, New England: Indian Summer 1865-1915 (New York, 1940), 17.

[72]Quoted in Tharp, The Appletons, 142.

[73]Thomas Gold Appleton, Rome, to Harriet Sumner, Boston, April 6, 1836, Appleton Family Papers.

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In fact, by that time, Appleton was already amassing his own art collection, one which eventually became fairly large and which included works by American artists such as Thomas Birch, Jasper Cropsey, William S. Haseltine, and John F. Kensett.[74] He was close friends with Kensett whom he had met in Europe, supported financially, and entertained at his summer house at Nahant. Together, the two young men supposedly painted small landscapes on pebbles and rocks they found on the beach at Nahant and sold them at Sanitary fairs in Boston as paperweights and door-stops![75] In 1874, again in Europe, Appleton befriended the young painter and writer Eugene Benson who became his traveling companion in Italy and Egypt. By that time, Appleton was adding Barbizon works to his collection, including notable examples by Constant Troyon; and he was said to have been the original commissioner of Jean Francois Millet's The Angelus (Louvre, Paris) although the artist took so long in executing the painting that Appleton canceled his order and the work was bought by the French government.[76]

Besides paintings, Appleton also owned several sculptures including a replica of Henry Kirke Brown's La

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[74]Perkins and Gavin, 179. A number of letters between Appleton and Kensett are in the Edwin D. Morgan Papers, State Library of New York, Albany (also AAA 1533).

[75]Tharp, The Appletons, 312.

[76]Ibid., 323.

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Grazia which he ordered for $250 in the winter of 1844-45;[77] a marble bust of Emerson by Martin Milmore;[78] a bust of himself by an unnamed artist; one of Shelley;[79] another of Edith Longfellow, probably by William Henry Rinehart, as discussed above; and John Gibson's Love Disguised as a Shepherd which Appleton pointedly kept in his possession even after he started giving much of his collection to the new Museum of Fine Arts in Boston in the late 1870s.[80]

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[77]See Wayne Craven, "Henry Kirke Brown in Italy, 1842-1846," The American Art Journal 1 (Spring, 1969): 73. An example of Brown's La Grazia, dated 1844, is in the collection of the New-York Historical Society, New York City.

[78]Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association, Thirteenth Exhibition: Department of Fine Arts. Catalogue (Boston, 1878), 35. Emerson and Appleton were fellow passengers on a ship from Europe in 1848 and Emerson later recalled the experience. "In the cabin conversations about England and America," he wrote in his journal, "Tom Appleton amused us all by tracing all English performance home to the dear Puritans, and affirming that the Pope also was once in South America, and there met a Yankee, who gave him notions on politics and religion" (quoted in Emerson, Saturday Club, 221).

[79]One of these busts, probably the one of Perkins or the one of Shelley, is visible in a photograph of Appleton's study in his home at 10 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston. The photograph was probably taken shortly after Appleton's death and is reproduced in Tharp (The Appletons, 330). A copy of it is in the collection of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston. Although the photograph is not distinct enought to identify the bust specifically, it bears a striking resemblance to William Story's bust of Shelley, a plaster of which is in the possession of the Keats-Shelley Memorial Association, Rome.

[80]Tharp, The Appletons, 325. Tharp noted that Thomas Appleton did not patronize contemporary women sculptors although he was aware of their work. When Emma Stebbins's statue of Horace Mann was unveiled in Boston, he supposedly said that it "ought to be called `Mann by Woman'."

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Until that time, his collection was displayed in his home, bought in 1863, on Commonwealth Avenue in Boston, and in his cottage in Newport. The town house featured rooms lit only by skylights, thereby freeing all four walls for pictures. These were hung floor-to-ceiling and were said to have "overflowed into the drawing room . . . and into the sunny dining room behind; they climbed the stairs, ornamenting the halls and invading the large bedrooms, penetrating to the very top where the billiard room occupied the front of the upper story."[81] In 1869, Appleton gave the Boston Athenaeum a cast of the Ludovisi Mars which he had probably purchased on one of his trips to Europe.[82]

In part, Appleton's collecting of art may have been an expression of his frustrated hopes of becoming a professional artist. In his youth, he kept a studio in his father's house on Beacon Street and was constantly sketching and copying old master paintings during his many extended trips to Europe. In about 1842-43, he even began working on a large painting with an American Indian theme for exhibition at the Boston Athenaeum, but the work was evidently never finished and nothing like it was ever shown publicly by him.[83] Whatever the reasons--and surely his

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[81]Tharp, The Appletons, 323.

[82]Swan, 158.

[83]Tharp, The Appletons,229.

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inherited wealth played a role here--his hopes for a career as an artist were never realized.

One of Appleton's many friends was William Wetmore Story, although it appears he never gave Story an artistic commission. In 1856, he and Story traveled together to Walton-on-Thames in Surrey, England, where the two men had rented a house for the summer. As Jan Seidler has recently pointed out, their neighbors were Russell and Julia Sturgis of Boston whose villa, "Mount Felix," served as a sort of headquarters for Bostonians visiting England.[84] Appleton and Story corresponded over the years and in 1862, for example, Appleton wrote in customary whimsical terms to congratulate the sculptor on his recent success with his two works, Cleopatra (Los Angeles County Museum, Los Angeles, California) and The Libyan Sibyl (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). "You can imagine with what satisfaction I hear these praises, " Appleton reported.

> You have your full revenge on the "indifferentials" who cried--"well, for an amateur," and upon those who would have you stick to Boston and law. . . . When one is recognized in England, he is followed by the full cry at home. He becomes an integral part of our national vanity. Let me congratulate you on having reached the sacred "Our Story" for then you can repose with the stars and stripes waving over you.[85]

Besides indicating his support of Story in this letter, Appleton, I think, also reveals part of the reason the two men were such good friends: they had both made a

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[84]Seidler, Story, 309.

[85]Thomas Gold Appleton, Cambridge, to WWS, June 18, 1862, Pierpont Morgan Library, quoted in Ibid., 524.

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controversial decision to forsake law careers in order to pursue the arts.

The friendship continued and, some fifteen years later, in 1877, Appleton was still doing what he could to get business for Story. In that year, he encouraged Story to enter a contest for the erection of a monument to Leif Erickson in Boston. Since no payment was offered for submitting a model for the competition, however, Story refused to enter and the commission eventually went to Anne Whitney whose bronze figure now stands on Commonwealth Avenue in Boston.[86]

While Appleton's participation in the art life of Boston was significant, it really belongs to a period outside the scope of this dissertation and it has been described elsewhere.[87] Suffice it to say that he gave his full support to a number of Boston's most important cultural institutions including the Boston Athenaeum, the Boston Public Library, and the Museum of Fine Arts. He did not limit his efforts, though, to his hometown but was active in the formation of the collections of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York as well. "The creditable feature in Mr. Appleton's advocacy," it was written of him in 1880, "was

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[86]Seidler, Story, 614.

[87]For example, see Carol Troyen and Pamela S. Tabbaa, The Great Boston Collectors: Paintings from the Museum of Fine Arts (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1984), 18-19.

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that he acted not as a Bostonian, but as an American, and was quite willing to merge the claims of his own city in favor of what he felt to be the broader capabilities, greater publicity, and larger power for good of the metropolitan position."[88] His death was a blow to Boston's artistic and literary set and prompted Oliver Wendell Holmes to write that the city "seems grayer and older since he left us, the cold spring wind coming from the bay, harsher and more unfriendly."[89]

Another member of the Appleton family who had some dealings with American sculptors was the merchant William Appleton (1786-1862), a first cousin and close friend of Samuel and Nathan Appleton. He moved to Boston from his native New Hampshire in 1806 and, in 1814, bought a house on Beacon Hill, not far from those of his cousins.[90] He served several terms in Congress beginning in 1850, was an active contributor to the Colonization Society and the American Humane Society, and was a member of the Bunker Hill Monument Association.[91] He was said to be a protégé and supporter of

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[88]Cicerone, "Private Galleries. Collection of Thomas G. Appleton," Art Amateur 2 (May, 1880): 117.

[89]Quoted in Tharp, The Appletons, 334.

[90]Ibid., 68.

[91]Crawford, Famous Families, 2:172-74; William Appleton, Selections from the Diaries of William Appleton 1786-1862 (Boston: Privately Printed, 1922). It seems doubtful that Appleton was very active on the Bunker Hill project, however, as the following entry from his diary, dated Jan. 14, 1841, implies: "Meeting Bunker Hill Monument

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the American sculptor Henry Kirke Brown whom he had probably met in the mid or late 1830s when the young artist was in Boston.[92] It was probably at that time, too, that Brown modeled a portrait bust of Appleton, now unlocated.[93] Brown's introduction to Appleton could have come through Chester Harding, Brown's teacher in Boston, who made a point of introducing the younger man to potential clients. Harding knew several members of various branches of the Appleton family. For example, in about 1827, he painted Mary Gore Appleton's portrait (unlocated), and in about 1839, he painted one of Julia (Webster) Appleton (New Britain Museum of American Art, New Britain, Connecticut), the daughter of Daniel Webster and wife of Nathan Appleton's nephew, Samuel Appleton Appleton.[94] Another connection

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Association; I paid over the donation of Mr. Truro of ten thousand dollars. A committee was appointed to prepare an inscription for a tablet to be placed on the Monument, describing the object for which it was built. I was chosen, but declined, not feeling as if I should find myself at home with J.Q. Adams, Webster, Everett, Storrow, etc.; my modesty does not often trouble me" (Appleton, Diaries, 83).

[92]Tharp, The Appletons, 251-52.

[93]E. Anna Lewis, "Art and Artists of America: Henry Kirke Brown, N.A.," Graham's American Monthly Magazine 44 (Apr. 1854): 426. Letters in the Henry Kirke Brown Papers, AAA 2770, indicate that Brown was in Boston between April and Aug. of 1839 but that he had left by Dec. of that year and was in the Schenectady-Albany, New York, area by Feb. 1840. But he had been in Boston briefly as early as 1834 when he came to town to study with Chester Harding.

[94]Leah Lipton, A Truthful Likeness, Chester Harding and His Portraits (Washington: The National Portrait Gallery, 1985), 135; and Octavia Hughes, "The Early Work and Development of Henry Kirke Brown" (M.A. Thesis, Columbia University, New York, 1960), 4-7. Samuel Appleton Appleton was the son Samuel and Nathan's brother, Eben Appleton, who

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between the Appletons and Brown might have been George Loring Brown who was the sculptor's friend and whose paintings were owned by various Appletons.[95]

According to an article in Sartain's Union Magazine in 1851, William Appleton also commissioned Brown to do a bust of the popular clergyman and teacher, Alonzo Potter,[96] who was on the faculty of Union College in Schenectady, New York, and with whom Appleton was said to be a "confidential friend and counselor."[97] Brown went to Schenectady to accomplish this and Potter, in turn, asked him to model a bust of Eliphalet Nott, president of the college.[98] In Schenectady and in the nearby towns of Albany and Troy the sculptor received other commissions, the most important of which came from Ezra P. Prentice of Albany who proved to be

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was said to have been "a man of superior literary tastes" and who published poems in the magazine Portfolio between 1801-1812 (Sheppard, 11).

[95]Several letters between the two Browns, the sculptor and the painter, are in the Henry Kirke Brown Papers, AAA 2770. William Appleton himself was painted by George P. A. Healy in 1842 and by Seth Cheney in 1845 (Appleton, Diaries, 96, 115).

[96]N. Cleveland, "Henry Kirke Brown," Sartain's Union Magazine 8 (Feb., 1851): 135-38.

[97]Mark A. DeWolfe Howe, Memoirs of the Life and Services of the Rt. Rev. Alonzo Potter, D.D., LL.D. (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott & Co., 1871), 84. Howe reprinted a number of letter between Appleton and Potter, the earliest of which is dated 1831.

[98]Henry K. Brown, Albany, to Alonzo Potter, Sept. 5, 1840, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, AAA P22.

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one of Brown's most consistent patrons.[99] If we accept the account given in Sartain's, all of this might be traced, then, to Brown's Boston experience and to his fortunate contact with the Appleton family.

William Appleton was also the subject of a portrait bust modeled in 1851 by the Boston sculptor Henry Dexter who replicated it at least once, in 1862.[100] One version was in the possession of Franklin Appleton Dexter in 1862, descended in his family, and is now in the collection of the Boston Athenaeum.[101]

Francis Calley Gray (1790-1856)

In the decades before the Civil War, Francis Calley Gray was one of Boston's most dependable and informed benefactors of worthy organizations and individuals. The sincerity and significance of his patronage was recognized by his contemporaries, including Horatio Greenough. "I wish you knew Frank C. Gray," the sculptor wrote his brother, Henry, in 1838. "I think him one of the most charming, best informed, and worthiest of men. *Learn* him, and you will find me correct."[102] As far as Gray was concerned, the

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[99]Cleveland, 135-38. Also see Craven, Sculpture in American, 145; and Hughes, 13. Brown's busts of Potter and Nott, both in plaster, are in the collection of Union College, Schenectady.

[100]Albee, 113, 116.

[101]Harding, Athenaeum, 26.

[102]HG, Florence, to Henry Greenough, Jan. 17, 1838, Letters of Greenough, ed. Greenough, 119-120.

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feeling was mutual. Two years later, in a poem he read before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Harvard, he returned the compliment to Greenough, and at the same time, gave one to Boston's other great contemporary artist, Washington Allston. "What is poetry?" Gray asked, and answered:

> What is it else, when Allston's hand displays
> The prophet rapt, on whom as rapt we gaze;
> Or Greenough's chisel summons from the stone
> Not the mere form--the soul of Washington?[103]

Gray was the son of the successful merchant, William Gray, of Salem, Massachusetts, and his wife, Elizabeth Chipman. He attended school in Salem, the town of his birth, and then entered Harvard College where he was graduated in 1809.[104] That same year he went to St. Petersburg as secretary to the new minister to Russia, John Quincy Adams.[105] Besides performing his duties to Adams, Gray passed his time in Russia writing poetry and reading the law. He may also have accompanied Adams on tours of local art collections; at least it is known that Adams visited these in the company of one of his other secretaries, Alexander Hill Everett (brother of Edward). If

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[103]Francis Calley Gray, Poem Spoken at Cambridge, Before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University, Aug. 27, 1840 (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1840), n.p.

[104]The most complete treatment of Gray, especially in terms of his role as a patron, is Marjorie B. Cohn, Francis Calley Gray and Art Collecting for America (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986).

[105]Cohn, 26.

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Gray went with Adams and Everett, though, no record of his reactions to what he saw there survives.[106]

In the fall of 1811, Gray toured other parts of Europe including France and Germany where, in Dresden, he bought his first paintings. Not surprisingly, and as he noted in his journal, these were copies: a figural work from an original by Correggio and a head of Christ, copied from a painting by Carraci.[107]

Gray returned to America in 1813, continued his study of law in Boston, and was admitted to the bar in 1814. During the final months of that year and the first few of the next, he traveled with George Ticknor (see below) to the major cities of the eastern United States including New York, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C. With Ticknor, too, he went to Monticello where he made a brief note of his impression of Jefferson's art collection which consisted, Gray wrote, of "many miserable prints and some fine pictures hung round the room."[108]

Like a number of his fellow Bostonians--notably Everett, Sumner, and George Hillard--Gray decided early in his career to pursue politics and art rather than to practice the law for which he had been trained. Although

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[106]Cohn, 31.

[107]Cohn, 36.

[108]Francis Calley Gray, Thomas Jefferson in 1814 (Boston: The Club of Odd Volumes, 1924), 68. This source is a published version of the diary Gray kept on the trip from Dec. 13, 1814 to Feb. 1815.

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during the 1820s, '30s, and '40s he served as a representative of the city of Boston in the General Court of Massachusetts and as a state senator, his most memorable contribution to society came in the form of philanthropy, including financial support of Harvard, which allowed the construction and maintaining of facilities for zoological studies, among other things. After Gray's death, Harvard also received his extensive and well-documented collection of engravings, the history of which has recently been detailed by Marjorie Cohn. There is no need to recapitulate the facts of that collection here other than to say that during Gray's lifetime--and certainly since--it was known as one of the best of its kind in America and Gray himself was recognized for his expertise in the field of graphic arts.[109]

Gray also wrote and published during these years. He contributed a number of articles to the North American Review, compiled essays on politics, wrote poetry, and published a book on prison practices and reform. He was extremely active in Boston's literary, cultural, and artistic organizations such as the Massachusetts Historical Society, the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and the Boston Athenaeum.[110]

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[109]See Cohn, 238-266.

[110]Cohn, 74.

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His involvement in the last of these began early in its history. In 1827, he served on the committee which organized the first annual art exhibition at the Athenaeum[111] and for much of his life he was an executive officer there, serving as trustee (1822-1825), vice-president (1826-1832), and president (1833-1836).[112] Not surprisingly, he also joined a number of efforts to improve both the facilities and the permanent collection of the Athenaeum over the years. In 1822, for example, he helped raise money to commission the portrait, mentioned above, of James Perkins from Gilbert Stuart; and he made contributions to the Athenaeum's building fund in 1823 and again in 1826. In 1824, he gave money toward the purchase of a bust of Washington by Raimondo Trentenova; and in 1831 he did the same for the acquisition of Stuart's so-called Athenaeum Portraits of George and Martha Washington. He gave the Athenaeum a plaster cast of the famous Portland Vase which he had probably seen in England in 1830;[113] and in 1837, he gave the Athenaeum two copies of paintings made "under my inspection" in Europe in 1836. One of these was after a Holy Family by Murillo and the other, a copy of a landscape by Cuyp. A decade later, he joined the effort to acquire a cast of Houdon's statue of Washington, which is still in the

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[111]Swan, 18.

[112]Athenaeum Centenary, 115, 116, 118.

[113]Cohn, 112.

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Athenaeum's collection; in 1849 he was one of twenty members who gave money toward the purchase of Henry Dexter's full-length marble sculpture, The Backwoodsman[114] and in 1854 he joined thirty-eight other Bostonians in funding a commission from Dexter for a bust of Robert C. Winthrop.[115]

Gray also took an active role in commissioning a portrait of Chief Justice John Marshall from Chester Harding in 1830. On behalf of the Athenaeum, he wrote to Harding, who was in Washington at the time, and offered him two-hundred dollars to paint the portrait. Gray told him that the picture should be the same size as the Athenaeum's portrait of Benjamin West (which was a copy by Charles Robert Leslie after Thomas Lawrence) so that the newer painting could serve as a pendant to the older. "We expect a first rate picture," he cautioned Harding, "and hope you will not stint the size nor neglect the execution on any account."[116] Harding readily agreed to execute the painting but asked for more money; and, in fact, he was eventually given three-hundred-fifty dollars.[117]

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[114]Ibid., 75-84; Swan, 80, 127, 160

[115]Petition of Nathan Appleton, et al, Feb. 10, 1854, Winthrop Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[116]Francis C. Gray, Boston, to Chester Harding, Jan., 1830, in Swan, 119.

[117]Both the portrait of West and that of Marshall remain in the Athenaeum's collection (Harding, Athenaeum, 39, 46).

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Another artist who was living and working in Boston with whom Gray had contact in the 1830s was Francis Alexander who, in 1836, married Gray's niece, Lucia Gray Swett. Alexander painted Gray's portrait, probably in the mid 1830s.[118] An interesting feature of the painting is the inclusion of a portrait bust of a child, prominently displayed behind Gray. While the sculpture has not been identified, it is almost certainly included by Alexander as an indication of Gray's deep artistic interests, just as the book under Gray's right arm is meant to suggest his literary bent.[119] Gray's favorable opinion of Alexander as a portraitist was expressed several years later when, it seems, Gray played some role in obtaining permission for Alexander to paint the portrait of Charles Dickens (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) who was in Boston in 1841.[120]

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[118]Alexander's portrait of Gray is now in the collection of Harvard University. Cohn has suggested that it was executed in the 1830s; another, older source gives it a date of about 1825 (Huntsinger, 66).

[119]See Cohn, 105.

[120]Cohn, 103. Gray was eventually the subject of several other portraits. One of these, which is still in the family, is a miniature by the British artist George Lethbridge Saunders who was working in the United States in the 1830s and '40s (Cohn, 296). Another is an engraved portrait by Lazarus Sichling based on a photograph. As Cohn has pointed out, the engraving differed from the source in several telling ways. Notably, a newspaper which Gray is holding in the photograph becomes a drawing after Raphael's Madonna Della Sedia in the engraving, an indication of the man's love of that artist; and the background, which is blank in the photograph, is festooned with a shelf of books topped by a small bust of Shakespeare in the engraving, referring to the folio editions of Shakespeare's plays which Gray owned (Cohn, 131-132).

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At least in part, Gray arrived at his appreciation of art by way of several more trips to Europe.[121] In 1830, for example, he made a short journey to England, accompanied by Thomas Coffin Amory, a student at Harvard. They visited the English lake country and Scotland and met William Wordsworth and Sir Walter Scott. In fact, as Marjorie Cohn has pointed out, Gray's interests appear to have been mainly literary at this point in his life.[122] In the autumn of 1836, however, he left Boston again, for a more extensive tour of the Continent and, this time, he devoted much of his attention to the fine arts. This is not to say that he went to Europe as a collector of art, any more than Everett or Sumner did. As Marjorie Cohn has observed, "It was not the acquisition of art that he sought in 1836, but . . . the experience of art."[123] Nevertheless, as we shall see, Gray did not return from Europe empty-handed.

Gray's traveling companion this time was Joseph Green Cogswell and, together, they spent several months in

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[121]Louis Thies wrote in 1869 that "frequent visits to Europe, begun early in life, developed in Mr. Gray a strong love of art. . . . In his engravings he studied the history of art in all periods, and in every country" (Louis Thies, Catalogue of the Collection of Engravings Bequeathed to Harvard College by Francis Calley Gray [Cambridge, 1869], v). As will be remembered, Thies instructed Sumner in the history and collecting of prints (see above).

[122]Cohn, 102. Cohn states that evidence exists that Gray's major souvenirs of his 1830 trip were copies of Shakespeare's four folios which, if this is true, would be the first such copies to come to America.

[123]Cohn, 113.

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Paris before striking out for their intended destination of Italy. Notable among Gray's Paris experiences were his visits to Horatio Greenough who was in Paris for a six-week stay. The sculptor had established a temporary studio there in hopes of obtaining portrait commissions and was not unsuccessful in this pursuit.[124] Lafayette and Samuel F. B. Morse were among his distinguished sitters in Paris and Gray certainly may have met them; but it is known that he was present on several occasions as Greenough modeled the bust of Mary Appleton (unlocated), daughter of the wealthy Boston businessman, Nathan Appleton, who had brought his family to Europe for the Grand Tour, as discussed above. Mary and her sister Fanny were regulars at Greenough's studio and Gray and Cogswell went there, too, to amuse them with witty and engaging conversation.[125] The two young men even wrote a verse about their experiences in the studio which went in part:

> Dear, dear, what can the matter be
> Mr. Greenough, you promised the likeness should flatter me
> And the bust should be better than any made latterly
> In figure and features and air.
> And you took a great lump of clay, big as my bonnet
> And you molded and pinched it and threw water on it
> And who would have thought it, but now that you've done it
> 'Tis a fright that will make people stare . . .[126]

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[124]See Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 195-196.

[125]Cohn, 115-116.

[126]Quoted in Tharp, The Appletons, 187-88.

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From France, Gray and Cogswell went to Italy which, from the start, was meant to be the major stop on their tour. While in Rome in the spring of 1837, Gray toured the studios of a number of sculptors with his old friend and fellow Bostonian George Ticknor. "I went with Gray this morning to the ateliers of [Luigi] Beinaimé, [Pietro] Tenerani, [Emil] Wolf [sic] & [Bertel] Thorwaldsen," Ticknor wrote in his journal on March 14, 1837. "I enjoy not a little these repeated visits to the same things, especially when this made, with an intelligent friend, who, also, enjoys them so much."[127] Notable among these sculptural encounters was Gray's meeting with two English Neoclassicists, John Gibson and Joseph Gott. From Gibson Gray bought two sculptures, replicas of his Flora and Nymph;[128] and from Gott, who was somewhat of a specialist in the carving of animals, he commissioned a figure of an

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[127]Quoted in Cohn, 122. Cohn points out that Gray's preference for sculptors over painters is made obvious by his neglect to visit the studios of any artists from the latter group while in Rome. She writes, "Evidently Gray, like many of his fellow Bostonian collectors, was particularly taken with sculpture" (Cohn, 122).

[128]Gray lent both works to the second annual sculpture exhibition at the Athenaeum, the only time sculpture by John Gibson was shown there (Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Second Exhibition of Sculpture in the Athenaeum Gallery [Boston: Eastburn's Press, 1840], 7, 12). Flora may have been a full-length figure while Nymph was a bust. Gibson created several works with these titles or variations of them and, since Gray's sculptures are not now located, it is uncertain exactly which conceptions he purchased. See T. Matthews, The Biography of John Gibson, R.A., Sculptor, Rome (London: William Heinemann, 1911), 242.

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English setter dog.[129] The aritst made several models for the sculpture before he finally met Gray's evidently exacting demands, producing in the end a rather poignant but not particularly distinctive animal. Gray's reason for commissioning the sculpture is not known although it is possible that, from the start, he meant to place it on his own grave in Mount Auburn Cemetery in Cambridge. As it turned out, he gave it to his friend and patron William Appleton who placed it in a grove of trees near his house in Brookline, Massachusetts, in 1849; but when Gray died, the Appleton family transferred it to his (Gray's) lot at Mount Auburn, thereby giving it the venue for which it may have been intended from the start.[130] Certainly, by the time of Gray's death in 1856, the precedent for memorializing with a

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[129]Cohn, 117. Gott's first such work was *A Greyhound with Her Two Puppies Suckling* which he modeled in 1824-25 for the Duke of Devonshire and which remains at Chatsworth in England. Greyhounds and spaniels appear to have been the sculptor's favorite dogs and, as far as is known, the Setter he conceived for Gray is the only time he depicted that variety. This may indicate that the choice of breed was Gray's. For Gott, see Joseph Gott 1786-1860 Sculptor (Leeds and Liverpool, 1972). Cohn records that Gray owned another sculpture by Gott, a small figure of a wrestler, made out of terra-cotta (Cohn, 121).

[130]The very day Gray gave the sculpture to Appleton, the latter noted in his diary that he intended to place it on Gray's grave when the time came. Seven years later, on Dec. 1, 1856, he went to see Gray "who we do not expect to live long; I asked him if he had any wish as to the location of the Marble he placed in the grove near my House at Brookline; he said none other than it remain where it was as long as any son or grandchild should, on seeing it, be reminded of the friendship that existed between himself & me; after that he had no wish as to its destination" (Appleton, Diaries, 135, 192). Also see Cohn, 118-119.

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sculpture of a dog had already been set in Boston by Thomas H. Perkins, Jr., who, during the 1840s, had commissioned a sculpture of a Newfoundland dog from Horatio Greenough which had been placed on the Perkins lot at Mount Auburn.

While in Italy, Gray spent a brief time in Florence where he went with his cousin, Samuel Gray Ward, who was also on the Grand Tour at the time, and there Gray encountered Greenough again. The two Bostonians became closer than they had been during their earlier, Paris meeting and, by the summer of 1837, Gray had ordered two busts from Greenough, a Psyche and a Young Augustus.[131] While the second of these was a copy from an antique sculpture, the first seems to have been an original conception although the fact that neither work is now located prevents any firm conclusion here. The marbles were finished and shipped by Greenough to Boston in 1838.[132] While in Florence, Gray was introduced to Hiram Powers by Greenough and shortly thereafter Gray sat to Powers for his

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[131]In June, 1837, the sculptor wrote his brother Henry that "Mr. F. C. Gray, of Boston has given me an order for a head of Psyche and one of the young Augustus" (HG, Florence, to Henry Greenough, June 16, 1837, Letters of Greenough, ed. Greenough, 114).

[132]Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 197, 204. Greenough made another copy of the Young Augustus which belonged to his daughter, Charlotte, and which is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. See the entry on this bust by Jan Seidler Ramirez in Greenthal, et al, 20-21.

Gray had some contact with the Greenough family later, back in Boston. In 1843, he bought the childhood home of Louise Gore Greenough, the sculptor's wife, on Beacon Hill in Boston (Cohn, 149-150).

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bust (fig. 31). Unfortunately, no specific information about the commission or Gray's opinions of Powers and his work are known. However, Gray did sign the petition which Edward Everett sent to Congress requesting a commission for Powers, as mentioned above, and certainly Gray remained supportive of Powers, at least in theory.[133] He bequeathed his bust by Powers to his nephew, Francis C. Gray, Jr. It descended in the Gray family and was presented to the Boston Athenaeum in 1953.[134]

Gray and Cogswell spent most of the summer of 1837 in the company of George and Anna Ticknor, touring other countries on the continent, including Switzerland and Germany. In Munich, they visited the studio of the painter Julius Schnorr but Gray left no record to indicate that he was particularly impressed with that artist's work.[135] Gray parted with the Ticknors in September, returned for a few months each to Paris and Italy, and was back in Boston by the summer of 1838.

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[133]See Wunder, 1:166.

[134]Wunder, 2:46. According to Wunder, Greenough's Psyche prompted Powers, who thought he could do better, to try his hand at an ideal bust. The result was the sculpture he eventually called A Country Woman (1837-38, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.), his first ideal work (Wunder, 1:110, 2:130-131). The fact that Powers found Greenough's bust to be so inspirational may indicate that Greenough's was, after all, an original conception; it seems unlikely that Powers, who was not known for his professional generosity, would have been so moved by a mere copy.

[135]Cohn, 132.

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Not long after he returned to America, Gray lent a number of the paintings and sculptures from his small collection, including several works he had recently acquired in Europe, to the Boston Athenaeum's annual exhibition of 1840. Gibson's Flora and Nymph as well as the two copies which Greenough had made from antique sculptures were lent, as were a marble figure called Nymph of the Arno, said to be a copy of a sculpture by Lorenzo Bartolini, and Gott's small terra-cotta Wrestler. Additionally, Gray sent several paintings: a copy of a self-portrait by Raphael; a copy of that artist's Fornarina;[136] and two paintings by Gilbert Stuart Newton, Spanish Girl and The Dutch Girl. The last of these had been lent to the Athenaeum by Gray previously, in 1832, and exhibition records at the Athenaeum reveal that Gray's collection also included a portrait of Salvator Mundi by Andrea Solario, probably a copy, which Gray lent to the Athenaeum in 1827; Gilbert Stuart's portrait of Gray's father, William, shown at the Athenaeum in 1829; a painting by the Dutch artist Van Keller called Boors Drinking, sent in 1842; and a portrait of a gentleman by George P. A. Healy, lent by Gray in 1850.[137]

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[136]As Cohn has pointed out, Gray preferred the art of the Renaissance to that of antiquity and was especially receptive to Raphael. See Cohn, 123-132.

[137]Perkins and Gavin, 202. Although the Athenaeum records do not identify it as such, the last of these was probably a portrait of William Appleton which Gray had commissioned from Healy in 1848 (Cohn, 296, n. 81).

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Gray made another trip to Europe in 1841, traveling to England, France, and Germany with the Boston author and connoisseur Thomas Gold Appleton. Gray spent most of the trip concentrating on collecting prints, manuscripts, and books and on researching various problems in history and current politics.[138]

George Stillman Hillard (1808-1879)

George Hillard was born in Machias, Maine, a son of John and Sarah (Stillman) Hillard.[139] His education began at the Derby Academy in Hingham, Massachusetts, and continued at the Boston Latin School. He was graduated from Harvard College in 1828 after which he taught for a time at the Round Hill School in Northampton, Massachusetts. He then entered the Harvard Law School where he became a favorite pupil of Joseph Story and from which he received his degree in 1832.[140] That same year he joined the law firm of Charles P. Curtis in Boston and also became the editor of the Christian Register; but two years later he left both posts, became an editor of The American Jurist, and joined Charles Sumner, whom he had known since Harvard, in establishing a law office in Boston, as mentioned

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[138]Cohn, 142-149.

[139]For the facts of Hillard's life, see Francis W. Palfrey, Memoir of the Hon. George S. Hillard, LL.D. (Boston: John Wilson and Son, 1882); and DAB, 5:49-50.

[140]Donald, Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War, 31.

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above.[141] Like Sumner, Hillard augmented his legal career with an active role in politics.[142] He also shared with Sumner an intense interest in literature and joined Sumner, Longfellow, and others, in the informal literary group known as "The Five of Clubs" in Boston. He was fascinated by art, too, especially by the work of American sculptors.

In fact, one of Hillard's closest relationships with an artist, or at least a future artist, began in his own law office. There he met William Wetmore Story who was working as an assistant and reading the law. Besides helping Story with his studies, Hillard impressed the young man with his knowledge of literature and art.[143] Years later, following Hillard's death, his influence was acknowledged in a memorial poem by Story which reads in part:

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[141]Hillard and Sumner's friendship became so intense that when Sumner was also getting closer to Samuel G. Howe, Hillard wrote, "He is quite in love with Howe and spends so much time with him that I begin to feel the shooting pains of jealousy" (Hillard to Henry W. Longfellow, May 16, 1842, Longfellow Papers, Craigie House, Cambridge, Mass., quoted in Donald, Sumner and the Coming of the Civil War, 87). But by that time, the relationship between Hillard and Sumner had begun to change anyway. In 1847, Hillard complained that Sumner was neglecting his law practice, and during the early 1850s, Sumner's radical politics prompted Hillard to begin to pull away from him. (See Ibid., 155, 171-72).

[142]Hillard served in a number of public positions beginning with his election to the Massachusetts House of Representatives in 1835. He was also elected to the Massachusetts Senate in 1850 and, in 1866, he was appointed United States Attorney for the District of Massachusetts (see Palfrey, passim).

[143]Hillard's influence on Story was mentioned by Jan Seidler in her dissertation on Story (Seidler, Story, 87-88).

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> Glad hours they were, when we the crabbed book
> Of legal study laid aside, and took
> Long rambles through the sunny lands of song
> And talked of poets and the writers strong
> That raftered our grand English with their prose
> Or the great artists in the past that rose
> Like constellations, and securely shine
> Beyound all envy in their fame divine.
>
> You in these silent regions were my guide,
> And I, content and happy at your side,
> Listened and learned and followed where you led,
> Fired by the eloquent, high words you said,
> Through the Elysian dream-land of the dead.[144]

As these lines imply, Hillard and Story had a personal relationship which lasted many years, in fact until the former's death.

This was evidently unusual for Hillard who does not seem to have had notable close associations with other artists, or at least he did not have the kind of friendships that prompted lengthy correspondence. Rather, his major contribution toward the advancement of American art, especially sculpture, was made through his widely acknowledged abilities as a writer.[145] Like Everett, he was a prolific author and, to a lesser extent, a gifted orator.

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[144]William Wetmore Story, "George Stillman Hillard," in Palfrey, 346-48.

[145]This is not to say that Hillard was a selfish man. Although he did not have the financial security of, say, a Thomas H. Perkins, he did not hesitate to help the needy whenever he could. For example, in 1850, he realized that Nathaniel Hawthorne was having financial difficulties and so he took it upon himself to solicit funds from friends to help the author. He tactfully offered the sum to Hawthorne, insisting that he "not speak or think of obligation. It is only paying, in a very imperfect measure, the debt we owe you for what you have done for American Literature" (Hillard, Boston, to Hawthorne, Jan. 17, 1850, in Julian Hawthorne, Nathaniel Hawthorne and His Wife [Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1885], 355).

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He edited comprehensive editions of the poetry of Edmund Spenser (published in Boston in 1839), the writings of Walter Savage Landor (Boston, 1856), the correspondence of Jeremiah Mason (Cambridge, 1873), and the letters and journals of his friend George Ticknor (Boston, 1876). He wrote biographies of Captain John Smith (Boston, 1848) and General George B. McClellan (Philadelphia, 1865) and memoirs of Daniel Webster (Boston, 1853), Judge Joseph Story (Boston, 1868), and Cornelius C. Felton (Cambridge, 1869), among others. An oration he delivered to the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Harvard in 1843, entitled "The Relation of the Poet to His Age," was published in at least two editions that year and was widely circulated. He was owner and editor of the Boston Courier from 1857 to 1861 and his interest in education led him to compile several readers for use in elementary schools.[146]

Among the many articles he contributed to periodicals such as the North American Review and the Atlantic, several had American art and artists as their focus. The three earliest of these, all published in The New-England Magazine, had a special significance for the career of Horatio Greenough and each dealt with one of Greenough's early, ideal conceptions: The Chanting Cherubs

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[146]For example, Hillard compiled A First Class Reader in 1855 and The Fifth Reader in 1863. Both were published in Boston by Brewer and Tileston as well as in other cities and in other editions, and were commonly known as "Hillard's Readers."

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(1829-31, unlocated), Medora (fig. 5), and The Ascension of a Child Conducted by an Infant Angel (fig. 6).

The first of these articles took the form of a letter to the editor[147] and, although it was signed only with the pseudonym "Tyro", Greenough's modern biographer, Nathalia Wright, believes that Hillard was its author. In fact, the letter is written in a style similar to that used in the two later articles.[148] It begins with an apology for the author's "boldness in selecting the subject I have, for I know about as much of sculpture as Lucius Mummius did of painting." (It should be noted that Hillard was only twenty-two years old when he wrote this article). Despite this rhetorical modesty, Hillard felt compelled to write on the topic because, as he expressed it, he was "an admirer of beauty in all its forms." One of these forms was Greenough's Chanting Cherubs which Hillard had just seen in Boston. He stated that he had always considered sculpture "a higher art than painting" because it is more difficult technically and more effective in producing "thoughts of sublimer power and more subduing beauty."[149] Furthermore, the required "manual dexterity" and "accuracy of eye" needed to produce a great sculpture rarely come together in one

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[147]"Tyro" [George S. Hillard], "Letter on the Chanting Cherubs," The New-England Magazine 1 (July, 1831): 20-26.

[148]Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 71.

[149][Hillard], "Letter," 20-21.

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artist. In fact, according to Hillard, few persons who lived from the time of Michelangelo to that of Canova were able to do it. Because of its rarity, therefore, the ability to sculpt with genius is to be cherished whenever it appears. Not surprisingly, in referring to great sculpture, Hillard did not mean busts or portrait statues. Rather, he proclaimed, "In sculpture we always crave the ideal."[150]

He continued in this vein for several pages, using classical sculptures such as the Laocöon and the Apollo Belvedere as examples to support his points, before eventually arriving at a discussion of the marble at hand, Greenough's Chanting Cherubs. He began with a brief description of the work:

> The group consists of two infant figures, holding a scroll, towards which one of them is bending, apparently reading the words, while the other stands erect, with a calm and confident expression, as if nothing were wanting but the unclosing of his lips to give utterance to the tide of music and praise that is swelling within him.[151]

What interested Hillard most, though, was Greenough's seemingly purposeful depiction of two contrasting "characters" in the sculpture. One cherub was "firm and erect," while the other, although graceful, was timid. The

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[150]Ibid., 23.

[151]Ibid., 24. The subject and form of Greenough's sculpture had been suggested to him by his patron James Fenimore Cooper and was based on the two cherubs in the foreground of Raphael's Madonna del Baldacchino (Pitti Palace, Florence). Accordingly, Hillard's description of Greenough's now-lost Chanting Cherubs fits Raphael's cherubs as well.

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hair of the first was thick and curly, the hair of the second in "wavelike folds," and so on. But together, these two disparate creatures made a unified whole; they were "beautiful as dreams . . . . like good spirits sent down from heaven, wandering, hand in hand, through this vale of tears, and singing praises as they go."[152]

Hillard ended the article with a declaration of regional pride. The Chanting Cherubs was not only aesthetically pleasing, he thought, but deserved extra praise because it was the work of a Bostonian. "It proves to us," he bragged,

> that our young townsman is of the stuff, out of which the true artist is made. We knew that he had genius some five or six years ago, but we did not know then what we now do, that he had the patience, the industry and the sense of responsibility arising from the possession of great powers, without which genius is no better than the flash of a rocket or the wing of a flying fish.[153]

Then followed a plea to the citizens of Boston for "a generous spirit of patronage" so that Greenough "need not be obliged to choose between one of two evils,--a perpetual exile from his native land or the romantic fate of starvation." "We hope that our rich men will think of these things," he continued, "and suffer a gifted countryman to glean a few ears of that golden harvest, of which foreigners have often reaped the ripe luxuriance."[154]

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[152][Hillard], "Letter," 25.

[153]Ibid., 25-26.

[154]Ibid., 26.

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The second unsigned article about Greenough which was almost certainly written by Hillard is entitled simply "Sculpture" and was published in The New-England Magazine in 1833.[155] It was prompted by the exhibition of sculpture held at Corinthian Hall in Boston that year. It begins with a comparison between painting and sculpture, implying that a would-be connoisseur could appreciate the latter only after becoming "accustomed to the *aesthetic air* of art" as observed in the former. That is, painting's "subordinate particulars"--i.e., drawing, coloring, and modeling--allow for a greater naturalism than does sculpture and, therefore, painting appeals more to the masses because it appeals more to the senses. Sculpture, which relies on simplicity and austerity, is better understood by the educated or at least

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[155][George S. Hillard], "Sculpture," The New-England Magazine 5 (Dec., 1833): 480-485. Wright (Greenough, American Sculptor, 29) believed that this article, too, was written by Hillard and internal evidence as well as the style of the piece support this view. The writer of the article refers to his having been at Harvard with Greenough, which was certainly the case for Hillard. (Greenough graduated from Harvard in 1825, Hillard in 1828; therefore, their time there would have overlapped). Another candidate for the authorship of the article might have been Joseph Tinker Buckingham, editor of The New-England Magazine, who is known to have written about sculpture, except that Buckingham did not attend Harvard. (See DAB, 2:227-28).

Furthermore, while space does not permit a thorough stylistic analysis of Hillard's writings here, suffice it to say that both "Letter on the Chanting Cherubs" and "Sculpture" include several paragraphs in which the author compares painting with sculpture. These passages are very similar to each other, at least in theme and conclusion, and both are similar to a passage from Hillard's travel book, Six Months in Italy. (Compare [Hillard], "Letter on the Chanting Cherubs," 21-22; [Hillard], "Sculpture," 480-481; and Hillard, Six Months in Italy [Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, and Company], 438-39).

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the specialist and, we might conclude, is therefore a more elitist form of art. To make his case, Hillard inserted an anecdote about "the surprise of the honest old lady, when looking on Chantrey's Washington in the State-House [in Boston], that `the Gineral was *so pale*'."[156]

The contents of the Corinthian Hall exhibition which was under review prompted a shift in the focus of the article to Canova, who Hillard called "the first among the moderns to call up from past and distant ages the true idea and the correct principles of his art."[157] In other words, Canova was to be credited for banishing the "mistakes" of the recent, Baroque past and for returning sculpture to its true, classical form.

At this point, Hillard digressed from reviewing the contents of the exhibition to announce the recent arrival in Boston of Greenough's marble figure, Medora (fig. 5). In fact, the entire second half of the article is devoted to that sculpture. (Greenough had created Medora on a

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[156][Hillard], "Sculpture," 481. Hillard was certainly not alone in thinking that art was better understood by the educated classes. In 1831, William Dunlap, for example, stated that the "fine arts can be relished by none who have not previously attained knowledge, taste, and refinement; and in proportion to these attainments is the pleasure the arts impart. As man becomes refined, his wants and his enjoyments increase" (William Dunlap, Address to The Students of the National Academy of Design [New York: Clayton & Van Norden, 1831], 5). Hillard simply took this evidently common belief a step further by declaring that a full appreciation of sculpture was even more dependent upon education than was painting.

[157][Hillard], "Sculpture," 482.

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commission from Robert Gilmor, Baltimore's foremost art patron and collector, who had encouraged Greenough to exhibit it for his own benefit before having it shipped to Gilmor's home).[158] "We have always looked forward with peculiar interest to the course of this most promising artist," Hillard remarked, noting that ever since he had been a student at Harvard, Greenough's goal had always been "to study, and imitate, and rival the great works in the classic land of Italy." It was pointed out that while the source for Medora could be found in Byron's poem, The Corsair, the character could be better understood, not by reading Byron, but by contemplating Greenough's statue. As Hillard put it, "The artist has surpassed the poet."[159]

Next, the technical aspects of the work were discussed. The actual carving of the marble was called "exquisite" and all parts of the conception were declared to be "as near perfection" as possible. Greenough was congratulated for having embraced and understood the classical style. "He is perfectly free," Hillard wrote,

> from fantastic ornaments, and tasteless trickery; he shows a preference of the pure and the simple over the gaudy and ornate; he confines himself strictly to the legitimate objects of his art, and now bids fair to

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[158]For Medora, see Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 85-89. For Gilmor as a patron of American art, see Anna Wells Rutledge, "Robert Gilmor, Jr., Baltimore Collector," The Journal for the Walters Art Gallery 12 (1949): 19-38; and Nathalia Wright, "Horatio Greenough, Boston Sculptor, and Robert Gilmor, Jr., His Baltimore Patron," Maryland Historical Magazine 51 (March 1956): 1-13.

[159][Hillard], "Sculpture," 485.

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> rival the first masters in tenderness and grace, in propriety and dignity, in chasteness of design, and perfectness of execution.[160]

Hillard's third article on sculpture, and the first which he signed (although only with his initials), is concerned with another life-size marble group by Greenough, The Ascension of a Child Conducted by an Infant Angel (also known as The Angel and Child), which had been commissioned from the sculptor by Samuel Cabot, as discussed above.[161] Hillard's article appeared in The New-England Magazine in 1835 and began with a declaration that, with this new sculpture, Greenough had outdone himself, even surpassing the Medora "in originality of conception and in everything that makes up the poetry of sculpture." The Angel and Child, it was written, depicted "a cherub, leading by the hand and ushering into the glories of Heaven, an infant mortal, whom his Heavenly Father has called home in the first hour of the morning." As had been the case with The Chanting Cherubs, the contrasting aspects of the two figures--less perceptible, perhaps, to the modern eye--were of particular interest to Hillard. The facial expression of the angel "has that calm and pensive beauty," he wrote, "which always mingles with our dreams of Heaven and of beautiful spirits." The earthly child, on the other hand,

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[160]Ibid., 485.

[161][George S. Hillard], "Mr. Greenough's New Group of Statuary," The New-England Magazine 8 (Jan. 1835): 41-44. The article is signed "G.S.H." The most recent account of The Angel and Child is Jan S. Ramirez's entry in Greenthal, et al, 14-18.

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bears a countenance which, "though lovely, is unsymmetrical and unformed. It is a blank tablet, yet untraced by Time, and its prevailing expression is not yet determined." The bodies of the figures differed as well, the angel "mature and developed," the child undeveloped, "a germ and a promise, rather than a formed body."[162]

The group's greatest merit, however, was its simplicity and its accessibility to all, "without the aid of any of the technical jargon of the art." "It is a fine poem in marble," the writer summarized, "an Idea, embodied in the material form."[163] Again, Greenough's handling of the marble was praised: "Every line, every undulation, and every muscle in the body is expressed with a fidelity, which every mother can admire, but which none but an anatomist can fully appreciate." Finally, it was suggested that the figures might have a therapeutic value as well as an aesthetic one. "Hundreds are passing by them every day," Hillard reported,

> whose spirits have no rest day or night from the hot pursuit of wealth or vain distinction. Let them turn aside for a moment, and imbibe sweet influences from the contemplation of these exquisite personifications of passionless tranquility and the "peace which passeth all understanding".[164]

Presumably, this is exactly the type of solace that Mr. and Mrs. Cabot, in mourning over their recently deceased

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[162]Hillard, "Mr. Greenough's New Group," 42.

[163]Ibid., 43.

[164]Ibid., 44.

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daughter, hoped to receive from the statue, as has already been mentioned.

These three articles for The New-England Magazine, then, show Hillard's decided preference for and admiration of the Neoclassic style as indicated by his use of glowing terms to describe Greenough's classicizing sculptures and by the familiarity with which he treats their various aspects, both iconographic and technical. Similarly, in the oration he delivered before the Phi Beta Kappa Society at Harvard in 1843, Hillard expressed the belief that the classical aesthetic triumphed because it insisted on idealization. Although he was speaking specifically of poetry at the time, his words might just as easily have applied to sculpture or painting. "The office of poetry is to idealize human life," he said,

> to connect the objects of thought with those associations which embellish, dignify and exalt, and to keep out of sight, those which debase and deform; to extract from the common world, which lies at our feet, the elements of the romantic, the impassioned and the imaginative; to arrest and condense the delicate spirit of beauty which hovers over the earth, like an atmosphere, and to give shape, color and movement to its airy essence.[165]

Besides his acquaintance with Greenough, Hillard knew and appreciated the other two famous members of the first generation of American Neoclassic sculptors, Hiram Powers and Thomas Crawford, although it appears that he did

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[165]George S. Hillard, The Relation of the Poet to His Age: A Discourse Delivered Before the Phi Beta Kappa Society of Harvard University, on Thursday, Aug. 24, 1843 (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1843), 5-6.

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not believe them to be of equal merit. He dealt with both of these artists in his well-known and popular travel book, Six Months in Italy, which chronicled part of a European tour he made in 1847-48.[166] The book first appeared in two volumes in 1853 but its success created a market for subsequent editions which eventually totaled twenty-one, the last being published in 1881, almost thirty years after the first. While in many respects it is typical of the scores of travel books which were published in America before the Civil War, Six Months in Italy differs from most in its concentration on one country; and surely it is indicative of Hillard's attitudes, preferences, and experience that he chose to limit his writings to Italy. The fact that he did, allowed him to write in more detail about what he observed and learned. For example, he reserved whole sections of the book for discussions of such topics as the morals of the Italian people, the comparative advantages of Rome and Naples, the presence of the English in Italy, and the prevalence of begging throughout the country. He even included two chapters which surveyed the writings of earlier travelers to Italy including Milton, Goethe, and Madame de

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[166]George S. Hillard, Six Months in Italy 2 vols. (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1844). (Hereafter, page references for Six Months in Italy are given as they appear in the one volume edition of 1881, published in Boston and New York by Houghton, Mifflin, and Company). The book was based mostly on the second of three journals he kept during the journey. The first and third of these are now at the Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, but, unfortunately, the second--that is, the one from which Six Months in Italy was taken--is missing.

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Stael. He wrote at length about excursions outside of Rome and Florence to famous places such as Naples, Pompeii, Tivoli, and Assisi, but he also described visits to small towns and isolated sites such as the cave at Adelsberg and the Borromean Islands. Wherever he went, though, Hillard described the paintings and the sculpture, famous or obscure, which he saw.

In order to make the trip to Italy on which he based his book, Hillard resigned from his position as president of the Common Council of the City of Boston to which he had been elected in 1845, and took a leave of absence from his and Sumner's law firm.[167] He sailed from Boston in the summer of 1847 and arrived in Italy on the second day of September that year. Almost immediately, he began noticing art. The day after his arrival in Italy, he toured the Borromeo family palace on the Borromean Islands where he saw "several pictures of no great merit."[168] But a few days later, in the villa of Somariva near Cadenabbia, he saw "the celebrated frieze by Thorwaldsen, representing the triumphs of Alexander, a work worthy of the best days of Grecian art." Nearby in the same room, were Canova's Palamedes and Cupid and Psyche which, according to Hillard, suffered by comparison to the works of Thorwaldsen. "The tendency to the meretricious observable in [Canova's] latter group," he

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[167]Palfrey, 7.

[168]Hillard, Six Months, 4.

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wrote, "is rebuked by the simple and majestic genius of the great Scandinavian."[169] Obviously, as was the case for many connoisseurs of contemporary sculpture, Hillard preferred the Neoclassicism of Thorwaldsen to that of Canova.[170]

Next on Hillard's agenda were four days in Milan where he mourned the state of Leonardo's Last Supper and saw his first Raphael at the Brera Gallery, an experience he compared to "the first sight of Niagara--of the dome of St. Peter's--of the summit of Mt. Blanc." Most of the modern paintings he saw at the gallery, though, were "very bad, extravagant in conception, feebly drawn, and glaring in color." The sculpture was better than the painting but ultimately too Baroque for Hillard's taste.[171]

He crossed the Alps again, spent two months in the Tyrol and in Germany, and returned to Italy in November for a brief stay in Venice where his most memorable experience was seeing the paintings of Tintoretto. After passing through Verona and Bologna, he finally arrived in Florence later that month. One of his first stops there was the

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[169]Ibid., 6.

[170]Greenough summed up the reasons for the shift in taste from Canova to Thorwaldsen which occurred in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, especially among Americans. "Mr. [John] Gibson was a pupil and is a disciple of Canova an artist of whom I think less every day," Greenough wrote to Allston in 1826. "He was clever. But he was superficial & sensual in his style--& a most barefaced misrepresenter of Nature--He I am convinced will fall *very low very shortly*" (HG to Allston, May 9, 1826, Letters of Greenough, ed. Wright, 8).

[171]Hillard, Six Months, 12-13.

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Tribune Gallery at the Uffizi where he was less impressed with the Venus de Medici than with the Knife Grinder which he thought was "the living truth." He compared Raphael to Washington Allston, "that admirable artist in whose soul the highest graces of painting, so long wandering and homeless, found a congenial abode." In the work of both artists--one from the distant past, one modern--art "performs its highest, and indeed it only legitimate, function, because it helps to make us better men."[172]

Naturally, Hillard took in the usual tourist attractions such as the Medici Chapel at San Lorenzo, Santa Croce, the Laurentian Library, and the Boboli Gardens. At the Pitti Palace he saw what he considered the best collection of paintings he had ever seen, with the exception of that at the Dresden Gallery. The pictures were well hung

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[172]Ibid., 76. In fact, Hillard digressed from reviewing the paintings in the Tribune to ruminate at some length about the effects of a "pure and elevated" life on art as seen in Allston's Beatrice (ca. 1816-19, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). "Here is merely the head of a beautiful young woman," he wrote, "but how full it is of the most persuasive moral power. The purity of soul expressed in those gently drooping lids and softly closed lips derives fresh attractions from so perfect a representation of its moulding influence upon the clay in which it is enshrined. The mere sight of such a face is an argument in favor of a spotless life." A few pages later, Hillard took up the theme again. Writing about the extreme realism of Roman portrait busts, he concluded that "the taste which could have tolerated such deformities was so bad, that it could not have existed without the support of bad morals" (Ibid., 80). And still later, at the Pitti Palace, he noticed a portrait by Raphael, said to be of one of the artist's mistresses. "But the expression of the countenance," Hillard wrote, "does not confirm the conjecture, for it is pure and noble" (Ibid., 98-99n).

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at the Pitti, not crowded and liberally accessible to the public. Raphael dominated his attention and received most of Hillard's praise. On the other hand, Andrea del Sarto, who was also well represented there, was disparagingly declared a mannerist, "which no man truly great in art ever was." If Hillard had been "a heretic," as he put it, in his slight disappointment over the Venus de Medici, he was "a downright infidel" in his dislike of Canova's Venus Italica which he saw at the Pitti. The latter lacked "simplicity and repose" and the expression on her face, as she huddled in her drapery, seemed to say, "`Am I not doing it becomingly?'" While Canova was a great technician, Hillard concluded, his Venus "does not speak to the mind and the heart" and, therefore, is "but a stone after all."[173]

Despite the treasures from the distant and recent past which Florence offered, one of the highlights of the city for Hillard was a visit to the studios of Powers and Greenough which, as the writer pointed out, were on the agendas of most American tourists. While acknowledging that Powers enjoyed a high and well-deserved reputation, Hillard noticed the unfortunate lack of anything on view in his studio "which gives proof of imagination or high invention." Of the sculptor's best known ideal works--The Greek Slave, The Fisher Boy, and the Eve--none was truly original. Rather, the sculptor's talents lay in imitation and "the

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[173]Ibid., 99.

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patient skill with which he manipulates the surface of the marble." No other artist could surpass Powers's ability to give his statues "the peculiar and indescribable look of flesh" and his busts were the best since antiquity. In other words, realism was Powers's forte and Hillard suggested that this might be because Powers's interests and experiences were too narrow, that he was a sculptor--and nothing more.

By contrast, Greenough was "a man of large powers and various accomplishments, in whom the practice of his art was but one mode of intellectual expression."[174] Therefore, his sculptural conceptions were more imaginative, his ideal works more successful. In Six Months in Italy, Hillard made it quite obvious that he preferred Greenough to Powers, as we might have suspected from his earlier articles in The New-England Magazine.

Hillard left Florence in mid-December after having spent only three weeks there which was, he wrote, "too short a time for a city so crowded with objects of the highest interest."[175] He moved on to Pisa and then took a steamer from Leghorn to the port of Rome. His first few days in the Eternal City, where he would remain until the following April, were "passed in a sort of bewildering indecision" as to what to see first. Soon, though, he was at St. Peter's

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[174]Ibid., 115.

[175]Ibid., 116.

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which he described in detail. Inside the basilica, he was repulsed by Bernini's Baldachino but thought Canova's tombs of Pius VI and Clement XIII were works of great beauty. Michelangelo's dome outdid everything else in and around the structure and Hillard declared that "the arts of painting and sculpture can offer no parallel" to it.[176]

His next stop was the galleries of the Vatican which, as a museum of art, "is the first in the world." "In sculpture," he noted, "it not only surpasses any other collection, but all other collections put together." Not surprisingly, he commented at some length on specific marbles which he saw there. The Apollo Belvedere, for example, possessed beauty but not enough simplicity or, as Hillard put it, "There is not enough of the serene unconsciousness of the immortal Gods." Obviously, the sculpture was somewhat too Hellenistic for Hillard, but he did admire the "airy movement" of the figure which was its glory. The Laocöon also suffered from being too much like Bernini's work and was also ill-proportioned. Nevertheless, it was a technical tour de force, especially for a subject which, at first consideration, might not seem to lend itself to a sculptural interpretation.[177] By this, we might assume that Hillard meant that the narrative was too active, that sculpture was better suited for the rendering of quieter

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[176]Ibid., 140-41.

[177]Ibid., 150-52.

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moments which would allow the figures to express quietude and grace.

Nevertheless, although Hillard naturally saw and admired Michelangelo's paintings in the Sistine Chapel and Raphael's in the Stanze, it was the Vatican's antique sculpture which left the greatest impression on him. "When we consider that this immense collection is but a waif saved from the wreck of Rome . . . ," he wrote,

> what an impression does it give us of the treasures of sculpture which were accumulated in Rome in the days of the empire! . . . Talent of all kinds was attracted to this central heart; and every aspiring artist felt that his reputation was provincial, until it had received the imperial stamp of Rome.[178]

Furthermore, Hillard noted, much of Roman sculpture and, indeed, most of the sculpture in the Vatican depended on classical Greek aesthetics and, therefore, "he who is most familiar with Greek literature is best prepared to profit by a visit to the galleries of the Vatican."[179] Again, Hillard here expressed the belief that sculpture is best understood by the educated or the well-read.

Hillard devoted whole chapters in Six Months in Italy to the ruins of ancient Rome (the Forum, the Colosseum, the Pantheon, etc.); basilicas and churches (St. John Lateran, San Pietro in Vincoli, Sta. Maria del Popolo, etc.); and palaces and villas (Borghese, Barberini, Farnese, etc.), with detailed descriptions of each place and its

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[178]Ibid., 158.

[179]Ibid., 158-59.

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contents. Another chapter was reserved for "Artists in Rome" who, it was noted, "form a numerous body, social in their tastes and gregarious in their habits." Furthermore, most of the city's artists, no matter what their nationality, tended to have hair and beards that had been curled or waved in order to give "a romantic and ideal character to commonplace features." Their dress was rough and quaint as well as imaginative and economical and they could usually be found at the Lepri or the Café Greco in the Via Condotti. This group was dominated by Germans who, Hillard noted, "exert a sensible influence upon students from other nations," especially painters. He traced the roots of contemporary German art back a generation or two to Peter Cornelius, Friedrich Overbeck, Johann Schadow, and Philip Veit, all of whom, thanks to their love of Fra Angelico, breathed "into art the breath of spiritual life" banishing the frivolous and sensual forms of the prior generation. Special attention was given to Overbeck who was still in Rome, "at the head of the artists" there, and who Hillard met in his studio. The American was somewhat disappointed, though, in Overbeck's drawings of religious figures which were too "Teutonic", that is, not ideal enough; but purity and truth were apparent in the artist's work, too, and for those characteristics Hillard ultimately praised Overbeck.[180]

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[180]Ibid., 432-33.

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For Hillard, though, Thorwaldsen was the epitome of the artist who did not allow "those fervid and impetuous passions" to ruin his art as had so many others (e.g., Canova). In this, he was the modern counterpart of Raphael. "He waited patiently for fame and wealth and, when they came, he was not elated by them. . . . Genial, sympathetic, retiring in his habits but not ascetic, he never lost his interest in life, nor ceased to follow the fleeting steps of ideal beauty." He was also generous. "To young sculptors he gave what was better than money--advice, encouragement, and instruction, never seasoned with harshness or arrogance, but always as gently conveyed as gratefully received."[181]

In fact, Hillard again revealed a decided preference for sculpture as opposed to painting by the fact that, of all the contemporary artists in Rome, it was the sculptors who impressed him most. Except for Overbeck, there was no one among the painters, Hillard thought, who could compare to Pietro Tenerani, Emil Wolff, John Gibson, and Thomas Crawford.[182] And not surprisingly, perhaps, the most

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[181]Ibid., 433-34.

[182]After making this statement, Hillard launched into a two-page exposition on the experience that might be had by any young artist arriving for the first time in Rome, and on the advantages of that city for the artist. While this section of Six Months in Italy (434-35) is too long to quote here (it begins, "Every young artist dreams of Rome . . .), it should be noted that it is a beautifully written and evocative description of such an experience (which must have been Hillard's own) and, for anyone interested in artists' reaction to Rome in the nineteenth century, it is well worth reading.

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outstanding of these in Hillard's mind was the American Crawford. This preference is indicated by the fact that within the chapter titled "Artists in Rome," Crawford, a sculptor who was to be memorialized by Hillard's pen a number of times, was the only individual to rate a separate section.

Like most American tourists and many European ones, Hillard visited Crawford in his Roman studio.[183] He soon concluded that the artist's artistic genius, which was notable for its originality, had the same intellectual roots as did Greenough's. "Crawford belongs to that class of sculptors," Hillard wrote,

> whom--for want of a better term--we may call intellectual. In creative power and poetical feeling, I should place him at the head of all his professional brethren in Rome. He is an original thinker in his art: possessing that quality of invention, without which judgment is cold and taste is feeble. He feels and comprehends the antique, but is not imprisoned with its range.[184]

Hillard then outlined Crawford's early life, his struggle for fame, and the importance of the commissioning of the Orpheus and Cerberus in its achievement. He pointed out that Crawford's genius went beyond "drawing-room sculpture," by which he meant "those merely graceful forms which are not

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[183]"To visit the studios of young artists," Hillard wrote, "is one of the approved methods of disposing of an idle forenoon in Rome;" but he quickly added that it was not always a gratifying experience. In fact, "such expeditions usually threw a shadow upon my spirits, because they left upon my mind a prevailing impression of mediocrity; sometimes united with modesty, with industry, with good taste, with just views, but still, mediocrity" (Ibid., 437).

[184]Ibid., 439.

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in discord with ottomans and work-tables." Crawford's masterwork, the equestrian figure of George Washington for the state of Virginia upon which the sculptor was engaged at the time of Hillard's writing (1853), was proof of this. The project would assuredly bring Crawford lasting fame, Hillard believed, making his early struggle well worth the effort: "The light which he followed in darkness will not go out in the blaze of noon."[185]

When Crawford died in 1857, Hillard wrote about him again in several obituaries published in both Boston and New York. The first of these appeared in the Boston Daily Courier on November 11, 1857, and was reprinted three days later in Dwight's Journal of Music.[186] Therein, Hillard gave a lengthy account of Crawford's life, with a focus on Sumner's role in the commissioning of the Orpheus, summarizing the sculptor's life and achievement:

> Crawford's whole life and entire powers were given to his art. From his very boyhood he had no other hope, purpose, or aspiration, than to be a sculptor. No stone-cutter ever labored in his trade more assiduously and steadily than he did in his studio; and thus, in considering his claims to be remembered and honored, we are, first of all, to ask what is his rank in his art?

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[185]Ibid., 441. There is one other indication in Six Months in Italy of Hillard's high opinion of Crawford as both an artist and a man, and also of his regard for Louisa Ward Crawford, the sculptor's wife. When the book was published in 1853, Hillard dedicated it to "Mr. and Mrs. Crawford, of Rome . . . with recollections of their kindness and hospitality. . . ." (Ibid., frontispiece).

[186]George S. Hillard, "Impromptu Memorial of Thomas Crawford," Boston Daily Courier, Nov. 11, 1857, reprinted as "Obituary Notice of Thomas Crawford" Dwight's Journal of Music 12 (Nov. 14, 1857): 258-260, (Nov. 21, 1857): 266-267.

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> To this question there can be but one answer: that it is very high. . . . In our judgement there is no sculptor in modern times who can be pronounced his superior, unless, perhaps, Thorwaldsen may be excepted . . . and had Crawford lived to the age of the great Scandinavian, posterity would have given him, at least, as high a place upon the roll of fame.[187]

Hillard did not forget Crawford and twelve years after the artist's death he published another, longer consideration of him in the Atlantic Monthly.[188] In this article of 1869, the sculptor's life was described in even more detail, including an account of his family, his years working and studying in New York, his departure for Rome in 1835, the difficulties of his early years in Italy, and the encouragement he received from "the noble-hearted Dane," Bertel Thorwaldsen. "During the first few years of his residence in Rome," Hillard recalled, "he was obliged to content himself with the humbler labors of his art,--executing portrait busts and making copies of antique statues,--work which gave no opportunity of displaying the higher qualities of his genius." His chance came, it was once again related, with the Orpheus commission. He quoted a long passage from one of Crawford's letters to his sister in which he described the sculpture and Sumner's role was again discussed. Crawford's marriage and subsequent professional successes were outlined over several pages and his family life and personal characteristics were

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[187]Hillard, "Obituary Notice of Crawford," 260.

[188]George S. Hillard, "Thomas Crawford: A Eulogy," The Atlantic Monthly 24 (July, 1869): 40-54.

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elaborated. In all cases, Hillard wrote in highly favorable terms, and the entire article, which runs to fifteen pages, includes enough detail to suggest that Hillard conducted rather extensive research on his subject and that he had a certain amount of intimacy with the sculptor and his friends, Sumner being the most obvious of these.

The final pages of the article were devoted to an analysis of Crawford's sculptures which, Hillard believed, were as imaginative and original as they were technically brilliant. "His works were the expressions and emanations of a creative power," this section begins, "and not merely the labors of a cunning and patient hand. In him, the processes of his art came from within; the grand and beautiful forms which he has left in marble or bronze existed first as ideas in the mind." Crawford's Neoclassicism remained pure; that is, he was never "seduced" by "the fascinating faults of Bernini." Instead, Crawford was "at once the most modern and the most Greek of sculptors" and was to be praised for his versatility:

> We are equally awed by the sublimity of his colossal America, stirred by the breathing power and majesty of his Washington, Beethoven, and Otis, and moved by the pathos of his Adam and Eve, the touching tenderness of his Children in the Wood, and the exquisite beauty of his Peri.[189]

Most amazing is that this impressive oeuvre was accomplished by an artist who died at the early age of forty-three. No other modern sculptor, Hillard claimed, including

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[189]Ibid., 52.

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Thorwaldsen, Canova, Bartolini, Rauch, Dannecker, Flaxman, Chantrey, Gibson, and David d'Angers, had accomplished as much by the time they were that age.[190]

As we have seen, the premiere triumvirate of American Neoclassicists--Greenough, Powers, and Crawford--benefited from Hillard's accolades; but the Bostonian knew and wrote of other American sculptors, too. For example, in the mid 1860s, he praised Harriet Hosmer's ideas for a pair of bronze doors for the new National Academy of Design building in New York City. According to Hillard, the allegorical relief sculptures which were to adorn the doors were meant to depict "the progress of nature from evening till morning, illustrated by imaginative designs drawn from the air, the earth, and the sea."[191] He found the design to be full of "poetic feeling and genuine invention" and Hosmer's sculpture in general to be "conscientiously executed." Hillard even composed a poem to Hosmer in which he compared his own abilities as a writer to her's as an artist:

> Black upon white--*my* art no higher goes,
> No better skill my pen prosaic knows.
> *You* need not stain the virgin page, who write

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[190]Ibid., 52.

[191]Quoted in Harriet Hosmer, Letters and Memories, ed. Cornelia Carr (New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1912), 198. Hosmer's doors were never cast and probably never even modeled in clay or plaster.

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So fine a hand in lines of purest white.[192]

As the above review of Hillard's writings has indicated--and this was the case, too, as we have seen, with both Everett and Sumner--his support of American sculptors was of the moral rather than the economic kind. Also like Everett and Sumner, Hillard was not wealthy and accordingly, he owned only a few, relatively minor works by American sculptors. One of these was a small model or cast of Thomas Crawford's early ideal group, Adam and Eve (see fig. 4), which the sculptor had begun in 1843 and which was in Hillard's possession by 1850 when he lent it to the annual exhibition at the Boston Athenaeum.[193] Hillard also had a small collection of paintings which included two landscapes.

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[192]Ibid., 199. The poem is dated at Boston, Sept., 1864. Undoubtedly, Hillard was on friendly, if not intimate, terms with artists other than those mentioned here. For example, he was evidently fond of the painter Robert W. Weir. In 1845, he told Weir that he thought of him "with warm and unabated interest," and added, "Don't let the feet of Time trample out our images in your heart" (Hillard, Boston, to Robert W. Weir, May 10, 1845, Weir Family Papers, AAA D129).

[193]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Twenty-Third Exhibition of Paintings in the Gallery of the Boston Athenaeum (Boston, 1850), 13. The catalogue of the Athenaeum show describes the sculpture as a "modelled group" which may indicate, as Lauretta Dimmick has suggested, that it was small and probably made out of plaster or even fired clay. Furthermore, Dimmick believes that Hillard's version of Crawford's Adam and Eve may be the same one which had been owned by Ticknor, with a possible sale or gift between the two men implied. In any event, Hillard's sculpture is now unlocated (Dimmick, Crawford, 236). As far as is known, the only full size marble version of the conception was one which was in the possession of Mrs. William Wolcott Wadsworth by 1865 and which was owned by the Athenaeum two years later, apparently a gift from Mrs. Wadsworth (Dimmick, Crawford, 240).

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One was a copy after the seventeenth-century Dutch artist Claes Berchem; the other was by the American painter Russell Smith.[194]

A bust of Hillard was modelled in about 1853 by John Adams Jackson but it is not certain that Hillard owned a replica of it. A version was exhibited at the Tenth Street Studio Building in New York in 1859.[195] This may have been the same bust which was owned by James T. Swift of New York and which Swift, in 1890, gave to the Boston Athenaeum where Hillard had served as a trustee from 1845 to 1852.[196]

Despite all of Hillard's hard work at his career and his deep interest in art and literature, poor health often slowed him down, preventing him from pursuing anything with quite the same fervor as did Sumner. Health also probably kept him from being very active in local art organizations in Boston. He was a trustee of the Athenaeum from 1845 to 1852; wrote in support of the Boston Public Library for which he was also a trustee; was a member of the Massachusetts Historical Society from 1843 until his death; and was a director of the ill-fated New England Art Union in

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[194]Perkins and Gavin, 205.

[195]"Sketchings," The Crayon 6 (Jan., 1859), 25. In Artists of the Nineteenth Century and Their Works (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1894, 2:1), Clara Erskine Clement and Laurence Hutton stated that Jackson's bust of Hillard was done for the New-York Historical Society; but that institution does not own a version of the bust today and no further evidence of this commission is known to me.

[196]Harding, Athenaeum, 44.

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1851-52. As far as is known, though, he was not a significantly active force in any of these institutions.[197] In 1873, he had a stroke which caused a partial paralysis from which he never fully recovered. He remained an invalid until he finally died at his home in Longwood, outside Boston, in 1879.

Hannah (Sawyer) Lee and the Paine Family

As research on this dissertation progressed, an interesting owner of Neoclassic sculpture in Boston during the 1860s came to light. This was a certain Miss Bryant, later identified as Julia Bryant (1847-1901) who, in 1867, married Charles Jackson Paine of Boston.[198] The catalogue of the 1866 annual exhibition of the Boston Athenaeum reveals that Julia Bryant owned at least four examples of Neoclassic sculpture as well as a number of paintings. This

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[197] Athenaeum Centenary, 86, 119; George S. Hillard, "The Public Library of the City of Boston," American Journal of Education 2 (July, 1856): 203-209; New England Art Union, Catalogue of Paintings Now on Exhibition in the Free Gallery of the New England Art Union (Boston: Dutton & Wentworth, 1851), 2. Nevertheless, the Massachusetts Historical Society thought enough of Hillard to purchase, in 1879, a portrait of him by William Willard, thought to have been painted from a photograph (Oliver, et al, 51).

[198] The initial identification of "Miss Bryant" as Julia (Bryant) Paine was based on the fact that Mrs. Charles J. Paine gave Harriet Hosmer's Puck and the Owl to the Boston Athenaeum in 1876. Jonathan Harding has stated--and I think he is correct--that this is the same sculpture which "Miss Bryant" lent to the Athenaeum under the erroneous title of "Will-o'-the-Wisp" in 1866 (Harding, Athenaeum, 41).

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seemed an unusual circumstance for the mid nineteenth century: a young, single woman who had a medium-sized art collection, about one-third of which was sculpture. In seeking reasons for this, several interesting family connections were made.

Julia Bryant was a daughter of Bostonian John Bryant, Jr., who had attempted to follow his father, a successful Boston merchant, into business. But the younger man tired of this occupation quickly, gave it up, and turned to literary pursuits. When his first wife, Georgina (Lee) Bryant, died, he married her sister, Mary Ann Lee, who would become the mother of Julia. Georgina and Mary Lee's parents were George G. and Hannah (Sawyer) Lee and, as will be shown, it was probably from Hannah Lee that Julia Bryant acquired the sculpture as well as some of the paintings she owned.[199] For that reason, it is to Hannah Lee that we now turn.

Hannah Farnham (Sawyer) Lee (1780-1865) was born in Newburyport, Massachusetts, and, in 1806, she married George Gardner Lee, a former naval officer from Boston.[200] After his early death in 1816, she devoted her time to raising her

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[199]Sarah Cushing Paine, Paine Ancestry (Boston: David Clapp & Son, 1912), 267.

[200]The facts of Hannah Lee's life can be found in DAB, 6:106-107. For her family, see William Sumner Appleton, Some Descendants of William Sawyer of Newbury, Mass. (Boston: David Clapp & Son, 1891), 10; and William Lee, John Leigh of Agawam (Ipswich) Massachusetts 1634-1671 and His Descendants of the Name of Lee (Albany, N.Y.: Joel Munsell's Sons, 1888), 50.

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three daughters, including Julia Bryant's mother, Mary Ann; but in 1832, with her maternal duties fulfilled, Hannah Lee turned to writing and eventually enjoyed a fair amount of success.[201] During the 1840s and 1850s, in fact, her books were widely read and she was acknowledged as an influential author. Her most successful work, Three Experiments of Living (1837), a treatise on methods for handling personal finances, was eventually printed in thirty editions in America and England.[202]

Lee also wrote on the fine arts and produced at least two books on the subject: Historical Sketches of The Old Painters (1838) and Familiar Sketches of Sculpture and Sculptors (1854). The former was written, Lee stated, "without pretensions to a knowledge of the fine arts." It was dedicated to Washington Allston and includes chapters on Giotto, Leonardo, Michelangelo, Raphael, Titian, and Rubens among others, and ends with one on Claude Lorrain.[203] Familiar Sketches of Sculpture and Sculptors, Lee said, was undertaken because of "the difficulty experienced by myself, and probably others, in tracing a connected history of the

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[201]According to Sarah Josepha Hale, Lee was widowed but not destitute and became a writer, not for "pecuniary motives" but because she wanted to help teach the young (Sarah J. Hale, Woman's Record; or, Sketches of all Distinguished Women, From the Creation to A.D. 1854 [New York: Harper & Brothers, Publ., 1860], 719).

[202]Excepts from Three Experiments and other works by Lee were reprinted in Hale, 720-725.

[203][Hannah Lee], Historical Sketches of The Old Painters (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Co., 1838), n.p.

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great art here treated."[204] With that in mind, she produced a two-volume survey of the history of sculpture in the western world from ancient Egypt to modern Europe and America. For the most part, Familiar Sketches is divided into chapters according to sculptors' nationalities, but the author's modern favorites are acknowledged with separate chapters for each. These include the Europeans Antonio Canova, Bertel Thorwaldsen, Anne Seymour (Conway) Damer, and John Flaxman; and the Americans Horatio Greenough, Henry Dexter, and John C. King. The final chapter is devoted to the American women sculptors Caroline Wilson, Mary Anne Dubois, and Harriet Hosmer. As Lee readily admitted, her aim was not to write a scholarly work but one which might appeal to the young and arouse their interest in the topic, although Familiar Sketches was not meant to be nor could it be considered a children's book.[205]

It is probably safe to assume that Lee had at least one young reader in mind, her granddaughter Julia Bryant who

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[204][Hannah Lee], Familiar Sketches of Sculpture and Sculptors (Boston: Crosby, Nichols, and Company, 1854), 1:v. In a footnote, Lee admitted that after she had written the statement quoted here, she was made aware of Pickering Dodge's slightly earlier Sculpture: and the Plastic Art (1850), the first known book to include a section on American sculpture, which was discussed above.

[205]Lee obviously did a certain amount of research in secondary sources for the book (she quotes from articles and the like, as did so many biographical writers of her day); and she undoubtedly knew some of the sculptors personally, at least those living in and around Boston. But she did make factual errors, the most apparent of which was identifying Thomas Crawford as Henry Crawford (Lee, 173).

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was in her teen's when her grandmother's book was popular. The details of Julia's childhood and upbringing in Boston are not known; her father died the year she was born and she was evidently raised by her mother until her death in 1862. Following the loss of her mother--and perhaps even before that--Julia lived with her Grandmother Lee in the older woman's large house on Mt. Vernon Street in Boston, and after their marriage, Julia and her husband continued to live there.[206] It seems likely that she was encouraged in her studies by her mother and her grandmother and was certainly aware of art from an early age. Her parents owned paintings, including Washington Allston's The Young Troubadour (1832, unlocated), which Julia evidently inherited from them. The work was in John Bryant's possession by 1835 when he lent it to the annual exhibition at the Athenaeum; and it was Julia Bryant's by 1866 when she did the same.[207] The elder Bryants also owned several

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[206]Paine, 267.

[207]Perkins and Gavin, 189. In the few years after it was painted, Allston had difficultly selling The Young Troubadour and it was still in his possession in Feb., 1834 (Jared B. Flagg, The Life and Letters of Washington Allston [Boston, 1892], 272). Shortly thereafter, however, he sold it to Sarah Gibbs of Newport, Rhode Island and she, in turn, evidently sold it to the Bryants by 1835 (Gerdts, "The Paintings of Washington Allston," 141).

In 1823, a John Bryant, probably Julia's grandfather, donated money for the erection of a lecture room at the Athenaeum (Swan, 8-9). Shares in that organization, which were bought by John Bryant, Jr., in 1844, were in the possession of John Bryant Paine and Charles Jackson Paine, Jr., by 1904 (Athenaeum Centenary, 141). These two men were the sons of Julia (Bryant) Paine.

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paintings by George Loring Brown and a copy of an allegorical work thought to be by Leonardo da Vinci. Julia herself owned Alfred T. Bricher's Casco Bay, Edwin White's Evening Hymn of the Huguenots, and a portrait of her grandmother by Gilbert Stuart.[208] None of these objects has been located and nothing further is known about them; but it seems likely that Bryant acquired most if not all of them through inheritance from one relative or another. Certainly, the portrait of Hannah Lee, which was still in Bryant's possession in 1879 and probably passed to other members of the family after her death, had been left to Julia by her grandmother.[209]

More interesting for our purposes, though, are the sculptures Julia Bryant owned. These included a work by Horatio Greenough called Child with Grapes; Harriet Hosmer's Puck and the Owl; Peter Stephenson's Indian Bride; and Antonio Canova's Venus of the Bath. Little is known about most of these;[210] sources on Greenough and Stephenson reveal

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[208]Perkins and Gavin, 189. A large charcoal drawing titled Evening Hymn of the Huguenots by White is in the collection of the Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, South Hadley, Mass. It was given to the museum by the artist's wife in 1878 (Wendy M. Watson, Curator, Mount Holyoke College Art Museum, to the author, Aug. 21, 1992).

[209]Mount, 370. The portrait of Mrs. Lee was included in the Stuart benefit exhibition held at the Boston Athenaeum in 1828 (Swan, 72).

[210]Stephenson's Indian Bride may be identical with a sculpture by him called Indian Girl which was in the sale of the estate of Alvin Adams in Boston in 1882. Adams also owned a Greek Slave, said to be "after Powers"; Susannah and Veiled Head by G. B. Lombardi; and Bronze Hunter by a sculptor named Woogel (Leonard & Co., Catalogue. The

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nothing about the sculptures by them named here and, at least in the case of Greenough's, the attribution is somewhat suspect since neither a work by that title nor anything by Greenough that might fit that title are known. All four of these sculptors, even the lesser known Stephenson, were discussed by Lee in Familiar Sketches.[211]

Of Bryant's four sculptures, only one has been located: Hosmer's Puck and the Owl (ca. 1856) which, as mentioned above, she gave to the Athenaeum in 1876. This work raises an interesting problem. Lydia Maria Child, writing in 1861, stated that a Mrs. George Lee of Boston owned a version of Hosmer's Will O' the Wisp.[212] Surely this was our Hannah Lee; and, if that is so, it seems likely that she gave or bequeathed the sculpture to her granddaughter, Julia Bryant. Child may have confused Hosmer's Will O' the Wisp with her Puck and the Owl just as the Boston Athenaeum catalogue of 1866 apparently did. In fact, it was the sculpture which bears the latter name which Julia (Bryant) Paine eventually gave to the Athenaeum and it seems almost certain that this is the same object originally owned by Hannah Lee. When one considers that Julia lived with her Grandmother Lee, that Lee died in 1865, and that

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Collection of Oil Paintings and Statuary, of the Late Alvin Adams [Boston, 1882], n.p.). Adams is chiefly remembered as a major patron of the painter Albert Bierstadt.

[211]See Lee, 1:220-32 (Canova); 2:130-45 (Greenough); 2:191-94 (Stephenson); and 2:221-26 (Hosmer).

[212]Child, "Harriet E. Hosmer," 6.

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Bryant exhibited the sculptures named above at the Boston Athenaeum for the first time in 1866, it seems probable that all of these sculptures were inherited from Hannah Lee. If this is true, we probably should not consider Bryant an important supporter of American Neoclassic sculptors since she acquired the works second-hand. This designation should be reserved for Hannah Lee who, after all, would seem to have earned it with her writings.

It is known, too, that Lee owned at least one other sculpture, a marble copy of the Venus de' Medici which she gave to the Boston Athenaeum in 1861. The gift was accompanied by a letter in which she summarized the history of the sculpture and, at the same time, indicated that she was not the only member of her immediate family who was interested in sculpture. "This marble copy of the Venus de Medici at Florence," she wrote,

> was purchased by my Brother Mr. William Sawyer when he was in Italy a number of years since. When it arrived at Boston--his friend Dr. John Warren took charge of it & deposited it at the Medical College about the year 1816 where it remained till 1846, when my brother gave it to me. It has remained in my possession till now.[213]

She went on to say that Sawyer had bought the work from a man named Michelet "who kept a depository of Art." Interestingly, she then stated that during his visit to Boston prior to his death "the distinguished Sculptor"

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[213]Hannah F. Lee to Henry Rogers, March 14, 1861, in Swan, 158.

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Thomas Crawford saw it and pronounced it "`the finest copy he had ever seen'--& said `he preferred it to the original in Florence as that was mended & discoloured which injured the harmony of feeling, whereas in this state' the sculpture & colour were perfect."[214] With this, Lee implied that she had met Crawford and, it would seem, he had actually visited her home in Boston in order to see the sculpture in question.

In 1866, Julia Bryant married Charles Jackson Paine (1833-1916) of Boston, a son of Charles Cushing and Fanny Cabot (Jackson) Paine and a member of the Harvard class of 1853. He studied law under Rufus Choate and was admitted to the bar in 1856. He toured Europe in 1856-57 with his family and distinguished himself during the Civil War, rising to the rank of brigadier-general. After the war, he made a respectable fortune in railroad and other investments and became an internationally known professional yachtsman.[215] As a prominent Bostonian, he was fortunate enough to have had his portrait painted by John Singer Sargent and several letters between him and that artist are extant.[216] (The painting is dated 1904 and in now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). He owned

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[214]Ibid., 158. Also see Harding, Athenaeum, 70.

[215]For Paine's biographical facts, see Paine, 239-271, which gives details about his military career; DAB, 7:147-48; and The National Cyclopedia of American Biography, 1:148.

[216]Charles Jackson Paine Papers, AAA 2542.

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other paintings, as well, including a portrait of his famous ancestor, Robert Treat Paine, by Edward Savage (Massachusetts Historical Society).[217] Both Charles Paine and his wife were respected citizens of Boston and nearby Weston, Massachusetts, where they spent their later years. At her death in 1901, Mrs. Paine was said to have "won many friends by her lofty character and great kindliness."[218]

One of Charles J. Paine's two brothers was Robert Treat Paine (1835-1910) who was graduated from Harvard in 1855 and was admitted to the bar in 1859. The money he earned as a successful lawyer in Boston (he was a member of the firm of Richard Henry Dana) was wisely invested in railroad and mining property and, beginning in about 1870, he became well known in Boston as a philanthropist. His special concern was for improved housing for the poor and he and his wife, Lydia Williams (Lyman) Paine, endowed a fellowship at Harvard for the study of social problems.[219] His bust (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) was modeled in Europe by the American sculptor Franklin Simmons in 1892 and descended in the family; another version was owned by William Sumner Appleton of Boston, as mentioned above. Lydia (Lyman) Paine owned at least one example of Neoclassic sculpture, a bust of her father George Williams Lyman (ca.

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[217]Oliver, et al, 72-73.

[218]Quoted in Paine, 268.

[219]For Robert Treat Paine, Sr., see DAB, 7:158-59; and Crawford, Famous Families, 2:18-23.

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1860, Boston Athenaeum) which has been attributed to Richard S. Greenough.[220]

Robert Treat Paine is better known, however, as a collector of nineteenth-century European furniture and as a patron of American artists who worked in a later style than Neoclassicism. The architect Henry Hobson Richardson, for example, who worked in a mode far removed from the Neoclassic, designed a major addition to Paine's home, Stonehurst, in the Boston suburb of Waltham, Massachusetts, in 1884, which was situated on a site landscaped by Frederick Law Olmsted.[221] Paine knew Richardson well for he had served as chairman on the building committee for Trinity Church, Boston, which Richardson had designed in 1872. Paine supervised the purchase of the site for the church and raised the funds for its erection.[222]

The Paine family's interest in art continued with members of subsequent generations. Notable among these was Robert T. Paine's grandson and namesake, Robert Treat Paine, Jr., who was an avid collector of Japanese prints and a long-time curator of Asiatic art at the Museum of Fine Arts

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[220]Harding, Athenaeum, 38. George Williams Lyman was a brother of Theodore Lyman (1792-1849) who is discussed below.

[221]The project for Paine's house has been described in detail by Margaret Henderson Floyd, "H.H. Richardson, Frederick Law Olmsted, and the House for Robert Treat Paine," Winterthur Portfolio 18 (Winter 1983): 227-48.

[222]See Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., "Richardson and Trinity Church: The Evolution of a Building," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 27 (Dec. 1968): 281-98.

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in Boston. Even more impressive was the senior Paine's nephew, Robert Treat Paine II (1861-1944), whose wife was Ruth Cabot, a granddaughter of Samuel and Elizabeth (Perkins) Cabot and a great-granddaughter of Thomas Handasyd Perkins.[223] In the early twentieth century, Paine owned such masterpieces as Manet's Victorine Meurend (ca. 1862); Van Gogh's The Postman Joseph Roulin (1888); Cézanne's Madame Cézanne in a Red Armchair (ca. 1877); and Edgar Degas's Edmondo and Thérèse Morbilli (ca. 1867), all four of which were eventually given to the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston by members of the Paine family.[224]

The Lowell Family

No list of prominent Bostonians would be complete without the names of at least a few members of the Lowell family. Several of this clan, all descendants of Judge John Lowell (1743-1802), commissioned or bought works from American Neoclassic sculptors.[225] One of these was Rev.

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[223]Crawford, Famous Families, 2:18.

[224]Troyen and Tabbaa, 29-30. Robert Treat Paine II was the son of William Cushing and Hannah (Hathaway) (Perry) Paine and, in 1890, married Ruth Cabot, yet another descendant of Col. Perkins (Briggs, 2:766-67).

[225]On the Lowell family in general, see Ferris Greenslet, The Lowells and Their Seven Worlds (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1946). The most famous members of the group are the subject of C. David Heymann, American Aristocracy: The Lives and Times of James Russell, Amy, and Robert Lowell (New York: Dodd, Mead & Company, 1980), which includes a few introductory chapters on the earlier Lowells. Also see John Coolidge, Mill and Mansion (New York, 1942);

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Charles Lowell (1782-1861), a son of the Judge and his third wife, Rebecca Tyng, and father of the writer, James Russell Lowell.[226] He was a graduate of Harvard College (1800) and served as Pastor of the West Congregational Church in Boston from 1806 until his death. He traveled extensively between 1837 and 1840 and, while in Florence early in 1839, sat for his bust to Hiram Powers. A marble version of that work was exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts in Florence in November, 1839, although it evidently was available for public viewing prior to that in Powers's studio. In fact, the bust of Dr. Lowell seems to have played an important role in establishing Powers's reputation in Italy as a consumate portraitist. In September, 1839, Horatio Greenough stated as much in a letter to his patron James Fenimore Cooper:

> Mr. Powers has exhibited here four busts: Mr. Webster, Mr. Adams, Mr. Baldwin, the engineer, and the Rev. Dr. Lowell of Boston. They have placed him, at once, at the head of this department of sculpture, and, are pronounced, with generous frankness, by all artists, to be "equal, if not superior to any ancient heads of the class of portraits."[227]

In January, 1840, the bust of Lowell was shipped to him in America but its present location is not known.[228] It joined

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and Edward Weeks, The Lowells and Their Institute (Boston, 1966).

[226]For Charles Lowell, see Crawford, Famous Families, 1:114-17.

[227]HG to Cooper, Sept. 28, 1839, Letters of Greenough, ed. Wright, 264.

[228]Wunder, 2:68.

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Lowell's small collection of paintings which included at least two works by Washington Allston, both of which he lent to annual exhibitions at the Boston Athenaeum.[229]

Rev. Lowell's grandson, Charles Russell Lowell, Jr. (1835-1864), had an interest, albeit brief, in the technical aspects of sculpture.[230] After he was graduated from Harvard in 1854, he became fascinated with bronze casting and was employed as a "common workman" at the Ames Company at Chicopee, Massachusetts.[231] Within a few months, he was writing his mother that "the business I mean to put my real energy into is bronze-founding." He had investigated the possibilities of starting his own foundry and "have come to the deliberate opinion that here is an opening for a permanent private concern. . . ."[232] He also made it clear

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[229]Lowell owned Allston's The Robbers (probably Robbers Fighting with Each Other for the Spoils over a Murdered Traveler of 1801, unlocated) which he lent to the Athenaeum in 1828; and Italian Landscape which he lent in 1857. The latter painting is thought to have been destroyed in a fire in Schenectady, New York, in 1912 (Gerdts, "Paintings of Allston," 148-49). A work called Landscape, which Lowell lent to the Athenaeum in 1850 may be the same as Italian Landscape and/or may be the same painting later owned by Rev. Lowell's son, James Russell Lowell who lent a painting with that title to the Athenaeum in 1857 (Perkins and Gavin, 210).

[230]For Charles Russell Lowell, Jr., see Edward Waldo Emerson, Life and Letters of Charles Russell Lowell (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1907); Crawford, 122-25; and Greenslet, 272-300. Emerson summed up the diversity of Charles Lowell's brief life when he identified him as a "scholar, mechanic, railroad treasurer, iron-master, cavalry commander" (Emerson, Charles R. Lowell, 4).

[231]Emerson, Charles R. Lowell, 13.

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that his intentions were to cast sculpture and he was given encouragement in this pursuit when he met the sculptor Richard S. Greenough. Greenough had returned to America from Italy to supervise the casting of his sculpture Shepherd Boy with an Eagle (1853, Boston Athenaeum) at the Ames foundry.[233] Lowell wrote to his mother of the experience:

> I spent four or five hours with Richard Greenough, the other morning, and took occasion to get all I could from him with regard to the prospective demand for bronzes in this country. He thinks that even within ten years there will be an immense increase in the number required both of large and small. Now it seems to me that here is an opening for me. I shall study all that books can tell about the practical part, and a good deal has been written on the subject. . . . Then, if the Ames Company want any one, I shall be able to come in on different terms: if not, and this is what I expect, I shall within ten years be able to get money enough to go to Munich and to Paris, study their peculiar processes, and if need be, get a few foreign hands; for if I can show a really good chance for a business,--partners with capital are not difficult to find in this country. You see I do not expect to grow rich in a hurry, but merely hope to found a respectable English foundry, under the control of partners, not agents.[234]

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[232]Charles Russell Lowell, Chicopee, Mass., to Anna Cabot (Jackson) Lowell, June 24, 1855, in Ibid., 88.

[233]Thomas B. Brumbaugh, "Horatio and Richard Greenough: A Critical Study with a Catalogue of Their Sculpture" (Ph.D. diss., The Ohio State University, Columbus, 1955), 154. Also see Michael Edward Shapiro, Bronze Casting and American Sculpture 1850-1900 (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1987), 56-58. Greenough's group was shown at the Boston Athenaeum in 1857 (Perkins and Gavin, 68); and the following year twenty-four Bostonians, including Nathan Appleton, William Appleton, David Sears, and John P. Cushing, donated two-thousand dollars for its purchase and presentation to the Athenaeum (Athenaeum Centenary, 85).

[234]Lowell to Anna Lowell, June 24, 1855, in Emerson, Charles R. Lowell, 88-89.

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Lowell also sought the assistance of the painter, critic, and photographer William J. Stillman in his efforts[235] but, for whatever reasons, his plans for starting a foundry did not come to fruition. The year after he wrote the above to his mother, however, he did go to Europe. He was in Spain for several weeks and then went to Italy where he spent the winter of 1856-57 in Florence. While in that city, he was made aware of what he called his "superb ignorance of the history of Art and Artists;"[236] although the following year, in Paris, he confessed to having enjoyed the Louvre "immensely."[237]

Perhaps if Lowell had lived longer, he would have fulfilled his desire to make, if not design, sculpture; but unfortunately he was killed in the Civil War after having distinguished himself as a Colonel in the Union Army. He had married Josephine Shaw (1843-1905), sister of Robert Gould Shaw, who, after her husband's death, became a well known philanthropist and reformer in her own right. A marble relief portrait of her was executed in 1899 by

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[235]Stillman, who founded the periodical The Crayon in 1855, was a good friend of James Russell Lowell, Charles Russell Lowell Jr.'s uncle, and it is probably through him that the younger man met Stillman. (See Anne Ehrenkranz, "William James Stillman," Poetic Localities: Photographs of The Adirondacks, Cambridge, Crete, Italy, Athens, William J. Stillman [New York: International Center of Photography, 1988], 15).

[236]Charles R. Lowell, Florence, to Anna Cabot (Jackson) Lowell, Jan. 15, 1857, in Emerson, Charles R. Lowell, 128.

[237]Emerson, Charles R. Lowell, 161.

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Augustus Saint-Gaudens (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York).[238]

Richard Greenough was patronized by at least one member of the Lowell family, John Amory Lowell (1798-1881), a grandson of Judge Lowell and his first wife, Sarah Higginson, and himself the grandfather of the poet, Amy Lowell. John A. Lowell was graduated from Harvard College in 1815 and became an eminent merchant and financier in Boston as well as the Senior Trustee of the Lowell Institute for over forty years.[239] He owned Richard Greenough's Cupid Warming an Icicle with His Torch which the sculptor had executed in about 1848-49, probably shortly after he went to Italy.[240] Nothing is known of the commission or purchase, however, nor is the sculpture located today. Lowell had a small collection of paintings, most of which were by European artists, but he owned at least one work by Washington Allston, the painter's imaginative portrait of Amy Robsart (1840; Phoenix Art Museum, Phoenix, Arizona), wife of the Earl of Leicester, which had been commissioned from Allston by John Amory Lowell's first cousin, John Lowell, Jr.

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[238]See John H. Dryfhout, The Works of Augustus Saint-Gaudens (Hanover and London: University Press of New England, 1982), 238.

[239]Briggs, 1:63-64.

[240]Brumbaugh, "Horatio and Richard Greenough," 254.

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John Lowell, Jr. (1799-1836) was a son of Francis Cabot Lowell and Hannah Jackson and a grandson of Judge Lowell. He was educated in Boston and in Edinburgh, Scotland, but was prevented from completing his years at Harvard College by poor health. He traveled extensively, beginning in his youth when he went to India, Holland, and England in 1816 and 1817 for his father's business; but his true interests were literary and philosophical and he amassed one of Boston's most impressive private libraries.[241] He also spent most of the third decade of his life traveling, but did so now as an antidote to the grief caused by the tragic deaths from scarlet fever of his wife, Georgina Amory, and his two daughters, all within eighteen months in 1830-31.[242] It must have been on one of his stops back in Boston, though, that he commissioned Allston to paint Amy Robsart. Progress on the painting was delayed, however, and Lowell never got to see it for it was not finished until four years after his death. By that time, the commission had been taken over by his cousin, John Amory Lowell, who was the painting's first owner.[243]

According to Nathalia Wright, John Lowell, Jr., was in Italy early in 1834 during which time he visited Horatio Greenough in his studio and gave him an order for a statue,

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[241]DAB, 6:466.

[242]Greenslet, 199.

[243]Gerdts, "Paintings of Allston," 143.

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probably the Venus Victrix.[244] Lowell then went on to Rome where, on the advice of the artist Horace Vernet, he employed the painter Charles Gleyre to be his traveling companion and to make a visual record of his journies. "I like the man and think his pictures good," Lowell wrote to a relative back home. "He is intelligent and by no means a mere artist. . . He is very attentive without being very polite; an excellent quality in a travelling companion."[245] The two men, patron and artist, went on to Greece and Egypt, and although they did not always agree on the nature of their relationship, Lowell evidently retained all of the paintings and many of the drawings which Gleyre made during the journey.[246] Lowell's friend and eulogizer, Edward Everett, later recalled these events:

> At Rome, [Lowell] made an agreement with a Swiss artist, highly recommended to him by Horace Vernet, as an excellent draftsman and painter, to accompany him, for the purpose of taking sketches and designs of scenery, ruins, and costumes, throughout the whole of his tour. A considerable number of drawings, executed by this artist, have been received in this country since Mr. Lowell's decease.[247]

Unfortunately, as Everett indicated, Lowell died prematurely, in Bombay in 1836. "Poor Lowell has died in

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[244]Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 103.

[245]Quoted in Greenslet, 206.

[246]Ibid., 209-10.

[247]Edward Everett, A Memoir of Mr. John Lowell, Jun. (Boston: Charles C. Little and James Brown, 1840), 34. This pamphlet was based on a lecture Everett gave on Dec. 31, 1839, which was the first in a series, funded by a bequest from Lowell, to be delivered on "natural and moral science."

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the flower of his age," Greenough wrote to Richard Henry Wilde shortly after the event, "a victim to the determination to go over land to India."[248] Lowell is best remembered today as the endower of the Lowell Institute which was made possible by his bequest of one-half of his estate.

Following Lowell's death, the original commission from Greenough for the Venus was taken over by one of his relatives, although there is some confusion as to exactly which one. In an unpublished letter of February, 1838, Greenough himself reported to Bostonian David Sears that he was "now finishing the model of a Venus Victrix for F. C. Lowell" and went on to describe the work:

> I represent the Goddess holding the prize of beauty in her right hand, which a little shades her left breast, while her left hand adjusts the tresses which are supposed to [have] fallen on her shoulders when she prepared her figure for the exhibition. I have endeavoured to make a naked female figure perfectly pure. I think I have seen it done by others, perhaps it would be more frequently done if artists attempted it.[249]

Evidently, Greenough was referring here to Francis Cabot Lowell, Jr. (1803-1874), a brother of John Lowell, Jr. The former may have taken over the commission for the Venus, at least temporarily, at his brother's death.[250] However,

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[248]HG, Boston, to Wilde, Aug. 19, 1836, Letters of Greenough, ed. Wright, 200.

[249]HG, Florence, to David Sears, Feb. 14, 1838, Sears Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

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Nathalia Wright has stated that the commission for the Venus was assumed by another John Lowell (1769-1840) who was an uncle of John Lowell, Jr. Either Greenough was confusing his Lowells or the commission was transferred more than once among members of the family.[251] Whatever the case, the sculpture was presented to the Boston Athenaeum in 1842 as a gift of the estate of John Lowell[252]

While Francis Cabot Lowell does not appear to have had any great interest in art, his uncle, John Lowell,

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[250]Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 205-06. In Jan., 1838, Greenough wrote to his brother, Henry, that he was making "a Venus for Mr. Lowell," and in Sept. of the following year he stated that "the Venus of Lowell is far advanced, in a good piece of marble. It was detained at Carrara nine months, owing to the press of work and scarcity of fine pieces of stone" (HG, Florence, to Henry Greenough, Jan. 17, 1838, and Sept. 25, 1839, Letters of Greenough, ed. Greenough, 119, 130).

[251]The situation was not clarified when, in 1844, the sculptor told his brother, Henry, that "I have almost completed a pedestal for Mr. John Lowell's statue, which I shall send in the spring" (HG, Florence, to Henry Greenough, Feb. 28, 1844, Ibid., 170). Both John Lowells, the uncle and the nephew, were dead by the time Greenough wrote this and it is not possible to know to which John Lowell he was referring.

[252]Harding states (35) that the sculpture was a gift to the Athenaeum of the estate of John Lowell, Jr.; but Greenslet records (165-66) that both it and the The Judgement of Paris by Greenough (see below) were given to the Athenaeum by John Amory Lowell, son of the elder John Lowell, in memory of his father.

Be that as it may, it seems likely that the Lowell family discussed what to do about the two important artistic commissions which the late John Lowell, Jr., had given to Allston and Greenough respectively, and that two members of the family simply decided to accept responsibility for them. While this is not exactly a surprising development, it certainly suggests that the family understood the significance and importance of such commissions and felt the obligation to follow through on such orders.

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evidently had at least some.[253] The latter was a son of Judge Lowell and his first wife, Sarah Higginson; was graduated from Harvard College in 1786; and admitted to the bar shortly thereafter. During the 1790s, he earned the nickname of "the Rebel" due to "politically volatile" pamphlets he published in which he supported the Federalist cause. In 1803, he was appointed by his father to the directorship of the First National Bank of Boston but, due to ill health, he and his wife, Rebecca Amory, whom he married in 1793, and their son, John Amory Lowell, went to Europe where they spent most of 1804 and 1805. On their return, Lowell became one of the founders of the new Anthology Club which soon became the Boston Athenaeum. His donation of one-hundred-six volumes to the organization's library in 1807 was evidently its first such gift.[254] He was elected as the first treasurer of the Athenaeum, became its vice-president in 1814, and its president in 1816. After his resignation from that post three years later, he served as a trustee and was instrumental in securing the gift of James Perkins's home in 1821, as discussed above.[255] Once that was accomplished, he pushed for the funding and construction of a lecture hall and was among those who gave

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[253]For John Lowell, "The Rebel," see Greenslet, 163-189; and DAB, 6:465-66.

[254]Athenaeum Centenary, 24, 76, 111.

[255]Greenslet, 165.

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money for the project in 1823.[256] His importance to the Athenaeum was acknowledged in 1835 when several subscribers commissioned and donated to the institution four busts by John Frazee, as mentioned above, among which was that of John Lowell.[257] The year following Lowell's death, a bust of him in plaster by John C. King was shown at the Athenaeum although neither the circumstances of its creation nor its present location are known.[258]

By the 1810s, Lowell was widely known for his generosity and selfless devotion to worthy causes. One of Boston's wealthiest businessmen, Samuel Eliot, expressed this view in his will of 1820 when he called Lowell "the eminent friend of his country and of every good man," praised him for "his labours for the public," and left him the sum of eight-thousand dollars as a sign of his esteem.[259] In fact, Lowell spent a good part of the 1810s and 1820s distributing his own wealth by founding schools and businesses and by supporting non-profit organizations such as the Massachusetts Agricultural Society, the

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[256]Athenaeum Centenary, 29, 76.

[257]Athenaeum Centenary, 82. Frazee's marble bust of Lowell, which is still in the Athenaeum's collection, is inscribed with the date 1834 (Harding, Athenaeum, 30-31).

[258]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Fifteenth Exhibition of Paintings and of the Third Exhibition of Sculpture in the Athenaeum Gallery (Boston: Eastburn's Press, 1841), 9. The work was referred to as a "cast bust" in the catalogue which I take to mean plaster.

[259]Quoted in Greenslet, 164.

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Massachusetts Historical Society, and the American Antiquarian Society. He maintained two residences: a house in Boston in Colonnade Row off Park Street; and an elegant country estate known as Bromley Vale in nearby Roxbury.

Whether or not he was the member of the family who accepted responsibility for the commission from Greenough for the Venus Victrix, he evidently gave two orders of his own to the sculptor. One was for a bust of Venus, probably a copy of an antique work, and the other was for a relief, The Judgement of Paris, with the understanding that he would have the right to exhibit the statue and the relief in America for his own financial gain. Unfortunately, like his nephew before him, John Lowell never saw the sculptures Greenough was creating for him for he died in March, 1840. The works were shipped to America shortly after Lowell's passing, however, and the executors of his estate gave them to the Boston Athenaeum in 1842. Two years later, Greenough made a pedestal for the statue of Venus Victrix and evidently sent that to Boston soon thereafter. It seems the bust has not survived, but the statue of Venus, with the relief of The Judgement of Paris inset into its pedestal, is still at the Athenaeum.[260]

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[260]Harding, Athenaeum, 35.

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Theodore Lyman, Jr. (1792-1849)

Unlike George Hillard and several other Bostonians considered in this dissertation, Theodore Lyman began training for a career in letters early in life rather than turning to it after he reached maturity. Nevertheless, he could not resist the pull of politics and it was in that field that he made a name for himself. He was born in Boston, a son of Theodore Lyman, a wealthy merchant, and his wife, Lydia Williams, and was schooled at Phillips Exeter Academy and Harvard where he became a good friend of Edward Everett.[261] In 1812, his father sent him to Edinburgh to study at the university there which he did until 1814. He then went to Paris and London and traveled through Belgium, the Netherlands, Prussia, and Germany. He visited Everett at Göttingen and spent the spring and summer of 1818 in Paris where he met Lafayette and the French Neoclassic painter, Francois Gèrard. In the fall, he and Everett went to Italy and Albania, then on to Vienna, Constantinople, and Greece where they met Lord Byron. During all of this, Lyman

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[261]For the facts of Lyman's life, see Theodore Lyman, "Hon. Theodore Lyman," Memorial Biographies of the New-England Historic Genealogical Society (Boston: The Society, 1880), 1:169-98; and DAB, 6:518-19. Beginning in the late eighteenth century, Lyman's father, Theodore Lyman I, assembled a large tract of land at Waltham, Mass., ten miles from Boston, where he built his country seat, the Vale, designed by Samuel McIntire in 1793. This was the home of Lydia (Lyman) Paine, wife of Robert Treat Paine who was mentioned above (Floyd, 231).

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continued his literary studies and wrote several small books and articles about his European experiences.[262]

In the 1820s, after his return to Boston, Lyman began writing seriously, mostly about politics,[263] and is said to have had one of the best private libraries in the city. He entered politics as a member of the Massachusetts state legislature where he served from 1820 to 1825 and was mayor of Boston from 1833 to 1836. The rest of his life was spent working for various charities and organizations such as the Boston Farm School and the Horticultural Society of Boston. He was active in the Boston Athenaeum where he served as a trustee from 1821 to 1826. Besides giving money to the Athenaeum on several occasions, he was one of two members of the committee which raised funds for the purchase of Gilbert Stuart's portrait of James Perkins in 1822 and he helped the Athenaeum purchase a cast of Houdon's statue of George Washington in 1847.[264]

In 1821, Lyman married Mary Elizabeth Henderson of New York and in 1835 they purchased Gore Place in Waltham, Massachusetts, the former estate of Christopher Gore. But Mrs. Lyman died shortly thereafter, as did one of the

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[262]For example, see Theodore Lyman, A Few Weeks in Paris, During the Residence of teh Allied Sovereigns in that Metropolis (Boston: Cummings and Hilliard, 1814) which is mostly a commentary on contemporary French politics.

[263]Lyman's best known books are The Political State of Italy (1820), A Short Account of the Hartford Convention (1823), and The Diplomacy of the United States (1828).

[264]Athenaeum Centenary, 75-77, 83, 118.

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couple's young daughters, and Theodore Lyman left the place in 1838.[265] Six years later, in 1844, he hired architect Richard Upjohn to design a new house for him in Waltham, near Boston, which he called the Vale.[266]

Lyman's small art collection included works by American painters such as George Beck's Falls of the Potomac, Gilbert Stuart's Rev. Joseph Stevens Buckminster, and Alvan Fisher's of the Lyman home, The Vale.[267] He also owned at least one painting by Washington Allston, Beatrice (ca. 1816-19; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), which he acquired in 1819 and which he lent it to the Boston Athenaeum in 1827.[268] Lyman's uncle was the banker Samuel

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[265]Charles A. Hammond and Stephen A. Wilbur, Collecting Sculpture in Early America (Waltham, Mass.: Gore Place, 1989), 16.

[266]The Lyman Estate, including the Vale, is now the property of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities and is noted for being one of the finest examples of an American country estate laid out according to eighteenth-century English principles of design. It is discussed in Charles Arthur Hammond, "`Where the Arts and The Virtues Unite': Country Life Near Boston, 1637-1864" (Ph.D. diss., Boston University Graduate School, 1982), 112-17.

[267]Lyman's version of Beck's Falls of the Potomac may be the painting that is now in a private collection and which is illustrated in Edward J. Nygren, Views and Visions: American Landscape Before 1830 (Washington, D.C.: The Corcoran Gallery of Art, 1986), 32. Another version is at Mount Vernon in Virginia. Lyman's version of Stuart's portrait of Buckminster may be the painting which is now owned by the Cincinnati Museum of Art. The Boston Athenaeum has an almost identical version which descended in the Buckminster family (Harding, Athenaeum, 59). The painting by Fisher is in the collection of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston.

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Williams who served as Allston's financial agent in London and with whom Lyman stayed when he was in London during the summer of 1817.[269] Lyman may have known Allston through Williams but, if not, it seems likely that the two would have met when they were both back in the Boston area after 1819.

Lyman owned a few sculptures, too. Several of these, by unknown artists, later descended in the Lyman family and may have dated from their residency at Gore Place. These include a bust of Theodore Lyman, now at the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston; and two copies of antique works, said to have been ordered by Lyman around 1835: a marble bust of Mercury and one of Ganymede, both of which are now at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.[270]

Another bust of Lyman was modeled in 1842 by the American sculptor Henry Dexter to whose studio Lyman went for sittings. The work was exhibited at the Boston Athenaeum that same year[271] and three plaster replicas of it

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[268]Perkins and Gavin, 211. The painting is documented in American Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1969), 1:15, which states that it was bought from Allston by Lyman in 1819 but that Lyman had sold it to Samuel A. Eliot, Boston, by 1839. Also see Carol Troyen, The Boston Tradition: American Paintings from The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (Boston: The Museum of Fine Arts, 1980), 84.

[269]Lyman, "Theodore Lyman," 186.

[270]Hammond and Wilbur, 17.

[271]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Sixteenth Exhibition of Paintings and of the Fourth Exhibition of

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were made, one each for the Massachusetts Horticultural Society in Boston, the Farm School at Westborough, Massachusetts, and, the Lyman School in Boston.[272] The existing marble version (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) is dated 1850 and, as Jan Ramirez has pointed out, was probably commissioned by the Lyman family shortly after Lyman's death.[273]

Lyman's son, Theodore Lyman III (1833-1897), a professional zoölogist, also owned sculpture. He may have been the Theodore Lyman who lent a collection of unidentified bronzes to the Montreal Art Association in 1864, and allegorical figures of Comedy, Tragedy, and Maidenhood in 1867, although why he would have sent these works so far afield is not known.[274] There is no doubt, however, that he was the owner of William Wetmore Story's marble Infant Bacchus on a Panther (fig. 32). Lyman was in Rome in the

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Sculpture in the Athenaeum Gallery (Boston: Eastburn's Press, 1842), 7.

[272]Albee, 117.

[273]See Jan S. Ramirez's entry on the bust in Greenthal, et al, 42. In 1876, Dexter wrote to an unidentified member of the Lyman family to say that he had "very choice marble" and would be able to "do your father's bust very soon" (Henry Dexter, Cambridgeport, to Mr. Lyman, Feb. 14, 1876, Lyman Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society). Whether this was a reference to an order for another marble replica of Dexter's bust of Theodore Lyman, Jr., or to an order for an entirely different conception is not known. In fact, since Dexter died about four months after writing this letter, it is certainly possible that the commission to which he was referring, whatever it might have been, was not completed.

[274]See Yarnall and Gerdts, passim.

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winter of 1860-61 and evidently saw the model of the group in Story's studio. He soon wrote to Story asking him to translate the conception into marble and Story agreed to do so at Lyman's suggested price of $1500, adding that it would give him great pleasure to know that the statue would be "in the keeping of such kind and considerate friends."[275] Lyman evidently demanded some changes in the original conception, however, and to please his patron, Story remodeled Bachhus's torso, "so as to improve the figure and the line of the composition."[276] When the group was finally finished in July, 1863, Story wrote his patron that the delay was caused by "your conditions" which were "not very easily satisfied." He had made every effort, however, to see that the group was finished in a timely fashion, even having two of his workmen work on it simultaneously, "or heaven knows when it would have been finished."[277] Once the sculpture was in Lyman's possession in Boston, he had local cabinetmakers create a special wooden base on which it could be mounted.[278]

Another member of the Lyman family, Arthur Theodore Lyman (1832-1914), served as treasurer of the Boston

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[275]WWS, Rome, to Theodore Lyman, Feb. 5, 1861, Theodore Lyman III Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

[276]WWS, London, to Theodore Lyman, June 18, 1862, Lyman Papers.

[277]WWS, Rome, to Theodore Lyman, July 29, 1863, Lyman Papers.

[278]See Jan S. Ramirez's entry on Story's sculpture in Greenthal, et al, 112-14.

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Athenaeum in 1868 and president from 1899 until his death.[279] He was the son of George Williams Lyman, the brother of Theodore Lyman, Jr., and his wife Anne Pratt. His sister, Lydia, was the wife of Robert Treat Paine, who is mentioned elsewhere in this dissertation, and his niece by marriage was Elizabeth Boott, wife of the American artist Frank Duveneck. In 1893, Duveneck created a marble bust of Arthur Lyman which is now in the collection of the Boston Athenaeum.[280] Although it was modeled long after the end of the era of Neoclassicism in America, it is nonetheless strikingly Neoclassical. The subject's shoulders and chest are undraped and the front of the marble is flat in the manner of the herme bust.

David Sears (1787-1871)

Like certain other Bostonians considered in this dissertation, Sears was born into a prosperous Boston family and devoted much of his life to philanthropic pursuits. He was the son of a wealthy Boston merchant, David Sears, Sr., and his wife Anne Winthrop, and was graduated from Harvard in 1807.[281] In 1809, he married Miriam Mason of Boston and

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[279] Athenaeum Centenary, 115-16.

[280] Harding, Athenaeum, 28.

[281] For a biographical sketch of Sears, see Tributes of the Massachusetts Historical Society to the Memory of Hon. David Sears and George Ticknor, LL.D. Feb. 9, 1871 (Boston: Press of John Wilson and Son, 1871).

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they spent the next several years traveling in Europe.[282]

By virtue of his inheritance, Sears became one of the wealthiest men in Boston. He was active in politics between 1816 and 1851, served in the state legislature as a representative and then as a senator, and traveled widely. He kept a summer house, first, at Nahant, Massachusetts, and then, after 1845, at Newport, Rhode Island. Following the death of his father in 1816, he built "a costly and elegant mansion" on Beacon Street in Boston which was designed by Alexander Parris and which has been occupied by the Somerset Club since 1872.[283] Among the institutions which benefited from Sears's generosity were Harvard University, Amherst College, the Boston Athenaeum, and the Massachusetts Historical Society, for which he served as vice president. At the Athenaeum, he joined other Bostonians in donating money toward the purchase of several sculptures including Henry Dexter's The Backwoodsman, Richard S. Greenough's Shepherd Boy and Eagle, Trentanove's bust of Washington, and a cast of Houdon's full-size Washington.[284] For the Historical Society, he helped fund the commission from

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[282]Crawford, Famous Families, 2:367.

[283]Tributes of the Mass. Historical Society, n.p; Southworth, 156-57. For Sears house, see Edward F. Zimmer, "Alexander Parris's David Sears House," Old-Time New England 70 (1980): 99-110.

[284]Athenaeum Centenary, 77, 83-85.

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Dexter of a bust of Robert C. Winthrop, as mentioned previously.[285]

Sears was a patron of several Boston artists including Washington Allston. He owned at least two of Allston's paintings: Miriam, the Prophetess (1821, William A. Farnsworth Library and Art Museum, Rockland, Maine) which Sears commissioned from the artist in honor of his wife;[286] and A Tuscan Girl (collection of Robert Vose) which he bought from Allston in September 1831.[287] Sears lent both of these paintings to exhibitions at the Boston Athenaeum and other venues on several occasions.[288] Other American artists represented in Sears's collection were Thomas Cole, Henry C. Pratt, Thomas Sully,

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[285]Petition of Nathan Appleton, et al, Feb. 10, 1854, Winthrop Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

[286]A drawing by Allston, Half-Length Study of a Young Woman (ca. 1823, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University), is probably a portrait of Mrs. Sears as well as a study for the painting. See Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., "The Drawings of Washington Allston," in William H. Gerdts and Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., "A Man of Genius:" The Art of Washington Allston (1779-1843) (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1979), 230.

[287]A document stating that Sears bought the painting from Allston on Sept. 10, 1831, accompanied the work when it was lent by Sears to the Washington Art Association in 1859 (Yarnall and Gerdts, 2230).

[288]Gerdts, "Paintings of Allston," 140-41; Perkins and Gavin, 220. Sears also lent both paintings to the retrospective of Allston's work at Harding's Gallery in 1839 (Harding's Gallery, Exhibition of Pictures Painted by Washington Allston [Boston, John H. Eastburn, Printer, 1839], 4, 7).

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and Gilbert Stuart.[289] A portrait of Sears by Pratt, dated 1858, is now at the Massachusetts Historical Society.[290]

For our purposes, the most important objects in Sears's collection were portraits of him and his family by Horatio Greenough which were probably commissioned when Sears, his wife, and their children were in Florence in 1834. The first of the sculptures to be completed were busts of Sears and his wife.[291] More interesting, though,

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[289]Sears owned Cole's View of Mount Etna from the Ruins of the Theatre of Taormina (Lyman Allyn Museum, New London, Conn.), Pratt's Indians Bathing--A Scene in New England (unlocated), and at least one painting by Stuart (Yarnall and Gerdts, passim). A portrait of Sears by Stuart is now at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and portraits of him and of his wife were in the possession of one of their descendants in 1924 (see Mount, Stuart, 374). Sears also owned a portrait of his daughter Ellen by Thomas Sully (unlocated), painted on his order in 1831 (Edward Biddle and Mantle Fielding, The Life and Works of Thomas Sully [1783-1872] [Philadelphia, 1921], 269) and shown at the Boston Athenaeum the following year as Portrait of a Young Lady (Perkins and Gavin, 220). Of these works, only the landscape by Cole and the portrait by Stuart are located.

Interestingly, when Cole wanted to exhibit his View of Mount Etna, which he had just sent to Sears, at the Boston Artists' Association in 1844, he felt that he could not ask Sears directly and he asked Henry Pratt to make the request for him. Pratt evidently obliged and the painting was lent to the exhibition (see Elwood C. Parry III, The Art of Thomas Cole: Ambition and Imagination [Newark: University of Delaware Press], 298).

[290]Oliver, et al, 91. When he was in Europe in 1838, Sears ordered copies of eleven paintings by the old masters--Caravaggio, Titian, and Raphael, for example--from one Antonie Chatetain. A list of these paintings, dated Feb. 22, 1834, is among the Sears Family Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

[291]The bust of David Sears is at the Somerset Club, Boston; that of his wife is unlocated. Although it is not at all surprising that a Bostonian like Sears would turn to Boston's native son, Greenough, for sculptural commissions,

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and technically more complicated, is the double portrait Greenough created of the two youngest Sears children, Knyvet and Grace, commonly known as Forest Children (fig. 33). Greenough sent Sears a sketch of his first idea for the sculpture which showed Grace Sears teaching her brother to read. But, according to Greenough, Sears "found the *motivo* somewhat too matter-of-fact."[292] So a new composition was sketched, submitted to Sears, approved, and put into clay by February, 1835. In this, the final version, "the daughter has a squirrel held by a string, and her brother is trying to make it play about."[293] In other words, the sculptor, under the watchful eye of his patron, sought to combine portraiture with genre to create a more active and even anecdotal work which, like Henry Dexter's portraits of John Cushing's children and Greenough's own of James Thomson's sons, thereby gives the viewer a more pleasing and edifying view of the carefree days of childhood.

In an unpublished letter of January, 1838, Greenough informed Sears that Forest Children was finished in marble and that it would soon be shipped to Boston. While his

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Greenough implied in a letter to Sears that Sears may have had other, more personal reasons for doing so; and, in fact, it appears that the sculptor's father was acquainted with Sears. "I shall always be happy," Greenough wrote, "in showing for you the respect which I inherit from my father and which has been so confirmed by my relations with yourself" (HG, Florence, to David Sears, Boston, Feb. 14, 1838, Sears Family Papers).

[292]HG, Florence, to Henry Greenough, Feb. 17, 1835, Letters of Greenough, ed. Greenough, 106.

[293]Ibid.

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letter reveals his natural gratitude toward Sears, it also implies that the patron played a direct role in the sculpture's final design. "I have to thank you for the liberality with which you have assisted me in the course of this work," Greenough wrote,

> and the uniform confidence you have shown in my abilities. I wish most heartily that this work may answer your expectations. The likeness are as good as I could make in the posture in which the figures are placed. I believe you will prefer such a representation to a cold portrait.[294]

A month later, the sculptor wrote again to advise Sears how best to display the sculpture in his Boston mansion. He felt that it should have "a pedestal of a dark warm colour" and be shown in "either an isolated position, or [on] a revolving plinth." "I feel very averse," he added, "to having the side on which master Bob stands put to the wall."[295] He ended the letter with another expression of gratitude for Sears's generosity and patience:

> I cannot close this without again assuring you that I have had much pleasure in executing this work--not only from the interesting character of the children whose portraits I have made, but also from the uniform kindness and patience you have shown to me throughout. Persons often think that if an artist undertakes a work he should be prompt and punctual in the delivery like a merchant whose note falls due. I am sure that such a system fully acted on would soon destroy art. I have generally found people reasonable on this score, however, and indeed those who know me know that I am always at work, though not always effectively.[296]

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[294]HG, Florence, to David Sears, Boston, Jan. 10, 1838, Sears Family Papers.

[295]HG, Florence, to David Sears, Boston, Feb. 14, 1838, Sears Family Papers.

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Interestingly, one of David Sears's grandchildren, Philip Shelton Sears (1867-1953), was a sculptor, although he did not take up the profession until 1918 and, of course, did not work in the Neoclassic mode. He studied with Charles Grafly and, informally, with Daniel Chester French, and had his first one-artist show in 1925 at the Guild of Boston Artists.[297] Another grandchild was Clara Endicott Sears (born 1863) who was an antiquarian, preservationist, philanthropist, and author, and the daughter of Knyvet Sears, mentioned above. Among her published books were two which dealt with aspects of American art: Some American Primitives (1941) and Highlights Among the Hudson River Artists (1947).[298]

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[296]Ibid.

[297]Sears worked in both marble and bronze and specialized in portrait busts, such as those of Senator Henry Cabot Lodge (1929) at the State House in Boston and Franklin D. Roosevelt (1934) at Hyde Park, New York; and in figural works such as Sleeping Youth (Beverly Hospital, Massachusetts) which he showed at the winter exhibition of the National Academy of Design, New York, in 1928, and Pumunangwet (He Who Shoots the Stars) (1929; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), a statuette of a native American. The most recent summary of his life and work is the entry on him by Kathryn Greenthal in Greenthal, et al, 323-328. The Philip Sears Papers are at the Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C.

[298]The National Cyclopedia of American Biography (New York: James T. White and Co., 1891-), 7:293.

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George Ticknor (1791-1871)

As discussed in a previous chapter, George Ticknor was Edward Everett's fellow student in Germany and general traveling companion in Europe in the 1810s. In fact, the lives of these two Bostonians touched at many other points as well. One of these was their interest in American sculptors.

Ticknor attended Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire, from which he was graduated in 1807, and part of his education there consisted of at least a rudimentary study of art. Evidence of this is in the form of a rather amateurish watercolor view of the Dartmouth campus (Hood Museum of Art, Dartmouth College) which Ticknor executed in 1803.[299] After graduation, he continued his studies, most notably of Latin and Greek, with a private tutor in Boston.[300] He read law and was admitted to the bar in 1813;

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[299]Ticknor's watercolor, which is probably the sole survivor of his artistic efforts, is reproduced as an illustration for Richard N. Current, "`It is . . . A Small College . . . Yet, There are Those Who Love It'," American Heritage 14 (Aug. 1963): 11.

[300]The standard biography of Ticknor is Life, Letters, and Journals of George Ticknor, ed. George S. Hillard, 2 vols. (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1876). Also see DAB, 7:525-528. The Ticknor Papers are at the Dartmouth College Library, Hanover, New Hampshire. Notable among these are Ticknor's journals and those of his wife which are available in a microfilm edition, The Travel Journals of George and Anna Ticknor, 1816-19, 1835-38 5 reels (Ann Arbor: Xerox University Microfilms, 1974). Chapters on Ticknor are included in Van Wyck Brooks, The Flowering of New England 1815-1865 (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1936), and in Martin Green, The Problem of Boston: Some Readings in Cultural History (London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1966).

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but his passion was for literature, both classical and modern, for which he developed a fascination in childhood. By the summer of 1814, he and other like-minded young Bostonians, including Edward and Alexander Everett, Edward Channing, and Nathan Hale, were gathering each Saturday night at Ticknor's home to translate and discuss Latin texts.[301] This may have encouraged Ticknor to make a career change for he soon abandoned his plans for becoming a lawyer to follow a more academic route.[302]

With this end in mind, and with the support of his family, he began an extended trip along the eastern coast of the United States in preparation for a Grand Tour of Europe.[303] He left Boston at the end of 1814 and headed south, traveling at least part of the way with friends and fellow Bostonians, Samuel G. Perkins and Francis Calley Gray.[304] Evidently an impressive and precocious young man,

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[301]Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 1: 12.

[302]Jorge Guillen, "George Ticknor, Lover of Culture," More Books: The Bulletin of the Boston Public Library 17 (Oct. 1942): 360.

[303]As Van Wyck Brooks has pointed out, it was common for young Americans at this time to make the grand tour of the United States before doing the same in Europe (Brooks, Flowering of New England, 78n).

[304]Samuel Perkins, who traveled as far as Washington with Ticknor, was a brother of Thomas Handasyd Perkins and the father of James Handasyd Perkins, both of whom are discussed elsewhere in this dissertation. Ticknor described him as "one of the prominent merchants in Boston,--a man of no small intellectual culture, and of a very generous and noble nature. He had been a great deal about the world, and understood its ways. His manners were frank, open-hearted, and decisive, and, to some persons, brusque. All men

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Ticknor was invited to dine at the White House in Washington, D.C., with President James Madison, and he visited Chief Justice John Marshall in Richmond, Virginia.[305] One of the most memorable parts of the trip was the several days Ticknor and Gray spent with Thomas Jefferson at Monticello. Jefferson shared Ticknor's interest in classicism and the two discussed various aspects of it. A mutual admiration quickly developed and the men corresponded over the next several years. A common topic of their letters was education, particularly Jefferson's ideas for the University of Virginia. He even sent Ticknor a drawing of the ground plan for his ideal, academic village.[306] While at Monticello, Ticknor noted in his journal the unusual arrangement of Jefferson's self-designed home and the rather eclectic nature of his collection of paintings. This may have been Ticknor's first close encounter with a substantial art collection and he was duly impressed with a large painting of "the Repentance of Saint Peter" in the entrance hall to the house which he likened to a museum. In the dining room he found himself "surrounded

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respected, many loved him" (quoted in Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 1:13).

[305]Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 1:29-30.

[306]Orie W. Long, Thomas Jefferson and George Ticknor, A Chapter in American Scholarship (Williamstown, Mass.: The McClelland Press, 1933), 7-8. Ticknor visited Jefferson at Monticello again in 1824. See Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 1:300-302, 346-49.

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with paintings that seemed good." This room had "the best pictures in the collection," including

> the Laughing and Weeping Philosophers, dividing the world between them; on its right, the earliest navigators to America,--Columbus, Americus Vespuccius, Magellan, etc.,--copied, Mr. Jefferson said, from originals in the Florence Gallery. Farther round, Mr. Madison in the plain, Quaker-like dress of his youth, Lafayette in his Revolutionary uniform, and Franklin in the dress in which we always see him. There were other pictures, and a copy of Raphael's Transfiguration.[307]

Following his American tour, Ticknor returned to Boston, and on April 16, 1815, sailed for Europe where he was to remain for over four years.[308] As noted above, his traveling companion was Edward Everett with whom he had been friends since 1806.[309] Their first noteworthy stop was

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[307]Ticknor, Richmond, to Mr. E. Ticknor, Feb. 1, 1815, Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 1: 34-35. As fate would have it, some of the paintings which Ticknor saw at Monticello were exhibited at the Boston Athenaeum in 1828 and then sold at Harding's Gallery in Boston in 1833. These included the portrait of Lafayette, said to have been painted for Jefferson in 1789, and those of Magellan and Vespucci which were copied for Jefferson from the originals in Florence. See Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Second Exhibition of Paintings, in the Athenaeum Gallery (Boston, 1828), 8; and Catalogue of Valuable Oil Paintings . . . Being the Collection of the late President Jefferson, to be Sold at Auction on Friday, July 19 (Boston, [1833]), 3-4. For Jefferson's collection, see Harold E. Dickson, "`TH.J.' Art Collector," Jefferson and the Arts: an Extended View, ed. William Howard Adams (Washington: National Gallery of Art, 1976), 105-32.

[308]See A Guide to the Microfilm Edition of the European Journals of George & Anna Ticknor, Steven Allaback and Alexander Medlicott, Jr., eds. (Hanover, N.H.: Dartmouth College Library, 1978).

[309]Everett's name appears on a list which Ticknor made at the age of seventy-sixth with the title "Persons with whom I have lived in long friendship." It was there that he noted that he and Everett had been friends since 1806 (Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 1:316).

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London where they spent most of June 1815. Among the highlights of their stay there were visits to various art collections and exhibitions. Of these, Ticknor was most impressed with the annual exhibition at the Royal Academy where, he estimated, he saw about nine-hundred pictures and "great crowds of people." He thought the best works were David Wilkie's Distraining for Rent (1815, National Gallery of Scotland) and, "in a very different & perhaps more difficult style, one by our countryman Allston on the scene in the cave of the Robbers in Gil Blas" (Donna Mencia in the Robbers' Cavern, 1815, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).[310] A few days later, he visited the gallery of the British Institution which he described as "another of those fashionable lounging places." Among the paintings on view were examples by Rubens, Van Dyke, and Jan Steen.

Ticknor was more impressed, though, when he went across the street from the Institution to see Benjamin West's two huge paintings, Christ Healing the Sick (1815, Pennsylvania Hospital, Philadelphia) and Christ Rejected (1814, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia) which were on view at 125 Pall Mall.[311] There, he recorded

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[310]Ticknor Journal, May 31, 1815. For Allston's painting see Gerdts, "The Paintings of Washington Allston," 89-90.

[311]West's paintings were at 125 Pall Mall from the summer of 1815 until well into the following year. See Helmut von Erffa and Allen Staley, The Paintings of Benjamin West (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1986), 349-350, 358-360.

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in his journal, "I had the happiness to find my taste correspond for once with that of the dilettante & the publick."[312] After a lengthy description of the paintings and their histories, he compared the experience to those he had had only slightly earlier. "At the Royal Academy & the British Institution," he wrote, "I had met only a gay and fashionable audience, who talked & played with a freedom, which showed they thought less of the pictures than the assembly; but here the audience, though numerous, was as solemn as if at church. . . . so deep was the awe which fell on every one who entered the apartment."[313] Obviously, Ticknor had already developed a critical and at least somewhat sensitive eye for art.

Several weeks later, he met West himself during a visit to the artist's studio. At least for the moment, Ticknor found he was more interested in the man than in his paintings. West was very old but spoke with "great feeling of his profession." He showed Ticknor his private collection of old master paintings "and pointed out to me their several merits in a way that taught me more than I have yet learned on this subject."[314]

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[312]Ticknor Journal, June 2, 1815.

[313]Ticknor Journal, June 2, 1815.

[314]Ticknor Journal, June 17, 1815. Ticknor visited West at least one other time. On June 23, 1815, which must have been an especially memorable day for the young Bostonian, he spent the entire morning at West's studio, where the painter showed him all of his works still in his possession, and the entire afternoon with Lord Byron with

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Ticknor saw sculpture, too, in London, thanks in part to West who gave Ticknor and Everett his card which gained them admittance to the "miserable shed in the yard of Burlington house" in which the Elgin Marbles from the Parthenon were temporarily stored. Despite the primitive setting, Ticknor recorded, he and Everett became "sensible to the beauties which can yet be found in [the sculptures'] mutilated forms." Especially impressive were the "fine proportions & natural attitudes" of the figures, but Ticknor thought their transportation to England was "an outrage done to the old age of Greece."[315]

After a tour of England and Scotland, Ticknor and Everett departed for the Continent and arrived in Göttingen, Germany, in early August. There, they enrolled at the university, making them among the first Americans to study in that country. The purpose of their trip, as Van Wyck Brooks has written, was "to investigate the reports that had come to Boston about the prodigious progress of the German scholars."[316] Ticknor spent the next twenty months immersed

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whom he discussed the state of American literature! In fact, Ticknor had already visited Byron on June 20 and his journal entry for that day included a long passage on the experience.

[315]Ticknor Journal, June 22, 1815. For Ticknor's time in England, also see Robert E. Spiller, The American in England (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1926), 56-63.

[316]Brooks, Flowering of New England, 73. Chapter IV of Brooks's book is devoted to "George Ticknor's Wanderjahre." Brooks stated that Ticknor and Everett got the idea of going to Germany to study by reading Germaine de Staël's famous book De l'Allemagne which was published in 1810 (Brooks, Flowering of New England, 75).

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in studying the languages and literature of ancient Greece and Rome and those of modern Germany.[317] He translated Wincklemann's Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture, as mentioned above, and "took private lectures on the Modern Fine Arts, delivered in Italian by Professor Fiorello, author of the `History of Painting'; [and] on the Ancient Fine Arts, by Professor Welcker, in German."[318]

When their matriculation at Göttingen was concluded in the fall of 1816, Ticknor and Everett began a slow tour of Germany and the rest of Europe. In September, 1816, for example, they were in Dresden where they spent an hour or two in the art gallery. Ticknor claimed to have been left speechless by the quantity and quality of the paintings he saw there. He was especially impressed by Raphael's Sistine Madonna (1513, Gemäldegalerie, Dresden) and he wrote a lengthy description of it in his journal which began "I had often heard of the power of fine paintings, and I knew that Raphael was commonly reckoned the master of all imitation,

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[317]A brief summary of Ticknor's academic schedule in Germany is given in Brooks, Flowering of New England, 83.

[318]This quotation is taken from a note Ticknor wrote in 1868 on the fly-leaf of the first volume of his journal (Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 1:86). Friedrich Gottlieb Welker (1784-1868) was a specialist in Greek and Roman art. Among his published works was Alte Denkmäler Erklärt 4 vols. (Göttingen, 1849-64). His revised and annotated edition of Karl O. Mueller's Ancient Art and Its Remains was published in London in 1852. I have not been able to identify Prof. Fiorello and he does not appear in the The National Union Catalogue, Pre-1956 Imprints (London: Mansell, 1970).

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and that this was one of the highest efforts of his skill; but I was not prepared for such a vision."[319] A nocturnal torchlight tour of the sculpture gallery was, for Ticknor, "unlike anything I had expected. The light fell on [the sculptures] as from the lamp of Prometheus and the long row of Gods, heroes, & Kings seemed to start into life under its influence."[320] In Weimar, they met Goethe who Ticknor found "imposing."[321]

In 1817, while still in Europe, Ticknor accepted the offer of a professorship in French and Spanish literature at Harvard and, as preparation for the job, he decided to remain abroad for the next two years. He spent the spring and summer of 1817 in Paris where he met Germaine de Staël and Chateaubriand among others. Naturally, he visited the Louvre and admired the old masters there;[322] but he was also fascinated by the more modern, Neoclassical paintings of Jacques-Louis David which he saw at the Luxembourg Palace, notably, Belisarius Receiving Alms (Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille), The Oath of the Horatii, and Brutus Receiving the Bodies of His Sons (both now in the Louvre, Paris).[323] He

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[319]Ticknor Journal, Sept. 22, 1816; Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 1:109.

[320]Ticknor Journal, Oct. 5, 1816.

[321]Ticknor Journal, Oct. 25, 1816; Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 1:114.

[322]Volume IV of Ticknor's journal contains a long essay on the Louvre and its holdings.

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was so moved that he evidently devoted a long section of his journal to a history of David and his work, but unfortunately, that section of the volume is now lost.[324]

On October 1, 1817, Ticknor arrived in Italy where he stayed through the first months of the following year. He spent a week in Milan where he saw "the Ruin of Leonardo da Vinci's Picture of the last supper" which made his "heart ache."[325] In Venice, he visited the gallery of the Accademia where he admired Tintoretto's Saint Mark Freeing a Christian Slave (1548); and at the church of Sta. Maria Gloriosa dei Frari, he decided that Titian's Assumption of the Virgin (1516-18) was second only to Raphael's Sistine Madonna which he had praised in Dresden.[326]

On the advice of friends, he visited the president of the Accademia, Count Leopoldo Cicognara, who, Ticknor noted, had written a "History of Modern Sculpture,--beginning at the third century, where Winckelmann leaves it,--in three folio volumes, of which the last is now in the press."[327] In terms of sculpture, Ticknor's most noteworthy

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[323]Ticknor Journal, June 30, 1817. Of these three paintings, Ticknor wrote that his favorite was the Brutus due to the contrast between the stern expression of Brutus with the more "feminine" behavior of the women in the painting.

[324]The missing section on David was dated July 1, 1817.

[325]Ticknor Journal, Oct. 4, 1817.

[326]Ticknor Journal, Oct. 17, 1817. This entry features another long essay, this one devoted to Titian.

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experience in Venice was with Antonio Canova's Hebe which he saw there. It was the first of four replicas made by the sculptor and, in fact, Ticknor had already seen one of the others in a private collection in England. The conception, Ticknor thought, was "stamped with [Canova's] peculiar genius," but, perhaps more importantly, it represented for the American an important function of Neoclassical sculpture in general: it filled in "one of the gaps which the ruin and loss of the great works of antiquity have left open to modern talent."[328]

From November, 1817, to February, 1818, Ticknor was in Rome where, naturally enough, his primary subject of study was Italian literature; but he investigated the city's painting, sculpture, and architecture, too. His experiences in England, Germany, and France, had aided the maturation of his aesthetic sensibilities and by the time he got to Italy he shared with Wincklemann (and, we might add, with Everett) a preference for the ideal forms of the classical world. Surely Neoclassicists such as David and Canova, as well as the objects of their affections--the fragmented monuments of the ancient world accessible in Italy--affected Ticknor's

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[327]Ticknor Journal, Oct. 19, 1817; Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 1: 164. I have not been able to firmly identify the work by Cicognara (1767-1834) to which Ticknor referred although it might have been his La Belle Arti which was published in Ferrara in 1790 but which I have not inspected. Cicognara's special interest seems to have been Canova and he wrote several books on the sculptor including Biografia di Antonio Canova (Venice: G. Missioglia, 1823).

[328]Ticknor Journal, Oct. 18, 1817.

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growing taste for the classical. He joined Winckelmann and others who believed that the only way for a modern artist to attain perfection was to copy Greek and Roman style. Any other modes of expression were deemed inferior. Dutch art, for example, followed nature too closely, he thought. Even the great Michelangelo was faulted for the non-classical realism of his Bacchus which, to Ticknor, looked too much like a drunken man and not enough like an inspiring god.[329] According to one of Ticknor's biographers, he believed that "mistakes in taste were only slightly less serious . . . than lapses in manners."[330] Nevertheless, he was aware of his own shortcomings in judging art and, therefore, "sought expert advice and formulae of criticism." Early in his career, he decided that if he could not be a professional art historian or art critic, he could at least become "a sort of aesthetic stockbroker, a middleman and patron."[331]

Ticknor left Italy in April, 1818, and went to Spain where he spent four months, mostly in Madrid. After stops in Portugal, France, and England, he returned to America in June, 1819, to join the faculty at Harvard.[332]

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[329]David B. Tyack, George Ticknor and the Boston Brahmins (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), 71-73.

[330]Ibid., 71.

[331]Ibid., 71.

[332]Interestingly, though probably meaningless, was the fact that one of the passengers on the ship which Ticknor took back to America was William C. Preston of South Carolina who would become an early and important patron of Hiram Powers. Ticknor and Preston had already met at

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Ticknor's own inherited fortune and that of his wife, Anna Eliot, whom he married in 1821, subsequently gave them a comfortable home life and allowed Ticknor to become a contributor to private and public charities and a supporter of the arts.[333] He amassed an impressive book collection which was installed in his house in Boston at the corner of Park and Beacon Streets, only a few steps from the Athenaeum, where he and his family moved in 1829.[334] The library, which is where Ticknor "was to carry out his life's work," as one of his biographers put it, was a "large sunny room with three balconied windows overlooking the [Boston] Common" and "was as necessary to him as food and drink."[335] Washington Allston is said to have greatly admired it;[336] William Dean Howells remembered it as it appeared in

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Edinburgh and the Bostonian found the Southerner to be "an admirable fellow, of splendid talent and most eloquent, winning conversation" (quoted in Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 1:298).

[333]George Hillard remarked that, following his marriage, Ticknor's "disposition and tastes found their full exercise and expression in his home, and that home was thenceforth, for many years, a brilliant and genial centre of the most cultivated society of Boston" (Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 1:335). Anna (Eliot) Ticknor was a daughter of the prosperous Boston merchant, Samuel Eliot.

[334]Clara Louisa Penney, ed., George Ticknor: Letters to Pascual de Gayangos (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1927), xxxii. Like Everett, Ticknor spent much time and money on his library beginning at the time of his European trip in the late 1810s. According to Hillard, this "had been one of [Ticknor's] constant occupations, in every country he visited" (Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 1:319).

[335]Penney, Ticknor, xxiii.

[336]Ticknor, ed. Hillard 1:388.

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1866;[337] and during a visit in 1850, Nathaniel Hawthorne was as impressed with Ticknor's library as he was with the man himself.[338] The scholarly purpose of the room was enhanced by the display of sculpture, engravings, and at least one painting, as will be discussed below.

The Boston Public Library, of which Ticknor was a founder, benefited from his extensive book collection; he gave that institution over two-thousand volumes in 1860 and eventually bequeathed his large collection of Spanish and Portuguese books to it.[339] He was active in the Boston

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[337]Howells wrote of Ticknor's house: "The interior was noble, and there was an air of scholarly quiet and of lettered elegance in the library, where the host received his guests, which seemed to pervade the whole house, and which made its appeal to the imagination of one of them most potently. It seemed to me that to be master of such circumstance and keeping would be enough of life in a certain way; and it all lingers in my memory yet, as if it were one with the gentle courtesy which welcomed me" (William Dean Howells, Literary Friends and Acquaintance [New York and London: Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1901], 130). A drawing of the house as it appeared in about 1901 is reproduced opposite page 130 in Howells's book.

[338]Hawthorne wrote that Ticknor "has a fine house, at the corner of Park and Beacon-streets, perhaps the very best position in Boston. A marble hall; a wide and easy staircase; a respectable old man-servant, evidently long at home in the mansion, to admit us. . . . I was introduced, and received with great distinction, but yet without any ostentatious flourish of courtesy. Mr. Ticknor has a great head and a queer face. . . . His library is in a noble and beautiful room, for a private dwelling, and itself looks large and rich. The fireplace had a white marble frame about it, richly sculptured with figures and reliefs" (Nathaniel Hawthorne, The American Notebooks, ed. Claude M. Simpson [Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1932], 489-490).

[339]The part of Ticknor's will which deals with the bequest of his Spanish and Portuguese library is reprinted in James Lyman Whitney, Catalogue of the Spanish Library and

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Athenaeum and took advantage of its facilities even though his personal library, like Everett's, was such that "he had little pressing need of books not actually in his possession."[340] He was a Life Subscriber to the Athenaeum and served as a Trustee from 1823 to 1832, as vice-president in 1833, and on various committees which supported the organization's growth and the development of its permanent collection.[341] He also could be counted on to donate money for specific projects over the years.[342]

Ticknor remained on the faculty at Harvard until 1835 when he retired in order to concentrate on research and writing.[343] The most notable result of this was his famous

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of the Portuguese Books Bequeathed by George Ticknor to the Boston Public Library (Boston, 1879), iii-iv, and in Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 2:508-10.

[340]Athenaeum Centenary, 8.

[341]For example, Ticknor served with Col. Perkins on the two-man committee which raised money for the purchase of Gilbert Stuart's portraits of George and Martha Washington which would become known as the Athenaeum Portraits (Athenaeum Centenary, 81; and Swan, 81). Previously, he had been part of the effort to commission from Stuart a portrait of Perkins's brother, James (Swan, 14-15; see also Harding, Athenaeum, 59-60).

[342]Athenaeum Centenary, passim. One of the projects to which Ticknor gave money was for the purchase of part of George Washington's library. It should also be mentioned that in 1853, believing it made good economic sense, Ticknor called for the consolidation of his two favorite organizations, the Athenaeum and the Boston Public Library, but the merger was never realized (Athenaeum Centenary, 44).

[343]Ticknor's impact on his students at Harvard and his role in the "flowering" of American literature in New England in the period 1815-1865 was intimated by Van Wyck Brooks who wrote, "Ticknor was not only to sow at Harvard, in a ground already prepared, the seeds of the modern literatures of Europe; he was to stimulate, in some of his

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and ground-breaking History of Spanish Literature which was published in both New York and London in 1849. His many other writings include biographies of William Hickling Prescott (1864) and of Lafayette (1825); a treatise on teaching methods (1833); an analysis of the writings of Daniel Webster (1831); and a number of articles for the North American Review.

Ticknor and his wife took two extended trips to Europe together. The first of these took place from June, 1835, to June, 1838, beginning immediately after his retirement from Harvard. The couple spent most of the summer and part of the fall of the first year of their tour in England where Ticknor became good friends with a number of prominent persons in politics, literary circles, and society in general. He met artists, too, including the painter David Wilkie who, Ticknor found "living very comfortably, but very much like an artist."

> He talked a good deal and pleasantly about his profession, and showed me a quantity of rough sketches, and two pictures now in progress. . . . It is evidently Wilkie's theory and purpose to find out what is striking and characteristic in his own times, and turn them to account on canvas, by showing them in a poetical light, and on their picturesque side.[344]

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pupils,--by opening up these veins of popular legend, the balladry of Spain, Provence and Scotland,--a feeling that was already half awake for the legendary lore of their own country. . . . Never before, in America, had anyone invested with such glamour the life of the poet and the man of letters" (Brooks, Flowering of New England, 86, 88).

[344]Ticknor Journal, n.d. [1835], Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 1:448-449.

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Ticknor also visited the studio of the sculptor, Sir Francis Chantrey, who he described as very simple in manner and attire. While he found Chantrey's sculpture "spirited, grand, and touching," it was not Neoclassical enough for his tastes. "There was still something wanting, everywhere," he wrote, "which belongs to the highest order of sculpture--something, I mean, which approaches more nearly the spirited nature of manner, something of that ideal beauty & power which is found occasionally even in Canova and often in Thorwaldsen."[345]

The Ticknors left England for the continent in October, 1835, and spent the following year touring there. In Germany, George was again impressed with the collections of historical art which he saw in Dresden. The plight of contemporary artists, though, left him less enthusiastic. "The state of the arts in Dresden is not, perhaps, so high as might be expected. . . . Of sculpture, or sculptors, I heard almost nothing, and certainly nothing that induced me to visit a single atelier. An architect has not been named to me." He encountered a successful engraver, however, Moritz Steinla, who reminded Ticknor that he had advised the artist not to emigrate to America when they had first met in

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[345]Ticknor Journal, July 21, 1835. Anna Ticknor, too, was impressed with the "crowd of ghostly objects," as she called them, in Chantrey's studio. She described the sculptor as "a high liver" who "has frequent threatenings of apoplexy. . . . This does not harmonize with one's ideas of a true artist" (Anna Ticknor, Journal, July 20, 1835, Ticknor Papers).

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Dresden in 1816. Ticknor noted the names of several painters then working in the city--Dahl, Vogel, and Retzsch--but found fault with all of their work.[346]

By November, 1836, they were in Italy where they spent about a month in Florence. Shortly after their arrival, they attended a dinner given by the New Yorker James Thomson at his villa near Fiesole. Among the guests was the sculptor Lorenzo Bartolini.[347] The day after the dinner, Thomson escorted the Ticknors to Bartolini's studio, as he would Everett some four years later. A great many models, busts, and clay figures greeted the visitors and Ticknor especially remembered the "poetical" group of "charity holding in her arms a sick child, still in the clay," which Bartolini was sculpting for a monument to the late Count Nicholas Demidoff.[348] From Bartolini's, Thomson

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[346]Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 1:490. Ticknor did not identify these artists by their first names but they were probably Johan Christian Dahl; Carl Vogel; and either Aug. Carl or Friedrich Retzsch;.

[347]Ticknor Journal, Nov. 20, 1836. Anna Ticknor described the Thomsons and their home thusly: "Mrs. Thompson [sic] is gentle & pleasing, and Mr. Thompson, round, cordial & good natured. He has a great love of paintings and engravings, &, in the two years he has lived here, has collected a great many of both and learned a good deal on such subjects. They have a very pretty villa, for which they pay only $600 a year, entirely furnished. They see company very agreeably & are quite hospitable to Americans" (Anna Ticknor, Journal, Nov. 20, 1836).

[348]A similar description of the visit to Bartolini's studio is given by Anna Ticknor in her journal entry for Nov. 21, 1836. A few days after this, while touring the Pitti Palace, George noted having seen another allegorical figure of Charity by Bartolini. In this earlier version, Bartolini had depicted the female figure attending a sick

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and Ticknor went to the studio the Italian sculptor Emilio Santarelli who happened to be out of town at the time. Ticknor inspected a relief of Bacchus by Santarelli which he thought "showed more power of original composition" than Bartolini's work; but, he added, Bartolini's finish was better.[349]

The Ticknors spent the winter of 1836-37 in Rome and a high point of their visit there was a dinner held at the Villa Albani early in December as a posthumous celebration of Winckelmann's birthday. Among the guests was the great Thorwaldsen himself, "a noble, gentle-looking old man, with an abundance of white hair flowing upon his shoulders in a very striking manner." Ticknor spoke with him for some time and reminded him they had met almost twenty years before.[350] A few weeks later, the Ticknors visited Thorwaldsen's studio which Anna described as "a series of barn like rooms" in which they found "many men performing the first processes, measuring & chiselling blocks of marble."[351] They went to Thorwaldsen's house early the next year and the sculptor

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child while helping another to read which, Ticknor felt, was "a good illustration of the double office of genuine charity, which cares for the mind still more than for the body" (Ticknor Journal, Nov. 25, 1836). For the Demidoff Monument, see Douglas K. S. Hyland, "Lorenzo Bartolini and Italian Influences on American Sculptors in Florence (1825-50)" (Ph.D. diss., University of Delaware, 1981), 54-56.

[349]Ticknor Journal, Nov. 21, 1836. Santarelli (1801-1886) was a student of Thorwaldsen.

[350]Ticknor Journal, Dec. 9, 1836.

[351]Anna Ticknor, Journal, Dec. 23, 1836.

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received them this time "in a slovenly dishabille, too neglected to be quite fit to see ladies." But, Ticknor wrote in his journal, "this is the only way he is ever found, and we forgot his appearance in his good-nature and his kindness." He showed them his collection of paintings, "chiefly of living German artists," and some of his own reliefs which Ticknor thought exceeded "anything in modern sculpture."[352] In fact, for Ticknor, Thorwaldsen was one of only a few modern sculptors of whom he approved and he expressed as much in a letter he wrote to his friend Richard Henry Dana at about the time he met Thorwaldsen:

> I do not know that you would be any better satisfied with the state of the arts than you would be with the state of society here. In sculpture very little is done that is worth looking at, except in Thorwaldsen's atelier, where, indeed, grace and power seem to have retired. The other artists make abundance of long-legged things that they call Nymphs and Venuses and Psyches, and a plenty of chubby boys that they would pass off for Genii; but all poetry is wanting. There is more depth of meaning in the group that Greenough made for Mr. Cabot than in all of them put together.[353]

He went on to reveal his nationalistic prejudices in terms of painting as well. "Painting is still worse," he

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[352]Ticknor Journal, March 5, 1837, Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 2: 78. Also see Anna Ticknor, Journal, March 1, 1837. For Thorwaldsen's art collection, see Dyveke Helsted, "Thorvaldsen as a Collector," Apollo 96 (Sept., 1972): 206-13.

[353]GT, Rome, to Richard H. Dana, Feb. 22, 1837, Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 2: 75-76. Ticknor was referring to Greenough's The Ascension of a Child Conducted by an Infant Angel of 1833 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), discussed above. By the time Hillard compiled Ticknor's memoirs, the sculpture was in the collection of Thomas B. and Laura (Greenough) Curtis, Boston (Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 2:76n).

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declared. "[Vincenzo] Cammuccini [sic] here and [Pietro] Benvenuti in Florence reign supreme, but there is not a man in Europe who can paint a picture like Allston."[354]

Despite this, the Ticknors kept up a steady round of visits to artists studios in Rome. In February, 1837, for example, they went to the German painter, Friedrich Overbeck's atelier. "He had little to show us," George Ticknor wrote in his journal, "except the cartoon for a large picture, which is to be an allegory on art, and is full of his deep meanings." Nothing he saw there impressed him more than had the painter's Christ Entering Jerusalem which he had seen "twenty years ago, and which is now at Lubeck."[355]

That same month, they visited the studios of "two young American artists who have been much talked about among their compatriots this season." The first was an otherwise unidentified painter named Philips whose work Anna Ticknor thought immature. The second, however, was the sculptor Thomas Crawford, who, Mrs. Ticknor decided, "promises better, though we could only judge of his power of modelling & of catching a likeness." She went on to note that "half the Americans who have been in Rome this winter have sat to

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[354]GT, Rome, to Richard H. Dana, Feb. 22, 1837, Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 2:76.

[355]Ticknor Journal, March 3, 1837, Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 2:77. Ticknor described Overbeck as "gentle, mild, and interesting, beginning to grow old."

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him & with some he has succeeded extremely well."[356] Several years later, in 1841 or 1842, Crawford sent Ticknor a plaster replica of his bust of the English poet and philanthropist, John Kenyon, whom Ticknor had met in Paris in 1817. The bust was modeled in 1841 and the plaster cast, which is now unlocated, was sent to Ticknor at Kenyon's request.[357]

The next goal of the Ticknors' European tour was Paris; but before leaving Italy, they spent a few more weeks in Florence where they visited their old friend, the sculptor Horatio Greenough, whose relationship with Ticknor will be discussed below.[358] They then spent the summer traveling through northern Italy, Austria, and Germany, and were in France from September, 1837, to March of the following year. From that time until early summer, 1838, they were in England and Scotland. In London, they met another sculptor, John Graham Lough, "who was quite amusing"

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[356]Anna Ticknor, Journal, Feb. 24, 1837. She was especially impressed with Crawford's bust of Charles Carroll Harper (1838, Baltimore Museum of Art, Baltimore, Maryland). In her dissertation on Crawford, Lauretta Dimmick stated that, although the Baltimore marble is signed, she was unable to find any contemporary documentation that Crawford had modeled Harper's bust (Dimmick, Crawford, 151). Anna Ticknor's reference as recorded here, then, is the only such documentation found to date.

[357]TC, Rome, to CS, Jan. 4, 1842, Gratz Collection, The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, AAA P22. A marble version of Crawford's bust of Kenyon is in the collection of the Armstrong Browning Library, Baylor University, Waco, Texas. See Dimmick, Crawford, 159-171.

[358]Ticknor Journal, May 5, 1837.

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and who had just returned from Italy himself; and they visited the studio of the Anglo-American painter Charles Robert Leslie.[359] In June, 1838, they sailed for home.[360]

The Ticknors' third European trip was made between June, 1856, and July, 1857, but unlike their previous trips, it was undertaken for business rather than pleasure. At his own expense, George Ticknor went on behalf of the new Boston Public Library, of which he was a founder, in order to make book purchases from dealers throughout Europe.[361] The first three weeks were spent in London, where Ticknor was constantly occupied shopping for books, after which he and his family moved on to Berlin and Dresden for the same purpose. They then went to Florence and Rome, where they spent the winter, before moving on to Paris. Ticknor's duties to the library did not allow much time for the type of investigation of art and architecture he had enjoyed on his previous European visits. In Dresden, though, he noted the gallery which the city now had for its magnificent collection, as he wrote to Everett. ("You must come here again, indeed you must," he encouraged his old friend).[362]

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[359]Ticknor Journal, April 3, 1838. For Lough, see T.S.R. Boase, "John Graham Lough, A Transitional Sculptor," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 23 (1960): 277-90.

[360]Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 1:183.

[361]Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 2:310-11. For Ticknor's role in the founding of the Boston Public Library, see Ibid., 2:299-310.

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In Rome, they accepted an invitation to Christian Rauch's studio, where they met Alexander Humboldt, and made the rounds to "the old places and monuments" such as St. Peter's and the Pantheon.[363] In Paris, the family split up, the women returning to America and George going back to London. He was not alone on this leg of the journey, however, for his traveling companions were the actress Charlotte Cushman and her friend, the American sculptor Emma Stebbins.[364] Unfortunately, no details of this encounter are known; but while Ticknor was in London, he met Harriet Hosmer at the Royal Academy's annual exhibition and had the opportunity to promote her work to his friends. All in all, though, the trip was comparatively hurried and it appears that neither George nor Anna Ticknor kept a journal as they both had done so faithfully on their previous trip to Europe.

As we have seen, Ticknor's European experiences brought him in contact with a variety of modern artists: British, German, Italian, and American. Certainly, he had been made aware of the work of American artists fairly early in his career, both here and abroad. It appears, too, that his preference for classical aesthetics did not prevent him from appreciating and supporting the efforts of those

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[362]Ticknor, Berlin, to EE, Sept. 20, 1856, Hillard, Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 2:333.

[363]Ticknor, Rome, to William H. Prescott, Nov. 24-27, 1856, Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 2:340-41.

[364]Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 2:357.

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Americans who did not necessarily work in that style. Notable among these was America's first renowned Romantic painter, Washington Allston, whose Donna Mencia in the Robber's Cavern Ticknor saw at the Royal Academy exhibition in London in 1815, as mentioned above. Ticknor subsequently became a friend and supporter of Allston and gave the artist the highest praise when he wrote in 1837 that "there is not a man in Europe who can paint a picture like Allston."[365]

In fact, he had already expressed his desire to support American artists in general when, in 1823, he subscribed to a building fund for the Boston Athenaeum by putting his name on a petition of those who were "desirous of `furnishing the means of literary & scientific instruction, as well as of encouraging Native Artists in Sculpture & Painting.'"[366]

Like Everett, Ticknor was active in the Bunker Hill Monument Association which, as noted above, was incorporated in 1823. Ticknor was a member of that organization's so-called Board of Artists which also included Allston, Gilbert Stuart, Daniel Webster, and Loammi Baldwin, and which had

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[365]Quoted in Gerdts, "A Man of Genius", 138. Ticknor recorded that his intimacy with Allston, who he considered to be a person "with whom I have lived in long friendship," began in 1819 (Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 1:316).

[366]Quoted in Athenaeum Centenary, 76. Two years later, Ticknor evidently gave more money for this project in an attempt to complete the terms of a matching-fund grant given by Thomas H. Perkins for the building. In fact, he remained supportive of the Athenaeum all his life and was a Life Subscriber there (Ibid., 78, 213).

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the responsibility of choosing a design for the monument. As Nathalia Wright has recorded, this committee promptly announced its selection of Horatio Greenough's design of an obelisk for the structure.[367] Obviously, as a member of this evidently unanimous committee, Ticknor was impressed by the young Greenough whom he probably already knew from Greenough's student days at Harvard. His opinion of the budding artist was so favorable, in fact, that in 1830, after Greenough had settled in Florence, Ticknor sent him an anonymous gift of $1200 to help him through the difficult early years of expatriation.[368] Besides this "direct assistance," he also provided "such assurances as inspired [Greenough] with confidence in times of difficulty and depression."[369] When he was in Europe in 1837, he visited Greenough in his studio in Florence, as we have seen, and there he found proof that his confidence in the sculptor had not been misplaced. As the letter from Ticknor to Richard H. Dana, quoted above, showed, of all the sculpture that Ticknor saw in Italy, only Greenough's and Thorwaldsen's met with his unqualified approval.

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[367]Wright, "The Monument that Jonathan Built," American Quarterly 5 (Summer 1953): 169. As discussed by Wright, and as mentioned above, Greenough's design was eventually used only in part and the monument as it was completed also depended upon the ideas of Robert Mills.

[368]Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 77.

[369]Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 2:241.

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Some years later, Greenough expressed his gratitude for Ticknor's early support by designing and executing "an artistic device worthy of his genius," as Henry Tuckerman called it.[370] This was Greenough's relief sculpture, The Discouraged Artist (unlocated), which the sculptor began in 1847, finished in marble, and shipped to Ticknor two years later.[371] In 1850, the work was described as depicting "the discouraged Artist sitting before his unfinished work with a dying lamp, which a friendly hand replenishes to enable him to continue his labors."[372] The obvious, personal references were to Greenough, who was depressed and discouraged during his first years in Italy, and to Ticknor who had given him encouragement and financial aid. Tuckerman felt certain that, on receiving the sculpture, Ticknor "must have [been] thrilled with pleasure at so graceful an acknowledgement" of his support.[373] Ticknor expressed his gratitude to Greenough in December, 1849:

> The little assistance you needed when young seems so trifling a matter, when compared with the acknowledgment you make for it, that I hardly know what I should say. . . . It is rare that such little favors are so long remembered; and if it be any pleasure to you to think so, you may have the satisfaction of

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[370]Henry T. Tuckerman, A Memorial of Horatio Greenough (New York, 1853), 26.

[371]The sculpture has also been called An Artist's Labors Suspended by Failure of Light. See Brumbaugh, "Horatio and Richard Greenough," 227.

[372]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Twenty-Third Exhibition, 13; Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 250.

[373]Tuckerman, Greenough, 26.

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> understanding that you have acknowledged many obligations of others, besides this inconsiderable one of your own, and that I regard them all as cancelled, both those that have been forgotten and those that have not, by this one return.[374]

Soon after he received the sculpture, Ticknor lent it to the 1850 annual exhibition of the Boston Athenaeum[375] after which he proudly displayed it in the entrance hall of his Park Street house where Greenough saw it shortly before his death.[376]

Ticknor owned at least one other identifiable sculpture, a statuette version of Thomas Crawford's ideal group, Adam and Eve (fig. 4). Crawford began working on this conception in 1843 and Hillard's version was in his possession by 1850 when he lent it to the annual exhibition at the Athenaeum under the title Adam and Eve. A Modelled Group. Franklin Dexter, who had been asked by the historian William H. Prescott to select one of Crawford's sculptures for purchase, saw the plaster model for the group in Crawford's studio in Rome in 1852. Although Dexter decided that the Adam and Eve was not suitable for Prescott's home,[377] he seems to have ordered a marble version of it anyway for another, unnamed client. According to Lauretta

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[374]Ticknor, Boston, to HG, Dec. 15, 1849, Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 2:242.

[375]Boston Athenaeum, Catalogue of the Twenty-Third Exhibition, 13.

[376]Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 2:241.

[377]See Franklin Dexter to William H. Prescott, Dec. 7, 1852, William H. Prescott Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.

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Dimmick, Crawford probably changed the design to suit Dexter's taste before beginning to carve the statue in marble.[378] A plaster of the original conception, however, was in the possession of George Ticknor by January, 1850.[379] It is clearly visible in a period stereographic photograph of the drawing room in Ticknor's Boston home. It was displayed on a pedestal near what appears to be a bronze copy of Giovanni Bologna's Mercury and underneath one of two paintings of angels in Gothic frames which flanked Washington Allston's figural painting, The Valentine (see below).[380]

Exactly how Ticknor's version of Crawford's Adam and Eve fits into the general history of the conception or how the Bostonian came to own his presumed plaster is unknown. It seems likely that he acquired it directly from Crawford,

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[378]Dimmick, Crawford, 237-46. Dimmick thinks that the marble version ordered by Dexter was probably never finished due to Crawford's untimely death; but it seems more likely that it is identical with the marble that does exist (see below).

[379]Thomas Crawford, "Mr. Crawford's Work," The Literary World (March 2, 1851): 207. This article consists of a reprinted letter originally written by Crawford and sent to the Richmond Enquirer, Richmond, Virginia, dated Jan. 31, 1850. The finished marble Adam and Eve, dated 1855, was owned by Emeline Austin, wife of William Wadsworth, by 1865 when she lent it for exhibition to the Boston Athenaeum under the title Adam and Eve After the Expulsion. Fter the close of the exhibition, the sculpture evidently stayed at the Athenaeum and, two years later, Mrs. Wadsworth gave it to that institution where it remains (Harding, Athenaeum, 25).

[380]The photograph of Ticknor's drawing room is in the collection of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston.

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whom he had met in Italy in the 1830s and who was in the United States in 1849-50 seeking a commission from the state of Virginia for an equestrian statue of George Washington. He was in Boston during the fall of 1849 and this was probably when Ticknor gave an order for the plaster Adam and Eve (which in now lost). His favorable impression of Crawford is further evidenced by his having written a letter of introduction to Daniel Webster for the sculptor early in 1850.[381] Several years later, in 1856, when Ticknor and his wife were in Europe, they again visited Crawford; but by that time the sculptor was seriously ill with the brain disease which would, within a year, take his life.[382]

Ticknor was also familiar with the work of Hiram Powers to whom he offered assistance on several occasions, although he was never the ardent supporter of Powers that Everett was; and, as far as can be verified, Ticknor never owned or ordered sculpture from the artist and probably did not even meet Powers until the late 1850s, and then only once and briefly.[383] But Ticknor remained favorably

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[381]Gale, Crawford, 75.

[382]Gale, Crawford, 174.

[383]In her manuscript biography of Powers, Clara Louise Dentler, without giving a source, stated that a marble replica of Powers's statue of Daniel Webster, two-thirds life size, was made for George Ticknor in 1853 (Dentler, "Appendix" in "White Marble: The Life and Letters of Hiram Powers, Sculptor" [TMs, AAA]: 9). Confusing the issue even further, Sylvia Crane, in White Silence: Greenough, Powers, and Crawford, American Sculptors in Nineteenth-Century Italy (Coral Gables, Fla.: University of Miami Press, 1972), 447, 451, listed a marble replica of

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disposed toward him, probably through the influence of Everett. In 1850, he joined Everett, William H. Prescott, Francis Calley Gray, and other Bostonians in petitioning Congress to purchase Powers's America, as detailed above.[384] More importantly, he gave much needed support to Powers's troublesome statue of Daniel Webster. Ticknor was on his third tour of Europe, in 1856 and 1857, when, as a member of the Webster Committee, he went to Powers's studio in Florence to see the plaster model of the statue and to give it his approval. (This is probably when Ticknor and Powers had their one and only encounter). Several months later, after continuing his European tour, he returned to Florence and was taken to the Grand Ducal bronze foundry by Powers to inspect the casting of the Webster. He later reported to the Boston committee that the Webster was the best portrait statue ever done by an American.[385] While it was soon evident that Ticknor's opinion was not universally shared,

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Powers's bust of Webster as having been cut for Ticknor in 1853, but this is almost certainly erroneous. Richard Wunder, generally a far more reliable source, does not list replicas of either the statue or the bust in his recent catalogue of Powers's sculpture; but he, too, errs when he states that Powers met "the publisher George Ticknor" in Boston in 1836-37 (Wunder, 1:95). As described above, Ticknor was in Europe during the time Powers was in Boston; and Powers did not arrive in Florence in 1837 until after Ticknor had left that city. Wunder has obviously confused George Ticknor with his cousin, William Davis Ticknor, who was a partner in the publishing firm of Ticknor and Fields, Boston.

[384]Also see Wunder, 1:165.

[385]Wunder, 1:298.

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his support in this matter must have been some solace to Powers during the trying ordeal of the Webster commission.

Ticknor also knew the American sculptor Harriet Hosmer although, as in the case with Powers, he did not actually purchase any sculpture from her. Hosmer's biographer and good friend, Cornelia Carr, stated that the sculptor ran into Ticknor, her "old and warm friend," at the Royal Academy exhibition in London in 1857. Obviously charmed by and proud of his fellow American, Ticknor immediately recorded the facts of the encounter in a letter to his wife:

> The Hosmer had stayed [in London] in order to be present to-night, and she had the benefit of it. She came rather late, and I had talked about her Cenci with Eastlake, Waagen, and other people whose word in such a matter is law here, and I had shown it to Sir Roderick Murchison, the Heads, the Milmans, the Bishop of London, General Williams, the hero of Kars, and to Lord and Lady Palmerston. . . . [Hosmer] was very neatly and simply dressed in pink silk, and looked uncommonly pretty. I found she knew a good many people. . . But I took her, and presented her to the Heads, the Bishop of London and Mrs. Tait, General Williams, the Laboucheres, Lord and Lady Palmerston, Sir W. Holland, and sundry others I now forget. She was pleased. Her statue was much praised. She was very happy, and I enjoyed it a good deal. When Lord and Lady Palmerston were looking at the Cenci and expressing great admiration, Eastlake touched my arm, and whispered, so that they could hear it, "Everybody says the same sort of things. It is really a beautiful work of art, and for one of her age quite wonderful.". . . I was sorry to leave little Hosmer, for I had to bid her good-by, she goes to-morrow, but I think she had enough of distinction to-night, to make her glad she came to London.[386]

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[386]George Ticknor, London, to Anna Ticknor, July 29, 1857, Ticknor, ed. Hillard, 1:383-84; and quoted in Hosmer, ed. Carr, 83-84. Ticknor was referring here to Hosmer's

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Later that year, Hosmer made her first return visit to America where she was feted by the Ticknors, among others. According to Hosmer's friend, Lydia Maria Child, the Ticknors "lionized" the sculptor during her stay in Boston, "giving her rings, bracelets, etc."[387] Ticknor's daughter, Anna, is thought to have composed the following lines in praise of Hosmer's large marble figure, Zenobia in Chains (1859, unlocated), which was exhibited in Boston at Childs and Jenks Gallery in January, 1865:

> O pale mute marble! most serenely still
> Yet eloquent with more than voiceful thought.
> Thus stand forever, holding through all time
> The passing record of a passing hour:
> And, with the seal of silence on thy lips,
> Yet speak the lessons of a vanished past![388]

The only sculptured portrait of Ticknor which is known to have been made is by the American sculptor Martin Milmore. Actually, Milmore did two versions of his study of the man: a bust and a statuette which showed Ticknor seated, pointing to an open book which rests in his lap while two other books lie on the floor beside him.[389] A marble

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life-size marble, Beatrice Cenci (1856, Mercantile Library Association, St. Louis, Mo.).

[387]Lydia Maria Child to Marianne Cabot Devereux Silsbee, Oct. 25, 1857, quoted in Sherwood, 154.

[388]Quoted in Carr, 200-201. Earlier, the younger Anna Ticknor, who was a friend of Hosmer, had sent the sculptor a drawing of how she thought the sculpture of Zenobia should look (Sherwood, 160).

[389]The statuette of Ticknor by Milmore has not been located but a full-page photogravure of it is Plate 37 in Penney. The photo was reproduced there, courtesy of Rose L. Dexter, Ticknor's granddaughter. Possibly, Milmore executed the statuette in hopes of receiving a commission for a full-

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replica of the bust dated 1868 is, appropriately, in the collection of the Boston Public Library to which it was presented by a group of Bostonians which included Charles G. Loring, Martin Brimmer, George Lyman, and Amos Lawrence. These men and their partners asked Ticknor to allow Milmore to model his bust so that they might give it to the city. In doing so, they sought to acknowledge "the very valuable efforts and services of our distinguished fellow-citizen, George Ticknor, Esq., in the establishment, organization and management of the Public Library."[390] Ticknor complied and the bust was eventually placed in the library. A plaster version of it was exhibited by Milmore at the Massachusetts Charitable Mechanic Association in Boston in 1874.[391] The bust and the head on the statuette appear to be identical; but the circumstances of the creation of the latter is not known.[392]

Ticknor lived in half of a house which had been built in 1804 by Thomas Amory on a corner of Park Street directly across Beacon Street from the Massachusetts State House and only a few doors away from the Boston

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size version; but, as far as is known, such a commission was never given.

[390]Charles G. Loring, et al, to Nathaniel B. Shurtleff, Mayor of Boston, June 26, 1868, in City of Boston, Presentation of a Bust of Mr. George Ticknor, City Document No. 87 (Boston, 1868), 5.

[391]Yarnall Gerdts, 2439.

[392]For Milmore, see Chandler Rathfon Post, "Martin Milmore," Art Studies 3 (1925): 41-60, which illustrates the bust of Ticknor as fig. 8.

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Athenaeum.[393] Contemporary photographs of the interiors of Ticknor's house reveal that he owned sculptures other than those mentioned above.[394] A life-size male portrait bust, possibly that of Ticknor by Milmore, mentioned above, was displayed in a niche at the first turn of the main staircase in the house and, therefore, was visible as one entered the house. Several small figural works, some of which were evidently casts from antique or Renaissance originals, were in the library. On the marble mantelpiece in that room were copies, in either bronze or some other material which was painted to look like bronze, of Michelangelo's Moses and of his figure of Lorenzo de'Medici from the Medici Chapel in Florence. Three statuettes of standing male figures were placed on top of bookcases or on Ticknor's desk. One was possibly taken from a classical work; the second may have been representation of Dante; and the third was a portrait of a man in an oratorical pose. Also on the desk was a sculpture of a man in a chair, possibly a version of Milmore's seated portrait of Ticknor. A figural group which appears to have been a copy of the popular antique sculpture

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[393]The building, greatly altered but recognizable, still stands. See Whitehill, Boston: A Topographical History, 64, which reproduces a photograph of the house as it looked in Ticknor's day; and Southworth, 150-51, which refers to the building as "Amory's Folly."

[394]One of these photographs is reproduced opposite page 388 in Ticknor, ed. Hillard; another appears as Plate 17 in Penney; and a third is in the collection of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston.

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known as Papirius (Museo Nazionale Romano, Rome) was also on the desk;[395] and a small relief, probably a plaster of an antique work, was on one of the lower bookshelves. The library also featured several framed portrait photographs and at least one large portfolio, displayed on a vertical stand, which probably contained engravings.

Also of interest, sculpturally speaking, is the fact that in 1824 Ticknor gave money to the Boston Athenaeum toward the purchase of a bust of George Washington by the Italian artist Raimondo Trentanove.[396] This donation, however, was probably given more for the support of the Athenaeum and the continuation of the fame of the subject of the bust than for that of its creator. Ticknor was also involved in the designing and erection of a monument on the grave of William Ellery Channing at Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, following the minister's death in 1842. Members of Channing's Unitarian congregation contributed the money to pay for the monument; Washington Allston designed it; Alpheus Carey cut the marble; and Ticknor wrote the inscription.[397]

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[395]According to Francis Haskell and Nicholas Penney, the Ludovisi family, which owned Papirius, refused to allow copies of it to be made until the early nineteenth century when, between 1816 and 1819, Prince Ludovisi briefly permitted moulds to be taken of it and of other sculptures in his collection (Haskell and Penney, Taste and the Antique, 290).

[396]Athenaeum Centenary, 76-77.

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Besides sculptures, Ticknor owned paintings by both American and European artists. Among these was a portrait of his father, Elisha Ticknor, by an unidentified artist, which is now in the collection of the Boston Athenaeum;[398] and a portrait of himself by Thomas Sully which was executed in 1831 (Baker Library, Dartmouth College).[399] He owned Allston's figural work, The Valentine (1809-11, private collection), which he lent to annual exhibitions at the Boston Athenaeum in 1828, 1831, 1850, and 1863.[400] As part

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[397]Seaburg and Paterson, 408; Linden-Ward, 238. Carey was a local marble carver and monument dealer who made many of the early monuments at Mount Auburn.

[398]Harding, Athenaeum, 14.

[399]See Arthur R. Blumenthal, Portraits at Dartmouth (Hanover, N.H.: Dartmouth College Museum and Galleries, 1978), 58-59, which gives the date of the portrait as 1828. Neither Sully's "Register of Paintings" nor his "Journal" (Thomas Sully Papers, AAA N18) list a portrait of Ticknor for that year. However, in July, 1831, Sully recorded that he painted Ticknor's portrait, kit-kat size, in Boston, for "Mr. Ticknor himself." Incidentally, Sully painted Ticknor at the same time he was painting the full-length portrait of Col. Thomas H. Perkins, mentioned above. In fact, on certain days, Perkins would sit to Sully in the morning, and Ticknor would sit in the afternoon. Biddle and Fielding (Life and Works of Sully, 296) list a portrait of Ticknor by Sully, dated 1831, in the collection of the Boston Public Library. This reference is almost certainly to a copy by George Sloane of Sully's portrait of Ticknor which was executed in 1895 and given to the library by the subject's daughter, Anne E. Ticknor, the following year (Janice H. Chadbourne, Curator of Fine Arts, Boston Public Library, to the author, 18 Feb. 1993).

Sully was evidently on very good terms with both Ticknor and Perkins. When the artist was in Boston in 1831, he visited their homes and dined with them and their families on several occasions. (See Sully, Journal, passim).

[400]Perkins and Gavin, 1. He also lent the painting to the Allston retrospective exhibition at Harding's Gallery, Boston, in 1839 (Harding's Gallery, Exhibition of

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of his support of the Athenaeum and, presumably, of the artists themselves, he generously lent other paintings to its annuals. In 1827 and again in 1831 he lent Charles Robert Leslie's portrait of Sir Walter Scott which Ticknor had commissioned from the artist and which had been painted from life at Abbotsford, Scotland, in 1824.[401] (Ticknor had met Leslie in England in 1818 through their mutual friend, Washington Irving, and the three men, along with the artist Gilbert Stuart Newton, took an excursion to Windsor together that year).[402] When not on public display at the Athenaeum,

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Pictures Painted by Washington Allston [Boston, John H. Eastburn, Printer, 1839], 5. The work was seen in 1869 at "Mr. Ticknor's" in Boston by the artist John La Farge who wrote about it to the New York collector and dealer Samuel Avery. See Gerdts, "Paintings of Allston," 169.

[401]Swan, 31; Perkins and Gavin, 92. According to Charles Henry Hart, Ticknor had met Scott at Abbotsford in 1819 (Hart, Memoir of George Ticknor [Philadelphia: Collins, Printer, 1871], 21). When Leslie received the commission for Scott's portrait from Ticknor, he went to Scotland expressly for the purpose of executing it (Charles Robert Leslie, Autobiographical Recollections [Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1860], 56, 358).

Leslie's portrait of Scott is now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. At least five copies of it are known to have been made and it was engraved a number of times as well. See Eleanor Broome Green, "Charles Robert Leslie," (Ph.D. diss., The George Washington University, Washington, D. C., 1973), 115, 230.

Ticknor's ownership of the portrait of Scott and of Allston's The Valentine were noted by Henry T. Tuckerman who pointed out that the former was "among the few portraits from [Leslie's] pencil in this country" (Tuckerman, Book of the Artist [New York, 1867], 143, 181).

[402]Penney, 539. The tour of Windsor, made "on a soft sunny morning in the genial month of May," was the inspiration for Washington Irving's "A Royal Poet," a chapter in his The Sketch Book of Geoffrey Crayon, Gent. which was first published in 1819 and 1820 in New York in seven paperbound numbers by C. C. Van Winkle (reprinted by the Library of America in Washington Irving: History, Tales,

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Leslie's portrait of Scott could be seen in Ticknor's library where it was given the place of honor over the elaborately carved and very Neoclassic marble mantel.[403]

Ticknor sent a landscape, Lake of Nemi, by the American painter John R. Tilton to the Athenaeum's 1863 exhibition; and in 1850 and 1863 he lent a Holy Family by the Neoclassical Italian painter, Anton Mengs. That work was joined at the annuals in both years by a landscape from Ticknor's collection by the Dutch artist, Herman van Swanevelt.[404] None of these paintings are presently located.

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and Sketches [New York, 1983], 815-828). Irving recorded having seen a number of portraits at Windsor, most notably several by Sir Peter Lely.

[403]Hart, 21; and Penney, xxxiii. The portrait of Scott and the mantle are clearly visible in photographs of the room in the collection of the Society for the Preservation of New England Antiquities, Boston. A notation on the reverse of this photograph states that the mantel was later installed in the library of Mrs. Joseph Grafton Minot's home at 301 Berkeley St., Boston.

[404]Perkins and Gavin, passim; Yarnall and Gerdts, 3178.

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CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

In the introduction to this dissertation, it was stated that the term "patron" would not be used here as a synonym for "collector" and, in fact, that a person need not have owned sculpture to be included in this consideration of sculptural patronage. As we have seen, the moral support offered by certain persons could be at least as important to the artist as the actual purchasing of a work of art, although, of course, gaining commissions or otherwise selling sculptures was the hope and desire of all involved.

This and other differences between the terms "patron" and "collector" can be made clearer, I think, if we briefly investigate the type of support offered by someone in the latter category, allowing that person to act as a sort of foil to the patrons considered herein. To find such a person, we must leave Boston and go to New York; for, if Boston was the residence of a majority of the significant patrons of the American Neoclassic sculptors, New York was the home for many of the most important collectors of their works. In fact, for this comparison, I have selected the owner of the largest private collection of American neoclassic sculpture formed during the nineteenth century,

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the wealthy New York merchant Alexander Turney Stewart (1801-1876).

Stewart was born in Ireland but in 1818 he came to America to join his mother who, after the death of Stewart's father, had remarried and relocated.[1] After teaching school for a while (for an annual salary of about $300), Stewart decided to invest his small inheritance in a parcel of costume accessories. For the resale of these items, he opened a store at a socially strategic spot on Broadway in New York.

His business quickly grew and over the next several decades he moved it to ever larger headquarters in the area. The site occupied by the store from 1846 to 1862 became famous as Stewart's Marble Palace and was one of the most fashionable emporiums of its day.[2] Even that building was eventually outgrown, however, and in 1862, Stewart built his

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[1]A brief but thorough biography of Stewart appears in Vincent F. Seyfried, The Founding of Garden City 1869-1893 (Uniondale, Long Island: Salisbury Printers, 1969). Also see DAB, 9:3-5. For Stewart's role as a businessman, see two articles by Harry E. Resseguie, "The Decline and Fall of the Commercial Empire of A. T. Stewart," Business History Review 36 (Autumn 1962): 255-86; and "Alexander Turney Stewart and the Development of the Department Store 1823-1876," Business History Review 39 (Autumn 1965): 301-22.

[2]See Harry E. Resseguie, "A. T. Stewart's Marble Palace--The Cradle of the Department Store," The New-York Historical Society Quarterly 48 (Apr. 1964): 131-162; and Mary Ann Smith, "John Snook and the Design for A. T. Stewart's Store," The New-York Historical Society Quarterly 58 (Jan. 1974): 18-33.

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famous "iron store" which covered a whole city block on Broadway between Ninth and Tenth Streets. It was the first commercial building with an internal iron framework and, at the time, the largest retail store in the world. By the time he built it, Stewart was one of the wealthiest men in New York.

Once his fortune had been attained, Stewart's greatest interest in life, other than his business, became the collecting of art. During a number of trips to Europe, he and his wife, Cornelia Clinch, bought huge quantities of porcelain, ceramics, clocks, enamels, and books. They also bought paintings, eventually owning almost two-hundred examples, almost all of which were by contemporary European artists such as Jean-Leon Gérôme, Ernest Meissonier, Rosa Bonheur, and Constant Troyon, to name a famous few. By contrast, the Stewarts owned far fewer paintings by Americans.

Interestingly, though, the finest sculptures in the collection were by Americans and most of these were Neoclassical in style.[3] They included a number of major,

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[3]According to Edward Strahan, Stewart owned paintings by 132 different artists, about fifteen (or about 11%) of whom were Americans; he owned sculptures by fourteen different sculptors, seven (50%) of whom were American (Edward Strahan, ed., The Art Treasures of America [Philadelphia: George Barrie Publisher, 1879], 52). Stewart also owned a number of European bronzes but these were not considered to be significant enough to be listed by Strahan. For those, see American Art Association, Catalogue of the A.

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full-length figures such as Chauncey Ives's Fisher Boy and William Barbee's Fisher Girl;[4] Randolph Rogers's Nydia (1863, formerly Catholic School of Saint Mary, Garden City, New York); Harriet Hosmer's Zenobia in Chains (unlocated); Richard H. Park's Sappho (unlocated); Thomas Crawford's Demosthenes (1837, New York Bar Association, New York City) and Flora (1847, possibly the version now at the Newark Museum, Newark, New Jersey); and Hiram Powers's Eve Tempted (1839-42, this version unlocated; see fig. 19) and Eve Disconsolate (1859-61, Hudson River Museum, Yonkers, New York).[5] The most famous sculpture in the collection, though, was Powers's third marble replica of the Greek Slave (fig. 7) which Stewart purchased in 1859. Also here were two busts by Ives, a Bacchante and Flora; one of George Washington by Powers (1838-44, unlocated); one of a young girl by John Q. A. Ward (unlocated);[6] and at least eight other sculptures by Richard Park.

T. Stewart Collection of Paintings, Sculptures, and Other Objects of Art (New York, 1887), 169-72.

[4]While neither of the sculptures by Ives or Barbee which were once in Stewart's collection have been positively identified, a version of Ives's work was sold at Christie's, New York, Sept. 21, 1984; and a version of Barbee's sculpture is in the collection of the National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

[5]American Art Association, Catalogue of the Stewart Collection, 168-81; and Strahan, 49-52.

[6]Lewis Sharp's catalogue raisonné of Ward's oeuvre does not mention this bust. A possibility for it, though, is a bust he lists said to be of Margaret Leupp, daughter of

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For our purposes, the most significant point to be made about Stewart's American sculptures is that he bought very few of them directly from the artists. Crawford's Demosthenes, for example, was originally owned by a Col. Dick of New Orleans;[7] and all three of the figures by Powers had been purchased by Stewart from other owners, not from the sculptor. Eve Tempted was in the collection of John Smith Preston of Columbia, South Carolina, from 1851 to 1861 and entered Stewart's collection between the latter year and 1871; Eve Disconsolate was purchased from its first owner, Nathan D. Morgan of New York in 1872;[8] and the Greek Slave was bought from Miss A. E. Coleman of Cincinnati, Ohio, who had won it in a lottery sponsored by the Cosmopolitan Art Association the year before.[9] Stewart may have also purchased Barbee's Fisher Girl from that same organization in New York or from an intermediate owner, but at any rate he did not buy it from Barbee.[10] In fact, Stewart does not

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Charles M. Leupp, which, he notes, might not be by Ward at all but by Henry Kirke Brown. See Sharp, John Quincy Adams Ward, Dean of American Sculpture (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1985), 279-80.

[7]Dimmick, Crawford, 413.

[8]American Art Association, Catalogue of the Stewart Collection, 177; Wunder, 2:136, 143.

[9]"Editorial Etchings," Cosmopolitan Art Journal 3 (June 1859): 139; Wunder, 2:164.

[10]See Francis S. Grubar, William Randolph Barbee & Herbert Barbee: Two Virginia Sculptors Rediscovered

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seem to have had much direct contact at all with the sculptors named here and no significant body of correspondence between him and any sculptor or painter, European or American, has been located.[11]

Based on this, I propose that Stewart's intentions in acquiring the sculptures--and, for that matter, all of the objects in his collection--were not to give financial support to the artists, to promote any individual, morally or otherwise, or to further the general level of cultural awareness in America. Rather, he probably sought to enhance his own social position which, after all, was *nouveau riche* and to use his art collection as he used his ostentatious mansion in Manhattan--that is, to advertise his mercantile achievements and the wealth it brought him and therefore to give visible evidence of his success in business and his acquired social status. To that end, he had built his great Beaux-Arts mansion at the corner of 34th Street and Fifth Avenue between 1864 and 1869 and most of his collection, including many of the marble sculptures mentioned above, was

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(Washington, D.C.: The Dimock Gallery, George Washington University, 1977).

[11]When Stewart was considering buying one of Powers's figures of Eve, he and the sculptor corresponded briefly. See Stewart to HP, Jan. 17 and Aug. 29, 1871; and HP to Stewart, Mar. 17 and May 3, 1871, Powers Papers 1144-1145. The fourteen boxes which make up the Alexander T. Stewart Papers at the New York Public Library consist almost entirely of letters from people asking Stewart for financial assistance or thanking him for his generosity.

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housed in an elaborate "Picture Gallery" which had been constructed at the rear of the house and on a direct axis with the front door.[12] In fact, judging by the known dates of Stewart's sculptural purchases, it seems likely that one of his primary reasons for buying the works was simply to fill the space of the gallery rather than as any attempt to promote culture, artists, or both. If this was the case, Stewart's approach to artistic support differed greatly from that of Everett, Sumner, and most of the other Boston patrons discussed above. All things considered, while we can and should acknowledge Stewart as an important collector of American Neoclassic sculpture, we can not, I think, consider him to have been a patron of the sculptors themselves.

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[12]For Stewart's mansion and art gallery, see Fuller-Walker, "The Stewart Art Gallery," The Aldine 7 (July 1875): 369-71, which contains a thorough description of the gallery; John Oldcastle, "An American Millionaire's Gallery," Art Journal (1887): 153-56, which is illustrated with a large engraving taken from a photograph of the gallery; and Jay E. Cantor, "A Monument of Trade: A. T. Stewart and the Rise of the Millionaire's Mansion in New York," Winterthur Portfolio 10 (1975): 165-97, which gives a complete history of the Stewart mansion. Kasson also discusses Stewart's collection as it was installed in his mansion and reproduces several photographs of it (25-29).

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Naturally, Stewart was not the only such collector of his day.[13] Among his contemporaries or near contemporaries were a number of New Yorkers who also had a penchant for purchasing marble figures. These include William Loring Andrews, William T. Blodgett, Gordon W. Burnham, Hamilton Fish, Henry Hilton, LeGrand Lockwood, Henry G. Marquand, Edwin D. Morgan, Marshall O. Roberts, Paran Stevens, and Robert L. Stuart, all of whom owned one or more major examples of American Neoclassic sculpture. In nearby New Jersey, were other, similarly disposed collectors such as Catholina Lambert, J. Ackerman Coles, Philip Kearny, and Marcus Ward.

In contrast to these collectors, there were far fewer patrons of American sculptors in New York. This much smaller group included James Fenimore Cooper and Col. James Thomson, both of whom have been mentioned several times in this dissertation. Cooper was probably the most important New York patron of American Neoclassic sculptors and is best known in this regard for his early support of Horatio Greenough. As we have seen, he was the owner of the sculptor's famous but now lost Chanting Cherubs; and it is significant that he insisted Greenough exhibit the sculpture

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[13]The titles of the sculptures owned by persons identified in the following paragraphs as well as some of the basic sources for the information given here will be found in the Appendix to this dissertation.

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publicly to promote his (Greenough's) career before it was sent to Cooper. But Cooper's interest in sculptors and sculpture does not seem to have extended beyond Greenough and, even if it did, he did not support any other artist to the same degree he supported Greenough. In other words, while he was an important and interesting patron of sculpture, among other things, he does not seem to have displayed the life-long passion for supporting artists which we have seen in Perkins, Everett, and Sumner.

James Thomson, who owned several American sculptures, most notably the portraits of his sons which he commissioned from Greenough, as mentioned above, was similar to Cooper in this regard. Thomson and his family lived in Florence for a number of years where he took a genuine interest in art in general, as witnessed by his excursions to artist's studios with Everett, the Ticknors, and presumably others. Unfortunately, lack of evidence prevents further investigation of Thomson's habits as a patron although we probably can assume that if he had given any other major commissions to American sculptors, some reference to it would have survived.[14]

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[14]Thomson's collection of engravings, drawings, and paintings, most of which appear to have been copies of old master works, was sold in New York in 1848. The sale included no sculpture and the only painting by American artist in it was a Boy's Head said to be by John S. Copley. See Catalogue of Valuable Oil Paintings and an Extensive Private Library to be Sold at Auction by Dumont & Hosack, .

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Sidney Brooks, Hiram Powers's financial agent in America, was a third resident of New York who was very supportive of American sculptors, especially Hiram Powers for whom he served as financial advisor and with whom he was close friends. Brooks owned several works by Powers, namely the full-length Fisher Boy and busts of The Greek Slave, Eve Disconsolate, Washington, Franklin, and America.[15] But he was actually a Bostonian by birth and his personal connections remained in the Boston area (he was a son of Peter Chardon Brooks and a brother-in-law of Edward Everett). In fact, he seems to have spent as much time in Newport, Rhode Island, where he had a "cottage", as he did in New York where he kept a residence mostly for business expediency.

New York, then, did not have anywhere near the number of important patrons of American Neoclassical sculptors as did Boston; and those who did live in New York did not offer American Neoclassic sculptors the same level of support as did those in Boston. This also seems to have been the case in the other major cities on the eastern seaboard. Philadelphia's major collectors of American Neoclassic sculpture were James L. Claghorn and Joseph Harrison but neither of these men were what we could call

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. . at the Residence of the late owner, James Thomson, Esq., deceased (New York: George F. Nesbitt, Stationer, 1848).

[15]Wunder, 2:passim.

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patrons. Nor was Charles McAllister, also of Philadelphia, although he owned sculpture by Chauncey Ives, Hiram Powers, and Emma Stebbins, and, as a collector, he probably deserves further inquiry.

A major patron of American artists, Robert Gilmor, lived near Baltimore, and he, like his friends in Boston, gave some support to Horatio Greenough. In fact, Gilmor was one of America's most significant art patrons during the first half of the nineteenth century and has received considerable scholarly attention. His fellow Baltimorean, William T. Walters, was especially supportive of the city's best known native sculptor, William Henry Rinehart. Likewise, James Howard McHenry of Baltimore offered assistance to Edward S. Bartholowmew and owned several sculptures by Hiram Powers. But, again, these men tended to support only one sculptor each and only for a brief period. Furthermore, Baltimore does not seem to have developed the type of familial and professional network of art patrons we have seen at work in Boston and, as far as I know, neither Gilmor, Walters, nor McHenry spawned a Perkins-like dynasty of artistically-inclined descendants. A possible exception to this, however, was the family headed by Osmond Comfort Tiffany (1794-1851), members of which owned sculpture by Thomas Crawford, Shobal Clevenger, and Hiram Powers. The Tiffanys deserve further research; but, as is the case with

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James Thomson, sources are limited and therefore conclusions about the extent of their patronage will probably remain speculative.

Washington, D.C., was home to several potentially interesting collectors including R. S. Chilton, General John B. Henderson, and James C. McGuire, all of whom owned a number of American sculptures. The best known art patron in the city, though, was William Wilson Corcoran, who was very supportive of American sculptors, although this aspect of his otherwise well-documented career needs further research.

Leaving the east coast and moving inland, we find several important, albeit isolated, patrons of American Neoclassic sculptors. Cincinnati, for example, was the home of Nicholas Longworth who, like Gilmor, has received much scholarly attention. He gave an early encouragement which promoted a whole generation of sculptors, the best known of whom were Powers and Clevenger. Cincinnati's Henry Probasco and Reuben R. Springer also owned sculpture and certainly warrant more study as collectors. Further south, Cassius M. Clay of Lexington, Kentucky, gave important early support to Joel T. Hart; Adelicia Acklen gathered a significant collection of American sculpture at her mansion in Nashville, Tennessee; James Robb of New Orleans owned sculpture, notably an early replica of Powers's Greek Slave; and, as has been noted above, John Smith Preston and his

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brother William of Columbia, South Carolina, were especially significant patrons of Powers during his formative years. All of these men and women deserve further investigation, especially Acklen and the Prestons, although the full story of their art patronage is probably impossible to construct due to the destruction of records and objects caused by the Civil War.

In the west, the support of Wayman Crow of St. Louis gave Harriet Hosmer the means by which she became successful and famous. He proved to be a patron in every sense of the word and has been rewarded with much scholarly investigation in recent years. George W. Lininger of Omaha, Nebraska, formed a collection which included sculpture, as did R. B. Woodward and Theodore Shillaber of San Francisco. Shillaber and his wife were notable patrons of William Wetmore Story, for example.

Certainly, this list of patrons and collectors outside of Boston could be extended and examples in either or both categories can probably be found in almost every American city of any size. To reiterate, however, investigations of patrons in cities other than Boston have revealed no city which was home to as many patrons of American sculpture as was Boston and nowhere, as far as has been determined, did the connections formed through educational institutions, art organizations, and careers,

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play as significant a role in linking local patrons as they did in Boston.

Once we have accepted the statement that Boston was home to more patrons of Neoclassic sculptors than any other American city, we must, I believe, attempt to explain why this was the case. While this is not an easy task, I believe we can use the evidence presented in this dissertation to arrive at some general conclusions.

Certainly one reason so many Bostonians shared a taste for Neoclassic sculpture--and for other things, too, of course--was the fact that many of them were related by blood or by marriage, as I have tried to indicate. The Perkins family, which was a veritable dynasty, is probably the best example of this and, as we have seen, Col. Perkins had a number of descendants, both direct and collateral, who were interested in the arts. As Jean Gordon noted in her dissertation on the development of the fine arts in Boston during the nineteenth century, the city had acquired, by the 1840s, "a genuine art public, not very large to be sure, but made up of families for whom art patronage and collecting came to be a kind of tradition carried on over two or three generations."[16] Likewise, the Appletons, the Lowells, and the Lymans, all had more than one member involved in the

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[16]Gordon, 43.

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arts in some manner. In fact, the degree of kinship which spread among the individuals and families featured in this dissertation is seen even in the members of that informal literary group, "The Five of Clubs," mentioned above. Two of these men, Sumner and Hillard were business partners and have been discussed at some length; but the other three members were also closely related to the patrons featured herein: Henry R. Cleveland was married to Charles Callahan Perkins's sister, Sarah; Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was married to Nathan Appleton's daughter and Samuel Appleton's niece, Fanny; and Cornelius C. Felton was married to Mary Louisa Cary, a granddaughter of Col. Perkins.[17] Similar connections can be made between and among the persons discussed here almost endlessly.

We can conclude with some assurance, then, that family connections had an important role in fostering and encouraging aesthetic concerns, one of the results of which was the patronage of American sculptors. This issue was addressed in a recent study of the values of Boston's upper class during the first half of the nineteenth century by the American historian Paul Goodman who wrote that

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[17]For Cary and Felton, see Louise Hall Tharp, Adventurous Alliance: The Story of the Agassiz Family of Boston (Boston and Toronto: Little, Brown and Company,1959). The scientist, explorer, and Harvard professor, Louis Agassiz, who is the main focus of this book, was also related by marriage to the Cabots, the Carys, and the Perkinses.

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> Bostonians utilized an elaborate web of kinship ties which made the family a potent institution that gave them cohesion, continuity and stability so they might perpetuate their power, prominence and way of life. In addition to ties of blood, the elite shared a common set of values which defined proper behavior, transmitted goals to the young and provided a measure by which to judge and punish deviance.[18]

In fact, almost all of the people considered above were members of a rather elite social strata in Boston, the power and position of which was based on the shared experiences and interests of its members. While a few of these families achieved some of their social status from their longevity in Boston, most of them were members of Boston's merchant class which rose to power only in the late eighteenth century. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, they had created a sort of aristocracy in the city, an upper class of people generally referred to as the Boston Brahmins. This peculiarly Bostonian caste is so distinct, in fact, that it has been the focus of a number of both scholarly and popular studies in recent times. In one of these, The Proper Bostonians, Cleveland Amory identified the true Brahmin families as those which had been founded by the so-called Merchant Princes whose success dated from after the American Revolution and, in some cases, even after the War of 1812. By the time of the Civil War, the Brahmins

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[18]Paul Goodman, "Ethics and Enterprise: The Values of a Boston Elite, 1800-1860," American Quarterly 18 (Fall 1966): 437.

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were the acknowledged rulers of Boston both economically and socially and, not surprisingly, Amory's examples in the group included a number of the families considered here such as the Perkinses, the Cabots, and the Appletons.[19]

Furthermore, while these families were wealthy, it was widely acknowledged that as part of their accepted "gospel of progress," they "saw themselves as agents of improvement."[20] Whether they had inherited their social position or gained it through their own business acumen, each sought to use his acquired "wealth, honor, virtue and wisdom" to support and promote "culture and innumerable charities," thereby presenting himself as not only a financial wizard but also "an exemplar of republican simplicity, and a leader of the nation."[21] Wealthy Bostonians, then, considered it their duty to promote culture and to encourage the arts, without which, as one nineteenth-century author put it, "no fortune however ample, will bring contentment."[22] It would seem that successful

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[19]Cleveland Amory, The Proper Bostonians (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1947), 39-40ff.

[20]Goodman, 437.

[21]Ibid. Also see Edward Pessen, Riches, Class, and Power Before the Civil War (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1973), especially Chapter 11, "The Private World of the Social Circle of the Rich and Elite," 221-47; and Frederic Cople Jaher, The Urban Establishment (Urbana, Chicago, and London: University of Illinois Press, 1982), especially Chapter 2, "Boston," 15-156.

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Bostonians took to heart George Hillard's warning that a country "in which all men are engaged in acquisition of property . . . without books, without scholars, without ideas . . . contains within itself the element of destruction."[23]

In fact, another notable link among the patrons discussed above was their level of education. Almost all of them were graduates of Harvard College and the classical learning which they obtained there almost certainly encouraged any early interest in the arts which they possessed or which had already been instilled in them by their families. The importance of Harvard for Boston's so-called elite, many of whom figure in this dissertation, was the focus of Ronald Story's The Forging of an Aristocracy: Harvard & the Boston Upper Class, 1800-1870.[24] While Story acknowledged the importance of "entrepreneurial wealth and its preservation by kinship and politics" in the development of Boston society, his main thesis is that the emergence of Boston's upper class was as much a product of "considerations of culture" as it was of accumulation of

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[22]Mercantile Library, Boston, Report (Mar. 1855), 66, quoted in Goodman, 444.

[23]George Hillard, The Dangers and Duties of the Mercantile Profession (Boston, 1850), 22, quoted in Goodman, 444.

[24]Ronald Story, The Forging of an Aristocracy: Harvard & the Boston Upper Class, 1800-1870 (Middletown, Ct.: Wesleyan University Press, 1980).

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wealth, and that one of the most important institutions in cultural growth for Boston was Harvard.[25]

Surely it is significant, then, that almost all of the persons discussed in the present dissertation were educated there. Everett, Gray, Hillard, Charles C. Perkins, Sears, and Sumner, as well as several members of the Lowell and Paine families, all graduated from Harvard; and Everett and Ticknor were long-standing members of its faculty. There can be little doubt, I think, that these patrons believed in the importance of education for an understanding of art, especially something as refined as Neoclassic sculpture. It has already been mentioned that George Hillard expressed such views in one of his articles about the oeuvre of Horatio Greenough. Everett almost certainly would have agreed with him and even felt it necessary to carefully explain the iconography of and the historical precedents for Hiram Powers's America (fig. 21) to President Franklin Pierce. Everett told Powers that he had reason to believe that Pierce's "opportunities for acquiring a cultivated taste for the arts have not been sufficient to enable him to appreciate a work of so high an order."[26]

Pierce, of course, did not go to Harvard; but then, neither did one of the most important patrons discussed

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[25]Ibid., 6-7, 20-21.

[26]EE to HP, Oct. 19, 1855, Powers Papers 1137.

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here, that it Thomas H. Perkins. Nevertheless, evidence indicates that Perkins later expressed regret at not having matriculated at the college,[27] and, in fact, he displayed his admiration for the place by showing Harvard his generosity to the point of bequeathing a bust of himself (by Clevenger) to the institution, as we have already seen. Likewise, Samuel Appleton, who did not attend Harvard either, acknowledged the school's importance by leaving it a sum of money large enough to fund the erection of a chapel, as mentioned above. In fact, based on what we know about both of these men, its probably safe to assume that they took steps to make up for the perceived gaps in their schooling by educating themselves on the finer points of art and culture--something that Franklin Pierce either had not done or at least had not done to Everett's satisfaction.

Such specialized knowledge certainly could have been acquired during our patrons' travels, especially in Europe, and, in fact, almost all of the persons considered in this dissertation advanced their taste for things classical or classicizing by going abroad, usually beginning in their youth. As we have seen, some took a number of trips to Europe and a few even lived there for extended periods. Admittedly, a few of these excursions were undertaken primarily for business purposes; but rarely did those

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[27]Cary, "Perkins," Hunt's, 21n.

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persons considered here go to Europe without taking advantage of the many opportunities for cultural advancement which could be found there.

Likewise, a majority of our patrons shared careers in the law, at least for a time.[28] Everett, Gray, Hillard, Sumner, Ticknor, James Handasyd Perkins, and Russell Sturgis were all trained lawyers; and this professional link brought some of them together at times for the exchange of ideas, as we have seen especially in the case of Sumner and Hillard. Practicing law also gave them the financial means by which they could offer support to struggling artists, or at least it placed them in a position of power and respectability which could be used to assist artists in gaining public exposure and commissions. The legal profession often led to politics, as it did for both Everett and Sumner, and the increased authority and prestige which came with such a move could also be useful in helping favored artists.

Many of the patrons discussed here also shared extra-professional activities. Most were active members in the Boston Athenaeum, as we have seen; some had a place on

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[28]This fact was noted by Gordon, although she was not certain why so many lawyers in Boston should have been attracted to the arts. She proposes, however, that part of the reason may have been that, at the time, it was commonly thought that the fine arts influenced public order by providing "examples of heroic sacrifice, devoted faith and suffering endured for principle's sake. . . . " (Gordon, 48).

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committees which planned and carried out the Bunker Hill Monument or the establishment of Mount Auburn Cemetery; others played a role in the development of the Museum of Fine Arts and the Boston Public Library. And all of them, without exception, gave to any number of other local and regional charities and philanthropic causes.[29] While some belonged to the few early clubs founded in Boston before the Civil War, almost all of them socialized with each other, as Edward Pessen has recently noted:

> Boston's elite sought out one another in a number of prestigious private homes. To the residence of Thomas Handasyd Perkins, Jr., for example, came Harrison Gray Otis, Samuel Appleton, Thomas L. Winthrop, Daniel Webster, Nathaniel Amory, Francis Codman, Augustus Thorndike, Major Jonathan Russell, Edward Everett, Lothrop Motely, and others of like renown from in and out of the city. Mrs. George Ticknor was likely to attract, in addition to Boston's mercantile elite, "the nobility and scholars of Europe," as well as American artists, scientists, and men of letters.[30]

To this list of shared qualities, we should add one more which, by this point, should be an obvious one; that

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[29]Citations for the general histories of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, the Boston Athenaeum, and the Boston Public Library have been given above. For the other categories of philanthropy listed here, see Samuel A. Eliot, "Public and Private Charities in Boston," North American Review 61 (July 1845): 135-59; Jacob Bigelow, A History of the Cemetery of Mount Auburn (Boston and Cambridge: James Munroe and Company, 1860); and Blanche Linden-Ward, Silent City on a Hill: Landscapes of Memory and Boston's Mount Auburn Cemetery (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1989).

[30]Pessen, 231.

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is, the Bostonians discussed here showed a decided preference for art which reflected the great traditions of the past. In fact, beginning at least as early as 1808, when Boston's most famous transplanted artist, Washington Allston, first settled there, traditionally conceived and executed paintings proved to be the most popular among the town's citizens, a trend which would survive until after the Civil War. The mention of Allston here is not gratuitous and, in fact, that artist appears to have played a major role in the creation or at least continuation of Boston's preference for objects which took their inspiration from artistic tradition. Like Neoclassic sculpture, Allston's paintings, as William Gerdts has noted, "appealed to the cultivated" and "presupposed classical learning, familiarity with the Bible, and literature."[31] Surely with this in mind, Allston, who was born in South Carolina, selected Boston as his residence, probably because he was aware that his own style would appeal to that city's inhabitants. (As it turned out, he was right: the vast majority of his patrons were Bostonians).

Admittedly, Allston worked in a Romantic manner and was inspired more by the art of the Renaissance than by that of the ancient Greeks and Romans. But his influence was widespread and was important in prompting the young Horatio

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[31]Gerdts, "Paintings of Allston," 167.

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Greenough, among others, to commit himself to exploring the traditional which, for Greenough, took the form of Neoclassicism.[32] Greenough's modern biographer has written that, to the sculptor, "Allston represented the ideal artist" who, among other things, was a "follower of the greatest traditions of the past."[33] The wisdom of selecting Allston as his aesthetic "father", as Greenough called him,[34] and of following the advice that the painter gave him is evidenced by the sculptor's success which was first realized among his fellow Bostonians who, in their love of tradition, supported him and his fellow sculptors with a devotion unequaled anywhere else in America.

Obviously, all of the commonalities identified above--wealth, education, the law profession, the requisite Grand tour, favorite philanthropic causes, family ties, simple friendships, and artistic taste--served to bring the Bostonians featured in this dissertation together at various points in their daily lives, thereby allowing and encouraging the formation of a strong network through which

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[32]Allston's influence on younger artists, including Thomas Ball, Henry Kirke Brown, William Page, and George Fuller, is discussed in Gerdts, "Paintings of Allston," 166-70.

[33]Wright, Greenough, American Sculptor, 31.

[34]HG, Florence, to William Dunlap, Dec. 1, 1833, in William Dunlap, A History of The Rise and Progress of The Arts of Design in the United States (New York: George P. Scott & Co., 1834), 2:421.

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ideas could be exchanged and aesthetics influenced. A taste for something like Neoclassic sculpture could be readily nurtured and then spread and be strengthened by association with others of like mind. With strong role models like Thomas Perkins, Edward Everett, and Charles Sumner leading the way, other Bostonians could follow with certainty and assurance that they were doing the right thing. Boston itself could become the place it did: a city which was known for its traditional tastes, philanthropic spirit, and high ideals, and as a place especially receptive to the American creators of Neoclassic sculpture.

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APPENDIX:

INDEX OF OWNERS

The following is an alphabetical list of all documented nineteenth-century American owners of works by American neoclassic sculptors. This includes both ideal pieces and portrait busts. An art gallery or auction house is listed as the owner only when the original owner has not been identified.

This list is limited to American patrons and American sculptors with a few exceptions. For example, some major European sculptors such as Antonio Canova and Bertel Thorwaldsen are included. It is also probable that a few European collectors have found their way into this list.

All cited sources are identified in full in the Source List at the end of the index. As will be noticed, almost all of these sources are secondary ones and, therefore, this list should be used with caution. Whenever possible, the cited sources should be cross-checked against this list and the reader's discretion used in determining the reliablity of the source.

An asterisk (*) following an object's title indicates that the cited source identifies it as a bust; a cross (+) indicates that the source identifies it as a statue.

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Owner	Artist	Object	Source
Abbott, Mrs. Saml.	Powers	Mrs. Woods Hand	Wunder
Abell, Arunah S.	Rinehart	Arunah S. Abell*	Ross
Abert, Charles	Ball	Daniel Webster*	NMAA
Ackland, Mrs.	Ives	Sans Souci	Ives
Acklen, Adelicia	Ives	Sans Souci	Ackland
Acklen, Adelicia	Mozier	Peri	Ackland
Acklen, Adelicia	Rinehart	Sleeping Children	Ackland
Acklen, Adelicia	Rogers	Ruth	Ackland
Acklen, Mrs. H.	Rinehart	Sleeping Children	Ross
Adams, Alvin	Powers (aft)	Greek Slave	Adams
Adams, Alvin	Stephenson	Indian Girl	Adams
Adams, Charles F.	Powers	Charles F. Adams*	B.A.
Adams, Charles F.	Powers	John Q. Adams*	Wunder
Adams, Chas. F. Jr.	Powers	John Q. Adams*	Wunder
Adams, J. Hunt	Ives	Cupid Fishing	Ives
Adams, J. Hunt	Ives	Shepherd Boy, Kid	Ives
Adams, John Quincy	Powers	John Q. Adams*	Wunder
Adams, W. Thatcher	Story	Into Silent Land	Phillips
Adams, Mrs. Waldo	Dexter	Alvin Adams*	Albee
Addison, Dr. S. R.	Powers	Proserpine	Wunder
Aiken, Gov.	Bartholomew	Shepherd Boy	HTT 1867
Aiken, W. M.	Powers	Proserpine*	NMAA
Aiken, William	Powers	[unidentified]	Wunder
Ainsworth, J. C.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Akers, Charles D.	Akers	Nerva*	NMAA
Albert, Mrs.	Handley	Diana*	HTT 1867
Albert, Augustus C.	Rinehart	Night	Post 1874
Albert, Augustus C.	Rinehart	Morning	Post 1874
Albert, Augustus J.	Rinehart	Indian Girl	Ross
Albert, Augustus J.	Rinehart	Evening	Ross
Albert, Augustus J.	Rinehart	Morning	Ross
Albert, Mrs. Jacob	Rinehart	Mary S. Albert	Ross
Albert, William	Rinehart	Mantelpiece	Ross
Aldrich, H. D.	Mozier	Esther+	Crayon 3
Alexander, Francis	Greenough H	Fran. Alexander*	NMAA
Alexander, Francis	Greenough H	Fran. Alexander*	TBB
Alger, C. C.	Palmer	Infant Ceres*	Webster
Allan, Carrie	Ives	Flora*	Ives
Allan, Patterson	Ives	Rebecca+	Ives
Allan, Patterson	Ives	Innocence...	Ives
Allen, Mr.	Powers	Fisher Boy*	Dentler
Allen, John	Powers	Washington*	Dentler
Allen, Orgam	Powers	Washington	Wunder
Allen, Samuel	Dexter	Samuel Allen*	Albee
Allen, T. Prentiss	Powers	Fisher Boy	Wunder
Allston, Robert	Brackett	Wash. Allston*	Stockton
Alsop, J. W.	Rinehart	Sleeping Child.	Ross
Ames, Mrs.	Anon.	Lincoln*	Union
Amory, Charles	Anon.	[busts]	Perkins

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Amory, James S.	Powers	Daniel Webster*	Dentler
Anderson, Larz	Powers	Nich. Longworth*	CF/DBD
Anderson, Mrs Larz	Powers	Nich. Longworth*	Wunder
Anderson, Mrs Larz	Powers	Ginevra	Wunder
Andrew, Mrs	Gould	Gov. Andrew*	Clement
Andrews, Loring	Mozier	Rizpah	F/A (1)
Andrews, Loring	Rogers	Nydia	F/A (1)
Andrews, Loring	Rogers	Ruth	F/A (1)
Andrews, Loring	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers 1
Andrews, Loring	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Andrews, Loring	Lewis	Asleep	NYT: 1879
Annesley, Lawson	Palmer	Ruth	Webster
Antelo, A. J.	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers 1
Antelo, A. J.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Anthon, Charles E.	Browere	Philip Hone*	NYHS
Appleton, _____	Palmer	Miss Appleton*	Webster
Appleton, Messrs.	Brown	Bronze reliefs	Sartain's
Appleton, Mr.	Hosmer	Medusa*	Thurston
Appleton, Mr.	Brown	La Grazie*	Craven
Appleton, Nathan	Lewis	Spring	MCMA '81
Appleton, Nathan	Greenough H	Mary Appleton*	TBB
Appleton, S.	Canova	Nymph	B.A.
Appleton, Samuel	Greenough H	Samuel Appleton*	TBB
Appleton, Samuel	Hosmer	Daphne*	Child
Appleton, Samuel	Hosmer	Medusa*	Child
Appleton, Samuel	Akers	Night	Usher
Appleton, Samuel	Akers	Morning	Usher
Appleton, Samuel?	Rinehart	Edith Longfellow	Ross
Appleton, T. G.	Milmore	R. W. Emerson*	MCMA '78
Appleton, T. G.	Milmore	R. W. Emerson*	Clement
Appleton, Wm S.	Simmons	Jochebed+	Boston
Appleton, Wm S.	Simmons	Robt T. Paine*	Boston
Arms, Ebenezer	Palmer	Memorial Plaque	Webster
Armsby, Dr.	Palmer	Virgina	NMAAr
Armsby, James H.	Palmer	Grave Monument	Webster
Armsby, James H.	Palmer	Morning	Webster
Armsby, James H.	Palmer	Virginia	Webster
Armsby, James H.	Palmer	Gideon H. Armsby	Webster
Armstrong, S. S.	Dexter	Gov. Armstrong	Albee
Arnot, Matthias H.	Ives	John Arnot*	Arnot
Arnot, Matthias H.	Mozier	Wish-Ton-Wish	Arnot
Asay, E. G.	Powers	Henry Longfellow	Dentler
Aspinwall, W. H.	Powers	Jesus Christ*	HTT 1867
Aspinwall, W. H.	Powers	The Ideal Christ	Dentler
Aspinwall, William	Foley	Bishop Whipple*	Tufts
Aspinwall, William	Foley	Crawford's Son*	Harpers
Aspinwall, Wm. H.	Ball	Daniel Webster*	Dartmouth
Aspinwall, Wm. H.	Powers	The Ideal Christ	Wunder
Astley, Thomas	Ceracchi(aft)	Alex. Hamilton*	APS
Astor, Mrs. Wm. B.	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Dentler
Astor, William B.	Powers	California+	Dentler

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Astor, William B.	Powers	California+	MMA
Astor, William B.	Powers	California+	Wunder
Astor, Wm B. Jr.	Powers	Emily Astor*	Wunder
Astor, Mrs Wm.Jr.	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Wunder
Astor, William W.	Greenough R	Wm. W. Astor*	TBB
Atkins, A. H.	Ives	Sans Souci	Ives
Atkinson, Capt. J.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Atwater, Rev. Edw.	Mead	___?___	Burnham
Austin, C. L.	Powers	Proserpine	NMAA
Austin, C. L.	Powers	Greek Slave	NMAA
Austin, Chas. Lee	Powers	Frances Austin*	Wunder
Austin, Mrs Chas.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Austin, Mrs Chas.	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Wunder
Austin, Mrs Chas.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Austin, Edward	Crawford	Christ. Pilgrim+	Dimmick
Avery, Samuel P.	Thompson	Chas. Elliott*	MMA
Bacot, R. W.	Galt	3 Busts	NMAA
Baird, Frank J.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Baird, Frank J.	Rogers	Lost Pleiad	Rogers 1
Baker, Richard Jr.	Powers	Eve Tempted*	Dentler
Baker, Richard Jr.	Powers	America*	Dentler
Baker, Richard Jr.	Powers	America*	Wunder
Baker, Richard Jr.	Powers	Eve Disconsolate*	Wunder
Baldwin, Loammi	Powers	Loammi Baldwin*	Wunder
Ball, Black & Co.	Ball	Beloved Disciple	Ball
Ball, Black & Co.	Ball	Christmas Morng	Ball
Ball, Black & Co.	Ball	St. Valentine's	Ball
Ballard, Mrs.	Whitney	The Cherubs	Payne
Bancroft, E. P.	Ball	Portrait a Lady	B.A.
Banks, Robert L.	Palmer	Angel/Sepulchre+	Webster
Barber [?], M. W.	Ives	Ariadne*	Ives
Barbour, Mrs. Lucy	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Barclay, _____	Powers	[Unidentified]	Wunder
Barclay, B.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Barclay, C. B.	Broome, I.	C. B. Barclay	PAFA 8
Barclay, C. B.	Broome, I.	Bishop Potter	PAFA 8
Baring, T. G.	Powers	Mrs T. G. Baring	Wunder
Barlow, Mrs.	Ives	Begger Boy	Ives
Barlow, John	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Barlow, Peter T.	Houdon	Joel Barlow*	Yale
Barlow, Samuel	Ball	Daniel Webster	Barlow
Barnard, _____	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Barnard, James	Powers	Diana*	Dentler
Barnard, James	Powers	Psyche*	Dentler
Barnard, James M.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Barnes, Hon. D.	Ives	Sans Souci	Ives
Barnes, Demas	Gould	West Wind	NYT: 1871
Barnes, Demaras	Gould	West Wind	NMAA
Barney, A. H.	Powers	A. H. Barney*	Wunder
Barney, A. H.	Powers	[Unidentified]	Wunder
Barney, A. H.	Powers	[Unidentified]	Wunder

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Barnum, Phineas T.	Ball	P. T. Barnum*	NPG
Barnum, Mrs. Zenus	Powers	Psyche*	Wunder
Barstow, Mrs.	Salomon	Francis Peters*	PAFA 8
Barstow, Mrs.	Broome	Mrs. Peters*	PAFA 8
Bartlett, Mrs C.E.	Ives	Rebecca+	Bartlett
Bartlett, Minnie	Rogers	Taking the Oath	DBD/CF
Bartlett, Sidney	Ives	Bacchante*	Ives
Bartol, Elizabeth	Whitney	The Cherubs	Payne
Barton, Eliz. H.	Greenough H	Angel Abdiel*	TBB
Barton, J. P.	Jones	Thomas Ewing*	NMAA
Batchedler, John M.	Ball	Daniel Webster+	MHS: 1886
Batcheller, A. H.	Gould	Rose	NMAA
Batcheller, A. H.	Gould	Lily	NMAA
Bates, Mrs. H. E.	Ives	Begger Boy	Ives
Bates, J. D.	Rogers	Nydia+	Rogers
Bates, J. D.	Rogers	Nydia+	Boston
Bates, Joshua	Powers	Greek Slave/foot	Wunder
Bates, Joshua	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Bates, Samuel P.	Powers	Franklin*	Wunder
Batt, Mrs.	Powers	Fisher Boy*	Wunder
Baughman, Mr.	Rinehart	Smokers	NMAA
Beach, C. Nicholas	Ives	Sans Souci	Ives
Beals, William	Rogers	Isaac	Rogers 1
Beals, William Jr.	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers 1
Beals, William Jr.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Beaumont, J. P.	Mozier	Daphne*	Beaumont
Beaumont, J. P.	Powers	Washington*	Beaumont
Beaumont, J. P.	Galt	Innocence*	Beaumont
Beautty, Ellen	Greenough H	Ellen Beautty*	TBB
Beecher, Henry W.	Jackson	Lyman Beecher*	Clement
Belknap, J.	Dexter	Frederic Tudor*	B.A.
Bell, Henry	Powers	America*	Wunder
Bell, Henry	Powers	Eve Disconsolate*	Wunder
Bellows, Henry	Powers	Henry Bellows*	Wunder
Belmont, August	Palmer	Matthew Perry*	Webster
Benedict, E. A.	Palmer	E. A. Benedict?	Webster
Benedict, Lewis Sr	Palmer	Lew. Benedict Sr	Webster
Benkard, _____	Rogers	Truant	Rogers
Benneger, Abraham	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Bennett, Mrs D. Wm	Powers	Marianne Bennett	Wunder
Benneger, Abraham	Powers	Eve Tempted*	Dentler
Benthner, Mr.	Rogers	Mr. Benthner*	Rogers 1
Benthner, Mr.	Rogers	Mrs. Benthner*	Rogers 1
Benthner, Mr.	Rogers	Benthner's Dau.*	Rogers 1
Benzon, E. L. S.	Story	Semiramis	Phillips
Bergen, E. S.	Story	Race with Goats	Phillips
Bernacki, Charles	Canova (aft)	Napoleon*	Bernacki
Bernard, _____	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Bernard, Mr.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Berry, G. S.	Brown	The Filatrice	AAFA
Bertram, John	Lander	[Religious Work]	Sharf

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Bevan, William	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Biddle, William	Greenough H	S.F.B. Morse*	TBB
Biddle, William	Greenough H	William Biddle*	TBB
Bill, Mrs. Edward	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Bill, Mrs. Edward	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Bininger, Abraham	Powers	Eve Disconsolate*	Wunder
Bininger, Abraham	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Binney, _____	Dexter	Binney Child+	Albee
Bird, Lewis & Co.	Anon.	Four Seasons	Bird
Bixby, John M.	Story	Polyxena	Phillips
Bixby, Robert	Story	Polyxena	MMA: 1886
Blair, J. S.	Foley	Flora+	MCMA '78
Black, W. S.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Blake, S. H.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Bleeker, John R.	Palmer	John R. Bleeker	Webster
Blight, Miss Alice	Greenough R	Circe	TBB
Blight, Atherton	Greenough R	Atherton Blight*	PAFA 2
Bliss, Col.	Ives	Unidine	Ives
Bliss, Mrs. E.	Brown	The Filatrice	AAFA
Bliss, Ezra	Rinehart	Mrs. Ezra Bliss*	Ross
Blodgett, Mrs Wm.	Story	Semiramis	MMA: 1386
Blodgett, Wm. T.	Story	Semiramis	NMAA
Blodgett, Wm. T.	Story	Semiramis	Blodgett
Blodgett, Wm. T.	Story	Semiramis	Phillips
Blow, Hon. H. T.	Ives	Ruth*	Ives
Blow, Hon. H. T.	Ives	Ariadne*	Ives
Bolton, A. S.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Bolton, A. S.	Powers	Proserpine	Wunder
Bonaparte, Joseph	Powers	Jos. Bonaparte*	Wunder
Booth, Miss	Gould	Ariel	NCAB
Booth, George	Powers	Miss Booth*	Wunder
Bostwick, F. J.	Park	Girl w/Butterfly	Newark
Botta, Anne Lynch	Hart	Henry Clay*	MMA
Bowen, Chauncey T.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Boyd, John	Palmer	Infant Ceres*	Webster
Boyd, John	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Bradley, Joseph H.	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Bradley, Richard	Mead	Wm. C. Bradley*	Burnham
Brandreth, Dr. B.	Palmer	Resignation*	Webster
Branton, Miss	Rinehart	Woman of Samaria	Ross
Breese, William G.	Powers	Fisher Boy*	Wunder
Breeze, William	Powers	Fisher Boy*	Dentler
Brewer, Mr.	Hosmer	Will-o-the-Wisp	Labarre
Brewer, Gardner	Hosmer	Puck	SPNEA
Brewer, Gardner	Powers	Clytie	Dentler
Brewer, Gardner	Powers	Clytie*	Wunder
Bridge, General	Gould	Puritan+	NCAB
Bridley, Ms.	Powers	Nich. Longworth	Dentler
Briggs, Gov.	Dexter	Gov. Briggs*	Albee
Brimmer, Martin	Story	Sappho	Phillips
Brimmer, Martin	Powers	Geo. W. Brimmer*	Wunder

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Brinley, Edward	Hughes	Nathl. Bowditch+	B.A.
Brisbane, Albert	Greenough H	Albert Brisbane*	TBB
Broll, Miss Anne	Ives	Beggar Boy	Ives
Brook, N. Ten	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Brookham, G. W.	Ives	Ruth*	Ives
Brooks, P. C.	Greenough H	Arno	TBB
Brooks, P. C.	Powers	Proserpine	B.A.
Brooks, P. C.	Rinehart	Young Augustus	Ross
Brooks, Peter C.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Brooks, Peter C II	Powers	Prosepine*	Wunder
Brooks, Sidney	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Brooks, Sidney	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Brooks, Sidney	Powers	Fisher Boy+	Dentler
Brooks, Sidney	Powers	Eve Disconsolate*	Dentler
Brooks, Sidney	Powers	America*	Dentler
Brooks, Sidney	Powers	Fisher Boy+	BMFA '79
Brooks, Sidney	Powers	Proserpine*	BMFA '79
Brooks, Sidney	Powers	America*	BMFA '79
Brooks, Sidney	Powers	Eve Disconsolate*	BMFA '79
Brooks, Sidney	Powers	Washington*	BMFA '79
Brooks, Sidney	Powers	Franklin*	BMFA '79
Brooks, Sidney	Powers	Sidney Brooks*	Wunder
Brooks, Sidney	Powers	America*	Wunder
Brooks, Sidney	Powers	Eve Disconsolate*	Wunder
Brooks, Sidney	Powers	Fisher Boy	Wunder
Brooks, Sidney	Powers	Franklin*	Wunder
Brooks, Sidney	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Brooks, Sidney	Powers	Washington*	Wunder
Brooks, Mrs Sidney	Powers	Washington*	Dentler
Brooks, Mrs Sidney	Powers	Eve Disconsolate*	Boston
Bross, William	Powers	William Bross*	Wunder
Bross, Gov. W.m	Powers	Fisher Boy*	Dentler
Brown, Mr.	Crawford	Diana Hunting	Dimmick
Brown, Augustus L.	Ives	Cupid Fishing	Ives
Brown, G. S.	Ives	Rebecca+	Ives
Brown, George S.	Rinehart	Mrs. Geo. Brown*	Ross
Brown, George S.	Mozier	Pocahontas	Peabody
Brown, J. P.	Rogers	Lost Pleiad	Rogers 1
Brown, James	Rinehart	James Brown*	Ross
Brown, John	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Brown, John Carter	Powers	Proserpine*	Dentler
Brown, W. A.	Whitney	Portrait Bust*	NAD (1)
Brownson, Isaac	Ives	Sans Souci	Ives
Bruen, Mr. M.	Crawford	Christ. Pilgrim+	Dimmick
Bryan, Dr.	Ives	Franklin	Ives
Bryan, Thomas B.	Stone	Ecce Homo	Aldine
Bryan, Thomas B.	Powers	Isaac Newton	Dentler
Bryan, Thomas B.	Powers	Franklin*	Wunder
Bryant, Miss	Canova	Venus di Bagno	B.A.
Bryant, Miss	Greenough H	Child w/Grapes	B.A.
Bryant, Miss	Hosmer	Will O' the Wisp	B.A.

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Bryant, Miss	Hosmer	Will O' the Wisp	Labarre
Bryant, Miss	Stephenson	Indian Bride	B.A.
Bryson, Peter	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Bryson, Peter M.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Buckingham, Chas.	Mills	Andrew Jackson+	Rutledge
Buckingham, E. D.	Bartholomew	Shepherd Boy	NMAA
Buchanan, James	Dexter	James Buchanan*	Buchanan
Buckler, Thomas H.	Rinehart	Thomas Buckler*	Ross
Buhl, F.	Ives	Shepherd Boy	Ives
Bullard, John	Hosmer	Medusa*	Gerdts
Bullard, Laura C.	Lewis	Hiawatha Wedding	NYT: 1879
Bullock, Alexander	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers 1
Bullock, Alexander	Rogers	Alex. Bullock*	Rogers 1
Bullock, Alexander	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Bullock, Thomas O.	Ives	Pandora	Bullock
Burden, Henry	Palmer	Helen M. Burden*	Webster
Burden, W. F.	Palmer	Helen M. Burden*	Webster
Burden, W. F.	Palmer	Henry Burden	NMAA
Burden, W. F.	Palmer	Henry Burden*	Webster
Burke, Mrs. M.	Rogers	Bust*	Rogers 1
Burnet, Judge	Powers	Judge Burnet*	NMAA
Burnet, G. W.	Powers	Judge Burnet	NMAA
Burnet, G. W.	Clevenger	Judge Burnet	NMAA
Burnham, G. W.	Ives	T. C. Brownell*	Ives
Burnham, Gordon W.	Ives	T. C. Brownell*	NYHS
Burnham, Ms Gordon	Mozier	Undine	F/A (4)
Burnham, Ms Gordon	Ives	Bishop Brownell*	F/A (4)
Burnham, Ms Gordon	Ives	Undine	F/A (4)
Burnham, John A.	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers 1
Burns, Walter N.	Powers	Hope	Dentler
Burns, Walter H.	Powers	Proserpine*	Dentler
Burns, Walter H.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Burr, E. D.	Palmer	White Captive	NMAA
Burrill, J. E.	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers 1
Burt, Alice	Powers	Spring*	Webster
Burt, Clarissa A.	Crawford	The Peri	PAFA 2
Burt, James M.	Palmer	Good Morning	Burt
Burt, M.	Clevenger	Portrait Bust*	NMAA
Burton, Mrs.	Brown	Resurrection	Nutt
Busteed, Richard	Palmer	Captive's Foot	Webster
Butler, Charles	Ives	Ruth*	Ives
Cabot, Mr.	Greenough H	Ascension/Infant	TBB
Cabot, Mrs. Edward	Whitney	Saml. E. Sewall*	Payne
Cabot, S.	Greenough H	Ascension/Child	B.A.
Cabot, Samuel	Greenough H	Eliz. P. Cabot*	TBB
Cabot, Samuel	Greenough H	Ascension/Child	Boston
Calhoun, John C.	Powers	Martha Calhoun*	Wunder
Calvert, George H.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Calvert, George H.	Powers	Porserpine*	Wunder
Cameron, Mrs.	Ives	Jehptha's Dau.	Ives
Cameron, Mrs.	Ives	Undine	Ives

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Carey, Miss	Powers	Proserpine*	PAFA 1
Carey, Edward L.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Campbell, Daniel	Palmer	Grief	Webster
Campbell, J. H.	Rogers	Eve	PAFA 1
Carhart, G. B.	Rogers	G. B. Carhart*	Rogers 1
Carhart, G. B.	Rogers	Mrs. G. Carhart*	Rogers 1
Carhart, G. B.	Rogers	Carhart's Son*	Rogers 1
Carleton, C. G.	Launitz	A Little Girl*	NAD (1)
Carliffe, John	Powers	[unidentified]	Wunder
Carman, R. H.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Carman, Richard	Ball	Eve+	BMFA '79
Carnegie, Andrew	Calverley	Robert Burns*	MMA
Carpenter, George	Gould	Portrait Bust*	NMAA
Carr, Cornelia	Hosmer	Browning Hands	Labarre
Carr, William	Rogers	Mrs. Wm. Carr	Rogers 1
Carroll, Nicholas	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Carsley, L.	Canova	Hercules/Lichas	B.A.
Carter, _____	Powers	Dante	Tasker
Carter, _____	Powers	Abraham Lincoln*	Tasker
Carter, _____	Powers	Lincoln (large)*	Tasker
Carter, _____	Powers	Columbus*	Tasker
Carter, _____	Lewis	Hiawatha...	Tasker
Carter, _____	Lewis	Prayer	Tasker
Carter, Hill	Anon.	Daniel Webster	CV/DBD
Carter, Hill	Anon.	Henry Clay	CV/DBD
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Canova	Napoleon*	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Canova	Marie Louise*	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Canova	Chas. Bonaparte*	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Canova	Voltaire*	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Canova	Rousseau*	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Canova	Venus	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Canova?	Minerva*	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Rush	D. Rittenhouse*	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Rush	Dr. Alexander*	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Rush	Bust*	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Rush	Flora	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Rush	Summer	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Rush	Light	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Rush	Achilles	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Anon	G. Washington*	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Anon	John Q. Adams*	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Anon	Dr. Geo. Morton*	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Anon	Geo. McClelland	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Anon	Dr. Parrish	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Anon	Henry Clay*	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Anon	James K. Polk*	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Anon	Andrew Jackson*	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Anon	Zachary Taylor*	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Anon	Geo. Carpenter*	Carpenter
Carpenter, Geo. W.	Anon	Magdalene	Carpenter
Cary, Edward	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler

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Chadwick, John	Palmer	Chadwick Child*	Webster
Chamberlain, Wm.	Powers	California*	Wunder
Chapin, William W.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Chapman, Maria W.	Whitney	La Modele*	Payne
Chapman, Maria W.	Whitney	H. Martineau+	Payne
Chapman, Maria W.	Whitney	H. Martineau*	Payne
Chapman, Nathaniel	Persico	Lafayette*	APS
Chase, Caleb	Anon.	Abraham Lincoln*	Chase
Chase, Caleb	Anon.	Liberty*	Chase
Chase, Caleb	Anon.	Ophelia*	Chase
Chase, Caleb	Anon.	Genetrix+	Chase
Chase, Caleb	Anon.	Child*	Chase
Chase, Caleb	Anon.	Cupid*	Chase
Chase, Caleb	Anon.	The Diver+	Chase
Chase, Caleb	Anon.	Morning+	Chase
Chase, Caleb	Anon.	Juno*	Chase
Chase, Caleb	Anon.	Morning Star+	Chase
Chase, Caleb	Canova	Marble Bust*	Chase
Chase?, Horace	Ives	Pandora	Ives
Chase, Salmon P.	Jones	Salmon P. Chase*	NYH: 1900
Chase, Salmon P.	Powers/Jones	Salmon P. Chase*	Wunder
Chase, Salmon P.	Powers	[unidentified]	Wunder
Chauncey, Henry	Story	Medea	NMAA
Chauncey, Henry	Story	Semiramis	NMAA
Chauncey, Henry	Story	Medea	Seidler
Chauncey, Rev. Wm.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Chickering, Jonas	Dexter	Jonas Chickering	Albee
Child, Lydia Maria	Milmore	Charles Sumner*	Child 2
Chilton, R. S.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Chilton, R. S.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Chilton, R. S.	Palmer	Sappho	Webster
Chilton, R. S.	Palmer	Saphho	HTT 1867
Chilton, R. S.	Powers	Proserpine*	HTT 1867
Chilton, R. S.	Powers	Greek Slave*	HTT 1867
Chilton, Robert S.	Rinehart	Bas-Reliefs	TBB 2
Chilton, Robert S.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Chilton, Robert S.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Christman, C. H.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Church, F. E.	Palmer	Innocence	NMAA
Church, Ms F. E.[?]	Palmer	Faith	Webster
Church, Fred. E.	Palmer	Ambush Chief	Webster
Church, Fred. E.	Palmer	Evening	Webster
Church, Fred. E.	Palmer	Morning	Webster
Church, Fred. E.	Palmer	Imogen*	Webster
Church, Fred. E.	Palmer	Innocence	Webster
Church, Fred. E.	Palmer	Sappho	Webster
Church, Fred. E.	Palmer	Sleep+	Webster
Church, Fred. E.	Palmer	Spring*	Webster
Church, Fred. E.	Palmer	Supplication	Webster
Claghorn, J. L.	Mozier	Penseroso+	PAFA 1
Claghorn, J. L.	Jackson	Thomas B. Read*	PAFA 1

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Claghorn, Ms J. L.	Jackson	Thomas B. Read	PAFA 8
Claghorn, Ms J. L.	Bartholomew	A Gentelman*	PAFA 8
Claghorn, Jas. L.	Swayne	Jas. L Claghorn*	PAFA 5
Claghorn, James L.	Swayne	Henry C. Carey*	PAFA 5
Claghorn, Mrs J L	Bartholomew	Jas. L Claghorn*	PAFA 5
Clark, Mr.	Rinehart	Mr. Clark*	Ross
Clark, Mrs.	Rinehart	Mrs. Clark*	Ross
Clark, C. H.	Rogers	Sacrifice/Isaac	PAFA 1
Clark, Mrs. E. W.	Rinehart	Mrs. E. W. Clark	Ross
Clark, Edward	Rinehart	Hero	Ross
Clark, Edward	Rinehart	Leander	Ross
Clark, Edward	Rinehart	Evening	Ross
Clark, Edward	Rinehart	Morning	Ross
Clark, Edward	Rinehart	Hero+	Newark
Clark, John	Canova	Venus of Medicis	NMAA
Clarke, Mr.	Jackson	Musidora+	Clement
Clarke, Edward	Rinehart	Morning	NAD (2)
Clarke, Edward	Rinehart	Night	NAD (2)
Clarke, Edward	Rinehart	Leander	NAD (2)
Clarke, Mr. H.	Jackson	Cupid on a Swan	Clement
Clarke, T. Wood	Palmer	Sappho	Webster
Clay, Cassius	Hart	Cassius Clay*	Dearinger
Clay, Cassius	Hart	Horace Greeley	Dearinger
Clensay, G. W. B.	Rogers	Somnambula	Rogers 1
Cleveland, Mrs.	Crawford	Christ. Pilgrim	B.A.
Cleveland, A.	Rinehart	Evening	Ross
Cleveland, A.	Rinehart	Morning	Ross
Cleveland, Mrs. A.	Rinehart	Mrs A. Cleveland	Ross
Cleveland, Sarah P	Crawford	Christ. Pilgrim+	B.A.
Clift, Mrs.	Hosmer	Puck+	Mercant.
Clift, Mrs. Smith	Hosmer	Puck+	NAD (2)
Clinton, DeWitt	Ceracchi	Alex. Hamilton*	Hewitt
Clinton, DeWitt	Houdon	Ben. Franklin*	Hewitt
Clinton, DeWitt	Houdon	Geo. Washington*	Hewitt
Cogswell, Dr.	Palmer	Medallion/ Lady	PAFA 1
Cogswell, Dr.	Palmer	Lydia Cogswell	Webster
Coke, J. E.	Powers	Washington*	Union
Cole, T.	Crawford	Orpheus*	NAD (1)
Cole, T.	Greenough H	T. Cole*	NAD (1)
Cole, Thomas	Greenough H	Thomas Cole*	TBB
Coleman, Miss A.	Ives	Rebecca+	Ives
Coleman, Ms A. E.	Powers	Greek Slave	NMAA
Coleman [?] A. J.	Ives	Truant	Ives
Coleman, J. H.	Jones	J.H. Coleman*	NMAA
Coleman, Lewis	Ives	Sans Souci	Ives
Coles, Dr. Abraham	Powers	Charity*	Wunder
Coles, Dr. Abraham	Powers	Eve Disconsolate	Wunder
Coles, J. Ackerman	Powers	Charity	Dentler
Coles, J. Ackerman	Simmons	Promised Land+	MMA
Coles, J. Ackerman	Ball	Henry Clay*	Newark
Coles, J. Ackerman	Brown	Henry Clay*	Newark

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Coles, J. Ackerman	Powers	Charity*	Newark
Coles, J. Ackerman	Rogers	Nydia+	Coles
Coles, Mrs. Wm. F.	Thompson	A Child*	NAD (2)
Colgate, _____	Ives	_____	Ives
Collie, Alexander	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Collie, George	Powers	Fisher Boy*	Wunder
Collie, George	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Colman, William A.	Thorwaldsen	Napoleon	Colman
Colman, William A.	Canova	P. Bonaparte	Colman
Colman, William A.	Anon	Chas. Bonaparte	Colman
Colman, William A.	Anon	Lucian Bonaparte	Colman
Colt, Samuel	Rogers	Saml Colt Meml.	Rogers
Colt, Samuel	Bartholomew	Samuel Colt*	Wads Ath
Colt, Samuel	Bartholomew	Eliz. J. Colt*	Wads Ath
Colt, Samuel	Bartholomew	Samuel J. Colt*	Wads Ath
Colt, Samuel	Bartholomew	Samuel J. Colt+	Wads Ath
Colton, D. D.	Rogers	Somnambula	Rogers 1
Colton, Dr. G. L.	Powers	_____	Wunder
Combes, Leslie	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Cones, Mrs. Albert	Couper	Angel	Couper
Conklin, J. P.	Palmer	Gentleman	NMAA
Conklin, J. P.	Palmer	Psyche	NMAA
Connally, _____	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Conrad, Charles M.	Powers	Washington*	Wunder
Conrad, F. D.	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Cook, E. C.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Cooley, James E.	Palmer	Cooley Boy*	Webster
Cooley, James E.	Palmer	Nina Cooley*	Webster
Coolidge, Joseph	Thorwaldsen	Lord Byron*	Hammond
Coolidge, Mary	Hosmer	Hesper*	Mercant.
Cooper, James F.	Greenough H	Chanting Cherubs	TBB
Cooper, James F.	Greenough H	Chanting Cherubs	NAD (1)
Collidge, Miss	Hosmer	Hesper*	Thurston
Corcoran, W. W.	Rinehart	Penseroso*	Rusk
Corcoran, W. W.	Rinehart	Endymion	Ross
Corcoran, W. W.	Rinehart	Sleeping Child.	Ross
Corcoran, W. W.	Rinehart	W. W. Corcoran*	Post 1874
Corcoran, W. W.	Galt	Bacchante	HTT 1867
Corcoran, W. W.	Powers	Greek Slave	HTT 1867
Corcoran, Wm. W.	Powers	A Country Woman*	Wunder
Corcoran, Wm. W.	Powers	Greek Slave	Wunder
Corcoran, Wm. W.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Corcoran, Wm. W.	Rinehart	Wm. W. Corcoran*	Ross
Corcoran, Wm. W.	King	Comm. Morris*	Corcoran
Corcoran, Wm. W.	Powers	A Country Woman	Corcoran
Corcoran, Wm. W.	Powers	Proserpina	Corcoran
Corcoran, Wm. W.	Rinehart	Il Penseroso	Corcoran
Cornell, Mary C.	Ives	Beggar Boy	Ives
Cornell, Peter C.	Ives	White Captive	Ives
Cornell, Peter C.	Ives	Hebrew Captive	Ives
Corning, Eras. Jr	Palmer	Erastus Corning*	NMAA

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Corning, Eras. Jr	Palmer	Erastus Corning	Webster
Corning, Eras. Jr	Palmer	Benj. Tibbits*	Webster
Cosmo Art Ass.	Barbee	Fisher Girl+	CAA: 1860
Cosmo Art Ass.	Akers	Pearl Diver+	CAA: 1860
Cosmo Art Ass.	Ives	Flora	CAA: 1860
Cosmo Art Ass.	Ives	Ariadne	CAA: 1860
Coyle, Mrs. F.	Rinehart	Mrs. F. Coyle*	Ross
Cox, L. L.	Powers	_____	Wunder
Coxe, D. W.	Cannon	Nicholas Biddle*	PAFA 2
Coxe, D. W.	Cannon	Marble Bust*	PAFA 2
Coxe, D. W.	Cannon	Henry Clay*	PAFA 2
Cozzens, A. B.	Brown	Relief	Sartain's
Cozzens, A. M.	[Brown?]	The Hunter	Cozzens
Cozzens, A. M.	Brown	General Scott*	Crayon 1
Cozzens, Marion	Brown	Monument	Hughes
Cranch, E. P.	Powers	Judge Cranch*	NMAA
Cresson, Priscilla	Bailly	Wm. E. Cresson	PAFA 5
Crocker, Mr.	Rinehart	Sleeping Child.	Ross
Crocker, Judge	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Crompton, George	Rogers	Geo. Crompton*	Rogers
Cromwell, Mrs.	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Wunder
Cropsey, Jasper F.	Hart	Jasper Cropsey*	Dearinger
Crosby, Henry B.	Powers	Henry B. Crosby*	Wunder
Crow, Wayman	Hosmer	Daphne*	Child
Crow, Wayman	Hosmer	Daphne*	Thurston
Crow, Wayman	Hosmer	Oenone+	Thurston
Crowell, Eugene	Powers	Proserpine*	Dentler
Crowell, Eugene	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Crowninshield, B.	Canova	Graces	B.A.
Critchley, Thomas	Story	Venus Anadyomene	Phillips
Crocker, Mrs E. B.	Rogers	Lost Pleiad	Rogers 1
Crompton, George	Rogers	Mrs G. Crompton*	Rogers 1
Crouse, D. N.	Ives	Rebecca+	Ives
Crouse, D. N.	Ives	Undine	Ives
Crouse, Mrs. D. N.	Ives	Rebecca at Well+	NMAA
Crouse, Mrs. D. N.	Ives	Undine+	NMAA
Cunliffe, John	Powers	Ginevra*	Wunder
Curtis, C. P.	Dexter	Thos. B. Curtis*	B.A.
Curtis, Frances J.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Curtis, George N.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Curtis, George Wm.	Hosmer	Medusa*	Gerdts
Curtis, George Wm.	Milmore	Charles Sumner*	Clement
Curtis, George Wm.	Milmore	Charles Sumner	MMA: 1886
Curtis, Laura G.	Greenough R	Thomas B. Curtis	TBB
Curtis, Laura G.	Greenough R	Laura G. Curtis	TBB
Curtis, Louis	Greenough R	Mary Curtis	TBB
Curtis, T. B.	Greenough H	A Girl*	B.A.
Curtis, T. B.	Greenough R	Bust of a Lady*	B.A.
Curtis, T. B.	Greenough H	A Young Girl*	NMAA
Curtis, Mrs Thos.	Greenough H	James F. Curtis*	TBB
Curtis, Thomas B.	Greenough R	John L. Motley*	TBB

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Curtis, Thomas B.	Dexter	Thos. B. Curtis*	Albee
Cusack, Dr. Henry	Powers	[son] Cusack*	Wunder
Cusack, Dr. Henry	Powers	[son] Cusack*	Wunder
Cusack, Mrs. Henry	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Wunder
Cushing, J. P.	Dexter	Observation	Dexter
Cushing, J. P.	Dexter	First Lesson	Dexter
Cushing, John P.	Dexter	First Lesson	Albee
Cushing, John P.	Dexter	Boy and Squirell	Albee
Cushman, Charlotte	Hosmer	Puck+	Mercant.
Cushman, Charlotte	Hosmer	Sleeping Faun+	Potterton
Custer, Mrs. Geo.	Ream	General Custer*	Art J
Cutler, Enos	Canova	Franklin	NMAA
Daly, John T.	Thompson	Portait Bust*	NAD (2)
Dana, _____	Brackett	Francis Dana*	Boston
Dana, E. W.	Canova	Dancing Girl	B.A.
Dana, R. H.	Brackett	Francis Dana	NMAA
Dangar, Henry C.	Powers	Proserpine* (2)	Wunder
D'Arcy, J.	Powers	Greek Slave+	NMAA
Darly, Jane Sully	Stebbins	Charl. Cushman*	Milroy
Dater, Helen C.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Davidson, _____	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Davis, Mrs. Chas.	Greenough H	Joseph M. White*	NYHS
Davis, Isaac P.	Powers	Abbott Lawrence*	B.A.
Davis, J.	Ives	Rebecca at Well	B.A.
Davis, James, Jr.	Ives	Rebecca+	Ives
Davis, Jefferson ?	Galt	Jeff. Davis*	CF/DBD
Davis, Mrs. P. W.	Akers	Gerrit Smith*	NMAA
Davis, Mrs. P. W.	Akers	Judge M'Clean*	NMAA
Davis, Richard	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Day, Henry	Rogers	Somnambula	Rogers 1
Dawson, T.	King	Relief Portrait	NMAA
Decatur, Steph. Jr	Ceracchi?	Alex. Hamilton*	CF/DBD
Degan, Mrs. Annie	Anon.	Enoch Mudge*	CF/DBD
Dempster, W. R.	King	Robert Burns*	PAFA 1
Dennis, Samuel	Story	Young Augustus*	Newark
Dennison, E. F.	Bailly	Wax Relief	PAFA
De Normandie, Mrs.	Rinehart	Morning	Ross
De Normandie, Mrs.	Rinehart	Evening	Ross
De Peyster, John W	Bissell	Fred. DePeyster*	NYHS
De Peyster, John W	Bissell	John DePeyster*	NYHS
De Peyster, John W	Manley	Jos. C. Heywood*	NYHS
De Peyster, John W	Hughes (aft)	John Watts*	NYHS
Derby, C. L.	Powers	Daniel Webster*	Dentler
Derby, C. L.	Powers	Franklin*	Wunder
Derby, C. L.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Derby, C. L.	Powers	Washington*	Wunder
De Remer, John A.	Powers	Ginevra	Wunder
De Remer, John A.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
De Remer, John A.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
DeSausshure, W. G.	Galt	Helen*	NMAA
Dewey, G. W.	Bailly	A Gentleman*	PAFA 1

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Dewey, S. P.	Ives	Excelsior+	Dewey
Dexter, Franklin A.	Dexter	Wm. Appleton*	B.A.
DeWitt, Thomas H.	Thompson	Little Nell*	HTT 1867
DeWitt, William H.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
DeWitt, William H.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
D'Hauteville, F.	Powers	Clytie	Dentler
D'Hauteville, F.	Powers	Clytie*	Wunder
Dibble, William W.	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Dick, Col.	Crawford	Demosthenes+	Dimmick
Dickerman, John S.	Palmer	Sappho	Webster
Digen, C. R.	Ives	Ariadne*	Ives
Dillon, Robert J.	Thompson	Portrait Bust*	NAD (2)
Dillon, Sidney	Ives	Ariadne*	Ives
Dillon, Sidney	Ives	Sans Souci	Ives
Dixwell, E. X.	Clevenger	Amos Lawrence*	B.A.
Dixwell, J. J.	Crawford	Medora*	Dimmick
Doane, Eliza G.	Palmer	William C. Doane	Webster
Dodge, Mrs.	Story	Libyan Sibyl	Phillips
Dodge, Anson G. P.	Rinehart	Anson Dodge*	Ross
Dodge, George	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Dodge, Jacob R.	Powers	Hope*	Wunder
Dorsey, Lewis P.	Canova	Magdalene	NMAA
Dorsheimer, W.	Canova	Napoleon	Webster
Dorsheimer, Wm.?	Palmer	Dorsheimer Girl*	Webster
Dorsheimer, Wm.?	Palmer	Wm. Dorsheimer	Webster
Douglas, Alfred	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Douglas, Alfred	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Douglas, James	Rogers	Nydia	PAFA 1
Douglas, James	Rogers	Ruth	PAFA 1
Douglas, James H.	Rogers	Nydia+	MMA
Douglas, James H.	Rogers	Ruth Gleaning+	MMA
Douglas, William	Story	Hero+	Seidler
Douglas, William	Powers	William Douglas*	Wunder
Douglass, A.	Clevenger	Henry Clay*	NMAA
Douglass, A.	Clevenger	J. Guthrie*	NMAA
Douglass, A.	Clevenger	Gen. Harrison*	NMAA
Douglass, A.	Clevenger	John Eberle*	NMAA
Douglass, James	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers
Douglass, James	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers
Douglass, James	Rogers	Ruth	PAFA 8
Douglass, James	Rogers	Nydia	PAFA 8
Douglass, Mrs Robt	Dexter	Little Addie*	Albee
Douglass, William	Story	Hero	Phillips
Drake, F. N.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Drake, James F.	Powers	Henry Bellows*	Wunder
Drake, James F.	Powers	Henry Bellows*	Wunder
Drake, James M.	Powers	Henry Whitney	Dentler
Drake, Mary H.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Draper, Ada	Powers	Eve Disconsolate*	Dentler
Draper, Miss Ada	Powers	Eve Disconsolate*	Wunder
Draper, Asa	Powers	Diana	Dentler

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Drexel, Joseph Wm.	Powers	Washington*	Wunder
Drexell, Joseph	Powers	Washington*	Dentler
Drexel, Joseph W.	Powers	Washington	Strahan
Drinkwater, Peter	Powers	Eve Disconsolate*	Wunder
Duckworth, Wm.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Duckworth, Wm.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Duckworth, Wm.	Powers	Fisher Boy*	Wunder
Duly, C. L.	Ives	Ariadne*	Ives
Duncan, Blanton	Powers	Hiram Powers	NMAA
Duncan, Blanton	Powers	Abel T. Hart	NMAA
Duncan, Mrs. Henry	Powers	Mary S. Duncan*	Wunder
Duncan, Henry T.	Hart	Il Penserosa*	Dearinger
Duncan, Lucius C.	Powers	Washington*	Wunder
Dunn, W. H.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Duncan, Lucius C.	Powers	Washington*	Dentler
Durant, Heloise	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Dentler
Durant, Mrs. Thos.	Powers	Heloise Durant*	Wunder
Durant, Mrs. Thos.	Powers	Wm. West Durant*	Wunder
Durant, Mrs. Thos.	Powers	Franklin*	Wunder
Durant, Mrs. Thos.	Powers	Loulie's Hand(2)	Wunder
Durant, Mrs. Thos.	Powers	Washington*	Wunder
Durfee, Mr.	Powers	Washington*	Dentler
Durfee, George T.	Powers	George Durfee*	Wunder
Dyke, Henry A.	Powers	[dau.] Dyke*	Wunder
Dyke, Henry A.	Powers	[dau.] Dyke*	Wunder
Eames, Mrs.	Stone	Justice Taney	Aldine
Eastman, W. W.	Rogers	Lost Pleiad	Rogers 1
Easton, Alfred N.	Rogers	Mrs. Al. Easton*	Rogers 1
Easton, E. H.	Ives	Rebecca+	Ives
Easton, Edward H.	Ives	Sans Souci	Ives
Eaton, Charles	Ceracchi	Alex. Hamilton*	Peabody
Eaton, Dr. Leonard	Brown	The Filatrice	AAFA
Edwards, Edward W.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Egan, E. D.	Jones	Bishop Hughes	NAD (1)
Egan, E. D.	Jones	Bishop Bailey	NAD (1)
Eignbrodt, Wm. E.	Richards	Francis L. Hawks	NYHS
Eldred [?], C.	Ives	Pandora	Ives
Eliot, Samuel A.	Dexter	Samuel A. Eliot*	Albee
Eliot, Samuel A.	Anon.	Dante	HWL
Elkins, Mrs.	Ives	Egeria	Ives
Ellis, Mr.	Palmer	Ellis Twins	Webster
Emerson, Ralph	Ives	Undine	Ives
Emerson, Ralph W.	Hawthorne	Chas. C. Emerson	CF/DBD
Emerson, Ralph W.	Anon.	James E. Cabot*	CF/DBD
Emery, J. J.	Rogers	Nydia+	NMAA
Emery, J. Howard	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Emmons, Robert W.	Hosmer	Zenobia+	Thorp
Endicott, Wm. C.	Greenough R	Wm. H. Prescott	TBB
Ensign, Sidney A.	Rogers	Mrs Sid. Ensign*	Rogers 1
Erskin, John	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Clement
Evans, Dr. Thos.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder

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Evarts, Wm. M.	St-Gaudens	Young Augustus*	Dryfhout
Evarts, Wm. M.	St-Gaudens	Cicero*	Dryfhout
Evarts, Wm. M.	St-Gaudens	Psyche of Naples	Dryfhout
Evarts, Wm. M.	St-Gaudens	Wm. H. Evarts*	Dryfhout
Evarts, Wm. M.	St-Gaudens?	John C. Calhoun*	Dryfhout
Evens, P.	King	James Thorne	NMAA
Everett, Edward	Powers	Edward Everett*	Wunder
Everett, Edward	Powers	America*	Wunder
Everett, Edward	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Everett, William	Powers	Edward Everett+	Wunder
Everett, William	Powers	Edward Everett*	Wunder
Ewing, Mr.	Brown	Ruth+	Lewis
Eyre, Miss	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Wunder
Fagnani, Joseph	Thorwaldsen	Venus & Adonis	Fagnani
Fagnani, Joseph	Thorwaldsen	Night	Fagnani
Fagnani, Joseph	Thorwaldsen	Morning	Fagnani
Fagnani, Joseph	Anon.	Psyche	Fagnani
Fagnani, Joseph	Anon.	Pandora	Fagnani
Fain, George A.	Powers	Australia	NMAA
Fairbairn, Peter	Powers	Diana*	Wunder
Fairbairn, Peter	Powers	Prosperpine	Wunder
Fairbanks, Franklin	Powers	Faith*	Wunder
Fairbanks, Franklin	Powers	Faith	Dentler
Fairbanks, Henry	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Fairbanks, Henry	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Fairbanks, Charles	Canova	Dancing Girl	CF/DBD
Fairbanks, N. K.	Thompson	Wm. Cullen Bryant	NMAA
Farrar, John	Powers	John Farrar*	Wunder
Farnam, Henry	Foley	Henry Farnam*	Yale
Farnum, Henry	Rinehart	Sleeping Children	Ross
Farnum, J. Edward	Rinehart	Mrs J. E. Farnum*	Ross
Fearing, C. N.	Thompson	C. L. Elliott*	Fearing
Fearing, C. N.	Thompson	Mrs C.L. Elliott	Fearing
Fell, Dr.	Crawford	Dancing Jennie	Crayon 2
Fell, J Gillingham	Mozier	The Prodigal Son	PAFA 2
Fellows, George	Rogers	Dau. of Fellows*	Rogers 1
Felton, Lydia B.	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Wunder
Felton, Lydia P.	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Dentler
Felton, Samuel	Dexter	C. C. Felton*	Albee
Fenno, Isaac	Gould	Cleopatra	Seidler
Fenno, Isaac	Gould	Cleopatra	Boston
Fenwick, _____	Powers	Faith*	Wunder
Fenwick, _____	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Ferguson, Henry A.	Couper	Mother and Child	Ferguson
Field, Marshall	Powers	Marsh. Field Jr*	Wunder
Fields, Mrs Jas. T.	Whitney	John Keats*	Payne
Fillmore, Millard	Hart	Millard Fillmore*	Dearinger
Fifth Ave Gallery	Anon	Greek Slave	Fifth '90
Fifth Ave Gallery	Anon	Hope	Fifth '90
Fifth Ave Gallery	Thompson	Morning Glories	Fifth '96
Fifth Ave Gallery	Thompson	Bryant*	Fifth '96

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Fifth Ave Gallery	Powers	Minnehaha	Fifth '97
Finch, G. W.	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers 1
Fish, Hamilton	Palmer	Dream of Flight	NMAA
Fish, Hamilton	Palmer	Indian Girl	NMAA
Fish, Hamilton	Palmer	Indian Girl	Webster
Fish, Hamilton	Palmer	NY State Arms	Webster
Fish, Hamilton	Palmer	Paul	Webster
Fish, Hamilton	Palmer	Virginia	Webster
Fish, Hamilton	Powers	Fisher Boy+	Wunder
Fish, Hamilton	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Fish, Hamilton	Powers	Washington*	Dentler
Fish, Hamilton	Powers	Alex. Hamilton	Dentler
Fish, Hamilton	Powers	Fisher Boy+	Dentler
Fish, Hamilton	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Fish, Hamilton	Palmer	White Captive+	Webster
Fish, Hamilton	Palmer	White Captive+	MMA
Fish, Hamilton	Palmer	Indian Girl+	MMA
Fish, Hamilton	Powers	Fisher Boy+	MMA
Fish, Hamilton	Crawford	Babes in Woods	MMA
Fish, Hamilton	Palmer	Alex. Hamilton*	HTT 1867
Fisher, Mrs. Geo.	Rinehart	Betsy Riddle*	Ross
Fisher, J. Francis	Akers	John Milton	PAFA 1
Fisher, J. Francis	Powers	Diana	Dentler
Fiske, Mrs.	Rinehart	Fiske Boy*	Ross
Fiske, Augustus H.	Rinehart	Spring	Ross
Fiske, Mrs. George	Rinehart	George J. Fiske*	Ross
Fitzgerald, _____	Rinehart	Grave Monument	AAJ: 1866
Fitzgerald, D. S.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Fleming, Gen. A.	Powers	A Gentleman*	NAD (1)
Fletcher, Thomas	Houdon	G. Washington*	APS
Foley, B. F.	Foley	Prophet Jeremiah	MCMA '81
Foley, B. F.	Foley	Trasteverina	MCMA '81
Foley, B. F.	Foley	Joshua	MCMA '81
Foley, B. F.	Foley	Cleopatra*	MCMA '81
Folsom, _____	Rogers	Indian Boy	Rogers 1
Folsom, George	Clevenger	Edward Everett*	NYHS
Foote, J. P.	Powers	Nich. Longworth*	NMAA
Foote, John P.	Powers	Portrait Bust*	NMAA
Forbes, _____	Rinehart	Mantelpiece	Rusk
Forbes, Paul	Ives	Rebecca+	Ives
Fort, Peter V.	Palmer	Little Peasant*	Webster
Foster, J P Giraud	Rinehart	Hebe*	Ross
Foster, J P Giraud	Rinehart	Sleeping Children	Ross
Foster, J P Giraud	Rinehart	Woman of Samaria	Ross
Francis, John W.	Browere	David Hosack*	NYHS
Francis, Samuel W.	Anon	James R. Wood*	NYHS
Francis, Saml Ward	Anon	John W. Francis*	NYHS
Franham, Henry	Ives	White Captive	Ives
Frankenstein, G.	Wilson	Bust*	NMAA
Frankenstein, J.	Brown	Portrait Bust*	NMAA
Franks, F.	King	Hiram Powers	NMAA

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Frazer, James A.	Rinehart	James A. Frazer*	Ross
Frazer, James A.	Rinehart	Mrs. Jas Frazer*	Ross
Freeman, Pliny	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Fremont, Gen.	Stone	Senator Benton*	Aldine
Frost, Charles	Park	Innocence	Frost1
Frost, Charles	Pickett	Elaine	Frost1
Frost, Charles	Anon.	Napoleon*	Frost 2
Frost, Charles	Anon.	Love	Frost 2
Frost, Charles	Anon.	Mercury	Frost 2
Frothingham, F.	Akers, C.	Morning	NMAA
Frothingham, F.	Akers, C.	Undine	NMAA
Fuller, Joseph W.	Powers	Jos. W. Fuller*	Wunder
Fuller, Joseph W.	Powers	Fisher Boy*	Wunder
Fuller, Joseph W.	Powers	Fisher Boy*	Dentler
Fulton, John	Brown	The Filatrice	AAFA
Furness, J. T.	Foley	Prophet Jeremiah	PAFA 1
Furness, James	Anon.	Charles Sumner	Union
Furness, Mrs Jas.	Foley	Charles Sumner	Foley
Furnis, Miss	Rogers	Young Augustus*	Rogers 1
Gadsby, John	Powers	[dau.] Gadsby*	Wunder
Gardner, B. F.	Powers	Greek Slave	NMAA
Gardner, C. E.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Gardner, John L.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Gardner, John L.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Garland, Mrs. M.	Stebbins	John W. Stebbins*	Stebbins
Garland, Mrs. M.	Stebbins	Joseph+	Stebbins
Garner, Thomas	Powers	America*	Wunder
Garner, Thomas	Powers	America*	Dentler
Garrett, John W.	Rinehart	Endymion+	Ross
Garrett, John W.	Rinehart	Endymion	Post 1874
Garrett, John W.	Rinehart	Morning	Ross
Garrett, John W.	Rinehart	Winter	Ross
Garrett, John W.	Rinehart	Spring	Ross
Garrett, John W.	Rinehart	Robert Garrett*	Ross
Garrett, John Work	Rinehart	John W. Garrett*	Ross
Garrett, Mary E.	Rinehart	Flora	Garrett
Garrett, Mary E.	Rinehart	Dancing Nymph	Garrett
Garrett, Mary E.	Rinehart	Sleeping Child.+	Rusk
Garrett, Mary E.	Rinehart	Rose, a relief	Rusk
Garrett, Robert	Story	Fauness/Child	Phillips
Garrett, Robert	Story	Fauness/Child	Seidler
Garrett, Robert	Rinehart	Robert Garrett*	Rusk
Garrison, Francis	Whitney	Wm. L. Garrison*	Payne
Garrison, George T.	Whitney	Wm. L. Garrison*	Payne
Garrison, George T.	Whitney	Wm. L. Garrison+	Payne
Garrison, Wendell	Whitney	Wm. L. Garrison*	Payne
Garrison, Wendell	Whitney	Wm. L. Garrison+	Payne
Gavit, Walter P.	Palmer	Memory*	Webster
Gavit, Walter P.	Palmer	Rebecca	Webster
Gavit, Walter P.	Palmer	Rebecca Knower?	Webster
Gavit, Walter P.	Palmer	Child's Hand	Webster

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Gavit, Walter P.	Palmer	Schoolmate	Webster
Gay, Edward	Palmer	Innocence	Webster
Gay, Edward	Palmer	Ruth	Webster
George, Samuel K.	Bartholomew	Millard Fillmore*	Rutledge
Gibbes, Robert W.	Brown	J. DeVeaux*	Gibbes
Gibbes, Robert W.	Brown	DeVeaux Gibbes*	Gibbes
Gibbes, Robert W.	Cannon	Dr. Saml. Morton*	Gibbes
Gibbes, Robert W.	Cannon	Dr. R. W. Gibbes*	Gibbes
Gibbes, Robert W.	Powers	Wm. C. Preston	Gibbes
Gibbes, Robert W.	Clevenger	Wash. Allston	Gibbes
Gibbes, Robert	Mills	Equest. Jackson	Gibbes
Gibbs, George	Clevenger	O. Wolcott Jr*	NYHS
Gibbs, George R.	Powers	America*	Wunder
Gibbs, George W.	Powers	America*	Dentler
Gibbs, Laura W.	Houdon	Thomas Jefferson*	NYHS
Gibbs, Montgomery	St.-Gaudens	Belle Gibbs*	Dryfhout
Gibbs, Montgomery	St.-Gaudens	Florence Gibbs*	Dryfhout
Gibbs, Montgomery	St.-Gaudens	Dante*	Dryfhout
Gibbs, Montgomery	St.-Gaudens	Mary of Scots	Dryfhout
Gibbs, Montgomery	St.-Gaudens	Young Augustus*	Dryfhout
Gibbs, Sarah	Greenough H	Gibbs Monument	TBB
Gibert, James S.	Rinehart	Hero+	Ross
Gibson, John B.	Persico	John B. Gibson	APS
Gibson, Mrs. C. M.	Haseltine	Captivity	HTT 1867
Gibson, Mrs. C. M.	Haseltine	Liberty	HTT 1867
Gibson, Charles M.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Gibson, Charles M.	Rogers	Isaac	Rogers 1
Gibson, Charles M.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Gibson, Mr.	Rinehart	Hero+	Glimpses
Gibson, H. C.	Bailly	First Prayer	PAFA 1
Gibson, H. C.	Bailly	Paradise Lost	PAFA 1
Gibson, H. C.	Roberts	Eleanore*	Strahan
Gibson, Henry C.	Rinehart	Hero	Strahan
Gibson, Henry C.	Bailly	Expulsion	Strahan
Gibson, Henry C.	Bailly	First Prayer	Strahan
Gibson, Henry C.	Rinehart	Hero+	Ross
Gibson, Henry C.	Bailly	The Expulsion+	PAFA 5
Gibson, Henry C.	Bailly	First Prayer+	PAFA 5
Gibson, Henry C.	Rinehart	Hero+	PAFA 5
Gibson, Henry C.	Roberts	Eleanor*	PAFA 5
Gibson, James	King	Hiram Powers	NMAA
Gibson, James	Powers	N. Longworth*	NMAA
Gibson, John	Greenough H	John T. Kirkland	TBB
Gibson, John T.	Brown	The Filatrice	AAFA
Gibson, M. & F. K.	Haseltine	Captivity+	PAFA
Gibson, M. & F. K.	Powers	Proserpine*	PAFA 1
Gibson, M. & F. K.	Rogers	Isaac	PAFA 1
Gibson, M. & F. K.	Rogers	Nydia	PAFA 1
Gibson, Stilman	Anon	Daniel Webster+	MHS: 1886
Gifford, Miss Mary	Ives	Ruth*	Ives
Gilbert, Fred. E.	Powers	Faith*	Wunder

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Gilbert, Fred E.	Powers	Faith	Dentler
Gillespie, Kate	Powers	Greek Slave	NMAA
Gillespy, P. M.	Brown	La Grazia+	AAFA
Gillette, Lewis S.	Ives	Boy & Dove+	Christie
Gilmor, Robert	Anon	Washington*	Gilmor
Gilmor, Robert	Anon	Bust of Franklin	Gilmor
Gilmor, Robert	Greenough H	Medora	TBB
Gilmor, Robert	Greenough H	Mrs. Robt. Gilmor	TBB
Gilmor, Robert	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Gilmore, James	Powers	James Gilmore*	Wunder
Gilmore, James	Powers	Fisher Boy*	Dentler
Gist, Gov.	Dexter	James Buchanan*	Buchanan
Goddard, W. J.	Ives	Ariadne*	Ives
Goldenberg, Simon	Anon	The Cavalier*	Golden.
Goldsmith,Alban	Powers	Ginevra*	Wunder
Goldsmith, Mrs. A.	Powers	Alban Goldsmith*	Wunder
Goodhue, Chas. C.	Powers	Faith*	Wunder
Goodhue, Chas. G.	Powers	Faith	Dentler
Goodrich, E. D.	Dexter	A Child*	Albee
Gordon, Miss	Whitney	The Cherubs	Payne
Gordon, Charles	Rinehart	Clytie+	Ross
Gordon, D. H.	Powers	_____	Wunder
Gordon, D. H.	Powers	_____	Wunder
Gordon, J.	Rinehart	Charles Gordon*	Ross
Gordon, J.	Rinehart	Miss Gordon*	Ross
Gordon, J.	Rinehart	Sleeping Children	Ross
Gordon, Robert	Grant, Mary	Queen Victoria	MMA: 1886
Gordon, W. J.	Rinehart	Sleeping Chilren	Cleveland
Gough, John B.	Palmer	Mercy	Webster
Gould, Jay	Anon	Penseroso	Gould
Gould, Walter	Powers	Psyche*	Wunder
Gourdin, Henry	Powers	John C. Calhoun*	Dentler
Graham, J. Lorimer	Powers	Liberty*	NMAA
Graham, J. Lorimer	Powers	America*	Wunder
Graham, J. Lorimer	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Grant, U.	Rinehart	Sleeping Children	Ross
Graves, J. Bowen	Ives	Bacchante*	Ives
Graves, J. Bowen	Ives	Ruth*	Ives
Gray, F. C.	Greenough H	Psyche	B.A.
Gray, Francis C.	Greenough H	Psyche	TBB
Gray, Francis C.	Greenough H	Augustus as a Boy	TBB
Gray, Francis C.	Powers	Francis C. Gray*	Harding
Gray, Francis C.	Powers	Francis C. Gray*	Wunder
Gray, John A. C.	Powers	_____	Wunder
Gray, Mrs. Mathias	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Greeley, Horace	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Greeley, Horace	Hart	Horace Greeley*	Dearinger
Green, Duff	Powers	Duff Green*	Wunder
Green, Wharton J.	Powers	John C. Calhoun*	Wunder
Green, Wharton J.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Green, Wharton J.	Powers	John C. Calhoun*	Dentler

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Green, Wharton J.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Green, William	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Greene, William	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Greene, William A.	Ball	Wm. H. Prescott*	NYHS
Greenleaf, Mrs Mary	Powers	Henry Longfellow*	Wunder
Greenough, Horatio	Powers	John Q. Adams*	Wunder
Greenough, Mrs. H.	Powers	H. Greenough*	Wunder
Greenough, Louisa	Powers	Louisa Greenough*	Wunder
Greenough, Louisa	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Wunder
Greenough, Wm. W.	Greenough R	Wm. W. Greenough	TBB
Greenway, Edward M.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Greenway, Edward M.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Greenwood, Miles	Powers	Ginevra*	Wunder
Greenwood, Miles	Powers	Ginevra*	NMAA
Greenwood, Miles	Powers	Genevra	Dentler
Gregg, Mrs. N. M.	Story	Jerusalem	Phillips
Gregory, J. G.	Ives	Ruth*	Ives
Gridley, _____	Rogers	Nydia+	CF/DBD
Griffin, Mr.	Greenough H	Griffin's Son	TBB
Grigg, Nancy	Story	Jerusalem	PAFA 3
Grimke, James	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Grimshaw, Mr.	Dunbar	Boy	Grimshaw
Grimshaw, Mr.	Dunbar	Girl	Grimshaw
Grinnell, Joseph	Greenough H	Cornelia Grinnell	TBB
Griswald, J. N. A.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Griswold, Mr.	Hosmer	Zenobia	NMAA
Griswold, Mr.	Ives	Pandora	HTT 1867
Griswold, Mrs.	Rinehart	Mrs. Griswold*	Ross
Griswold, A. W.	Hosmer	Zenobia+	Thurston
Griswold, A. W.	Ives	Pandora+	Ives
Griswold, Almon W.	Ives	Pandora	Ives
Griswold, Almon W.	Powers	Almon Griswold*	Wunder
Griswold, Almond	Hosmer	Zenobia+	Thorp
Griswold, George	Story	Beethoven	Phillips
Griswold, George	Story	Shakespeare	Phillips
Griswold, John	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Groesbeck, W. S.	Powers	Jacob Burnett*	Dentler
Guerry, Prosper	Greenough R	Lafayette	TBB
Gurnee, W. S.	Ives	Sans Souci	Ives
Gurnee, Walter F.	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers 1
Gurnee, Walter F.	Rogers	Walter F. Gurnee*	Rogers 1
Gurnee, Walter F.	Rogers	Somnambula (2?)	Rogers 1
Gurnee, Walter F.	Rogers	Delia Gurnee*	Rogers 1
Gurnee, Walter F.	Rogers	Fanny Gurnee*	Rogers
Gurney, Russell	Powers	Diana*	Wunder
Haddock, D.	Haseltine	Bust of Lady*	PAFA 1
Hagadorn, Mr.	Steinhauser	Fisher Boy+	Lit World
Haggerty, O.	Palmer	Evening	AAFA
Haggerty, Ogden	Palmer	Evening	Webster
Haggerty, Ogden	Mozier	Morning	PAFA 1
Haggerty, Ogden	Rogers	Night*	NAD (2)

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Haggerty, Ogden	Rogers	Night	NMAA
Haggerty, Ogden	Mozier	Aurora	NAD (1)
Haight, D. H.	Powers	Last of Tribe+	Wunder
Haight, Richard K.	Crawford	Flora+	Dimmick
Haines, Richard R.	Stebbins	Lotus Eater*	Haines
Haines, Richard R.	Canova	Ajax*	Haines5
Hall, Cornelia Ward	Rinehart	Girl w/Water Jug+	Hall
Hall, Cornelia Ward	Rinehart?	Sleeping Child.+	Hall
Hall, John	Rinehart	Sleeping Child.	Ross
Hall, John	Rinehart	Woman of Samaria	Ross
Hall, Mrs. John	Rinehart	Morning	Ross
Hall, Mrs. John	Rinehart	Evening	Ross
Hall, John H.	Rinehart	Antigone+	Ross
Hall, John H.	Rinehart	Antigone+	MMA
Hall, John H.	Rinehart	Young Augustus	Ross
Hall, John H.	Rinehart	Eliza C. Hall	Ross
Hall, John H.	Rinehart	Charles C. Hall*	Ross
Hall, John H.	Rinehart	John Hudson Hall	Ross
Hall, John H.	Rinehart	Martha Jane Hall	Ross
Hallett, Samuel	Thompson	Bust in Marble*	NAD (2)
Hallett, Samuel	Thompson	Samuel Hallett*	HTT 1867
Hallett, Samuel	Thompson	Mrs Sam Hallett*	HTT 1867
Halsey, J. McLean	Greenough H	Aristides	TBB
Halsey, J. McLean	Greenough H	Washington	TBB
Halstead, Geo. B.	Brown	Philip Kearney*	MMA
Halstead, Gen. N.	Ives	Ruth*	Ives
Hamlin, Emmons	Ball	L'Allegro*	Hamlin
Hamlin, Emmons	Ball	Il Penseroso*	Hamlin
Hamlin, Emmons	Anon.	Venus at Bath+	Hamlin
Hammond, James S.	Powers	John C. Calhoun*	Dentler
Hamilton, Mrs Geo.	Rinehart	Hamilton Boy	Ross
Hamilton, James	Ceracchi	Alex. Hamilton*	HTT 1867
Hampton, Wade II	Powers	Cath. Hampton*	Wunder
Hampton, Wade III	Powers	Margaret Hampton*	Wunder
Hampton, Wade III	Powers	Wade Hampton III	Wunder
Harding, G. S.	Brown	The Filatrice	AAFA
Hare, Mrs.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Harper, Gen.	Canova	La Pudour	NMAA
Harper, Fletcher	Park	Innocence*	Harper
Harper, J. W.	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers 1
Harper, James T.	Rogers	Jas. Harper, Sr.*	Rogers 1
Harrah, Charles J.	Bailley	Flute Player+	DBD/CF
Harrah, Charles J.	Bailley	Echo+	DBD/CF
Harriman, Mrs M. M.	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers 1
Harris, _____	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers 1
Harris, Caleb Fiske	Powers	Caleb F. Harris*	Wunder
Harris, Caleb Fiske	Powers	Emily Harris*	Wunder
Harrison, Joseph	Mozier	Infant Bacchus	Strahan
Harrison, Joseph	Trentanove	Napoleon	Harrison2
Harrison, Joseph	Canova	Washington	Harrison2
Harrison, Joseph	Bartholmew	Eve Repentant	Harrison3

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Harrison, Joseph	Ames	Lincoln*	Strahan
Harrison, Joseph	Ames	Lincoln*	Harrison3
Harrison, Joseph	Houdon	Count d'Estaing	Harrison3
Harrison, Joseph	Mozier	Pocahontas	Harrison3
Harrison, Joseph	Sheahan	Joseph Harrison	Harrison3
Harrison, Jos. Jr	Mozier	Pocahontas	NMAA
Harrison, Jos. Jr	Bartholomew	Eve Repentant	NMAA
Harrison, Joseph	Bartholmew	Eve Repentant	Harrison1
Harrison, Joseph	Mozier	Pocahontas	Harrison1
Hart, Benjamin	Rinehart	Benjamin Hart	Ross
Hart, James M.	Thompson	Medallion	NAD (2)
Hart, James M.	Thompson	Morning Glory	HTT 1867
Hasbrouck, Levi	Mozier	Diana*	AAFA
Haselhurst, Mr.	Ives	Piper	Ives
Haselhurst, Mr.	Ives	Shepherd Boy	Ives
Haselhurst, Mr.	Ives	Sans Souci	Ives
Haseltine, Mrs.	Thompson	Chas. Marshall	NAD (2)
Hastings, George	Ives	Cupid+	Ives
Hatch, A. S.	Parks	Boy's Head	Hatch
Hatch, A. S.	Parks	Girls Head	Hatch
Hawes, Mrs.	Akers, C.	Medallion	NMAA
Hawkins, Dexter A.	Ives	Undine	Ives
Hawley, Ira [?]	Ives	Rebecca+	Ives
Hawley, David	Ives	Sans Souci	Ives
Hawthorne, Nath.	Lander	Nath. Hawthorne*	Gollin
Hay, Mrs. Robert	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Hay, Mrs. Robert	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Hayes, Mrs.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Hayward, George	Greenough R	George Hayward*	TBB
Hayward, William	Powers	Psyche	Dentler
Hayward, William	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Healey, Aaron	Jackson	Eve & Abel	Marlor
Healy, Aaron	Jackson	Reading Girl	Clement
Heckscher, Chas. A.	Stebbins	Industry+	Milroy
Heckscher, Chas. A.	Stebbins	Commerce+	Milroy
Hemenway, Mrs. A.	Foley	Children...	Clement
Hemmin, W. S.	Brown	Pleiades+	NAD (1)
Henderson, H.	Greenough H	Henderson Son	PAFA 1
Henderson, H.	Greenough H	Henderson Child	TBB
Henderson, J.B.	Ives	Pets	Ives
Henderson, J.B.	Ives	Undine	Ives
Henderson, J.B.	Ives	Egeria	Ives
Henderson, John B.	Ives	Pandora	Ives
Henderson, John B.	Ives	Sans Souci	CF/DBD
Henderson, John C.	Anon.	Zeno & Sophocles	Henderson
Henkels, Stan V.	Powers	Danial Webster*	Henkels
Hennen, Duncan N.	Powers	Elinor R. Hennen*	Wunder
Hennen, Duncan N.	Powers	Daniel Webster*	Wunder
Hennen, Duncan	Powers	Daniel Webster*	Dentler
Henry, Mrs.	Rinehart	Leander	HTT 1867
Henry, Mrs.	Rinehart	Indian Maiden	HTT 1867

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Henry, Mrs.	Rinehart	Leander	Post 1874
Henry, Mrs.	Rinehart	Indian Maiden	Post 1874
Henry, E. L.	Thompson	Bryant*	Henry
Herrick, Edward C.	Hughes	Nath. Bowditch*	Yale
Herrick, Samuel	Frazee	John Marshall*	Newark
Herriman, Miss	Rinehart	Woman of Samaria	Ross
Herriman, Mrs. W.	Ives	Sans Souci	Ives
Herriman, W. H.	Ives	Pandora	Ives
Herriman, Wm. H.	Rinehart	Clytie+	Ross
Herring, James	Clevenger	Philip Hone*	NYHS
Herring, Silas C.	Powers	Silas Herring*	Wunder
Herring, W. F.	Rogers	W. F. Herring	Rogers 1
Hervosches, C.	Greenough H	Augustus	TBB
Hervosches, C.	Greenough H	Young Augustus*	Boston
Hewson, Mrs.	Palmer	John Hewson	Webster
Heyward, Mr.	Powers	Proserpine*	Mercury
Heyward, Mr.	Powers	Psyche*	Mercury
Heyward, William	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Heyward, William	Powers	Psyche*	Wunder
Hicks, Miss	Brown	Ruth+	Lewis
Hicks, H. W.	Crawford	Genius of Mirth	NAD (1)
Hicks, Henry W.	Crawford	Genius of Mirth	MMA
Hicks, Henry W.	Crawford	Mexican Princess	MMA
Hiester, F. A. M.	Pettrich	Lafayette	NMAA
Higgins, A. Foster	Thompson	Daisy	NAD (2)
Higginson, Frank	Story	Shakespeare	Phillip
Hildeburn, Mrs. L.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Hildeburn, Wm. L.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Hildeburn, Wm. L.	Powers	Peter Hill*	Wunder
Hildeburn, Wm. L.	Powers	Charity*	Wunder
Hillard, G. S.	Crawford	Adam and Eve	B.A.
Hills, Mrs. Henry	Powers	Margaret Hills*	Wunder
Hilton, Henry	St.-Gaudens	Bryant Vase	Hilton
Hilton, Henry	Park	Flora*	Hilton
Hilton, Henry	Park	Purity*	Hilton
Hilton, Henry	Ives	Wm. H. Seward*	Hilton
Hilton, Henry	Houdon	Washington	Hilton
Hilton, Henry	Ezekiel	Rosmunda*	Hilton
Hilton, Henry	Park	Sappho*	Hilton
Hilton, Henry	Crawford	Washington*	Hilton
Hilton, Henry	Park	Maidenhood*	Hilton
Hilton, Henry	Ives	Eleanora*	Hilton
Hilton, Henry	Ives	Undine+	Hilton
Hilton, Henry	Powers	Eve Tempted+	Hilton
Hilton, Henry	Powers	Paradise Lost+	Hilton
Hilton, Henry	Ives	Pandora+	Hilton
Hilton, Henry	Powers	Greek Slave+	Wunder
Hilton, Henry	Powers	Washington*	Wunder
Hilton, Judge	Ives	Ariadne*	Ives
Hilton, Judge	Ives	Pandora (2)	Ives
Hilton, Judge	Ives	Ino & Bacchus	Ives

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Hilton, Judge	Ives	Egeria	Ives
Hilton, Judge	Ives	Undine	Ives
Hirsch, Mr.	Ives	Jephtha's Dau.	Ives
Hoadley, J. C.	Stone	Bronze Vase	NMAA
Hoadley, John C.	Stone	Freedom Vase	Morris
Hoadley, John C.	Stone	Ecce Homo Vase	Morris
Hoe, Robert	Akers	St. Elizabeth	HTT 1866
Hoe, Robert	Powers	Eve Disconsolate*	Wunder
Hoey, John	Hosmer	Medusa*	Hoey
Hoey, John	Homser	Puck	Hoey
Hoffman, Mr.	Canova	Napoleon*	PAFA 6
Hoffner, J.	Jones	Genl. Harrison*	NMAA
Hoffner, Jacob	Powers	Eve Tempted*	Dentler
Hoffner, Jacob	Jones	Wm. H. Harriston*	Jones 1
Hoffner, Jacob	Jones	Dolphin	Jones 1
Hogg, Mr.	Brown	Angel	Post 185
Holbrook, _____	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers
Holley, G. W.	Ives	Child Asleep*	Ives
Holloday, Mrs. N.	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers 1
Holloway, M. M.	Powers	Diana*	Wunder
Holloway, M. M.	Powers	Greek Slave* (3)	Wunder
Holloway, M. M.	Powers	Propserine* (6)	Wunder
Holloway, Mary	Powers	Eve Disconsolate*	Wunder
Holloway, Mary	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Wunder
Holmes, George P.	Ives	Sans Souci+	Malden I
Holmes, W.	King	J. Thorne	NMAA
Homer, P. T.	Crawford	Hyperion*	B.A.
Hone, Philip	Canova, aft	Venus	Hone
Hone, Philip	Anon.	Peasant Boy	Hone
Hone, Philip	Anon.	Ceres	Hone
Hone, Philip	Trentenova	Endymion	Hone
Hone, Philip	Anon.	Napoleon	Hone
Hone, Philip	Anon.	John Marshall*	Hone
Hone, Philip	Anon.	Sir Chas. Vaughn	Hone
Hone, Philip	Anon.	Alex. Hamilton*	Hone
Hone, Philip	Anon.	J. Frazee*	Hone
Hone, Philip	Anon.	Millard Fillmore	Hone
Hone, Philip	Anon.	Justice Marshall*	Hone
Hone, Philip	Anon.	Benj. Franklin*	Hone
Hone, Philip	Anon.	Shakespeare	Hone
Hone, Philip	Anon.	Milton	Hone
Hone, Philip	Anon.	Byron	Hone
Hone, Philip	Anon.	Walter Scott	Hone
Hooker, Isablella	Whitney	Harriet B. Stowe*	CF/DBD
Hooker, J. C.	Powers	Edward Everett*	Wunder
Hooker, Mrs. J. C.	Powers	Edward Everett*	Dentler
Hooker, N. W.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Hooper, Alice	Story	Eliz. Browning	Harding
Hooper, S.	Hosmer	Puck	B.A.
Hooper, Samuel	Hosmer	Puck	Child
Hope, S. P.	Powers	Greek Slave *	Wunder

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Hopkins, L. C.	Rogers	Indian Boy	NMAA
Hopkins, L. C.	Rogers	Indian Girl	NMAA
Hopkins, L. C.	Palmer	Infant Flora	NMAA
Hoppin, W. W.	Ives	Flora*	Ives
Horgan, J. J.	Dexter	Backwoodsman	Horgan
Horgan, J. J.	Dexter	James Buchanan*	Horgan
Horgan, J. J.	Dexter	[John?] Chase*	Horgan
Horgan, J. J.	Dexter	Louis Agassiz*	Horgan
Horgan, J. J.	Dexter	C.C. Felton*	Horgan
Horgan, J. J.	Dexter	Gov. Ellis*	Horgan
Horgan, J. J.	Dexter	Frederic Tudor*	Horgan
Horgan, J. J.	Anon.	James Garfield+	Horgan
Horman, Gibson	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers 1
Horman, Gibson	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Horsford, Katherine	Whitney	Eben N. Horsford*	Payne
Horstman, S. H.	Rogers	Indian Girl	Rogers 1
Hotchkiss, Caroline	Brown	The Filatrice	AAFA
Hotchkiss, Elias	Brown	The Filatrice	AAFA
Hosack, David	Houdon	G. Washington*	NYHS
Hosea, Robert	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Hosea, W. G.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Houston, Mrs.	Rogers	Somnambula	San Fran
Houston, Mrs C. L.	Rogers	Somnambula	Rogers 1
How, C. T.	Whitney	Boy and Palm	NMAA
How, Charles	Whitney	The Cherubs	Payne
How, Charles	Whitney	Roma	Payne
Howard, Henry	Powers	Proserpine* (2)	Wunder
Howe, Sam. Gridley	Crawford	Mother and Child+	Dimmick
Howe, Sam. Gridley	Crawford	Sappho	Dimmick
Howe, Sam. Gridley	Crawford	Guardian Angel	Dimmick
Howard, E. W.	Ball	Webster	NMAA
Howard, George	Ives	Jephtha's Dau.	Ives
Howard, George	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Howard, Henry	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Howard, W. K.	Powers	Greek Slave*	NMAA
Howard, W. K.	Powers	Proserpine* (2)	NMAA
Howard, Wm. Keyes	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Howard, Wm. Keyes	Powers	Proserpine (2)*	Dentler
Howe, Hon. John	Franzoni	Washington*	NMAA
Howland, Benj. J.	Mills	John C. Calhoun*	Harding
Howland, Mrs. E. L.	Palmer	Spring*	PAFA 1
Howland, Mrs. E. L.	Palmer	Spring	NMAA
Hoyt, Edwin [?]	Park	Medallion	Hoyt
Hoyt, Edwin [?]	Park	Easel	Hoyt
Hoyt, H.	Greenough H	Genius of Italy	NAD (1)
Hoyt, H.	Greenough H	Genius of America	NAD (1)
Hoyt, J.	Greenough H	Genius of America	TBB
Hubbard, Bela	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers 1
Hughes, Chris.	Hart	Henry Clay*	Rutledge
Hulbert, Milan	Powers	Ginevra*	Wunder
Hull, Mrs.	Anon.	Mrs. Comm. Hull	PAFA 8

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Hunnewell, James F.	Powers	America*	Wunder
Hunnewell, James	Powers	America*	Dentler
Hunt, Harriet K.	Lewis	Hygeia	Revolt.
Hunt, Memucan	Powers	Memucan Hunt*	Wunder
Hunt, Memucan	Powers	Robert Walker*	Wunder
Hunt, Mrs. Thos..	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Huntington, Colis	Hosmer	Zenobia	Labarre
Hurlburt, _____	Ives	Sans Souci	Ives
Hurlburt, Milan	Powers	Genevra	Dentler
Hurlbut, H. B.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Hurtt, F. W.	Palmer	June	Webster
Husted, James Wm.	Palmer	James W. Husted?	Palmer
Hutchinson, Jennie	Brown	The Filatrice	AAFA
Hyde, Samuel	Powers	Prosperine* (2)	Dentler
Hyde, Samuel T.	Powers	Proserpine* (2)	Wunder
Iliff, John Wesley	Rogers	Isaac	Rogers 1
Imch, Mrs. Chas.	Rogers	Lost Pleiad	Rogers 1
Ingersoll, James	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Ingraham, Edward	Anon.	Walter Scott*	Ingraham
Irwin, George C.	Canova(?)	Apollo*	Peabody
Ives, _____	Ives	Piper	Ives
Ives, H.	Brackett	A Gentleman*	NMAA
Ives, James	Ives	Ruth*	Ives
Ives, Robert H.	Powers	_____	Wunder
Izard, Allen S.	Powers	Diana*	Wunder
Izard, Allen	Powers	Diana	Dentler
Jackson, _____	Ives	Shepherd Boy	Marlor
Jackson, Andr. III	Powers	Andrew Jackson*	Wunder
Jackson, Dr. Saml.	Persico	Nath. Chapman*	APS
James, Mr.	Ives	Bacchante*	Ives
Jaques, J. M.	Anon.	Horses (marble)	Jaques
Jaques, J. M.	Anon.	Flora (marble)	Jaques
Jaques, J. M.	Anon.	Cupid & Net	Jaques
Jarves, James J.	Mead	James J. Jarves	Yale
Jay, John	Clevenger	James Kent*	NYHS
Jay, Joseph F.	Rogers	Psyche*	Rogers 1
Jeffries, Edward	Palmer	Little Peasant*	Webster
Jeffries, Mrs. Edw.	Palmer	Mrs E Jeffreies*	Webster
Jenkins, Stricker	Palmer	June*	NMAA
Jenkins, Stricker	Palmer	Rebekah	NMAA
Jenkins, Stricker	Palmer	Rebecca	Jenkins
Jenkins, Stricker	Palmer	Spring*	Jenkins
Jerome, Leonard	Stebbins	Lotus Eaters	Milroy
Jessup, Morris K.	Rinehart	Woman of Samaria	Ross
Jewell, Harvey	Ball	G. Washington+	Harding
Jewett, D. B.	Rogers	Psyche*	Rogers 1
Jewett, Mrs. David	Rinehart	David B. Jewett*	Ross
Jewett, Mrs. T. L.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
John, William	Powers	William John*	Wunder
Johnson, H. D.	Powers	H. D. Johnson*	Wunder
Johnson, H. D.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler

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Johnson, James C.	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Johnson, R. L.	Palmer	Little Peasant*	Webster
Johnson, Richard M.	Powers	John C. Calhoun*	Dentler
Johnson, Robert L.	Palmer	Peace in Bondage	Webster
Johnson, William H.	Lewis	Charles Sumner*	Richards.
Johnston, Henry E.	Rinehart	Henry Johnston*	Ross
Johnston, Henry E.	Rinehart	Harriet Johnston	Ross
Johnston, Henry E.	Rinehart	H. Johnston Jr+	Ross
Johnston, Henry E.	Rinehart	Boy with Arrow	Rusk
Johnston, Henry E.	Rinehart	Jas. B. Johnston*	Ross
Johnston, Henry E.	Rinehart	Mantelpiece	Ross
Johnston, John T.	Story	Cleopatra	Johnston
Johnston, John T.	Story	Cleopatra	MMA
Johnston, John T.	Palmer	Disappointment*	Johnston
Johnston, W. B.	Rogers	Ruth Gleaning	Rogers 3
Johnston, Wm. M.	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Jordan, Thomas B.	Gould	Portrait Bust*	NMAA
Jones, Augustine	Gould	John A. Andrew*	B.A. 1
Jones, David	Powers	Eve*	Jones 2
Jones, H. L.	Powers	Mrs. H. L. Jones*	Wunder
Jones, Jacob P.	Powers	America*	Wunder
Jones, Jacob P.	Powers	America*	Dentler
Jones, Walter Jr.	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Jones, Wimberley	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Jones, Winchester	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Jorden, Miss	Ives	Beggar Boy	Ives
Josephson, Joshua	Powers	Fisher Boy*	Wunder
Josephson, Joshua	Powers	Franklin*	Wunder
Josephson, Judge	Hosmer	Puck	Labarre
Josephson, Judge	Hosmer	Beatrice Cenci	Labarre
Josephson, Judge	Hosmer	Sleeping Faun+	Labarre
Joy, Elizabeth	Greenough R	Carthaginian Girl	TBB
Joy, Nabby	Greenough R.	Carthaginian Girl	Harding
Julliard, Mrs A. D.	Rogers	Lost Pleiad	Rogers 1
Just, William	Powers	Faith*	Wunder
Just, William	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Kay, W. F.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Kay, W. F.	Powers	Proserpine	NMAA
Kay, W. F.	Connelly	Tennyson's Clare	NMAA
Kearny, John Watts	Rogers	Ruth	NMAA
Kearny, John Watts	Rogers	Ruth	KY 1874
Kearny, John Watts	Ives	Pandora	NMAA
Kearny, John Watts	Ives	Pandora	KY 1874
Kearny, John Watts	Rinehart	St. Cecilia	Ross
Kearny, John Watts	Rinehart	Woman of Samaria	Ross
Kearny, Major P.	Ives	Bacchante*	Ives
Kearny, Major P.	Ives	Jephtha's Dau.*	Ives
Kearny, Maj. P.	Ives	Pandora	Ives
Kearny, Maj. P.	Hart	Agnes Maxwell*	Dearinger
Keener, Dr.	Rinehart	Atalanta	Rusk
Keeper, Dr.	Rinehart	Atlanta	Post 1874

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Keim, Gen. George	Pettrich	Head of Christ*	Keim
Keim, Gen. George	Pettrich	Romulus & Remus	Keim
Keim, Gen. George	Bartholomew	Homer/Poetry	Keim
Keim, Gen. George	Bartholomew	Hagar & Ishmael	Keim
Keim, Gen. George	Wylie, R.	Head of Grief*	Keim
Kelk, John	Powers	Eve Disconsolate*	Wunder
Kelk, John	Powers	Ginevra	Wunder
Keller, Charles M.	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Kellogg, John G.	Rinehart	Mrs. J. Kellogg	Ross
Kellogg, Miner K.	Powers	Miner Kellogg*	Wunder
Kellogg, S. J.	Powers	Andrew Jackson*	NMAA
Kemble, Governeur	Ceracchi	Washington*	HTT 1867
Kemble, William	Brown	G. Kemble*	NAD (1)
Kemble, William	Brown	Lion's Head	NAD (1)
Kenner, Dr.	Rinehart	Atalanta+	Ross
Kensett, John F.	Palmer	Sappho	Webster
Kidder, Henry P.	Powers	Faith*	Wunder
Kidder, Henry P.	Powers	Hope*	Wunder
Kidiston, Mr.	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers 1
King, Edward	Akers	Ariadne*	Usher
King, Edward	Akers	Demosthenes*	Usher
King, Edward	Akers	Cicero*	Usher
King, Edward	Akers	Gladiator	Usher
King, Joshua R.	Brown	The Filatrice	AAFA
King, McMillan C.	Powers	Mitchell King	Wunder
King, William H.	Powers	William H. King*	Wunder
King, William H.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
King, William H.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Kip, Lawrence	Rinehart	Lawrence Kip*	Ross
Kip, Lawrence	Rinehart	Mrs. L. Kip*	Ross
Kip, Lawrence	Rinehart	Foot and Hand	Ross
Kip, William I.	Rinehart	William I. Kip*	Ross
Kipp, Lawrence	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Kirkland, Mrs.	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Dentler
Kirkup, Seymour S.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Kirtland, Mrs Anna	Palmer	Wash. Irving*	Webster
Kirtland, Mrs Anna	Palmer	Wash. Irving*	NYHS
Kitson, Samuel J.	Powers	Ginevra*	Wunder
Kitson, Samuel J.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Knight, Wm. F.	Powers	Walter Cassels*	Wunder
Knight, Wm. F.	Powers	Mr. Lektipela	Dentler
Knower, J.	Palmer	Benjamin Knower	NMAA
Knower, John	Palmer	Benj. Knower Mon.	Webster
Knower, John[?]	Palmer	Sarah Knower Mon.	Webster
Knox, Mrs. Sarah	Lewis	Asleep	Montesano
Knox, Mrs. Sarah	Lewis	Awake	Montesano
Kotch, Col. B. S.	Ives	Ariadne*	Ives
Kronkhite, J. P.	Ives	Ariadne*	Ives
Lambert, _____	Powers	Mrs. Lambert*	Wunder
Lambert, Catholina	Ives	Sans Souci+	Lambert 1
Lambert, Catholina	Ives	Jewish Maiden+	Lambert 1

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Lambert, Catholina	Ives	Modesty*	Lambert 1
Lambert, Catholina	Ives	Vanity*	Lambert 1
Lambert, Catholina	Trentanove	Bianca Cepello	Lambert 1
Lambert, Catholina	Powers	Hiawatha+	Lambert 1
Lambert, Catholina	Ives	Night+	Lambert 1
Lambert, Catholina	Ives	Pandora+	Lambert 1
Lambert, Catholina	Ives	Night+	Lambert 2
Lambert, Catholina	Ives	Pandora+	Lambert 2
Lambert, Catholina	Powers	Hiawatha+	Lambert 2
Lambert, Catholina	Powers	Last of the Tribe	Wunder
Lampson, Norman S.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Lamson, James	Powers	Washington*	Dentler
Lamson, John	Powers	Washington*	Wunder
Lane, J.	Mozier	Lady*	NAD (1)
Lane, J.	Mozier	Gentleman*	NAD (1)
Langdon, William C.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Langdon, William C.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Laqueer, Nicholas	Greenough H	Washington*	TBB
Lardner, Perot	Ream	Miriam+	Lardner
Lardner, Perot	_____	Rebecca at Well	Lardner
Larned, William A.	Brown	Wm. A. Larned*	Yale
Lassin, Martin	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Latham, E. A.	Powers	[unidentified]	Wunder
Latham, Milton S.	Powers	California*	Dentler
Latham, Milton S.	Powers	California+	SF Chron
Latham, Milton S.	Rogers	Sphinx (2)	SF Chron
Latham, Milton S.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 2
Latham, Milton S.	Rogers	Indian Girl	Rogers 1
Latham, Milton S.	Rogers	Cicero*	Rogers 2
Latham, Milton S.	Rogers	Demosthenes*	Rogers 2
Latham, Milton S.	Rogers	Milton S. Latham*	SF Mus
Lathem, Mr.	Rinehart	Penserosa*	Ross
Lathers, Richard	Rogers	Lost Pleiad	Rogers 1
Lathrop, R. D.	Thompson	Bust in Marble*	NAD (2)
Latrobe, John H. B.	Ives	Pandora+	Ives
Latrobe, John H. B.	Trentanove	Robert G. Harper	Peabody
Latting, Richard G.	Hart	Richard Latting*	Dearinger
Lawrence, Abbott	Powers	Abbott Lawrence*	Wunder
Lawrence, Abbott	Powers	Kath. Lawrence*	Wunder
Lawrence, Amos	Greenough H	3 Little Heads	TBB
Lawrence, Amos A.	Dexter	Amos A. Lawrence*	U Kansas
Lawrence, Annie B.	Clevenger	Annie Lawrence*	Boston
Lawrence, Mrs. B.	Connelly	St. Martin	NMAA
Lawrence, Francis	Powers	Eve Tempted*	Dentler
Lawrence, Francis	Powers	Proserpine*	Dentler
Lawrence, Francis	Powers	Eve Disconsolate*	Wunder
Lawrence, Francis	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Lawrence, Isaac	Dunbar	Wm. B. Lawrence*	NYHS
Lawrence, James	Powers	Hope	Dentler
Lawrence, James	Powers	Charity	Dentler
Lawrence, James	Powers	Faith	Dentler

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Lawrence, James	Powers	Abbott Lawrence*	Boston
Lawrence, James	Ball	Eliz. Lawrence*	Boston
Lawrence, James	Powers	Abbott Lawrence*	Wunder
Lawrence, T. B.	Powers	[2 marble busts]	Perkins
Lawrence, T. B.	Anon.	Marengo+	Perkins
Lawrence, Timothy	Powers	Eliz. Lawrence*	Wunder
Lawrence, William	Ball	Sarah Lawrence*	Harding
Lawrence, William	Dexter	William Lawrence*	Albee
Lea, Henry	Powers	Aaron Corwine	Boston
Leach, D. C.	Ives	The Beggar Boy	Ives
Leaf, William S.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Lear, William S.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Leaming, James R.	Houdon	Washington*	Leaming
Leathers, J. F.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Leavitt & Co.	Rogers	Isaac	Leavitt 4
Leavitt & Co.	Hosmer	Will of the Wisp	Leavitt 4
Leavitt & Co.	Powers	Franklin*	Leavitt 4
Leavitt & Co.	Stebbin	Angel	Leavitt 4
Leavitt & Co.	Pickett	Marble Bas-Relief	Leavitt 5
Leavitt, Messrs.	Park, J.	The Future-Med.	Leavitt 1
Leavitt, Messrs.	Park, J.	The Present-Med.	Leavitt 1
Leavitt, Messrs.	Pickett	Florence	Leavitt 1
Leavitt, Messrs.	Pickett	Jennie	Leavitt 1
Leavitt, Messrs	Mozier	Tacita	Leavitt 3
Leavitt, Messrs	Mozier	Jephthah's Dau.	Leavitt 3
Leavitt, Messrs	Mozier	Undine (large)	Leavitt 3
Leavitt, Messrs	Mozier	Undine (small)	Leavitt 3
Leavitt, Messrs	Mozier	The Peri	Leavitt 3
Leavitt, Messrs	Mozier	Il Penseroso	Leavitt 3
Leavitt, Messrs	Mozier	Wish-ton-Wish	Leavitt 3
Leavitt, Messrs	Mozier	Rebecca at Well	Leavitt 3
Leavitt, Messrs	Mozier	White Lady Avenel	Leavitt 3
Leavitt, Messrs	Mozier	L'Allegro	Leavitt 3
Leavitt, Messrs	Mozier	Vigil of Rizpah	Leavitt 3
Leavitt, Messrs	Park	Sappho*	Leavitt 3
Leavitt, Messrs	Park	Purity*	Leavitt 3
Leavitt, Messrs	Park	Early Sorrow	Leavitt 3
Leavitt, Messrs	Park	Memory	Leavitt 3
Leavitt, Messrs	Park	Marguerite	Leavitt 3
Leavitt, Messrs	Park	The Present	Leavitt 3
Leavitt, Messrs	Park	The Future	Leavitt 3
Leavitt, Messrs	Pickett	Florence	Leavitt 3
Leavitt, Messrs	Pickett	Jennie	Leavitt 3
Leavitt, Edward	Ives	Sans Souci	Ives
Leavitt, Edward	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers 1
Leavitt, Edward	Rogers	Isaac	Rogers 1
Leavitt, Edward	Rogers	Edward Leavitt*	Rogers 1
Leavitt, Edward	Rogers	Mrs. Ed. Leavitt*	Rogers 1
Leavitt, Geo. & Co	Story, L.	Eve with Pedestal	Leavitt 6
Leavitt, Geo. & Co	Story, L.	Petrarch*	Leavitt 6
Leavitt, Geo. & Co	Park	Early Sorrow	Leavitt 2

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Leavitt, Geo. & Co	Park	Hope	Leavitt 2
Leavitt, Geo. & Co	Park	Marguerite	Leavitt 2
Leavitt, Geo. & Co	Park	Innocence	Leavitt 2
Leavitt, Geo. & Co	Park	Little Nell*	Leavitt 2
Leavitt, Geo. & Co	Park	Little Paul*	Leavitt 2
Leavitt, Geo. & Co	Park	Purity*	Leavitt 2
Leavitt, Geo. & Co	Ives	Rebecca at Well	Leavitt 7
Leavitt, Geo. & Co	Barbee, H.	Dawn	Leavitt 7
Leavitt, Geo. & Co	Barbee, H.	Charlotte Corday	Leavitt 7
Lee, F. H.	Anon.	Endymion (marble)	Salem
Lee, Mrs. George	Hosmer	Will-o'-the-Wisp	Child
Lee, Mrs. James H.	Whitney	Wm. A. Stearns*	Payne
Lee, Washington	Rogers	Washington Lee*	Rogers 1
Leeds, Mr.	Dexter	A Child*	Albee
Leeds, Henry & Co.	Barbee, W.	Fisher Girl	Leeds 1
Leeds, Henry & Co.	Ives	Ariadne*	Leeds 1
Leeds, Henry & Co.	Thorwaldson	Mercury	Leeds 2
Leeds, Henry & Co.	Pickett	Violette	Leeds 3
Leeds, Henry & Co.	Pickett	Veiled Beauty	Leeds 3
Leeds, Henry & Co.	Greenough	John C. Calhoun*	Leeds 3
Leeds, Henry & Co.	Greenough	The Artist*	Leeds 3
Lektepela, Mr.	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Dentler
Lenox, James	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Dentler
Lenox, James	Powers	Penserosa	Dentler
Lenox, James	Powers	La Penserosa+	Wunder
Lenox, James	Powers	Child's Hand	Wunder
Leonard, W. B.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Leonard, W. B.	Rogers	Psyche (Nora?)*	Rogers 1
Leonard & Co.	Trentanove	Washington	Leonard 1
Leonard & Co.	Foley	Cleopatra*	Leonard 2
Letcher, Robert	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Letcher, Robert	Hart	J. J. Crittenden*	Dearinger
Leupp, Mr.	Brown	Boy and Dog+	Post 1846
Leupp, C. M.	Brown	W. C. Bryant*	NAD (1)
Leupp, C. M.	Brown	Young Girl*	NAD (1)
Leupp, Charles M.	Clevenger	Wash. Allston*	NYHS
Leupp, Charles M.	Brown	Wm. C. Bryant*	NYHS
Lewis, Col. E.P.C.	Rinehart	Latona & Children	Ross
Lewis, Col. E.P.C.	Rinehart	Robert E. Lee	Ross
Lewis, Edward C.T.	Rinehart	Latona & Children	MMA
Lewis, Eleanor C.	Powers	Geo. Washington*	CF/DBD
Lewis, H. E.	Rogers	Geo. Washington*	Rogers 1
Lewis, W. D.	Anon	Sleeping Cupid	PAFA 6
L'Hommedieu, Steph.	Powers	Alma l'Hommedieu*	Wunder
Liggett, Dr.	Brown	Peasant Girl	NMAA
Lightfoot, Alfred	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Lincoln, Lionel	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Lincoln, Lionel	Powers	Psyche*	Wunder
Linton, S. Duncan	Powers	America*	Dentler
Lippincott, J. B.	Powers	George Peabody	Dentler
Litchfield, E. B.	Ives	Sans Souci	Ives

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Litchfield, Mrs. E.	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Dentler
Litchfield, Edwin	Powers	Edwin Litchfield*	Wunder
Litchfield, Edwin	Powers	Hand of Mrs. L.	Wunder
Litchfield, Edwin	Powers	E. Litchfield*	Wunder
Littlejohn, Bishop	Rogers	Bish. Littlejohn*	Rogers 1
Livezey, John	Powers	Persephone*	PAFA 5
Livezey, John	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Livingston, Mrs. L.	Powers	Mary Ray*	Wunder
Livzy, John	Powers	Proserpine*	Dentler
Locke, J. L.	Mozier	Bust in Marble*	NAD (1)
Locke, John	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Locke, John D.	Brown	Christ/Blind Man	AAFA
Lockwood, LeGrand	Ives	Rebecca+	Ives
Lockwood, LeGrand	Haseltine	Kissing Cherubs+	Lockwood
Lockwood, LeGrand	Stebbins	Samuel+	Lockwood
Lockwood, LeGrand	Mozier	Pocahontas+	Lockwood
Lockwood, LeGrand	Mozier	Wish-Ton-Wish	Lockwood
Lockwood, LeGrand	Haseltine	Excelsior+	Lockwood
Lockwood, LeGrand	Rogers	Issac+	Lockwood
Lockwood, LeGrand	Haseltine	Excelsior	HTT 1867
Lodge, Miss	Story	Eliz. Browning*	Seidler
Lodge, John	Story	Libyan Sibyl+	Seidler
Lodge, Mrs. John E.	Story	Libyan Sibyl	Holmes
Longfellow, Miss	Akers	H. W. Longfellow*	Usher
Longfellow, Henry	Crawford	Excelsior	Dimmick
Longfellow, Henry	Crawford	George W. Greene*	HWL
Longfellow, Henry	Crawford	Huntress, Sketch	HWL
Longfellow, Henry	Crawford	Excelsior	HWL
Longfellow, Henry	Crawford	Sappho	HWL
Longfellow, Henry	Brown	[bust]*	HWL
Longfellow, Henry	Rinehart	Edith Longfellow	Ross
Longfellow, Samuel	Powers	Henry Longfellow*	Wunder
Longwell, John K.	Rinehart	Mantelpiece	Rusk
Longworth, N.	Powers	Genevra*	NMAA
Longworth, N.	Powers	Portrait Bust*	NMAA
Longworth, N.	Clevenger	Nicholas Biddle*	NMAA
Longworth, Nicholas	Clevenger	Hiram Powers*	NMAA
Longworth, Nicholas	Powers	Nich. Longworth*	Wunder
Longworth, Nicholas	Powers	Ginevra*	Wunder
Longworth, Nicholas	Powers	Eve Disconsolate	Dentler
Longworth, Nicholas	Powers	Genevra	Dentler
Longworth, Nicholas	Mead	Recording Angel	Burnham
Longworth, Nich. Jr	Powers	Eve Disconsolate+	Wunder
Loring, William	Dexter	William Loring*	Albee
Low, Cornelius	Powers	Cornelius Low*	Wunder
Low, Daniel	Powers	Daniel Low*	Wunder
Low, Eloise Steel	Palmer	Schoolmate	Webster
Low, George	Hosmer	Will-o-the-Wisp	Phren J
Low, Josiah	Powers	Faith	Dentler
Lowe?, Mr.	Crawford	Bride of Abydos	Dimmick
Lowe, Bauman	Launitz	Medallion/Lady	NAD (1)

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Lowell, Carlotta R.	St-Gaudens	Josephine Lowell	Lowell
Lowell, Rev. Chas.	Powers	Charles Lowell*	Wunder
Lowell, Francis C.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Lowell, J. P.	Greenough H	Venus+	B.A.
Lowell, John	Greenough H	Judgement/Paris	TBB
Lowell, John	Greenough H	Venus Victrix	TBB
Lowell, John Jr.	Greenough H	Venus Victrix	Harding
Lowell, John Jr.	Greenough H	Judgement/Paris	Harding
Lowell, John A.	Greenough R	Cupid Warming...	TBB
Lowery, William H.	Hart	Il Penserosa*	Dearinger
Lowery, William H.	Hart	Sacradolicia	Dearinger
Lowndes, Rawlins	Powers	Mrs Chas Lowndes*	Wunder
Lowrey, John	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Lowry, R. O.	Anon.	Washington*	Lowry
Lowry, R. O.	Anon.	Clay*	Lowry
Lowry, R. O.	Anon.	Franklin*	Lowry
Loyd, Lewis	Powers	Diana*	Wunder
Loyd, Lewis	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Wunder
Loyd, Lewis	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Luddington, C. H.	Thompson	Wm. C. Bryant*	NAD (2)
Luddington, C. H.	Thompson	Penseroso	NMAA
Luddington, C. H.	Thompson	Wm. C. Bryant	MMA: 1886
Ludlow, E.H. & Co.	Powers	Proserpine*	Ludlow
Ludlow, E.H. & Co.	Ives	Bacchante*	Ludlow
Lunroth, Joseph F.	Powers	Charity	Dentler
Lurman, Mrs. Gustav	Rinehart	Gustav W. Lurman	Ross
Lutwidge, C. R. F.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Lutwidge, C. R. F.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Lutwidge, C. R. F.	Powers	Hand of Powers	Wunder
Lyman, Bishop	Rinehart	Roma Lyman+	Ross
Lyman, E. H. B.	Powers	Hope	Dentler
Lyman, E. H. R.	Powers	Hope*	Wunder
Lyman, Theodore	Anon.	Comedy	NMAA
Lyman, Theodore	Anon.	Tragedy	NMAA
Lyman, Theodore	Anon.	Maidenhood	NMAA
Lyman, Theodore	Anon.	[bronzes]	NMAA
Lyman, Theodore	Story	Bacchus/Panther+	Boston
Lyman, Theodore	Dexter	Theodore Lyman*	Boston
Lyman, Theodore	Dexter	Theodore Lyman*	Albee
Lyman, Theodore	Anon.	Theodore Lyman*	Hammond
Lyman, Theodore	Anon.	Mercury*	Hammond
Lyman, Theodore	Anon.	Ganymede*	Hammond
Lyman, Theodore B.	Rinehart	Theo. B. Lyman*	Ross
Lyon, Caleb	Palmer	Caleb Lyon?	Webster
Lyon, Gov. Caleb	Mills	Washington*	Lyon
Lytle, Edward H.	Powers	Robert T. Lytle*	Wunder
Macalester, C.	Ives	Beatrice	PAFA 1
Macalester, C.	Powers	Gen. R.T. Lytle*	PAFA 1
Macalester, C.	Stebbins	A Lady	PAFA 1
MacConnel [?], Mrs.	Ives	Jephthah's Dau.	Ives
Mack, J. D.	Perry	Dr. Winslow Lewis	MCMA 1878

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Mack, J. D.	Perry	Head of a Child	MCMA 1878
MacKay, Mr.	Story	Figure with Vase	Phillips
Mackie, _____	Powers	Eve Disconsolate*	Wunder
Mackie, John Wm.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Macomb, Alexander	Powers	Alexander Macomb*	Wunder
Magee, Mr.	Ives	Piper	Ives
MacKay, Robert B.	Powers	Faith*	Wunder
Maggini, Dr. J. C.	King	Bishop Purcell	NMAA
Maguire, Charles H.	Pickett	Ideal Head	Maguire
Maguire, Charles H.	Pickett	Ideal Head	Maguire
Malcolm, James	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Mankin, Isaiah	Brown	The Filatrice	AAFA
Mann, Mrs. C. A.	Foley	Bas Relief	NMAA
Marcy, Mrs.?	Palmer	Rebecca Knower	Webster
Marie, Peter	Powers	Genevra	Dentler
Marquand, H. G.	Brown	Autumn+	NAD (1)
Marquand, H. G.	Brown	Spring+	NAD (1)
Marquand, H. G.	Brown	Summer+	NAD (1)
Marquand, H. G.	Brown	Winter+	NAD (1)
Marquand, Henry G.	Brown	Bacchante*	Hughes
Marquand, Henry G.	Bartholomew	Fred. Marquand*	Yale
Marquand, Henry G.	Bartholomew	Mrs. F. Marquand*	Yale
Maquay, Mrs. John	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Maquay, Mrs. John	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
March, _____	Powers	Fisher Boy*	Wunder
March, _____	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Marie, Peter	Powers	Ginevra*	Wunder
Marsh, George P.	Powers	Caroline C. Marsh	Wunder
Marshall, Charles	Thompson	Charles Marshall*	HTT 1867
Martin, J. R.	Foley	Egeria	NMAA
Martin, John T.	Ives	Autumn*	Martin
Martin, John T.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Martin
Martin, John T.	Anon	Thomas Jefferson+	Martin
Martin, John T.	Mozier	Il Penseroso+	Martin
Martin, John T.	Mozier	Undine+	Martin
Mason, James M.	Rinehart	James M. Mason*	Ross
Mason, Mrs. Jas. W.	Dexter	Little Anna*	Albee
Mason, John H.	Rogers R	Youth*	Mason
Mason, Jonathan	Greenough H	Jonathan Mason*	TBB
Mason, R.	Crawford	Shepherdess	B.A.
Mason, R. M.	Crawford	Shepherdess	NMAA
Mason, R. M.	Greenough R	Dreamer	B.A.
Mason, William	Dexter	Dau. of W. Mason*	Albee
Mason, William S.	Houdon	Benj. Franklin*	Yale
Mathews, Edward	Story	Delilah	Phillips
Mathews, Mrs. Edw.	Story	Dalilah	F/A (3)
Maxcy, Virgil	Powers	Ann-Sarah Hughes*	Wunder
Maxwell, Judge H.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Maxwell, Henry D.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
May, John Pierpont	Greenough R	A Child*	TBB
May, John Pieront	Greenough R	Augustus E. May*	Boston

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May, Samuel	Greenough R	Samuel May*	Harding
May, Samuel	Jackson	Wendell Phillips*	Harding
McCagg, E. B.	Mozier	Pocahontas+	NMAA
McCarthy, Dennis	Rogers	McCarthy's dau.*	Rogers 1
McCauley, F. G.	Galt	Bacchante	PAFA 1
McComb, Col. Henry	Stone	Beatrice & Dante+	Aldine
McCord, Mrs. David	Powers	Landgon Cheves*	Wunder
McCord, Mrs. David	Powers	Louisa S. Cheves*	Wunder
McCormick, Cyrus H.	Palmer	Nettie McCormick*	Webster
McCormick, E. H.	Palmer	Ms. E. McCormick*	NMAA
McCoy, John W.	Rinehart	Clytie+	Ross
McCoy, John W.	Canova	Venus	Peabody
McCoy, John W.	Ezekiel	Faith	Peabody
McCoy, John W.	Ezekiel	Christ*	Peabody
McCreary, J. B.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
McCreery, Anna C.	Ives	Rebecca	MMA
McCreery, Mary J.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
McCreery, Mary J.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
McCreery, Mrs. P.	Hosmer	Puck+	Mercant.
McDonald, James W.	Ball	Daniel Webster	NMAA
McDowell, Edward	Rinehart	Ideal Bust*	Ross
McDowell, Joseph N.	Hosmer	Jos. N. McDowell	Labarre
McDuffie, George	Powers	George McDuffie*	Wunder
McElderry, Mrs Hugh	Rinehart	Penserosa*	Ross
McGraw, Miss Jennie	Rogers	Lost Pleiad	Rogers 1
McGuire, J. C.	Rinehart	Portrait Bust*	Post 1874
McGuire, J. C.	Ward	Indian Hunter	HTT 1867
McGuire, J. C.	Kneeland	Trotting Horse	HTT 1867
McGuire, J. C.	Ball	Daniel Webster+	HTT 1867
McGuire, J. C.	Ceracchi	James Madison	HTT 1867
McGuire, J. C.	Rinehart	A Gentleman*	HTT 1867
McGuire, J. C.	Eckstein	Washington*	HTT 1867
McGuire, James C.	Ceracchi	James Madison	McGuire
McGuire, James C.	Ceracchi	James Madison	McGuire
McGuire, James C.	Eckstein	Geo. Washington*	McGuire
McGuire, James C.	Ecstein	Geo. Washington*	McGuire
McGuire, James C.	Kneeland	Trotting Horse	McGuire
McGuire, James C.	Kneeland	Trotting Horse	McGuire
McGuire, James C.	Kneeland	Washington*	McGuire
McGuire, James C.	Kneeland	Washington*	McGuire
McGuire, James C.	Ward	Indian Hunter	McGuire
McGuire, James C.	Ward	Indian Hunter	McGuire
McGuire, James C.	Rinehart	James C. McGuire	Ross
McHenry, James	Powers	America*	Wunder
McHenry, James	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
McHenry, James H.	Powers	Eve Tempted*	Dentler
McHenry, James H.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
McHenry, James H.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
McHenry, James H.	Powers	Psyche	Dentler
McHenry, James H.	Powers	Greek Slave (2)*	Wunder
McHenry, James H.	Powers	Proserpine (2)*	Wunder

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McHenry, James H.	Powers	Psyche*	Wunder
McHenry, Mr.	Powers	America	Dentler
McHenry, Mr.	Powers	Proserpine*	Dentler
McKeane, Thomas	Powers	Proserpine*	Dentler
McKeane, Thomas	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
McKesman, C. K.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
McKim, John L.	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
McKim, Robert V.	Rinehart	Robert V. McKim*	Ross
McKowen, John	Couper	Evening	Couper
McLane, Charles?	Rinehart	Mantelpiece	Rusk
McLeod, Helen	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
McLeod, Helen	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
McLeod, Mrs.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
McLeon, Miss Helen	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
McLeon, Miss Helen	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Mead, Dr. Julian	Hosmer	Hesper	Carr
Mead, Larkin	Powers	Washington*	Wunder
Meade, Mrs.	Anon	Count d'Estaing*	PAFA 4
Meade, Mrs.	Ceracchi	Washington	PAFA 4
Meads, Orlando	Palmer	Eliz. Meads Meml.	Webster
Merrick, S. V.	Bailly	Portrait Bust*	PAFA 1
Meem, John G.	Barbee	Coquette+	Simms
Merriam, Charles	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Michelbacher, S.	Anon.	W. Seward*	Michel.
Michelbacher, S.	Park	Reliefs (2)	Michel.
Middleton, John I.	Ceracchi	Geo. Washington*	Carolina
Miller, John F.	Rogers	John F. Miller*	Rogers 1
Miller, William S.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Miller, William S.	Powers	Proserpine*	Ganz
Miller, William S.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Millet, Francis D.	Houdon	John Paul Jones*	Corcoran
Mills, D. O.	Rogers	D. O. Mills*	Rogers 1
Minot, William	Crawford	Dreams/Happiness	Dimmick
Minturn, Robert B.	Thompson	Robert Minturn*	HTT 1867
Mitchell, A.	Ives	Truant	Ives
Mitchell, Alexander	Ives	Sans Souci	Ives
Mitchell, John K.	Cardelli	John Q. Adams*	APS
Mitchell, R. S. W.	Canova	Boy with Bird	PAFA 1
Mitchell, R. S. W.	Canova	Girl with Next	PAFA 1
Mitchell, R. S. W.	Canova	Boy with Bird	PAFA 8
Mitchell, R. S. W.	Canova	Girl with Next	PAFA 8
Mitchell, Dr. Sam.	Brown	Historic Muse	Hughes
Moen, Philip L.	Rinehart	Thetis+	Ross
Moen, Philip L.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Moffat, William B.	Powers	John Moffet*	Wunder
Monck, Rev. Bligh	Powers	Diana*	Wunder
Monck, Rev. Bligh	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Monsson, August	Anon.	Peter Cooper	Monsson
Monteath, Peter	Palmer	Peter Monteath	Webster
Montgomery, R. W.	Rogers	Atala and Chactas	Rogers
Montgomery, Mrs. R.	Rogers	Indian & Squaw	BMFA 1879

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Moon, Edward	Powers	Diana*	Wunder
Mooney, L. H.	Brown	The Filatrice	AAFA
Moore, Bloomfield	Rogers	Nydia+	Moore
Moore, Bloomfield	Rogers	Nydia+	PAFA 5
Moore, Lucius	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Moore, William	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Moorehead, W. G.	Mozier	Spring	PAFA 1
Moorhead, Wm. G.	Jackson	Eve	Forney
Morgan, Chris. Jr.	Palmer	Nancy B. Morgan	Webster
Morgan, E. D.	Palmer	Gov. Morgan	NMAA
Morgan, E. D.	Palmer	E. D. Morgan*	NAD (2)
Morgan, E. D.	Palmer	Lady*	NAD (1)
Morgan, E. D.	Palmer	Resignation*	Strahan
Morgan, E. D.	Palmer	Spring	Strahan
Morgan, E. D.	Rinehart	Woman of Samaria	Strahan
Morgan, E. D.	St.-Gaudens	Hiawatha	Strahan
Morgan, E. D.	Rogers	Somnambula	Rogers 1
Morgan, E. D.	Rinehart	Hero+	Ross
Morgan, E. E.	Rinehart	Rebecca	MMA: 1886
Morgan, Edward D.	Rinehart	Woman of Samaria	Ross
Morgan, Edwin B.	Palmer	Charlotte Morgan	Webster
Morgan, Edwin B.	Palmer	Edwin D. Morgan*	Webster
Morgan, Edwin D.	Palmer	Mrs. E. Morgan*	Webster
Morgan, Edwin D.	Palmer	Ceres*	Morgan 2
Morgan, Edwin D.	Palmer	Infant Ceres*	Webster
Morgan, Edwin D.	Palmer	Spring*	Morgan 2
Morgan, Edwin D.	Palmer	Spring*	Webster
Morgan, Edwin D.	Rinehart	Rebecca+	Morgan 2
Morgan, Edwin D.	St.-Gaudens	Hiawatha	Morgan 2
Morgan, Edwin D.	Wood	Musidor	Morgan 2
Morgan, Edwin D.	Palmer	Resignation*	Webster
Morgan, Henry	Palmer	Imogen*	Webster
Morgan, Henry	Palmer	Indian Girl*	Webster
Morgan, Henry	Palmer	Moses*	Webster
Morgan, Henry	Palmer	Nancy B. Morgan	Webster
Morgan, Henry	Palmer	Salem Town	Webster
Morgan, Henry A.	Palmer	Charlotte Morgan	Boston
Morgan, J. Pierpont	Rinehart	Juliet Morgan*	Ross
Morgan, J. S.	Story	Shakespeare	Phillips
Morgan, Junius S.	Powers	America*	Wunder
Morgan, Junius S.	Powers	Diana*	Wunder
Morgan, Junius S.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Morgan, N. C.	Powers	Faith	Dentler
Morgan, N. D.	Park	Birdie*	Morgan 1
Morgan, N. D.	Park	Purity*	Morgan 1
Morgan, N. D.	Powers	Paradise Lost	Morgan 1
Morgan, N. D.	Powers	Washington	Morgan 1
Morgan, N. D.	Powers	Proserpine	Morgan 1
Morgan, N. D.	Powers	Eve Disconsolate	Dentler
Morgan, Nathan D.	Powers	Faith*	Boston
Morgan, Nathan D.	Powers	Eve Disconsolate*	Wunder

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Morgan, Nathan D.	Powers	Eve Disconsolate+	Wunder
Morgan, Nathan D.	Powers	Faith*	Wunder
Morgan, Nathan D.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Morgan, Nathan D.	Powers	Washington*	Wunder
Morgan, Nathan D.	Powers	[unidentified]	Wunder
Morgan, Pierpont	Story	Shakepeare	Phillips
Morison, F.	Rinehart	Faith+	Ross
Morrehead, W. G.	Mozier	Wish Ton Wish	PAFA 1
Morris, George P.	Greenough H	N. P. Willis*	NAD (1)
Morris, Gouverneur	Launitz	Mrs. G. Morris*	NAD (1)
Morris, John B.	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Morris, John B.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Morris, John B.	Powers	Diana*	Wunder
Morris, John B.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Morris, John S.	Rogers	Lost Pleiad	Rogers 1
Morse, S. F. B.	Greenough H	S. F. B. Morse*	NAD (1)
Moses, Mr.	Rogers	Lost Pleiad	Rogers 1
Moulton, R. G.	Powers	Washington*	Dentler
Mountford, Mrs.	Canova	Group of Graces	B.A.
Muldoon, M.	Canova	Hebe	Commerc.
Mumford, C. H.	Ives	Rebecca+	Ives
Munger, Mr.	Mozier	Jephthah's Dau.	NMAA
Murphy, Franklin	Crawford	Flora+	Newark
Murphy, Margaret L.	Powers	William Murphy*	Wunder
Murray, Augustus C.	Powers	Augustus Murray*	Wunder
Mygatt, Sarah M.	Rinehart	Otis A. Mygatt+	MMA: 1886
Mygatt, Sarah M.	Rinehart	Robertson Mygatt+	MMA: 1886
Mygatt, Sarah R.	Rinehart	Sarah R. Mygatt*	Ross
Mygatt, Sarah R.	Rinehart	Otis A. Mygatt+	Ross
Nash, Job M.	Powers P	Job M. Nash*	MMA
Nash, Job M.	Powers	Andrew Jackson	MMA: 1886
Nathan, Mr.	Stebbins	Sandalphon	Milroy
Nathan, Mr.	Stebbins	Joseph	Milroy
Neagle, John	Eckstein	Cupid	PAFA
Nelson, William	Story	Salome	MMA
Nesmith, George W.	Ball	Daniel Webster+	MHS: 1886
Newberry, Hon.	Ives	Egeria	Ives
Newberry, Hon.	Ives	Undine	Ives
Newberry, John S.	Ball	John Newberry*	Yale
Newcomb & Brother	Brown	Henry Clay*	NMAA
Newcomb, H. Victor	Canova	Napoleon*	KY 1874
Newcomer, Benj. F.	Rinehart	Harriet Newcomer+	Ross
Nichols, Rev. Dr.	Akers	Rev. Nichols*	Akers
Nichols, C.	Clevenger	Henry Clay*	NMAA
Nichols, C.	Clevenger	Gen. Harrison*	NMAA
Nichols, Mrs. Jas.	Powers	Charity	Dentler
Nichols, James R.	Powers	Charity*	Wunder
Nickerson, Saml. M.	Rogers	Psyche*	Rogers 1
Niemann, Edmund J.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Nixon, W. K.	Powers	Genevra	Dentler
Nixon, W. K.	Powers	Faith	Dentler

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Nocu, Philip L.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Nones, _____	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Norris, Mrs.	Hart	Thomas B. Norris	Dearinger
North, Harvey	Powers	Diana	Dentler
North, Harvey	Powers	Athelia A. North*	Wunder
North, Harvey	Powers	Harvey North*	Wunder
Northcote, Ms C. A.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Norton, Andrews	Greenough H	Andrews Norton	TBB
Nounburg, Mr. E.	Rogers	Isaac	Rogers 1
Noyes, Wm. Curtis	Palmer	Faith	Webster
Nye, Gideon	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Nye, Gideon P.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
O'Conor, Charles	St.-Gaudens	Charles O'Conor*	Dryfhout
O'Conor, M. P.	Rogers	Lost Pleiad	Rogers 1
O'Donnell, Chas. O.	Rinehart	Chas. O'Donnell*	Ross
O'Fallon, Benjamin	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Ogden, W. H.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Olcott, Alexander	Palmer	Thomas W. Olcott	Webster
Olcott, Mary M.	Palmer	Ruth	Webster
Olcott, Thomas	Thompson	Little Nell*	HTT 1867
Olcott, Thomas W.	Palmer	L. Olcott Meml.	Webster
Olcott, Thomas W.	Palmer	T. Olcott Meml.	Webster
Olcott, Thomas W.	Palmer	Evening	Webster
Olcott, Thomas W.	Palmer	Morning	Webster
Olcott, Thomas W.	Palmer	Sappho	Webster
Olcott, Thomas W.	Palmer	Ideal Bust*	Webster
Olcott, Thomas W.	Palmer	Mary M. Olcott*	Webster
Osborn, John	Galt	Virginia*	AAFA
Osgood, Samuel	Simmons	Samuel Osgood*	NYHS
Otis, Wm. Foster	Greenough H	Emily M. Otis	TBB
Otis, Wm. Foster	Greenough H	Emily M. Otis	Harding
Owens, Mrs. Henry	Rogers	Mrs. Henry Owens	Rogers 1
Oxnard, Henry	Powers	Washington*	Dentler
Oxnard, Henry	Powers	Washington*	Wunder
Packer, _____ [?]	Palmer	Resignation*	Webster
Packer, Harriet L.	Powers	Faith	Dentler
Packer, Harriet L.	Powers	Faith*	Wunder
Page, John E.	Palmer	Beach in Bondage	Webster
Paige, Simon B.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Paige, Simon B.	Rogers	Psyche*	Rogers 1
Paine, _____	Simmons	Robt Treat Paine*	Boston
Paine, Mr.	Rinehart	Miss Paine*	Ross
Paine, Mrs Chas. J	Hosmer	Will-o'-the-Wisp	Labarre
Paine, George Lyman	Greenough R	George W. Lyman	TBB
Paine, John	Crawford	America+	Dimmick
Paine, John W.	Rinehart	Paine Monument	Ross
Paine, John W.	Rinehart	Julia T. Paine*	Ross
Paine, Julia Bryant	Hosmer	Puck & the Owl	Harding
Paine, Lydia Lyman	Greenough R.	George W. Lyman*	Harding
Palmer, George H.	Whitney	Alice F. Palmer*	Payne
Palmer, O. H.	Rinehart	Young Augustus	Ross

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Palmer, O. H.	Rinehart	Mr. Munford*	Ross
Palmer, O. H.	Rinehart	O. H. Palmer	Ross
Palmer, Potter	Hosmer	Zenobia	NMAA
Palmer, Potter	Hosmer	Zenobia+	Thorp
Palmer, Potter	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Palmer, Potter	Powers	Berthe H. Palmer*	Wunder
Palmer, Potter	Powers	Potter Palmer*	Wunder
Paradise, Chas. H.	Palmer	Schoolmate	Webster
Parish, Mr.	Crawford	Apollo & Diana	Dodge
Parish, Daniel	Powers	Daniel Parish*	Wunder
Parish, Henry	Clevenger	Lady of the Lake*	US Mag
Parker, Dr.	Brown	Dr. Parker*	NAD (1)
Parker, Chas. Henry	Greenough H	James F. Cooper	TBB
Parker, J.	Crawford	Bride of Abydos	B.A.
Parker, J.	Crawford	[Jesus/Children]	B.A.
Parker, John	Crawford	Bride of Abydos	Dimmick
Parker, John	Crawford	Chirst & Children	Dimmick
Parker, John, Jr.	Powers	John Parker, Jr.	Wunder
Parker, W. B.	Brackett	Bust	NMAA
Parkman, Mrs.	Dexter	Edmund Dwight*	Albee
Parkman, Dr. G.	Canova	Dancing Girl	B.A.
Parkman, Dr. G.	Canova	Mars and Venus	B.A.
Parkman, Dr. S.	Dexter	Edmund Dwight	B.A.
Parkman, W. Dudley	Story	Medea	Phillips
Parsons, Prof.	Crawford	Medora*	Dimmick
Parsons, John D.	Palmer	Morning	Wells
Parsons, John D.	Palmer	Evening	Wells
Patterson, Mrs. A.	Ives	Flora*	NMAA
Patterson, Mrs. A.	Ives	Rebekah	NMAA
Paul, Mr.	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Dentler
Paul, James	Powers	Hand of Jas. Paul	Wunder
Payne, John	Crawford	Genius of Autumn	NAD (1)
Peabody, F. G.	Powers	Dr. Henry Whitney	Dentler
Peabody, Francis	Powers	Jared Sparks	Dentler
Peabody, Francis	Powers	Fisher Boy*	Dentler
Peabody, Francis	Powers	Martha P. Rogers*	Wunder
Peacock, Edward W.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Peacock, Gibson	Anon.	Franklin*	Union
Peacocke, E. W.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Pearson, J. G.	Launitz	Amphitrite+	NAD (1)
Peckham, Rufus W.	Palmer	Flora	Webster
Peckham, Rufus W.	Palmer	Ruth	Webster
Peet, Mr.	Rinehart	Miss Peet	Ross
Peck, O. S. X.	Mills(after)	Andrew Jackson	NYHS
Pellew, Henry E.	Thorwaldsen	Edward Pellew	MMA: 1886
Pendleton, Geo. H.	Powers	AlicePendleton*	Wunder
Pendleton, N. G.	Ives	Rebecca+	Ives
Penniman, Mr. [?]	Powers	California+	AAU: 1851
Penniman, George C.	Rinehart	Saml. C. Hahnemann*	Ross
Penniman, J. T.	Greenough	Collosal Christ*	Penniman
Penniman, James F.	Powers	Cord. Penniman*	Wunder

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Penniman, James F.	Powers	James Penniman*	Wunder
Penny, H. C.	Thorwaldsen	Three Bas-Reliefs	NMAA
Pepoon, Marshall	Rogers	Marshall Pepoon*	Rogers 1
Perkins, C. C.	Crawford	Beethoven*	B.A.
Perkins, C. C.	Crawford	Hebe & Ganymede	B.A.
Perkins, C. C.	Canova	Vestal*	NMAA
Perkins, C. C.	Crawford	Hebe & Ganymede	NMAA
Perkins, C. C.	Anon.	Beethoven*	NMAA
Perkins, C. C.	Anon.	Ceres+	NMAA
Perkins, Charles C.	Crawford	Hebe & Ganymede	Boston
Perkins, Edward N.	Tenerani	Fishing	B.A.
Perkins, Edward N.	Tenerani	Hunting	B.A.
Perkins, George	Powers	Proserpine*	Dentler
Perkins, George C.	Rinehart	Woman of Samaria	Ross
Perkins, George R.	Palmer	G. Perkins*	Webster
Perkins, George R.	Powers	George Perkins*	Wunder
Perkins, George R.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Perkins, T. H.	Greenough R	T. H. Perkins	B.A.
Perkins, T. H.	Canova	Dancing Girl	B.A.
Perkins, T. H.	Canova	Hebe	B.A.
Perkins, Thomas H.	Greenough H	Newfoundland Dog	TBB
Perkins, Thomas H.	Dexter	Ellen Tree*	Albee
Perkins, Thomas H.	Dexter	Anna Dexter/Hand	Albee
Peter, Robert	Hart	Benj. W. Dudley*	Dearinger
Peters, E. C.	Rinehart	Morning	Ross
Peters, E. C.	Rinehart	Evening	Ross
Peters, Mary W.	Whitney	The Cherubs	Payne
Peterson, C. J.	Story	Saphho	HTT 1867
Peterson, J. C.	Story	Sappho	Phillips
Phalen, James	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Phelps, I. N.	Ives	Rebecca+	Ives
Phillips, J. C.	Powers	Eve Tempted*	Dentler
Phillips, Jonathan	Crawford	Cupid	Dimmick
Phillips, Steph. C.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Phillips, Steph. C.	Powers	Ginevra*	Wunder
Phillips, Steph. C.	Powers	Stephen Phillips*	Wunder
Phillips, Steph. H.	Powers	Stephen Phillips*	Salem
Pickens, F. W.	Powers	John C. Calhoun*	Dentler
Pickman, W. D.	Ives	Bacchante*	Ives
Pierce, Henry	Rogers	Portrait Bust*	Rogers 1
Pierrepont, Edwards	St.-Gaudens	Cicero*	Dryfhout
Pierrepont, Edwards	St.-Gaudens	E. Pierrepont*	Dryfhout
Pierrepont, Edwards	St.-Gaudens	Mrs. Pierrepont*	Dryfhout
Pierrepont, H.	Launitz	Peter A. Jay*	NMAA
Pierrepont, Henry	Launitz	Peter A. Jay*	NYHS
Pinchot, Mr.	Thompson	Napoleon	NMAA
Pinchot, Mr.	Thompson	Napoleon+	HTT 1867
Pinchot, C. C. D.	Thompson	Napoleon+	NMAA
Pinchot, J. W.	Thompson	Portrait	NMAA
Pinchot, J. W.	Thompson	Penserosa	NAD (1)
Pinchot, J. W.	Thompson	L'Allegra	NAD (1)

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Pinchot, James W.	Thompson	Portrait Bust*	MMA: 1886
Pindell, Henry C.	Hart	Morning Glory	Dearinger
Pindell, Henry C.	Hart	Venus	Dearinger
Pingree, H. S.	Rogers	Lost Pleiad	Rogers 1
Piquette, C.	Canova	Cupid	NMAA
Pitts, Ms Tilghman	Rogers	Nydia	Peabody
Plaisted, Mary Jane	Akers	Samuel Appleton*	Boston
Playfair, Dr. James	Powers	James Playfair*	Wunder
Playfair, Dr. James	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Wunder
Plumb, J. B.	Palmer	Portrait Bust*	NAD (1)
Plumb, J. B.	Palmer	Dream of Spirit	Webster
Plumb, Josiah B.	Palmer	Mrs. J. Plumb*	Webster
Plunkett, Thomas	Thompson	Thomas Plunkett	NAD (2)
Polkman?, Henry D.	Ives	Pandora	Ives
Pope, N. Q.	Powers	Benj. Franklin*	Pope
Porter, David Dixon	Simmons	Monument	Simmons
Post, W. B.	Ives	Flora*	Ives
Post, W. B.	Ives	Bacchante*	Ives
Potter, Edmund	Powers	Eve Disconsolate*	Wunder
Potter, Howard	Rinehart	Sleeping Children	Ross
Potter, Mrs. M. D.	Rogers	Portrait Bust*	NMAA
Power, Mrs. Wm.	Rinehart	Mrs. Wm. Power*	Ross
Powers, A. E.	Palmer	Infant Flora*	NMAA
Powers, Daniel W.	Gould	The West Wind+	Powers 1
Powers, Daniel W.	Ball	Joy	Powers 1
Powers, Daniel W.	Jackson	Bust*	Powers 1
Powers, Daniel W.	Ball	Joy*	Powers 2
Powers, Daniel W.	Jackson	Marble Bust*	Powers 2
Powers, Hiram	Persico	Mr. Sparks*	Hawthorne
Powers, Hiram	Mills	Mr. King*	Hawthorne
Prall, Mr.	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Prall, Margaret	Powers	Washington*	Dentler
Prall, Margaret A.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Prall, Margaret A.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Prall, Margaret A.	Powers	Washington*	Wunder
Pratt, Charles	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Pratt, E.	Bartholomew	Shepherd Boy	HTT 1867
Pratt, Enoch	Bartholomew	Shepherd Boy	Peabody
Pratt, Enoch	Bartholomew	Campaspe	Peabody
Pratt, Enoch	Rinehart [?]	Mantelpiece	Rusk
Preble, J. Q.	Rogers	Somnambula	Rogers 1
Prentess, John H.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Prentice, E. P.	Brown	Quoit Player+	NAD (1)
Prentice. E. P.	Brown	Hope	NAD (1)
Prentice, E. P.	Brown	Ruth+	Lewis
Prentice, Ezra	Brown	Four Seasons	HTT 1867
Prentice, Ezra P.	Brown	Four Seasons(4)+	Hughes
Prentice, John H.	Brown	Indian & Panther	NAD (2)
Prentiss, John H.	Powers	Washington* (2)	Dentler
Prentiss, John H.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Prentiss, John H.	Powers	Washington (2)*	Wunder

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Prescott, William	Greenough R	Portrait Bust*	NMAA
Prescott, Wm. H.	Greenough R	Wm. H. Prescott*	TBB
Prescott, Wm. H.	Greenough R.	Wm. H. Prescott*	Harding
Preston, John S.	Powers	Eve Tempted	Dentler
Preston, John S.?	Powers	Sally P. Lowndes*	Wunder
Preston, Ms John S.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Preston, Ms John S.	Powers	Genevra	Dentler
Preston, John Smith	Powers	Caroline Preston*	Wunder
Preston, John Smith	Powers	John S. Preston*	Wunder
Preston, John Smith	Powers	Eve Tempted+	Wunder
Preston, John Smith	Powers	A Country Woman*	Wunder
Preston, John Smith	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Preston, John Smith	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Preston, William	Powers	Robert Wickliffe*	Wunder
Preston, William C.	Powers	Louise Preston*	Wunder
Preston, William C.	Powers	Wm. C. Preston*	Wunder
Prime, Rufus	Greenough R	Machiavelli	TBB
Probasco, Henry	Powers	Charity*	Wunder
Probasco, Henry	Powers	Diana*	Wunder
Probasco, Henry	Powers	Charity	Dentler
Probasco, Henry	Powers	Charity	Probasco1
Probasco, Henry	Powers	Charity	Probasco2
Probasco, Henry	Powers	Diana	Dentler
Probasco, Henry	Ives	Sans Souci	Ives
Probasco, Henry	Ives	Sans Souci	Probasco1
Probasco, Henry	Foley	Longfellow	Probasco1
Probasco, Henry	Foley	Medallion	Probasco1
Probasco, Henry	Hart	Henry Clay	Probasco1
Probasco, Henry	Foley	Longfellos Relief	Probasco2
Probasco, Henry	Connelly	Phillipa	Probasco1
Probasco, Henry	Connelly	Viola	Probasco1
Probasco, Henry	Connelly	Viola	Probasco2
Probasco, Henry	Connelly	Cordelia	Probasco1
Probasco, Henry	Rogers	Ruth	Probasco1
Probasco, Henry	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers 1
Probasco, Henry	Ives	Sans Souci	Probasco1
Probasco, Henry	Rogers	Indian Boy	Probasco1
Probasco, Henry	Rogers	Indian	Probasco2
Probasco, Henry	Rogers	Ruth, the Gleaner	Probasco2
Probasco, Henry	Rogers	Indian Hunter Boy	Rogers 1
Pruyn, John V. L.	Palmer	Katharine Pruyn+	Webster
Purdy, Elijah	Rogers	Isaac	Rogers 1
Putnam, John	Ives	Grace Darling	Ives
Pyne, Percy R.	Palmer	Moses Taylor	NMAA
Pyne, Percy R.	Palmer	[Moses] Taylor	Webster
Quincy, Josiah	Greenough H	Josiah Quincy*	TBB
Quintall[?], E. A.	Ives	Sans Souci	Ives
Quintall[?], E. A.	Ives	Pandora	Ives
Ralston, Mrs. Wm	Rinehart	Hero+	Ross
Ralston, Mrs. Wm	Rinehart	Mrs. Wm Ralton*	Ross
Ramsdell, H. J.	Stone	_____ Ramsdell	Morris

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Rand, Mrs. E. A.	Rogers	Lost Pleiad	Rogers 1
Randall, Howard S.	Rogers	Nydia+	Malden I
Randolph, John	Rinehart	Thetis+	Ross
Rankin, Isaac	Powers	Brother of Rankin	Wunder
Ransom, S. H.	Palmer	Child's Hand	Webster
Rathbone, J. F.	Palmer	Portrait Bust*	NAD (1)
Rathbone, Joel	Palmer	Flora	Webster
Rathbone, Mrs. Joel	Palmer	J. Rathbone Mon.	Webster
Rathbone, John F.	Palmer	Little Peasant+	Webster
Rathbone, John F.	Palmer	Mrs. J. Rathbone*	Webster
Rathbone, John T.	Palmer	Resignation*	Webster
Rathbone, Lewis	Palmer	Hand/Mrs Rathbone	Webster
Rathbone, Lewis	Palmer	Child's Hand	Webster
Ray, B. P.	Brown	Indian Hunter	AAFA
Ray, Mary	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Dentler
Read, T. Buchanan	Hart	Bust of Lady*	PAFA 1
Read, T. Buchanan	Hart	Mrs. T. B. Read	Dearinger
Redpath, James L.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Reed, Nathaniel	Brown	The Filatrice	AAFA
Reid, Thomas	Powers	Autumn*	Reid 1
Reid, Thomas	Powers	Autumn*	Reid 2
Reilly, Dr. Boyd	Powers	John C. Calhoun*	Dentler
Renshaw, Mrs. Wm	Rinehart	Mrs. Wm Renshaw*	Ross
Reynolds, _____	Palmer	Marcus Reynolds	Webster
Reynolds, J. C.	Brown	The Filatrice	AAFA
Reynolds, William	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Rice, Mrs. B.	Palmer	Portrait	NMAA
Rice, Peter	Powers	America*	Dentler
Rice, Peter	Powers	Washington*	Dentler
Rice, Peter	Powers	Fisher Boy*	Dentler
Rice, Peter N.	Powers	America*	Wunder
Rice, Peter N.	Powers	Fisher Boy*	Wunder
Rice, Peter N.	Powers	Franklin*	Wunder
Rice, Peter N.	Powers	Washington*	Wunder
Rice, Peter N.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Richards, Addison	Jones	Abraham Lincoln*	Jones 3
Richardson, Anne B.	Greenough R	Cupid & Tortoise	TBB
Richardson, Jason	Powers	Franklin*	Wunder
Richmond, Henry A.	Powers	Proserpine*	Dentler
Ridgely, Mrs. Chas.	Rinehart	Charles Ridgely*	Ross
Riggs, Lawrason	Rinehart	Leander	Ross
Righter?, Wm H.	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Ripley, Mrs. Edw.	Hosmer	Browning Hands	Labarre
Rittenhouse, David	Houdon	Thomas Jefferson*	APS
River, Robert J.	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers 1
Rister, Mrs. J. A.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Robartes, F. W.	Mozier	Mirth	Robartes
Robartes, F. W.	Barbee H	Drifting	Robartes
Robartes, F. W.	Barbee H	Head of Girl	Robartes
Robartes, F. W.	Barbee H	Dawn	Robartes
Robb, J. Hampden	Clevenger	Henry Clay*	NMAA

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Robb, J. Hampton	Clevenger	Henry Clay*	MMA
Robb, James	Powers	Greek Slave+	Wunder
Robb, James	Clevenger	Henry Clay*	PAFA 1
Robb, James	Powers	Greek Slave+	Dentler
Robb, James	Clevenger	Henry Clay*	NMAA
Robb, James	Clevenger	Bust of H. Clay	Robb
Robb, James	Steinhamer	A Boy Anglino	Robb
Robb, James	Steinhauser	Diana	Robb
Robb, James	Steinhauser	Lion in Marble	Robb
Robbins, _____	Powers	Faith*	Wunder
Robbins, Mrs.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers 1
Robbins, R. E.	Ives	Shepherd Boy	Ives
Robbins, S. Howland	Rogers	Indian Hunter	Rogers 1
Robert, Christopher	Bartholomew	Shepherd Boy+	Malden II
Roberts, M. O.	Ives	Undine	Ives
Roberts, Mrs. M. O.	Ives	Kitty Roberts+	Ives
Roberts, Mrs. M. O.	Voss, C.	Ganymede	MMA: 1886
Roberts, Marshall	Ives	Head-Girl-Relief	Roberts 2
Roberts, Marshall	Ives	Head-Child-Relief	Roberts 2
Roberts, Marshall	Story	Salome	Phillips
Roberts, Marshall	Story	Salome	Roberts 1
Roberts, Marshall	Story	Salome	Roberts 2
Roberts, Marshall	Simmons	Promised Land	Roberts 1
Roberts, Marshall	Simmons	Promised Land	Roberts 2
Roberts, Marshall	Simmons	Promised Land+	MMA
Roberts, Marshall	Palmer	Sappho	Roberts 1
Roberts, Marshall	Palmer	Mercy Pleading	Roberts 1
Roberts, Marshall	Palmer	Night--Relief	Roberts 2
Roberts, Marshall	Palmer	Morning--Relief	Roberts 2
Roberts, Marshall	Stebbins	Treaty of Hudson	Roberts 2
Roberts, Marshall	Stebbins	Hudson's Treaty	Milroy
Roberts, Marshall	Stebbins	Columbus+	Milroy
Roberts, Marshall	Rogers	Ideal Statue [?]	Rogers 1
Roberts, Marshall	Van Wart	Marshall Roberts*	MMA
Roberts, Sanderson	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Robinson, A. S.	Connelly	The Sisters	PAFA 1
Robinson, Dr. F. M.	Brown	The Filatrice	AAFA
Robinson, John A.	Ives	Child+	Ives
Robinson, John A.	Ives	Rebecca+	Ives
Rockwell, John	Powers	Washington*	Wunder
Rogers, _____	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Rogers, _____ [?]	Powers	Miss Rogers*	Hewitt
Rogers, Mrs.	Rinehart	Henry W. Rogers	NMAA
Rogers, Henry W.	Rinehart	Henry W. Rogers*	Ross
Rogers, Henry W.	Rinehart	Henry W. Rogers*	Albright
Rogers, Edmund Law	Greenough H	Petrarch's Laura	TBB
Rogers, H. W.	Rinehart	Flower Girl	NMAA
Rogers, J. B.	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers 1
Rogers, Warren B.	Hart	Bible	Dearinger
Rolfe, Mr.	Ives	The Pets	Ives
Roome, Charles	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers 1

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Roosevelt, Jas. Jr.	Greenough H	Washington*	TBB
Root, Elihu	St.-Gaudens	Cicero*	Dryfhout
Rose, James	Powers	Diana	Dentler
Rose, James	Powers	Diana*	Wunder
Rotch, B. S.	Crawford	Children+ (2)	B.A.
Rotch, Mrs. Annie	Clevenger	Annie awrence*	Boston
Rowe, G.	Jackson	Portrait Bust*	NAD (2)
Rumsey, Charles	Rinehart	Hero+	Ross
Russell, George	Powers	Eve Tempted*	Dentler
Russell, George R.	Powers	Eve Disconsolate	Wunder
Russell, George R.	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Wunder
Rutherford, Lewis	Frazee(?)	John H. Hobart*	NYHS
Rutherford, Lewis	Ceracchi	John Jay*	NYHS
Ryde, William J.	Rogers	Lost Pleiad	Rogers 1
Ryder, W. H.	Powers	Greek Slave (2)*	Wunder
Ryder, W. H.	Powers	Proserpine (2)*	Wunder
St. John, C. R.	Brown	The Filatrice	AAFA
Salisbury, E. E.	Greenough H	Abdiel	NMAA
Salisbury, E. E.	Greenough H	Aristedes	NMAA
Salisbury, Edw. E.	Greenough H	Angel Abdiel*	TBB
Salisbury, Edw. E.	Greenough H	Angel Abdiel	TBB
Salisbury, Edw. E.	Greenough H	Angel & St. John	TBB
Salisbury, Sam. Jr.	Dixey	Alex. Hamilton*	Harding
Salsibury, Stephen	Crawford	Boy with Marbles	HTT 1867
Samson?, Lawrence?	Ives	Pandora	Ives
Sand, M. E.	Canova	Napoleon First	NMAA
Sands, Benjamin H.	Stephenson	Lucius Sargent*	Harding
Sands, M. F.	Canova	Napoleon I	MMA: 1886
Sanford, Mr.	Ives	Boy and Dove	Ives
Sanford, Rollin	Phillips	Jephtha's Dau.	Sanford
Sanford, Rollin	Phillips	Italian Boys	Sanford
Sanford, Rollin	Ives	Boy's First Grief	Sanford
Sanford, Rollin	Bartolini	Angel of Peace	Sanford
Sargent, Ignatius	Powers	Genevra	Dentler
Sargent, Ignatius	Powers	Psyche	Dentler
Sargent, Ignatius	Powers	Mary S. Duncan*	Wunder
Sargent, Ignatius	Powers	Ginevra*	Wunder
Sargent, Ignatius	Powers	Psyche*	Wunder
Sargent, Lucius M.	Powers	Diana	Dentler
Sargent, Lucius M.	Powers	Diana*	Wunder
Sargent, Turner	Milmore	Phosphor	Boston
Sartain, J.	Battin, J.	Mignon/Heaven	PAFA 5
Sartain, S.	Brackett	J. Sartain*	PAFA 1
Saumenig, H Fields	Rinehart	Smokers	Ross
Sayre, Dr. Lewis A.	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Schaus, W.	Palmer	Sappho	Webster
Schermerhorn, A.	Connelly	Thetis/Achilles+	MMA
Schley, Mrs. J. B.	Rinehart	Miss Elwood+	Ross
Schmidlapp, J. G.	Park	Mignon+	Cinci.
Schneider, G. H.	Haseltine	Duke Leuchtenberg	NMAA
Schneider, G. H.	Handley, M.	Equestrian Bronze	PAFA 8

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Schoenberger, J.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Schoenberger, J.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Schrober, Mr.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Schroeder, Francis	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Schuster, S.	Powers	Eve Disconsolate*	Wunder
Schuster, S.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Schuster, S.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Scott, Hiram K.	Brown	The Filatrice	AAFA
Scott, Thomas A.	Rinehart	Thomas A. Scott*	Ross
Scott, Thomas A.	Rinehart	Mrs. T. Scott*	Ross
Scoville, Jonathan	Powers	Proserpine*	Albright
Seagrave, Caleb	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers J
Searles, Edward F.	Couper	Attending Angel	Couper
Sears, D.	Greenough H	Forest Children+	B.A.
Sears, David	Greenough H	Sears Children+	TBB
Sears, David	Greenough H	David Sears*	TBB
Sears, Fred	Story	Flight of Youth	Seidler
Sears, J. Newton	Haseltine	Religion	HTT 1867
Sears, J. Newton	Haseltine	Superstition	HTT 1867
Selden, Dudley	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers
Seton, William	Powers	William Seton*	Wunder
Seward, C. A.	Powers	Clytie	Dentler
Seward, C. A.	Powers	America*	Dentler
Seward, Charles A.	Powers	America*	Wunder
Seward, Charles A.	Powers	Clytie*	Wunder
Seymour, J. F.	Palmer	Portrait	NMAA
Shannon, Mary	Hosmer	Browning Hands	Labarre
Shattuck, Eliz. P.	Greenough H	Elizabeth Cabot	Harding
Shaus, Mr.	Ives	Piper	Ives
Shaw, C. J.	Clevenger	Justice Shaw*	B.A.
Shaw, Francis G.	Powers	Diana*	Wunder
Shaw, G. H.	King	Bust of a Lady*	B.A.
Shaw, Gordon H.	Powers	Franklin*	Wunder
Shaw, R. G.	Canova	Three Dancing Girls	B.A.
Shaw, R. G.	Canova	Mars and Venus	B.A.
Shaw, R. G.	Canova	Pauline Borghese	B.A.
Shaw, Theron	Jackson	Dawn*	Clement
Sheffield, Mr.	Mozier	Wish-Ton-Wish	Clarke
Sheldon, E. H.	Mozier	Truth Triumphant	NMAA
Sheldon, Edwin H.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Sheldon, Edwin H.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Shepley, Justice	Akers	Benjamin+	Neal
Sherrard, Mrs.	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Dentler
Shields, G. W.	Powers	Washington*	Dentler
Shillabar, Ms Theo.	Story	Dalilah+	SF Mus
Shillabar, Ms Theo.	Story	King Saul+	SF Mus
Shillaber, Mrs.	Story	Saul	Phillips
Shillaber, Mrs.	Story	Saul Remodeled	Phillips
Shillaber, Mrs.	Story	Figure with Vase	Phillips
Shillaber, Theodore	Story	Deliliah	Phillips
Shillaber, Theodore	Rogers	Lost Pleiad	Rogers J

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Shipley, Adam Rabb	Rinehart	Adam R. Shipley*	Ross
Shipley, Joseph	Unknown	Bacchus	CF/DBD
Shipley, Joseph	Unknown	Bacchante	CF/DBD
Shoenberger, John	Rinehart	Mrs.Shoenberger*	Ross
Shoenberger, John	Rinehart	S. Shoenberger	Ross
Shoenberger, John	Powers	Proserpine	Newark
Shortall, Mr.	Hosmer	Sleeping Faun+	Potterton
Shortall, John	Hosmer	Sleeping Faun+	Labarre
Sigourney, Henry	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Silsbee, Marianne	Whitney	Lady Godiva+	Payne
Sinnott, Joseph H.	Powers	Charity*	Wunder
Sinton, David	Powers	David Sinton*	Wunder
Sintzenich, Ed. C.	Palmer	Infant Ceres	Sintz.
Sisson	Rinehart	Mantel piece	Rusk
Sisson, Mr.	Rinehart	Children+	AAJ: 1866
Sisson, Augustus	Rinehart	Antigone+	Ross
Sisson, Hugh	Rinehart	Benj. Franklin*	Ross
Sisson, Hugh	Rinehart	Hugh Sisson*	Ross
Sisson, Hugh	Rinehart	Mrs Hugh Sisson*	Ross
Sisson, Mrs. Hugh	Rinehart	Children+	Ross
Skinner, Francis	Ball	Herbert Skinner*	Harding
Slack, C. W.	Whitney	Charles Sumner	MCMA 1878
Slater, A. N.	Powers	Proserpine*	Dentler
Slater, B. N.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Slaughter, Philip	Powers	Washington*	Dentler
Slaughter, Philip	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Dentler
Slaughter, Philip	Powers	Franklin*	Wunder
Slaughter, Philip	Powers	Washington*	Wunder
Slaughter, Philip	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Wunder
Slidell, John	Powers	John Slidell*	Wunder
Sloane, Thomas C.	Rogers	Lost Pleiad	Rogers J
Small, Mrs. George	Rinehart	Hero+	Ross
Small, Mrs. George	Rinehart	Hero+	Newark
Smith, A. R.	Thompson	Girlhood	NAD (1)
Smith, A. R.	Palmer	Sleeping Peri	NMAA
Smith, A. R.	Palmer	Evening	NMAA
Smith, A. R.	Palmer	Sappho	NMAA
Smith, A. R.	Palmer	Morning	NMAA
Smith, A. R.	Palmer	Infant Ceres	NMAA
Smith, Adam R.	Palmer	Sappho	NMAA
Smith, Adam R.	Palmer	Sleeping Peri	NMAA
Smith, Adam R.	Palmer	Morning	NMAA
Smith, Adam R.	Palmer	Evening	NMAA
Smith, Adam R.	Palmer	Resignation	NMAA
Smith, Adam R.	Palmer	Spring	NMAA
Smith, Adam R.	Palmer	Resignation*	Webster
Smith, Adam R.	Palmer	Sappho	Webster
Smith, Adam R.	Palmer	Mrs. Smith	Webster
Smith, Adam R.?	Palmer	Sleeping Peri+	Webster
Smith, Dr. Alban G.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Smith, Daniel	Stone	Bust of a Lady*	NAD (1)

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Smith, Martin T.	Powers	Mrs. M. Smith*	Wunder
Smith, P. H.	Powers	Proserpine*	Dentler
Smith, Perry H.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Smith, Walter C.?	Palmer	Lamb+	Webster
Snider, Jacob, Jr.	Pettrich	John Vaughn*	APS
Sommerville, Wm C.	Anon	Wm Sommerville*	CF/DBD
Southwick, Miss	Palmer	Alex. Hamilton*	Webster
Spang, Charles F.	Ives	Sans Souci	Ives
Spang, Fred. Chas.	Powers	Sara Spang*	Wunder
Sparrow, John	Palmer	Night	NMAA
Sparrow, John	Palmer	Evening	Webster
Sparrow, John	Palmer	Morning	NMAA
Sparrow, John	Palmer	Morning	AAFA
Sparrow, John	Palmer	Morning	Webster
Spaulding, John	Ives	Rebecca+	Ives
Spear, Charles	Rinehart	Hero+	Ross
Spears, Charles	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers J
Spencer, Captain	Brown	Rebecca	HTT 1867
Spencer, William	Ives	Rebecca+	Ives
Spencer, William	Brown	Rebekah+	NAD (1)
Spenser, Mr.	Brown	Rebecca+	Nutt
Sperry, Isaac	Brown	The Filatrice	AAFA
Spofford, Harriet	Whitney	Abby A. Manning*	Payne
Spofford, Harriet	Whitney	Faun	Payne
Spranger, C. P.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers J
Sprigg, Gov. Saml.	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Springer, Reuben	Powers	Eve Tempted*	Dentler
Springer, Reuben	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Springer, Reuben	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Squier, Charles J.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Squier, Chas. Jr.	Powers	Proserpine*	Dentler
Stackpole, _____	Powers	Fisher Boy*	Wunder
Stamford, Rolfe	Ives	Rebecca+	Ives
Stanford, Ms Leland	Rogers	Henry Clay*	Rogers J
Stanford, Ms Leland	Rogers	Wm. H. Seward*	Rogers J
Stanford, Ms Leland	Rogers	Stevenson*	Rogers J
Stanford, Ms Leland	Rogers	Stanford's Son+	Rogers J
Stanford, Ms Leland	Palmer	Imogen	Webster
Stanford, Ms Leland	Couper	Sphinxes	Couper
Stanford, Ms Leland	Couper	Leland Stanfor*	Couper
Stanton, F. B.	Stone	F. P. Stanton*	NMAA
Stanton, Frederick	Stone	Fred. P. Stanton*	Morris
Stanwood, L.	Dexter	Marble Portrait*	B.A.
Staughton, Ms M.F.	Powers	Genevra	MMA: 1886
Stearns, Ms G.	Brackett	John Brown*	Clement
Stearns, John N.	Rogers	Lost Pleiad	Rogers J
Stebbins, Henry G.	Stebbins	C. Cushman*	Milroy
Stebbins, James H.	Canova	Cupid & Psyche	JHS
Steele, S. Taggart	Palmer	Peace in Bondage	Peabody
Stephenson, Robert	Powers	Fisher Boy+	Wunder
Stetson, C.	Powers	Psyche	Dentler

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Stetson, Charles	Powers	Psyche*	Wunder
Stetson, Charles	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Stetson, Charles A.	Ives	Wm. H. Seward*	NYHS
Stevens, Paran	Story	Cleopatra	HTT 1867
Stevens, Paran	Story	Cleopatra	Stevens
Stevens, Paran	Story	Cleopatra	Phillips
Stevens, Mrs. Paran	Story	Cleopatra	F/A (2)
Stevens, Robert L.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Stevens, Robert J.	Stone	Edward D. Baker+	Morris
Stevenson, Alex.	Powers	[unidentified]	Wunder
Stewart, Mr.	Ives	Bacchante*	Ives
Stewart, Alex. T.	Ives	Fisher Boy	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Ives	Flora	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Barbee	Fisher Girl	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Crawford	Demosthenes	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Crawford	Flora	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Ives	Flora	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Rogers	Nydia	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Park	Purity*	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Park	Memory*	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Park	Little Nell*	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Park	Little Paul*	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Park	The Pet Bird*	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Park	Life Size Bust*	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Park	The New Boots	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Park	Heloise*	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Park	Sappho (2?)	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Park	First Love	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Powers	Paradise Lost	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Powers	Washington*	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Powers	Greek Slave	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Powers	Eve Tempted	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Hosmer	Zenobia in Chains	Stewart
Stewart, Alex. T.	Powers	Greek Slave	Dentler
Stewart, Alex. T.	Powers	Eve Tempted	Dentler
Stewart, Alex. T.	Ward	Young Girl*	Strahan
Stewart, Chas. M.	Rinehart	Children	Ross
Stickney, Ms Eliz.	Rogers	Lost Pleiad	Rogers J
Stillman, Rev. T.	Palmer	Lamb	Webster
Stirling, _____	Ives	Hebrew Captive	Ives
Stone, Mrs.	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers J
Stone, Mrs.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers J
Stone, Asaph G.	Mozier	A Gentleman*	NAD (1)
Stone, Asaph G.	Mozier	Bust of a Lady	NAD (1)
Stone, Asaph G.	Mozier	Pocahontas	NAD (1)
Stone, Asaph G.	Greenough H	Bust of a Lady	NAD (1)
Stone, Charles A.	Whitney	The Cherubs	Payne
Stone, Charles A.	Whitney	Charles Sumner+	Payne
Stone, Charles A.	Whitney	Robert Gould Shaw+	Payne
Stone, H. A.	Rinehart	H. A. Stone	Ross
Stone, H. O.	Ives	Mother and Child	Ives

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Stone, Henry O.	Mozier	Bust of a Lady	NAD (1)
Stone, Mrs. S. B.	Ives	Piper	Ives
Stone, William H.	Story	Medea	Phillips
Stone, William J.	Powers	William J. Stone*	Corcoran
Stone, William J.	Powers	William J. Stone*	Wunder
Storm, Mrs. E. M.	Rogers	Mrs. Storm's Son	Rogers J
Stoughton, E. W.	Powers	Greek Slave+	Dentler
Stoughton, E. W.	Powers	Genevra	Dentler
Stoughton, Edwin	St.-Gaudens	Brutus*	Dryfhout
Stoughton, Edwin	St.-Gaudens	Demosthenes*	Dryfhout
Stoughton, Edwin	St.-Gaudens	John Ericsson*	Dryfhout
Stoughton, Edwin	St.-Gaudens	Edwin Stoughton*	Dryfhout
Stoughton, Edwin W.	Powers	Ginevra*	Wunder
Stoughton, Edwin W.	Powers	Greek Slave+	Wunder
Stout, Andrew V.	Powers	Andrew V. Stout*	Wunder
Strecker, F. H.	Pettrich	Washington	NMAA
Streeter, S. F.	Bartholomew	Medallion	NMAA
Stromberger, J. H.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Stromberger, J. H.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Strong, A. M.	Palmer	Lamb+	Webster
Strong, P. R.	Akers	A Lady*	NAD (1)
Struthers, William	Bailly	Genl. Meade*(6)	NMAA
Struthers, William	Bailly	Christ Blessing	PAFA 1
Struthers, William	Bailly	Guardian Angel	PAFA 1
Struthers, William	Bailly	Genl. Grant*	PAFA 1
Struthers, William	Bailly	Flowers	PAFA 1
Struthers, William	Bailly	Tiger Head	PAFA 1
Struthers, William	Bailly	Lion's Head	PAFA 1
Struthers, Mrs. Wm.	Bailly	General Grant*	NMAA
Stuart, Carlos D.	Jones	George Law*	NAD (1)
Stuart, H. L.	Jones	Abraham Lincoln	NYHS
Stuart, Robert L.	Mozier	Rebecca	Stuart
Stuart, Robert L.	Rogers	Isaac	Stuart
Stubs, Miss Mary	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Wunder
Sturges, Benjamin	Powers	Solomon Sturges*	Wunder
Sturges, Jonathan	Brown	Thomas Cole*	NAD (1)
Sturges, Jonathan	Brown	Thomas Cole*	MMA
Sturges, Jonathan	Brown	Angel & Soul	NAD (1)
Sturges, Jonathan	Brackett	Wash. Allston*	NAD (1)
Sturges, Jonathan	Brackett	Wash. Allston*	MMA
Sturgis, Russell	Story	Venus+	Seidler
Sturgis, Ms Russell	Story	Beethoven+	Seidler
Sturgis, Ms Russell	Story	Bacchus	Seidler
Sturgis, W.	Greenough H	Greyhound Arno	B.A.
Sturgis, W. Russell	Story	Marguerite	Phillips
Sully, Thomas	Hughes	Wash. Irving*	PAFA 5
Summons, G. M.	Rogers	Psyche*	Rogers J
Sumner, Charles	Crawford	Charles Sumner*	Boston
Surget, F., Jr.	Powers	Psyche	Dentler
Surget, F., Jr.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Surget, Linton	Crawford	Boy w/Tambourine	Dimmick+

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Suydam, Mrs. F.	Rinehart	Suydam Boy	Ross
Swann, Thomas	Anon	Napoleon*	Swann
Swann, Thomas	Anon	Flora*	Swann
Swann, Thomas	Anon	A Marble Woman*	Swann
Swann, Thomas	Anon	A Marble Lion	Swann
Swann, Thomas	Anon	Marble Cupid	Swann
Swann, Thomas	Anon	Group, Children	Swann
Swann, Thomas	Anon	A Man	Swann
Swasey, Mrs Wm.	French D.M.	John G. Whittier*	DBD/CF
Swett, Tasker	Dexter	Tasker Swett*	Albee
Swift, James T.	Jackson	Geo. S. Hillard*	Harding
Sypher & Co.	Ball	Laughter*	Sypher
Sypher & Co.	Ball	Thought*	Sypher
Taft, Alphonso	Powers	Alphonso Taft*	Wunder
Taft, Alphonso	Powers	Anna B. S. Taft*	Wunder
Tappan, C.	Greenough H	Bust*	B.A.
Tayloe, Mrs. Benj.	Powers	Benj. O. Tayloe*	Wunder
Taylor, G. W.	Powers	Washington*	Wunder
Taylor, G. W.	Powers	Washington*	Dentler
Taylor, J. J.	Powers	Proserpine*	Dentler
Taylor, James	Hart	James Taylor	Dearinger
Taylor, Joseph J.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Ten Broeck, Richard	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Ten Broeck, T.	Powers	Proserpine*	Dentler
Ten Eyck, John C.	Palmer	John C. Ten Eyck	Webster
Terry [?], Lloyd	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers J
Terry [?], Lloyd	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers J
Thacher, John B.	Palmer	Bust of Boy*	Webster
Thayer, N.[?]	Palmer	Immortality	Webster
Thayer, N.	Palmer	Resignation*	Webster
Thayer, Nathaniel	Dexter	Louis Agassiz*	Albee
Thomas, Charles H.	Ball	Daniel Webster*	Harding
Thomas, E. S.	Bracket	E. S. Thomas	NMAA
Thomas, E. S.	Jones	E. S. Thomas	NMAA
Thomas, Evan P.	Greenough H	Evan P. Thomas*	TBB
Thomas, Evan P.	Greenough H	Eliz. Thomas*	TBB
Thomas, Fred. S.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers J
Thomas, J. B.	Rogers	Boy on Ice	Rogers
Thomas & Sons	Thorwaldsen	Venus Victrix	Thomas
Thomas & Sons	Clevenger	Henry Clay*	Thomas
Thomas & Sons	Clevenger	Nicholas Biddle*	Thomas
Thompson, Col. J.	Greenough H	Thompson's Sons+	TBB
Thompson, Col. J.	Greenough H	Col. J. Thompson*	TBB
Thompson, Joseph	Thompson	Jos. P. Thompson*	Yale
Thompson, Newell	Greenough R	Franklin*	TBB
Thompson, Mrs. Wm.	Greenough R	Washington	TBB
Thomson, Hon. J.	Rinehart	Hon. J. Thompson	Ross
Thomson, Hon. J.	Rinehart	Mrs. J. Thompson	Ross
Thomson, James	St.-Gaudens	Cicero*	Dryfhout
Thomson, James	St.-Gaudens	Samuel Johnson*	Dryfhout
Thurlow, S. Leonard	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers J

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Thurston, Benj. F.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers J
Thurston, F. G.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Thurston, F. G.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Thurston, Frederick	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Thurston, Wm. R.	Powers	Loulie's Hane*	Wunder
Tibbits, Benjamin	Palmer	John R. Bleeker	Webster
Tibbits, Benjamin	Palmer	Blandina Dudley	Webster
Tibbits, Benjamin	Palmer	Benjamin Tibbits	Webster
Tibbits, G. M.	Brown	George Tibbits	NMAA
Tibbits, George M.	Rinehart	George Tibbits	Ross
Ticknor, G.	Greenough H	Artist	B.A.
Ticknor, George	Greenough H	Artist's Labors	TBB
Ticknor, George	Powers	Daniel Webster	Dentler
Ticknor, George	Crawford	Adam & Eve	Dimmick
Tiffany, Mr.	Crawford	Cupid	Dimmick
Tiffany, George	Powers	Ginevra*	Wunder
Tiffany, O. C.	Powers	Genevra	Dentler
Tiffany, O. C.	Powers	Washington*	Dentler
Tiffany, O. C.	Powers	America*	Dentler
Tiffany, Osmond	Clevenger	Henry Clay*	Rutledge
Tiffany, Osmond	Clevenger	Daniel Webster*	Rutledge
Tiffany, Osmond C.	Powers	America*	Wunder
Tiffany, Osmond C.	Powers	Washington*	Wunder
Tileston, Thomas	Thompson	Thomas Tileston*	HTT 1867
Tirrell, Mr.	Jackson	Autumn+	Clement
Tisch, Charles	Mead	New Year	Tisch
Tite, Mr.	Mozier	Jephthah's Dau.	HTT 1867
Tolman, Miss A. C.	St.-Gaudens	Apollo Belvedere*	Dryfhout
Tolman, Miss A. C.	St.-Gaudens	Venus de Medici	Dryfhout
Tolman, Miss A. C.	St.-Gaudens	Moses	Dryfhout
Torrey, Franklin?	Stone	Lady*	Morris
Torrey, Mrs. L. C.	Rogers	Torrey's Dau.*	Rogers J
Tower, Charlemagne	Palmer	Charlemagne Tower	Webster
Townsend, Mrs. Geo.	Powers	Eve Tempted*	Dentler
Townsend?, John	Ives	Pandora	Ives
Townsend, R. H. T.	Rinehart	Sleeping Children	Ross
Townsend, Robert	Powers	Eve Tempted	Dentler
Towse, F. H.?	Ives	Piper	Ives
Towse, F. H.?	Ives	Rebecca+	Ives
Tracey, Francis	Story	Shakespeare	Phillips
Tracy, F. W.	Rogers	Lost Pleiad	Rogers J
Truscott, George	Stephenson	Psyche*	Crayon: 4
Tucker, W. W.	Story	Shakespere	Phillips
Tuckerman, Henry T.	Palmer	Captive's Foot	Webster
Tuffs, Hannah Rohr	St.-Gaudens	Hannah R. Tuffs	Dryfhout
Tuffs, Hannah Rohr	St.-Gaudens	Eva Rohr*	Dryfhout
Tyler, Pres. John	Anon	David Gardiner*	CF/DBD
Tyler, Pres. John	Anon	Miss Tyler*	CF/DBD
Tyler, George F.	Ives	Ariadne*	Ives
Tyler, George F.	Powers	Proserpine*	Dentler
Tyler, George F.	Ives	Ariadne*	Tyler

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Tyler, George F.	Powers	Proserpine*	Tyler
Tyler, George F.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Tyson, Richard W.	Rinehart	Jessie Tyson+	Ross
Upham, H.	Bartholomew	Gentleman*	B.A.
Urquhart, Ms David	Powers	David Urquhart*	Wunder
Van Buren, Abraham	Powers	Martin Van Buren*	Wunder
Van Buren, Martin	Powers	Martin Van Buren*	Wunder
Van Buren, Smith T.	Powers	Martin Van Buren*	Wunder
Vanderbilt, Cornel.	Hart	Mrs. Vanderbilt	Dearinger
Vanderbilt, Cornel.	Powers	C. Vanderbilt*	Wunder
Vanderbilt, I. W.	Story	Helen	Phillips
Vanderbilt, J. W.	Story	Helen+	Seidler
Vanderbilt, W. H.	Palmer	Miranda	WHV
Vanderbilt, W. H.	Palmer	Madonna*	Webster
Vanderbilt, Wm H.	Palmer	Resignation*	Webster
Vanderlip, G. M.	Thompson	Portrait Bust*	NAD (2)
Vanderpoel, S. O.	Palmer	John Vanderpoel	Webster
Van Duzer, S. R.	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers J
Van Duzer, S. R.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers J
Van Duzer, S. R.	Rogers	S. R. Van Duzer*	Rogers J
Van Duzer, S. R.	Rogers	Mrs. Van Duzer*	Rogers J
Van Duzer, S. R.	Rogers	Van Duzer's Dau.*	Rogers J
Van Rensselaer, Dr.	Crawford	Immortality...	NAD (1)
Van Rensselaer, A.	Rinehart	Thetis+	Ross
Van Rensselaer, C.	Powers	Genevra	Dentler
Van Rensselaer, S.	Greenough R	C Van Rensselaer	TBB
Van Rennselaer, S.	Powers	S Van Rensselaer	Wunder
Van Schaick, Mrs.	Ceracchi	John Marshall*	Hewitt
Vaughn, John	Ceracchi	Alex. Hamilton*	APS
Vaughn, Thomas	Rinehart	Morning	Ross
Vaughn, Thomas	Rinehart	Evening	Ross
Verplanck, Samuel	Clevenger	Henry Clay*	NYHS
Viele, Charles	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers J
Viele, Charles	Rogers	Psyche*	Rogers J
Von Past, H. C.?	Ives	Rebecca+	Ives
Volk, L. W.	Ball	Henry W. Beecher*	NMAA
Volk, L. W.	Ball	Wm. H. Prescott*	NMAA
Vose, Charles	Hart	Henry Clay*	Dearinger
Wadsworth, Daniel	Ives	Meekness	Ives
Wadsworth, Emeline	Crawford	Adam and Eve+	Harding
Wadsworth, Jas. S.	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Wadsworth, Jas. S.	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Wadsworth, Jas. S.	Powers	Mary W. Wadsworth	Wunder
Wadsworth, Samuel	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Wadsworth, Samuel	Powers	Greek Slave*	Dentler
Wadsworth, Mrs. W.	Crawford	Adam and Eve	B.A.
Wadsworth, Wm. W.	Powers	Wm. A. Wadsworth*	Wunder
Waggaman, Thomas E.	Mills	Washington*	Waggaman
Waggaman, Thomas E.	Lander	Evangeline+	Waggaman
Wales, Mrs. G. W.	Powers	Loulie's Hand	Dentler
Wales, George W.	Powers	America*	Dentler

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Wales, George W.	Powers	Hope	Dentler
Wales, George W.	Powers	America*	Dentler
Wales, George W.	Powers	America*	Wunder
Wales, Salem Howe	Powers	Salem Howe Wales*	Wunder
Waler, _____	Powers	Faith*	Wunder
Walker, A.	Foley	Portrait	NMAA
Walker, Grant	Ball	Love's Memories	CF/DB
Walker, J. H.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers J
Walker, J. H.	Rogers	J. H. Walker*	Rogers J
Walker, James	Ives	Beggar Boy	Ives
Walker, Noah	Bartholomew	G. Washington+	HTT 1867
Walker, T. R.	Palmer	Cameo	HTT 1867
Walker, Mrs. Thos.	Palmer	Annie B. Walker	Webster
Walker, Mrs. Thos.	Palmer	Thomas R. Walker	Webster
Walter, H. W.	Brown	The Filatrice	AAFA
Walters, Wm. T.	Rinehart	Rececca	Post 1874
Walters, Wm. T.	Rinehart	Woman of Samaria	AAJ: 1866
Walters, Wm. T.	Rinehart	Woman of Samaria	Strahan
Walters, Wm. T.	Palmer	First Grief	Strahan
Walters, Wm. T.	Palmer	Little Peasant+	Webster
Walters, Wm. T.	Palmer	Infant Flora	Walters
Walters, Wm. T.	Rinehart	Walters Monument	Ross
Walters, Wm. T.	Rinehart	Woman of Samaria	Ross
Walters, Wm. T.	Rinehart	Severn Wallis*	Ross
Walters, Wm. T.	Rinehart	Jennie Walters*	Ross
Walters, Wm. T.	Rinehart	Wm. T. Walters*	Ross
Walters, Wm. T.	Rinehart	Mrs. Wm. Walters*	Ross
Warburton, Wm.	Powers	Ms Warburton*(2)	Wunder
Ward, Augustus H.	Greenough H	John Q. Adams*	TBB
Ward, Augustus H.	Greenough H	John Q. Adams*	NYHS
Ward, J. S.	Powers	Faith	Dentler
Ward, John	Crawford	Louis Crawford*	HTT 1867
Ward, John	Crawford	Washington*	HTT 1867
Ward, John L.	Powers	Faith*	Wunder
Ward, John Q. A.	Palmer	June*	Webster
Ward, Marcus	Ives	Sailor Boy	Newark
Ward, Marcus L.	Powers	[unidentified]	Wunder
Ward, Robert J.	Canova	Hebe+	Commerc.
Ward, Samuel	Crawford	Mantel	Kelly
Ward, Samuel Gray	Powers	Anna H. B. Ward*	Wunder
Warder, Benjamin	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Warder, Mrs. Benj.	Rinehart	Children	Ross
Warren, George B.	Palmer	Warren Child*	Webster
Warren, J. Hobart	Palmer	Resignation	NMAA
Warren, John C.	Greenough H	John C. Warren*	TBB
Warren, John C.	Greenough H	John Warren	TBB
Warren, John H.	Rinehart	Atalanta+	Ross
Warren, John H.	Rinehart	Mrs. John Warren	Ross
Warren, Mr. S. D.	Jackson	Culprit Fay	Clement
Warren Samuel D.	Powers	Son of S. Ward*	Wunder
Waterbury, Nelson	Brown	The Filatrice	AAFA

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Waterman, J. W.	Rogers	Flight of Spirit	Rogers
Watherstone, Edw.	Powers	Proserpine*(2)	Wunder
Watt, _____	Powers	Mrs. Watt*	Wunder
Watson, Mr.	Jackson	Cupid	Clement
Webb, Col.	Powers	Fisher Boy*	Dentler
Webb, James Watson	Powers	Fisher Boy*	Wunder
Webb, William H.	Powers	Eve*	Webb
Webb, William H.	Mozier	Lady of Avenel	Webb
Webb, William H.	Mozier	Peri	Webb
Webster, Albert	Ball	Napoleon*	Sothebys
Welles, Mr.	Powers	Robert Winthrop	Dentler
Welman, C. Noel	Powers	Infant Nero*	Wunder
Werne, Joseph	Canova	Hebe	KY 1874
Westerholm, George	Powers	Greek Slave*	Wunder
Wetherill, Mr.	Couper	John J. Audubon*	Couper
Wetherill, Mrs. C.	Greenough H	Eloise*	PAFA 1
Wetherill, Edward	Ives	Ruth*	Ives
Wetherill, Kate	Connelly	Kate Wetherill*	Heckscher
Wetmore, W. B.	Powers	Washington*	DentlerY
Wetmore, Wm. S.	Powers	Antis Wetmore*	Wunder
Wetmore, Wm. S.	Powers	Washington*	Wunder
Wheeler, Mr.	Ives	Pandora	Ives
Wheeler, Charles	Powers	America*	Dentler
Wheeler, Charles	Powers	America*	Wunder
Wheelwright, Andrew	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Wheelwright, Andrew	Powers	Proserpine	Wunder
Whidden, Mr.	Jackson	Peace*	Clement
Whilldin, Alex	Powers	Proserpine*	Dentler
Whilldin, Alex	Powers	Genevra	Dentler
Whilldin, Alex. Jr.	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Whilldin, Alex. Jr.	Powers	Genevra	Wunder
White, A. M.	Mozier	Pocahontas	Marlor
White, A. M.	Rogers	A. M. White*	Rogers J
White, Mrs. A. M.	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers J
White, G. G.	Mozier	Pocahontas	NMAA
White, Henry	Rinehart	Henry White*	Ross
White, James L.	Ives	Egeria	Ives
White, Joseph M.	Greenough H	Joseph M. White*	TBB
White, S. V.	Ives	Unidine	Ives
White, William B.	Palmer	Wm. B. White?*	Webster
White, William H.	Couper	Repose	Couper
Whitfield, N. B.	Anon	Ceres	CF/DBD
Whitfield, N. B.	Anon	Pomona	CF/DBD
Whitfield, N. B.	Anon	Dancing Girl	CF/DBD
Whiting, _____	Powers	Greek Slave+	Wunder
Whiting, Lilian	Hosmer	Browning Hands	Labarre
Whitney, Edward	Whitney	The Cherubs	Payne
Whitney, George	Palmer	Mercy	PAFA 1
Whitney, George	Palmer	Good Morning	PAFA 1
Whitney, George	Palmer	Good Morning	NMAA
Whitney, George	Palmer	Memory*	Webster

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Whitney, George	Palmer	Good Morning	Whitney
Whitney, George	Palmer	Mercy	Whitney
Whitney, George	Palmer	June*	Whitney
Whitney, George	Calverley	Dawn	Whitney
Whitney, George	Calverley	Lily of Valley	Whitney
Whitney, James F.	Whitney	Jas. F. Whitney*	PayneY
Whitridge, John	Rinehart	John Whitridge*	Ross
Whittier, John G.	Rogers, J.	Fugitive's Story	DBD/CF
Whittier, John G.	French D.M.	John G. Whittier*	DBD/CF
Whitwell, Mr.	Greenough H	Arno+	Boston
Wiard, N.	Jones	Abraham Lincoln	Marlor
Wickenden, Robt. J.	Volk	Abraham Lincoln	Wickenden
Wigglesworth,_____	Ball	Ed. Wigglesworth*	Boston
Wilder, A. C.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers J
Wilder, John N.	Palmer	John N. Wilder	Webster
Wilder, Marshall P.	Ball	Daniel Webster+	MHS: 1886
Wilkeson, William	Brackett	John Brown	NMAA
Willard, J. H.	Thorvaldsen	Birth of Adonis	NMAA
Willard, J. H.	Thorvaldsen	Adonis & Diana	NMAA
Willard, Levi H.	St-Gaudens	Psyche of Naples	Dryfhout
Willard, Levi H.	St-Gaudens	Silence+	Dryfhout
Willet	Couper	Fountain w/Horses	Couper
Williams & Everett	Connelly	Ophelia+	Williams
Williams, Stedman	Powers	Proserpine*	Dentler
Williams, Stedman	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Williams, H. D.	Dexter	Portrait Bust*	NMAA
Williams, James W.	Palmer	Alfred Munson*	Webster
Williams, James W.	Palmer	G. Williams Meml	Webster
Williams, James W.	Palmer	Jas. W. Williams	Webster
Williams, R. D.	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers J
Williams, William	Powers	Proserpine*	Dentler
Williams, William	Powers	Proserpine*	Albright
Williamson, John	Powers	John Williamson*	Wunder
Willis, John	Cardelli	James Madison*	VHS
Willis, Nathl. P.	Greenough H	Nathl. P. Willis	TBB
Wilstach, J. P.	Powers	G. Washington*	PAFA 1
Wilstach, Wm. P.	Rinehart	Wm. P. Wiltstach*	Ross
Wilson, Dr. I.	Wilson	Portrait Bust*	NMAA
Wilson, J. Appleton	Rinehart	Wilson Monument	Ross
Wilson, O. J.	Rogers	Young Augustus*	Rogers J
Wilson, O. J.	Rogers	Psyche*	Rogers J
Wilson, O. J.	Rogers	Last Arrow	Rogers JH
Winchester, _____	Dexter	Miss Winchester+	Albee
Winchester, Col.	Brown	La Grazie*	Craven
Winchester, W. P.	Dexter	A Girl+	B.A.
Winans, Thomas	Rinehart	Thomas Winans	Ross
Winthrop, Mrs.	Powers	Robt. C. Winthrop	Dentler
Winthrop, B. R.	Palmer	Little Peasant	NMAA
Winthrop, Benj. R.	Palmer	Little Peasant+	Webster
Winthrop, Benj. R.	Palmer	Winthrop Child*	Webster
Winthrop, Benj. R.	Clevenger	Wm. H. Harrison*	NYHS

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Winthrop, Robert C.	Powers	George Peabody	Wunder
Winthrop, Robert C.	Powers	Robt. Winthrop*	Wunder
Winthrop, Thomas L.	Powers	Thos. L. Winthrop	Wunder
Wise, Mrs. Henry A.	Powers	Edward Everett*	Wunder
Wise, T. J.	Hosmer	Browning Hands	Labarre
Witthaus, Dr. R. A.	Mozier	Pocahontas+	Witthaus
Witthaus, Dr. R. A.	Hart	Bust--Female*	Witthaus
Witthaus, Dr. R. A.	Hart	Bust--Female*	Witthaus
Witthaus, Dr. R. A.	Hart	Bust--Female*	Witthaus
Witthaus, Dr. R. A.	Hart	Henry Clay*	Witthaus
Wolcott, Huntington	Powers	Ideal Christ	Dentler
Wolcott, Huntington	Powers	Proserpine*	Dentler
Wolcott, Huntington	Powers	Abbott Lawrence*	Wunder
Wolcott, Huntington	Powers	J. H. Wolcott*	Wunder
Wolcott, Huntington	Powers	The Ideal Christ*	Wunder
Wolcott, Huntington	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Wolcott, J. H.	Powers	Abbott Lawrence*	B.A.
Wolf, John	Ives	Bacchante*	Ives
Wolfe, John	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Wood, Hon. Allan	Ives	Sans Souci	Ives
Wood, Frank	Greenough H	Franklin*	TBB
Wood, Richard D.	Rogers	Abraham Lincoln*	PAFA 5
Wood, W.	Ives	Undine	Ives
Woods, Marshall	Powers	Hope	Dentler
Woods, Marshall	Powers	Charity	Dentler
Woods, Marshall	Powers	Mrs Woods' Hand	Wunder
Woods, Marshall	Powers	Faith*	Wunder
Woods, Marshall	Powers	Hope*	Wunder
Woods, Marshall	Powers	Charity*	Wunder
Woodward, J. B.	Ives	Rebecca+	Ives
Woodward, R. B.	Ives	Rebecca at Well	NPR: 1862
Woodward, R. B.	Powers	California*	NPR: 1862
Woodward, R. B.	Galt	Female Bust*	NPR: 1862
Woodward, Robt. B.	Powers	California*	SF Mus
Woodward, Robert B.	Powers	California*	Wunder
Wool, J. E.	Canova	Cleopatra	NMAA
Woolson, Constance	Greenough R	Constance Woolson	TBB
Worcester, T.	Powers	A Gentleman*	B.A.
Worcester, Thomas	Powers	Thos. Worcester*	Wunder
Wyckoff, Mrs.	Ives	Undine	Ives
Wyckoff, Mrs.	Ives	Rebecca+	Ives
Wyckoff, Mrs H. S.	Rinehart	Penserosa	Ross
Wyman, Mrs.	Rinehart	Woodman	Post 1874
Wyman, Mrs.	Rinehart	The Woodman	HTT 1867
Wyman, S. G.	Ives	Flora*	Ives
Wyman, Samuel G.	Rinehart	Backwoodsman	Ross
Yates, Mrs. Jos. C.	Powers	Mrs. Saml. Neill*	Wunder
Yeatman, James E.	Hosmer	Waking Faun	NMAA
Yeatman, James E.	Hosmer	Sleeping Faun	NMAA
Yerkes, Charles T.	Canova	Diana	Yerkes
Yerkes, Charles T.	Houdon	Benj. Franklin*	Yerkes

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Yewell, George	Rinehart	Mrs. Geo.Yewell*	Ross
Young, Henry	Powers	Psyche	Dentler
Young, Henry	Powers	Proserpine	Dentler
Young, Henry	Powers	Psyche*	Wunder
Young, Henry	Powers	Proserpine*	Wunder
Young, Isaac	Clevenger	W. H. Harrison	NMAA
Young, James	Rogers	Ruth	Rogers J
Young, James	Rogers	Somnambula	Rogers J
Young, Josephine	Powers	Psyche*	Birney
Young, Thomas S.	Ives	Excelsior	Ives
Younge, Mr.	Rogers	Nydia	Rogers J
Younge, Mr.	Rogers	Young Augustus*	Rogers J

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