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THE ALBANY MURALS OF WILLIAM MORRIS HUNT. (VOLUMES I AND II)

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City University of New York, 1985

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THE ALBANY MURALS OF WILLIAM MORRIS HUNT

by

SARA B. WEBSTER

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.

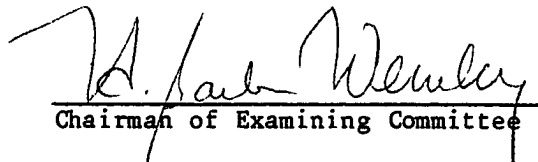
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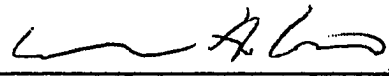
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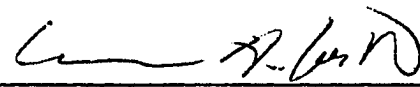
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Research on Hunt's murals turned out to be more difficult than anticipated. There are no William Morris Hunt papers, per se. The murals themselves are covered by a false ceiling and are in ruinous condition. Hunt's early work on The Flight of Night, the subject of one his murals, was lost in the 1872 Boston fire, and correspondence or information relative to his commission and the construction of the Albany State Capitol during the 1870s were destroyed by fire in 1911.

The transcripts of Jane Hunt's diaries (William's sister), now owned

by descendants of Richard Morris Hunt, were among the few primary sources which have been located. For access to this information I am grateful to Mrs. Susan Battley and her sister, Mrs. Carly Angell. I want to thank Professor Paul Baker of New York University for his introduction to this resource and for his subsequent review of my dissertation. A second primary source, now housed in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is a typescript of letters from Hunt to his pupil Rose Lamb written while he was working in Albany. For a copy of the typescript of these letters and access to their extensive archive on the paintings of William Morris Hunt, I am grateful to Dr. Theodore Stebbins and his staff. A third source was the transcript of Louisa Hunt's diary (William's wife) of their European trip taken between 1866 and 1868. For a copy of this transcript and copies of many catalogues of Hunt's exhibitions during the nineteenth century, I thank Sharman McGurn, a former student at the University of Maryland. Another important archival source for this dissertation was the Prints and Drawings Collection, Octagon Museum, Washington, D.C. which houses four William Morris Hunt Scrapbooks of newspaper clippings, and reproductions of many Hunt paintings. For access to this collection and permission to reproduce items from it, and for continued advice and encouragement, I am deeply indebted to Susan R. Stein, Director of the Octagon Museum and Sherry C. Birk, curator of the Prints and Drawings Collection. I am also grateful to Miriam Stewart of the Fogg Art Museum who spent two long afternoons locating and placing at my disposal the many studies of Hunt's murals owned by Harvard University. I also wish to thank Dan Kushel, conservator with the New York State Historical Society, Cooperstown, New York for copies of photographs he took of the murals in 1974. I am

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INTRODUCTION

William Morris Hunt (1824-1879), who lived in Boston most of his adult life, was active as a painter from the time of his return from Europe in 1855 until his death in 1879. He had an intense and volatile personality. Given to practical jokes and ribald stories, he was beloved by his friends and his immediate family, although his wife thought he led an immoral life. He was a generous teacher and supportive of his students most of whom were women. Trained by two of the more advanced European artists of the mid-nineteenth century, Thomas Couture and Jean-François Millet, he had a sophisticated understanding of modern painting techniques and theories. His skilled portraits, which made him much sought after by the elite citizens of Boston, and his popular early paintings of sentimental genre subjects insured him a place as the leading artist of Boston during the 1860s and 1870s. However, his artistic output was uneven, due in part to poor health and recurring bouts of depression. When he worked, he worked with enthusiasm and super-human effort, often completing a portrait in one day. Yet those projects in which he had lost interest he would abandon. This was not the case, however, for the two forty-foot mural paintings, The Flight of Night and The Discoverer, for the Assembly Chamber of the Albany State Capitol which he completed with intense energy and enthusiasm in eight weeks in the fall of 1878. These large-scale murals, the last major paintings of Hunt's career, reflect

his full maturity as an artist and the impact of his European training and knowledge of the great masterpieces of the past.

Earlier monumental paintings done by Americans, such as the four historical canvases in the Capitol Rotunda in Washington or William Powell's Perry's Victory on Lake Erie for the Ohio State Capitol in Columbus, were not, strictly speaking mural paintings, although their large scale and public nature did lead some critics to refer to them as such. What distinguishes mural paintings from easel paintings is that murals are either painted on canvas and then glued to a wall's surface, or painted directly on the wall itself as in fresco painting. Ideally, through attention to scale, color, compositional design, and the use of sympathetic painted ornament, murals complement an interior's architectural decoration. Mural painting also has a long and distinguished history that preceded the development of easel painting by two millennia. In the nineteenth century its revival, which occurred throughout Europe and the United States, was thought to link the modern age to the revered traditions of the past.

Prior to Hunt's Albany murals the only true murals in this country executed for public buildings were those done by European-born artists. These included an extensive series of decorations done in the Nation's Capitol (1855-1880) by the Italian, Constantino Brumidi, the painted lunettes in the dome of the old Court House, Saint Louis (1862), by the German-American, Carl Wimar, and the stereochromed wall-painting, Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way, also in the United States Capitol (1862) by the German-American, Emanuel Leutze. John La Farge

(1835-1910), Hunt's pupil, had just finished his painted decorations for Trinity Church, Boston, when Hunt began his murals in Albany. Since the turn-of-the-century when mural painting in this country was seen, by even the most progressive critics, as containing the promise of national artistic greatness, both artists have been regarded as the fathers of American mural painting.

La Farge's decorations for Trinity Church, which included figure paintings and painted ornament, covered the walls of the central tower, the chancel, transept and nave. Although the spirit of this colored interior had been the inspiration of the church's architect, H.H. Richardson (1836-1886) and the rector of the church, Phillips Brooks, La Farge's involvement and contribution in its realization was equal to theirs. In contrast, most of the carved and painted ornament for the Albany Assembly Chamber was planned, and its creation supervised, by the architect, Leopold Eidlitz (1823-1908). Hunt, who had been brought in late to the project, was responsible only for the creation of the room's two large, mural paintings. However, Hunt was given almost complete freedom in the choice of his subjects. Initially, he had proposed as the subject of one of the murals, Niagara Falls, a site that he had been painting when he was called to Albany in 1878. One of the great wonders of North America and located in New York State, its choice as subject matter was seemingly appropriate. However, the architect and the government officials preferred figurative subjects and Hunt submitted two ideas more appropriate for monumental painting. One, Anahita, the Zoroastrian goddess and symbol of night, he had been working on for many

years. The other, an allegorical representation of Columbus as the Discoverer, originated with two full-length portraits, one of Hamlet, the other of Abraham Lincoln.

While Hunt was neither a literary artist nor a painter of historical narratives, this complex allegory that pairs the American hero of discovery, Christopher Columbus, with the Zoroastrian goddess, Anahita reflected interests of his which spanned his entire career. Among the early influences are a series of paintings based on the life of Christopher Columbus begun in the 1840s by his friend, the German-American artist Emanuel Leutze. A source crucial for the development of The Flight of Night was a gift from his brother Leavitt of a translation from the Persian of the poem Anahita in 1846.

Like the work of his French contemporary, Puvis de Chavannes, Hunt's two murals are a nineteenth-century reinterpretation of traditional themes involving traditional figures in traditional poses that reflect the literary, nationalistic and philosophic currents of his time. Today, however, their meaning is difficult to decipher. The classical allusions and humanistic content familiar to a nineteenth-century audience have, with the advent of modernism, lost their currency. A study of Hunt's murals provides insight into American cultural values at the dawn of the Gilded Age and helps expand our perception of late nineteenth-century American painting.

There is little archival information available either on Hunt or his murals. In addition, he did not leave an explanation of their meaning

which today is somewhat obscure. It is necessary, therefore, to examine his life and work before 1878 in some detail in order to identify those sources and influences which led to the creation of these two paintings. Principal among these was his birth into a prosperous and well-to-do New England family and a mother who went to great lengths to expose her children to the fine arts at an early age and who unceasingly encouraged their exploration and study of all the monuments and galleries of Europe. She was also dedicated to her children's artistic training, encouraging and providing support for William's decision to study art in Rome, Düsseldorf and Paris. She also encouraged her other artistic son, Richard to study architecture in Paris. Like their slightly younger contemporaries, Henry and William James, the Hunts were cosmopolitan and acutely aware of the artistic treasures and cultural advantages of Europe. Both sets of brothers made important contributions to nineteenth-century American culture, the Hunts in the visual arts, the James brothers in literature and psychology.

When William and Richard returned to the United States in 1855, they had planned to open an atelier that would provide training in drawing, painting, and architecture. For personal and family reasons this collaboration never materialized, although both men in their respective cities, Boston and New York, made lasting contributions as teachers as well as practitioners. What they brought back with them was a thorough understanding of the great European traditions dating from antiquity to their own time. These included the Roman and Renaissance traditions of Italy, the most current trends in nineteenth-century German and French

painting and, in the case of Richard, the architectural training of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts and professional contact with the leading French architects of the day.

In his murals, William translated these influences through the dual prism of Emersonian thought and the universal humanism espoused by the Unitarian Church. A study of his murals, therefore, is a vehicle by which many factors can be studied. First, Hunt's murals, examined within the context of the political and cultural forces that led up to the decision to have mural paintings in Albany, provide insight into America's growing appreciation of the power and importance of public art. Second, their history is related to the development of architectural practice in the United States during the 1870s, a period that saw the great architectural practitioners of the day, H. H. Richardson, Leopold Eidlitz and Richard Morris Hunt, pitted against each other in raging debates about the proper style for public architecture. Third, a study of Hunt's murals provides an opportunity to examine the development of public art in this country after the Civil War when new symbols both in painting and architecture were sought to reflect our new self-awareness as a nation and our emerging stature as an international power. Fourth, Hunt's commission is linked to the European mural painting revival in the nineteenth century. This revival, which has been largely ignored by contemporary art historians, occurred internationally and critically influenced the development of this art form in the United States. Lastly, a review of William Hunt's life and last great work in Albany throws into relief that peculiar nineteenth

century mixture of warring forces--tradition versus innovation--that both he and his brother attempted to reconcile throughout their lives.

CHAPTER ONE

HUNT'S EARLY YEARS, FIRST EUROPEAN TRIP, AND RESIDENCE IN BOSTON, 1824-1868

William Morris Hunt (1824-1879) was born in Brattleboro, Vermont, the first son and the second of the five children of Jonathan (1787-1832) and Jane Maria Leavitt Hunt (1801-1877). The Hunts had been prominent landowners in northern New England since the early seventeenth century and over the years had acquired large land holdings in the northern Connecticut River Valley.¹ After graduating from Dartmouth in 1807 and studying law privately in Litchfield, Connecticut, William's father settled in Brattleboro, where he was admitted to the bar in 1812. Like his father and grandfather before, Jonathan was active in community affairs, first as a lawyer and later as the president of the Bank of Brattleboro. In 1820 Jonathan married Jane Maria Leavitt, the daughter of Thaddeus (1778-1828) and Jemima Loomis Leavitt (1779-1846), a prominent family from Suffield, Connecticut. A year after their marriage their only daughter, Jane, was born in 1821. The Hunts had four more children, all sons. William was born in 1824, Jonathan in 1826, Richard in 1827, and Leavitt in 1830.²

In 1827 Jonathan was elected to the House of Representatives where he

served for five years. As a congressman, his political career was undistinguished, and he had planned to retire at the end of his second term and move to Cincinnati where he had purchased land. In a letter to his wife written while traveling west to Ohio, he described his trip in terms which reveal him to be a man possessed of a marked romantic temperament: "The roaring of the water and the winds through the deep and narrow channel of the winding mountains contributes not a little to the sublimity of this wild part of creation. But as I have got upon the sublime, where my knowledge is very limited, I will proceed no further--Bonaparte said there was but one step from the sublime to the ridiculous."³ This was, however, a fateful trip; he contracted cholera and died in Washington a year later in 1832.

As William was only eight years old when his father died, it cannot be claimed that Jonathan Hunt had much direct influence on his son's future career. Jonathan did, however, provide a substantial estate which enabled Mrs. Hunt and her children to live abroad for many years in relative comfort.

Following her husband's death, Mrs. Hunt returned briefly to Brattleboro to settle Jonathan's estate. She then moved with her children to New Haven in order to be near her own family.⁴ It is also apparent from the correspondence in the Hunt Family Archives, that she was an independent woman who liked to socialize, and spent two winter seasons in New York City.⁵ More importantly, in light of William's future career, she resumed the study of painting which she had begun as a child but abandoned when her father objected.⁶ In the summer of 1837,

Mrs. Hunt was introduced to the Italian artist and political refugee, Spiridione Gambardella (c.1820-1868), by her friend, the writer, Catharine Sedgwick of Stockbridge, Massachusetts. Mrs. Hunt offered Gambardella room and board in exchange for art instruction for her and her children. According to Richard Hunt's biographer, Paul Baker: "The Italian artist worked hard that summer; he not only instructed his students and painted a portrait of the two younger boys, but he also regularly played with and entertained the youngsters. Under his supervision, Jane Maria Hunt herself did a portrait of William."⁷

Like many artists of the period, Gambardella was active as a portrait and landscape painter. While in the United States he exhibited at the National Academy of Design (1838-1839), the Boston Athenaeum, and the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. He returned to Europe some time before 1842, when it was noted that he had settled in London.⁸ Interestingly, one of the portraits done by Gambardella was of the Boston merchant and grandfather of Hunt's future wife, Thomas Handasyd Perkins (1764-1854).⁹ No work by Hunt dates from this early study with Gambardella. Thus, it is not possible to assess what influence Gambardella had on Hunt's artistic development, aside from introducing him to basic artistic tools and methods.

In 1838, when William was fourteen, Mrs. Hunt moved her family to Cambridge so that he might attend William Welles's preparatory school prior to his entering Harvard in 1840. According to his close friend and classmate, Edward Wheelwright (1824-1900), Hunt was a popular member of his class. He belonged to the Hasty Pudding Club and the Pierian

Sodality in whose orchestra he played the post-horn.¹⁰ During the years he was at Harvard he also studied independently the art of cameo carving with the sculptor John Crookshanks King (1806-1882), who had moved to Boston in 1840 from Cincinnati via New Orleans.¹¹ Born in Scotland, King had immigrated to this country in 1829. Like other artists of his generation, he was primarily a sculptor of portrait busts and had turned to carving cameos when more lucrative commissions were unavailable.¹²

Only one portrait relief, that of his grandmother, Jemima Leavitt (fig. 1), can be safely assigned to this period of study with King. Given the crude nature of its outline and modeling, it is probably Hunt's earliest sculpture. In contrast to this fledgling attempt at three-dimensional form is a sensitive and precisely rendered pencil sketch of Jemima Levitt (fig. 2), done as a study for the cameo. As one of the earliest known drawings by Hunt, it is clear evidence of his artistic promise.

In the early 1840s, Hunt's enthusiasm for drawing and sculpture became increasingly evident and was remarked upon by a family friend, the Rev. Samuel Parker of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, with whom Hunt had spent two summers.¹³ This preoccupation may have been responsible for his lack of interest in his studies at Harvard. In the notes on Hunt in the Harvard Faculty Record there is frequent mention of his inattention to studies and the practical jokes he performed at his professors' expense.

Admitted to the Freshman Class on probation: referred to the President for taking a dog into the recitation room of Mr. Wheeler: . . . privately admonished for neglect of

historical exercises and warned of study in vacation: publicly admonished for neglect of recitations: dismissed from college and forbidden to apply for readmission before a year from Commencement for engaging in a combination [?]: examined and readmitted to the Junior Class: probation closed: ¹⁴ examined and readmitted to this class on probation.

Hunt also suffered from consumption. Although he was able to recuperate during the summers spent in Stockbridge, his doctor did not think it wise for him to spend another winter in Cambridge and advised Mrs. Hunt to take William to a warmer and drier climate. Evidently, William and his mother decided that Europe was the place to go, both for his health and, possibly, to continue his study of sculpture. However, their friends, the Parkers, were dismayed, for they felt that Europe would only aggravate William's condition. The Reverend Parker wrote to Mrs. Hunt on September 15, 1843:

In regard to William let me request you seriously to take into consideration the West. From what I hear from my Brothers, who reside there, the climate of Missouri is far better than that of Italy for pectoral complaints. The excitement and exposure of sightseeing ruins above ground and underground, pictures, galleries, statuaries, churches, etc. must be taken into the acct. [sic] of ¹⁵ Italy. William cd. [sic] not separate himself from these.

His wife, Eliza, writing the same day, was more sympathetic. She included the recommendation from their mutual friend, Catharine Sedgwick, on the benefits of Rome, noting, again, that William would not be able to resist the temptations that this historic city offered:

There seems here (and here all are interested in William) a very general and strong desire that he should try a western climate. I am aware it is a great responsibility to urge any one thing in such a case as this and therefore I give you the advice of Miss Sedgwick who went abroad with an invalid mother. She gives preference to Rome over all other places--but she says there are such attractions and such

exposures consequent on sightseeing--marble floors--damp churches, etc.,etc., that against all these must be put less exposure in a life at the West--at the same time there must be reference had to Wm's [sic] preferences. The mind must be cheerful or he will not get better.¹⁶

Mrs. Hunt, however, did not take their advice, and in the fall of 1843--a widow with five children ages thirteen to twenty-one--she left for Europe. Later on, when speaking of her decision, Mrs. Hunt was quoted as saying: "'People did not then go abroad to study, and I was regarded as venturesome in the extreme; and in truth I did not realize what I was doing until we were half way across the ocean. Friends had done their best to discourage me, and the greatness of the undertaking was indeed oppressive, yet there was no way but to go on.'"¹⁷ She had planned to stay for only one year or until William regained his health; yet what began as a Grand Tour turned into a twelve-year residence in various European capitals.

The Hunts' sojourn, while unusual in its length, was not unlike the trips made by other Americans at the time. Neil Harris, in his book The Artist and American Society, documented these experiences and the impact European travel had on the development of American art:

From the signing of the Treaty of Ghent in 1814 to the outbreak of the Civil War, increasing numbers of Americans poured across the Atlantic on journeys of exploration and nostalgia. For the first time many of them confronted powerful masterpieces, and their awe, fear, delight or anger forced some consideration of the value of art. Previous indifference or unconcern disappeared forever as these experiences produced grandiose conceptions of art as a moral and political instrument, and a panacea for human ills. Travelers recorded their reactions of excitement and exaltation; the commitments and insights which resulted had a momentous impact on the future of the American artist and the status of his profession.¹⁸

After they arrived at Le Havre on October 22, 1843, the Hunt family journeyed to Paris, where they passed the winter season. Here the entire family began the rounds of sightseeing that marked their entire European stay. Among the sights they visited were the art gallery at the École des Beaux-Arts and the Gobelins tapestry factory. In addition, William's sister and his mother were presented at court to King Louis Philippe.¹⁹

Paris at this time was at relative peace. Louis Philippe was popular among the newly rich bourgeoisie and new buildings were going up everywhere to house an ever-expanding government bureaucracy. New churches were being built and old ones restored since the Catholic Church was once more enjoying the favor of the monarch. These building programs often included mural paintings, and France in the 1840s was at the beginning of a mural painting revival that lasted through the nineteenth century, culminating with the work of Puvis de Chavannes. By the time the Hunts arrived in Paris, Eugène Delacroix had just completed a suite of murals for the Salon du Roi in the Palais Bourbon and was in the midst of completing a second and more complex project for the Chamber of Deputies in the same building. Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, too, was busy preparing cartoons for two murals for a private patron, the Duc de Luynes, for his Château Dampierre titled The Golden Age (1841-1849; a reduced oil replica is in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge) and The Age of Iron which, unfortunately, were never completed. Most of the other new mural projects were done by artists who are not well known today but who were extremely popular in their own time. One of the most

sought after was Hippolyte-Jean Flandrin (1809-1864) who had recently completed mural decorations for the Chapel of Saint John in the Church of Saint-Severin (1840-1841) and was in 1843 at work on a larger project for the transept of Saint-Germain-des-Prés (1842-1851). Another artist, Théodore Chassériau (1819-1856), a student of Ingres and a later proponent of Delacroix's romantic colorism, was undertaking his first mural commission for the Chapel of St. Mary the Egyptian in the Church of Saint-Merri (1843-1844). However, the most important mural painting project of the period apart from Delacroix's, and one that the entire Hunt family no doubt saw during their visit to the *École des Beaux-Arts*, was Paul Delaroche's Hemicycle (1836-1841) honoring the great artists of the Western world.²⁰

After four months in Paris Mrs. Hunt decided to leave for Italy. In the 1840s, Italy more than France was a mecca for American travellers, particularly for those Americans interested in expanding their knowledge of the fine arts either through sightseeing or actual practice. According to Harris, Rome and Florence offered opportunities unique in all of Europe: "Rome and Florence remained the most popular art centers for Americans right through 1860. In Rome, famous sculptors like William Wetmore Story, Thomas Crawford and Harriet Hosmer were joined by painters like George Loring Brown, William Page and J.F. Kensett. . . . Between 1830 and 1875 more than two hundred American painters and sculptors worked or studied in Italy."²¹

After arriving in Rome, Hunt took a short trip in the Apennines in March 1844. His companion was Francis Parkman, the future historian and

a classmate from Harvard. Parkman, although a life-long invalid, was a great outdoorsman with little patience for the usual urban tourist sights and persuaded Hunt to join him on this trip. As noted by Parkman in his Journals, they began their journey in Tivoli, where they saw Hadrian's villa, the Temple of Vesta and the grotto of Neptune. Accompanied by a guide, they followed the Aniene River and arrived in Subiaco, a city made famous by St. Benedict, whose monastery was close by.

Parkman noted that during their trip Hunt was often busy sketching. Two of these sketches are among a group of early pen and ink drawings preserved by Mrs. Susan Battley, a descendant of Richard Morris Hunt. One is of a young peasant boy with a staff leading an ass saddled with a baggage frame (fig. 3). The other sketch, done in the same dense crosshatching, is more narrative (fig. 4). In it Hunt depicted an old man with a domed hat who stands behind a low fence on the left. At the right a young girl, possibly his daughter, approaches, carrying a bundle of fagots. In the background, only summarily suggested, is the high rock wall and castle turret of the town of Subiaco as described by Parkman in his Journals:

We came suddenly upon Subiaco. It stood on the spot of a detached rocky hill, among the mountains. Goats, cattle, trains of mules and asses, women with jars of water on their heads, old woodmen with the heavy crooked chopping knife in their girdles and a bundle of fagots on their shoulders were coming down the different pathways for the mountains toward the gate of the town - for it was near sunset, the town was already in shadow, except the castle at the top.²²

From Subiaco, Hunt and Parkman traveled to Civitella and Palestrina,

where they visited the ancient temple of Fortune famous for its mosaics, and completed their journey at Velletri. From there they returned to Rome. Hunt stayed on, but Parkman returned to the United States in order to complete his studies at Harvard.

Two years later, in 1846, Parkman took another journey--this time to the Western United States. Here he studied Indian life and his observations formed the basis of his first great history, The California and Oregon Trail (1849), the publication of which marked his entry into the brotherhood of America's early historians: William Hickling Prescott, John Lathrop Motley and George Bancroft. Parkman's passion reflected the nineteenth century's search for national history, a preoccupation that in the United States and Europe paralleled the growth of nationalism. These four historians were the first American writers to not only preserve the documents of our recent history, but to begin the gargantuan task of interpretation and analysis of the United States's present and future role within a larger world community.²³ Hunt would have been aware of these new analyses since this writing of American history was being done by a close friend and other contemporaries from the Harvard/Boston community where he had been educated and would later spend most of his adult life. While the study of history was not a passion of his, these early researches provide a context for the study of his murals.

After his return from the Apennines in late March, Hunt, along with other members of his family, scoured Rome and the rest of Italy, visiting churches, palaces, galleries, and paying visits to the many

sculptors, both European and American, who were resident in Rome. Hunt's sister kept a detailed diary of all they saw, including Italy's architecture and paintings, ancient monuments, antique cameos (for which Jane and William had a particular fondness), medieval and Renaissance frescoes, and classical Roman and contemporary sculpture.²⁴ In her entry for April 1, 1844, Jane included a detailed description of several sculptors' studios they visited:

Monday. Today I have passed a most delightful day at the Studios of several of the most distinguished sculptors in Rome. At Tadolini's, we saw many beautiful pieces, among which were the statues and bas-reliefs for the monument of the Queen of Sarsenach in Hindustan, which, although almost finished, remains as it is, as her nephew has lost his reason and will not advance money enough to have it finished. The price was to be 3500 scudi. Next we went to Gott's Studio who has several small groups which were beautiful but he seems to excel in dogs, and had a great number of them. At McDonald's we saw a fine Ulysses and his dog, and a chimney piece which he had just designed with Prometheus on one side & Pandora on the other. He had but few fancy pieces but between 2 & 300 busts all of English ladies & gentlemen. At Gibson's we saw a quantity of beautiful things among the most beautiful were Cupid caressing Psyche in the form of a butterfly, a bas relief of Cupid & Psyche, a beautiful group of Psyche born away by Zephyrs, a wounded Amazon, and many other beautiful designs. Rinaldi's Studio we saw some fine things. This was originally Canova's Studio. Thorwaldsen - his Christ & the Apostles sculptured for some church in Hel [?] are very beautiful - but his bas reliefs are perfect - in that respect he is the first sculptor in the world. At Tenarani's we saw a most beautiful Psyche among many others. Crawford, an American artist is now modeling Adam & Eve - fine. I saw the cast of the Orpheus which was made for the Boston Athenaeum & broken there in unpacking - a Sappho & Vestal Virgin for Mrs. C. Parker, very beautiful & a few other fine things. Came home in time for dinner almost tired to death.²⁵

Perhaps inspired by the work of these contemporary sculptors and perhaps in response to King's advice, Hunt resumed his study of

sculpture in the fall of 1844 with Henry Kirke Brown who had himself recently arrived in Rome from Florence.²⁶ Hunt worked in Brown's studio approximately six months and by March 1845 had completed several works under Brown's supervision including, according to Knowlton, "the head of the Naples Psyche, restoring the head as he imagined it might have been."²⁷ He probably chose to copy this particular antiquity because it was the highlight of the Naples Museum which he had visited the previous spring and, to judge from Jane Hunt's Journal, Psyche was a popular subject among sculptors working in Rome.

Brown may have also furthered Hunt's study by introducing him to the practice of drawing from the antique and Renaissance masters. Wayne Craven, in his article on Brown's Italian years, noted Brown's interest in this exercise: "The ancient and Renaissance statues and bas-reliefs which filled the long galleries and court-yards of Rome were a constant source of stimulation to the young sculptor [Brown] and he - frequently in the company of other American artists - went regularly to sketch at the Vatican galleries, the Capitoline Museum, the Villa Borghese, the French Academy, and to many old ruins in the fora and elsewhere."²⁸ There is a drawing by Hunt in the files of Mrs. Battley which may have been influenced by this study (fig. 5). It is of a pilgrim who holds a domed hat in his left hand and shepherd's staff in his right and is related in terms of subject matter to the drawings Hunt did in Subiaco. In contrast, however, to the dense crosshatching and roundly modeled forms of the Subiaco sketches, Hunt's Roman pilgrim is drawn in outline with no internal modelling, and is very similar to Brown's drawings from

the antique (fig. 6).

While in Brown's studio Hunt also may have carved in shell the four portraits of him and his three brothers mounted on a bracelet now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 7). Although undated, these carvings are more technically refined than his earlier relief of Jemima Leavitt. Hunt also looks to be the same age in the cameo silhouette (third from the left) as in the pencil profile of him done by his friend, the German-American painter, Emanuel Leutze (1816-1868), in February 1845 (fig. 10).

There is only one other known work from this period, a cameo of Brown that William carved for Mrs. Brown as a gift (unlocated).²⁹ However, the most important outcome of Hunt's training with Brown was his decision "to devote himself to the study and profession of art" instead of returning to Harvard.³⁰

Hunt's output of sculpture was always small. While he did not abandon sculpture for painting for a number of years, there are only three more known sculptures by him: two portrait reliefs, one of his future teacher, the French painter, Thomas Couture (fig. 8), a second of his friend, F. Minot (n.d., unlocated, photograph in Prints and Drawings Collection, Octagon Museum, Washington D.C.); and his best known sculpture relief, The Horses of Anahita (fig. 9).³¹

The development of Anahita, an obscure Persian goddess associated with the Zoroastrian religion and the cult of Mithra, as the subject of the painting, The Flight of Night, is more fully explored in Chapter

Four. However, Hunt may have first learned of Anahita during a trip he took in April 1845 to Greece and Turkey with members of his family and a close family friend, the Boston collector and amateur writer and painter, Thomas Gold Appleton. They visited Corfu, Corinth, Athens, Piraeus, Marathon, Daphne and Eleusis in Greece; Smyrna, Gallipoli and Istanbul in Turkey before returning to Europe by way of Trieste in late May.³² The cult of Anahita or Anaitis, as she is called in Greek, developed along with the cult of Mithra in Rome during the second century A.D., and became widespread throughout the Roman Empire, particularly in Asia Minor and Greece.³³

Following this trip, Hunt may have decided that his exposure to the practice of sculpture in Brown's studio was insufficient and that he needed further training in basic artistic technique. Such a conclusion is confirmed by his decision to leave Italy and enroll in the Düsseldorf Academy on the recommendation of Emanuel Leutze whom he had met earlier. Leutze was born in Germany but was brought to the United States as a child. He studied painting briefly in Philadelphia and then went to Düsseldorf where he enrolled in the Academy in 1840. Leutze quickly established himself as an artist of great promise, but left Düsseldorf in 1843 for personal and professional reasons and spent the next two years traveling in Europe. He met Hunt sometime in late 1844 or early 1845. The carefully delineated pencil sketch of Hunt by Leutze, inscribed "Rome/Italy/1845" (fig. 10), confirms their meeting and friendship. It is also a good example of Leutze's highly refined portrait style which no doubt impressed Hunt and influenced his decision

to attend the Düsseldorf Academy. In September 1845, Hunt enrolled as a student of sculpture. Although Düsseldorf was not an important center for three-dimensional design, Hunt's choice may have reflected his belief that the basic training offered there would be good preparation for whatever artistic field he chose.³⁴ However, the routinized academic training, which was the hallmark of the Academy, did not suit Hunt's temperament and he left after nine months.

It is important to note, however, that Düsseldorf was a good germinating ground for Hunt's murals. Here he had contact with artists such as Karl Friedrich Lessing, Adolf Schrödter, Leutze (who returned to Düsseldorf at about the time Hunt began his study there), and others who were internationally acclaimed for their history painting.³⁵ Leutze's paintings, some of which were distributed by the American Art Union, were very popular in the United States, particularly his Washington Crossing the Delaware (1851, Metropolitan Museum of Art). What had more direct bearing on Hunt's murals, however, was Leutze's series of paintings based on the life of Columbus begun in 1842 and which he continued to work on for the next twenty years. This hero, who through his discovery of America connected the old world with the new, later became the principal figure in Hunt's other mural painting, The Discoverer (fig. 11).³⁶

Also, as noted in the catalogue for the exhibition The Düsseldorf Academy and the Americans, the city, between 1830 and 1860, was an important center for mural painting.

Cornelius had given the school renewed interest in fresco

painting which had fallen into disuse since medieval times. The decoration of the garden room of Heltorf palace near Angermünde became the first major commission for the School. Sturmer, a pupil of Cornelius, had already begun a series here on the life of Frederic Barbarossa. The project was completed by³⁷ the Schadow pupils, Mûche, Lessing and Pluddermann.

Perhaps with a desire to be reunited with his family who were then living in Paris, Hunt moved from Düsseldorf to Paris in the fall of 1846.³⁸ He also decided to pursue further training in sculpture with Jean-Jacques Pradier (1790-1852), a favorite of Louis-Philippe, and professor at the École des Beaux Arts.³⁹ However, Hunt arrived too late to enroll in Pradier's atelier and took this opportunity, according to Knowlton, to return to the United States for a month's visit.

When he returned to Paris in December 1846, he saw a painting by Thomas Couture (1815-1879) that changed his life. Knowlton wrote: "While waiting for the opening of the modeling class in the autumn of 1846, he made a hurried visit to the United States, returning to Paris in December. While diligently searching the city for every possible object of artistic interest, he passed by Deforge's art store, where he chanced to see, in the window, Couture's beautiful Falconer (fig. 12) He stopped before it and exclaimed: - 'If that's painting, I am a painter.'"⁴⁰ Hunt entered Couture's atelier sometime in 1847. The exact date is uncertain, for Couture's atelier, or as he called it a "new school of national painting," did not open officially until some time in mid-1847, following the success of his best known work, The Romans of the Decadence (Louvre), at the Spring Salon.

For nearly a century, Couture has been regarded as a reactionary

painter and his career largely ignored. Recent scholarship, however, primarily that of Albert Boime, enables us to more fully evaluate the role he played in French painting at mid-century. Couture had been a pupil of Antoine-Jean Gros, who in turn had been a pupil, along with Ingres, of Jacques-Louis David. However, Couture, in his announcement for his new school of "national painting," rejected neoclassicism as the "spurious classical school which reproduces the works of bygone times in a banal and imperfect fashion."⁴¹ Couture had less use for the Romantic School, unofficially led by Delacroix, and declared that he was "even more hostile to that abominable school, known under the rubric of 'Romantic' and views with disfavor the tendencies towards petty artistic commercialism."⁴² What Couture advocated was a return to the direct study of antique sculpture and the old masters instead of a reliance on their reinterpretation by either the classicists or the romantics.

In spite of his rhetoric, Couture was a powerful teacher and the training Hunt received in his atelier formed the basis of his own painting technique and teaching methods.⁴³ Couture's emphasis on the spontaneous rendering of form through the almost intuitive application of light and dark values, would have been a revelation to Hunt following his year in Düsseldorf. Furthermore, as noted by Knowlton, for someone of Hunt's temperament and enthusiasms, Couture was a perfect choice: "With Couture himself he was in perfect sympathy and under his guidance, certain qualities in Hunt's mind and work unfolded as they scarcely would have done under any other auspices."⁴⁴ Couture's influence can be first discerned in Hunt's earliest paintings which, with the exception

of a few portraits, were primarily figurative genre. For instance, in Couture's The Widow (1840, fig. 13) and in Hunt's The Greek Girl (1851, fig. 14), women are posed against flat decorative backgrounds that push their figures to the foreground plane. Hunt's figure is more hieratically placed, his paint handling thinner and his overall composition flatter. However, the influence of Couture is unmistakable in Hunt's use of a dark outline to delineate form, his simple modeling of the oval face and appropriation of the same downcast expression.

A closer look at one of Hunt's paintings, The Hurdy-Gurdy Boy (1851, fig. 15) shows not only how he followed Couture's work, but how he responded to other artistic impulses such as Realism which emerged in France after the Revolution of 1848.⁴⁵ Essentially, The Hurdy-Gurdy Boy is a reworking and updating of Couture's The Troubadour (1843, fig. 16). The skyward glance and cocked head of Couture's musician was repeated in Hunt's painting, but instead of a figure from the medieval past, Hunt's is from the streets of Paris. Thus, the Hurdy-Gurdy Boy is not only an homage to Couture (and Albert Boime in his monograph Thomas Couture and the Eclectic Vision considers The Troubadour, a key painting by Couture from this period), but reflects the shift in France during the 1850s from romantic to realist subject matter.⁴⁶ As noted by Gabriel Weisberg in his recent catalogue, The Realist Tradition, picturesque street children were a new subject matter for the Realists at mid-century.

Wandering urchins occasionally singing for money were a common occurrence that provided a new artistic theme for the Realists, who were seeking aspects of popular life as well as well-established traditions within urban settings. There

were numerous itinerant young musician (some with instruments, some accompanied by a pet monkey) earning money to support themselves or to sustain families that remained in the provincial regions of the country.⁴⁷

However, in the early 1850s, after he began his association with the famed Barbizon painter, Jean-François Millet (1814-1875), a quiet, more reflective mood entered his paintings. A good example of the change is The Violet Girl (or La Bouquetière) (1856, fig. 17).⁴⁸ In this painting Hunt, by reducing the background to a mere suggestion of an urban street and by omitting the colorful details of costume, focused attention on the child's melancholy task and sad expression. Here Hunt is more interested in the representation of feeling and mood than in the rendering of anecdote. This quality sets Hunt's figurative genre apart not only from the French Realists but from the genre painting of his American contemporaries, William Henry Burr, George Henry Yewell and Thomas Le Clear, who also painted the newsboys, bootblacks and matchgirls of nineteenth century America.

Hunt was with Millet in Barbizon from 1852 to 1855, but first became aware of his work at the Salon of 1850 when Millet's painting, The Sower (1850, Provident National Bank, Philadelphia), attracted his attention. Two years later in the company of his friend William Babcock (1826-1899), the first American artist to befriend Millet, Hunt visited Millet in Barbizon and purchased, along with several other paintings, a second version of The Sower (also dated 1850, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). Hunt in his Talks on Art described his first impressions of Millet's paintings and his subsequent association with the man who he came to regard as "the greatest man in Europe."

When I first saw his pictures in Paris I was walking through the exhibition with one of my friends, and we were delighted with them. . . . I went to Barbizon, where Millet lived, stayed there for two years, and was with him all the time. I found him working in a cellar, three feet under ground, his pictures mildewing with the dampness, as there was no floor. That struck in my crop, I tell you! . . . You ask if he painted much out-of-doors. We used to take walks, and look at things, and study them in that way. We would start out together, and perhaps come to a cart by the road-side. We would sit down, and he would make me notice how it sagged, and how the light fell on the wheels, and all sorts of things about it. Anything was interesting to him. We would be out all the afternoon, and perhaps, walk no more than half a dozen rods.

Sometimes we would go to Paris, to the Louvre, and he would lead me up to a Mantegna or an Albert Durer, and show me what were the great things. After Mantegna he would say, 'Now, where's your Titian?'⁴⁹

The work most often cited as being the bridge between Couture and Millet is Hunt's standing three-quarter profile of a woman known as La Marguerite.⁵⁰ Hunt did two versions, completing one in 1851, while still with Couture (fig. 18), and the other in 1853 after he had begun his study with Millet in Barbizon (fig. 19).⁵¹ Both Martha Hoppin in her dissertation "William Morris Hunt: Aspects of His Work," and Laura Meixner in hers, "Jean-François Millet: His American Students and Influences," noted the changes in paint handling, a reduced emphasis on decorative effect, and a more fluid compositional integration from the earlier to the later version, as evidence of the impact of Millet's influence.⁵²

In addition, there are other paintings such as The Violet Girl that represent Hunt's synthesis of his French training. Hunt placed particular importance on this painting and exhibited it often between

1855 and 1857, first at the Paris Universal Exposition in 1855. Back in the United States Hunt reworked it and signed and dated it 1856. The following year he exhibited it at the "First Annual Exhibition" (#118) of the Washington Art Association, Washington, D.C., and the Boston Athenaeum (as The Flower Girl, #236). He also reproduced it as a lithograph which he exhibited along with the painting at the spring 1857 exhibition of the National Academy of Design (#88 and #291). As described earlier, Hunt, in The Violet Girl, combined the urban milieu of the French Realists with the lessons of Millet and rural Barbizon. Given the many places this painting was exhibited in this country, it could be said that Hunt saw it as a comprehensive introduction to contemporary French painting for Americans.

Most recent analyses of Hunt's years spent in France focus on his central role in the United States as champion of Barbizon painting in general and that of Millet in particular through his teaching, his collecting, and the example of his own work.⁵³ However, in addition to his contribution as a teacher and practitioner of the most advanced contemporary ideas in French painting, Hunt also brought back with him links to the great European masterpieces of the past. Hunt immersed himself in this tradition through his visits to the galleries of Europe, and his study of antique monuments in Italy. Also, Couture and Millet encouraged the study of the old masters and the antique. Couture, in his announcement for his school of national painting, stressed the study of the old masters: "His teaching is based above all on the great art of ancient Greece, the Renaissance masters and the admirable Flemish

school. He believes that it is necessary to study all of these schools in order to reproduce the wonders of nature and ideas of our own time, in a noble and elevated style."⁵⁴ Peter Bermingham, among others, noted that Millet was also a passionate reader and admirer of the great literary traditions: "Millet's special literary favorites included the pastoral poetry of Homer, Virgil and Milton, and though an agnostic himself, he would gladly quote chapter and verse from the Bible. Only on rare occasions a depicor of scenes from mythical or religious sources, Millet, nevertheless, left little doubt in his art and studies that he thought himself an heir to the classical tradition."⁵⁵ Even the Realists, as noted by Weisberg, relied "on the old masters to create a style appropriate for the mid-century."⁵⁶ From very early in his career Hunt began to incorporate this tradition into a major painting, The Flight of Night, which later became one of two mural paintings for the State Capitol in Albany.

When Hunt left Europe to return to this country in 1855, he was qualified to assume the role of one of American's foremost painters and teachers.⁵⁷ By then he had exhibited at the Salon twice, in 1852 and 1853, and at the Paris Universal Exposition in 1855.⁵⁸ He also brought back to the United States the many canvases he had painted between 1851 and 1855 to exhibit and sell in Boston, Washington and New York. These included: The Prodigal Son (1851, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); The Greek Girl; La Marguerite (1853 version); The Fortune Teller (1852, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); The Hurdy-Gurdy Boy; and The Violet Girl. As further evidence of his confidence in these paintings he used the

last three as subjects for lithographs after his return to Boston, in order to make his work available to a wider audience.

Precisely why Hunt left Europe in 1855 is not known, although several factors had a bearing on his decision. One was that most of his family was returning to this country and he and his brother had planned to start an American atelier based on the French system. There, William would give instruction in the new ideas in painting while Richard would teach the fundamentals of architecture that he had learned at the *École des Beaux-Arts*.⁵⁹ However, this plan never materialized, although both brothers became influential teachers on their own, William in Newport and Boston, Richard in New York.

He also returned to marry the socially prominent Bostonian, Louisa Dumaresq Perkins (1831-1897). This he did on October 18, 1855. It is not known how or when Hunt met his wife, but the Perkinses were a large, ubiquitous, well-to-do family, which at mid-century seemed to have emissaries in all parts of Europe. Baker reported that Richard Hunt and Louisa's brother, Gus Perkins, traveled to England together in 1855. Earlier, the future art historian and educator, Charles Callahan Perkins, Louisa's cousin, had been in Rome at the same time as Hunt.⁶⁰ The most distinguished of the Perkinses, however, was Louisa's grandfather, Thomas Handasyd Perkins (1764-1854), one of Boston's most celebrated citizens and patrons of the arts. Since the early 1800s Perkins had been an active leader of Boston's art community as a collector and member of the Boston Athenaeum. It was his donation of eight thousand dollars that made possible in 1827 the creation of the

Athenaeum's Art Gallery, which remained the most important exhibition facility in Boston until the opening of the Museum of Fine Arts in 1876.⁶¹ Perkins was also a close friend and patron of Washington Allston and, in 1826, was one of twelve subscribers to participate in a fund to support the completion of his Belshazzar's Feast. Perkins had met Allston aboard the Galen, the ship he and Allston took back from Europe in 1818. Allston, like Hunt, returned to his native land in order to bring the message of art and beauty, and to plant the seeds of European civilization.⁶²

Unlike his brother Richard, William never seemed to have an interest in living in New York. While it is generally thought that his marriage kept him in New England, Hunt may have been more comfortable living in the Boston area where he had many friends. As soon as he arrived he was accepted for membership in the newly formed Boston Art Club. Led by the portraitist, Joseph Ames, the Boston Art Club had been organized by artists in an effort to promote contemporary art and to replace the moribund Boston Artists Association. Carol Troyen in her catalogue essay, "The Boston Tradition," noted that:

The Boston Art Club held annual juried exhibitions of contemporary art, which initially complemented the old-master-dominated Athenaeum shows but became increasingly conservative in the 1860s, when it suffered financial difficulties. The purpose of the Boston Art Club was not the promotion of local artists, nor was the participation of artists essential; rather, it was a social club⁶³ dominated by Boston's elite, with a special interest in art.

However, Hunt did not take an active role in the organization, for shortly after his marriage he and his wife moved to Brattleboro,

Vermont. While it is not clear why Hunt left Boston at this time, Brattleboro was the city of his birth, his ancestral home was still owned by the Hunts, and members of his father's family lived there. Hunt also may have needed respite from the hectic social life of Boston. In Brattleboro he completed work on The Violet Girl, Girl at the Fountain (1852-1856, Metropolitan Museum of Art), and possibly Girl With Cat (1856, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). Also, his first child, a son named Morris, was born there on July 24, 1856.

In the fall of 1856, Hunt moved his family to an even more rural location, Newport, Rhode Island, perhaps with the intention of creating an American Barbizon there, for as noted by Meixner, "the casual atmosphere allowed him to transfer his Barbizon experience, in its idyllic aspects to American soil."⁶⁴ It may also have been its proximity to Boston and to his wife's family which helped make it a good choice.

At some point during his first two years back in the United States, possibly as early as 1856, Hunt undertook a series of six lithographs. These lithographs were based on earlier paintings: Boy With a Goose (figs. 20 & 21), Deer in the Moonlight (fig. 22), The Fortune Teller, Girl at the Fountain, Hurdy-Gurdy Boy, and Violet Girl.⁶⁵ It is not known whether the entire set was done at one time, however, all six were mentioned in the March 1859 issue of the Crayon where they received a favorable notice:

We have to call attention of amateurs to a series of lithographic drawings by William Hunt. They consist of subject that have been painted on a large scale by Mr. Hunt within the past six years. We recognize the sentiment of the originals in its full force, and would refer to them as

admirable specimens of the art of lithography. If artists would repeat their works in this way oftener, the public and the cause of Art would be great gainers by it.⁶⁶

During the first half of the nineteenth century, lithography was a popular medium in America for the reproduction of topographical views and the sentimental genre landscapes of Currier & Ives. Hunt was one of the earliest American artists to explore its use for the reproduction of paintings. He no doubt gained his interest in this medium from Millet who between 1849 and 1858 did six lithographs of his paintings including The Sower, Portrait of Olivier de Serres and Où donc est-il?. In the early 1860s, Manet also created lithographs which, according to Roger Passeron, "were primarily a democratic means of reproducing his paintings."⁶⁷

From all accounts, the five years (1856-1861) that Hunt spent in Newport were tranquil, with the exception of the months spent in mourning the death of his infant son, Morris, who died in September 1857. In order to recuperate from this ordeal, he and his wife traveled to Fayal, the Azores, where they spent six months, November 1857 to April 1858, as the guests of one of Hunt's Harvard classmates, Charles W. Dabney, who came from "a family of whale-oil merchants, three generations of whom served as American consuls to the Azores."⁶⁸

While little is known about their six-month stay, this break in both his routine and living arrangements allowed him to explore more fully two types of painting: landscape and formal portraiture. Unfortunately, none of the landscape paintings have been located and are known solely from listings in the 1879 Memorial Exhibition Catalogue.⁶⁹ The best

known work that Hunt did while in Fayal is the posthumous portrait of Francisca Paim da Terra Brum da Silveira (fig. 25), who was a member of a prominent Fayal family. Although it is a portrait done from a photograph, it is a large and impressive work. The elegant detailed rendering of clothing, the placement of the figure in a shallow space, and the aristocratic treatment of the sitter became a hallmark of style of portraiture that Hunt continued in several portraits of Boston women done in the early 1860s.⁷⁰

The next important portrait done by Hunt was not of a woman, however, but of the Chief Justice of the the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, Lemuel Shaw (fig. 26). After his return to Newport in the spring of 1858, Hunt actively pursued an opportunity to paint this portrait as "an entering wedge to this profession in Boston." In the Shaw portrait Hunt expanded upon the large-scale format of the Señora Terra portrait by showing the full standing figure of the Judge on a carpet-covered dais with his right fist placed firmly on book of laws. Hunt heightened the impact of this commanding figure by omitting extraneous details and placing the figure against a light background. As noted by Hoppin this portrait shows the strong influence of Couture: "The decorative contour, as well as the blurred edges of the figure, are familiar from Couture's portraits of M. Ohnet, Baron Perignon, and M. Barroilhet. The general massing of Shaw's figure and the emphasis on this expressive silhouette recall Couture's work."⁷¹ Although it received mixed reviews when it was exhibited at the galleries of Williams and Everett in 1859, Hunt went on to become one of the best known and admired portraitists in Boston and

America during the 1860s and 1870s.⁷²

One of his earliest portraits of Boston women is the three-quarter length double portrait of a mother and daughter, Julia and Madeleine Borland (fig. 27). In this painting Hunt abandoned the impressive formality of the Terra and Shaw portraits by placing his figures in a domestic interior. The introspective pose of Madeleine, which Hunt adapted from two earlier figure pieces done while he was with Millet, Girl Reading (1853, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), Girl Spinning (c.1853-1855, private collection), complemented the intimate nature of this painting. However, in an series of female portraits that date from the early 1860s, this homey milieu is abandoned for an aristocratic, continental style that would come to characterize later American portraiture.⁷³

The best known of these are three portraits of women that Hunt did between 1861 and 1862: Mrs. Samuel Gray Ward (fig. 28), Mrs. Joseph Randolph Coolidge (fig. 29), and Mrs. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr. (fig. 30). In all of them, the shallow space, the gently rendered contours of the face and hands, the ambient lighting, and the detailed rendering of fabric and lace suggest the influence of French nineteenth-century portraiture, specifically of Ingres and Couture. In her dissertation Hoppin mentions the influence of Couture in particular:

While Hunt's portraits are not in the predominant style of his [American] contemporaries as represented by [Charles Loring] Elliott and [Joseph] Ames, neither do they directly reflect the style of a particular French portraitist. In general, the greater breadth of treatment and looser brushwork stem from his exposure to French painting, so that his work could seem French to his contemporaries. . . . He

most likely derived his portrait style from the figure paintings of Couture and Millet, rather than from their portraits specifically. In the field of French portraiture, however, Hunt's portraits show the greatest affinity to Couture's portraits.⁷⁴

In contrast to these three portraits of elegantly attired women is the standing, three-quarter length portrait of Mrs. Robert Shaw Sturgis (fig. 31) done a year later. Pictured against a light, shallow background, with her left hand clasping an ivy-entwined balustrade, Mrs. Sturgis is modestly dressed in sober black taffeta. Only a three-tiered swirl of lace above her wrist betrays any concession to luxury. Unsentimental and naturalistic, this portrait of Mrs. Sturgis represents a more 'modern' type of portraiture than the 'aristocratic' or continental-style portraits of Mrs. Ward, Mrs. Coolidge, or Mrs. Winthrop. In later portraits, particularly of men, Hunt favored this naturalistic style.

Hunt's Newport years were important to him both professionally and personally. He and his wife had two more children, Eleanor in 1858 (d.1941), shortly after his and Lousia's return from Fayal, and Enid in 1861 (d.1928). He continued his work in lithography, and built himself a spacious studio behind his home, Hill Top, that became a place to paint, to teach and to socialize. His studio was described in the exhibition catalogue, The Late Landscapes of William Morris Hunt, as a "roomy, pleasant two-storied studio behind the already spacious Hill Top. Hunt's studio occupies the upper floor, and there are smaller studios for students at ground level. Hunt decorates the studios with plaster casts, French paintings, and objects d'art acquired in Europe."⁷⁵

In 1859 Hunt began to accept pupils at his studio in Newport. Between then and 1861 he had at least eleven students, including John La Farge, William and Henry James, the architect Frank Furness, and Sarah Wyman Whitman.⁷⁶ From the beginning of his teaching career, Hunt had two important lessons to impart to his students: the universal and humanistic significance of Millet's subjects and Couture's innovative painting methods. While Millet's attitude towards art and art-making were the philosophical underpinnings of Hunt's method, it was Couture's system of drawing and paint application that was used to communicate the simplicity, dignity, and universality of Millet's compositions.⁷⁷

It is generally believed that Hunt's first pupil was Edward Wheelwright (1824-1900), a friend from Harvard, who had studied earlier with Millet. Wheelwright remained a close friend of Hunt and, as Secretary for the Harvard Class of 1844, wrote a valuable biographical sketch on him. Although Wheelwright never became a professional painter, he was art editor of the Atlantic Monthly and wrote several articles including one on Boston painters, and another on his sojourn with Millet.⁷⁸

Hunt's second pupil was the artist John La Farge (1835-1910), who had come to Newport in 1859 to study with him on the recommendation of Richard Hunt. La Farge, the son of a well-to-do French emigré family, had spent two years in France where he had begun his study of art with Couture. Upon his return in 1858 he had met Richard in New York when both were living on West Tenth Street in the new Studio Building. The Tenth Street Studio was one of the first buildings designed by Richard

and was built specifically to provide studio and gallery space for artists. When it opened in 1858 it was an immediate success. Among the first artist tenants who lived and/or worked there were: John W. Casilear, Frederic Church, William M. Hart, John F. Kensett, Sanford Gifford, Jervis McEntee, William S. Haseltine, and the sculptor, Launt Thompson. Here, Richard set up his architectural atelier, decorating it, according to Baker, "with a clutter of objects--painting, prints, drawings, photographs, plaster casts, pieces of panels, moldings, and stained glass, old furniture, and relics from Egyptian, Greek and Roman antiquity."⁷⁹ Throughout his life, Richard continued to be active in the New York art world, and William benefited from Richard's contacts. Richard sent him several pupils, and was probably instrumental in having additional works by William included in the 1867 Paris Universal Exposition. He also may have suggested his brother for the Albany commission, and always remained a strong and encouraging support to William throughout his life.⁸⁰

La Farge recalled his decision to study with Hunt in conversations that were included in Royal Cortissoz's biography of La Farge:

Talking of this [La Farge's desire to further his artistic training] one day to Richard Hunt, merely because his French training had made him acquainted with and respectful of the artists of France whom I especially liked, he suggested that I might like to be with his brother, William, who thought of taking some pupils, who was settled in Newport, and with whom I could continue the practical teachings that I had almost begun at Couture's studio; Hunt, being of course, a favorite pupil of Couture's. I met thereupon Bill Hunt, saw some piece of his work, and was pleased with the man and with what he did and so that in the spring of 1859 I came to Newport to try the experiment, and began in a little more serious way than before.⁸¹

Yet La Farge confessed to "a disappointment," for "Hunt had abandoned the practice of Couture, which was what I wished to continue." However, this remark, made by La Farge fifty years later when he was ill and at the end of his life, is contradictory, for earlier in his biography he was noted as being disdainful of Couture's instruction: "'I did not return to Couture's. I do not know what I should have done had I remained in Europe and in Paris. But I did not admire his work or his views of art and he annoyed me, notwithstanding his friendliness, by his constant running down of other artists greater than himself.'"⁸²

What may be more to the point is that La Farge was disappointed with the informality of Hunt's instruction, which was not sufficiently technical to be of help to this neophyte artist. La Farge was also disappointed that Hunt did not share his enthusiasm for the elusive effect of light and the challenge of rendering it in landscape painting. He discussed his differences with Hunt at some length while acknowledging his indebtedness to him for his early support:

So that to some extent I had to fight out my own issue, and Hunt and I disagreed, but we had so many common beliefs and Hunt's was a charming mind, that often he was the first and only one to praise me when I departed from his method, as from his general views.

All this refers to landscape more particularly, because the closed light of the studio is more the same for every one, and for all day, and its problems, however important, are extremely narrow, compared with those of out of doors. There I wished to apply principles of light and color of which I had learned a little. I wished my studies from nature to indicate something of this to be free from recipes, as far as possible, and to indicate very carefully, in every part, the exact time of day and circumstances of light. This of course is the most ambitious of all possible ideas, and though attempted to some extent through several centuries from time to time it is only recently that all the

problems have been stated, in intention at least by modern painting.

In a certain way Hunt recognized the value of the ideas and the value of their result, but his aim was quite the other way; and that was to find the recipe, which would be sufficient for noting what he wished to do.⁸³

The art historian Henry Adams, in his dissertation on La Farge's early years, also noted that Hunt had had a decisive influence on La Farge's work:

Whatever Hunt's failings as a painter, he was an excellent teacher for La Farge. In Paris, La Farge had been attracted to a kind of historicizing romanticism, the art, for example of Delacroix or Chassériau, which dealt with heroic themes in a setting which was remote from the immediate world, whether because it was exotic or historically distant. Hunt introduced La Farge to the more robust art of Millet and the Barbizon painters, an art which at least purported to be based on immediate impressions and observations of daily life. By temperament La Farge was attracted to the esoteric, and his art has a tendency to move towards the pedantic; Hunt, who possessed a far less intellectual temperament, forced him to apply this unceasing quest for subtlety of observation to the actual world, and was constantly challenging him to condense and simplify his themes and their mode of expression.⁸⁴

The next pupils who entered Hunt's atelier were the James brothers, William (1842-1910) and Henry (1843-1916), who were both in their late teens when they began their study with Hunt. They arrived in Newport in 1860, having recently returned from Europe where they had lived, traveled and studied for several years. Their father, Henry James, Sr., was deeply involved in their education and shared Mrs. Hunt's desire to expose his children to the "sensuous education" which they could receive in Europe.⁸⁵ They had met Hunt on an earlier sojourn to Newport in 1858, and even before in Europe, a meeting that was documented by M.A. DeWolf Howe in his Later Years of the Saturday Club:

The Jameses had met William Hunt in Paris, and, with desire to paint budding in William James's soul, it would have been strange if Hunt's brilliancy, enthusiasm and kindness to young people had not warmed the buds to blossom. Hunt was returning to America, and this no doubt gave the final push to Mr. James's decision to return. He had been longing to, but stayed abroad for his boys' sake. In secret, young Henry, in whom the sweet virus of Europe was already actively working, was dismayed, and he confesses to mortification when people asked why they left Europe, and smiles came when the answer was 'for William to learn to paint.'⁸⁶

What influence Hunt had on either is difficult to pinpoint since neither William nor Henry became painters. William quickly abandoned his interest in an artistic career, and seems to have made little mention of his training with Hunt, although Jean Gordon in her dissertation on the fine arts in Boston noted: "William whose judgement of paintings Henry claimed was more sure than his own, carried his aesthetic insights into his subsequent psychological and philosophical investigations and is credited by Gertrude Stein and John Dewey with providing an important stimulus to their own thinking on art."⁸⁷

Biographers of both Henry James and La Farge have noted that temperamentally James was closer to La Farge than to Hunt, and that it was La Farge who, according to F. O. Matthiessen, encouraged him to pursue a literary instead of an artistic career:

For half a year WJ worked hard in Hunt's studio, while HJ hung around the edges, sketching shyly and though without talent, feeling himself 'at the threshold of a world.' He learned far more to his purpose by coming to know John La Farge, who, then a beginning painter in his mid-twenties, had been through a Catholic college in Maryland and was able to open new vistas of Franco-American culture. He helped to form some of HJ's lasting tastes by urging him to translate Mérimée's La Venus d'Ille, and most of all by introducing him to the novels of Balzac.⁸⁸

Whether it was the influence of Hunt or his friendship with La Farge, Henry James throughout his life maintained an interest in artists, their lives and how they saw the world. For instance, in his short story The Real Thing (1893), James questioned, through the character of an artist/narrator, the reality and truthfulness of visual appearance. In addition, he wrote art criticism during the 1870s for The Atlantic Monthly, The Nation and The New York Tribune.⁸⁹

The Civil War interrupted Hunt's Newport idyll. In the spring of 1862, Hunt and his family left Newport and moved to Milton, Massachusetts, on the outskirts of Boston. Like many other artists, Hunt was deeply stirred by this national calamity and when back in Boston was inspired to create several major works in response.⁹⁰ Henry Tuckerman, in his Book of the Artists: American Artists' Life, called The Drummer Boy (1861-1862, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), and The Bugle Call or The Bugler (c.1862-1864, location unknown) "two of the most popular and significant pictorial illustrations of the war for the Union."⁹¹ Hunt also painted posthumous portraits of slain soldiers including Portrait of Captain Edward T. Jones (1863, Mead Art Gallery, Amherst, Massachusetts), and Lt. Huntington Frothingham Wolcott (1863, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).⁹² Hunt's Boston friend, the physician Henry Angell, in a series of articles written for the Atlantic Monthly (later published in book form as The Records of William Morris Hunt) also mentioned that Hunt had, in 1859, interviewed the radical abolitionist, John Brown, with the hopes of being able to paint Brown's portrait: "Mr. Hunt had two long interviews with John Brown, and was greatly impressed

by him. He was a marvelous person; a great hero, like one of the old prophets, he said. He made arrangements to paint his portrait, but meantime Brown went suddenly to his death in Virginia."⁹³

Perhaps Hunt's most important Civil War painting was one he exhibited at the 1867 Paris Exposition, a posthumous standing portrait of Abraham Lincoln done shortly after Lincoln's assassination in 1865. Hunt had been commissioned by the art dealers Doll & Richards to paint this portrait in order to have it rendered as an engraving. While the commission did not materialize, Hunt completed the portrait, subsequently lost in the 1872 Boston Fire, as a private tribute to someone he deeply admired.⁹⁴ Knowlton writing later about this commission noted that: "Hunt painted it for himself, and had a strong regard for it. He felt that it embodied his idea of Lincoln, and he knew that it was a fine work of art."⁹⁵

As noted by William Howe Downes in 1888 in the Atlantic Monthly, Hunt's return to the United States marked "the beginning of a new era in the history of Boston art."⁹⁶ Hunt's contribution was many-sided and included the direct influence of his work, the introduction of modern French painting, and his active encouragement and support of fellow artists who, over a twenty-year period, included John La Farge, William Rimmer, Elihu Vedder, George Fuller, Frank Duveneck, and the Boston artists Richard Henry Fuller, J. Foxcroft Cole, John B. Johnston, Thomas Robinson, Helen Knowlton, Sarah Wyman Whitman, Elizabeth Howard Bartol, Caroline Cranch, Sarah Johnston and Elizabeth Boott Duveneck.⁹⁷

His first studio was in the Highland Hall Building, Roxbury. In the following year, 1863, he moved to the newly built Studio Building on Tremont Street in Boston where twenty-six artists and eleven architects had their studios. Among these artists was the visionary artist and teacher, William Rimmer (1816-1879), who was just beginning his classes in anatomical drawing. It was about this time, according to Jeffrey Weidman in his recent dissertation, "William Rimmer: Critical Catalogue Raisonne," that Hunt suggested to Rimmer that they open an art school: "After Hunt settled in Boston in 1862, he suggested to Rimmer that they establish a joint school and while this venture did not materialize, he renewed his proposal soon after Rimmer returned to Boston in the fall of 1870 from his association with Cooper Union in New York, but again the offer was not accepted."⁹⁸ Weidman further noted that even though the two men were in all ways different from one another they admired each other and remained friends until their deaths in 1879. Hunt's strong social ties in Boston were important to Rimmer in terms of his gaining public support for his work, and Hunt, in turn, often went to Rimmer for advice on certain compositional problems and specifically asked Rimmer to model for the hands of Abraham Lincoln. Later, in 1878, Hunt brought him a drawing of his first notations on The Discoverer and asked his advice on the presentation of the subject.⁹⁹

In 1864, Hunt left the Studio Building and set up a new larger studio in the nearby Mercantile Building on Summer Street. Here, according to Knowlton, he established himself as a cultural fact of life in Boston: "Early in the spring [1864] he gave his first reception in Boston, and

it is said to have been as brilliant as it was original. The walls of the great room were covered with paintings by him and by Jean-François Millet. Other receptions followed, in which were introduced tableaux and impromptu acting in which the host took part, to the delight of all whom he had assembled around him."¹⁰⁰

Elihu Vedder (1836-1923) was the first of several artists that Hunt encouraged to come to Boston. Vedder came to Boston in 1864 after his critical success in New York at the NAD where he exhibited The Questioner of the Sphinx (1863) in 1863 and The Lair of the Sea Serpent (1864) in 1864. These two works were well received when they were exhibited at the Boston Athenaeum in 1868 and were subsequently bought by two friends of Hunt's, Martin Brimmer and Thomas Gold Appleton respectively; they are now in the collection of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Given this support of his work and the genial community of artists working in Boston, Vedder decided to make it his home for a year. He worked intermittently between 1864 and 1865 in Room #5 of the Studio Building where Joseph Ames, Albion Bicknell, William Furness and John La Farge also had studios. Even after he had left the United States for Europe in December 1865, he maintained contact with his Boston colleagues and accepted an invitation to become a member in absentia of the short-lived Allston Club (1866-1867).¹⁰¹

Organized by Hunt, Albion Bicknell and others, the Allston Club had two aims: to promote the art of its members, and to introduce Bostonians to modern French painting through the exhibition of works by the Barbizon masters--Millet, Corot, Daubigny, Troyon, Rousseau, Diaz and

Jacques—the earlier nineteenth century French Romantic painters Delacroix and Ary Scheffer, and the realist painter Gustave Courbet whose painting, The Quarry was purchased by the Allston Club in 1866 for five thousand dollars (now Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). The most important aspect of these exhibitions was that they introduced a new style of landscape painting to an American audience. In contrast to the more detailed and precise rendering of nature found in Hudson River School paintings, these modern French landscapes were evocations of the elusive effects of natural light, atmosphere and weather. Hunt, whose late landscapes were greatly influenced by this new aesthetic and who was thought of as Allston's spiritual and artistic heir, was elected the Club's first president.¹⁰²

By the mid-1860s Hunt had established himself as an influential and important American artist. His reputation and paintings were sufficiently well-known to warrant extensive notice in two major books on contemporary American art, The Art-Idea by James Jackson Jarves (1818-1888), who in 1864 cited Hunt as "evidently on the road to eminence," and The Book of the Artists by Henry Tuckerman (1813-1871), who in 1867 hailed him as an "original artistic genius."¹⁰³ In addition to their enthusiasm for Hunt's work, both writers had something else in common, a belief that the modern French School offered the best hope for American painting.

Jarves, who had been educated at Harvard, spent many years in Europe where he assembled a notable collection of early Renaissance paintings which were disappointingly rejected by the Boston Athenaeum in 1859.

Jarves's first book, Art-Hints, Architecture, Sculpture and Painting, written in 1855, was conceived as a "primer of art history written for Americans having no knowledge of the Old Masters." However, his second book, The Art-Idea, Sculpture, Paintings and Architecture in America (1864), included a critique of contemporary American art. The first half of the book was, again, a history of art that Jarves interspersed with thoughtful admonitions on art's beneficial effect and its compatibility with contemporary attitudes towards God and nature. In this regard he spoke as an enthusiastic admirer of Ruskin, who greatly influenced him in his appreciation of medieval Italian painting. Yet Jarves, unlike some other followers of Ruskin, never advocated or trumpeted a particular style or aesthetic and thus escaped the narrow definitions of artistic value that colored the analyses of such writers as William Stillman (1828-1901), the first editor of the The Crayon, or Clarence Cook (1828-1900), art critic for the New York Tribune, and Hunt's severest critic.¹⁰⁴

The important contribution that Jarves made, however, came in the second half of his book, in which he discussed at length the work and efforts of contemporary American artists. In a chapter titled, "The New School of American Painting," he cited the various European schools in which American artists were trained, singling out the strength of the French School which "mainly determines the character of our growing art." He then went on to explain why he thought this study should be encouraged:

Were the French school what it was under the Bourbons, or the Empire even, conventional, pseudo-classical, sensual,

and sentimental, deeply impregnated with the vices of debauched aristocracy and revolutionary fanaticism, we should have been less inclined towards it than to any other. But it crosses the Atlantic refined, regenerated, and expanded by the force of modern democratic and social ideas. The art of France is no longer one of the church or aristocracy. It is fast rooting itself in the hearts and heads of the people, with nature as its teacher.¹⁰⁵

Following his evaluation of contemporary French painting, he went on to list those American artists who were actively following a French model: La Farge, J. Foxcroft Cole, William Babcock and Hunt.

William Hunt is one of those who are over-inclined to disregard force of design for subtleties of expression, and color; but it is so deliciously done, and with so tender or fascinating sentiment, that one scarce notes the deficiency of special artistic virtue in the attractiveness of the whole picture. We perceive that he is feeling for great qualities, and so overlook any transitory failure of lesser. His style is vaporous, diaphanous, and unpronounced in outline, in fact, too insubstantial but singularly clear, broad, and effective; nothing little or forced,¹⁰⁶ though sometimes slight and incomplete details of modeling.

Like Jarves, Tuckerman was pro-French and not unsympathetic to the artists working in Boston, for he had been raised there and had attended Harvard. He was also a close friend of Richard Hunt and was among the earliest to occupy space in Hunt's Tenth Street Studio Building where he maintained a residence until his death in 1871.¹⁰⁷

In his discussion of Hunt's work, Tuckerman touched on all aspects: portraits, monumental painting, genre, lithographs and illustrations. He began by acknowledging Hunt's contribution to the field of portraiture, stating that some of them "are among the best produced by native art." His was also the first published mention of the painting, The Flight of Night, which he referred to as the Morning Star, "a

picture which has long occupied this gifted artist." He then went on to prophetically declare that this painting "will prove a remarkable evidence of his original skill and feeling." He also saw Hunt's alto-rilievo of the horses of Anahita and noted: "For spirit, genuine action, and true character, the Horses of the Sun in this powerful conception show masterly talent. He first modeled them, and the cast is a fine study for sculptor or painter." But it was Hunt's genre paintings about which Tuckerman was the most enthusiastic: "Whether dealing with the animated expression of real life, or the naive phases of nature, or the simple expression of character, there is a truth, grace, and power in his work that instantly reveal original artistic genius."¹⁰⁸

Simultaneous with these generous appraisals of Hunt's current accomplishments and future promise were the New York reviews he received in response to the works he exhibited at the NAD. A careful reading of these notices between 1857 and 1866--the year he and his family left for Europe--gives substance to Jarves's and Tuckerman's praise, while revealing the extremely contrary critical points of view that were voiced by a critic in the Crayon, an anonymous critic for the New York Daily Tribune, and by Clarence Cook, later, in the same newspaper. In these commentaries one can discern the development of two schools of thought which dominated American art criticism in the late 1850s and early 1860s: that which favored a highly detailed rendering of natural form as advocated by Ruskin and the English Pre-Raphaelites, and that which endorsed the more suggestive and experimental treatment of form of

the French School of the Barbizon painters.

In 1856, Hunt exhibited three works at the National Academy of Design: the second version of La Marguerite (#169), Girl and Rabbit (#123), and The Fortune Teller (#30).¹⁰⁹ All were painted in France, and all were figure pieces, for Hunt in 1856 had yet to venture seriously into the realm of portraiture. An anonymous writer for the Crayon, who may have been Stillman or someone sympathetic to his Ruskinian leanings, reviewed two of Hunt's works. He began by citing one of them, The Fortune Teller, as an "egregious monstrosity," finding the other, La Marguerite, "scarcely better, though less offensive." What guided this writer in his attack were principles based on his reading of Ruskin, for Hunt's work was not judged on its technical merit or subject matter but on its failure to be true to nature and to God:

But since the express purpose of such art is to show the artist's power, rather than the excellence of Nature, and its success is in departing from truth, it necessarily follows that the farther it can go from the simplicity and dignity of Nature, the more successful it is; and this picture must be accepted by all who recognize any other standard than that of absolute truth, as the legitimate consequences of their principles. For ourselves, we have always felt that the artist was great and true in proportion to the extent of his development of the beauties which exist for him in the creation of God, and not to his contrivance of new qualities and impossible combinations.¹¹⁰

The reviewer for the Tribune, however, just felt confusion and dismay about Hunt's idiosyncratic method of painting:

It is a difficult matter to criticize or even offer an opinion of a work like this; for it is quite impossible to discern the meaning of the artist, or to divine the reason for his adopting so strange a method of expressing his ideas. If we knew that an artist from any idiosyncrasy of vision or from the necessities of his position, was

compelled to make use of arrangements that have the look and complexion of dried mushrooms with a vehicle of soapsuds, we might make all allowances for his peculiarities and still admire his dexterity in overcoming difficulties, and the latent power manifested in his productions. But such is not the case with Mr. Hunt we are very certain, and we are forced to believe that his appointment in so extraordinarily bad a manner is simply an attempt to imitate the errors or eccentricities of a popular artist. It is surprising that a young artist, who possesses such natural capacity as this picture displays, should voluntarily abandon the fascinating resources of his art, the charms of color and chiaroscuro, to give his work the appearance of being seen through a dirty ground glass, which destroys the brilliancy of the local coloring, and renders the outlines and expression of objects indistinct and uncertain. But, after all, there is great ability in this picture of the Fortune-Teller, though it is quite destitute of meaning and sentiment. It illustrates nothing, and tells no story. All that it contains might be expressed on your thumb nail; but it is a large canvas, and the figures are life-size. A young mother holds a nearly naked child upon her knees, and a haggard old beldame, the fortune-teller points to the infant's hand. The drawing and expression of the figures are extremely good, and the color—such as it is—is harmonious. The child is admirably posed, and the action of its limbs perfectly expresses the disgust and terror it feels at the haggard look of the old crone. It is, in short, a very good picture, without any particular meaning—well done in a very bad style.

Although he was never thought of as much of a reader, Hunt's published comments on Ruskin indicate that he was familiar with Ruskin's writings. In fact, he included a long quotation from an obscure letter of Ruskin's written in 1874 to "the convener of the Glasgow Athenaeum Lecture Committee" which was printed in the margins of his Talks on Art, First Series. In this letter, Ruskin declined an invitation to lecture at the Glasgow Athenaeum and condemned modern-day audiences as "an entirely pestilent character of the age." He was quoted further by Hunt:

Everybody wants to hear—nobody to read—nobody to think. To be excited for an hour—and, if possible, amused

to get the knowledge it has cost a man half his life to gather, first sweetened up to make it palatable and then kneaded into the smallest possible pills--and to swallow it homoeopathically and be wise,—this is the passionate desire and hope of the multitude of the day.¹¹²

In the early 1870s, when Hunt's thoughts on art were recorded by Helen Knowlton, he no doubt felt that his own frustration with American culture was reflected in Ruskin's words.

Hunt, however, did not embrace Ruskin's theories. He was critical of the Englishman on several points: the question of finish, recipes for artists, and the rendering of nature. Hunt noted that "Ruskin calls finish 'an added truth!' I wish him joy and long life! He confounds it with death and the judgement day."¹¹³ Hunt also thought that Ruskin's advice to artists smacked too much of formulas that one had only to read and follow in order to be a successful artist. He noted: "John Ruskin's receipts make a book, but never made a painter, and never can make a picture."¹¹⁴ With regard to the painting of nature, Hunt made reference to Ruskin when speaking about a painting by Peter Paul Rubens, saying that "Ruskin would probably find fault with the foliage."¹¹⁵ In his Talks on Art, Second Series Hunt also came out strongly on behalf of the artist James McNeill Whistler, who in 1878 had taken Ruskin to court for slander in protest of the critic's remarks on his The Falling Rocket: Nocturne in Black and Gold.¹¹⁶

Whistler was quite right in prosecuting Ruskin. Such criticism should not be allowed,—endangering a man's chance of earning his bread; for all the English follow Ruskin like sheep. Whistler is an excellent painter. When he works, he works like a tiger. I saw at Rossetti's house a picture of his, a beach, and supposed that it was done in a day, it was painted so simply and freshly; but Rossetti told me that he had worked over parts of it again and again before he was

satisfied with it.

Whistler's pamphlet calls out a lot of silly replies, but not one that is a real answer. He paints his pictures, and is called a conceited puppy and a coxcomb. He publishes a ten-cent pamphlet in order to defend himself, and now the critics fall upon him and call his talk 'nonsense,-- worse than his pictures,' etc. But not one of them can answer him, nor can they write a pamphlet for which anybody would pay ten cents.¹¹⁷

In 1857 Hunt submitted five paintings and one lithograph to the NAD. Four of these works were for sale: The Fountain (#39), La Bouquetière (painted and lithographed versions, #88 & #291), and Sheep-Pastures (#70). The other two works exhibited were paintings: Hurdy-Gurdy (#305) and The Belated Kid (#519).¹¹⁸

In contrast to the year before, the writer of "Sketchings" in the The Crayon was enthusiastic and called Hurdy-Gurdy "charmingly executed in every respect," and The Violet Girl "a gem." Three months later, in the July issue, the same writer was full of praise for The Fountain:

Mr. W.M. Hunt furnishes six picture. No. 39 'the Fountain,' is a back view of a girl holding a pitcher at a fountain. The subject derives its interest from the naturalness of the attitude, and a very agreeable tone of color and breadth of light, make us conscious of a feeling of harmony and repose. In color we prefer it to any of Mr. Hunt's pictures. The Violet Girl or 'La Bouquetiere' possesses similar merits, interesting us still more by its superior sentiment.¹¹⁹

The reviewer for the Tribune had also modified his tone. However, his comments on Hunt's work were brief and general: "The most impressive work of Mr. Hunt's is 'La Bouquetière.' His pictures are always filled with sentiment, subdued in coloring and with well-conceived drawing. This one in particular ought to be a universal favorite."¹²⁰

Following this modest critical success in 1857, Hunt did not exhibit again in New York for four years. It may have been that he had no new work to exhibit. He was busy during these years—setting up his studio in Newport, making lithographs, working with students and beginning his first commissioned portraits, two of which he sent to the NAD in 1861. These were a portrait of William S. Thayer, Esq. (#157, present location unknown) and a portrait of Hunt's wife titled, Mrs. Hunt (#151).¹²¹ Both were prominently hung in the First Gallery and attracted the attention of the reviewers of both the Crayon and the New York Daily Tribune. Hunt's portrait of Thayer led off the review in the Crayon: "On entering the oil department of the First Gallery, the first work that presents itself is a Portrait by Wm Hunt, a fine likeness of W.S. Thayer, Esq. our lately appointed Consul-General to Egypt, and an admirable piece of color."¹²² The Tribune writer spoke enthusiastically and at length about the portrait of Mrs. Hunt:

The first (#151) is the back-head of a lady, and, as we name no namee [sic], we may say a head of great beauty. The artist has seized and transferred it at the exact moment of its finest pose, and leaves the spectator, while admiring this, longing that such a head would turn and show the face it carries on the front side of it. But even were the portrait less excellent, one could hardly fail to admire the boldness that has broken away from tradition and ventures to believe that there may be a portrait without the face.¹²³

During the years of the Civil War Hunt exhibited sporadically and then only in Boston. However, in 1865, Hunt sent three paintings to the NAD: The Listeners (#204), The Singers (#210), and The Circassian (#226) (all unlocated), works that, while done in this country, still reflected the influence of the European genre tradition found in his paintings of

the 1850s.¹²⁴ This was the first time that Hunt's work was reviewed by Clarence Cook, who had been appointed art critic of the New York Daily Tribune a year earlier. Cook, whose judgment in art was influenced by his reading of Ruskin, never liked Hunt's paintings and for the remaining fifteen years of Hunt's life was the artist's most outspoken critic, the exception being his enthusiastic endorsement of Hunt's Albany murals and thoughtful obituary. However, as forcefully as Cook condemned Hunt's paintings he always conceded him the "evident power to paint."

Mr. Hunt who in former years showed ability that we watched with interest, as hoping that it would ripen into noble fruit, has reappeared after a long absence in a most disappointing way. We look upon these three pictures of him as mere simulacra, the dead presentment of dead things. They have no meaning, no intention, they are idle vagaries of a person who has nothing whatever to say, and so says it. It is recorded of somebody, 'He knew not what to say and so he swore.' We might parody that statement: 'Mr. Hunt knew not what to paint so he daubed.' But we admit that, even in his daubing, which is flagrant, there is evident the power to paint, and we hold, therefore, that by that very confession, his pictures are declared a hundred times more reprehensible than Rossiter's or Bang's, who have not a midge power to paint, and who honorably refuse to hide their talent in any napkin, but daub away with an industry and success that we must applaud. Might we beg of Mr. Hunt to do himself justice!¹²⁵

In contrast, the writer for Harper's New Monthly was effusive in his enthusiasm for Hunt's "purely, poetic pictures."

In a very low whisper, then, let us say that the fortieth exhibition is not a remarkably good one. Some of the artists whose names are very familiar appear in great force; but the number of fine works is not large, . . . Of the smaller works of this year we recall most pleasantly Mr. William M. Hunt's 'Listeners' and 'The Singers' and Mr. Eastman Johnson's 'Christmas Time.' Mr. Hunt's method is Couture's, which is the very reverse of Gérôme's but the sweetness, the delicacy the tenderness, the subtle grace of

the two works we name are evident to very dull eyes and hearts. They are mellow and rich, and full of imagination. There are no more purely poetic pictures upon the walls.¹²⁶

The following spring, 1866, Hunt sent a varied group of five works to the NAD including two unidentified charcoal drawings (#34 & #64), Portrait (#405, "owned by Milton H. Sanford"), Mother and Child (#342, a portrait of Mrs. R.M. Hunt and her son, Dicky), and his alto rilievo of the Horses of Anahita (#521).¹²⁷

The writer for The Nation (who may have been the architect and critic Russell Sturgis), like the writer the year before for Harper's New Monthly, was full of praise and compared Hunt's two portraits favorably with the portraits by the then dean of American portrait painting, Charles Loring Elliott.

This [Elliott's portrait of a school-boy] is probably the best portrait in the exhibition unless the two oil portraits by William M. Hunt of Boston and Newport, are better. These are both in this South Gallery. No. 342 [Portrait of Mother and Child] is a very vigorous portrait, life-size and about three-quarter length, of a lady holding a child, a picture showing considerable power of drawing and great skill in layering in color. No. 405 [Portrait] is smaller, half-length and also a life-size, a lady's head shown against a background of light grey and gold, wall-paper, namely, and framed with angular appropriateness. We know of no work of Mr. Hunt's so good as his portraits, and these are among the best of his portraits.¹²⁸

However, the writer roundly condemned Hunt for submitting the two sketches. In this reviewer's opinion this was an effrontery: "The two charcoal portraits ought not to be exhibited. Useful studies they may be but only as private memorandum of the artist, and the disposition on the part of some people to admire such things is very harmful."¹²⁹ Hunt's presumption in submitting these sketches went to the heart of the

controversy surrounding the influence of modern French painting in this country and in France itself. In French painting at that time--as had been the case for several decades previously--the most advanced painters--Delacroix, Corot, the Barbizon painters, and the Impressionists--saw the sketch as true evidence of a painter's originality. And it was the spontaneity and originality of the artist's first impression found in his sketch that these artists as well as Hunt sought to retain in their finished work. As pointed out by Albert Boime, Hunt's dedication to the sketch was first absorbed in Couture's studio, and he applied these lessons not only in his own work, but passed this advice along to his students. "'Paint every day, as a matter of course; . . . Paint a hundred sketches of anything you please, and stack them up. Perhaps one of them will be a picture.' And once when a pupil asked him 'How shall I finish this picture?' Hunt answered, 'Call it finished!'"¹³⁰

Cook who also wrote on this exhibition was scathing in his attack and felt it was insulting to the viewer that his sketches should be included:

Mr. William Hunt's 'Portrait of a Lady,' is the most interesting piece of work we know of his. His charcoal sketches ought not to have been exhibited; not merely because they are ill done, but because they betray the artist's vicious way of working. It is not often that a man shows so little reserve as to confess--'Here is my finished picture; you see how bad it is. Well, the reason it is so bad, is that this is all the study I had for it!' Mr. Hunt might just as well have written these words on the frames. Not either is absolutely bad, in the sense Carlin's 'Bride' is bad or Babcock's 'Rivals' or the very funny 'One More Unfortunate' of Mr. Freeman, which title seems to belong equally to the artist and to the half-dressed kid doll that some child has just dropped off London Bridge; or to take a

less glaring example, Mr. Hunt's picture is as bad as Mr. Frederick's 'Romeo and Tybalt' is bad. It is the work, we should judge of a man of taste of education, of culture, even, but not of a thoroughly taught artist. The painter of this 'mother and child' has no method of his own, very little digested knowledge and insists on thinking that the less he has to do with nature directly, the better. He seems easily led too. This, we should say that No. 342 was painted after long study with Couture, while No. 405 that we have praised [in an earlier article, 4/17/66] is so manifestly like Furniss [sic] that, at the opening of the Academy, catching a glimpse over the top-knots and clustered heads of the beauties, we actually took it for a Furniss, and rejoiced inwardly at the pleasure in store for us. But, for all it is an imitation, unconscious, we dare say, it is a good picture and gives a higher idea of Mr. Hunt's ability than he had hitherto taught us to entertain. 131

The impression that one gets from these and other reviews prior to 1866 when he left Boston for a eighteen-month tour of Europe, is that Hunt's great promise was widely acknowledged, and that his paintings were, to say the least, controversial. Those critics who supported his work did so because they believed that he brought a fresh and more spontaneous approach to American painting, particularly in the field of portraiture. Others, particularly Cook, who were critical of Hunt, felt that his work had no meaning, that he had no method of his own, and that his work suffered because he did not work directly from nature. What is of particular interest regarding this last sentiment is that Hunt also advocated working from nature, although most of his early works were done in the studio. However, what Hunt and the Barbizon painters meant by this term was in marked contrast to the meaning given it by John Ruskin and his followers. Specifically with regard to landscape painting, Barbizon-inspired painters who 'worked from nature' created suggestive works in which light, atmosphere, and the time of day were the primary elements. In contrast, the artists who were influenced by

the writings of Ruskin concentrated on the detailed rendering of natural objects in an outdoor environment. Each group had their own definition of reality, and each their own commitment to nature.

Hunt was also attacked by pro-Ruskin critics for his lack of finish and the exhibition of two sketches. Hunt never abandoned his belief, shared by contemporary French painters, that the sketch expressed the essence of an artist's creative impulse. One of the reasons for his going to Europe in 1866 was to renew contact with these artists and his second European trip, also taken for personal, family reasons, had its rejuvenating aspects. As a result he was inspired to work more directly from nature, and landscape painting over the next decade increasingly dominated his work. He also began to use charcoal as a prime medium of expression and, like his French colleagues, to question strictures regarding finish.

NOTES - Chapter One

¹ Jonathan's grandfather, Samuel Hunt (1703-1770), and his family lived in Northfield, Massachusetts; his father, Jonathan Hunt (1738-1823) settled a few miles north and west in Vernon, Vermont where he served as Lieutenant Governor of the state in the 1790s. According to Paul Baker, Richard Morris Hunt (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1980), p. 4: "The American founder of the family was Jonathan Hunt (c.1610-1661), who came from England to the Massachusetts Bay Colony in about 1640 and moved to the Connecticut River Valley in 1636. Richard's great-grandfather, Samuel Hunt, was the source of much of the family's fortune. Samuel Hunt, who lived in Northfield, Massachusetts, reputedly amassed the largest land holdings in the New Hampshire Grants and owned other large tracts as well in New Hampshire proper and in Canada."

² Jane Hunt (1821-1904) remained single, living with her mother most of her life. She was also an artist and studied, in the 1870s, both with her brother William and Helen Knowlton (1832-1918), William's student and amanuensis. See "The Journals of Jane Hunt," Appendix 1, Hunt Family Archives, Mrs. Susan Battley, Weston, Connecticut, passim. Their second son, Jonathan Hunt (1826-1874), later a physician, lived most of his adult life in Paris. Their third son, the architect Richard Morris Hunt (1827-1894), made his home in New York City. Their youngest child, Leavitt Hunt (1830-1907) became a lawyer and settled in Weathersfield Bow, Vermont, near Brattleboro. Biographical information also obtained from Baker, Chapter 1, pp. 2-12.

³ Written from Mountain Cove Inn, Fayette County, Virginia, [now West Virginia] March 31, 1831. In "General Jonathan Hunt, Member of Congress, 1787-1832," Chapter 6, Hunt Family Archives, n.p.

⁴ Baker, p. 13.

⁵ "Chapter 6," Hunt Family Archives, also contains Jane Maria Leavitt Hunt correspondence which includes at least five letters written from New York City between March 1836 and December 1837, n.p.

⁶ Helen M. Knowlton, The Art-Life of William Morris Hunt (Boston: Little Brown & Co., 1899), p.2. Baker, p.10, also noted that while Mrs. Hunt was in Washington she visited the Congressional Library and copied illustrations by John James Audubon.

⁷ Baker, p. 14. Mrs. Hunt's portrait of William (unlocated) was exhibited in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Exhibition of the Works of William Morris Hunt, 1879, Catalogue, #60A (hereinafter 1879 Memorial Exhibition Catalogue). A copy of this portrait done by the Boston Impressionist painter, Edmund C. Tarbell, was owned by Hunt's daughter,

Mabel Hunt Slater (Mrs. Horatio Nelson Slater, b. 1863). Tarbell's copy was included in the Catalogue of Loan Exhibition of the Works of William Morris Hunt, 1905, Town Hall, Milton, Massachusetts, #6, and in two 1924 memorial exhibitions: Centennial Exhibition of Paintings by William Morris Hunt, Buffalo Fine Arts Academy and Albright Art Gallery, Catalogue, #46, and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston Catalogue, #100. Tarbell may have been asked to make this copy at the time he did the portrait Mrs. Slater and Family. Both Tarbell's copy of Mrs. Hunt's portrait of William and his painting Mrs. Slater and Family hung in the William Morris Hunt Room, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston until 1944 when the room was closed and the paintings removed by the Estate of Mabel Hunt Slater. See correspondence and memoranda in William Morris Hunt files, Department of American Paintings, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

⁸ George C. Groce and David H. Wallace, The New-York Historical Society's Dictionary of Artists in America, 1564-1860 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1957), p. 249.

⁹ Notice of Gambardella's portrait of Perkins in The Late Landscapes of William Morris Hunt (College Park: University of Maryland Department of Art, 1976), p. 57.

¹⁰ See Edward Wheelwright, Harvard College, Class of 1844 (1869), p. 80, and Edward Wheelwright, Harvard College, Class of 1844 (Cambridge: J. Wilson & Son, 1896), p. 134.

¹¹ According to Wheelwright, Harvard (1869), p. 80: "[Hunt] had shown a boyhood fondness for drawing and modelling, and had received some instruction from the sculptor, J.C. King."

The revival of the ancient technique of cameo carving enjoyed a particular vogue in this country between 1840-1875; its best known American practitioners were Erastus Dow Palmer and later, Augustus Saint-Gaudens. See Gertrude S. Cole, "Some American Cameo Portraits," Antiques, September 1946, pp. 170-171.

¹² In the late 1830s and 1840s, Boston was a mecca for American sculptors. Not only were there patrons in Boston but there were commissions for memorial sculpture for the new Mount Auburn Cemetery, the first of America's garden cemeteries. King arrived in Boston along with a number of other sculptors who had worked earlier in Cincinnati under the patronage of Nicholas Longworth. These included: Shobal Vail Clevenger (Boston, 1839-1840); Edward Brackett (Boston after 1841); and Henry Kirke Brown (Boston 1837-1842). See Wayne Craven, Sculpture in America (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1968), pp. 178-217. For information on Mount Auburn Cemetery see Neil Harris, The Artist in America (New York: George Braziller, 1966; Chicago: Phoenix Books, 1982), pp. 201-208.

¹³ "The Journals of Jane Hunt," n.p.

¹⁴ See "Hunt, William Morris," Volume XII, Faculty Record, Harvard

University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Hunt was awarded an honorary degree of Master of Arts in 1864 and was reinstated with his class in 1868. Corporation Records vol.10:351 & vol.11:78, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

15 "The Journals of Jane Hunt," n.p.

16 Ibid.

17 Quoted in Knowlton, p. 5.

18 Harris, p. 124.

19 Baker, pp. 18-19.

20 Frances Haskell, Rediscoveries in Art, Some Aspects of Taste, Fashion and Collecting in England and France (Oxford: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1976; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1980), p. 10.: "Delaroche's Hemicycle was only one of very many such tributes to the Old Masters produced from about the middle of the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth, but it was the most famous and the most influential, and we can find reminiscences of it all over Europe."

21 Harris, p. 284.

22 Mason Wade, ed., The Journals of Francis Parkman, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1947; reprint ed., New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1969) 1:181-182. Thirteen years earlier two other American artists, Samuel F.B. Morse and John Gadsby Chapman, had taken a similar trip. See, for instance, Morse's Chapel of the Virgin at Subiaco (1830, Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts).

23 See G.P. Gooch, History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century (1913; London: Longmans, 1961), and David Levin, History as Romantic Art (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1959). Parkman's ambition to become a historian had begun at Harvard where he was a student of Jared Sparks (1789-1866), editor of the North American Review, professor of history and later, President of Harvard. Sparks's twelve-volume collection of the writings of George Washington (1834-1837) was the first serious documentary study of American history. According to Gooch, p.392: "[Parkman's] interest in the struggle between France and England for North America began at college, and in his vacations he visited the battle fields. In 1843, at the age of twenty, he dedicated his life to the task which was not completed till 1892."

24 "The Journals of Jane Hunt" March 20, 1844, p. 17: "When Wm. came in. . . we went out together to look at some cameos."

25 Ibid., p. 25.

26 See Wayne Craven, "Henry Kirke Brown in Italy," American Art Journal 1 (Spring 1969), pp. 65-77. Brown and his wife Lydia were

popular members of the circle of American artists then active in Rome, and it may have been through Brown that Hunt met a close friend of the Brown family, General John A. Dix who was then vacationing in Rome. Dix was later Governor of New York, and Hunt was commissioned to paint his portrait after he had left office in 1875.

27 Knowlton, p. 15. Jane noted in her "Journals", p. 15: "Mother later had it [Psyche] put in marble at Mr. Brown's studio and gave Mr. Brown an order for her bust. (The bust later became Leavitt [Hunt's] and was at his home in Weathersfield [Vermont])." Neither version of Psyche has been located.

28 Craven, "Henry Kirke Brown in Italy," p. 69.

29 Henry Kirk Brown Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Letter from Lydia Brown, to Adoline, her sister, Rome, April 1, 1845: "Henry is quite unwell just now but nothing serious, only his Spring comforter, he has always received a slight call annually from his old acquaintance, the Fever and Ague, and now he is reminded a little stronger than usual, that they were once intimate companions. I have had a present of a cameo likeness of Henry from William Hunt, and his Mother has had it set for a pin for me. Give my love to all who care for me." Typescript copy of letter, courtesy of Professor Wayne Craven, who noted in a letter to this author that this was the only reference to Hunt found in the Collection for the years 1844-1845.

30 "Journals of Jane Hunt," p. 16.

31 This alto-rilievo was one of Hunt's most popular works. Many replicas still exist and several are in public collections including the Philadelphia Museum of Art, the Museum of Fine Arts and the Gardner Museum, Boston. It was still available in the 1913 Catalogue, #10009, of the Caproni Brothers, Boston, manufacturers of plaster casts.

32 Baker, p. 23. Hunt recorded his impressions of this trip in a sketchbook, later in the possession of his sister and now owned by Mrs. Susan Battley. While none of them are of ancient ruins, these tightly drawn, topographic sketches, panoramic views of the many port cities they visited, do reflect a precision in his drawing that may have been a result of his study with Brown, and are in marked contrast to the sketches he did while traveling with Parkman.

33 See Franz Cumont, Textes et Monuments Figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra 2 (Brussels: H. Lamertin, 1896-1899), vol. 2, pp. 76-92, and Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, Mémoire sur le culte de Mithra (Paris: A. Pinard, 1833), p. 69.

34 Barbara S. Groseclose, Emanuel Leutze, 1816-1868: Freedom is the Only King (Washington: National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1976), p. 110.

35 According to Knowlton, pp. 7-8: "Although Hunt's surroundings

were agreeable, socially and artistically, having for friends and companions Lessing, the president of the Academy; Sohn, Leutze, Schrödter and others, he was shocked at this system of study, and rebelled against it from the start. He accepted it, however, as a necessity, and forced himself to shut out to a degree the enjoyment of a pleasure which he had thought was inseparably connected with art study."

36 By 1845 when Hunt was in Düsseldorf, Leutze had completed three paintings based on the life of Columbus: Columbus Before the High Council of Salamanca (1842, unlocated); The Return of Columbus in Chains to Cadiz (1843, National Museum of American Art, Washington, D.C.); and Columbus Before the Queen (1843, Brooklyn Museum).

37 The Düsseldorf Academy and the Americans, High Museum of Art, Atlanta, Georgia (1972), p. 16.

38 Baker, p. 24.

39 Knowlton, p. 7. Richard entered the École des Beaux-Arts in December 1846, as a student of architecture. He was the first American to study architecture there. See Baker, pp. 26-44.

On Pradier see Peter Fusco and H.W.Janson, The Romantics to Rodin (Los Angeles County Museum, 1980), pp. 313-322.

40 Knowlton, p. 8. Martha Hoppin in her dissertation "William Morris Hunt: Aspects of His Work" (Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1974), p. 24, doubted that it was the Falconer which Hunt saw in 1847 and cited several authorities who dated Couture's painting c. 1852. However, Albert Boime more recently in his Thomas Couture and the Eclectic Vision (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), p. 561, dated the painting c. 1844-1845 and does not question the anecdote. Boime also noted, p. 429, that "Deforge was the enterprising color merchant and dealer on the Boulevard Montmartre who regularly exhibited new paintings."

41 Albert Boime, The Academy & French Painting in the Nineteenth Century (London: Phaidon Press Ltd., 1971), pp. 66-67.

42 Ibid.

43 See Boime, Thomas Couture, pp. 557-579, and Marchal Landgren, American Pupils of Thomas Couture (College Park: University of Maryland Department of Art, 1970), passim.

44 Knowlton, pp. 11 & 23.

45 Hurdy-Gurdy Boy signed and dated, 1851 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) was bought by Edmund Dwight c. 1852-1853. Dwight later commissioned Hunt to paint a companion piece, Girl With Cat, signed and dated 1856, also Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. See American Paintings in

the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 2 vols. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1969), I:155 & 157.

46 Boime, Thomas Couture, pp. 99-100.

47 Gabriel Weisberg, The Realist Tradition (Cleveland Museum of Art, 1980), pp. 43-44.

48 The Violet Girl signed and dated, 1856 (Rhode Island School of Design, Providence) was finished by 1855 for Hunt exhibited it at the Paris Universal Exposition of that year. He later reworked it in Brattleboro in 1856.

49 William Morris Hunt, On Painting and Drawing, first published as Talks on Art, First and Second Series (Boston: Houghton Mifflin & Co., 1875 and 1883; reprint edition, New York: Dover Publications, 1976), pp. 167-170. To avoid confusion the original title, Talks on Art will be referred to in other citations.

50 Laura Lee Meixner, in "Jean-François Millet: His American Students and Influences," (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1979), noted p. 87: "Cited in both nineteenth century and modern scholarship, Hunt's double version of his painting, La Marguerite has become the archetypical example of his transition from the method taught by Couture to one inspired by Millet."

51 The original version was shown in the Salon of 1852 and for many years was thought lost, but, according to the files in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston, it was given to the Louvre in the 1920s by Mrs. Roland Lincoln, Boston. Information supplied in correspondence with Martha Hoppin, Amherst, Massachusetts, October 26, 1977. The second version signed and dated 1853 now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, was bought by Martin Brimmer the same year.

52 According to Hoppin in her dissertation "William Morris Hunt: Aspects of His Work", p. 50: "Probably the second [MFA version] was painted, as Knowlton suggests, as a deliberate repetition in order to try out Millet's style. While there are no changes in composition or figure placement from the first version, the second is clearly not painted in Couture's method. Drapery contours have been greatly simplified. Where the line of the figure's back was broken into a decorative pattern in the first painting, in the second we find a simpler outline and more regular shape to her blouse. The same change occurs in the drapery of her skirt, which is reduced to broad vertical folds in the second version." Meixner in her dissertation "Jean-François Millet" elaborated on Hoppin's description, p. 88: "In Marguerite II Hunt's rustic subject matter, now divested of its decorative aspects, is stated with greater directness. The figure is granted mass and substance, a result of Millet's influence and, I believe, the consequent reawakening of Hunt's interest in sculpture."

53 In addition to Hoppin and Meixner, see: Lois Marie Fink, "The

Role of France in American Art, 1850-1870" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1970), and Peter Bermingham, American Art in the Barbizon Mood (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1975).

54 Quoted in Boime, The Academy, p. 99.

55 Bermingham, p. 24.

56 Weisberg, p. 1.

57 Knowlton wrote, p. 23: "Hunt had studied the works and made the acquaintance of the best modern masters in painting and sculpture; as a student he had worked in the style of many of them; had travelled through Holland, France, Italy, and Greece; had seen Constantinople, and was forming his own individuality, which could not fail to include a power to find and acknowledge the best, and to produce in him a mind of comprehensive reach which remained to the last, making him a force which, in any other profession, would have been felt throughout the length and breadth of our country."

58 At the 1852 Paris Salon, Hunt exhibited two works: The Fortune Teller (1852, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) and La Marguerite (1851, Louvre, Paris). In 1853 he exhibited an unidentified work titled, Study. At the 1855 Exposition he exhibited: The Violet Girl, Girl at the Fountain (1852-1856, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), and Study Head (unidentified). According to a notation in the 1879 Memorial Exhibition Catalogue (#57), Girl at the Fountain was: "Painted in 1852. Begun with Millet, finished in Brattleboro."

59 According to Baker, p. 98: "In 1855, the year he [Richard] and William returned to America, the two brothers seriously considered setting up an art school in New York City in which both architecture and painting would be taught. They contemplated an academy modeled on the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, at which leading artists would contribute a day or so of their time each week for teaching. The young students would be exposed both to systematic instruction in the elements of the arts and to the inspiration and example of leading practicing artists."

60 Baker, p. 61. It is curious that there is no mention in the Hunt literature of a relationship between him and his wife's cousin, Charles Callahan Perkins (1823-1886). He was Hunt's contemporary, lived in Boston most of his life and shared Hunt's interest in art education. He was also author of some of the earliest art history books in America: Tuscan Painters (1864); Tuscan Sculptors (1868); Raphael and Michaelangelo (1878); Historical Handbook of Italian Sculpture (1883); and Ghiberti et son Ecole (1886). For additional information on C.C. Perkins see Jean Gordon, "The Fine Arts in Boston 1815-1879," (Ph. D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1965), passim.

61 See catalogue essay by Carol Troyen, "The Boston Tradition: Painters and Patrons in Boston 1720-1920," The Boston Tradition, American Paintings from the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (New York:

American Federation of Arts, 1980), pp. 5-42.

62 William H. Gerdtz and Theodore E. Stebbins, Jr., "A Man of Genius" the Art of Washington Allston (1779-1843) (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1979), pp. 114 & 127.

63 Troyen, p. 25.

64 Meixner Diss. "Jean-François Millet," p. 142. Newport in the late 1850s was described by Gibson Danes in his article, "William Morris Hunt and His Newport Circle" Magazine of Art (April 1950), p. 144: "There were only a few hotels, and the 'cottages' were for the most part frame villas of a relatively modest dimension. Since the building boom had just started, there was an air of openness and a feeling of being in the country by the sea. With the exception of the short summer season of a few weeks, it was throughout the year a quiet, removed place for painting and other creative work."

65 The painting, Boy With a Goose, is unlocated, however, in the Prints and Drawings Collection, Octagon Museum, Washington, D.C. (hereinafter Octagon Museum) there are two photographs which relate to this subject also known as "Goose Boy" and "Boy Chasing a Goose." Goose Boy, #P79.1914 (fig. 20) is a photograph of the lithograph, and #P79.2145 is a photograph of the painting titled, Boy With a Goose (fig. 21). Also see "Handlist" #208 in Hoppin's Diss. "William Morris Hunt: Aspects of His Work."

The lithograph Deer in Moonlight is related to a photograph of a painting with the same name in the Octagon Museum #P79.2051 (fig. 22) that bears the notation, "one of the earliest pictures painted [by Hunt] about 1850--owned by Frank Brooks, Esq. Photographed from picture." This painting is also known as Stag, Stag in Moonlight, and Stag in Fontainebleau. The date, 1851, is given for a painting Stag in Fontainebleau owned by Francis Brooks listed in the 1879 Memorial Exhibition Catalogue, #109. Also, in the Octagon Museum is a photograph of a painting titled, Deer, #P79.2053 that bears the inscription, "II Companion picture to Deer in Moonlight (fig. 23) painted same time and owned by Frank Brooks, Esq." Neither painting has been located.

Several of these lithographs are now in public collections. According to a notation in Exhibition Catalogue of the Paintings and Charcoal Drawings of the Late William Morris Hunt at His Studio, January 19-31, 1880 (hereafter, Studio Sale, 1880), the lithographic stones were destroyed in the Boston Fire, 1872, p. 5.

66 "Sketchings--Domestic Art Gossip," The Crayon 6 (March 1859), p. 92. According to Knowlton, p. 37, the venture was unsuccessful "as people were unwilling to buy the series, preferring to select what they wanted at the rate of fifty cents for each picture chosen."

He also did a lithograph, Elaine With Her Shield (fig. 24) in 1860 for Doll & Richards that was printed by Frizzell and was to be one of a

series of lithographs illustrating the poetry of Alfred, Lord Tennyson. According to Knowlton, pp. 71-72: "Hunt received at one time an order from a publisher to furnish illustrations for an edition of Tennyson's poems. The idea pleased him at first and he painted Elaine With Her Shield; a graceful figure full of that pathos which no other artist has so fully expressed. He was intent upon the work, and giving to it his best thought and consideration. In an evil moment the publisher sent him word that the drawings must be completed before a certain date; and the artist's interest in the work at once flagged. He could not, to use Rufus Choate's expressive phrase, be expected to 'dilate with the right emotion,' at the rate of so many dollars for a limited number of days, or weeks. The work was at once given up."

67 Roger Passeron, Impressionist Prints (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1974), p. 12.

68 Late Landscapes, p. 62.

69 Works done in Fayal that were included in the 1879 Memorial Exhibition Catalogue are: Gate in Fayal, (#50); Doorway with Rabbits, Fayal, (#149); Sketch of a Wreck at Fayal, (#174); Study. Sketch in Fayal, (#267); and Coast Scene, Fayal, (pastel, #312).

70 See Martha J. Hoppin, "William Morris Hunt: Portraits from Photographs," The American Art Journal 12 (April 1979), pp. 44-57. Hoppin also noted two other portraits done by Hunt in Fayal of Mr. & Mrs. Dabney (unlocated).

71 Hoppin Diss. "William Morris Hunt: Aspects of His Work," p. 82.

72 For the critical reception of Hunt's Shaw portrait see William Morris Hunt, a Memorial Exhibition, (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1979), p. 39.

73 According to William J. Hennessey, The American Portrait from the Death of Stuart to the Rise of Sargent (Worcester, Mass.: Worcester Art Museum, 1973), p. 14: "[Hunt's portrait style fell] midway between the 'American' realistic style and the painterly traditions of the Continent which were to capture the fancy of America in the succeeding decades."

74 Hoppin Diss. "William Morris Hunt: Aspects of His Work", p. 79.

75 Late Landscapes, pp. 63-64. According to Baker, p. 487, f.n. 9, Hunt sold Hill Top to Richard in 1864: "Hill Top cottage was located on a large lot at the point where Touro Street comes into Bellevue Avenue. It was built by Henry Schroeder of Baltimore as a one-story house; his son-in-law a Mr. Gilliatt, from whom William Hunt purchased the house, had the original building lifted up and a new lower story added. During his ownership, Richard Hunt altered the house considerably. In 1915, it was further enlarged and altered to become Hilltop Inn. In 1923, it was raised and the Viking Hotel was built on

the site. The Viking Motor Inn now occupies most of the site."

76 As best as can be determined Hunt's pupils in Newport included: 1859 - Edward Wheelwright (1824-1900) and John La Farge (1835-1910); 1860 - Edmund Quincy (painter and early student of Richard Hunt) and Frank Furness (1839-1912), the architect, who according to Baker, p. 104, "remained with [RM] Hunt for two years, until the outbreak of the Civil War. During the summer of 1860, he joined his teacher in Newport, studying drawing with William, while Richard recuperated from an illness"; 1860-1861 - William James (1842-1910), Henry James (1843-1916), and Thomas Sargent Perry (1845-1884). Others who are known to have studied there include: Thomas Gold Appleton (1812-1884); John Bancroft (1835-1901); Sarah Wyman Whitman (1842-1904); Theodora Sedgwick and a 'Miss Gibbs' who may be Sarah Gibbs then owner of Allston's Jeremiah Dictating His Prophecy of the Destruction of Jerusalem to Baruch the Scribe (1820, Yale University Art Gallery).

77 For information on Hunt's atelier see, in addition to Danes and Meixner, two recent dissertations on John La Farge: H. Barbara Weinberg, The Decorative Work of John La Farge (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1977), pp. 18-71, and Henry Adams, "John La Farge, 1830-1870: From Amateur to Artist" (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1980), pp. 157-224.

78 See Edward Wheelwright, "Three Boston Painters," Atlantic Monthly 40 (December 1877): 710-718; and "Personal Recollections of Jean-François Millet," Atlantic Monthly 38 (September 1876): 257-276. Also see Meixner Diss. "Jean-Francois Millet," pp. 128-142 for valuable information on the life and career of Edward Wheelwright.

79 Baker, p. 100. Also see Annette Blaugrund, "Tenth Street Studio Building," American Art Journal 14 (Spring 1982): 64-67.

80 Richard Hunt's affection for his brother is expressed throughout Baker, in the "Journals of Jane Hunt," and in the scrapbook assembled by Richard's wife Catharine. Catharine Howland Hunt, "Scrapbook," July 31, 1900, Avery Library, Columbia University, New York (hereinafter CHH "Scrapbook").

81 Royal Cortissoz, John La Farge (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1911), pp. 109-110.

82 Ibid., p. 111.

83 Ibid., pp. 112-113.

84 Adams Diss. "John La Farge," pp. 209-210.

85 F.O. Matthiessen began his biography The James Family (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1947; Vintage Books Edition, 1980), p. 3, with the following statement: "Almost a century ago, in 1849, Henry James, Sr. wrote from New York a now famous letter to Emerson. The father of

five small children, and necessarily concerned with education, he projected the scheme of taking his family to Europe for a few years, thereby, 'allowing them to absorb French and German and get a better sensuous education than they are likely to get here.' Such an interest in the training of the senses was unique in America at that time. It was the strongest influence in assuring that his children's minds would not be dry and abstract, but freshly and alertly perceptive."

⁸⁶ M. A. De Wolf Howe, ed., Later Years of the Saturday Club, 1870-1920 (Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927), p. 155.

⁸⁷ Gordon, p. 242.

⁸⁸ Matthiessen, p. 95.

⁸⁹ For further information on Henry James and the visual arts see: John L. Sweeney, ed., Painter's Eye (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956), and Viola Hopkins Winner, Henry James and the Visual Arts (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1970).

⁹⁰ According to Henry Angell in his "Records of William Morris Hunt" Atlantic Monthly (May 1880), p. 633: "[Hunt] seldom discussed politics, and never voted, so far as I know, after the close of the war. During the war period he was deeply stirred and very loyal. At that time he was a strong republican, but later appeared to have no party preference whatever, condemning both parties in good round terms."

⁹¹ Henry T. Tuckerman, Book of the Artists: American Artists' Life (New York: G.P. Putman & Son, 1867), p. 450. In 1863 Hunt did two more lithographs, The Bugle Call and La Marguerite (large folio). Both were printed by Dominique Fabronius, a lithographer trained by his father in Belgium, who worked in Boston between 1861 and 1864. Henry T. Peters in America on Stone (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1931), p. 227, wrote about La Marguerite: "La Marguerite (The Daisy)' painted by Wm. M. Hunt . . . 1863, large folio, shows what a superb craftsman Fabronius was. Here we have artistic lithography at its best." These were the last lithographs that Hunt undertook, although many of this paintings were engraved and published as Copley Prints by Curtis & Cameron after his death. Thirteen of these Copley Prints were included in the Catalogue of the 1905 Loan Exhibition at the Town Hall, Milton, Massachusetts, pp. 33-35.

⁹² Other Civil War related paintings included The Wounded Drummer Boy (c.1865, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), and a genre piece, Our Sick Soldier (also known as Playing Field Hospital and Our Wounded Soldier, c.1864, Coe Kerr Gallery, New York).

⁹³ Angell, p. 634. Also see Late Landscapes, p. 64 for additional background on the meeting between Hunt and Brown.

⁹⁴ The history of this transaction was recorded by Knowlton, p.

39: "Shortly after the death of President Lincoln, Hunt was commissioned to paint a portrait of him, with the intention of having it engraved. The order was given by Mr. Doll of the firm of Doll & Richards. It was stipulated that the artist should have his own time in which to complete the work, that he should select the engraver, and the engraving be subject to his approval. After the portrait had been painted, the commission for reasons satisfactory to both parties was annulled."

95 Knowlton, p. 41. There is a photograph of this painting in the Octagon Museum #P79.2015 with the notation: "Photograph from a life-size picture of Lincoln - almost finished, and burned in the Boston fire." There is also a small oil sketch of the Lincoln portrait, painted in 1865 in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

96 William Howe Downes, "Boston Painters, III. William Morris Hunt," Atlantic Monthly 62 (September 1888): 388.

97 See Troyen, pp. 23-26, and Martha J. Hoppin, "Women Artists in Boston, 1870-1900: The Pupils of William Morris Hunt," American Art Journal 13 (Winter 1981): 22-23.

98 Jeffrey Weidman, "William Rimmer: Critical Catalogue Raisonne" (Ph.D. dissertation, Bloomington: Indiana University, 1982), p. 95.

99 Ibid., pp. 1127-1130 & 1181-1182.

100 Knowlton, p. 36.

101 Elihu Vedder, Digressions of V (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1910), p. 277. See also Regina Soria, Elihu Vedder: American Visionary Artist in Rome (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1970).

102 According to Troyen, p. 26: "The Allston Club's exhibitions were, like the Salons in Paris, international in scope and were chosen by a committee of artists and connoisseurs. The French bias of the selection reflected the contents of the most progressive Boston collections, from which many works were borrowed. In the 1866 exhibition of ninety-six paintings, fifty-five were French, including The Quarry and Millet's The Sower. The exhibition was the largest public display of Barbizon paintings to be shown in Boston until that time, but the selection was apparently made without prejudice, for in addition to works by Millet, Corot, Diaz, and Daubigny were paintings by Frere, Lambinet, Bonheur, and other academic painters."

103 James Jackson Jarves, The Art-Idea (1864; reprint ed., Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 184, and Tuckerman, p. 447.

104 Before he assumed the first editorship of the Crayon in 1855 at the age of 27, Stillman had already met a number of American and European artists and writers, including Frederic Church, one of his

earliest teachers, John Ruskin whom he met for the first time in 1849, and Delacroix and the Barbizon painters in 1852 when he was in Europe with the Hungarian patriot, Louis Kossuth. In the mid-1850s, once back in the United States, he was close friends with the American Transcendentalists. John P. Simoni, in his "Art Critics and Criticism in Nineteenth Century America" (Ph.D. dissertation, Ohio State University, 1952), noted, p. 76: "Stillman was a transcendentalist, and was friendly with the New England group who held similar philosophic views. His philosophy of art, however, was strongly influenced by Ruskin's ideas about truth in art until about 1870."

Clarence Cook graduated from Harvard in 1849, and for two years, 1850-1852, attached himself to the landscape architect, Andrew Jackson Downing in Newburgh, New York. From the time of Downing's death in 1852 until 1863, Cook wrote essays and poetry and traveled as a lyceum lecturer. In 1863 he joined the newly formed pro-Ruskin, Association for the Advancement of Truth in Art and became the first editor of its publication, The New Path. In 1864 he was appointed art editor for Horace Greeley's New York Daily Tribune. In writing on Cook, Simoni noted, p. 140: "On the Tribune Cook established himself as a prolific and provocative writer. His stimulating prose and controversial tastes attracted the attention of a vast, new audience to the arts, and later drew the ire of artists whose works had been dealt with in a blunt manner." Simoni in writing on the animosity between Cook and Hunt stated, p. 301: "The artist to be dealt the full impact of Cook's bias against the French tendencies of Couture and Millet was William Morris Hunt, the Boston artist-teacher. Cook's adverse criticisms of Hunt's work began during the 1860s and lasted until the artist's death in 1879."

105 Jarves, p. 181.

106 Ibid., p. 184.

107 Baker, p. 133.

108 All citations can be found in Tuckerman, pp. 449-450.

109 Girl and Rabbit, also known as Girl or Child With Rabbit, now unlocated, was owned by Martin Brimmer. See Hoppin Diss. "Handlist," #205.

110 "Exhibition of the National Academy of Design" The Crayon 3 (May 1856): 147.

111 New York Daily Tribune (April 12, 1856), p. 4, col. 2.

112 Talks on Art, p. 65-63 sic.

113 Ibid., p. 73.

114 Ibid., p. 75.

- 115 Ibid., p. 98.
- 116 The now famous sentence from Ruskin's criticism which incited Whistler read as follows: "I have seen and heard much of cockney impudence before now, but never expected to hear a coxcomb ask two hundred guineas for flinging a pot paint in the public's face." Quoted in Hesketh Pearson The Man Whistler (New York: Taplinger Publishing Company, 1978), p. 75.
- 117 Talks on Art, p. 134.
- 118 The Fountain is the same as Girl at the Fountain. As noted in entry #27 in the 1979 Memorial Exhibition Catalogue, Sheep-Pastures may be the same as Twin Lambs (c.1857, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).
- 119 "Sketchings -- The National Academy of Design," The Crayon 4 (July 1857): 223.
- 120 New York Daily Tribune, (May 23, 1857), p. 5, col. 3.
- 121 A sketch of the Thayer portrait is in the Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Massachusetts. Also see Hoppin Diss. "Handlist," #23 & #86. Based on the description contained in the review, the portrait of Mrs. Hunt may be the painting known as The Lost Profile, (private collection, New York). See Late Landscapes, #3 and page 13 for illustration.
- 122 Crayon 8 (April 1861): 94-95.
- 123 New York Daily Tribune, (March 27, 1861), p. 8, col. 2.
- 124 The Singers and The Listeners were companion pieces. There is an undated notice titled, "Newport and William Hunt," in "William M. Hunt - Anecdotes," Scrapbook, Octagon Museum, p. 4B which reads in part: "We will mention only two which promise to be admirable works of their kind. In one, a young girl and boy are singing a psalm, which their costume leads us to suppose is from the ritual of the Greek Church, in the other, two young girls are listening to a hymn with an attention full of interest." Singers was dated 1859 in the 1879 Memorial Exhibition Catalogue #92. Photographs of the painting are in the Octagon Museum. There is no information available on his painting, The Circassian.
- 125 New York Daily Tribune, (July 13, 1865), p. 6, col. 2.
- 126 "Editor's Easy Chair," Harper's New Monthly Magazine 31 (June 1865): 129.
- 127 This portrait owned by Milton H. Sanford was, according to the review, of a woman and may be the portrait of Mrs. Sanford (unlocated) mentioned by Knowlton. There is a photograph of Mr. Sanford's portrait

in the Octagon Museum #P79.2130. The painting Mother and Child done between 1865-1866 is now in a private collection, Jackson, Wyoming. There are two known sketches, one, a life-size oil in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, another, a smaller oil sketch possibly done in 1863, is in a private collection, New York. See Hoppin Diss. "Handlist," #59, #60 & #61.

128 "Fine Arts -- The Forty-First Exhibition of the National Academy of Design," The Nation (May 11, 1866), p. 603.

129 Ibid.

130 Quoted in Boime, The Academy, p. 74.

131 New York Daily Tribune (July 4, 1866), p. 5, col. 1.

CHAPTER TWO

SECOND EUROPEAN TRIP, RETURN TO BOSTON, ALBANY

COMMISSION, 1868-1878

In May 1866, Hunt, his wife and three daughters left for a two-year stay in Europe. Hunt had both professional and personal reasons for this extended visit. He had arranged to join Elihu Vedder for a two-month sketching trip in Brittany. He wanted to spend time in Paris renewing his friendship with Millet and others. He planned to attend the the 1867 Paris Universal Exposition to which he submitted six paintings. And he hoped the trip would revitalize his marriage, for according to his wife, "we had grown old and hard and needed a little romance peppered among our everyday life of cares."¹

After their arrival in France, Hunt and his family went directly to Brittany. Here, Hunt, Vedder, and another artist friend of Vedder's, Charles Caryl Coleman (1840-1928), set up a studio in the village of Dinan. They were among the earliest to work in this northern region of France which soon attracted other artists--French and American--interested in working out-of-doors.² In his autobiography, Digressions of V, Vedder described their studio and Hunt's enthusiasm for the locale.

We found or made a large studio on the ground floor of an old house. It was literally the ground floor, for the floor was the ground, and Hunt delighted in it. You could make holes and pour in your dirty turpentine and fill them up again, and generally throw things on the floor, and Hunt used to clean his brushes by rubbing them on the dirt and dust. I remember his once saying, 'Wouldn't you like to take that mud in the road and make a picture with it?' The simplicity of Millet was strong upon him those days, and indeed affected his art the rest of his life. Painted with mud! Why not?

Hunt was productive during his stay in Brittany and two of the paintings which he sent to the Paris Universal Exposition were done there: Dinan, Brittany and The Quarry. Unfortunately most of these paintings are unlocated, yet titles such as Knitting in a Doorway, Brittany Peasant Children, Cabbage Garden, and Three Generations confirm that Millet's influence had reasserted itself.⁴

It was also in Dinan that Hunt rediscovered charcoal.⁵ This medium, whose soft texture permitted the quick rendering of sketches in a wide range of values, had won new popularity in the nineteenth century with artists who worked from nature. According to the English critic Philip Hamerton, whose books on contemporary art were widely read in the United States: "The true spirit or genius of charcoal-drawing is in the interpretation of nature by pure shade with no assistance from line."⁶ In his book, The Graphic Arts, Hamerton wrote at length on the modern application of charcoal, noting the medium's flexibility and convenience: "One of the great merits of charcoal is that it is so easily removed that it can be played with as the artist composes. He can introduce new forms, alter all his arrangements of light and shade, make experiments with his masses, and, in short, deal with his materials

as freely as an author deals with his manuscript before it is printed."⁷

Hunt used charcoal in several ways—to quickly render the color values of a landscape and to form the skeleton of his compositional design. Angell discussed with Hunt the use of charcoal and described several drawings that Hunt did on the spot:

I asked him, one evening, if he nearly always made drawings in charcoal of his landscapes as well as his portraits before painting. He said that he did; that is was very easily and quickly done, and gave one a correct idea of how the picture would look in oil, especially as regards composition and values. . . . Mr. Hunt went on, saying that now he would sketch from memory a sea-side view, that he had left the evening before. This time he drew carefully and with effort, evidently desirous of getting a correct portrait of the spot. In composition the drawing was somewhat like the other, but in place of the clump of willows at the left a large rock jutted out into the water; beyond this the distant coast-line was made up of rocks and cedar-trees. Above there was a clear sky, with irregular cloudiness; and still above these were heavier, unbroken clouds. In the still water of the foreground the large rock and the sky were reflected; near the shore the breeze ruffled the mirror's surface, so that no reflections were visible there; but the smooth water extended in toward the coast just far enough to catch and reflect the tops of the rocks and trees beyond, so that a long, slender line of reflections nearly parallel with the coast reached across the middle distance. This drawing, though not academically prim, is rather precise than free. The sky and its reflection in the water are, however, more loose, and in Mr. Hunt's usual fascinating manner.

Hunt's use of the sketch as an essential step in the development of his final work, along with his interest in working from memory which he stressed to his students in his Talks on Art, linked his methods to those that had been recently incorporated into the curriculum of the École des Beaux-Arts. This shift elevated the importance of the sketch and reflected the aesthetic innovations of artists such as Delacroix,

Corot and other members of the Barbizon School. As described by Albert Boime in his The Academy and French Painting in the Nineteenth Century many of the actual reforms were based on the "mnemonic system of instruction" of the painter and teacher Lecoq de Boisbaudran. According to Lecoq: "'Each individual, having yielded entirely to his spontaneous feelings, will see nature in his own way, experience a different emotion and discover his own way of expressing it. Nothing could therefore be more perfect than these exercises for giving scope to genuine feeling and developing the personality that is, true originality.'"⁹ To his students Hunt said: "I believe that the best paintings of landscape are made from memory. Of course you must study nature for certain details, but for the picture, paint it indoors from memory."¹⁰

After his stay in Brittany, Hunt went to London, where in the fall of 1866 he met Dante Gabriel Rossetti and other members of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood. He noted these meetings in his Talks on Art. "I knew many of the pre-Raphaelite painters in England, and liked them very much. They made a charming society of their own; friendly with each other and hospitable to strangers. They are wonderfully earnest workers, so one cannot fail to deeply respect them. They care nothing for the world's opinion of their work, while they do care for each other's opinions." What is more interesting about Hunt's remarks--and consistent with his own freer painting style--is that even though he admired the pre-Raphaelites he stated flatly that "their pictures are not interesting."¹¹

While in London, Hunt also was commissioned to paint the portrait of

the American ambassador to the Court of St. James, Charles Francis Adams (fig. 32), father of the historian, Henry Adams, who was in London at the time of Hunt's visit. In his Education of Henry Adams, Adams described his impression of Hunt in the context of his first contact with art in England:

Of all supposed English tastes, that of art was the most alluring and treacherous. Once drawn into it, one had small chance of escape, for it had no centre or circumference, no beginning, middle, or end, no origin, no object, and no conceivable result as education. In London one met no corrective. The only American who came by capable of teaching was William Hunt, who stopped by to paint the portrait of the minister which now completed the family series at Harvard College. Hunt talked constantly, and was, or afterwards became a famous teacher, but Henry Adams did not know enough to learn. Perhaps, too, he had inherited or acquired a stock of tastes, as young men must, which he was slow to outgrow. Hunt had no time to sweep out the rubbish of Adams's mind. The portrait finished, he went.¹²

Actually, Hunt finished the portrait of Ambassador Adams in Paris in September 1867 where it was seen by Henry Adams and described by him in a letter to his brother, Charles Francis Adams Jr.

We passed two days in Paris while on our way here [Baden, Germany], and there I saw Hunt's picture of the Minister, which he completed while we were there. As you and John no doubt feel an interest in it, I want to say a few words about it.

The picture is not a full-length; it comes only to the knees. The ground on which the figure is painted is perfectly simple; a warm foxy color, which age will darken to black. There is no background other than this. The figure itself stands out boldly; the face slightly turned to the left; the black frock coat buttoned up, a scarf covering the shirt, and only the collar showing any bit of white. There is no color anywhere. One hand is thrust into the coat front; the other hangs down with a roll of paper. The expression of the face is marked, but not excessively so, and I think you and I have seen him rise to speak in public, when he had almost precisely the same air and manner.

You can understand from the description that Hunt has dealt with his subject in the most honest and straight-forward way. There are no tricks nor devices in the picture. It is in the severest and truest style; so severe that most people will think it commonplace. I imagine that you and everyone else, except a few professional men, will look at it with a sense of disappointment, and feel that something is wanting; a bolder or freer touch; a more expressive attitude; more animated features; a less subdued background, or a dash of color in the dress. There is nothing for the eye to fasten upon and to drag away from the whole effect. In your language, as applied to literature, it is dull.

You know by this time my canons of art pretty well, and you know that what pleases the crowd would have a poor chance of pleasing me. Whoever is right, the majority is wrong. I consider Hunt's picture to be just what a portrait of our papa should be; quiet, sober, refined, dignified, a picture so unassuming that thousands of people will overlook it; but so faithful and honest that we shall never look at it without feeling it rise higher in our estimation. I need to see it among other portraits in order to get at its relative merit, but at any rate I don't hesitate to say¹³ that I think we have a first-rate likeness of the Governor.

Adams's evaluation would have pleased Hunt for it was precisely those qualities of honest representation plus a life-like feeling that Hunt sought to achieve in his portraits.

After his trip to London, Hunt returned to Paris where during the early months of 1867 he set-up a studio. Here he undertook more portrait commissions and finished works that he had begun in Dinan. He also submitted six paintings to the 1867 Universal Exposition: Portrait (Mrs. Samuel Gray Ward); Portrait of Abraham Lincoln; two versions of The Italian Boy (done in Europe, 1867); and the two Dinan landscapes mentioned above.¹⁴ This was unusual for most of the paintings had been selected in New York and it may have been through the efforts of Richard's friend W.J. Hoppin, chairman of the Selection Committee and

one of twenty-five American jurors, that this was possible.¹⁵ In the American section only James McNeill Whistler, who submitted four paintings The White Girl, Wapping on Thames, Old Battersea Bridge, and Twilight at Sea, and twenty-four etchings, contributed more work than Hunt. Richard himself was a member of the International Jury for a new category of architectural awards for designs and models and had traveled to Europe with Hoppin.¹⁶ However, any connections that Hunt had with the jury did not assure him a prize. That year only one American won a medal. Frederic Church, was awarded a second place medal for his Niagara Falls (1857, Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington).¹⁷

After what must have been a hectic spring, Hunt and his wife took a two-week trip to Holland and Belgium in June. Louisa Hunt kept a diary of this trip and made careful note of where they stayed, whom they saw and the sights they visited. However, she included little that was of a private or personal nature.¹⁸

As far as is known the entire family spent the balance of the summer in Paris, and left in September 1867 for a leisurely trip south to Italy which was to be their final destination. They traveled first to Lyons where they spent a few days and then by way of Avignon, Arles, Hyères, Aix, Cannes and Nice to San Remo where they spent the month of October in the Villa Rocco.¹⁹ Early in November they traveled to Rome stopping along the way at Genoa and Leghorn. Louisa loved Genoa and wrote in great detail about the two days they spent there:

Genoa is a city about which I am particularly enthusiastic. It was the first European city which had realized in my maiden days my ideal of a world quite

different from any other I had yet seen. I could easily believe in Capulets and Montagues. I could believe in troubadours, assassins, Lucrezia Borgia's slow poisonings, mysteries, intrigues and all that world of romance which figures in the stories of Italy in "Heaths' Book of Beauties" and fires a school girl's heart and brain with a desire to be the heroine of some drama which would cause the hair of the reader to stand erect and the heart to stop its palpitations. . . . We spent two days in Genoa the Palaces - Balbi, Brigicoli, Tali, Palavinni, Reale and many others! For details look in Murray [John Murray III, an Englishman, was the author and publisher of the best known travel-books of the era].²⁰

While Louisa makes no mention of the fact, Genoa was the birthplace of Christopher Columbus. Murals based on his life by the seventeenth-century Genoese painters, Lazzaro Tavarone and Giovanni Battista Carlone, and the Neapolitan painter Francesco Solimena filled the palaces they visited. Also in the town-hall of Genoa was an allegorical drawing titled The Triumph of Columbus—reputedly done by Columbus himself. This sketch of a small chariot-like boat with a single sail surrounded by allegorical figures closely resembles Hunt's painting The Discover. Although an obscure source, this drawing was well-known in the nineteenth century and was used as an illustration in books by at least two American writers. Justin Winsor reproduced it in his Narrative and Critical History of America and Nestor Ponce de Leon used it to illustrate his The Columbus Gallery.²¹

The Hunts finally arrived in Rome where they immediately began to take in the sights. One of the first, which both impressed and dismayed Louisa, was the parade of models on the Spanish steps.

Here in the colored dresses they tended their babies - ate beans and gossiped - smiling at everyone who passed, and finding a painter ready to engage them, handing over their babies to the care of another of the party. 'Stella,' a

young mother was a great favorite, but to my mind she was simply dreadful - pretty perhaps but too commonplace, but you may look at any of the Roman pictures painted about this time and see this lovely maiden and also the Heavy [sic] Father whg . . . poses for all naive young and old Painters.²²

The Hunts settled quickly in "a long low two storied little mansion" at no.22 via Gregoriana near other American families who were living there at the time. Louisa wrote: "We found ourselves surrounded by Americans, the Motleys our neighbors and very kind friends, the Carys, the [Edmund] Cushmans, etc. etc., and at the Storys house we saw all the nobby English people."²³ They also met Charlotte Cushman and Harriet Hosmer at the horse races in the Campagna. However, his old friend Vedder, who had become a permanent resident, noted that Hunt was not happy and that in Rome was Hunt was "like a fish out of water."²⁴ In her journal Louisa confirmed his distress and noted that even after visiting all the sights that "Murray's guide book considers imperative" and being presented to the Pope, the winter "was anything but a happy one." The problem was that none of them were well and "William so nervous that he could do no work."²⁵ This statement, however, was not completely true for he did manage to begin several works that were a continuation of a series of Italian street urchins which he had begun earlier in Paris.²⁶

In the spring Hunt decided it was time for him to return home and in April 1868 he left his family and sailed for Boston. In one of the few personal passages in her diary Louisa commented on Hunt's departure and their separation: "It was decided that we should move on to Florence and that there William and I were to separate. He to go to America for rest and for business, while I was to spend my summer at some German watering

place seeking strength and renewal before appearing at home to the many criticizing friends who undoubtedly would decide that Loo Hunt had grown dreadfully old during her two years and a half sojourn in Europe."²⁷ Unfortunately, given the fact of their final separation in 1874, the expressed purpose of their trip--the revitalization of their marriage--was not accomplished.

While Louisa may have been discouraged about the outcome of their trip, Hunt returned to Boston full of enthusiasm to begin teaching again. He relayed his plans to the sculptor Thomas Ball who was on the ship that Hunt took home. Ball and Hunt had known each other earlier in Boston where they both had studios in the Mercantile Library Building on Summer Street. In his autobiography My Threescore Years and Ten, Ball devoted an entire chapter to Hunt, whom he regarded as a great artist:

Being mutual admirers of each other's work, we became warm friends. Our studios were open to each other when closed to everybody else; and I have often regretted that we could not have been oftener brought together in after years. . . . [Hunt was] a most fascinating talker, - his conversation abounding in the drollest conceits, exceedingly epigrammatic, - everything he said had a meaning and interest, especially when relating to Art. His expressions were strong, sometimes a little too emphatic, but always to the point.

Later on, Ball described their homeward journey:

The next time I crossed the Atlantic, Boston-bound, in 1868, we were fellow-passengers. He was enthusiastic as ever, this time with the idea of going home to establish a class for instruction of young ladies in Art. He thought there was vast deal of talent among them that only required to be directed. Being confident of his faculty for imparting his knowledge, he considered it his duty, and that of every artist, to do all he could to lighten the path of those groping in the dark. The success of his enterprise may be estimated by the scores of lady-artists in Boston

to-day who are never tired of singing his praises as artist,
teacher, and friend.²⁸

Hunt was true to his word. In the fall of 1868 he announced in the Boston Transcript that he would accept women students for instruction in charcoal drawing at his studio in the Mercantile Building on Summer Street. Many applied and during the seven years that Hunt's school was in operation, over forty women enrolled in his class. Among them were Helen Knowlton, Elizabeth Boott Duveneck, Rose Lamb, Sarah Wyman Whitman and Elizabeth H. Bartol. According to Martha Hoppin in a recent article on Hunt's women students, he himself taught for three years. In 1871, his close friend, later biographer and star pupil, Helen Knowlton, assumed responsibility for the day-to-day instruction, although Hunt continued to visit the class daily for the next four years. In her article, Hoppin described Hunt's method of teaching: "It is clear that Hunt's teaching was unorthodox in many ways. In an effort to encourage spontaneity and originality, he rejected drill in drawing as the foundation of art, and did not carry students through progressive stages from drawing to painting. Instead, Hunt stressed the primacy of the artist's impressions or feeling."²⁹

However, Hunt's commitment to art education in Boston extended beyond teaching women privately in his atelier. He was active, along with his fellow-artists, William Rimmer and John La Farge, in the development during the 1870s of the Boston Museum School. Unlike the Lowell School of Practical Design in Boston, or Cooper Union in New York, where Rimmer was an instructor from 1866 to 1870, the Museum School was established in order to provide instruction in the fine arts as opposed to the

useful arts. In 1876, following the opening of the Museum of Fine Arts, Hunt, La Farge, and others were appointed to the Permanent Committee for the Museum School.³⁰ Rimmer, while not a member of the committee, was jointly employed by the Technological Institute (later the Massachusetts Institute of Technology) and the Museum School where he lectured and taught anatomical modeling in clay, and pictorial composition and design.³¹ Otto Grundmann, a German artist trained in Antwerp, was appointed the first director. Sylvester Baxter, writing about the Museum School in 1878, two years after it had opened, noted the difference between the training offered there and what had been available previously in Boston.

The [Massachusetts] Normal Art-School has for its aim the training of teachers rather than artists pure and simple, whereas in the Museum School Art in its ideal aspect is the end in view. . . . It is endeavored to make the students feel the artistic atmosphere in their work; they are surrounded by the best of influences, and in the collections of the museum they have excellent opportunities for observation and study. . . . The instruction is of the best quality, it being desired that the instructors should be artists rather than school-masters. The tendency of the institution is more towards the academic freedom prevailing in the greater schools of the continent, than the conventional rules and restrictions of the Royal Academy of London.³²

It seems certain, given Hunt's own teaching experience and the high esteem in which he was held in Boston in the mid-1870s, that he was instrumental in persuading the Museum to adopt the atelier principles he himself espoused rather than a formal academic curriculum. However, he had reservations about the Museum School which he voiced to his friend Angell: "'They make too much fuss over the students. If two percent or one percent make anything of artists, it is as much as one should

expect. Grundmann is painstaking, and perhaps well enough as a teacher; possibly not broad enough; but let him go on five years at least before judging of his qualifications. They think over there that the school, if good enough, must make artists. There never was a greater mistake. Why don't they set up a school to make poets?"³³

Yet Hunt was aware of the value of the School's systematic method of instruction in contrast to his own, which was informal and unregimented. In his Talks on Art he conjectured that his students might have been better prepared had they gone to the Museum School:

I'm dreadfully afraid that they'll beat you [Hunt's students] at the Art-Museum School. There they are made to be as careful as can be about all their drawing. Perhaps I should have done better to have begun so with you. I preferred to show you how to make pictures, and to will you to learn, and to give you as much of my own life as I could. And that's a good way, if you'll take pains about the important things. But not one in a dozen of you ~~eyer~~³⁴ uses a vertical line. You don't know what it is to dig.

While this may seem contradictory in light of his constantly exhorting his students to capture the first impression of a subject, he believed that equal attention had to be paid to the construction of the figure and the overall composition. "I only ask you to take precautions at first; to hold up your perpendicular line and get the movement, to block your figure in cubes, or whatever, and to keep the right relation of parts."³⁵ He took as his authorities not Couture or Millet or other contemporary artists but the Old Masters and the Egyptians. "Michel Angelo measured. Raphael measured. Albert Durer passed many years trying to get a system of measurement for the human figure; carrying it so far that he found certain parts of the body to be so many lengths of

the eye. One half of the art of the Egyptians is in their wonderful knowledge of proportion; but the Yank thinks it is smart to sit down and do horrible things without measuring."³⁶ Works by these old masters were familiar to Hunt's students for his studio was filled with engravings, photographs and casts. Examples of Egyptian sculpture were also available to them at the Museum of Fine Arts which, even before it formally opened in 1876, had acquired C. C. Way's collection of Egyptian art in 1872.

In addition to his teaching, Hunt, after his return from Europe, resumed an active role in the social and cultural life of Boston. He continued to exhibit at the Boston Athenaeum, was officially reinstated in his Harvard Class in 1868, and the following year was invited to join the prestigious Saturday Club. Founded in 1855 by Ralph Waldo Emerson and others, members of this dining and social club comprised the cultural elite of Boston. A list of its early members reads like a Who's Who of New England literature: James Russell Lowell, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Richard Henry Dana, Jr., Oliver Wendell Holmes, John Greenleaf Whittier, and Nathaniel Hawthorne. Over the years, Hunt did a number of their portraits.³⁷

Even prior to formal membership in the Club, Hunt had been invited in 1864 to their celebration of the 300th anniversary of Shakespeare's birth.³⁸ He was unable to attend the gala on April twenty-third but sent a full-length portrait of Hamlet (fig. 33) in honor of the occasion. Emerson noted in his journal that he was disappointed that William himself had not been there but he had "graced our hall by sending us his

full-length picture of Hamlet, a noble sketch."³⁹

Hunt retained this painting and continued to work on it for a number of years.⁴⁰ It had particular importance for him since Hamlet and his creator, Shakespeare were, along with other literary and historic figures, personal heroes. In a passage from his Talks on Art in which he speaks of Millet he also alludes to Shakespeare, Lincoln, and Hamlet: "He [Millet] was immense, tremendous,—so great that very few ever could get near him. He read only such things as would help him. Knew Shakespeare and Homer by heart. He was like Abraham Lincoln in caring for only a few books. He loved Hamlet."⁴¹

In another passage he mentioned Shakespeare along with Lincoln: "Shakespeare, like all great men, was true to his instincts. Bret Harte is true to his. Abraham Lincoln believed in his own instincts! And why shouldn't he, since he had the best!"⁴² Like the Romantics of an earlier generation, Hunt believed that Shakespeare was a genius who followed his own convictions. "Shakespeare never sat down and said, 'Now I'm going to be original!' No. When he opened his eyes in the morning he didn't think of looking as Tommy Tinker did. He wrote his plays as I would smoke a cigar or read a book. But you had better believe that he was a worker! The fellows who have succeeded have sweated more than others. It's a case of open pores. Most people, in their eternal grasping for gain keep their pores tightly closed."⁴³

In Hunt's final version of Hamlet, the prince stands with his arms wrapped tightly around his body, his head is bowed, his stance and gaze

indecisive. Poised on a parapet in front of a rendering of a medieval town square, he seems about to deliver his famous soliloquy, "to be or not to be." Hunt enhanced this dramatic moment by silhouetting Hamlet's head and torso against moonlit clouds. It is interesting to note that even for this highly theatrical scene, Hunt attempted to make the lighting as realistic as possible. Knowlton recorded the recollections of a fellow artist, Albion Bicknell, who accompanied Hunt one evening during the period he was working on Hamlet: "What tramps we had over hills, fields and meadows! In our evening walks the effects of moonlight were chiefly in his thoughts, for at this time he was painting Hamlet. He would slip off his coat for me to see what relation existed between his white shirt-sleeves and the sky and landscape. Then I would do likewise that he might make some notes."⁴⁴

According to Knowlton, the actor Daniel Bandmann was one of the models for this portrait.⁴⁵ Hunt enjoyed entertaining visiting theatrical companies and was himself an amateur actor—often performing in tableaux for friends in his studio.⁴⁶ Besides his portrait of Bandmann as Hamlet, he did other portraits of actors including two versions of the French caricaturist, Felix Regamey.⁴⁷ The other models Hunt used were also men he admired—his brother Richard, whose idealized portrait is said to be Hamlet's face, and William Rimmer who posed for his hands. In addition to incorporating the features of these men, Hunt reused this tragic, introspective pose for his paintings of other heroes—Lincoln and Columbus who is the figure of the Discoverer in the Albany mural. For Hunt this pose signified the figurative isolation in

which these men, both historic and literary, lived. These heroes—Hamlet, Lincoln, Columbus—plus others referred to in his Talks on Art, inspired him. He also, to some degree, identified with them.

Hunt was productive and busy during the the late 1860s and early 1870s. He and his wife even had a fourth child, Paul, who was born in 1869. He continued to exhibit at the Athenaeum and at the NAD, where in 1871 he exhibited Portrait of William Wardner (#266, 1871, unlocated).⁴⁸ Hunt was also elected an associate member of the NAD in 1871, although he was never officially instated since he did not submit the required diploma portrait. One of the happiest commissions Hunt received at this time was from the students at the Boston Latin School who hired him to paint a portrait of their headmaster, Francis Gardner (1871, Boston Latin School).⁴⁹ In late 1871 he exhibited a number of works at the gallery of Doll & Richards including: Hamlet; a figure piece of his son, Paul, titled Boy With Butterfly (c. 1871, Dr. James Murphy, New York); a third version of Marguerite, titled The New Marguerite (1870, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston); a portrait of Archbishop Williams (unlocated); and six small landscapes in charcoal.⁵⁰ The following year he continued to exhibit widely and submitted two paintings to the NAD which he had shown the year before at Doll & Richards: Boy With Butterfly (#300) and Marguerite (#336). Also that spring he sent three works to the Chronological Exhibition of American Art sponsored by the Brooklyn Art Association: Girl With Flowers (#73, unlocated); Marie, a Model (#73A, unlocated); and Boy with Butterfly (#73B).

However, this productive interlude was tragically interrupted on

November 6, 1872 by a fire which destroyed not only a great deal of central Boston, but Hunt's studio as well. It consumed much of his life's work including, according to Knowlton, a nearly completed fifty-foot canvas of Anahita, the standing portrait of Abraham Lincoln and many paintings by the Barbizon masters, Millet, Corot, Diaz and others which he had acquired for his children. These years were also marred by the prolonged difficulties with his wife which resulted in a final separation in 1874.

In the published accounts of Hunt's life, there is little mention of his separation which was probably a result of his wife's mental breakdown and presumed insanity. What transpired can be pieced together from the "Journals of Jane Hunt." It should be noted, however, that Jane was extremely loyal to her brother and her account is prejudiced. She did not acknowledge Hunt's erratic behavior and nervous temperament which may have contributed to the collapse of his marriage and his wife's mental health.

Jane never married and lived with her mother until Mrs. Hunt died in 1877. Jane was an artist who studied with Hunt periodically, and with Helen Knowlton in 1873-1874. In her "Journals" she recorded her own comings and goings and those of her mother and her brothers' families.⁵¹

According to entries in Jane's "Journals", William's and Loo's troubles accelerated in the summer of 1873. During the spring Hunt had taken a brief trip to Florida with his friend, John Murray Forbes, to recuperate from the depression he suffered following the fire. At the

beginning of the summer he was still ill and Jane and their mother visited him in July at "Readville" (this may be the name of their home in Milton) where he was recovering.⁵²

July 26, 1873: Saturday. Wm who was thin & weak, he has grown old within the year, was very glad to see us. . . . We all assembled round him as he talked & told us about his loss by the Fire. The Insurance Companies only gave him \$3,000. One picture alone was a portrait just finished for \$2,500, 2 other full lengths of Lincoln, 4 Millet's, several picture of his own, numbers of sketches, beside all his working materials, furniture of the atelier &c. Money can never replace the loss to him. However he made a great many sketches in Charleston & Florida last winter & was just painting from them when he was taken ill 3 weeks ago. One of the landscapes 18 x 24 was sold for \$600 the first day it was finished.⁵³

By early August Hunt was well enough to travel to Plymouth on the south shore of Massachusetts for a week's vacation with his entire family including Jane and Helen Knowlton. However, it is not clear from the following passages taken from Jane's "Journals" whether their troubles were due to the hot weather, poor accommodations or emotional strain.

August 1: Friday. I went to Swampscott for rooms. At 4 when I returned found Wm & Miss Knowlton had driven in. We arranged about the seashore Ellen & Enid [Hunt's daughters] going with us. He returned at 6.

August 2, 1873: Saturday. Expected children all morning. At 2:30 they came. Hurried off for O.C.R. train, 4 hours to Plymouth. Drove one-half hour to (blank JH) house - full-all put into one room. Hot land breeze. Ellie sick.

August 3: Sunday. Hot. Walked with Ellen & Enid. With new waitress &c managed to get through dinner & tea. Another uncomfortable night.

August 4: Monday. Early left for S. Duxbury, all day on the road via Braintree where we begged some boiled eggs & got up a lunch at the Depot. Reached the Standish house within eight miles of Plymouth just before tea. After tea

who should drive up but Wm, Loo, Miss K, rest of children, 2 servants, came from Scituate.

August 5: Tuesday: All pretty well but Loo. Trouble upstairs, no water &c. Children seemed to enjoy it. Went up to Loo's room. Their trunk not to be found. I had a bilious attack in the night, did not get down stairs till next P.M.

August 6: Wednesday: Tableaux in the Evening. Loo still upstairs.⁵⁴

Jane became more specific about Loo's troubles in an undated notation at the end of her entries for August. What one can surmise from this and subsequent entries is that Louisa had a nervous breakdown and had been sent to Squantum, which may have been a sanatorium, for six weeks.⁵⁵

Undated: Went to see Loo at Squantum. She was in town so I waited. Spent the day there as I was determined to see how she was. She seems much better - except on one subject - marriage. She went about the grounds alone - they were not afraid of her running away. She sews a great deal, plays, sings, reads &c, is going to W(ethersfield) next week & from there Abby Taylor (her companion) tells me she is to be sent to Dr. Jarvis' a kind of 'Retreat' on a small scale. I doubt the good it will do her. She knows as well as anyone when she is with sane or insane people. Mrs. (blank JH), the lady she boards with, seems to have taken a great deal of interest in her & would keep her willingly this winter. I think of writing Leavitt to that effect, but they⁵⁶ must judge for themselves. I do not know Mrs. (blank JH).

The next entry, also undated, was probably made the following day. It was a confused account and no doubt reflected the disturbance Jane herself felt.

Monday: P.M. (No date): Went out to Readville to see what had become of them all. Lev said he did not let her [Loo] know where we were [Jane and her mother]. She thought we were at St. James [a local boarding house]. I told her Wm drove Leavitt & Kate [Leavitt's wife] out to see us in the Norfolk [another boarding house]. She replied she did not ask him. Asked Ellie why she did not come & if she got a letter from Grandma yet, had our address in it. I did not

ask if she asked her Father where we were, poor child. When I asked little Paul why he didn't come to see Grandma he said Mother won't let me! Clyde [Leavitt's son] has been with them 2 weeks. He did not come to see us. Wm took Clyde home on Saturday & Bay [?] with them. Enid, Loo says she hears from Kate, has been very good.⁵⁷

This entry is followed immediately by one in which Jane discussed the subject of insanity in the family, a subject triggered by Jonathan's troubles with his child. At the time Jonathan was living in Paris with his common-law wife and daughter:

Undated: Mother recd. Letter from John, saying he had drawn the other 100 dollars, making \$200 since we left N.Y. His child no better. He wonders if insanity is in our family. I wrote him a long letter Sunday to let him know there was no trace of it in Father or Mother's family. He must look to the Mother[s] of this generation for that. Old Mrs. Dunnigan, Mrs. J. Perkins, & Loo in Wms family; Leo Jarvis & her cousin Langley in Kate Jarvis'; none in Richard's wife.⁵⁸ Does he know abt. the Mother of his child's family?

Jane and her mother made frequent trips to Boston, presumably to keep tabs on the deteriorating family situation. Yet by November 1873 Hunt was back at work in his studio. It was at this time that Jane began her study with Helen Knowlton. Jane also recorded in her "Journals" the visit of the English artist and art instructor, Lowes Dickinson, who encouraged Knowlton to publish Hunt's studio notes.⁵⁹

During the winter of 1873-1874 William and Loo were reconciled briefly. Hunt was hard at work painting portraits, including one of his wife. Jane reported:

January 2-7: Painting every day at the Class. Wm has several new heads &c. Mr. Schlesinger [Barthold Schlesinger, 1873, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston] dark wine colored velvet, fine head, another head, profile of the young lady who sat for the picture with dove colored sacquin [satin?], full

length portraits of P.C. Brooks boy [1874, private collection, Newton, Massachusetts]. Fine heads of R. W. Emerson, commenced. Has commenced picture of Agassiz. . . .

January 12: Monday. At the Studio. Wm had a full length of Acton [actor?] painted yesterday. Leavitt came in while we were at tea.

January 13: Tuesday. Wm commenced Leavitt's portrait [c. 1874, Brooks Memorial Library, Brattleboro, Vermont] about 1. Had a good likeness & covered all canvas at 5. . . .

January 19: Monday. Studio. Wm painted in another full length Portrait of (blank JH) [probably Felix Regamey], the great caricaturist. . . . Wm painted Tom Robinson's portrait [unlocated]. . . .

January 27: Tuesday. Wm commenced Loo's portrait [unlocated]. . . .

January 28: Wednesday. Cold & slippery. Studio for a moment. Wm painting in Loo's figure. . . .

January 29: Thursday. Mrs. Bush [?] came in about 11. I did not go to Studio this A.M. as I thought Miss Knowlton might be busy with Wm about Loo's portrait. Historical Rooms. After dinner went to Studio, saw Loo's portrait, 3/4 length, velvet saegeb[?] trimmed with free figures, has a Perkins's look.⁶⁰

However, Jane noted that by spring their separation seemed final: "May 24, Sunday: Kate [and] Leavitt came in for a few minutes. She expected they would lunch and then drive in the Park with us but it looked like rain. Had a discussion about Wm & Loo. He has not been home for about 3 months, she threatens divorce, 'Twould be the best thing for all.'⁶¹

During the summer the family was plagued by further troubles. In June 1874, Jonathan committed suicide in Paris and William's and Louisa's separation had caused a scandal.

Undated [between September 9-13, 1874]: Took a buggy, drove out to see Miss Knowlton. Had a long talk with her. She feels very badly about Wm's affairs, says everybody has been talking so horribly, no use to contradict the stories,

says she hears Mrs. Bell [?] says this, that & the other about Wm & Loo's affairs.

September 13: Sunday. Lovely day. Wrote Celestine [Jonathan's widow]. Wm came & spent 2 hours with us. He looks stronger & better [than] he did 3 weeks ago. We read over Mother's will, talked abt. various business matters.

September 19: Saturday. Raining. In Town with Mother, looked at rooms for Wm at Pairlin & met Cazeau [?] at 154 Tremont St. Told me of some of his experiences with Mme. Thinks it ugliness. A year ago she sent letter to Wm by him, accusing Wm of different things. He said nothing to her but felt horribly. Went to see her most she could say was that Wm swore at her. She prejudiced the children against him. . . .

September 23, 1874: Wednesday. . . . Mrs. Burk [?] spent afternoon with Mother, told me Loo accused Wm of leading an immoral life before & after his marriage. Left, took French lesson about 8.⁶²

Unfortunately, Jane's "Journals", or that portion retained by the family, ends a month later. What can be determined from another account, namely Catharine Howland Hunt's unpublished diary, is that Hunt and his wife were never reconciled. Even at the time of his death she refused to come to his funeral.⁶³ However, Louisa did inherit a great number of paintings and drawings, many of which she sold after his death. She also published a pamphlet in 1888 when Hunt's Albany murals were threatened with destruction. As she stated in her short introduction, she published the pamphlet in order to better acquaint the public with their symbolic meaning. In her text she called Anahita "the negative or feminine force," in contrast, Columbus was "the positive or masculine force."⁶⁴ One cannot help but assume that these sentiments reflected her own unconscious view of herself and Hunt.

It is difficult to gauge Hunt's feelings during this time. One is

not sure what affected him more, his studio fire or the separation from his wife. He was obviously affected by one or both, for he was ill a great deal and had withdrawn from active participation in exhibitions.⁶⁵ What finally succeeded in restoring his spirits were two trips he took with his friend, John Murray Forbes, to Florida and Cuba in the spring of 1873 and 1874, and a third taken with another friend, Colonel Curtis S. Greeley to Cuba and Mexico the following spring. It is evident from the number of charcoal sketches which he brought back from Florida and Cuba, that these trips not only rejuvenated him but reawakened his interest in landscape painting. Writing on Hunt's late landscapes, Marchal Landgren, noted that the exoticism of these locales helped Hunt break with the Barbizon landscape tradition and establish his own style.

In the skies and waters of the region [Saint John's River, south of Jacksonville], which, because of the flat terrain, appeared to form an almost unbroken luminous plane, relieved only by the masses of trees in his immediate vicinity, Hunt found a semi-tropical landscape, exotic enough to have no parallels in the work of Daubigny, Corot or Millet, and he accepted the challenge of finding the descriptive means of conveying his impressions of the heavy, humid atmosphere, which oppressed all motion and bathed every visible thing in a soft glow of light.⁶⁶

By early 1875, Hunt's health had improved and he submitted two paintings--Elaine (c. 1873-1874, Bennington Museum, Vermont) and Priscilla (c. 1873-1874, Museum of Fine Arts)--and nineteen charcoal drawings to the January exhibition at the Athenian Club, Boston.⁶⁷ He also held an exhibition of his works in his temporary studio in the Mason & Hamlin Building on Tremont Street, and sent more than thirty paintings to the annual Boston artists' exhibition and sale held in March at the Studio Building. Among these works were many new landscapes

in charcoal and oil including Summer Sunset, Spring Morning, Hazy Autumn Morning, and Storm (all unlocated). According to Hoppin, this exhibition "marked Hunt's real debut as a landscape artist."⁶⁸ Hunt's new work, specifically his landscapes, raised the ire of several pro-Ruskin critics in Boston, including the Harvard professor Charles Herbert Moore who expressed the same complaints that had been voiced earlier about Hunt's paintings in the mid-1860s. According to Hoppin: "Above all, every adverse critic felt Hunt's paintings did not show the proper care, discipline, patience, and 'hard work' necessary for true art."⁶⁹

In April 1875 after his return from Mexico, his sister, who was living in New York, lent Girl at the Fountain for an independent artists' exhibition at the Daniel Cottier Gallery. This exhibition, which had been organized by John La Farge, Francis Lathrop and others, was a precursor of the later exhibitions of new contemporary American art sponsored by the Society of American Artists.⁷⁰ In Boston that same month the Cincinnati artist Frank Duveneck (1848-1919), having been invited by Hunt, exhibited five paintings at the Boston Art Club. According to Knowlton, the two artists never met, although Duveneck credited Hunt with being an instrumental force in his early career.⁷¹

During the summer Hunt began to explore the landscape of Cape Ann on the north shore of Massachusetts. To facilitate his traveling he had built a painting van which was described by Angell:

During August of this year Mr. Hunt was very busy in the construction of what he called his van, - a large covered sketching wagon, commodious enough to live in while on a

sketching tour built, as he said with great glee, 'by a man who builds gypsy wagons.' It had all kinds of drawers in it for pots kettles, and painting utensils, and was to be drawn about to eligible sketching grounds by a span of horses; . . . He said that the van was so easy that driving in it was like being up in a balloon, and gave the pleasantest possible proof of his assertion, one afternoon later, by driving us twenty-five miles in it. The drive was delightful, as any drive with Mr. Hunt was sure to be, but it left a consciousness for day or two that an experimental drive of twenty-five miles, even in a van is rather long.⁷²

While Angell may not have found the van all that comfortable, Hunt put it to good use almost immediately. He made a sketching trip with Salisbury Tuckerman (1830-1904), the marine and landscape painter and former head of the New England School of Design, to Curzon's Mill, West Newbury, Massachusetts.

With all of this renewed activity, however, the most important event of the year for Hunt was the publication of his Talks on Art by Houghton Mifflin, Boston. The English edition, with a forward by the former Pre-Raphaelite painter John Everett Millais, whom Hunt had met through their mutual friend, the Boston publisher James T. Fields, was published two years later by MacMillan in London. A second series was brought out in 1883 after Hunt's death. Both series were based on notes made by Helen Knowlton of Hunt's teaching methods and were extremely popular both in the United States and abroad.⁷³ Seventeen editions were published between 1875 and 1911 and excerpts from the First Series were published in newspapers and journals throughout the United States.⁷⁴

Today, Hunt's Talks on Art are still highly regarded as an important record of an American artist's thoughts on art during a critical period of transition for American culture following the Civil War.⁷⁵ One of the

most striking aspects of Hunt's Talks is his reference to innumerable painters, writers, musicians, composers, and other historical figures—past and present, European and American. In addition to the more obvious names such as Raphael, Michaelangelo, Rubens, Rembrandt, and those already referred to—Millet, Shakespeare, Hamlet and Lincoln—Hunt also mentioned, among others, the European painters Greuze, van Dyck, Ribera, Murillo, Cellini, Watteau, Mantegna, and Poussin; the more contemporary European painters Regnault, Kaulbach, G^{érôme}, Bouguereau, Barye, Flandrin, Prud'hon, Turner, Gainsborough, Reynolds, and Bonnington; the American painters, Allston, Gilbert Stuart Newton, Page, Healy, and William Tiffany; the writers, Hawthorne, Emerson, Gautier, Molière, and Cervantes; the composers and musicians, Beethoven, Paganini, Chopin, Mozart, Anton Rubinstein and Joseph Joachim; the American statesmen, John Hancock, Stephen Hopkins, William Seward, Washington, and Franklin; the scientists, Darwin and Sir Isaac Newton; the ballerina Carlotta Grisi; and the man known only as Blondin who walked a tightrope across Niagara Falls in 1859.

Most of these people had qualities Hunt admired—dedication, creativity, self-sacrifice. References to these famous people were intertwined with his art instruction and cannot be thought of separately. Obviously Hunt believed that it was just as important to provide inspirational models as to transmit the specifics of drawing and painting. He also communicated to his women students that the creative life was all-consuming.

Other intriguing aspects of his Talks on Art are the lengthy

quotations printed in the margins of the First Series by four English authors including two poets, William Blake, Robert Browning, and two critics, John Ruskin and William Hazlitt. The quotations Hunt chose all referred to art and, not surprisingly, reflected his own views on spontaneity, originality, personal expression, and tradition. For instance, this passage from Browning, in which the poet deplored his contemporaries' misunderstanding of the old masters, expressed Hunt's own view.

"'But the wronged great souls—can they be quit
Of world where all their work is to do,
Where you style them, you of the little wit,
Old Master this and Early the other,
Not dreaming that Old and New are fellows,
That a younger succeeds to an elder brother,
Da Vincis derive in good time from Dellos.'"⁷⁶

These marginalia are particularly surprising because Hunt was not a literary artist, the few exceptions being his lithographs after Tennyson, his Hamlet, and his Albany murals. Nor, according to his friend Angell, was he much of a reader:

Mr. Hunt was not, in the ordinary sense, a reader; I am sure, at least, that he read few books during the five years of his life that we knew him intimately. His conversation at times pointed to a considerable familiarity with certain parts of the Bible which he had read and discussed with Millet many years earlier, with parts of Shakespeare and with the literature of art. He liked to refer to Hazlitt's art criticisms and to the poetry of Robert Browning, accrediting the latter with far more correct ideas on art than most of the other poets. He liked also the writings of Taine, and asked us to read what Fromentin said of Rembrandt's work at the time it appeared in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*. Considering that he read so seldom, it was rather surprising that his want of book knowledge did not make itself more felt; but he remembered ~~everything~~ everything that he read as well as everything that he heard.

The year 1876 found Hunt equally busy. In January he exhibited a number of works at the Boston Art Club, participated in Williams & Everett's spring sale and sent two paintings—Boot Black (location unknown) and Portrait of Barthold Schlesinger—to the Philadelphia Centennial exhibition. He spent the summer in North Easton near the home of the Oliver Ames family. There he painted portraits of the Ameses and continued to paint landscapes directly from nature. Angell in his Records noted that he visited Hunt while he was working there.

During this month [?] we spent a day and night as his guests with him at North Easton. With all his endeavors, he was not quite at his best there, being anxious lest our eating and sleeping would not be exactly what he wished; he had brought from Boston some bananas and other fruits for a supplementary course at dinner. In the evening, on coming in, he asked for a bit of charcoal, to give the effect of a view he had just seen on the river. No charcoal was to be found, so he took a bit of cork, and holding it over the light manufactured his coal, and then drew on a bit of paper a heavy mass of trees against ⁷⁸ a bright sunset sky, reflecting them in the water below.

In June, at the suggestion of his students, Hunt went to Deerfield to look at the work of the landscape and figure painter, George Fuller (1822-1884). Fuller had worked as an artist for many years but during the 1860s and early 1870s had withdrawn from the active pursuit of an artistic career to work on his farm. Hunt was enthusiastic about Fuller's paintings and encouraged Mr. Doll of the Doll and Richards Gallery to visit him. Doll's enthusiasm was equal to Hunt's and he arranged to have fourteen of Fuller's paintings exhibited in his Boston gallery.⁷⁹

In keeping with his support of new artists and his important role as

a teacher in Boston, Hunt was appointed, as mentioned earlier, to the permanent committee of the Boston Museum School. He also dramatically increased his output of landscape paintings, particularly of the area around Magnolia, Massachusetts on Cape Ann, where with the help of the architect, W.R. Emerson, he converted a barn into a two-story studio. Here he was joined by the former wagon-painter John G. Carter who, along with Tom Robinson, later assisted Hunt with his Albany murals.⁸⁰ This building of a new studio in Magnolia, along with the English publication of his Talks on Art, and the opening in the fall of his new Park Square Studio, marked Hunt's full maturity as an artist. This maturity and the confidence it brought was reflected in works such as Gloucester Harbor (1877, Museum of Fine Arts) and The Bathers (1877, Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts), one of his best known and admired works. Such an opinion was noted in the exhibition catalogue Late Landscapes.

On 14 December [1877], Williams and Everett opens 'an exhibition of thirty-one paintings by William Hunt . . . all but four or five painted during the past year, and all but three for the first time exhibited.' The many landscapes, mainly views of the Charles River and North Easton, Massachusetts, area receive favorable mention in the press, and The Bathers is described as 'masterly in its action, and transparent in the flesh-color, the foliage being subordinated in the fine manner for which Mr. Hunt is noted.' A large study of the Charles River is 'remarkable for its silvery, spring-like tones and poetical suggestion of the season represented.' Two twilight scenes are so 'strong and truthful . . . [that] Mr. Hunt is by far the greatest artist on this side of the water.'⁸¹

Hunt's success, however, was overshadowed by the death of his mother on December 30, 1877. Yet the following year found him again actively exhibiting and painting. In March 1878 he lent one painting Portrait of a Lady (unlocated) to the first exhibition of the Society of American

Artists at the Kurtz Gallery, and in the fall sent two works, The Bathers (second version, c.1877-1878, Metropolitan Museum of Art) and Boy and Butterfly to the NAD for the benefit of the Decorative Arts Society.⁸²

In late May, he and his sister took a trip to Niagara Falls. Once there, he was so impressed with the site that he sent for Carter and his van. When the van arrived he began to sketch and created many drawings of the Falls on the spot. However, his work was interrupted by an invitation from the architect Leopold Eidlitz to come to Albany to discuss a commission for two mural paintings for the Assembly Chamber of the New York State Capitol.

NOTES - Chapter Two

¹ Louisa Hunt, "'Peeps at me for my babies' when they arrive at years of discretion," "European Diary, 1866-1868," sec. I. Owned by Diana Hunt Diederich Blake, Baltimore, Md., typescript in files of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

² See Americans in Brittany and Normandy, 1860-1910, Phoenix Art Museum, Arizona (1982).

³ Vedder, Digressions of V, p. 294.

⁴ Dinan, Brittany is in a private collection and reproduced, p.67, Late Landscapes of William Morris Hunt. The Quarry is unlocated, but there is a charcoal study at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. In the catalogue The Sale by Public Auction of Paintings and Drawings, February 1880, second day, it is listed as #51, with the notation "Dinan, France. 'By the sweat of thy brow thou shalt earn thy bread' Painted in 1867."

There are listings for other Dinan paintings in various exhibition catalogues: Cabbage Garden, #54, with notation "Dinan, France. Painted in 1867," second day, Sale, 1880; Knitting in a Doorway, #60, with notation "Dinan, France, 1867," second day, Sale, 1880; Three Generations or Brittany Peasants at a Fete Listening to Music, #36 with notation "Painted in Lion [Lyons?] France," first day, Sale, 1880; Autumn Plain, Brittany, #105, 1879 Memorial Exhibition Catalogue; Brittany Peasant Children, #1, with notation "painted at Lyons, 1867," Studio Exhibition of Charcoal Drawings, 1880.

⁵ Hunt in his Talks on Art stated, p. 87, that the box of charcoals that he used in Brittany "was the beginning of all the charcoal drawing that's been done in America."

⁶ Philip Gilbert Hamerton, The Graphic Arts (London: Seely, Jackson & Halliday, 1882), p. 121.

⁷ Ibid., p. 123.

⁸ Angell, April 1880, p. 561.

⁹ Quoted in Boime, The Academy and French Painting, p. 182.

¹⁰ Talks on Art, p. 63.

¹¹ Ibid., pp. 158-159.

¹² Henry Adams, The Education of Henry Adams (1905; Boston:

Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930), p. 213.

13 Worthington Chauncy Ford, ed., Letters of Henry Adams, 2 vols. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1930; New York: Kraus Reprint, 1969), 1:132-133.

14 One of the Italian Boy paintings exhibited in the Exposition, now known as Italian Peasant Boy (1866), is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. It is not known which other version of this subject, painted by Hunt between 1866-1867, was exhibited at the Exposition. See 1979 Memorial Exhibition Catalogue, entry #30.

Hunt also submitted two portraits to the Paris Salon in 1867. These portraits, now unlocated, were of an unidentified couple, probably French, known simply as Portrait of M. and Portrait of Mme. See Late Landscapes, p. 68.

15 Carol Troyen in her recent article, "Innocents Abroad: American Painters at the 1867 Exposition Universelle, Paris," American Art Journal 16 (Autumn 1984), p. 5, notes that Hoppin was chairman of the Selection Committee in New York.

16 See Baker RMH, pp. 156-158, and Frank Leslie, "Report on the Fine Arts," Paris Universal Exposition in Reports of the United States Commission (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1868), p. 184. It should be noted that in addition to Richard Hunt, C. C. Perkins was also a member of the committee for architectural awards for designs and models.

17 Frank Leslie, the United States Commissioner for Fine Arts at the Exposition, was disappointed with the way in which the selection process was organized, p. 9: "There were no artists, or recognized authorities on art matters on the committee, and the selection was made chiefly from galleries or sales rooms of the members of the committee themselves. Some of these selections were good, but most of them, although by artists of acknowledged merit, were not their latest or best production."

18 One of the few personal remarks that Louisa did include in her "Diary" was a bitter observation on her mother-in-law, secs. V-VI: "In those innocent days I thought a Mother in law [sic] meant 'sugar n spice all that's nice' but 'cauldron bubble, toe of newt and finger of birth-strangled/babe' my Mother in law has been to me instead. May God in his infinite Mercy and who does all in wisdom and love, grant you my children a woman and a lady for your Mother in Law."

19 Louisa Hunt, "Diary," secs 28-72.

20 Ibid., secs. 80-82.

21 In the late 1870s, Justin Winsor (1831-1897) was appointed head librarian at Harvard College. He was also one of America's leading

cartographers. He reproduced this Columbus drawing at least twice, in his Narrative and Critical History of America, 8 vols. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1884-1889), 2:12, and in his, Christopher Columbus (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1891), p. 80. This latter work was dedicated to Francis Parkman. Also see Nestor Ponce de Leon, The Columbus Gallery (New York: N. Ponce de Leon, 1893), p.170.

22 Louisa Hunt's "Diary," secs. 88-89.

23 Ibid., secs. 94-95.

24 Vedder, Digressions of V, p. 371.

25 Louisa Hunt's "Diary", secs. 98-99.

26 Versions of the Italian peasant subject done in Rome include: Italian Beggar, Rome (1867, William Morris Hunt, II, Boston); Roman Girl (1867, sketch, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); Roman Girl (c.1868, oil, Bennington Museum, Bennington, Vermont); Italian Boy With Accordion (1867-1868, Bennington Museum); and Italian Girl (1868, Worcester Art Museum, Massachusetts). It is not known if the other works in this series dated c.1867 were done in Paris or Rome.

27 Louisa Hunt's "Diary", secs. 108-109.

28 Thomas Ball, My Threescore Years and Ten (Boston: Roberts Bros., 1892), pp. 301 & 304.

29 Hoppin, "Women Artists in Boston," p. 19.

30 The other members of the Museum School committee included three trustees of the Museum, Martin Brimmer, C.C. Perkins and Charles C. Loring; three architects, Edward Clarke Cabot, Robert S. Peabody and William R. Ware; three other painters, Francis William Loring, Francis D. Millet and Frank Hill Smith, plus the Treasurer of Harvard College, Edward W. Hooper. See Walter Muir Whitehall, Museum of Fine Arts Boston 2 vols. (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1970), 1:41.

31 George P. Lathrop, "The Study of Art in Boston," Harper's Monthly, July 1879, p. 838.

32 Sylvester Baxter, "The Art-Schools of Boston," The Art Journal, June 1878, p. 190.

33 Angell, May 1880, p. 634.

34 Talks on Art, p. 133.

35 Ibid., p. 107.

36 Ibid.

37 Portraits of Saturday Club members by Hunt included: Louis Agassiz (1874-1875, Fogg Museum); Richard Henry Dana (n.d., unlocated, see Hoppin "Handlist," #45); Ralph Waldo Emerson (began January 1874, unlocated see "Journals of Jane Hunt," p. 132); Charles Sumner (c.1875-1876, Metropolitan Museum of Art); John Albion Andrew (c.1867, Faneuil Hall, Boston); Martin Brimmer (1874, unlocated, listed in 1879 Memorial Exhibition Catalogue, #158); Charles Francis Adams; Horace Gray (1865, private collection, New Hampshire); William Barton Rogers (1855, Detroit Institute of Art); James Freeman Clarke (1875, Arlington Street Church, Boston); and John Lowell (1872, Harvard University).

38 Edward Waldo Emerson, The Early Years of the Saturday Club, 1855-1870 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1918), p. 341.

39 Ralph Waldo Emerson quoted in Saturday Club, p. 341.

40 Hunt exhibited Hamlet again in 1870 at the gallery of Doll & Richards but did not sell it. Hamlet remained in his family until 1913 when it was given to the Museum of Fine Arts on permanent loan from the Estate of Louisa D. Hunt. Hunt did several sketches of Hamlet four of which were listed in the Catalogue of the 1880 Studio Sale: Small Hamlet (#3); Head of Hamlet (#4); and two small studies titled, Study of Hamlet (#13 & #14).

41 Talks on Art, p. 167.

42 Ibid., p. 11.

43 Ibid., pp. 149-150.

44 Knowlton, pp. 56-57.

45 Knowlton, pp. 36-37. According to Eugene Tompkins The History of the Boston Theatre, 1854-1901 (Houghton Mifflin Co., 1908), Bandmann played Hamlet in Boston February 1864, pp. 105-106: "Edwin Forrest opened on February 1, 1864 for six weeks of his repertoire, the performances on off-nights being given by Daniel E. Bandmann, who presented 'The Merchant of Venice', 'Narcisse', 'Othello', 'Hamlet' and 'Richelieu'."

46 Angell noted April 1880, p. 564: "May 13, 1875. Mr. Hunt invited a few friends to his studio to meet William Warren and Joseph Jefferson. The affair was enjoyable, and passed off to his entire satisfaction. In speaking of it later he said. 'I hardly dared to invite Warren and Jefferson; I thought they might refuse, or say they were engaged, if they didn't want to come. But they said they would come in for a little while. As they stayed three hours or more, I think they must have had a pretty good time.'" According to Tomkins, p. 215, Warren was in Boston with his Comedy Company at the same time Jefferson was playing there in Rip Van Winkle.

47 One version, dated c.1864, is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; a second is owned by Dr. John C. Murphy, New York. According to Tompkins, Regamey in December 1864, performed a specialty act along with ballet, "The Naiad Queen," p. 203: "'The Naiad Queen' was given a spectacular presentation on December 15 and ran five weeks. The ballet introduced the entire Kiralfy family, Irme, Bolossy, Haniola, Emilie, Katie, and Arnold, besides two Italian premieres, Boni, and Giavazzi. The specialties included Felix Regamey, the French caricaturist, Young Americus the child violinist (who died suddenly during the engagement), the Ulm Sisters, and the youthful Vaidis Sisters, trapeze performers, who are still before the public as aerial artists."

There are also three other known paintings of actors including: Portrait Head of an Actor (n.d., John Herron Art Institute, Indianapolis); Portrait of a Young Actor, said to be Edwin Booth (c.1876, Bennington Museum, Vermont); and The Tragedian (c.1878, unlocated).

48 Hunt also did a portrait of Allan Wardner, also known as Portrait of an Old Man, at about the same time. Allan Wardner was the father-in-law of William M. Evarts, a prominent New York politician whose portrait, also unlocated, Hunt painted in the early 1870s. See Hoppin, "Handlist" #28 for more information on Allan Wardner's portrait and #48 & #49 for information on Evarts's portrait.

49 Knowlton, pp. 53-54.

50 The New Marguerite was a portrait of Berthe Williams of Roxbury, daughter of Archbishop Williams. A photograph of the painting, Archbishop Williams is in the Octagon Museum #P79.1899.

51 At the time of these entries (1873-1874), Jane and her mother lived in New York as did Richard, his wife Catharine Howland, and their three children (two more children would be born to them in 1875 and 1877). Leavitt, his wife Kate Jarvis, and their five children lived in Weathersfield, Vermont. Jonathan, who still lived in Paris, had a common-law wife and one daughter. By 1873 Hunt and Louisa had four children: three daughters, Eleanor, age 15; Enid, age 12; Mabel, age 10; and one son, Paul, age 4. See Baker pp. 133 & 250.

52 There is no Readville, Massachusetts in any atlas or gazetteer consulted by this writer.

53 "Journals of Jane Hunt", p. 124.

54 Ibid., pp. 124-125.

55 According to Lippincott's Gazetteer Squantum was once a subdivision of Quincy, Massachusetts. No other information has been found to either identify or further locate the Squantum referred to in Jane's "Journal."

56 "Journals of Jane Hunt," p. 128.

- 57 Ibid.
- 58 Ibid.
- 59 Ibid., p. 130: "November 8: Saturday. Mr. Dickerson [sic], an English Portrait Painter, at the Studio, thinks there is no one whose work will compare with Wm's. Trusts his notes which Miss Knowlton has taken shall be published." Professor Gerdt's in a note to this writer mentioned that Dickinson was "one of the first three art instructors at the Working Men's College in London in 1854, along with Ruskin and Rossetti."
- 60 Ibid., pp. 132-133.
- 61 Ibid., p. 137.
- 62 Ibid., pp. 143-144.
- 63 Catharine Hunt in her "Diary," pp. 159-160, spoke of her husband's feelings at the time of William's death in September 1879: "It was a great grief to Richard, indeed to all of us. Death the great purifier [sic] and obliterator, left only the memory of intimate boyhood relations, and the still stronger ones of early manhood, though it was hard to forgive and forget the wife who had separated him from his children and family, and whose resentment even kept her away from his funeral."
- 64 Louisa Dumaresq Hunt, The Paintings on Stone at the Albany State Capitol, April 14, 1888, Washington D.C., n. p. Copy in "William Morris Hunt," Artists' Files, Art Division, New York Public Library.
- 65 Between the fall of 1872 and winter of 1874, the only place his works were exhibited was the Boston Athenaeum.
- 66 Marchal E Landgren, "Introduction," Late Landscapes, p. 32.
- 67 In the "William Morris Hunt - Notes on Exhibitions," Scrapbook there is a notice dated, January 2, 1875, that reads in part, p. 39B: "The Athenian Club, a social organization composed of journalists, literary men, artists, actors, musicians and others, last evening took formal possession of their cozy apartments in the old homestead of Dr. Shurtleff, No. 2(A) Beacon Street. . . . A collection of fine picture has been loaned by artist members. The artists represented are Mr. William M. Hunt, Mr. Thomas Robinson and Mr. Frank H. Smith."
- 68 Martha J. Hoppin, "William Morris Hunt and His Critics," American Art Review 2 (September/October 1975): 81.
- 69 Ibid., p. 83.
- 70 Late Landscapes, pp. 70-72.

71 Knowlton, pp. 212-213: "He took much interest in the work of Frank Duveneck, although not in sympathy with the Munich school where he studied. He invited him to come to Boston, and to work with him in his studio, and it was only by a succession of little mishaps that the two giants never met. One afternoon Hunt had gone to Doll & Richards, to ask for the young painter's address. Meanwhile, Duveneck was calling upon Hunt, and thus missed him. With a strong desire to meet each other they remained personally strangers during the short period when they chanced to be in Boston together." Angell (April 1880), p. 565, also confirmed that the two artists did not meet. Duveneck's indebtedness to Hunt was cited in Late Landscapes, p. 72.

72 Angell, April 1880, 559.

73 In the frontispiece, p. 2, of the First Edition Knowlton noted that: "These extracts, fragmentary and incomplete, from Mr. Hunt's Instructions, were jotted down on backs of canvases and scraps of drawing paper, without knowledge of short-hand. Their publication has been requested by artists in Europe and America."

74 Houghton Mifflin reprinted the first edition of the First Series four times between 1878 and 1884. Hunt's English publisher MacMillan reprinted the first series eight times between 1878 and 1895. The Second Series was published only by Houghton Mifflin in 1883 and reprinted three times between 1884 and 1911.

75 See "William Morris Hunt - Notes on Exhibition" for extensive contemporary notices on, as well as excerpts from, his Talks on Art. For a modern analysis of Hunt's Talks on Art see Roger Anthony Welchans, "The Art-Theories of Washington Allston and William Morris Hunt," Ph.D. dissertation, Case Western Reserve University, 1970.

76 This fragment of an unidentified poem by Browning is reproduced in Talks on Art, p. 76.

77 Angell, May 1880, p. 633.

78 Ibid., p. 632.

79 Fuller's rediscovery by Hunt and his students was mentioned by Knowlton and noted in Birmingham Barbizon Mood, p. 80: "In 1876, Fuller's new, highly personal style first gained recognition for him. During that year, a group of Hunt's pupils visiting Deerfield happened upon Fuller's studio; returning to Boston, they brought his work to their mentor's attention. Soon after, an exhibition of Fuller's work at Doll and Richards proved an instant success."

80 This is not Thomas Robinson (1835-1888), the painter from Providence active in New York and Boston at this time. NYHS Dictionary of Artists, p 542.

81 Late Landscapes, p. 74.

82 According to Hoppin the Portrait of a Lady may be the Portrait of Mrs. John Murray Forbes, c.1875-1876, see Hoppin "Handlist," #70.

CHAPTER THREE

THE HISTORY OF THE ALBANY STATE CAPITOL

Hunt was commissioned by the State of New York in June 1878 to paint two murals for the Assembly Chamber of the new Albany Statehouse. Begun in 1867 by the English-born architect Thomas Fuller (1822-1898), the building's final design and completion were assigned in 1875 to the architects Leopold Eidlitz (1822-1908) and H.H. Richardson (1838-1886), and the landscape architect, Frederick Law Olmstead (1822-1903). Although officially opened in January 1879, the building was not finished until 1899 (fig. 34). The history of its construction, like that of many government buildings, was long and marked by controversy.¹

Albany's first state capitol was built in 1809 by Philip Hooker, a local designer and carpenter. Like Thomas Jefferson's slightly earlier Capitol at Richmond (1798), it was modeled on a Greek temple design. A long, low rectangular building made from local brownstone, its main entrance was on the east and marked by a shallow portico of four Ionic columns that supported an unadorned pediment (fig. 35). Its distinguishing feature was a lantern dome topped by a wooden statue of the Greek goddess of justice, Themis. Situated on top of a large hill in central Albany, it looked out on the Hudson River, the aqueous highway that linked New York City to the south with the Erie Canal and Buffalo to the West.

From the beginning, Hooker's building could not accommodate all the legislative and administrative needs of the Empire State and following the Civil War, a crisis point was reached. Henry-Russell Hitchcock and William Seale in their history of state capitols, Temples of Democracy, described the rampant growth which Albany, as a state capital, witnessed in those days:

Those quiet, paper-strewn offices of the prewar days had become over-crowded hives of activity, and on upper floors and in attics state employees occupied partitioned corners. Bureaus of taxation, land grants, transportation, pensions, agriculture, internal improvements - many of them never heard of before the war - had created jobs for department heads, section chiefs, clerks and assistants. . . . Once forgotten in those months when the legislature was absent, capitols became places of buzzing activity all year long. Everybody had business at the statehouse; and of all statehouses in America New York's was the busiest.²

The first mandate for a new building came from the State Senate Committee on Public Buildings in 1863 which authorized the Trustees of the Capitol and the chairman of Public Buildings to obtain, through competition, plans for a new capitol. Although few plans were submitted, one by Thomas Fuller, architect (along with Chilion Jones) of the Ottawa Parliament Buildings (1861-1869), was accepted. However, there was a delay because Albany had never been officially designated the state capital and other cities suddenly vied for that honor, including New York, Yonkers, Athens and Saratoga. Albany, however, donated the land for the new building and its position as the capital was secured.

When a new Governor, Reuben Fenton, assumed office in 1865, he took up the cause of a new capitol building and appointed a three-man

commission to supervise a second design competition and the construction of the new capitol. One of the tantalizing aspects of this history is that Hunt painted Fenton's portrait (unlocated), as well as Governor Dix's, both of whom were in office during the building of the capitol. However, as far as is known, neither governor was involved in helping Hunt secure the Albany mural commission.³

In 1866, Fenton's Commission--the first in a series of New Capitol Commissions appointed by various governors throughout the thirty-year history of the building's construction--announced a second competition for architectural plans. Fuller and his associate from Ottawa, Augustus Laver, still desirous of this commission, moved to Albany and formed a partnership with a local architectural firm, Nichols & Brown.⁴ Outwardly, their 1865 design (fig. 36) which is credited to Fuller, resembled Ottawa's Parliament Buildings (fig. 37): both had elaborate facades with corner pavilions, prominently projecting entrances and jagged roof lines. Fuller's Albany plan differed, however, in several important aspects. The ground plan was more compact and centralized around an elaborate five-story tower, and while Gothic-seeming in silhouette, Fuller's detailing was a Second Empire translation of the Italian Renaissance.⁵ However, this design was not accepted.

Fuller, through yet another collaboration--this time with the Boston architect, Arthur Gilman--finally won this long sought prize in 1867. Gilman, the architect of the recently completed Boston City Hall, had been called to Albany to assist in the review of plans already submitted. He, in turn, proposed his own scheme which was then

modified, at the suggestion of Fuller, to include a domed central tower (fig. 38). Gilman, however, did not wish to continue his association with Albany and Fuller, and signed over all rights to the design.

Shortly afterwards one of the members of the New Capitol Commission, Obadiah Latham, objected to their plan as being too costly, presciently predicting that the final amount would be far in excess of the \$4 million budget. This problem of cost overruns was compounded by the presence in Albany of William M. Tweed who in 1867 was elected to the State Senate. As one of the most powerful, if not most corrupt, machine politicians in United States history, he was instrumental in the election in 1868 of his crony John T. Hoffman as governor. Construction of the capitol had just begun and there were many contracts to let for materials and labor, and a prime political plum was membership on the New Capitol Commission. Hoffman appointed to the Commission five Tweed men who promptly used the project to repay political debts. Tweed's power in New York City, however, was halted in 1871 by investigations spearheaded by Samuel Tilden (1814-1886), and Hoffman was out after one term. However, his successor John A. Dix did little towards insuring the building's completion. Six years after ground had been broken, construction had only reached the second floor and the \$4 million limitation had been breached. When questioned by legislators in 1874, Fuller estimated that it would take another \$8 million to complete.

At this point, the building once again became the subject of political debate that was brought to a head by the election of Tilden as Governor in 1875. Tilden, a reforming lawyer from New York City, had

come to prominence through his investigations of political corruption in the State. He and his nominee for Lieutenant Governor, William A. Dorsheimer, made the completion of the Capitol a high priority. The State Senate Finance Committee was also concerned about cost-overruns and the charges of corruption that surrounded the project. In the spring of 1875 the state legislature dissolved Hoffman's New Capitol Commission and appointed a new one with Dorsheimer as chairman.⁶ Dorsheimer was a lawyer, politician and journalist from Buffalo who as a concerned citizen had invited Frederick Law Olmstead in 1868 to Buffalo for advice on the creation of a new city-park system. Olmstead had recently made a national name for himself through his designs for New York's Central Park done in collaboration with Calvert Vaux. Through their work together in Buffalo, Olmstead and Dorsheimer had become close friends, and at Olmstead's suggestion Dorsheimer hired H. H. Richardson to design a new home for him in Buffalo (1869-1871). When Dorsheimer moved to Albany in 1875, his friendship with these two men continued and they were the first he called upon for advice on the problem-plagued capitol.⁷

After examining Fuller's drawings, Dorsheimer believed that the design itself was the root of the problem. In July 1875 he persuaded his fellow commissioners that they needed professional advice and they invited Olmstead, Richardson, and the New York architect Leopold Eidlitz, to serve on a three-man advisory board. At the time, Eidlitz was active as a designer of commercial buildings, banks, houses and churches in New York City area. He was brought in as advisor because he

was an older, more experienced architect who, according to the architectural critic Montgomery Schuyler, had "a pre-eminent capacity for monumental design."⁸ The Advisory Board, as noted in by the American Architect and Building News--an important Boston-based architectural journal which had just begun publication--was responsible for "critically examining the plans, suggesting what modification it might be desirable to make in them, and of procuring careful estimates of the cost both of carrying out the existing designs, and of modifying and completing the building as might be suggested."⁹

The Advisory Board's report, which was extremely critical of Fuller's work, was submitted to the State Senate on March 3, 1876.¹⁰ A summary of their report, plus Eidlitz's sketch for a new exterior design (fig. 39), was published in The American Architect and Building News shortly after it had been presented to the Legislature.

The Advisory Board appointed to report to the New Capitol Commission of the State of New York, on the condition of the new Capitol at Albany, have rendered their report. . . . They criticize the design of the Capitol architect, Mr. Fuller, with considerable freedom; presenting, at the request of the Commission, a project for the improvement of it, and detailed estimates both for completing the building according to the designs of the architect, and also according¹¹ to the modifications which they themselves suggest.

While the Advisory Board exonerated Fuller of any financial wrong-doing, they were critical of every aspect of his plan: the arbitrary placement of principal rooms; the sham materials proposed for the roof and exterior decoration; an exterior design that did not indicate where the principal rooms were located; and the proposed

cast-iron and plaster decorations planned for the Assembly and Senate Chambers.

'In nothing has the inclination to indulge in shams and makeshifts, and to substitute the coarse arts for the fine arts, been more manifest than in matters of building. Nothing would be more humiliating to the State than that the vulgar conceit which lies at the bottom of every thing of this kind should have a place in the Capitol; and no more imperative duty rests on your Commission than to insist that only substantial, well-tried, and unmistakably genuine materials and workmanship shall enter into its construction, even if, in order to get them, the completion of the buildings is delayed for years. The State can afford to wait for better times. It cannot, after spending so much for soundness in the lower walls of its building, afford to fall back on cheap and showy stage-effects above.'

What is extraordinary about their report is that, given the pressure to complete the building and to keep expenses down, the Advisory Board would urge the New Capitol Commissioners to demand only the best in terms of materials and workmanship even if it took longer and cost more money. This demand for excellence in materials and design was not empty rhetoric for both architects would go on to design legislative chambers--Richardson for the Senate, and Eidlitz for the Assembly--that in their time were the most magnificent public rooms in America.

It should also be noted that their dislike of sham materials, their desire for unity in architecture and a devotion to the art of the middle ages was paralleled in England at the time by designers and architects such as Owen Jones, William Morris, Richard Norman Shaw and Philip Webb. Morris, in particular, inveighed against the use of sham materials and like Eidlitz was a follower of Ruskin and promoter of the Gothic.

The building of the Albany State Capitol, with its long complicated

history, is important because it came at a time of transition in American monumental design between architectural design by committee and the control of design by professionally trained architects such as Richardson, Eidlitz, Richard Morris Hunt and later, McKim, Mead & White. Little attention has been given to this period of the 1860s and 1870s when architectural practice was being defined in the United States. More than any other building of the era, the Albany State Capitol reflected the problems American architects confronted as their profession came of age. Some of these problems were outlined in a critique of the Report of the Advisory Board published a week later in The American Architect and Building News.

It is evident that, if architecture is in any sense or to any degree an art of expression, the Albany Capitol, as originally designed, was not a work of architectural art. It is quite impossible to tell from the outside of it where are the legislature chambers, where is the Court of Appeals, where is the State Library, or where is the governor's room. . . . It is necessary to point out these things in order to understand the difficulties under which the architects of the Advisory Board labored. Architects who believe that their art has meaning, that structure should express function and respect material, and that ornament should express structure, have not a very easy time of it, applying these propositions to a building like the Albany Capitol after it is half built and the half of it that remains to be built¹³ is in great part determined by what has been done already.

It is apparent that from the beginning Fuller did not have full control of the design. Decisions about the quality of building materials, the placement of rooms, the depth of the foundation, etc. were often out of his hands. In effect he became a scapegoat for all of the building's problems. In his reply to the Advisory Committee's report summarized in the April 1, 1876 issue of the American Architect

and Building News, Fuller admitted as much.

His [Fuller's] account of the development of his designs for the building states, that when the plans were first approved by the commissioners of the Land Office and the governor, near the end of the year 1867, the size and position of the legislative halls, the central court, and the position of the main tower, which are the subject of criticism in the report of the Advisory Board, were determined by the authorities. Additional commissioners were appointed by the Legislature of 1868; and several changes were made by authority, involving an increase in the height of the elevations, additional height and projection of the porticos, and a change in the treatment of the roofs. . . . In regard to the materials of the interior work, the choice of which is criticized by the Board, Mr. Fuller says that the Legislature of last year appeared to be of the opinion that iron and brick should be used, rather than stone, and that he was especially cautioned by the Senate Committee to avoid unnecessary expense in fixing the details of his work.¹⁴

However, Fuller's design was endorsed by members of the New York Chapter of the newly reorganized American Institute of Architects, whose president at the time was Richard Morris Hunt. In the same issue of The American Architect and Building News in which Fuller's defense appeared was an endorsement of his work in Albany signed by three New York architects: Hunt, Henry Dudley and Detlef Lienau.

New York, March 14, 1876,

Thomas Fuller, Esq., Architect of the State Capitol at Albany.

Dear Sir, - In accordance with your request, we the undersigned have carefully considered the proposed alterations suggested for the completion of the State Capitol, as published in the American Architect and Building News, March 11, 1876; and we are unanimous in the opinion that the suggested alterations are no improvement on the original design, and furthermore that the style adopted is totally at variance with the portions of the building already erected.¹⁵

The debate which ensued between the New York Chapter of the AIA and the architects of the Advisory Board became known as the Battle of Styles.¹⁶ What is curious about this debate is not that Fuller and the AIA objected to the Advisory Board's reviewing Fuller's plans or even to their harsh criticisms, rather they were outraged at the interference with his exterior design. To properly understand their passion it is important to keep in mind that the AIA was just beginning to exert its influence upon matters of architectural practice. Founded by twelve New York architects in 1857, including Richard Upjohn, Henry Van Brunt, Hunt and Eidlitz, reports of their earliest meetings were written up by Hunt and published in the Crayon between 1857 and 1861, when the Crayon ceased publication.¹⁷

During the Civil War the AIA disbanded, but was revived quickly in 1864, and by 1867 it had become a national organization. The first local chapter was the New York City Chapter. Richard Hunt was elected its first president, and Eidlitz and Upjohn the two vice-presidents. The Albany chapter was formed in 1873, and Fuller served as one of its early presidents. Their early professional concerns were fee structures, building materials, architectural competitions, education and style.

This last issue regarding style was the passionate concern which provoked their support of Fuller's design. The New York Chapter sent a formal protest of the Advisory Board's report in the form of a Memorial to the State Legislature that was summarized in the April eighth issue of American Architect and Building News:

The New York Chapter of the American Institute of Architects has presented a memorial to the Legislature of New York, protesting energetically against the adoption of the designs of the Advisory Board for the completion of the Albany Capitol. The memorial urges that the design, as amended by the Board, is 'an agglomeration of incongruous forms,' Renaissance and Romanesque, inharmonious in detail, and that if it is carried out these faults will be as obvious to the public as they are now to architects. It disclaims an endorsement of the original design of Mr. Fuller as a whole, and any criticism of the work of the Board per se. It speaks nevertheless of the towers and dome as being discordant in character, the color decoration as destructive of repose and dignity, and the new work in general as extravagantly rich and expensive in parts, and meager to baldness in other. It presses upon the legislature the belief of the Chapter, that any attempt to change the present work, must inevitably result in a disastrous failure, and urges that no design be sanctioned for the completion of the Capitol which is not harmonious in character and style with the work already executed.

They then went on to make a startling suggestion:

'Or, if the existing work is adjudged to be so objectionable that the building cannot be satisfactorily completed in harmony with it, the Chapter submits that the common interests of the public, and of the art of architecture, demand that the facades should be removed and sold, and the work commenced anew.'¹⁸

This debate, which continued throughout the spring, had little impact on events that had already been set in motion, for on July 1, 1876 Fuller was fired. Two months later on September first Eidlitz, Richardson and Olmstead were appointed architects of the new State Capitol. They formed a partnership, Eidlitz, Richardson & Co. with Olmstead as treasurer and later advisor on the building's eastern approach and landscaping (figs. 40 & 41).

However, the AIA continued their fight and in a letter dated March 1877 to the New York World, republished in the American Architect and

Building News, they severely criticized Eidlitz and Richardson for proposing to complete the building in the Romanesque style:

The fact that the Advisory Board have supplemented an Italian Renaissance design already completed for more than one-half of the height of the walls by a design essentially Gothic, is practically either an assertion on their part that it is impossible to achieve a satisfactory result by completing the building in the style in which it was commenced or an admission that they were incompetent to undertake to do so. The magnificent examples of Italy and Europe generally are a sufficient answer to the first position. If the second is accepted, it was the clear professional duty of the two architects on the board to resign their positions.¹⁹

Three months later, in June 1877, the New Capitol Commissioners hit upon what they believed to be a workable compromise.

It was decided to renew work immediately, and to continue the building in Italian Renaissance as the style at first proposed, carrying out the exterior in great measure as originally intended by Mr. Fuller, and allowing the new appointees, Messrs. Eidlitz and Richardson, scope to carry out their Romanesque and Gothic intentions in the arrangement and treatment of the interior. The feeling that a compromise of this kind was necessary has been growing among those familiar with the work.²⁰

This compromise was effected by Richardson who finally resolved the stylistic debate of the building's exterior by employing the French Renaissance style which historically was the merger of the French Gothic and the Italian Renaissance. Montgomery Schuyler, writing at the turn-of-the-century on the work and career of Eidlitz, described how the two architects solved their final design problems for the exterior.

The opposition [AIA] was so far successful that, after the Romanesque reconstruction had been carried to the spring of the arches in the upper arcade, the legislature ordered a return to the Italian Renaissance for the completion of the exterior, and the commission devolved the execution of this behest upon Richardson. His genius for simplification hardly

ever appeared to better advantage. Construing his instructions very liberally, he based his design for the completion not upon the Italian but the French Renaissance, . . . And, retaining the massing and composition of his elder associate, he greatly improved them, as that associate cordially acknowledged, mainly by the substitution of the huge wedge-shaped masses of the roofs for the roofs of two pitches which appear in Mr. Eidlitz's original drawings, and by lowering and subdividing the flanking towers of the central masses, North and South, so as to relieve the huge wedges without conflicting with them.²¹

Yet, as noted by Schuyler, in an earlier article on the Albany Capitol, the exterior design was not the most interesting aspect of the building. He, as well as others, found that the building's real beauty was in its interior rooms. "The real opportunities of the architects were offered in the interior, in the chambers which were determined only in dimensions and position, and it is in these that their real success must be looked for."²²

In contrast to the antagonism which Eidlitz and Richardson faced from the New York Chapter of the AIA, their own collaboration was, from all accounts, harmonious. The work left to be done in the Capitol was split between them. Eidlitz was responsible for completing the center section of the north wing or North Center, which included the Golden Corridor and the Courtroom for the First Court of Appeals on the second floor, and the Assembly Staircase and Assembly Chamber on the third floor. Richardson assumed responsibility for the design of the center section of the south wing or South Center, which included the Executive Chamber and the Lieutenant Governor's Office on the second floor, and the Senate Chamber, the Great Western Staircase and the Second Court of Appeals on the third floor.²³

What was distinctive about Eidlitz's interiors, which were the first part of the building to be completed in late 1878, was his lavish use of color in stone and paint applied to the walls and ceilings of the Golden Corridor and the Assembly Chamber on the second floor where Hunt's murals were placed.

The overall dimension of Eidlitz's Assembly Chamber is 140 x 84 feet. The central portion, where Hunt's murals were located, is a 45 x 55 foot auditorium, bounded by four massive red granite columns that support a vaulted ceiling whose keystone, 56 feet from the floor, made it at the time the largest groined vault in the world (figs. 42 and 44). The four columns, in addition to defining the auditorium space, are also the corner supports for eight additional, variously-sized, peripheral vaults which in turn are connected to the two lobbies on the eastern and western ends of the Assembly Chamber. These lobbies served as cloak rooms. Above them were public galleries. The Speaker's rostrum was at the east end of the room, partially below the east gallery, and faced the four long curved rows of desks of the Assembly members.

Like most of his contemporaries, Schuyler was overwhelmed by the scale of Eidlitz's Assembly Chamber and his use of colored ornamentation. He commented at length on its application and how it enhanced the Chamber's monumental aspect. Because Eidlitz's color was eventually stripped from the Assembly Chamber we must depend upon Schuyler's description in order to gain an appreciation of the architect's accomplishment. In his article published in Scribner's Magazine he described Eidlitz's use of color as a natural complement to

the pier and groined-arch structure (fig. 44).

There is a wealth of carved work, modeled and incised, which uniformly accentuates and enriches and nowhere enfeebles or disguises the powerful masses, the leading lines, and the great untroubled spaces. If the masses lacked emphasis or the leading lines were less pronounced, or if the ornament itself were less judiciously designed and disposed, the architectural features of the room would disappear under the profusion which now only enriches them. . . . The most striking thing about the detail is also the most striking thing everywhere in the treatment of the monument, and the one indispensable factor in its success: it is the fact that the design evidently and everywhere proceeds from the whole to the parts. . . . This detail is inevitable because the artist has been so possessed with the idea of the whole that the parts follow necessarily. If this is true, it follows that we need not concern ourselves with the question of the absolute originality of the detail, for an artist sufficiently possessed by the idea of the whole will make or find an expression of it in the parts which shall fulfill this great condition of inevitableness. What is true of modeled decoration is true of color. As the carved decoration follows the structure, so the colored decoration follows the carved decoration, and, of course excepting the mural pictures by the late²⁴ Mr. William Morris Hunt, cannot be conceived apart from it.

Schuyler's analysis contains criteria for architectural decoration that with today's renewed interest in ornament and color in architecture are worth exploring. The recent publication of the Proceedings of the New York State Capitol Symposium adds a great deal to our knowledge about the the politics of the building of the Capitol and the roles played by various architects, however, it leaves unexamined important contemporary theories of architectural design. The following discussion of the training, influences and architectural concerns which formed the ethos of one these men, Eidlitz, designer of the Assembly Chamber, throws into relief some of the issues addressed by American architects during this transitional period.

Born in Prague in 1823, Eidlitz was trained both as an architect and engineer at the Vienna Polytechnic between 1840 and 1843. Schuyler, whose three-part article on Eidlitz for the Architectural Record is the best account available, noted that this combination of engineering and architectural training was the foundation upon which Eidlitz's reputation as an architect was built: "Certainly no builder of our times has striven more earnestly and persistently than Mr. Eidlitz to reunite the two, as they were united in the Middle Ages, to base architecture upon science and to infect engineering with art."²⁵

Eidlitz, like his contemporaries John Ruskin in England and Viollet-le-Duc in France, favored the architecture of the Middle Ages.²⁶ Yet it was not the Gothic architecture of either England or France, but the Romanesque architecture of southern Germany that lay between Prague--where he was born--and Vienna--where he trained--that first influenced him. The revival of the German Romanesque or Rundbogenstil was initiated in Munich in the 1830s and 1840s with buildings such as Friedrich von Gärtner's Ludwigskirche (1829-1843), George F. Ziebland's Bonifaciusbasilica (1835-1840), and Friedrich Bürklein's Hauptbahnhof (1847-1849).²⁷ When Eidlitz arrived in this country in 1843 he was probably the first to bring this influence to the United States.

Eidlitz began his practice with the leading English Gothicist in America, Richard Upjohn (1802-1878). Eidlitz first assisted Upjohn on the building of Trinity Church, New York (1841-1846). His influence in Upjohn's office was felt immediately, for he also assisted Upjohn on the design of the Congregational Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn, done

between 1844 and 1846, which is thought to be the first example of the German Romanesque in this country.²⁸

According to Schuyler, Eidlitz never "assimilated the Anglican architectural tradition" of Upjohn and did not stay long in his office, although he continued to revere him as an architect. With his first American building, St. George's Church, Stuyvesant Square, New York, built in 1848, he became known as the architect of the Evangelicals.²⁹ Borrowing the undivided or assembly-hall interior plan found in many German Romanesque churches, Eidlitz created a design for St. George's that met the needs of a congregation whose services were based more on communal prayer and the reading of the scriptures than on the elaborate ritual of the High Church Anglicans.³⁰

Over the years Eidlitz designed about thirty churches, including St. Peter's Church, Westchester Avenue, Bronx, New York (1853); the Congregational Church, Greenwich, Connecticut (1857); Christ Church, Saint Louis (1859-1867); Broadway Tabernacle, New York (1859-1905); Temple Emanu-el, New York (1868); and the Church of the Holy Trinity, New York (1875-1901).³¹ Beginning about 1854, he was also hired to do a number of private homes in New Jersey and Newport, Rhode Island that were distinguished by his use of a Swiss-chalet style.³² He also designed the oriental-inspired folly, "Iranistan" (1848; destroyed by fire, 1857) for P.T. Barnum in Bridgeport, Connecticut.³³

During the 1850s, Eidlitz became an active and influential member of the New York architectural community and was one of the thirteen

founding members of the American Institute of Architects in 1857, along with Richard Morris Hunt, Richard Upjohn and Jacob Wrey Mould, a student of the English designer Owen Jones.³⁴ One of the first subjects the AIA discussed was the appropriate use of cast-iron. These discussions were prompted, in part, by the recent use of cast-iron in the buildings constructed by the iron manufacturer, James Bogardus in lower Manhattan.³⁵ This led to a controversy which pitted Van Brunt, then an apprentice in Hunt's atelier, against Eidlitz. Van Brunt believed that cast-iron enabled architects to better meet the building demands of a new age, a point-of-view that has not only been well vindicated, but was furthered by Viollet-le-Duc in his Entretiens sur l'architecture published in 1863 and 1872.³⁶ Eidlitz, on the other hand, was unalterably opposed to its use—specifically on the exterior of buildings—since it was too thin a substance and required a backing, the only appropriate material for the exterior being stone. "But iron never will be, a suitable material for forming the main walls of architectural monuments. The only material for that purpose always has been, and now is, stone; and I believe always will be. . . . Iron is not a suitable material, alone and unassisted by stone, to form the main walls of a building, nor any considerable portion of the same."³⁷ Interestingly, it was Van Brunt who, twenty years later in his review of Eidlitz's The Nature and Function of Art, clearly articulated Eidlitz's architectural philosophy:

His argument is that art should resume its ancient functions as an instructor of the people, and, to this end, that it should lay aside its accumulated wealth of traditions, should virtually cease to be scholarly and start from a basis of pure reason. He follows in the main lines

laid down by the greatest writer of the century on the theory of architecture, M. Viollet-le-Duc, and he accepts without hesitation and with all their consequences the purist dogmas of Pugin, Ruskin and the other modern literary reformers of arts, so far as they rest upon the practice of developing forms of art out of structural necessities, as in medieval monuments.³⁸

Like many medievalists of the nineteenth century, Eidlitz was also fervently anti-classical, a point-of-view revealed in a remark related by Schuyler: "In one of the discussions with Richardson to which I [Schuyler] was privileged to listen, he [Eidlitz] designated the essential difference between classical and medieval work by saying that whereas in the former you had a building with architecture adjoined to it, 'in true Gothic, so long as you find two stones together you find architecture.'"³⁹ This basically was the reason Eidlitz was opposed to Fuller's Italian Renaissance design for the Albany State House. He felt that Fuller's classically-inspired decoration was imposed on the facade and did not evolve organically from the structure. According to Eidlitz, good decoration emerged naturally from materials and construction; bad decoration resulted, even if Gothic-inspired, when detailing was affixed. Furthermore, the overall design of the building should rationally declare its function: the arrangement of windows and entrances should visually express the interior layout. Eidlitz's objection to Fuller's exterior design was that it masked the building's functions instead of articulating them. Schuyler, writing on the State Capitol after its opening in 1879, discussed this problem: "The interior of the building showed in 1875, and still shows, that the exterior architecture, . . . was the main thing in the designer's [Fuller] mind, and that not until after his vision of it was embodied on paper, did he

begin to consider how the interior was to be made to conform to it."⁴⁰

As mentioned earlier the strongest aspect of Eidlitz's work for the Albany Capitol was his interior spaces. Here his interest in ornamentation and decoration were allowed full expression in the gilded and polychromed rooms and hallways designed for the North Center that were, as contemporaries noted, Saracenic in appearance. However, the question arises as to how Eidlitz's style evolved from the ponderous relatively unadorned Rundbogenstil of buildings such as St. George's Church and the American Exchange Bank (1857) to the flamboyant, oriental-inspired interiors of the State Capitol? The change was gradual, and while his architectural philosophy was uniquely his own, his mature style reflected a number of influences: the German Romanesque architecture of his youth and student days; the English writings of John Ruskin and Owen Jones; and the polychromed High Victorian Gothic architecture of J. Wrey Mould and Peter Bonnett Wight.⁴¹

His knowledge of Ruskin's writings and their influence on his own thinking was apparent in several of the papers he gave at the early meetings of the AIA. He shared Ruskin's devotion to nature as a source of artistic form and the Englishman's reverence for the communal craftsmanship of the Middle Ages. However, while he admired Ruskin and shared many of his views he, as an architect, was more than aware of Ruskin's limitations when it came to the practical or 'mechanical' side of architecture. "Ruskin, the boldest, most earnest, and most devoted advocate of Art, who, with all his idiosyncrasies has conferred a great boon upon society, and whose career will be appreciated by coming

generations, is unfortunately not a mechanic, although a great thinker and lover of art."⁴²

Nor did he share Ruskin's devotion to the Italian Gothic. In an address that he gave at the March 1858 meeting of the AIA he noted: "Thus we see Ruskin exalt the Italian Romanesque above every other expression of architecture, piling volume upon volume to prove true a preconceived prejudice, while he is paying a forced tribute to the Northern Gothic which his ardent and generous nature is too honest to ignore."⁴³

However, one of Ruskin's English followers, the architect George Edmund Street published his own notes and drawings of his walking tour of Northern Italy called Brick and Marble in the Middle Ages: Notes of a Tour in the North of Italy in 1855 that made practical many of Ruskin's tenets. Street's book was reviewed in the Crayon in 1857 by Eidlitz who mentioned specifically Street's illustration and discussion of colored stone. "The art of using various colored bricks and stones in building seems to be entirely ignored in the present day. . . . In the hands of a designer, who has studied the subject at all carefully, a great number and variety of fine effects of color can be made with these simple materials." Eidlitz continued his review by citing Mould's All Souls Unitarian Church (fig. 45, 1854-1855, 20th Street and 4th Avenue, demolished) as an American example of this development, although he deplored Mould's choice of colors.

[All Souls Unitarian Church is] an attempt of this kind . . . but, we think, unsuccessfully, owing, in the first place, to the unfortunate choice of materials, which are

Caen stone, and a very dark, red brick, giving too violent a contrast, and no harmony of color: and again, to the fact, that the bands of each are of the same width, which gives a formal air to the whole, and destroys all breadth of effect. Nevertheless, this ⁴⁴is a step, though an imperfect one, in the right direction.

Mould's church was small and, with its Italian Gothic polychromy, Greek cross plan, Romanesque porch and Georgian dome, avowedly eclectic. Its wide alternating bands of dark and light stone were interrupted at regular intervals by dark squared-off pillars that extended the entire height of the building, and caused Mould's church to be dubbed the "Church of the Holy Zebra." However, as noted by Schuyler, the exterior of All Soul's was the precursor of Eidlitz's own excursion into polychromy for his Temple Emanu-el (fig. 46, 1868, Fifth Avenue at 43rd Street, demolished) and Church of the Holy Trinity (fig. 47. 1875, Madison Avenue and 42nd Street, demolished 1901).⁴⁵

Another important polychromed building that would have been familiar to Eidlitz was P. B. Wight's National Academy of Design (fig. 48, 1863-1865; demolished 1901).⁴⁶ Interestingly, Wight, a relative newcomer to New York, successfully competed for this commission against Eidlitz, Richard Hunt, Mould and Van Brunt, who were the architects originally invited to submit plans for the new building. According to Sarah Landau author of the exhibition catalogue P. B. Wight: Architect, Contractor and Critic, 1838-1925, Wight's plan with its row of pointed-arch windows and richly patterned upper walls was reminiscent of the Doge's Palace in Venice, a building lauded by Ruskin. At the time, the NAD represented the truest expression of Ruskinian dogma in American architecture.⁴⁷ Ten years later its polychromed, patterned exterior was reflected in

Eidlitz's color decoration for Holy Trinity Church. However, Eidlitz's use of pattern is bolder and at the same time more integrated than Wight's at the National Academy of Design. The basis for Eidlitz's decoration was a diamond-shaped diaper pattern made from different colored stone used in a variety of ways. Employed principally on the triforium walls, it was reversed on the upper wall of the apse. On the steeply pitched roof the same pattern was used to create running bands of ornament that alternated with plain bands of tile. Seemingly true to his dictates, Eidlitz use of pattern emerged not only as a reflection of contemporary taste but as a decorative complement to the church's structure.

However, these American buildings and their Italian precursors were not the only ones that inspired Eidlitz. There was another, more exotic source, the Spanish-Moorish Alhambra (1248-1354), the principal inspiration for the Saracenic revival in the nineteenth century.⁴⁸ Eidlitz had several reproductions of the Alhambra in his photographic collection now housed at the Avery Architectural Library, Columbia University.⁴⁹ Furthermore, Schuyler in his description of Eidlitz's Golden Corridor (fig. 43) evoked the shimmering splendor of the Alhambra and alluded to an oriental source.

The piers are covered with a damask of red upon umber. The angle moldings are solidly gilded. The crimson wall screen on both sides is overlaid with a simple reticulation of gold lines framing ornaments in yellow. The whole vault is gilded upon its ground of gold, traversing each face of the vault, is a series of bands of minute ornament in brown and scarlet and deep blue. The method--this close mosaic of minute quantities of crude color--is entirely Oriental; and the effect is Oriental also. The varying surfaces of the vaulting, each covered with fretted gold, give a vista,

lengthened by the dwindling arches, alive with flashing lights and shimmering shadows; and under the iridescent ceiling there seems always to hang a luminous haze. In the quality of pure decoration there is no architectural decoration in this country which is comparable to this.⁵⁰

Eidlitz also may have been introduced to the Alhambra by his colleague Mould who, as mentioned earlier, was the student of Owen Jones. According to David van Zanten in a recent article on Mould, he had probably assisted Jones with the drawings of the Alhambra.⁵¹ These illustrations would have been available to Eidlitz either through Jones's original publication or through the pictorial excerpts included in Jones's Grammar of Ornament which was widely available in the United States in the 1850s and 1860s. The Grammar of Ornament was the product of many years of research into the history of decorative ornament. However, it was much more than an illustrated handbook for it was organized by culture or nationality, the most ancient being placed first. Then within each section, Jones developed an aesthetic theory for each nation's design favoring those whose ornament imitated nature and was two-dimensional. Jones's theories to some degree reflected Eidlitz's own view on the use of decoration. According to Jones, the first principle of Moorish or, as he called it, Moresque Ornament was: "The Moors ever regarded what we hold to be the first principles in architecture--to decorate construction, never to construct decoration: in Moorish architecture not only does the decoration arise naturally from the construction, but the constructive idea is carried out in every detail of the ornamentation of the surface."⁵² The second principle related to the use of color in Moorish ornament. Jones stated: "The ancients always used colour to assist in the development of form, always

employed it as a further means of bringing out the constructive features of a building."⁵³

According to Schuyler, Eidlitz used Saracenic ornamentation as early as 1868, before his building of Holy Trinity, for his Temple Emanu-el (fig. 49, Fifth Avenue at 43rd Street, demolished):

Still more 'out of line' with the usual employment of a church architect, than the church of the Holy Trinity, or than any Christian church or conventicle whatsoever, was the Jewish synagogue in Fifth Avenue, which is the most conspicuous and probably the most meritorious of the works of its author which still stand in New York. The convention that the architecture of a synagogue should be Oriental was already forty years [1860s] ago fully enough established, but it had not resulted in many noteworthy works. . . . The temple is an attempt, accordingly to combine Gothic structure with Saracenic decoration, including in that term carved and molded as well as colored ornament.⁵⁴

It may have been that this same non-Christian character of the Alhambra's decoration made it appropriate for use in the interior of the Assembly Chamber.

This Moorish or Saracenic decoration also may have had a symbolic connection to the central figure of Hunt's mural The Discoverer, Columbus. In the late fifteenth century, at the time he was seeking money for his voyage from Ferdinand V of Castile and Queen Isabella, the Spanish were fighting the 'infidel' Moors in an effort to expel them from their country. The same year, 1492, that Columbus left for the New World, the Spanish reclaimed Granada and the Alhambra. While this may be a historical coincidence which had no bearing on Eidlitz's ornamentation, there were numerous references to the Alhambra in Washington Irving's Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus (1828), the

best known and most popular life of Columbus in the nineteenth century. In addition, Irving wrote two other books that dealt specifically with the Spanish defeat of the Moors--The Conquest of Granada (1829) and The Alhambra (1832). Later, the American historian William Hickling Prescott wrote his famous History of the Reign of Ferdinand and Isabella (1837), which augmented in great detail Irving's initial researches into this period. Thus through these volumes, particularly in the minds of Americans, a link was forged that connected Columbus, Ferdinand and Isabella, the conquest of Granada, and the Alhambra, which suggests the possibility that the use of historical precedents in American architecture has wider symbolic meaning than heretofore acknowledged.

Hunt also referred to the Alhambra in a letter to the editor of the Albany Argus written in protest of accusations that his murals were "'mere stencil-work'":

It has been my endeavor to carry out my part of the work in accord with the conception of the architect. If I succeed in keeping it in harmony with the tone and dignity of the construction and decoration of the chamber, I shall consider that I have done my part.

While truly grateful for the praise bestowed upon my incomplete work and fully conscious that so rare an opportunity will call out all the efforts that in me lies I am decidedly unwilling that my reputation should be served by the application of such a term as 'mere stencil-work' to the decoration of the chamber.

The world's architecture has received its crowning coloring in the simple form of decoration thus designated. La Chapelle and Notre Dame in Paris [both works had been recently restored by Viollet-le-Duc] and St. James Hall in London, are notable instances. It happens, however, that there is no real stencil work in the Assembly room, for which the higher methods of the early Greek school and the more refined manner of the Moors, as exemplified in the Alhambra, have rather served as types; types which if I may

presume to judge in a matter so distinctly architectural,
have been followed with marked success.⁵⁵

What remains a mystery, however, is that few of these polychromed buildings—either contemporary or medieval—had figurative decoration nor are there any known plans by Eidlitz that indicate he had initially wanted mural paintings on the walls of the Assembly Chamber.⁵⁶ In fact, in light of Ruskin's warning that pictorial mural painting imperiled architectural distinction, their inclusion by Eidlitz was an act of apostasy. In his Stones of Venice, Ruskin contended that later Italian architecture was undistinguished because it only served as a painter's canvas:

Now, from the beginning of the fourteenth century, when painting and architecture were thus united, two processes of change went on simultaneously to the beginning of the seventeenth. The merely decorative chequerings on the walls yielded gradually to more elaborate paintings of figure-subject. . . . As these paintings became of greater merit and importance, the architecture with which they were associated was less studied; and at last a style was introduced in which the framework of the building was little more interesting than that of a Manchester factory. . . . Such edifices are of course no longer to be considered as forming an architectural school; they were merely large preparations of artist's panels; and Titian, Giorgione and Veronese no more conferred merit on the later architecture of Venice, as such, by painting on its facades, than Landseer and Watts could confer merit on that of London by first whitewashing and then painting its brick streets from one end to the other.⁵⁷

Ruskin's admonitions against mural painting were echoed almost simultaneously by Viollet-le-Duc in his Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIIe siècle. Both writers cautioned that the relationship between painting and architecture must be harmonious. They also presented the same dilemma: the better the

At the Class meeting held on the same day it was voted that the Class of 1844 will provide a stained-glass window at an estimated cost of one thousand dollars for the Memorial Hall. . . .

Under the direction of the Committee [Francis Parkman, Edmund Dwight and Leverett Saltonstall], a subscription was opened and consultations were held with the Architects of the Hall and with glass-workers and artists. Their classmate William M. Hunt declined to serve in the latter capacity, on the ground of his⁶⁰ unfamiliarity with the kind of work that would be required.

La Farge was the artist next approached for this commission. He had just returned from Europe and had become interested in this branch of the decorative arts through his study of medieval churches and renewed acquaintance with the Pre-Raphaelite painters in England. Unfortunately, La Farge's new methods were too costly and he lost the commission.⁶¹

Nothing further was done about the matter until one of their classmates, Aaron Charles Baldwin, who was residing in London, contacted the firm of Messrs. Powell & Sons in December 1877 in order to secure a price from them. However, Baldwin was sent a working drawing that contained an image of Chaucer which resulted in the two literary figures Chaucer and Dante being substituted for La Farge's original choices, Bayard and Columbus.⁶²

Hunt, however, was interested in monumental painting and during the course of his career created, according to Knowlton, "many a large study" for The Flight of Night, the subject of one his Albany murals.⁶³ Whether he had originally intended this work as a mural painting is not known. Although when his brother Leavitt presented Hunt with the translation of the Persian poem on which this painting is based, he

suggested that Hunt create a modern version of Guido Reni's ceiling painting, Aurora.

The document most often referred to in connection with Hunt's Albany commission was a letter from Eidlitz to Hunt dated June 1, 1878. Its location is unknown but it was first printed in Knowlton's book The Art-Life of William Morris Hunt.

My Dear Sir, It is proposed to have some allegorical or legendary paintings in the Assembly Chamber of the Capitol at Albany. Lieutenant-Governor Dorsheimer thinks that you would be willing to give us some advice - perhaps assistance in the matter; and requests that you call at my office to examine a sketch indicating the work to be done, with a view to a proposed engagement. Yours most truly, Leopold Eidlitz⁶⁴

Unfortunately most of the official documents regarding the construction of the Albany State Capitol were destroyed in a fire in 1911. One of the few that have been located was the "Annual Report of the New Capitol Commission" presented to the State Senate in January 1879 which confirmed that Hunt was paid fifteen thousand dollars in two installments: five thousand dollars on November 15, 1878 and ten thousand dollars on December 23, 1878, "for paintings in the Assembly Chamber."⁶⁵ While the particulars of the commission were not detailed in this report, Hunt was hired to paint two round-arched 15 x 45 foot murals for two facing tympana on the north and south walls, forty feet above the Assembly Chamber floor. It is also known, through an article in Harper's Weekly in which his assistant Carter was quoted, that he was given from September 1 to December 21, 1878 to complete the two paintings, The Flight of Night and The Discoverer.⁶⁶

As noted in Eidlitz's letter, it was Lieutenant-Governor Dorsheimer who originally recommended Hunt for the Albany commission. This was confirmed by Catharine Hunt who recorded in her "Diary" for 1896 the following memorandum:

In June [1878] the new Capitol at Albany was nearing completion, and Richard was most anxious that his brother William, should accept the commission which he had received from Lieut-Governor Dorsheimer, seconded by the architects of the Capitol, Messrs. Leopold Eidlitz and H. H. Richardson, to furnish two large mural paintings for the Assembly Hall. The two great paintings, 'Columbus, The Discoverer' and 'Anahita, The Flight of Night' were the result of which, alas, only the photographs remain today for they all cracked and faded away. . . . Richard went backwards and forwards several times, during the summer, to watch the progress of the work and to encourage his brother with words of admiration.

There are several ways in which Hunt may have come to Dorsheimer's attention, through his brother Richard who may have known Dorsheimer while he was in New York in the late 1860s, or through his friend Richardson who at the time was completing work with La Farge on the decoration of Trinity Church, Boston. Or Dorsheimer may have become acquainted with Hunt's work directly when, in 1875, shortly after Dorsheimer took office, a controversy developed in Albany over Hunt's recently completed portrait of former Governor John A. Dix. Commissioned by the Common Council of Albany, this half-length portrait was exhibited in February 1875 in the galleries of Annesley & Vint before being placed in the City Hall Gallery of Governors (now in the Albany Institute of Fine Arts). Its artistic merits were hotly debated in the Albany papers, being both roundly denounced as an "outrageous daub" and highly praised as "immensely superior to the portraits heretofore exhibited in this

city - always excepting those of [Charles Loring] Elliott."⁶⁸

It is also known that Dorsheimer purchased a painting of Hunt's known as either The Young Headsman or the Constantinople Woodchopper which Hunt probably painted during the summer of 1877.⁶⁹ It seems likely that Dorsheimer purchased this painting in 1877 from Hunt's Studio Sale in November and at the same time approached Hunt about the Albany project. As a result of this presumed meeting and preliminary invitation, Hunt sketched an early version of The Discoverer (fig. 79) which bears the notation, "Drawn in studio, December, 1877, in presence of J.G. Carter."

Hunt also confirmed an 1877 meeting with "Albany officials" in a letter to the editor of the Albany Argus, referred to earlier: "It is entirely in error to suppose that my work in this room is in any respect an afterthought. The whole scheme of its decoration, including two allegorical pictures to be placed on the stone walls where I am now painting them was laid down in a drawing prepared and approved in 1877."⁷⁰ There is also a reference to "cartoons" which may have been done in late 1877 that Richard Hunt saw in his brother's studio:

When urged to undertake those mural paintings near the lofty ceiling of the Assembly Chamber, he objected. 'It would kill me to climb up there.' 'They can hoist you up, like a lot of mortar.' was the reply. Lieutenant-Governor Dorsheimer, Mr. Eidlitz, the architect and Mr. Richard M. Hunt, his brother used strenuously their influence. 'You have the cartoons in your studio now Bill,' said the last named gentleman, referring to the artist's large drawings of Anaita [*sic*] (the indian goddess of the Night driving her three steeds into the darkness at the approach of Dawn), and of Columbus,⁷¹ the discoverer led on by Faith, Hope, Science and Fortune.

Further proof of Hunt's plans to paint these murals prior to the

summer of 1878 is that over the winter of 1877-1878 he tested the durability of some new pigments he had invented on blocks of Ohio sandstone, the building material used in the Assembly Chamber. Carter mentioned these experiments in an article in Harper's Weekly:

[Hunt obtained] blocks of dark Ohio sandstone - the material of which the walls of the Assembly Chamber are built; for it must be remembered that the paintings which now adorn those walls are put directly upon the bare, cold stone. . . . Two years [1876] before he had invented a marvelous set of pigments which when dry were as hard as flint, and as luminous almost as light itself. He was, therefore sure of his paint, but he determined to become doubly sure by trying it on slabs of Ohio sandstone. He submerged these painted slabs in water for days in order to test the paint. The winter before he had subjected similar slabs to the action of the frost. The writer has seen one of them that had been frozen for six months, and then thawed out. The colors were of unparalleled brilliancy and freshness, and the pigments seemed as hard and firm as stone.⁷²

According to Angell, these special pigments were mixed and ground in secret in a room under his studio, and then "hermetically sealed in five-pint tin cans, to be in readiness for transportation to the scene of his great work. Why all this grinding and mixing was done in secret no one knows; but Mr. Hunt never made his appearance in this room until the grinder, who knew nothing of the destination of his products, had gone home for the day; then he went down and inspected the results with the greatest attention."⁷³

Beginning in the 1840s with the building of the new Houses of Parliament, there was a great deal of interest in England in mural and fresco painting. Researches into ancient Roman and Italian Renaissance techniques were sponsored by the government and a book by one of the

best-known of these researchers, Mrs. M.P. Merrifield, was referred to by Hunt in his Talks on Art.⁷⁴ These researches, in turn, led to inventions of new pigments and techniques by nineteenth century artists who had to cope with the problems of painting frescoes in climates that were damper and colder than those of the Mediterranean.

Hunt's formula may have been related to any number of these newly discovered techniques of wall painting, including the wax encaustic method that La Farge was then using in Trinity Church.⁷⁵ Or he may have been experimenting with dissolving pigments in a spirit varnish or a shellac-type medium that would give a hard, permanent surface to his paintings, a formula similar to the one Leutze used in his stereochromatic painting, Westward the Course of Empire (1862), for the United States Capitol. Leutze painted directly on the plaster wall using this process, also called water-glass, in which the pigments were ground in a mixture of potassium silicate and water.⁷⁶ Or he may have referred to the spirit fresco process developed in the nineteenth century by the Englishman, T. Gambier-Perry.⁷⁷

Such speculation arises from the presence of a detailed recipe in a "Sketchbook" of his that included sketches for the Flight of Night that was kept by his sister. This recipe called for the dissolving of mastic (a soft resin) in alcohol with the tincture of lead. Portions of his notation read as follows:

"Dissolve mastic in alcohol in the proportions of 100 grammes [sic] of mastic to 80 centilitres of alcohol in a water bath. Stir up the sediment and let it stand to clarify. Dissolve [?] of lead to saturation in a water bath and filter it. When the solutions are clear and about at

the temperature of 15 degrees centigrade drop the solution of mastic slowly into four times its bulk of the solution of [?] of lead. Stirring the latter vigorously while the [?].⁷⁸

While his pigments were being ground in secret, Hunt during the summer of 1878 began to organize other aspects of his grand undertaking: the color harmonies, the adaptation of his compositions to the curved frames of the tympana, and the creation of his cartoons. His first priority was to harmonize his palette with the sandstone color of the Assembly Chamber walls. According to John Carter, as reported in Harper's Weekly:

The next step was to experiment in harmonies of colors in conjunction with the color of the sandstone; the whole scheme of color was to be designed with reference to the color of the stone walls of the chamber. The third step was to experiment with color values in their relation to one another. Fourteen oblong pieces of pasteboard, three and a half feet long by one and a half wide, covered each with a separate presentation of the subject, are now in his studio, and bear-witness to the faithfulness and studiousness of his preliminary work. They are concerned not all with composition, but solely with relation to color, and are exceedingly interesting and beautiful that one wonders whether or not, in making his final selection from them, ⁷⁹ Hunt was not embarrassed by his abundance of good things.

Angell did not mention these pasteboard studies specifically but did enumerate the many preparatory studies made by Hunt: "Of the two compositions entire and of their separate parts, there were made at this time upwards of thirty careful charcoal drawings, and in pastel more than twelve. Seventeen oil paintings, twelve inches by thirty, of the compositions complete were also done. These were made chiefly to test the effects of the proposed combinations or contrasts of color."⁸⁰

What is interesting about these many color studies--whose beauty is

evident in a number of known pastel sketches--is that prior to 1878 Hunt did not have much interest in color per se and, in fact, in the First Series of his Talks on Art he himself mentions that his paintings were said to "lack color": "Don't bother too much about color! Get the effect of light, and you won't miss color. I know that my pictures are said to 'lack color;' but I don't like a great many things which people admire for their 'color.'"⁸¹ He was also quoted by Angell as saying: "Color is vulgar, because it is in the direction of imitation. It is prose instead of poetry. The less imitation the more suggestion, and hence the more imagination and poetry. Drawing as compared with painting is more refined, and therefore truer art."⁸²

Hunt's new interest in color, however, preceded its decorative use for his Albany sketches, and can be traced to his paintings of Niagara Falls done in the spring of 1878. Originally Hunt had wanted to use the Falls as the subject of one of his murals. This is confirmed by Angell who noted:

He came home from Niagara and was enthusiastic over the grandeur of the falls and the artistic beauties of the neighborhood, talking of this subject and the projected Albany pictures the entire evening. He wished one of the Albany paintings to be a large view of Niagara, which would be very appropriate as representing a magnificent bit of scenery within the limits of the State. But the authorities preferred ⁸³The Discoverer as a companion picture for the Anahita.

Hunt did a number of views of the Falls including American Falls (also known as "the Brown Niagara") and Rapids, Sister Island (both Corcoran Gallery, Washington, D.C.), and two large-scale versions of the Falls (Williams College and Museum of Fine Arts, Boston). These last two he

may have completed as proposals for murals for Albany.⁸⁴ Frederick Vinton was one of Hunt's contemporaries who noted the beauty of Hunt's color in his renderings of Niagara Falls:

The grandeur and sublimity of Niagara have never been so ably given as in the great canvas which hangs over the door in the principal hall. In this the artist found a subject worthy of his most heroic treatment. The color is laid on with a palette-knife and with great vigor of handling, but with knowledge and precision. The ground upon which it is painted is absorbent, which gives it the effect of distemper painting, a result of oil painting of which Mr. Hunt was very fond. The prismatic tints of the rainbow against the delicate green of the falling water are tenderly suggested in the rising mist.⁸⁵

As suggested by Vinton, the aspect of the Falls which Hunt sought to capture was not its majesty--as rendered earlier by Frederic Church, for example--but the effect of the sunlight breaking into a rainbow spectrum as it was seen through the falling water.⁸⁶ This new interest in prismatic color had a liberating effect on Hunt's color, lifting it from a dull palette of Titian gold and browns to a wide and uninhibited range of blues, pinks, yellows and greens that he fully explored in his pastel sketches for his Albany murals. The final effect was that his murals were painted in a very high key which he himself noted in his Talks on Art: "At first I hardly knew how to make pictures that should be mural decorations and in full color. Before I began this work I had always looked for 'effect,' for 'chiaro-scuro', etc., rather than for vivid colors, and for qualities that are now needed. You could not stay in the room with the colors that I have had to use in order to make the panels look colored and light over rows of windows."⁸⁷

In addition to exploring a new and more decorative use of color, Hunt

solved some compositional problems, including the adjustment of his rectangular sketches to the curved shaped of the tympana. The evolution of these solutions can be seen in a number of drawings at the Fogg Museum and will be taken up in Chapter Four.

Hunt also sought the advice of two friends, Rimmer and the architect-designer, J. Philip Rinn. According to Rimmer's biographer Truman Bartlett: "When Hunt was considering the proposition that had been made to him to undertake the decoration of two large stone panels in the Assembly Chamber . . . , he thought that if he could secure the assistance of Dr. Rimmer and Mr. J. P. Rinn--an architect and decorator of Boston, whose talents he much admired--he should be able to finish the work in the required time; and he anticipated much pleasure in their all working together."⁸⁸

As far as is known this proposed collaboration did not come to pass. However, he did consult both artists independently. In the summer of 1878 Hunt sent Rinn a photograph of the 1872 version of the Flight of Night which had been lost in the Boston Fire. Hunt probably sought Rinn's advice with regard to the painting's suitability as decoration.⁸⁹ This practice of consulting or hiring a decorator or "color decorator," as the job came to be called, was a common procedure at the turn-of-the-century. Then their primary responsibility was to integrate the artist's image through color and decorative motifs into its surroundings.⁹⁰

Hunt consulted Rimmer on other aspects of his design. Sometime

during the summer of 1878, he sent Rimmer an early charcoal sketch of The Discoverer (fig. 51) which remained in the Rimmer family until it was given to the Fogg in 1936.⁹¹ In this quickly rendered charcoal sketch, Hunt placed the Discoverer in the middle of the composition. The female personifications, Faith, Hope, Science and Fortune surround him, their poses and gestures forming a flat oval that complements the curve at the top of the tympanum. The contemplative pose of the Discoverer, rather than act of discovery itself, is the focal point of Hunt's composition. Rimmer did two tracings of Hunt's sketch: one is barely discernible (#1956.240, Fogg Art Museum); the other shows Rimmer's additions (fig. 52). In it Rimmer transformed Hunt's design into a frieze-like linear drawing in which all the figures look or gesture to the left. This focus on a scene beyond the frame of the picture plus Rimmer's round, agitated line created the impression of an active rather than the contemplative search for the New World. At the same time it was Rimmer's purpose to formalize Hunt's concept and to make the presentation of the subject more monumental or majestic. While his suggestions may have aped traditional notions of mural decoration--flat, linear, two-dimensional--there is little evidence in Hunt's final version that he incorporated any of Rimmer's ideas. The only major change that Hunt made, besides clarifying his forms, is the position of the image of Fortune who in this early sketch is seated instead of standing at the helm.

There is a second drawing by Rimmer, Studies of Agriculture or Commerce (fig.53) that is also related to Hunt's murals.⁹² Bartlett

indicates that this drawing may have been related to another series proposed by Hunt which would "embrace the principal elements of the character of the State treated symbolically."⁹³ While Hunt had hoped for additional work at Albany there are no extant sketches of his that indicate his intentions. What is more likely is that Rimmer's study, with its woman in a chariot pulled by horses, is a reworking of Hunt's Flight of Night.

After completing many colored sketches, and other drawings done to gauge the dimensions of the tympana, Hunt drew two 6 x 8 foot cartoons (now lost). These he took, along with his secret pigments, to Albany in early October 1878.

Hunt's letters to his pupil Rose Lamb and others provide an almost daily chronology of his work. In addition, while visiting Hunt in Albany his sister did a number of charcoal sketches of the Assembly Chamber and Hunt's work-in-progress. In his first letter to Miss Lamb, dated October 17, 1878, he described the bridge and scaffolding: "The men finished the bridge connecting the two scaffolds yesterday and a fine bridge it is spanning the whole width of the immense room forty feet from the floor, it crosses the room at one stretch without any center posts and is 7 feet in width and a hand rail on both sides."⁹⁴ An untitled sketch of Jane's (fig. 54) complements Hunt's description.

As soon as the scaffolding was in place, Hunt immediately began to sketch in his murals aided by an unprecedented and innovative process. He had had his cartoons photographed onto glass slides and by using a

projector and an oxyhydrogen light projected them onto the walls of the lunettes.⁹⁵ Both Eidlitz and Montgomery Schuyler traveled to Albany to see Hunt and to observe his first experiments with his slide projection process. The use of these slide projections made it imperative to work at night. Hunt, his assistants, Eidlitz, and Schuyler were all on the scaffold, Thursday night, October 17th when the walls were first illuminated. Schuyler noted his impression of these experiments in the American Architect and Building News: "I happened to be in the Assembly Chamber when the first attempt was made to show Mr. Hunt's pictures on the walls which they were designed to adorn. The attempt itself [is] a novelty, as are several other points in this scheme of mural decoration."⁹⁶ He then went on to describe Hunt's photographic transfer method, and the flexibility it allowed the artist in locating his drawings correctly on the wall. "When the cartoons were at last completed they were photographed upon glass slides, and an oxyhydrogen light behind the camera threw them, magnified to their full size, into their true position. . . . The artist, with a movement, could shift the pictures downwards or upwards, to the right or left, enlarge it or diminish it, at will; and when it was finally adjusted, could fix the outline on the wall from the photographic image."⁹⁷

Writing to Miss Lamb, Hunt noted that both Eidlitz and Schuyler were very enthusiastic about his preliminary sketches and "when the picture of the horses was thrown up full size in the dark room across the space of 87 feet on the arched stone gable they gave me three cheers."⁹⁸

For technical reasons, Hunt had to wait two days for the arrival of

J. W. Black, who was helping him with his projection process, before he could begin his painting.⁹⁹ In his next letter to Miss Lamb he described his first day's work:

I telegraphed Mr. Black and he arrived here Friday. Saturday [October 19th] at 6 pm we made our first working visit to the Capitol, having made an arrangement with the night watchman to let us in and provide us with a torch and a carpenter. . . . After a good many experiments in placing the picture in different ways we decided to attack . . . I used ladders to draw from and Tom [Robinson, another assistant] and the young carpenter [provided by the architect] were kept pretty busy putting them up, taking them down and changing them [fig. 55]. I drew in the group of the horses [fig. 56] and sketched in the place of Anahita and the Sleeping Figures.¹⁰⁰

But Hunt did not like the placement of these first efforts and the next night "began by brushing out all the work and washing the marks out with large damp sponges."¹⁰¹ However, the work for the next few days proceeded well and rapidly, and by October 28th he could report to his friend Angell that:

One week at work, and the outlines are about completed, and painting begins, I hope, to-morrow.

I can tell you, it is like sailing a seventy-four, or riding eight horses in a circus. It fills one's lungs to breathe in front of such spaces. The figure of Columbus, or the Discoverer, is eleven feet from his crown to the boat where his ship disappears. His hand is broader than this page is long.¹⁰²

Having completed his preliminary sketches aided by the slide projection process, Hunt and his two assistants, Robinson and Carter, were able to work during the day. He wrote Miss Lamb on November 3rd and described his first painting efforts:

We began painting on Wednesday [October 29th] morning, it was a little embarrassing to put the first big daub of paint

on to the clean stone wall, in fact I did not really like to do it - and time flies so fast that one has not time to hesitate, although I will say that so far there has been no hurrying in the work, and I hope it may continue to be done at least with deliberation, for the slightest movement of hurry would put the work back. It is too large a space to attack by the point of bayonet and the only chance seems to be by gradual approaches and flank movements, keeping up at the same time a sustained continuous fire which must or ought at least to harass the enemy and in due time force him into making terms for peace.¹⁰³

The creation of this large scale work led him to reflect on this experience and how it had altered some of his ideas about painting in general. He communicated these thoughts to Knowlton in letters which were later reproduced in the Second Series of his Talks on Art

It is an entirely new kind of work for me, different from anything else. . . . To disengage the clear figures from the light sky, I have, in places to use a brun rouge line as thick as your finger. Every mistake or weakness 'carries' perfectly. It won't do, either, to have things vapory. A fascinating little head, dissolving into nothing, won't do at all. . . .

You must learn to be precise, to draw exact lines, so that when you have mural painting to do you may be able to do it. I've learned a great deal by this work. Not that my ideas have changed, but, for one thing, I should be much quicker putting in the background of a portrait, and not keep working on small parts of it. Then I've learned more about getting the general, simple character of the figure; and making the important lines very precise and firm, and I've learned not to think it so necessary to have strong shadows and lights, but to do figures as you see them out-of-doors, when you come out of your shop in the afternoon, and there's no sun shining.¹⁰⁴

Even though he suffered interruptions from visitors and had to stop work early some days because of the cold, he was able to complete the murals by December 21st. The scaffolds were removed and finishing work was completed by the carpenters. The room (fig. 57) was ready for its official opening, January 9, 1879.

NOTES - Chapter Three

¹ The history of the building of the New York State Capitol has been compiled from several sources, principally: Montgomery Schuyler, "The Capitol of New York," Scribner's Magazine, December 1876, pp. 161-178; American Architect and Building News (hereinafter AABN), 1876-1879; "William Morris Hunt - The Capitol at Albany," Scrapbook, Octagon Museum (page numbers of all WMH Scrapbooks were assigned by the author); and Cecil R. Roseberry, Capitol Story (Albany: State of New York, 1964). The most recent "biography" of the building is the published Proceedings of the New York State Capitol Symposium (Albany: Temporary State Commission on the Restoration of the Capitol, 1983).

² Henry Russell Hitchcock and William Seale, Temples of Democracy, the State Capitols of the U.S.A. (New York: Harcourt Brace Janovich, 1976), pp. 149-150.

³ Reuben Eaton Fenton (1819-1885) was Governor of New York from 1865 to 1868 and later served as United States Senator from 1865 to 1875. Martha Hoppin in her dissertation "Handlist" includes a reference, #51, to his bust portrait.

John Adams Dix (1798-1879), governor of New York from 1873-1874, was a popular and influential politician, and served as a Major General during the Civil War. He and his wife were friends of Henry Kirke Brown, visiting him and his family frequently when they were in Rome in 1845. Dix spoke fluent French and was appointed by Andrew Johnson, Minister to the Court of Emperor Napoleon III from 1866 to 1869. Thus there were two times when Hunt could have made his acquaintance--in Rome in the mid-1840s, and later in Paris at the time of the 1868 Paris Universal Exposition. The Dix portrait is in the Albany Institute of Art.

⁴ The only information on Nichols & Brown is that, in addition to their work in Albany, they were the architects for Ezra Cornell's house "Llenroc" (1867) in Ithaca, New York and worked as architects for several buildings at Cornell University in the 1860s.

⁵ For a detailed discussion of Fuller's Albany commission see Walter E. Langsam, "The New York Capitol at Albany, Evolution of Design, 1866-1876" (M.A. thesis, Yale University, 1968).

⁶ See Geoffrey Blodgett, "Lieutenant Governor Dorsheimer and the Politics of Architectural Reform," Proceedings of the New York State Capitol, pp. 49-62.

⁷ William Dorsheimer (1832-1888) born in Lyons, New York, grew up in Buffalo. He entered Harvard in 1849, but left after two years. He

later returned to Buffalo where he practiced law and became a prominent member of the community, an amateur historian, and one of the founders of the Buffalo Academy of Fine Arts. He was also an influential member of the New York Democratic Party and gave the nominating speech at the Democratic Convention for his Buffalo associate and New York Governor, Grover Cleveland in 1884.

Dorsheimer's friendship with Olmstead and Richardson has been recently documented in Francis Kowsky, "The William Dorsheimer House: A reflection of French Suburban Architecture in the Early Work of H. H. Richardson," Art Bulletin 62 (March 1980): 134-147.

What is less well documented is Dorsheimer's relationship to the third architect, Eidlitz. They may have become acquainted in New York City when Dorsheimer was Federal District Attorney between 1867 and 1871 at a time when Eidlitz's Moorish-inspired buildings were under construction. Being interested in the fine arts all his life, there is also a good possibility that Dorsheimer met Richard Hunt at this time for both were members of the Union League Club and the Century Association. Regardless of when they met Dorsheimer hired Richard Hunt to design a house for him in Newport which was unfinished at the time of Dorsheimer's death in 1888 (now known as the Joseph R. Busk mansion). Baker, p. 547.

⁸ Montgomery Schuyler, "The Work of Leopold Eidlitz, III - The Capitol at Albany," Architectural Record 24 (1908): 366. Schuyler ranks as the most articulate and perceptive architectural critic of the late nineteenth century. An early champion of Richardson and progressivism in architecture, he was nonetheless influenced by Ruskinian thought and ideals, his early development being influenced by both Eidlitz and Russell Sturgis, an architect and critic associated with the New Path. According to William Jordy: "Of all his [Schuyler] artist friends, however, it was not Richardson but Leopold Eidlitz who exerted the most profound effect on Schuyler's thinking." Montgomery Schuyler, American Architecture and Other Writing, edited by William H. Jordy and Ralph Coe, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1961), 1:9.

⁹ "The Report on the New York State Capitol," AABN, March 11, 1876, p. 81.

¹⁰ Senate Document #49, [State of New York], March 3, 1876.

¹¹ AABN, March 11, 1876, p. 81. As noted by Schuyler in Scribner's, p. 165: "These studies, it is understood, were prepared by Mr. Eidlitz." In "The Work of Leopold Eidlitz, III," Schuyler further noted, p. 366: "The drawing which accompanied and illustrated it, were the individual work of Mr. Eidlitz. The effect they produced on the general professional mind was extraordinary. They showed a complete contempt for the indestructible beginning of which they were necessarily the continuation and in connection with which they were necessarily to be seen. There was truly enough a lack of comity in the operation."

¹² Quoted in AABN, March 11, 1876, p. 83.

- 13 AABN, March 18, 1876, p. 93.
- 14 AABN, April 1, 1876, p. 106.
- 15 AABN, April 1, 1876, p. 107. Detlef Lienau (1818-1887) was a Danish-born, French-trained architect who is credited with designing the first mansard-roofed building in this country, the Hart M. Schiff House, 1849-1850 in New York. Little is known regarding Dudley, except that he was one of the founding members of the AIA and, before coming to New York in the mid-1850s, had had a successful architectural practice in Nashville, Tennessee. See Henry F. Withey and Elsie Rathburn Withey, Biographical Dictionary of American Architects (Deceased) (Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, Inc. 1970), passim.
- 16 For a discussion of the "Battle of Styles", which surrounded the design of the Albany State Capitol, see Susan R. Stein, "The New York State Capitol Controversy and the Rise of Architecture as Practice," Proceedings of the New York State Capitol, pp. 71-76.
- 17 Richard Upjohn (1802-1878) was an English-born architect who emigrated to the United States in 1829. The leading Gothicist in America at mid-century, he was the first president of the AIA, and architect of Trinity Church, N.Y. (1841-1846). Henry Van Brunt (1832-1903), architect and writer, translated Viollet-le-Duc's Entretiens sur l'architecture as Discourses on Architecture (Boston: James R. Osgood & Co., 1875). He graduated from Harvard in 1854 and soon entered the architectural profession as an apprentice in the office of George Snell, Boston. In 1857 he came to New York and entered the atelier of Richard Hunt. His best known work, done in partnership with William Ware, also a Hunt pupil, was Memorial Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (1876-1880). When Ware was appointed to the faculty of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Van Brunt took on Frank S. Howe as his partner. They remained in Boston until 1886 when they moved to Kansas City, Missouri where Van Brunt lived the rest of his life.
- 18 AABN, April 8, 1876, p. 113.
- 19 AABN, March 17, 1877, p. 85. Their letter, addressed to the New York World, was dated March 6, 1877 and signed by George B. Post, R.M. Hunt, Napoleon Le Brun, Henry Dudley and D. Lienau.
- 20 AABN, June 23, 1877, p. 198.
- 21 Schuyler, "Eidlitz -III," Architectural Record, pp. 365-366.
- 22 Schuyler, "The Capitol of New York," Scribner's, p. 169.
- 23 Work on the South Center did not begin until 1880 at which time Richardson was assisted by the young Stanford White. In the Senate Chambers, which have been recently restored, Richardson used such exotic materials as Mexican onyx, Sieneese marble, and red granite from

Scotland, with red leather and carved mahogany panelling on the walls below the galleries. The Senate Chambers were finished in 1881 along with the Executive Chambers a floor below. Later Richardson designed the second Court of Appeals Room on the third floor on the eastern front of the building above the Executive Chambers. The two architects continued on a retainer basis until the mid-1880s, Richardson advising on the design of the Great Western Staircase which was completed in 1885. Isaac Perry was appointed superintendent of construction in 1881 and was the presiding architect from 1886 until the building was finally completed in 1899.

²⁴ Schuyler, "The Capitol of New York," Scribner's, pp. 173-174.

²⁵ Montgomery Schuyler, "A Great American Architect: Leopold Eidlitz, I. Ecclesiastical and Domestic Work," Architectural Record (1908), p. 164.

²⁶ John Ruskin (1819-1900), following the publication of the second volume of his first major work Modern Painters in 1846, wrote extensively on medieval architecture, specifically Northern Italian polychromed churches. Architecture was a subject that occupied him for the next ten years and resulted in the publication of two books which were very influential in the United States: The Seven Lamps of Architecture (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1848; first American edition, New York: J. Wiley, 1849) and The Stones of Venice 3 vols. (London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1851-1853; New York: first American edition J. Wiley & Sons, 1860).

Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879) was an architect, writer and restorer of medieval monuments who had an impact equal to that of Ruskin on American architecture. Through his writings and restorations of French Gothic monuments he made medieval architectural practices relevant for the nineteenth century. His most influential writings included: Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XIe au XVIIe siècle 10 vols. (Paris: B. Bance & A. Morel, 1854-1868) and Entretiens sur l'architecture (Paris: A. Morel, 1863-1872).

²⁷ Carroll Meeks, "Romanesque Before Richardson in the United States," College Art Bulletin 35 (March 1953): 21. It should also be noted that Peter von Cornelius painted a series of frescoes for the Ludwigskirche between 1836 and 1839 based on Genesis and the Last Judgement.

²⁸ Now known as Our Lady of Lebanon Roman Catholic Church, it is on the corner of Remsen and Henry Streets. See Norval White and Elliot Willensky. AIA Guide to New York City (New York: Collier Books, 1967; revised edition, 1978), p. 374.

Meeks, pp. 22-24, wholly credits Upjohn with the design of Church of the Pilgrims, however, it is assumed that Eidlitz, who was in Upjohn's office at the time, encouraged Upjohn to explore the German Romanesque, particularly in light of Eidlitz's Romanesque-inspired, St. George's

Church done two years later.

29 Greatly restored, it is still known today as St. George's Church, on the corner of Rutherford Place and East 16th Street.

30 According to Schuyler, "Eidlitz - I," pp. 165-169: "The simple 'hallenartige' [civil hall] lay-out of the interior as a large undivided room, beside being economical, may very likely have been due to the insistence of the rector that it should be 'evangelical' for Dr. Tyng was an insistent 'evangelical,' to whom a church was primarily a meeting house, a place in which to preach and to be preached to, or even at. Long drawn aisles and fretted vaults did not conduce to this function, nor perhaps the transepts which his architect never willingly omitted from any subsequent church. Moreover, they were objectionable as savoring of Popery, as very likely the nave and aisles of Trinity savored in his mind."

31 Most of the information on Eidlitz's churches was obtained from Schuyler, "Eidlitz - I." Two of his New York churches still stand: St. George's and St. Peter's Church, the Bronx. However, St. Peter's, which burned in 1877, was rebuilt by Eidlitz's son, Cyrus E. Eidlitz between 1877 and 1879. The Broadway Tabernacle was on Sixth Avenue at 34th Street; Church of the Holy Trinity, Madison Avenue at 42nd Street; and Temple Emanu-el (demolished, 1927), Fifth Avenue at 43rd Street.

32 According to Antoinette F. Downing and Vincent J. Scully, Jr., "A complete and elaborate example of the European chalet type appeared on Halidon Hill [Newport] in 1854. Built for Hugh Willoughby, it was designed by Leopold Eidlitz of New York, . . . His own house overlooking the Hudson was also a chalet." The Architectural Heritage of Newport, Rhode Island, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952; second edition-revised, New York: Bramhall House, 1967), p. 140; Pls. 169 & 170.

33 According to Clay Lancaster, in his article "Oriental Forms in American Architecture 1800-1870," College Art Association Art Bulletin 29 (September 1947): 186-187, the design of "Iranistan" was taken from published drawings of Brighton Pavilion.

34 Owen Jones (1809-1874) was a British architect, industrial designer and interior decorator whose illustrated treatise The Grammar of Ornament (1856) was the most important book on decoration published at mid-century.

35 See: Henry-Russell Hitchcock, Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, The Pelican History of Art, paperback edition (Baltimore, Md.:Penguin Books, 1971), p. 183. "Around 1850 cast-iron architecture was coming to its climax everywhere. James Bogardus (1800-74), a manufacturer of iron grinding machinery, not an architect or engineer, began to erect in Center Street in New York in 1848 a four-storeyed urban structure for his own use as a factory with an exterior consisting only of cast-iron piers and lintels. This was one

of the earliest and most highly publicized of the cast-iron fronts which Bogardus and various other ironmasters in New York and elsewhere made ubiquitous in the principal American cities before and after the Civil War."

36 Henry Van Brunt, "Cast Iron in Decorative Architecture," paper read before the AIA, December 7, 1858, published in The Crayon 6 (January 1859): 15-20.

37 Leopold Eidlitz, "Cast Iron in Architecture," paper read before the AIA, December 21, 1858, published in The Crayon 6 (January 1859): 21-22. Van Brunt's response to Eidlitz's paper was given January 4, 1859 and published in The Crayon 6 (February 1859): 48-49.

38 Henry Van Brunt, "Eidlitz's Nature of Art," (1881) was reprinted in Architecture and Society, ed. William A. Coles (Cambridge: Belknap Press, Harvard University, 1969), p. 145.

39 Schuyler, "Eidlitz - I," p. 169.

40 Schuyler, "The Capitol of New York," Scribner's, pp. 162-163.

41 On Eidlitz's aesthetics see: Leopold Eidlitz, The Nature and Function of Art (New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1881). Roger Stein in his book John Ruskin and Aesthetic Thought in America, 1840-1900 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 205, noted: "Eidlitz's Nature and Function of Art is a central document for the understanding of American aesthetic thought in the last half of the nineteenth century. . . . Moving from the theory of art and aesthetics to the practical problems of the use of colored decoration, from the materialism of the church to the reconciliation of science and art, Eidlitz hoped to find in organicism a unifying principle which would reconcile his belief that architecture dealt with ideas and was a form of poetic knowledge with his realization that the material needs of his age were more prosaic; a principle which would reconcile the ethical premises of his early years when he had defended Ruskin against Van Brunt's attack [the cast iron controversy] with his current loyalty to the rational functionalism of Viollet-le-Duc."

42 Leopold Eidlitz, The Crayon 6 (January 1859): 22.

43 Leopold Eidlitz, "On Style," paper read before the AIA, March 16, 1858 in The Crayon 5 (May 1858): 141.

44 [Leopold Eidlitz] "Bricks in Architecture," The Crayon 4 (January 1857): 23. Reference to Eidlitz's authorship is made by Schuyler, "Eidlitz - I," p. 178: "I have just come across, in the file of 'The Crayon,' for 1856, an enthusiastic article by Eidlitz upon Wrey Mould's design for the Unitarian Church." No article on Mould's church was published in 1856. This article even though published in January 1857, is probably the one referred to by Schuyler. However, it may also be another anonymous article on All Soul's published the following

year: "The Church of All Souls," The Crayon 5 (January 1858): 20-22.

45 Schuyler, "Eidlitz - I," p. 178.

46 It was recently mentioned to this writer by Professor Gerdts that portions of the exterior marble of the National Academy of Design were transferred to the facade of Our Lady of Lourdes Church (1904), 467 West 142nd Street. See Sarah Bradford Landau, P.B. Wight: Architect, Contractor, and Critic, 1838-1925 (Art Institute of Chicago, 1981), p. 21.

47 Ibid., p. 16.

48 When the Moors were expelled from the region in 1492, the complex was vandalized and rebuilt in various styles over the next three centuries. In 1828 restoration was begun by Jose Contreras, and his son and grandson over the course of the century. In the early 1840s, Owen Jones traveled in Spain and with J. Gourey wrote and illustrated: Plans, Elevations, Sections and Details of the Alhambra; from drawings taken on the spot by J. Gourey and Owen Jones; with a complete translation of the Arabic inscriptions and a historical notice of the Kings of Granada by P. de Gayangos. 2 vols. London, 1842-1845.

49 Leopold Eidlitz. Collection of Architectural Photographs. Avery Architectural Library, Columbia University, New York. Box #1 contains, in addition to photographs of many English and Spanish Gothic churches, photographs of the Alhambra, Cordova and Guido Reni's Aurora.

50 Schuyler, "The Capitol of New York," Scribner's, p. 170.

51 David Van Zanten, "Jacob Wrey Mould: Echoes of Owen Jones and the High Victorian Styles in New York, 1853-1865," Society of Architectural Historians Journal 28 (March 1969): 42, n. 11.

52 Owen Jones, The Grammar of Ornament (London, 1856; reprint edition New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Co., 1972), p. 67.

53 Ibid., p. 70.

54 Schuyler, "Eidlitz - I," pp. 178-179.

55 William Morris Hunt, "The New Capitol. A Communication from W.M. Hunt, the Boston Artist. To the Editor of the Argus." (November 27, 1878) in "William Morris Hunt - The Capitol at Albany," Scrapbook, p. 17A.

56 In the Alhambra there are ceiling paintings in three alcoves in the Court of Lions off the Hall of Kings which date from the late fourteenth century. These murals placed in an obscure location have been largely ignored and are subordinate to the non-figurative decoration of this architectural complex.

⁵⁷ John Ruskin, The Works of John Ruskin, eds. E.T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, vol. 11: Stones of Venice III (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1903-1912), sec. 35, p. 21.

⁵⁸ Schuyler, "Eidlitz - III," p. 371. See Eidlitz. Architectural Photographs. Box #3 contains two photographs of late portraits by Hunt: William M. Evarts (c. 1870, oil sketch Yale University Art Gallery) and William Gardiner (c. 1879, Hirschl and Adler, New York; oil sketch, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

⁵⁹ According to a leaflet available at Memorial Hall: "The Memorial Transept, enshrining twenty-eight tablets which record the names and places of death of those who fell, and the great dining hall were dedicated June 23, 1874. The theatre, built with the bequest of Charles Sanders, was finished two years later. In 1878 the tower was completed, and the building given by the alumni to Harvard." L.T.A. "Memorial Hall," pamphlet, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. (December 2, 1974).

⁶⁰ Wheelwright, The Class of 1844 (1896), p. 345.

⁶¹ According to Wheelwright, pp. 345-346: "The Committee, on the recommendation of the Architects, Messrs. Ware and Van Brunt, then applied to Mr. John La Farge, who was then just beginning to turn his attention to that branch of art in which he has since acquired so high a reputation. . . . During the winter of the academical year 1874-75, a cartoon of [Chevalier de] Bayard [a French knight and national hero] was designed by La Farge, which, on the whole, proved satisfactory to a majority of the Committee. It was thereupon agreed that Mr. La Farge, in conjunction with Mr. Mc Donald of the firm of Mc Pherson & Co., Glass-workers, should make from this cartoon an experimental window, at their own risk, which, if it proved satisfactory in all respects, including cost would be accepted by the Class. . . . Shortly before Commencement, 1875, this experimental window (or half window, [the other half was to contain the figure of Columbus]) was completed, when it was found that the entire window, executed in the same style, would cost two thousand dollars, or double the limit of the price established. This high cost was owing to the adoption of a new process of manufacture, giving exceptionally brilliant and artistic results. A window similar in design but executed by the ordinary process would cost \$1500, or one might possibly be made for \$1200. As this minimum cost was considerably in excess of that to which the Class had limited themselves, while the amount subscribed was still below that limit, it was thought best to refer the whole matter to the Class at their next annual meeting."

For further information on La Farge's involvement in this project see H. Barbara Weinberg, The Decorative Work of John La Farge (New York: Garland Press, 1977), pp. 339-345.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 346. This stained-glass is located in the transept of Memorial Hall and is dated 1879 with the inscription: "Class of 1844 - Dante and Chaucer." As noted in the flyer all the windows are a

"veritable museum of American stained glass" and contain work done by, among others, Sarah Wyman Whitman, Edward Emerson Simmons and three each by La Farge, Frederic Crowninshield, and Frank D. Millet.

⁶³ Knowlton, p. 80.

⁶⁴ Knowlton, p. 158.

⁶⁵ Schedule 'B' "Annual Report of the New Capitol Commissioners for the Year, 1878," New York State Senate Documents, 102nd Session, 1879, v. 1, #20 (January 23, 1879), p. 25.

⁶⁶ Harper's Weekly, November 29, 1879, p. 943.

⁶⁷ Catharine Howland Hunt, "Diary", p. 157.

⁶⁸ See "Portraiture, and the Portrait of Gov. Dix" and "Criticism and Critics, Hunt's Portrait of John A. Dix. To the Editor of the Albany Evening News (February 26, [1875])" in "William Morris Hunt - Notes on Exhibitions," Scrapbook, pp. 2A and 6A. According to another notice, "William M. Hunt," also in Scrapbook, p. 5B, Hunt painted the Dix portrait from life in Albany, completing several studies there but finishing it in Boston. This notice also stated that Hunt's portrait "promises to be one of his grandest achievements in portrait-painting," and noted a conversation, perhaps apocryphal, between the artist and his sitter: "'Paint it firm,' said General Dix to the artist, 'for I have endured a great deal in my life-time,' and this natural desire of the veteran soldier and statesman to see one of the marked characteristics of his career depicted upon the canvas which will be one of the tributes of his state to his long and eminent service in her behalf, is soon to be fulfilled by the painter whom he has selected for the honorable task."

The controversy caused by Hunt's portrait of Dix resulted in it being removed and replaced by an earlier Hunt portrait of Mrs. Governor (William) Claflin which was much more warmly received. See "The New Paintings at Annesley & Vint's", and "Another picture by Mr. Hunt," "Notes on Exhibitions," pp. 14A and 53B.

⁶⁹ Listed in the 1880 Catalogue of the Horticultural Hall Auction is a "Study Head of 'The Young Headsman,'" #63, with the notation "Painting owned by Lieut.-Gov. Dorsheimer, of N.Y." Hoppin concluded that this study was probably for the painting known as Constantinople Woodchopper which belonged to Dorsheimer and was given to the Buffalo Academy of Fine Arts in 1907. She noted further that Hunt first exhibited this work at his studio exhibition, November, 1877, see "Handlist," #149. It was sold at auction in 1943, its present location is unknown.

⁷⁰ "The New Capitol. A Communication from W.M. Hunt, the Boston Artist. To the Editor of the Argus." (November 27, 1878), "The Capitol at Albany".

- 71 "William Morris Hunt," The Art Journal 5 (November 1879): 347.
- 72 Quoted in Harper's Weekly, November 29, 1879, p. 943.
- 73 Angell, July 1880, p. 82.
- 74 Talks on Art, p. 91: "Have been reading Mrs. Merrifield's book, and it revives recollections of Europe."
- 75 For information on the pigments La Farge used in Trinity Church, see Helene Barbara Weinberg, "John La Farge and the Decoration of Trinity Church, Boston," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 33 (December 1974): 329-331.
- 76 The painter and stained glass artist, Frederic Crowninshield, included these European researches and the new nineteenth-century techniques in his book, Mural Painting (Boston: Ticknor & Co., 1887). This book which began as lecture, "The Relation Between Painting and Architect," delivered February 1881 before the Boston Society of Architects, was excerpted in 1886 in vol. 19 of the AABN, between January 9, 1886 and May 29, 1886. According to Crowninshield, a German, Dr. J.N. von Fuchs invented this formula in 1825. However, Wilhelm von Kaulbach is generally credited with inaugurating its use for his six stereochromatic frescoes done between 1845 and 1865 for the stairwell of the New Museum, Berlin. See Crowninshield, Chapter Eleven, "Water-Glass," p. 108.
- 77 According to Ralph Mayer, A Dictionary of Art Terms and Techniques (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1969; paperback edition, New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1981), p. 371: "[Spirit fresco is] mural painting with colors made by grinding pigments in varnish; a process developed about 1880 in England by T. Gambier-Perry. . . . Spirit fresco was devised in an attempt to find a reasonably simple technique for producing paintings with the visual effects of true fresco that could survive rigorous British climate conditions. The process proved to be unsatisfactory and was soon abandoned, but its recipes are still in circulation." Although Mayer dates the origin of Gambier-Perry's invention of the spirit-fresco process c. 1880, Alfred Lys Baldry in his book Modern Mural Decoration (London: G. Newnes Ltd., 1902), noted, p. 32: "Mr. Gambier-Perry employed it [spirit fresco process] himself more than forty years ago [1860] in Highman Church, Gloucestershire, and a few years later in Gloucester Cathedral, and his paintings have lasted extremely well."
- 78 William Morris Hunt Sketchbook, n.p. This Sketchbook, inscribed "Jane Hunt's Sketchbook," is owned by Mrs. Susan Battley, Weston, Connecticut. Although inscribed, "Jane Hunt's Sketchbook," William's initials are engraved in brass on the spine. The subject matter as well as the style of many of the drawings relate to known works of Hunt's including sketches for the horses of Anahita.

79 Quoted in Harper's Weekly, November 29, 1879, p. 943. These pasteboard sketches have not been located and are presumed lost.

80 Angell, July 1880, p. 82. Of the approximately sixty preparatory sketches mentioned by Angell, about twenty have been located and are primarily in the collections of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston; Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge; and Princeton University, Princeton, N.J. See Chapter Four.

81 Talks on Art, p. 41.

82 Angell, May 1880, p. 632.

83 *Ibid.*, p. 638.

84 1979 Memorial Exhibition Catalogue, p. 79.

85 Vinton, "William Morris Hunt - The Memorial Exhibition," p. 98.

86 This interest in prismatic color may have been influenced by Hunt's knowledge of the work of, Dr. Henry Draper (1837-1882), inventor of the diffraction spectrum. While there is no evidence that Hunt himself was interested in the astronomical aspect of Draper's researches, there is on the verso of a sketch in the Octagon Museum of Hunt's titled The Mouse Trap (fig. 49)—in itself, a curious and macabre still-life of mice entering a large round covered trap—a photograph of Draper's diffraction spectrum (fig. 50) with the notation "Photograph of the diffraction spectrum taken by Professor Henry Draper, M.D. University of New York, December, 1872."

87 Talks on Art, p. 167.

88 Truman H. Bartlett, The Art-Life of William Rimmer (Boston: J.R. Osgood & Co., 1882), p. 81.

89 Knowlton, p. 81. Henry Adams in his article "The Development of William Morris Hunt's The Flight of Night," pp. 49-50, noted that Hunt sent Rinn the photograph sometime before 1875; however, there is no evidence that Hunt resumed his interest in this work before the fall of 1877. Adams also suggests that this photograph is related to a photo engraving in the Octagon Museum #P79.1856 (fig. 66). While this print itself, which was published by Perry Prints in 1898, could not have been sent to Rinn there is a good possibility that the print is related to the unlocated c. 1872 photograph.

90 One of the best known of these color decorators was Elmer E. Garnsey (1862-1946) who often worked with McKim, Mead and White supervising the color schemes and painted decorations of their interiors. Among the decorative projects which Garnsey supervised were: the Boston Public Library; the Walker Art Gallery, Brunswick, Maine; the state capitols of Iowa, Wisconsin and Minnesota; the Library of Congress; and the United States Capitol between 1901 and 1905.

91 According to Bartlett, p. 81: "[Hunt] invited the doctor to visit his studio, look over his sketches of the proposed paintings, and criticize them. He also gave the doctor a charcoal-sketch of the Discoverer . . . so that the latter could consider it as a composition, and make suggestions at his leisure."

92 On the lower right of this drawing (Fogg Art Museum, #1936.10.62), Caroline Rimmer noted: "A drawing begun by Father from Subject Agriculture or Commerce. One of Mr. Hunt's frescoes at Albany also help to Mr. Hunt by father at Mr. Hunt's request."

93 Bartlett, p. 81.

94 Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, William Morris Hunt file, Hunt to Rose Lamb (typescript), Albany, October 17, 1878.

Mrs. Charles S. Hamlin of Albany, New York in a 1963 interview for the Albany Institute of Art noted that Hunt, while in Albany, shared a studio with the Albany sculptor, Erastus Dow Palmer (1817-1904). "I cannot remember a time when we were not familiar with the new Capitol as it was known in my childhood. . . . It was fun to go to the Assembly Chamber and watch Mr. Hunt high up on his scaffolding painting his murals. He did not like to be disturbed and we were warned not to talk but he was not averse to disturbing others when things did not go his way. He shared the studio on Lafayette St. - just a short block away - with Mr. E.D. Palmer, the sculptor. Mr. Palmer would come in for a cup of tea and report the latest doings. I have copied from Mother's diary of 1878 the following. Mr. William Hunt said that though he was a Bostonian - he was disgruntled with his people for not appreciating his talent - that Bostonians did nothing but cackle to him about art but he never had had a chance to show what he could do until he had this superb order from Albany. He came into Mr. Palmer's studio one night and said with great heat - 'As I lay working on my scaffold this afternoon so happy and in such a blissful state - who should pursue me and stand beside me on the scaffolding but a Bostonian - Gad - the happiness and pluck all went out of me at such a sight. I was like a squeezed lemon - all gone - Gad - to be hunted down even here by a Bostonian - it was too much. I could work no more - Gad - damn Boston - damn Bostonians.'" Memoir of Mrs. Charles S. Hamlin, typescript of interview, March 11, 1963, Albany Institute of Art, pp. 16-17.

95 The oxyhydrogen light had been in use since the 1820s, primarily in lighthouses. It was also used "in the theatres of the Royal Polytechnic Institution for their beautiful exhibitions." A.H. Renton, Observations on an Improved Oxyhydrogen Lime Light, as adapted by the Universal Lime Light Company (London: Henry Hansard, 1859), p. 9.

96 [Schuyler], "Correspondence. The State Capitol at Albany, November" AABN, December 14, 1878, p. 196. In his later signed articles on Eidlitz and the Albany State Capitol, Schuyler relates this same incident, see Architectural Record (1908), p. 371.

@(97) Ibid.

98 Lamb, October 17, 1878.

99 Later, Crowninshield included a description of this process and acknowledged his indebtedness, p. 39, "to J. W. Black of Boston, the well-known photographer, who transferred William Hunt's sketches to the capitol walls at Albany." According to Professor Gerdts, this is James Wallace Black, best known for his photographs of the 1872 Boston Fire.

100 Lamb, October 23, 1878.

101 Ibid.

102 Angell, May 1880, p. 639. Hunt sent photographs of these sketches to Miss Lamb: "I sent you yesterday by express photographs of the sketches of the Assembly Chamber walls with our scaffolding and bridge. You don't of course get much idea of their dimensions but must think of Columbus as a man of about 12 feet tall." Lamb, October 30, 1878. In the Octagon Museum there is a photograph (#P79.1864, fig. 87) of the underdrawing of The Discoverer taken from the scaffold. There are three photographs (#s P79.1825-P79.1827) of the underdrawings of Flight of Night.

103 Lamb, November 3, 1878.

104 Talks on Art, pp. 165-167.

CHAPTER FOUR

HUNT'S ALBANY MURALS—THEIR FORMAL DEVELOPMENT, ICONOGRAPHIC SOURCES AND MEANING

Although the murals are no longer visible, there is a great deal of information, both visual and printed, which can be used to judge their actual appearance. In the Pennsylvania Academy version of The Flight of Night (fig. 67) (which is the closest to the final version) the Persian goddess, Anahita, is in the center of colorful night-time sky seated in a contrapposto position on a crescent moon, supported by cloud-shaped throne or chariot. She glances to her left at dawn's arrival. Her right arm seems to hold reins that were they visible would restrain the three plunging horses in front of her. In front of them on the far left, a nude male figure carries an inverted torch. Below Anahita and to the right are images of a mother and child--Sleep and Repose--who float in a cloud-like drapery carried by a flying putto. The entire composition exists within a flat oval field of space that extends from the figure of Anahita, placed high in the composition, to her plunging horses whose extended bodies bridge a large dark section of clouds between them. On the right, the veil-enshrouded floating images of Sleep and Repose augment the spaciousness of Hunt's composition.

The Discover was on the opposite wall. Aside from photographs of the mural taken from the scaffold in December 1878, the only complete

document of the final version is a photograph of a replica now destroyed (fig. 11).¹ Here it is day, somewhere at sea. The pensive figure of Columbus stands in the middle of a small boat. He is placed at a slight angle to the picture plane and looks to the west. Behind him an image of Fortune holds the sail and tiller. In the waves surrounding the front of the boat are female personifications of Faith, Hope, and Science. The foremost is Faith who, with her back to the viewer, hides her face in her arms. Hope, the middle of the three figures, faces front supporting herself on the bow while gesturing with her right arm to the horizon. Science, who faces Columbus, holds a scroll for his consultation.

As far as is known Hunt worked on these two themes, The Flight of Night and The Discoverer, over a twenty to thirty-year period. However, there is no evidence that he considered them as pendant subjects before 1878.

He began work on the Flight of Night as early as 1847 when his brother Leavitt presented him with a translation of a Persian poem titled "Anahita." This early date is confirmed by two drawings, one known only from a photograph, in the Octagon Museum which Henry Adams, in a recent article in the American Art Journal, assigned to the years 1847-1850.² Unfortunately, similar visual documentation does not exist for The Discoverer, although both Helen Knowlton and Henry Angell stated that the idea for The Discoverer was developed in the late 1850s.³

Because of its earlier date in Hunt's career, this discussion will

begin with the development of The Flight of Night. One great handicap, however, is that almost all of Hunt's sketches and early versions were lost in the 1872 Boston fire. What remains are the photographs of drawings mentioned above, a few more drawings in a Hunt sketchbook (figs 60-62), replicas of the plaster relief of the "Horses of Anahita" (fig. 9), an 1863 oil sketch done on a Japanese tea-tray (fig. 64) for Jane Hunt, an 1875 oil replica of the pre-1872 version (fig. 65), and several photographs from the files of the Octagon Museum of other sketches or details. Inseparable from this visual documentation is the text of the poem "Anahita."

"Enthroned upon her car of light, the moon
Is circling down the lofty heights of Heaven:
Her well-trained courses wedge the blindest depths
With fearful plunge, yet heed the steady hand
That guides their lonely way. So swift her course,
O'er-reaching space, to glide the airy main;
Behind, far-flowing, spreads her deep blue veil,
Inwrought with stars that shimmer in its wave.

Before the car an owl, gloom sighted, flaps
His weary way, with melancholy hoot
Dispelling spectral shades that flee
With bat-like rush, affrighted, back
Within the blackest nooks of caverned Night.
Still Hours of darkness wend around the car,
By raven tresses half concealed; but one,
With fairer locks, seems lingering back for Day.
Yet all with even measure footsteps mark
Her onward course. And floating in her train
Repose lies nestled on the breast of Sleep,
While soft Desires enclasp the waists of Dreams,
And light-winged Fancies flit around in
troops."⁴

The first version of The Flight of Night has not been located. It was dated 1847 by Angell and is known only from his description: "The goddess was first drawn shielding her eyes from the coming light with

raised arm. She was looking forward, was differently drawn [than the final version], and her chariot was winged."⁵ The only element Hunt retained from this first drawing, if it in fact existed, is the winged car which is found in both the 1863 tea-tray sketch and the 1875 replica.

There is, however, an early sketch in the Octagon Museum which Adams dated c. 1847-1850 (fig. 58).⁶ In it many of the elements of the final painting are present. Anahita is shown in her car in the center of the composition, her three horses are on the left, and the floating figure of a mother and child are to the right. The over-all impression is one of haste, both in execution and mood. Using a pencil as one would a charcoal stick, Hunt began by creating a large S-shaped cloud in the top right-hand corner that extended outward and downward covering most of the bottom half of the composition. On top of these penciled clouds he sketched the principal figures. Anahita, a shrouded figure profiled against an empty space, looks over her left shoulder at the approach of day. Little of her body is delineated and her "car of light" is suggested through the application of a curved diagonal stroke at mid-torso. She and her car are connected through a series of quick downward strokes to a group of three plunging horses on her right. Above these horses on the left-hand side is an unidentifiable figure that Hunt later translated into the nude figure of a youth. Beneath Anahita and to the right is a hastily rendered, intertwined group that subsequent became the personifications of Sleep and Repose. Hunt retained this initial design in all later versions. Yet as they evolved

the hurried drama of this early drawing was replaced by a calm grandeur.

The second of these two early drawings is titled Head of Sleep (fig. 59). It is known only through a poor photograph at the Octagon Museum that Adams has assumed was the photograph of the sketch cited in the 1879 Memorial Exhibition catalogue as "Head of 'Sleep' for 'Anahita'. Painted in 1850."⁷ If his dating is accurate, this drawing was done while Hunt was still in Couture's studio. The more painterly development of form through the use of light and shadow does show the influence of Couture's technique. This drawing, like the plaster relief of the Horses of Anahita, was incorporated by Hunt into the final Albany version. It may be that it, and the relief, were two of the few fragments Hunt still possessed after the fire.⁸

In this relief (fig. 9), which measures 18 1/2 x 28 1/2 inches, Hunt depicted three galloping horses plunging dramatically into the viewer's space through the relief's frontal plane. On the left a nude youth with an inverted torch checks their downward course. These details conform almost precisely to those lines of the poem which read: "Her well-trained courses wedge the blindest depths/ With fearful plunge, yet heed the steady hand/That guides their lonely way."

Adams makes a good case for Hunt having created this relief in Paris given his friendship with the sculptor Antoine Barye and the fact that, according to Knowlton, Hunt abandoned sculpture in the early 1850s. However, because of its close relationship to later versions of The

Flight of Night, this writer is inclined to date it c. 1859 when Hunt was in Newport where he began what Adams refers to as his "Second Campaign of Work."⁹

Hunt moved with his family to Newport in the Fall of 1856 and lived there until 1862. In a recently located sketchbook there are drawings for some of the works he did there, including three sketches of horses (figs. 60 and 61 a. b.), two of the floating figures Sleep and Repose (fig. 62 a. b.), and three preliminary drawings (fig. 63 a. b. c.) for a painting titled The Singers. This painting (fig. 63d), later owned by his brother, was dated 1859 in the 1879 Memorial Exhibition Catalogue.¹⁰ This sketchbook is significant because it allows us to date two aspects of The Flight of Night--the horses, and the floating figures of Sleep and Repose. The horses in these sketches are strikingly similar to their sculptured counterparts and it is proposed that they preceded Hunt's alto-rilievo. While it is true that no other sculptural work by Hunt can be dated this late, it may be that Hunt created this relief as a study piece for the painting.

It is known that between 1860 and 1861 both Henry and William James assisted Hunt with The Flight of Night and it may be that they referred to this sculpture as they worked. The art writer Henry Tuckerman who saw both the painting, which he referred to as "The Morning Star," and the alto-rilievo, which he called "Horses of the Sun," in the mid-1860s, noted that the "cast is a fine study for sculptor or painter."¹¹

By the time Hunt left for Europe in 1867, he had completed a fair

amount on this painting. However, the only remnants of what might be called the Newport version is a sketch done on a Japanese tea-tray for his sister that Adams dated 1863 (fig. 64).¹² In this small (9 x 14 1/2 inches) version, paint has been applied very freely and the figural forms vaguely suggested. Even so the key elements are discernible. Anahita, now in a winged car, still occupies the center of the composition. On the left are the three horses and groom following Hunt's plaster relief with great fidelity, and on the right the group of floating figures is replaced by a flying putto.

In the late 1860s Hunt may have been inspired, after his return from Europe, to create a more monumental version of The Flight of Night. According to Knowlton he ordered a fifty-foot piece of canvas from Russia. This was an unprecedented size for an American painting, particularly since, as far as is known, Hunt had not received a commission for a work of this scale. Even Leutze's fresco Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way (1862) for the United States Capitol was only thirty feet wide, while Hunt's final version in Albany was forty. What seems more logical, although Knowlton gives the impression that Hunt had planned to paint a fifty-foot work, is that Hunt ordered the canvas intending to use it for several paintings.¹³ Knowlton further stated that Hunt and his assistant, John B. Johnston, worked together on this version between 1868 and 1872 when it, along with earlier paintings and sketches, were lost in the fire. Fortunately, Hunt had kept a photograph of this phase of his work which is the same one he gave to his friend, the architect J. Rhinn. Although, this photograph has not

been found, it was probably used as the basis of the 1875 version mentioned in the 1879 Memorial Exhibition catalogue.¹⁴ This 1875 version is now in a private collection, New York (fig. 65). There are two factors which give credence to this assumption. One is that, in terms of its compositional development, it falls between the tea-tray version and Hunt's later Albany version. The second is that it was an important enough version to be reproduced by Perry Pictures sometime after 1879 (fig. 66).¹⁵

In this 1875 version, Hunt retained the rectangular format and right-to-left movement found in his early sketch and tea-tray versions. However, in this 1875 version his images are more detailed and his ideas more clearly expressed. Anahita is still seated in her winged car. On the left the plunging horses are led by a groom whose down-turned torch is made more apparent; on the right the floating figures of the earlier versions are now a sleeping mother and child enveloped and supported in a cloud-like drapery. This latter image illustrates the lines of the poem which read: "And floating in her train/Repose lies nestled on the breast of Sleep."

The other important aspect of this oil sketch is its color. The yellows, oranges and reds that dominate the composition are garish and unsettling. As noted in Chapter Three, Hunt was disinterested in the expressive or narrative power of color. However, it was at this time (1875) that Hunt began to work out-of-doors, an undertaking that was to have a dramatic impact on his use of color. Between 1875 and 1878 he spent most of his time traveling and working from nature. When he first

began he worked primarily in charcoal, as if he had to start from scratch by expressing with the coal all the nuances of light and shade and the transitory effect of weather, the time of day, and changing seasons. After three years of studying and sketching the landscapes of Florida, Mexico, Cuba and most of Massachusetts, particularly the region of Cape Ann, Hunt went to Niagara Falls where he began to use color to recreate a sublime subject. Like many other artists both American and European, Hunt was overwhelmed by this majestic quintessential American landscape subject. In response he formed, what was for him, a new palette, and in several versions of the subject (Smith College, the Museum of Fine Arts and the Corcoran Gallery) Hunt's new ability as a colorist is clearly apparent. In all three, Hunt's primary interest was not the representation of the locale but the dramatic impression of the Fall's enormous spray which he recreated with prismatic colors over a thick white underpainting. Color alone defined the subject.

As far as known Hunt did no further work on the The Flight of Night until the fall of 1877. According to a notation on the back of a reproduction in the Octagon Museum of the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts version (figs. 67 and 68), Hunt reworked the painting in September in his Magnolia studio on Cape Ann, finishing it by October 31st in his Park Square studio in Boston. This notation also claimed that this version was done "before Albany work was thought of."¹⁶ In addition to this painting there is a second, identically sized version at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (fig. 69) which, it is assumed, was also painted in the fall of 1877, perhaps after Hunt had been approached about the

commission. However, there are some interesting differences between these two. In the PAFA version Anahita is seated on a crescent moon. In the MFA version the crescent moon was eliminated and Anahita sits on a cloud surrounded by an aureole of light. Also in the MFA painting the entire composition was brought closer to the frontal plane. Judging from later sketches for the Albany painting and related details, Hunt used elements from both versions.

The differences between these and the earlier 1875 version are twofold: Anahita's winged car is eliminated and an upward-flying figure of a putto holds the drapery in which the figures of Sleep and Repose are floating.¹⁷ In these 1877 versions Hunt also created a more convincing cloud-filled environment. He achieved this in several ways. Most importantly he elevated the figure of Anahita so that she appears to float both above and behind the flanking groups. Anahita's figure is more clearly defined and made more upright so that the forward motion implicit in the composition is reflected in her more confident pose. Below and in front of her, a deep expanse of space separates her from the agitated horses that follow their guide into the abyss. All this action is now contained within a flat oval that extends from the nude male figure on the left, who seems to literally step into space, to the billowing shape of the drapery on the right. The almost frieze-like composition of the earlier versions has been eliminated.

The next series of sketches dates from the summer of 1878, after Hunt's return from Niagara Falls and Albany in June 1878. Unlike the 1877 large-scale versions, these drawings and paintings were done within

a lunette-shaped outline imitative of the space on the Assembly Chamber wall. The earliest of these is a charcoal drawing with a monogram and notation on the lower right, "Anahita - Flight of Night" (fig.70). The problem Hunt wrestled with in this sketch was space, specifically how much surrounding space or sky should be allotted to the composition. The familiar groups are repeated and Anahita's pose appears even more aggressive than before. However, there seems to be too much dead space and the dynamism of the MFA version with the close-up presentation of the narrative is lost. However, the curved outline which Hunt created for this sketch was higher and more narrow than the real proportions of the tympanum. In another sketch, known only from a photograph in the Octagon Museum (fig. 71), these proportions are more correctly expressed. This, for the first time, gives us an indication of what Hunt's final composition will look like. The two most significant changes are found in the creation of space, which has been compressed, and the rendering of the groom who has been greatly enlarged in order to reinforce his foremost placement within the spatial development of the composition. Although Hunt only hastily suggests the figure of Anahita and the floating figures at her side, they retain their earlier positions.

Following this pencil sketch are three color sketches in lunette-shaped frames with scalloped bottoms. The earliest is a pastel sketch in the collection of Eliot Forbes, Cambridge (fig. 72). Midnight blue is the dominant tone. Light is introduced as an incandescent moon whose silver-white radiance illuminates the figure of Anahita. Although

Hunt abandoned the use of this over-all blue tonality in later versions, it is interesting to compare his use of color as light here with the strident, red-orange values of the 1875 version. In a second lunette-framed sketch owned by William Morris Hunt II (fig. 73), which seems to have been done in either gouache or watercolor, the sky is a blend of colors--blues, peaches, reds, yellows and oranges. Behind and at the edge of the blue-gray clouds, which support the principal subjects, yellow and orange are used at the right to indicate the rising sun, while at the left the flaming torch held by the dusky guide splashes the clouds with red. The clouds themselves change color from light blue-gray at the right to almost black at the left creating through color alone the flight of night. The gray-blue of a fading night found at the top of the painting is reinforced by Hunt with a blue mat which might symbolize the more sober flight of night as compared to the joyous arrival of dawn. In the third version (fig. 74), owned by the Museum of Fine Arts, the colors are muted and the modulations from the sun-streaked sky on the right to the pitch black of the left are more gradual. While there are differences among these three sketches--the most obvious being the aureole of light in the Forbes version which is replaced by a crescent moon in the latter two--what is evident is Hunt's sensual use of color and his ability to explore its expressive possibilities.

In addition to these framed sketches there are a number of renderings of the single figure of Anahita. Two of the originals which have been located--one at the Museum of Fine Arts (fig. 75), the other at the

Metropolitan (fig. 76)--may have been color studies for the final mural. However, the other two are known only from reproductions. One is a photograph of a charcoal drawing at the Octagon Museum (fig. 77), the other a reproduction copyrighted in 1898 by Curtis and Cameron which was published in an unidentified clipping.¹⁸ The MFA version is the smaller of the two and like the 1877 version, also owned by the MFA, Anahita is seated only on a cloud. Her facial features and torso are well-defined, particularly in contrast to the vague, suggestive version in the Metropolitan. In the Met version, however, Anahita is seated on a crescent moon, her hair is more upswept and closer to her head. Like the lunette sketches, Hunt does not seem to have worked progressively but simultaneously, creating a number of variations, then studying them and extracting those elements which best suited his final intention. In Albany, Anahita was a conglomerate of both versions. The rendering of the fabric around her lower torso and her face was borrowed from the MFA version, while the upper torso and crescent moon were adopted from the Metropolitan version. It is also apparent that Hunt continued his experiments with paint application and color. In the MFA version Hunt built up Anahita's cloudy throne with quick swirls of paint using grays, whites, reds and pinks. Behind her the shimmering yellow sky illuminated the entire composition. However, this is not the silvery-white radiance of the Forbes's sketch but the pinks and yellows of the 1875 version. In contrast to the Boston Anahita, the brush strokes in the Metropolitan version are suppressed, and Hunt, through his use of muted, chalky colors and the creation of an almost matte-like surface, recreated the effect of fresco.¹⁹

The development of The Discoverer does not have as long a history as The Flight of Night, although both Angell and Knowlton claimed that there was an early drawing for this composition which, however, has not been located. The first known sketch (fig. 78) is a rectangular charcoal drawing dated 1877 by an inscription on the back: "Drawn in Studio December 1877 in presence of J.G.Carter." Since this is the only sketch drawn within a rectangular, as opposed to a curved, outline, it is assumed that this is the earliest known drawing from what is presumably his second phase of work. In this drawing Hunt placed a central group of four figures in a small boat against a low horizon line. Although the whole is sketchily drawn, Hunt has included the figure of Columbus in the middle, and the standing figure of Fortune with either wings or a sail behind her to the right and behind him. On the left are two figures placed in the water in front of Columbus. The figure closest to Columbus is Hope; her right arm is extended towards the horizon. Beneath her is the figure of Faith who hides her face in her arms. A third figure, Science, who is included in subsequent versions, was not included in this early sketch.

It is not known when or in what order the next series of sketches were done. Because they were all drawn within a curved outline, Hunt probably sketched them during the summer of 1878 after he had received official word of his commission. Their chronological organization is based on observation of the changes in each, and an attempt to relate

these changes to Hunt's final composition.

In the first sketch in this series (fig. 79), Hunt placed the whole composition within a curved frame. He retained the low horizon line but set the figural grouping further back and surrounded it with water. Thus Columbus and his boat appear to float more realistically. The image of Fortune is seated and the sail in front of her is a charcoal blur. The female personifications are in the same position surrounding the front of the boat and a third, the image of Science, who floats alongside of the boat with her back to the viewer, has been added. Hunt has also added light, or the rays of the rising sun, which is rendered as the blank or negative space at the horizon line. Here Hunt presents Columbus, The Discoverer, as the symbol of day, just as Anahita in the evolution of the Flight of Night came to symbolize the moon and night, and in this way he began to link these two disparate themes.

The next in this series are two drawings on a single sheet (fig. 80). In both these sketches the compositions are created within shallow arched formats. In the topmost drawing, Fortune is shown clearly seated in the stern. The other female figures remain the same, including Hope who is still shown gesturing towards the arrival of the sun and a new day. However, Columbus is represented as a stumpy, sawed-off figure. In the lower drawing Hunt has omitted any indication of the time of day, although Hope still points towards the horizon. He has, however, expanded the composition by raising the horizon line and placing the figures more realistically in and around the boat. It is clear, particularly in the bottom drawing, that Hunt at this point was working

to align his composition to the curve of the frame. This compositional curve begins with the left elbow of Faith and rises through the extended arm of Hope to the top of Columbus's head. Its downward path is an arc along the top part of the sail to the head and left shoulder of the seated Fortune.

The next drawing (fig. 51) was owned by the Rimmer family for many years until it was given to the Fogg in 1936. In this sketch Hunt has rendered both his composition and the figures more clearly and forcefully. The most striking changes are in the larger proportions of the figures in relation to the overall composition and the reclining pose of Fortune. Hunt had a dilemma which was that this female figure who now held both sail and tiller was on the verge of dominating the composition. However, her pose in this version is too languid and does not enhance the mural's symbolic narrative. As mentioned in Chapter Three, it was at this point that Hunt turned to Rimmer for help, and according to Bartlett, Rimmer's assistance was to have led to a collaboration between the two. Although Rimmer did do some sketches based on Hunt's drawing, Hunt's work was not effected by his advice. Given the independent nature of both artists and their eccentric temperaments such a collaboration is difficult to imagine. However, Hunt may have gained something of value, even of a negative kind, from his discussions with Rimmer. To judge from his next series of sketches he began to focus more on the importance of the individual figures. It may be that at this time he drew the series of figures found in a sketch titled The Bathers (fig. 81) which includes a number of figures in

various poses that Hunt adopted in subsequent drawings including the standing profiled figure of Columbus (in reverse) and the standing figure of Fortune.

This increased attention on the figure is immediately apparent in his next sketch, a pastel drawing (fig. 82), in which the figures are more fully modeled and given greater linear definition, particularly his figures of Columbus and Fortune. Here, Hunt returns to his original idea of Fortune in a standing position. By placing the boat at almost a right angle to the picture plane on a large ocean swell he is able to lift the figure of Columbus and place Fortune in a subordinate position in the rear. He also adds wings to the figure of Fortune to balance the unfurled sail which she holds in her right hand. This solution, which he retained in all subsequent versions, including the final one in Albany, underwent a series of adjustments in the next three sketches. It is also important to note that this is the first drawing where we have any indication of the color Hunt would use for this mural. The dominant colors are the light blue used in the left-hand section of sky and the blue-green of the ocean.

The next is a charcoal sketch (fig. 83) in which the left-hand side of the drawing is either missing or was not completed. This hurried sketch, in which the focus is again on the relationship between Columbus and Fortune, is nearer the finished painting. Here in quick outline Columbus is shown confidently astride the boat as it rides a large wave. Fortune, placed decidedly below the figure of Columbus, is drawn in the position she will assume in Albany--her right knee bent, her left

hand holding the tiller, right arm upraised with the sail caught around her wrist, and wings extending from her back.

It is assumed that the next sketch, known from a photograph in the Octagon Museum (fig. 84), follows chronologically because Hunt worked out the composition within an outline that has a scalloped bottom. However, the figures and their relationship to one another are not as clearly shown as in the previous drawing. Yet, a second sketch which also has a scalloped bottom (fig. 85) is very close to the final version. The most important change which Hunt makes in this, as well as subsequent versions, is that the boat is placed more parallel to the picture plane. By doing this the entire composition is extended across the bottom of the painting. What adds interest to this particular drawing are the sketches, which Hunt drew below the scalloped outline, of various figures most prominently those of Hope and Science.

The next two works are painted studies set in carved frames similar to those of The Flight of Night mentioned above. In fact The Discoverer (fig. 86), owned by the Museum of Fine Arts and done in oil on panel, is a companion piece to the Flight of Night (fig. 74). This painting and another framed sketch in watercolor owned by the Madison Art Gallery, Madison Wisconsin can almost be considered replicas of the final painting and are valuable because they are in color.²⁰ The dominant tone is the blue-green of the sea upon which waves are realistically depicted. Light pink clouds that rise from the horizon on the left give way to a clear blue sky around the figure of Columbus and then darken into gray turbulence on the right behind the figure of Fortune.²¹

In addition to these replicas there are several photographs of the underdrawing (fig. 87) and finished work (fig. 88) taken in 1878 from the scaffold. There are also color photographs (figs. 89 and 90) taken ten years ago by Dan Kushel of the New York State Historical Society in Cooperstown of the remaining figures of Columbus and Fortune. While these give added resonance to the photographs taken in 1878, the murals are now so covered with grime and concealed above a false ceiling, that it is impossible to assess their true color values or their impact on the decoration as a whole.

Other works related to The Discoverer that have been located are a series of details of the various figures, some of which were exhibited in 1879 and others of which were reproduced as Copley prints in 1898. Those of Faith (fig. 91), Hope (fig. 92), Science (fig. 93) and the Discoverer (fig. 94) are only known from photographs in the Octagon Museum. However, the image of Fortune, like that of Anahita, was done in various sizes and media and is now in several different collections. These include three large-scale versions, one in charcoal at the Museum of Fine Arts (fig. 95), the second in oil at the Cleveland Museum (fig. 96), the third, also oil, at the Jeffrey Alan Gallery, New York (fig. 97). Two other smaller versions are both the same size. One is a pencil sketch on paper at the Fogg Art Museum (fig. 98), the other is in oil at the Metropolitan Museum, (fig. 99) and a companion to its version of Anahita called Night (fig. 76).

As noted earlier, the primary source for Hunt's Flight of Night is

the poem "Anahita" given to him by his brother Leavitt, in what was, according to Knowlton, a translation from the Persian.²² Leavitt had developed an interest in languages as a teenager and in the late 1840s, when he was in Heidelberg studying law, he continued his research.²³ At the time Germany was the center for the study of philology, particularly the languages of the Orient.²⁴ However, the source of the poem has not been found, although it may be a translation of a poem by one of the Sufi poets Saadi or Hafiz, Persian poets admired particularly by Ralph Waldo Emerson, or it may have been inspired by psalms from the sacred books of Zoroaster, the Zend Avesta.

The Sufi poets were famous in Persia between the eleventh and fourteenth centuries when the country was ruled by Islam. The most famous of these were Omár Kháyyám (active in the eleventh century), Muslih-ud-Din known as Saadi (1184?-1291), and Shams ud-din Mohammed known as Hafiz (d.1389?). Today Omár Kháyyám is the best known, however, his most famous work, "The Rubáiyát," was not available in translation until 1859. However, the latter two, Saadi and Hafiz, had been translated into German early in the century by Joseph von Hammer whose translations were consulted by Emerson.²⁵ Emerson's interest in the Orient has been documented by Arthur Christy, and the Persian poems which Emerson translated, as well as his own poetry which they inspired, were often about the transiency of life and love with references to nature, the passage of time, and the fickleness of Fortune.²⁶ Some of these sentiments are found in "Anahita," but it also contains elements that may have been inspired by the Zend Avesta.

Before turning to an investigation of this source it is appropriate to explain who Anahita is. Originally a water goddess in the Zoroastrian pantheon, over the millennia she was adopted by many cultures and her persona changed. By the end of the nineteenth century she was described by Knowlton as: "Anahita, Anaea, or Anaitis, the nature-goddess whom the Persians borrowed from the Babylonians, and whom the Greeks identified with Aphrodite, Artemis and Hera."²⁷

Anahita was a relative late-comer to her role as a principal deity of the Zoroastrian religion. Zoroaster was a priest and prophet who lived in eastern Persia sometime between 1700 and 1500 B.C., who through divine revelation communicated with the ancient Indo-Iranian god Ahura Mazda, the Lord of Wisdom. The spread of Zoroastrianism was accelerated by two invading nations: the Medes in the ninth century B.C.; the Persians in the tenth. During the Achaemenian period Zoroastrianism became a state religion, and Artaxerxes II, in the early fourth century B.C., established a new pantheon which included Anahita along with Mithra and Ahura Mazda. These changes were explained by Mary Boyce in her recent book on Zoroastrians:

Other developments in Zoroastrianism which can be identified as Persian innovations affected the pantheon. One was the assimilation of an alien goddess, presumably Assyro-Babylonian Ishtar, the Lady of planet Venus, and of love and war, whose cult had absorbed that of various mother-goddesses. According to Herodotus (I.131) the Persians had learnt to sacrifice to this 'Heavenly Goddess', whom later Greek writers named 'Aphrodite Anaitis' or simply 'Anaitis'. Plainly the royal family, however sincere in their conversion to Zoroastrianism, clung to the worship of this alien divinity, but equally plainly the Zoroastrian priests could not countenance her direct acceptance among the spenta beings [those who had the power to aid] declared worthy of worship by their prophet. The influence of the

imperial house being very great, a compromise seems to have been reached. . . . This king [Artaxerxes II] broke with tradition of his predecessors by invoking, not Ahuramazda alone, but 'Ahuramazda, Anahita and Mithra.'²⁸

From the sixth to the fourth centuries, during the era of the Persian conquests, Anahita's cult was transmitted to Asia Minor and Greece. Here, according to von Hammer-Purgstall, shrines and temples were built for her worship.²⁹ However, without exception these shrines are in remote areas and in poor condition with little or no decoration, and therefore are not sources for Hunt's murals. In the second and third centuries A.D., Mithraism an offshoot of Zoroastrianism spread West into Rome and northern Europe, but the cult died with the advent of Christianity. Most of what is known today about this cult has been pieced together through a study of antique bas-reliefs found throughout Europe on which Mithra is depicted slaying the sacrificial bull. Although these reliefs were known earlier, the cataloguing and scholarly study of them began in the nineteenth century.

The first translation of the Zend Avesta was by the French scholar Anquetil-Duperron in 1771; the first English translation was by Arthur Henry Bleek in 1864.³⁰ The set of prayers dedicated to the goddess Ardivi Sura Anahita is called the "Aban Yast." Interestingly enough, although she is acknowledged as the goddess of waters, the images evoked are of a goddess driving through the sky in a chariot. For instance in the beginning of the prayer she is "[the one] who drives forward in her chariot, holding the reins of the chariot. She goes driving, on this chariot longing for men and thinking thus in her heart: 'Who will praise me? . . .'" Her chariot is driven by four white horses who represent

different natural elements: "the wind, the rain, the cloud, and the sleet--and thus ever upon the earth it is raining, snowing, hailing, and sleeting. . . ." Anahita herself is described as "a maid, fair of body, most strong, tall-formed, high-girded, pure nobly born of a glorious race. . . . Upon her head Ardvi Sura Anahita bound a golden crown, with a hundred stars, with light rays. . . ." Near the end of the prayer Anahita is beseeched to descend to earth: "through the strength of this sacrifice, of this invocation, O Ardvi Sura Anahita! Come down from those stars, towards the earth made by Ahura. . . ."31

While the poem "Anahita" can be said to reflect both sources--Sufi poetry and the Zend Avesta--research into the poem itself has revealed an enormous interest in Zoroastrianism in the nineteenth century in Europe, the United States and in Boston. Following publication of Anquetil-Duperron's translation, knowledge of Zoroastrianism immediately entered the art, thought, and literature of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. One of the earliest references to Zoroaster's historical importance was in Edward Gibbon's The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (1776-1787). Gibbon included a discussion of Zoroastrianism in volume one and described the dualistic nature of the religion: "The principle of good [Ohrmazd] is eternal absorbed in light, the principle of evil [Ahriman] eternally buried in darkness."32

One of the earliest references in art to Zoroaster is Mozart's The Magic Flute written in 1791. While this is not to suggest that The Magic Flute was a source for Hunt's mural, the evolution of the chief protagonist, Sarastro, into what the musicologist Ernest Newman refers

to as "the wisest of beings, the analogue of that Zoroaster from whom his operatic name seems to have been derived," is an early example of how the image of Zoroaster was understood.³³ Furthermore, the figure of Sarastro's adversary, the Queen of the Night, was also an appellation given to Hunt's Anahita.

Interest in Persian poetry and the legend of Zoroaster reached its height during the Romantic era. References to the Near East and Zoroaster can be found in Lord Byron's "Childe Harold", Book III (1809-1817); William Wordsworth's "The Excursion," Book IV (1814); Thomas Moore's "Lalla Rookh" (1817); Percy Bysshe Shelley's "Prometheus Unbound" (1819); and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's Parsee Nameh, West-ostlicher Diwan (1819). Most importantly, however, for the appearance and understanding of Hunt's mural was the interest in the Boston area, beginning in the early 1830s, in Persian poetry and Zoroastrianism. Christy in his book supplies an annotated bibliography of books, mostly European, that were available in Boston to which Emerson and his friends had access. In addition to Gibbon's History, von Hammer's anthology of Persian poetry and Anquetil's translation of the Zend Avesta, Emerson and others such as Thoreau and Amos Bronson Alcott, read Sir William Jones Works (six volumes of translations from Oriental literature [1799]), Thomas Taylor's Iamblichus on the Mysteries of the Egyptians, Chaldeans and Assyrians (1821), and The Phenix; a Collection of Old and Rare Fragments, which included J.P. Cory's translation "The Oracles of Zoroaster" (1835).

These European texts as well as the new study of comparative

mythology were popularized in Boston by Thomas Bulfinch with the publication in 1855 of his Age of Fable or Beauties of Mythology. He dedicated his book to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow who himself had a large library of Oriental literature.³⁴ In his book, Bulfinch summarized the known information about Zoroaster and his teachings. Bulfinch's account became well-known and his description may have inspired Clarence Cook in his discussion of The Flight of Night. According to Bulfinch:

Zoroaster taught the existence of a supreme being, who created two other mighty beings and imparted to them as much of his own nature as seemed good to him. Of these, Ohrmazd (called by the Greeks Oromasdes) remained faithful to his creator, and was regarded as the source of all good, while Ahriman (Arimanes) rebelled, and became the author of evil on earth. Ohrmazd created man and supplied him with all the materials of happiness; but Ahriman marred this happiness by introducing evil into the world, . . . In consequence of this evil and good are now mingled together in every part of the world, and the followers of good and evil--and adherents of Ohrmazd and Ahriman--carry on incessant war. But this state of things will not last forever. The time will come when the adherents of Ohrmazd shall every where be victorious and Ahriman and his followers be consigned to darkness forever.³⁵

Bulfinch continued his discussion by describing the rites of the Zoroastrians, their history in Asia, and cited the earlier Romantic poets Wordsworth, Byron, and Moore who referred to Zoroastrianism in their work.

In the middle of the century interest in Zoroastrianism became more scientific as research into the origins of the faith grew in Germany, England and France. In the early 1870s, these new researches were reflected in the work of two prominent Bostonians, the scholar John Fiske, and the Unitarian clergyman, John Freeman Clarke. Fiske was a

historian, philologist and scholar of enormous erudition. Excerpts from his book Myths and Mythmakers (1872) were published serially in the The Atlantic Monthly in late 1871 and early 1872. It is in Fiske's writings that the association between Zoroastrian and dualism, as opposed to Christian monotheism, is made. This principle of dualism underlies most interpretations of Hunt's murals since The Flight of Night was thought to represent the rout of barbarism and evil while its pendant The Discoverer represented the arrival of civilization and good. As is true of most nineteenth-century writing on philology proper nouns are often interchangeable:

In the Zendavesta the myth of Hercules and Cacus has given rise to a vast system of theology. The fiendish Panis are concentrated in Ahriman or Anro-mainyas, whose name signifies the 'spirit of darkness,' and who carries on a perpetual warfare against Ohrmazd or Ahuramazda, who is described by his ordinary surname, Spento-mainyas, as the 'spirit of light.' The ancient polytheism from what in many Christian sects has passed current as monotheism. Ahriman is the archfiend, who struggles with Ohrmazd, not for the possession of a herd of perishable cattle, but for the dominion of the universe. Ohrmazd creates the world pure and beautiful, but Ahriman comes after him and creates everything that is evil in it. He not only keeps the earth covered with darkness during half the day, and withholds the rain and destroys the crops, but he is the author of all evil thoughts and the instigator of all wicked actions.³⁶

Clarke wrote on Zoroastrianism in his Ten Great Religions which was first published in 1871--the same year Hunt painted his portrait. Also, Clarke's daughter Lilian was a student of Hunt's. The first six chapters of Clarke's book--like Fiske's writings--had been published three years earlier in the Atlantic Monthly.³⁷

Chapter Five of Clarke's book is devoted to "Zoroaster and the Zend

Avesta," and in it Clarke summarized contemporary research and included an extensive scholarly bibliography. An interest in comparative religions was central to a great a deal of thought among Unitarians at this time. The aspect which Clarke specifically focused on was the dualistic nature of Zoroastrianism since as Clarke stated it "was the most ancient system of Dualism."³⁸

Hunt's exposure to the dualistic thinking of many Bostonians--Emerson, Bulfinch, Fiske, and inescapably, Clarke--is central to an understanding of his murals. One of the most cogent expressions of contemporary dualism was Emerson's essay "Compensation," an essay cited by the European scholar Duchesne-Guillemin as reflecting the nineteenth century's rediscovery of Zoroastrianism.³⁹ As with most of his early essays, Emerson began with a poem in which images of day and night represent the polarities of life. Following his introduction he described all of life as a series of compensations:

Polarity, or action and reaction, we meet in every part of nature; in darkness and light; in heat and cold; in the ebb and flow of waters; in male and female; in the inspiration and expiration of plants and animals; in the equation of quantity and quality in the fluids of animal body; in the systole and diastole of the heart; in the undulations of fluids and of sound; in the centrifugal and centripetal gravity; in electricity, galvanism, and chemical affinity. Superinduce magnetism at one end of a needle the opposite magnetism takes place at the other end. If the south attracts, the north repels. To empty here, you must condense there. An inevitable dualism bisects nature, so that each thing is a half, and suggests another thing to make it whole; as, spirit, matter; man, woman,; odd, even; subjective, objective; in, out; upper, under; motion, rest; yea, nay.⁴⁰

What is suggested here is that the appearance of the Persian goddess,

Anahita, and the Italo-Hispanic Discoverer Columbus on the walls of the New York State Assembly reflected contemporary rationalistic thought current in Boston. This thought was reflected in the writings of Emerson and the teachings of Unitarianism. Hunt was himself a Unitarian and, as is characteristic of Unitarians in general, he was not, in the traditional sense, a religious man. However, the undogmatic, ethical basis of their faith makes it an appropriate philosophic context for public art. In general terms, Hunt's representation of Anahita, who can be seen as representative of one of the world's great religions, is his way of acknowledging the importance of religion in the affairs of man. However, reliance on traditional dogma is no longer sufficient, and in his accompanying mural The Discoverer, Science becomes the faith which controls the destiny of modern man, rather than blind Faith who hides her face in the sea.

Imbedded in this New England dualism is a related aspect of nineteenth-century thought which is the conflation of many images or associations into one work of art--be it painting, poetry, or architecture. This process is not well understood and has in the twentieth century been referred to derogatorily as eclecticism.⁴¹ The best definition of this movement, for this is how it was defined in the nineteenth century, is to be found in Russell Sturgis' three-volume A Dictionary of Architecture and Building published in 1902. There are two entries related to its definition, one by Van Brunt, the other by the English architect and writer, W.R. Lethaby.⁴² Van Brunt's was the more didactic, although both writers believed the eclectic movement

represented the moment before modernism. Lethaby's entry included in the section called, "Design," was titled, "Ancient Art and Modern Position." Being the younger of the two, he was less devoted to past styles but not yet willing to relinquish the tradition historical architecture represented. Van Brunt's entry is important for he made a distinction among the medievalists, the classicists and the eclectics:

Others, called the eclectics, proposing to meet the ever-varying conditions of modern use, materials, and methods with as little embarrassment as possible from strong predilections for any style, have considered that their whole inheritance of architectural form--Greek, Roman, Romanesque, Moresque, Medieval, and Renaissance, with all their innumerable variants--was equally at their service, to be drawn without prejudice or reserve, according to its present applicability. Their belief has been that arbitrary exclusions or inclusions in the use of precedents are not only narrow and irrational, but fruitless, because contrary to the scientific spirit; that the style of our times cannot be forced in any direction by theory, but must necessarily be subject⁴³ to the same conditions of evolution as our language.

It is within this larger intellectual context that involved the century's interest in comparative languages, comparative literature, comparative styles, comparative religion and comparative mythology, that the sources of Hunt's murals can best be understood. In addition, nineteenth-century eclecticism reflected a profound humanitarianism and search for common experience among all peoples, all ages, and cultures. While there are many examples which could be chosen, the Albany Statehouse with its adaptations from the Italian and French Renaissance, the German Romanesque and the Moorish Alhambra is a superb example of this attitude. If this conglomeration of international decorative details and materials is seen as a study in comparative architecture

rather than non-progressive eclecticism, its significance becomes clearer. Just as the sculptural decoration of medieval churches was the Bible of the illiterate, so too was nineteenth-century building a way to acknowledge the architectural contribution of all peoples, and to link Americans to a worldwide community.

This late nineteenth-century eclecticism is an outgrowth of the historicism of the Romantic era when interest in other peoples, other eras, and other cultures first developed. These subjects were regarded as exotic and treated with great imagination. Later in the century as the researches of the historians, archaeologists, and philologists became more scientific, better known and understood there was increasing acknowledgement of the common roots of all mankind. Most importantly it was understood that the Classical, Judeo-Christian tradition was just one of many systems of ethical thought and art. Some of the ways these late nineteenth-century developments were manifested in Europe, which have been exhaustively documented, were the influence of the Japanese print in Post-Impressionist painting and the art of primitive cultures on the art of the early Modernists.

To bring these concerns closer to Boston, Christy noted that Emerson referred to the Oriental prophets and Greek philosophers interchangeably: "In this instance [Emerson's poem "Brahma"], Greek and Hindu thought is in no way separated in Emerson's mind. Even in a detailed study of Plato as a representative man, Emerson weaves in passage after passage from the Hindus."⁴⁴ Similarly Hunt in his The Flight of Night created the figure of Anahita, an Oriental goddess, from

elements of the most familiar monuments of Western classicism.

In order to understand the process by which Hunt created his composition, it is necessary to begin with what is known, in other words, to begin with Guido Reni's Aurora (fig. 100, 1613-1614, Casino Rospigliosi, Rome). Guido's large rectangular fresco, surrounded by an ornate painted plaster frame, the centerpiece for a plain white vaulted ceiling in the Casino's main reception room, was the last gasp of classic restraint before the the extravagant excesses of later Italian Baroque painting during the Counter-Reformation.

Guido's painting as a source for Hunt's painting was acknowledged from the beginning (see footnote four), yet no one writing on Hunt has analyzed Hunt's indebtedness to Guido and the reasons why his painting might have been an important source for Hunt. In one sense Guido's Aurora is an appropriate model since with its frieze-like composition, antique references, and mythological subject matter, Aurora was a seventeenth-century summary of the classic tradition that was revived and revered throughout the nineteenth. Today, Guido's work is regarded as a cliché and it is difficult to view this work as an original beginning for Hunt's mural. Although Guido's composition is reversed, there is no other source that is as convincing in its complete adaptation by Hunt. Apollo in his chariot, pulled by four multi-colored horses led by a female personification of dawn towards dark clouds of receding night at the right, with a putto flying overhead carrying a lighted torch, are the same elements found in Hunt's Flight of Night.

Guido, an Italian Baroque painter and contemporary of the Carracci, (who were referred to as the Eclectics) was, up until the second half of the nineteenth century, esteemed second only to Raphael for his draftsmanship and classicism.⁴⁵ In the United States he was extremely popular. Engraved reproductions and painted copies by American artists such as John Gadsby Chapman, George Peter Alexander Healy, and Charles Robert Leslie were commissioned and exhibited regularly at the Boston Athenaeum.⁴⁶

It may be that Hunt was also influenced by Guercino's Aurora done in 1623 for the Casino Ludovisi which historically has been linked to Guido's Aurora. In Guercino's work the frame has been abandoned and architectural illusionism fully exploited to create the impression that the viewer is looking not at a ceiling but into the open air. At an early stage in the development of his composition, Hunt abandoned a frieze-like composition for one of great spaciousness. This interest in the representation of space may have been influenced by Guercino, but Hunt in the nineteenth century did not give way to pure illusionism. Through the close-up representation of a cloud-filled environment, Hunt implied rather than represented deep spatial recession, and thereby avoided the effect of seeming to create a 'window' in the planar surface of the wall. It should be noted that Guercino's ceiling decoration of Aurora was extended down the wall by a representation of Night. However, it bears no compositional similarity to Hunt's Flight of Night for Guercino's painting is limited to two figures, a seated female figure of Night, and a dozing, reclining figure of a young child as Sleep. They

are both pictured in an underground grotto through whose broken ceiling the horses of Aurora can be seen flying overhead.

However, it is evident from a study of all available sketches that Hunt never abandoned this initial compositional framework, be it Guido's or Guercino's. What changed and became more refined were the details of his painting that were drawn from a variety of sources. For instance, a possible source for Anahita's plunging horses led by a guide with an inverted torch is one of several bas-reliefs of the Sacrifice of Mithra. While this, like other sources of Hunt's, seems obscure and esoteric, these reliefs were well-known in the nineteenth century and prized objects in various collections in Germany, France and Italy.

The cult of Mithra, as mentioned earlier, was an outgrowth of Zoroastrianism in the early centuries of the Roman Empire, and interest in his cult in the nineteenth century paralleled that in Zoroastrianism. What is of particular importance is that most of the research on Mithra focused on the identification of European monuments dedicated to his worship, and became known through the publications by von Hammer-Purgstall (1833), and the German scholar Friedrich Creuzer. Creuzer, an eminent philologist and archaeologist, was associated with the University of Heidelberg for about forty five years until his death in 1858. His first work on Mithraism was included in 1825 as Symbolik und Mythologie der alten volker besonders der griechen (which was translated into French in 1841 as Religions de l'antiquité considérées principalement dans leurs formes symbolique et mythologiques).⁴⁷ Creuzer also published in 1838 a short report on the Mithraea, the cult's

underground grottos, of Germany in his Das Mithræum von Neuenheim bei Heidelberg.⁴⁸ Félix Lajard, a highly regarded French scholar who died before all his research on Mithraism was published, wrote an overview on the cult in 1847 called Introduction à l'étude du culte public et des mystères de Mithra en Orient et en Occident.⁴⁹ These researches were reorganized and up-dated at the end of the century by the French scholar Franz Cumont, in his monumental Textes et Monuments Figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra, 1896-1899.⁵⁰ Their writings explained the cult of Mithra and made these monuments well-known.

There are two particular Mithra reliefs that may relate to The Flight of Night. One is in the Villa Albani, Rome (fig. 101). The other, formerly in the Villa Borghese, is now in the Louvre (fig. 102). The central theme of both reliefs, Mithra performing the ritual sacrifice of the bull, is not found in Hunt's mural but in these, and most other renderings of Mithra, two elements are included: representations of the sun and the moon and two torch-bearers--one who holds an upright torch, the other who holds an inverted torch. In the background of the Borghese relief these representations are combined. On the left a caped nude male figure rides in a quadriga that is led by a putto who holds a torch aloft. On the right a female figure in a chariot with two horses is led by a nude putto whose torch is inverted and concealed or extinguished. In the Albani relief the action is more symbolic. Mithra's slaying of the bull is still the central theme, but the torch bearers now flank him, and day and night are represented as the sun and moon in two corner rondels at the top of the relief. It is suggested

that Hunt borrowed these motifs--the torch-bearer and the chariot--characteristic of Mithraic reliefs, for his painting of Anahita. As it turns out these Mithraic reliefs carved with skill and sophistication by artists trained in the Graeco-Roman tradition are the only pictorial representations relative to Zoroastrianism to be found in Europe.⁵¹ In the nineteenth century this would have been additional evidence of the common roots between the East and the West.

In addition to these early Roman reliefs of Mithra, Hunt was influenced by the innumerable representations of Apollos, Artemises and Dianas in chariots from all periods in vase paintings, cameos, bas-reliefs, murals and easel paintings which he could have seen. It was mentioned in Chapter One that Hunt and his sister were interested in the antique and visited all the galleries of Rome. Similarly, his brother Richard steeped himself in architecture of the antique and the Renaissance. In this way the Hunts were no different from their contemporaries, American as well as European. Familiarity with and interest in classical antiquities remained undiminished from the time of the Renaissance. In addition, collections of these antiquities--statues, bas-reliefs, cameos, coins, and gems--were illustrated in multi-volumed catalogues. One of the most famous and popular of these catalogues of antiquities was organized by the French scholar Abbe Bernard de Montfaucon. His five-volume L'Antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures was published between 1719 and 1724. In this work, which is not as well-known today as Cesar Ripa's Iconologia (1593), Montfaucon reproduced actual antiquities to illustrate the traditional attributes,

poses, and associations of mythological stories, personifications and allegories. This is an important aid for nineteenth-century iconographic research since Montfaucon's book is organized not by artist, era or country but by type. Beginning with the Greek and Roman gods in order of the history of their origin, Montfaucon reproduced as many known monuments as were available to illustrate the history, attributes, etc. of the gods and goddesses of classical antiquity. In Book Four there is a section titled, "ou il est parle de la Nuit, des dieux Nocturnes, de Mithras, des Nymphes and d'un grand nombre d'autres dieux des Grecs et des Romains." From a study of the plates associated with this section one realizes that there was a large repertoire of images available to artists for the representation of personifications such as Night or Day, and that Mithra in particular was often associated with these representations.

This book and the others like it provide important clues as to how these images were transferred and often transformed from one generation to the next. In many cases these references became so commonplace in the nineteenth century that their original source is obscure. This is not to make a case for Hunt consulting Montfaucon but rather that the attributes which Hunt included in his image of night were well known in the nineteenth century. In this respect, the seated figure of the Persian goddess, Anahita, also stands for Aphrodite, Artemis and even in this writer's view, Athena. For instance, one source for the head of Anahita is the Roman copy of the Athena Lemnia by Praxiteles in the Museo Civico, Bologna. There is a photograph of a drawing of Anahita

reproduced in Knowlton's book that is now in the Octagon Museum (fig. 103). On the back of this drawing is the notation: "Study in charcoal for original picture of Anahita, not the one used in the Albany picture." This is a curious notation since no reason is given as to why Hunt abandoned this specific rendering; however, the importance of the drawing is its relationship to the Athena Lemnia. In its own way this sculpture was as popular and beloved as Guido's Aurora. Both Hunt's sketch and the sculpture are of Athena's head. The same withdrawn, classic repose is found in both. Hunt's is enlivened by the addition of eyes which in the sculpture are vacant spaces. In Hunt's drawing the goddess' hair is tied around the crown of her head in the same manner as in the classic sculpture.

Other classical allusions abound for Anahita, as well as for her pendant the standing, half-nude figure of Fortune which might have been inspired by any number of famous antique models including the Aphrodite from Melos at the Louvre, the Aphrodite of Knidos, a Roman copy after Praxiteles at the Vatican Museum, or the Amazon, a Roman copy of a sculpture by Phidias, now in Hadrian's Villa near Tivoli. These and other antique sources, such as the seated fourth-century Tyche from Antioch at the Vatican Museum, may have served for the representation of Anahita as well.

In addition to his own travels and illustrated catalogues of antique sculpture there is another source which has not been well-documented nor well researched, and that is the influence of plaster casts in the creation of art in the nineteenth century. It is known that Richard

Hunt's studio was filled with them, as was Hunt's, and they were common in most artist's ateliers. Later in the century no self-respecting museum or art-school was without them.⁵² However, which casts Hunt or his brother may have had, or even which casts were popular with artists at mid-century is not known. One set of casts it is known Hunt referred to are casts of Michelangelo's sculptures, Night and Day executed by Horatio Greenough in the late 1830s for Thomas H. Perkins. They were exhibited at the Boston Athenaeum between 1839 and 1847 and then between 1851 and 1854. They were then given permanently to the Athenaeum at the time of Perkins's death in 1855.⁵³ According to Knowlton, one of these, Day, was referred to by Hunt when he was working on the figure of the sleeping mother: "While in Boston for a day or two, he was found keenly absorbing Michael Angelo's Day, studying the turn and foreshortening of the foot, which caught his eye and seemed to remind him of the foot of the sleeping mother in his own Flight of Night."⁵⁴ There is also a memory of another sculpture by Michelangelo seen in the seated pose and contrapposto position of Anahita--his Moses done for the Tomb of Pope Julius II.

Of three different groups in the The Flight of Night--the plunging horses and dusky guide, the seated figure of Anahita, and the floating image of Sleep and Repose sheltered by a drapery held by a flying putto--it is the latter which seems the least tied to a classical model. If anything it stems from either Baroque painting or a variety of nineteenth-century sources. These latter may be sculptural such as Thorwaldsen's relief of Night (fig. 104), or painted such as Millet's

The Shooting Stars (fig. 105). However, these contemporary images were themselves recreations of ancient classical sources. Which brings us to the difficult problem of assigning contemporary sources for Hunt's Flight of Night. In many ways it and its companion The Discoverer are unique images and, has been said, Hunt's borrowings are in reality confluences of many sources. Similarly, the contemporary artists Delacroix, Millet, Couture and Barye whom others such as Adams and Boime see as influencing Hunt all had a common commitment to the modernization of the humanistic old-master tradition of the past.⁵⁵

For instance, Antoine-Louis Barye, with whom both William and Richard studied briefly in the late 1840s, was Keeper of the Antique Casts at the Louvre.⁵⁶ At mid-century, Barye was the most important animalier in Europe, and, according to Adams, may have advised Hunt on the modeling of his horses for The Flight of Night.⁵⁷ However, Barye's highly naturalistic bronze sculptures done in the round and on a small scale seem less related to Hunt's relief than Barye's commitment, like that of Delacroix and Millet, to the European classical tradition. Barye came into contact with tradition not only through his study at the École des Beaux-Arts but also through his early introduction to the great catalogues of antique sculpture.⁵⁸ Glenn Benge, in a biographical sketch on Barye in the recently published catalogue of nineteenth-century French sculpture The Romantics to Rodin, noted that: "In the École des Beaux-Arts, the basis of Barye's commitment to the European classic artistic tradition was formed. Even the most Romantic, realistic bronzes of animals of this later career reflect his thorough

assimilation of classical prototypes."⁵⁹

However, the sources Hunt used for The Discoverer are different from those for The Flight of Night, and initially the subjects seem unrelated. The way Hunt does connect them is through a literary rather than a visual association. In fact, it seems that Hunt relied more on the former for most of his allegory.

As far as is known, most of the work on The Discoverer was done in 1878. Even if there is an early drawing as stated by Knowlton and Angell, it is singular. In the first of a series of drawings (fig. 78) the individual elements of the allegory are not well-defined. However, as is the case for The Flight of Night, the over-all compositional scheme--two figures in boat on a open expanse of water surrounded by floating figures at the prow--found even in this rudimentary drawing, was retained by Hunt in all subsequent versions. It is tempting therefore to look for a single compositional source, like Guido's Aurora, for Hunt's allegory of discovery.

A clue is found in the word allegory itself for after an exhaustive review of paintings based on the Columbus theme done in the nineteenth century it is apparent that Hunt's was one of the few that was allegorical rather than historical. In this regard, one possibility exists, and while it is not a documented source in the same manner as Aurora, its allegorical nature, history and Hunt's possible knowledge of it, makes it a suggestive contender. This source is a drawing titled

The Triumph of Columbus (fig. 106) that was housed in the Ducal Palace in Genoa and was reputed to be by Columbus himself.⁶⁰ As was mentioned earlier, Hunt and his wife during their second European trip spent several days in Genoa. While there she noted in her diary that: "One feels that the Genoese are sailors by birth and appreciates that Christopher Columbus could not have come from a better place."⁶¹ Although she does not mention the Columbus drawing specifically, the guidebook she used, Murray's Handbook for travelers in Northern Italy, stated that in the Ducal Palace there "is a marble pedestal, on which stands a bust of Columbus, and in a recess under it a box containing some interesting MSS. of that great navigator."⁶² It is assumed that the drawing was among these manuscripts and that there is a good probability that she and Hunt saw it. This probability, however, is not sufficient to claim it as an influential source. But like the pervasive interest in Zoroastrianism in New England, this particular drawing was known in Boston at the time Hunt was working on his murals. It was reproduced and its history described in some detail by Justin Winsor in his multi-volumed Narrative and Critical History of America published between 1884 and 1889. Winsor reproduced it a second time in his two-volume work Christopher Columbus published in 1891 which was dedicated to Francis Parkman. Later this drawing was reproduced in Nestor Ponce de Leon's The Columbus Gallery published in 1893 to commemorate the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition.

There is only circumstantial evidence that Hunt and Winsor might have known each other. Justin Winsor (1831-1897) was a contemporary of

Hunt's who in the late nineteenth century was America's leading cartographer and in 1877 was appointed the Librarian for Harvard College. Earlier, in the 1850s, it was noted that he went to Europe in 1852 and "spent two years, mainly in Paris and Heidelberg, studying French and German."⁶³

The most persuasive aspect of this drawing as a basic source for Hunt's The Discoverer, however, is the composition itself. In this sketchily rendered drawing Columbus is seated in the center of of a small boat surrounded in the water and the air by various personifications. Beside him in the boat a helmeted figure of Providence holds the sail. These figures were identified by Winsor: "Envy and Ignorance are hinted at as monsters following in his wake; while Constancy, Tolerance, the Christian Religion, Victory and Hope attend him. Above all is the floating figure of Fame blowing two trumpets, one marked 'Genoa,' the other 'Fama Columbi.'⁶⁴ The elements Hunt retained, as well as the changes he made, in his possible adaptation of this drawing are instructive. First of all, he seemingly adapted the overall composition in toto, including its right-to-left orientation. He also retained the same small boat but placed the secondary figure, Providence-now-Fortune who still holds the sail, in the stern. He eliminated the figures of Envy and Ignorance and conflated those of Constancy, Tolerance, the Christian religion, Victory and Hope into three modern virtues—Faith, Hope and Science.

Although there are few allegorical paintings based on the Columbus legend, there are nineteenth-century epic poems that evoke Hunt's

painting. Early in the century, an American writer and public official, Joel Barlow, wrote two long poems in which Columbus is depicted as a modern-day Aeneas. The first written in 1787 was a poetic celebration of America titled "The Vision of Columbus" that he expanded and republished in 1807 as "The Columbiad," a change in title which prompts the association to both "The Aeneid" and "The Iliad." By modeling his poem on these lauded examples of classic epic, Barlow created what he called a "fictitious narrative" in which Columbus's thoughts and actions were guided by the beneficent deity Hesper. Furthermore, the first two lines of "The Columbiad" are an almost literal translation of Virgil's beginning of the Aeneid: "I sing the Mariner who first unfurl'd an eastern banner o'er western world"⁶⁵

In addition to Barlow's two poems, the English Romantic poet Samuel Rogers also wrote an epic on the theme of Columbus titled, "The Voyage of Columbus." First published in 1810, it was included in his collected works that were published in Boston in 1854 and again in New York in 1871. Rogers claimed that his poem was based on a translation of an original manuscript in the Castilian language which "was found among other mss. in an old religious house near Palos, situated on an island formed by the river Tinto, and dedicated of our Lady of Rabida."⁶⁶

The Columbus of Rogers's epic is also guided by supernatural forces, and, in addition, the poem is filled with recurring images of day and night, moon and sun:

"Twice the Moon filled her silver urn with light.
Then from the Throne an Angel winged his flight.
He, who unfixed the compass, and assigned

O'er the wild waves a pathway to the wind;
Who, while approached by none but Spirits pure,
Wrought, in his progress thro' the dread obscure,
Signs like the ethereal bow--that shall endure!
As he descended through the upper air,
Day broke on day as God Himself were there!
Before the great Discoverer, laid to rest,
He stood, and thus his secret soul addressed."⁶⁷

While there is no reference to any of these writers--Barlow, Rogers or Virgil--in conjunction with Hunt, these images of a lone mariner braving the unknown seas aided by mythical spirits pervades Hunt's painting.

Another literary source is Washington Irving, A History of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus.⁶⁸ Like Roger's poem, Irving's narrative was based on his translation of original documents assembled by the seventeenth century Spanish scholar, Martin Fernandez de Navarrete in Madrid. Irving's book was immensely popular in the United States and Europe and was the source for most nineteenth-century paintings of Columbus including two by Delacroix--Christopher Columbus at the Convent of Santa Maria de Rabida (1838) and Christopher Columbus Returning from the New World (1839)--and at least eight paintings by Hunt's friend, Emanuel Leutze. English artists, such as Sir David Wilkie and Charles Robert Leslie, also did paintings on the Columbus theme in the 1830s. In the United States, Columbus was an appropriate subject for artworks in the United States Capitol. The painter John Vanderlyn created a large-scale painting, Landing of Columbus (1839-1846), and the sculptor Randolph Rogers a set of bronze doors with nine incidents from Columbus's life (1855-1863), both for the Rotunda. By the late 1850s, Columbus's history was well-known and the incidents selected by

Rogers—Columbus Before the Council of Salamanca, Columbus's Departure from the Convent of Rabida, Audience at the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella, Departure of Columbus from Palos, Landing of Columbus in the New World, Columbus's First Encounter with the Indians, Entry of Columbus into Barcelona, Columbus in Chains and Death of Columbus—represented the most popular.

However, the aspect of Irving's history reflected in Hunt's mural is not his anecdotes, but his description of Columbus's genius and vision. These are expressed throughout the book, and summarized in the last chapter, "Observations on the Character of Columbus."

To his intellectual vision it was given to read the signs of the times, and to trace in the conjectures and reveries of past ages the indications of an unknown world, as soothsayers were said to read predictions in the stars, and to foretell events from the visions of the night. 'His soul,' observes a Spanish writer, 'was superior to the age in which he lived. For him was reserved the great enterprise of traversing a sea which had given rise to so many fables, and of deciphering the mystery of his age.'⁶⁹

More influential perhaps than Irving's narrative description of Columbus's self-sacrifice, bravery and egoism, was Emerson's essay on heroism published in 1841:

There is something not philosophic in heroism; there is somewhat not holy in it; it seems not known that other souls are of one texture with it; it is the extreme of individual nature. Nevertheless we must profoundly revere it. There is somewhat in great actions which does not allow us to go behind them. Heroism feels and never reasons, and therefore is always right; and although a different breeding, different religion and greater intellectual activity would have modified or even reversed the particular action, yet for the hero that thing he does is the highest deed, and is not open to the censure of philosophers or divines. . . . Heroism is an obedience to a secret impulse of an individual's character. . . . That country is fairest which

is inhabited by the noblest minds. The pictures which fill the imagination in reading the actions of Pericles, Xenophon, Columbus, Bayard, Sidney, Hampden, teach us how needlessly mean our life is; that we, by the depth of our living should deck it with more than regal or national splendor, and act on principles that should interest man and nature in the length of our days.⁷⁰

Overall, Hunt's painting The Discoverer is a persuasive illustration of all these nineteenth-century literary sources. However, Hunt faced a problem which was how to link this allegory of the explorer/hero Columbus to the Persian goddess Anahita? The answer lies in the many separate studies he did of Fortune and Anahita. In the poem "Anahita" the goddess is not linked to any incident from Zoroastrian mythology but is described in general terms as a goddess of both the night and the moon. In two of his early sketches, Hunt depicted Anahita first "with silvery wings" (fig. 65) and then in another version "enthroned upon her car of light" (fig. 67). In his final version, however, Anahita had neither wings nor car, but is seated on a crescent moon. This change is significant, for just as Hunt altered and enlarged the figure of Fortune in his Columbus mural, so too did he alter and transform the figure of Anahita. Furthermore, there are many individual paintings of these two figures including a pair of oil sketches at the Metropolitan Museum titled Night and Fortune (figures 76 & 99). This pairing suggests that through these two figures Hunt found a way to connect his two murals.

Traditionally, these two deities, Fortune and Luna (as the figure of Anahita was referred to by Hunt's contemporaries) have been linked since antiquity when both were seen as the forces which capriciously control man's destiny. According to Howard Patch in his book The Goddess

Fortune in Medieval Literature: "Because Fortuna has a dual nature, she is often equated with Luna since the moon is considered ever changing, a tradition established in antiquity."⁷¹ The moon controls time; Fortune controls destiny. For instance, in the "Carmina Burana," a collection of thirteenth-century secular poems rediscovered in the early years of the nineteenth, the rise and fall of Fortune's wheel was compared to the waning and waxing of the moon: "O Fortuna variable as the moon, always dost thou wax and wane."

Hunt's friend Elihu Vedder also used images of Fortune repeatedly, as well as images of the sun, moon and stars.⁷² In one of Vedder's earliest representations of Fortune, painted in 1877, he included her traditional attributes—dice, cards, keys and money. Hunt's image, however, has different attributes—a sail and tiller. This is the Fortune of Mariners who controls the forces of the wind and the sea, and by extension the destiny of man. As noted by Patch, this was an extremely popular and important image of Fortune in the middle ages: "The sea-figure, comparing life to a sea and one's career to a vessel of which Fortune is in charge, is used with such great frequency in discussions of the work of Fortune that it becomes a theme of unusual importance."⁷³

Another key to both Hunt's and Vedder's interest in the images of fortune and astral imagery is Persian poetry, in Vedder's case particularly "The Rubáiyat of Omár Kháyyám." Vedder was commissioned in the early 1880s to illustrate a deluxe edition of Edward FitzGerald's translation and it was such a success that, according to Jane

Dillenberger in the catalogue Perceptions and Evocations: The Art of Elihu Vedder, "it was impossible to think of Omár Kháyyám without the images of Vedder."⁷⁴ "The Rubáiyát's" influence on Hunt is less direct but it can be found in the poem's references to the transiency of life, the flight of time and man's unknown destiny. The opening stanzas of "The Rubáiyát" are, in a sense, a variant on the earlier translation of the poem "Anahita."

"Wake! for the Sun, who scattered into flight
The Stars before him from the Field of Night,
Drives Night along with them from Heav'n, and strikes
The Sultan's Turret with a Shaft of Light."⁷⁵

These underlying intellectual currents--Persian poetry, Zoroastrianism and dualism--are further reflected in contemporary descriptions of Hunt's murals.

When Hunt's murals were unveiled in January 1879, they were well received by the public and critics alike. However, writers differed in their interpretations; some saw them as an allegory of the triumph of civilization, others as illustrating the battle between good and evil, still others were undecided as to their meaning and were content with describing them. It is interesting to note, however, that although none of them were sure of their meaning--including Clarence Cook, Van Brunt and Montgomery Schuyler who, writing for Scribner's Magazine in December, 1879, quoted Van Brunt's description--none were critical of Hunt's choice of subjects.

The writer for the Albany Argus wrote one of the earliest descriptions of Hunt's murals. In his description he referred to The

Flight of Night as the East and morning, and The Discoverer as the West and evening:

Upon the north side of the chamber is represented the East and Morning. In the centre of the picture are three horses of different colors rearing and plunging in the full tide of the most animated career, among the mists of the upper regions, preceding a female figure representing Luna, the fair guardian of the night and sleep, sitting in the curve of the thin crescent moon. A little below and slightly in rear of the goddess are depicted a mother and child, locked in sweet and peaceful repose, screened from the disturbing rays of the rising sun, before which Luna flees away, by a veil of cloud upheld by attendants of the mistress of the night. . . . On the south side of the chamber is a complementary, although quite different conception typifying the West and Evening. The mists of the upper air are here replaced by the waves of the sea and upon the crest of swelling billow rises a fragile boat. In the center of the vessel stands an ideal representation of Discovery gazing on the setting sun whose course he seeks to follow in his search for new worlds to be added to the dominion of civilization. Winged Fortune governs his way, with left hand on the helm and upon the right arm upraised a banner ⁷⁶ to catch the favoring breeze which wafts them onward.

One of the first to write on the murals after their completion was Clarence Cook who, in The New York Herald, called the room an "embodied conscience." It is a poetic description in which Cook related The Flight of Night to the Zoroastrian deities Ohrmazd and Ahriman:

On the north wall is the allegory of Ohrmazd and Ahriman, the flight of evil before good, of Night before Dawn. Night's charioteer on his ebon car is hurled along before the breaking day by three plunging rearing steeds, who subdue their haughty crests to the sway of the dun guide, who with a touch compels them down to where the day is silent. . . . The goddess leaves the charge of her steeds wholly to the guide, she herself toward [sic], and a sleeping woman with a baby at her breast above whose head a floating child holds a mantle that prevents the dawn from reaching slumbering ignorance to waken it. It may be that we don't understand this portion of the subject, and the child may be lifting the veil that shuts out the light of day from Night's victims, but what allegory cannot be read

as the spectator chooses?⁷⁷

He continued by describing The Discoverer and claimed that it was a new interpretation of "the fable of the Sirens":

The opposite allegory is of the Discoverer who sails out on the unknown seas, following the sinking sun and attended by Fortune who holds the tiller of his mounting bark. Science, also unrolls her scroll, Hope, who points the way, and Faith who hides her face and lets the waves take her where they will. This is a new, a noble interpretation of the fable of the Sirens, and whether we care for the allegory or not, we can well enjoy the painting of these ripe but severely noble forms, Science and Faith, so lightly floating in the water, and Fortune, a reminiscence of the Venus⁷⁸ of Milo who plies the rudder and lightly trims the sail.

In April 1879, four months after the murals had been unveiled, a writer for The Brooklyn Times known as "The Tramp" visited Albany and published his impression of the murals:

I don't pretend to fathom the meaning of these allegories, but I admire the arrangement of the figures, their heroic strength and classic simplicity. There have been many definitions of the pictures, but none that exactly apply when you read them in [the] presence of the pictures themselves. The one on the northern wall is supposed to be the flight of ignorance and evil before the dawn of righteousness and wisdom. Perhaps it is. I only know that the swift career of the horses drawing the cloud car of dawn is magnificently represented; that the female dawn and the sleeping woman from whose face the veil (probably symbolical of bigotry and unprogressiveness) is being torn, are vastly more interesting than the bland and smouchy old saints of the Italian painters, and that, although I don't know what the new moon is doing directly in front of the sun, there is a feeling of skyey space in the blue and orange twilight. The other picture is clearer, and I will endeavor to interpret it: A figure, which some say is Columbus, but which I prefer to regard as the type of all mankind, and which the painter perhaps meant should represent the State, is standing in the prow of a fragile bark; Life sailing across the mystic ocean of eternity, which stretches into immeasurable distance on all sides. In his face there is seriousness of a mortal conscious of the awful doom of eternal life, yet it is not a despairing but a serene and

reflective seriousness. Fortune, a winged figure of fine proportion, steers the boat and three naiads, who may be Science, Poetry, Imagination, Art, Hope, Faith or any other human attributes, or achievements but which unquestionably represent only pleasing ones, float beside the vessel and cheer the lonely voyager. . . . I don't know if my notion of the picture's meaning is correct. . . . Perhaps the highest pictorial art, like the highest music, rather avoids definiteness in order to encourage the imagination and to enable each individual to incorporate with his own moral system such parts of it as, by reason of its universality, appeal to him as congenial expressions of his own thought.

The next month Henry Van Brunt published an article, "The New Dispensation for Monumental Architecture," in the Atlantic Monthly in which he discussed both La Farge's decoration at Trinity Church and Hunt's murals. Here Van Brunt linked the United States to the spirit of the Italian Renaissance and classical learning through the Columbus's discovery of the New World in the fifteenth century.

The artist has symbolized the simultaneous occurrence of the revival of letters and the discovery of America by the allegories of the Flight of Night and the Discoverer. The former has in its elements long been familiar to those who frequented Mr. Hunt's studio. It is in fact a flying cloud, the substance and movement of which is figured by the suggestion of an aerial chariot drawn by three plunging steeds, to the mane of one of which clings a torch-bearing groom, rather guiding than restraining the downward flight. High upon the cloudy seat sits a female figure, directing the vision with a gesture of her hand; and below, enveloped in a shadowy fold of fleecy drapery, dimly portrayed, is a sleeping woman with a child, and over her hovers a little protecting spirit. The visionary character of the composition is unencumbered by any material appliance; there are no reins, no harness, no chariot, no wheels. It is a precipitous movement of vapor poetically set forth with a superb flight of horses, and enough of human interest in the figure to suggest a meaning which each can interpret in his own way.

Of The Discoverer he said:

A Hamlet-like man, in armor and cloak, stands conspicuous in a boat, riding half disclosed upon a billowy swell of the

ocean. Behind him, at the helm and holding a bellying sail of drapery, stands a winged female figure in an attitude of dignity somewhat like that suggested by the Venus of Milo; and upon the prow, with her outlines defined against a bright rift in the western sky, leans a spirit of the water, with a frank, ⁸⁰onward look and a gesture significant of confident hope.

At year's end John C. Dalton wrote a very generalized description for the 1879 Memorial Exhibition catalogue. He began by describing the The Flight of Night: "It is wholly supernatural in its details, and entirely human in its objects and interest. A chariot in the clouds, without body, wheels, or axle, and a female driver without reins, guiding her galloping horses without bridle or harness, usher in the dawning future and sleeping o of a great continent."

He then continued with a description of The Discoverer:

The picture on the south wall is rather more simple in its idea, and will probably be more quickly appreciated by the majority of visitors. . . . It was from a design of very recent date and especially adapted for the purpose required. It shows the adventurous discoverer, standing upright in his skiff on the open ocean, absorbed in the spectacle of a new headland. He takes no care of the sailing or steering of his boat. That is done by the mysterious forces of nature, and destiny, that are there to guide and propel the vessel that carries him. . . . The picture gives with great force the idea of the reality⁸¹ of influences which are imperceptible to human observation.

Another interpretation written after his death was by his student Sarah Whitman:

The first represents the incoming Dawn; a great light before which is seen the flying Goddess of the Night with her attendants, Sleep and the hurrying steeds of Darkness. The treatment of this theme gives it an unearthly glory; yet we recognize its relation to the subtler conditions of our humanity. We feel the approach of a new day, while the ministers of tradition, the cloud chariots of a mighty past, move before our eyes. It forms a fitting introduction to

the second painting, where the 'Discoverer' approaches a new continent. Here again, as in the 'Dawn,' one of the supreme forces of Nature, the rush of the swelling sea, bears up and onward the bark in which the Discoverer stands. Surrounding him are the great servants who wait upon man; before him, across the sea's pathway the Western world.⁸²

From all these accounts one senses a sensitive appreciation of Hunt's accomplishment but still no definitive explanation as to their meaning. Hunt left no interpretation of his own and strangely enough, his writer/biographers--Vinton, Angell and Knowlton--were reluctant to commit themselves to one. Vinton quoted Van Brunt's article, Angell did not include an interpretation, and Knowlton, writing at the end of the century, quoted Louisa Hunt's description published in 1888.

While Louisa's interpretation is idiosyncratic, she constructs a philosophic system related to dualism which links both murals.

These two mural paintings in the Capitol at Albany, New York are allegorical representations of the great opposing Forces which control all nature. . . . They must absolutely be taken in conjunction to be rightly understood, as each is the complement of the other.

They represent Negative and Positive, Night and Day, Feminine and Masculine, Darkness and Light, Superstition and Science, Pagan and Divine Thought, Self and Altruism.

Published as a four-page pamphlet, the second page of her description was devoted to an explanation of "'Anahita' Persian Goddess of the Moon and Night, [who] represents Negative or Feminine Force," and the third page to a description of "'Columbus' [who] represents Positive or Masculine Force."

'Anahita' driven forth from her realms of Fantasy and Unreality, impelled by the dawn of civilization, plunges with her airy car into the dark and hidden caverns of superstition and barbaric thought.

'The Slave,' who bears an inverted torch, holds back the horses that Anahita may look her last upon the Kingdom she so soon must relinquish.

'The Horses' obey her will without the ribbons by which, in earlier sketches, they were guided. (This suggests the power of mind over matter.)

By the side of the 'Cloud Chariot' floats in a dark-blue translucent ether, the sleeping forms of a human 'Mother and Child.' [In the copy on file at the New York Public Library there is the following addendum: "A cherub flies about to shelter them from the faint glimmer of a moon, before withdrawing them from this phantom band to return them again to mother Earth. Omitted by mistake in the printing." This addendum does not appear in the portion quoted by Knowlton.]

This 'Vision' hints to the Queen of Night of other Worlds than hers, where love and rest belong, and, as she hurries on her course, between the contending forces of Day and Night, Light and Darkness, a look of HUMAN DOUBT surprises the beauty of her Pagan countenance and renders her as tragic and typical a figure as that of the Columbus, and the fitting counterpart.

Not surprisingly Louisa wishing to associate herself with the forces of good, is more sympathetic to the figure of Columbus:

Lonely, and led by Faith, Science and Hope, and Fortune, Columbus crosses the Waters of Destiny.

'Faith,' nearly engulfed, leads on this spirit band, breasting the waves, while with one arm she hides her eyes.

'Hope' stands at the prow and prophesies fulfillment.

'Science' holds the chart or scroll, that Columbus may be guided by it.

'Fortune' is at the helm, but, with wings half outspread; she is placed behind Columbus (which is very significant). Her left hand grasps the tiller which guides this whale-shaped craft; around her right arm is wreathed the rude sail. Storm winds fill it full, and drive them onward to the West.

'The Chains' are visible beside the solitary figure, but Columbus peers with intensity of Will into the future, and ignores them.

The Central Figure has no theatrical posture-making character of the Conqueror, but is, as it were, bowed down with the greatness of his mission, while neither danger nor the chains of Ignominy can divert him from his heart's desire and conviction.

Both these paintings represent the Thought of their period in the World's History. It is not without intention that both seem suspended between Faith and Doubt. She, with the intensity of feminine sympathy; He with the calm majesty of patience of manhood.

Both are moving to their destiny, and both are meant to teach a fundamental Eternal Truth, though canvas and even stone shall crumble away.⁸³

NOTES - Chapter Four

¹ This may be the same as the photograph in the Octagon Museum #P79.1861.

² Henry Adams, "The Development of William Morris Hunt's The Flight of Night," The American Art Journal 15 (Spring 1983): 44-48. This writer is grateful to Adams for sharing with her in 1979 his draft and illustrations for this essay and a lecture, "William Morris Hunt's 'Chef d'oeuvre Inconnu,'" given in 1981 which was published in the Proceedings of the New York State Capitol Symposium (1983), pp. 97-106.

³ Angell, The Records of William M. Hunt, p. 123: "There is still extant a charcoal of it drawn in the year 1857." Knowlton writing eighteen years later made virtually the same statement, p. 159: "A pencil drawing is in existence, showing his first conception of this subject." Neither drawing has been located nor is there reference to either in any Hunt exhibition catalogue.

⁴ Reproduced in Leavitt Hunt's brief biographical sketch of William in 1880 for Henry Burnham's Brattleboro, Windham County, Vermont, p. 140. The poem was prefaced by the following comment: "The idea of 'Anahita' as pendant to Guido's 'Aurora,' was first suggested in 1847, by the writer of this notice."

⁵ Angell, p. 124.

⁶ See Adams American Art Journal, pp. 44-45. Also, Adams in his paper published in Proceedings of New York State Capitol Symposium, p. 99, links Hunt's sketch to Couture's studies for The Enrollment of the Volunteers: "Hunt's pencil sketch [first known version, fig. 58] is related to studies Couture was making at this time for The Enrollment of the Volunteers. Couture's design went through innumerable stages, but in the earliest one his scheme [known as Study for Central Motif in Musee Departmental de l'Oise, Beauvais] contained a woman in the center, seated on a chariot-like form, and surrounded by energetically moving figures. Hunt's composition, although it moves in the opposite direction, adopted this same idea, and Hunt was also influenced by Couture's method of draftsmanship, with its swirling, rapidly-indicated lines."

⁷ 1879 Memorial Exhibition catalogue, p. 31, #114.

⁸ According to Knowlton, p.81, this relief was stored in the warehouse of a plaster-worker at the time of the Boston fire and was thus saved from destruction.

⁹ Adams, American Art Journal, pp. 48-49. This phase is documented in biographical essays on Hunt and William James in two separate volumes on the history of the Saturday Club. The writer of the first volume, Edward Waldo Emerson, noted in his biographical sketch of Hunt that he [Emerson] had "the privilege of going to Hunt's studio where William [James] and La Farge were the élèves. While I was there Hunt came in and cordially asked me, boy as I was, to his studio upstairs. There he showed me, to my great delight, the first studies for his wonderful 'Anahita,' or 'Flight of Night,' which years later adorned the Capitol at Albany. . . . This was 1859." Early Years of the Saturday Club, p. 467.

¹⁰ However, Hunt may have begun this painting and its companion The Listeners as early as 1857 for they were described in an unidentified clipping in "William M. Hunt - Anecdotes," Scrapbook, Octagon Museum, p. 4B, mentioned above, Chapter One. The writer of this notice was evidently a banker seeking respite from the chaos on Wall Street which was referred to at the beginning in the article: "Even here [Newport] . . . he hears of the 'suspension of banks' and all the long drawn links of business derangements. He tries fishing to escape from harassing thoughts and though he meets with glorious success, Wall Street, and its delinquencies, will intrude themselves." If this refers to the Panic of 1857, these sketches would probably date from that time.

¹¹ Tuckerman, p. 449.

¹² Adams, American Art Journal, pp. 47-48.

¹³ According to Knowlton, p. 81: "Just before the fire, Hunt had sent to Russia for canvas, and had planned a painting that was to be fifty feet in length. The talented young artist, John B. Johnston, was engaged to underpaint the canvas, and assist in putting the design upon its new and large proportions."

¹⁴ "'The Flight of Night. Albany Study. Painted 1875. Estate of Wm M. Hunt." 1879 Memorial Exhibition, p. 31, #113.

¹⁵ See Octagon Museum #P79.1856. The caption on this print reads "The Flight of Night. Capitol, Albany, New York. From Painting by W.M. Hunt (1824-1879)."

¹⁶ See Octagon Museum #P79.1848: "Magnolia, Sept Oct 31 1877 . . . and 1 Park Square before work in Dec (before Albany work was thought of = This was painted then."

¹⁷ A sketch of the head of this putto is in the Octagon Museum, #79.1832.

¹⁸ Found in "WMH - The Capitol at Albany," Scrapbook, pp. 29-34.

¹⁹ There are other reproductions of the complete painting and details of The Flight of Night in the Octagon Museum including: "Sketch

of horses" #P79.1843; Photograph of The Flight of Night used as a Christmas card by Hunt #P79.1832; and "Head of Anahita" #P79.1832.

20 A third replica (fig. 11) was recently cut into four fragments, and is known now only from a photograph. According to a note from Robert C. Vose, Jr. dated January 31, 1983, Steven Juvelis, United Welding Processes, Inc., Lynn, Massachusetts, owned a large scale version of The Discoverer for a number of years which "was in his basement so long he got tired of it and cut it into four pieces. He has sold two and has two left." One of these fragments of the central figure of Columbus is owned by Dr. A. Everette James, Jr., Nashville, Tennessee; the whereabouts of the other fragment sold by Mr. Juvelis is unknown. It is assumed, given the the number of different sketches which Hunt prepared for The Discoverer, that this finished, rectangular version, unlike the rectangular versions of the The Flight of Night followed these sketches. Hunt probably saw value in completing a replica as a companion to the PAFA version of The Flight of Night, the version closest to the original. Also a photograph of the PAFA version along with a photograph of this replica of The Discoverer is in the Octagon Museum #P79.1848 and #P79.1861.

21 It is presumed that Columbus was sailing west, therefore these are the colors of the setting not a rising sun. Some contemporary writers ignored this fact and interpreted the painting to mean the dawn of day and civilization.

22 Knowlton, p. 78.

23 Baker noted pp. 25 and 47: "Leavitt [in 1845] decided to prepare himself for a career in the law and went to Heidelberg for his advanced studies." "By June 22 [1851] they [Richard and William] were in Heidelberg, where Leavitt had been studying law for some years." Burnham noted in his Annals of Brattleboro, p. 728: "Colonel Leavitt Hunt . . . was educated at a military school in Switzerland, and there laid the foundation of his proficiency in philology."

24 Many German texts were published during this period on Persia, Zoroastrianism and Mithra including: Friedrich Korn, Mythen der alten Perser als quellen christlicher glaubens--lehren und ritualien, Leipzig, 1835; Friedrich Creuzer, Das Mithræum von Neuenheim bei Heidelberg, Heidelberg, 1838, and Konrad Schwenk, Die mythologie der Perser für gebildete und die studierende jugend dargestellt, Frankfort am Main, 1850.

Five years later Leavitt traveled to the Near East where he photographed ruins in Egypt, Nubia, Petra and Baalbek. His photographs, according to Burnham, p. 728, "were the first ever taken in those countries, and when he returned with them to Europe they formed the subject of many interesting interviews between their possessor and Baron von Humboldt and Professor [Richard] Lepsius the famous Orientalist." Earlier Lepsius had explored Egypt, Ethiopia and the Sinai peninsula and returned to Germany with many important texts, casts and drawings. Lepsius's

findings were later published in Germany in 1859 as Denkmaler aus Agypten und Athiopien.

25 Joseph Von Hammer (1774-1856) was Austrian who also wrote under the name von Hammer-Purgstall. During the first half of the century he wrote over 100 volumes on various aspects of Near Eastern culture. According to J.D. Yohannan in an article "Emerson's Translations of Persian Poetry from German Sources," American Literature 14 (January, 1943): 408, these two collections by von Hammer were: Der Diwan von Mohammed Schemseddin Hafis, Stuttgart and Tübingen, 1812-1813, and Geschichte der Schönen Redekünste Persiens mit einer Blumenlese aus zweihundert persischen Dichten, Vienna, 1818.

26 Arthur E. Christy, The Orient in American Transcendentalism (1932; reprinted New York: Octagon Books, 1972.)

27 Knowlton, p. 78.

28 Mary Boyce, Zoroastrians, Their Religious Beliefs and Practices, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1979), p. 61.

29 Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, in his Mémoire sur le culte de Mithra (Paris: A. Pinard, 1833), p. 69, lists all the places where monuments dedicated to the worship of Anahita can be found.

30 Avesta: the Religious Books of the Parsees, trans. Arthur Henry Bleek (Hertford: Stephen Austin, 1864).

31 The Zend-Avesta, trans. James Darmesteter in Sacred Books of the East, vol. 23 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1883), pp. 56, 81-82.

32 Edward Gibbon, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire, 6 vols. Everyman's Library, (1776-1787; New York: Dutton, 1963), I:193.

33 Ernest Newman, Great Operas, 2 vols. (1943, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., Vintage Books, 1961), 2:115.

34 Christy includes a list of Oriental-related books in Longfellow's library, pp. 321-323.

35 Thomas Bulfinch, The Age of Fable or Beauties of Mythology (Boston: S.W. Tilton & Co., 1855), pp. 423-424.

36 John Fiske, Myth and Myth-Makers, Old Tales and Superstitions Interpreted by Comparative Mythology (1872; Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1897), pp. 121-122.

37 James Freeman Clarke, Ten Great Religions: an Essay in Comparative Theology (1871, Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1913), p. 1.

38 Ibid., p. 175.

39 J. Duchesne-Guillemin, The Western Response to Zoroaster, Ratanbai Katrak lectures, 1956 (Oxford University: 1958), p. 14.

40 Ralph Waldo Emerson, "Compensation," published in Essays: First Series (1841), reprinted in The Complete Essays and Other Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson, Modern Library College Editions (New York: Random House, 1950), p. 172.

41 Interest in this movement is just beginning. For instance, it was not included in either the 1966 or the revised 1976 edition of John Fleming, Hugh Honour and Nikolaus Pevsner, The Penguin Dictionary of Architecture. Cyril M. Harris in his Historic Architecture Sourcebook published in 1977 (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co.) defined it as, p. 185: "The selection of elements from diverse styles for architectural decorative designs, particularly during the second half of the 19th cent. in Europe and the U.S.A." However, by 1980 William Dudley Hunt, Jr., in his Encyclopedia of American Architecture (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1980), pp. 151-154 wrote a long, but general, explanation of the term. At the end of his entry, Hunt included a list of the late nineteenth-century architects whom he considered eclectic: Richard Morris Hunt, George B. Post, Frank Furness, Charles McKim, Stanford White and Cass Gilbert.

42 W.R. Lethaby, "Design (II): Ancient Art and Modern Position," Dictionary of Architecture and Building (New York: Macmillan Co., 1902), I:782.

43 Henry Van Brunt, "Eclecticism," DAAB, I:847.

44 Christy, p. 169.

45 According to Ann Sutherland Harris in her book Guido Reni, Vol. 88 of The Masters (North Bristol, Eng.: Purnell & Sons, Ltd., 1967), p. 1: "Lord Byron in his Don Juan refers to 'Guido's famous fresco of Aurora' as being by itself worth a trip to Rome. Stendhal spoke of Reni as having the sensibility of Mozart, and Winckelmann compared him to Praxiteles. Sir Joshua Reynolds wrote that 'his idea of beauty . . . is acknowledged superior to that of any other painter.' For all of this period he was generally considered to hold a position only a little below that of Raphael."

46 See Perkins and Gaern, The Boston Athenaeum Art Exhibition Index, pp. 117-118. Most of these copies were of Guido's religious paintings such as Magdalene, Judith With the Head of Holofernes; St. Sebastian; St. Catherine, etc. Curiously, while Aurora was a popular subject for engravings it was not replicated for exhibition at the Athenaeum.

47 The German edition of Creuzer's book was published in Heidelberg, and translated into French by J. Guigniaut.

48 Creuzer's second book was published in Heidelberg as was that of

another German scholar, K.B. Stark, who published his research on two Mithra reliefs found in Karlsruhe: Zwei Mithraeen der Grossherzoglichen Alterthumersammlung in Karlsruhe (Heidelberg, 1865).

49 Lajard's book was published in Paris.

50 Cumont's book was published in 2 vols. (Brussels: H. Lamertin).

51 In general the Zoroastrians did not create images of their gods, and Assyrian art of the first millennium found at Persepolis, for example, is almost exclusively of animals and the kings of Persia. Later art of the Zoroastrian temples found in Greece and Asia Minor was very poorly preserved and would have been known only to experts and specialists.

52 Joshua C. Taylor in an article, "The Academic Tradition" written for the exhibition catalogue Academy: The Academic Tradition in American Art (Washington, D.C.: National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution Press, 1975), p. 27, noted that: "The very antique works, mentioned in all the books, that had so long been the norm for academic study had been brought to Paris, and [Robert R.] Livingston arranged with Napoleon, then first consul, to have casts made of the most noted to be sent to New York. Arriving in 1803, the casts were placed on public display in the rotunda of the Pantheon in Greenwich Street, where they remained until 1805."

53 Perkins and Gaern, p. 306.

54 Knowlton, p. 175.

55 See Boime, The Eclectic Vision, p. 568 and Adams, op. cit.

56 Knowlton, p. 6, believed that Hunt was in Paris before he went to Dusseldorf and studied with Barye in 1844. Knowlton also acknowledged that Hunt was responsible for promoting American interest in Barye's work similar to that which he had done for Millet, p. 32: "He [Hunt] was one of the first Americans to own bronzes by Barye, and to highly extol his genius." Baker in his book, pp. 39-40, is not clear as to when either William or Richard studied with Barye but confirms that it was in the late 1840s.

57 Adams, American Art Journal, p. 47.

58 Early in his life Barye was apprenticed to the goldsmith Guillaume Biennais. According to Glenn Benge in Peter Fusco and H. W. Janson, eds., The Romantics to Rodin, French Nineteenth-Century Sculpture from North American Collections (Los Angeles County Museum, 1980), p. 124: "There [in Biennais's workshop] Barye saw the most sophisticated technical practices current among Parisian goldsmiths and encountered Neoclassical and antique models that would remain significant for him throughout his career. Among these were the albums of engraved illustrations of antiquities in Italian collections, by

Bartoli and Roccheggiani, and those of antiquities in Paris itself, such as the catalog of the collection of the Comte de Caylus."

59 Ibid.

60 Justin Winsor, Narrative and Critical History of America, 8 vols. (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1884-1889), II:12.

61 Louisa Hunt Diary, Sec. 85.

62 Handbook for Travelers in Northern Italy, 10th ed. (London: John Murray, 1866), p. 128.

63 Dictionary of American Biography, vol. 10, p. 403.

64 Winsor, vol 2, p. 12, n. 1.

65 Joel Barlow, Vision of Columbus (Hartford: Hudson & Goodwin, 1787), p. 1.

66 Samuel Rogers, "The Vision of Columbus," in Complete Poetical Works ed. E. Sargent (Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co., 1854), p. 3.

67 Ibid., p. 49.

68 Washington Irving, Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus (1828, New York: A.L. Burt Co., 1902). This was followed two years later by a second volume, Voyages and Discoveries of the Companions of Columbus (1831).

69 Ibid., p. 396.

70 Emerson, Complete Essays, pp. 252-257.

71 Howard R. Patch, The Goddess Fortune in Medieval Literature (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1974), p. 107.

72 It may be that the series of nude images of Fortune seated on a cloud that Vedder worked on between 1882 and 1899, were influenced by Hunt's image of Anahita.

73 Patch, p. 104.

74 Quoted in Dillenberger's essay, "Between Faith and Doubt: Subjects for Meditation," (Washington D.C.: National Collection of Fine Arts, Smithsonian Institution, 1979), p. 130.

75 "The Rubáiyát of Omár Kháyyám," trans. by Edward Fitzgerald, in A Treasury of Great Poems (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1942), p. 841.

76 "The Capitol at Albany," Scrapbook, p. 1A.

77 C.C., "A Description of the Building," New York Tribune (December 24, 1878), in "The Capitol at Albany," Scrapbook, pp. 6-7.

78 Ibid., p. 7.

79 "Tramp," "The Capitol," Brooklyn Times (April 25, 1879), in "The Capitol At Albany," Scrapbook, p. 26.

80 Henry Van Brunt, "The New Dispensation for Monumental Architecture," pp. 142-143.

81 John C. Dalton, "Introduction," Catalogue Exhibition of the Works of William Morris Hunt, 5th ed., January, 1880, p. 13.

82 Sarah W. Whitman, "William M. Hunt," International Review, 8 (1880), p. 399.

83 Louisa D. Hunt, Paintings on Stone (Washington, D.C., 1888), pamphlet in Artists' File, New York Public Library.

CHAPTER FIVE
HUNT'S DEATH; THE LOSS OF THE MURALS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE FOR
AMERICAN MURAL PAINTING

The opening of the new State Capitol on January 7, 1879, even though it was just the North Center, was marked by a gala reception and ball to which over four thousand people were invited, and an estimated ten thousand attended. In the press it was noted as being the "the most brilliant social event in the history of Albany."¹ Hunt and his brother Richard attended, although it is said that William stayed on the sidelines, content to enjoy the enthusiastic responses of visitors to the hall's magnificence and his mural paintings.

One shadow on the evening was the disgruntled presence of Governor Lucius Robinson who had been appointed to complete Tilden's term in 1876 when the latter had left Albany to run for president--unsuccessfully--on the Democratic ticket. Robinson hated the new Capitol building and deplored the continuing expense. He refused to be in the receiving line at the opening reception and begrudgingly attended the festivities for twenty minutes. Later, he listed his objections in his annual message to the Legislature which was read by his secretary since he refused to ever again enter the building. Among his complaints were that the extravagant expenditures lavished on the building's ornamentation would inspire future governmental excesses.

If the lamentable vices, which have too often marked the legislation of the old building, shall stain that of the new, if the extravagant expenditure made upon it is to stimulate profuse and wasteful appropriations to other objects; if, instead of encouraging a plain and robust republican simplicity, if it is to cultivate a weak and vain desire to imitate the manners of European courts or to rival regal magnificence and imperial splendors, nay, more, if bribery and corruption, following naturally in the wake of such influences, shall soil the new chambers, the people will have cause to regret the erection of such a Capitol, and to wish that the earth might open and swallow it up.²

Given his vehement opposition to the building's decorations, it is not surprising that he defeated the \$100,000 appropriation for additional murals by Hunt. Tragically, as noted by Knowlton noted "many of his friends believed that Governor Robinson's veto was practically his death knell." She then went on to describe Hunt's plans for these additional murals.

He was planning subjects for the two different wall spaces that were to be painted. Two or more of the themes were to be taken from his great pictures of Niagara Falls; and his active mind was already composing lines, spaces, values, colors, effects; and in the perspective of a near future he saw the fulfillment of his heart's desire to engage in that mural painting for which he felt the power, needing only the opportunity by which it could be developed.³

Hunt returned from Albany exhausted. Angell noted Hunt's fatigue and depression after his return to Boston in February. "He seemed very tired, mentally and physically, at this time, and although cheerful, it was not the sunny, wayward cheerfulness of old times. The swollen knee, to which it had been necessary to apply a surgical bandage during the last days of his fatiguing work at Albany, was still a cause of anxiety."⁴ Even though his spirits did not improve, during the spring he managed to complete several portraits including his last Self-Portrait

(1879, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston) and to hold a gala studio sale in March which included his recent paintings of Niagara Falls and sketches and photographs of his Albany murals. Unfortunately, little sold and this disappointment only served to aggravate his despondency.

In order to improve his health and spirits, he spent the late spring and summer traveling with his sister and Carter. They went first to Wethersfield to visit Leavitt and then to Appledore, Isle of Shoals off the coast of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, to spend a few months with William's friends the writer Celia Thaxter and her husband Levi. But, according to Knowlton, "Hunt's life at the Shoals, during the eight weeks of his stay, was a constant struggle to be cheerful."⁵

He took a brief trip with his physician Dr. Henry Ingersoll Bowditch to the White Mountains in late August, but returned again to the Thaxter's cottage on Appledore. On Monday morning, September 8, 1879, he was found by Celia Thaxter in a small reservoir behind the cottage, "floating upon his face while the wind fluttered a fold of his long coat which lay on the water dark in the still and sunny glitter of the surface elsewhere unbroken."⁶

Published reports, as well as his friends, were divided as to whether or not he had committed suicide. The first notice, dated September 9th, datelined Portsmouth assumed suicide.

The suicide by drowning of William M. Hunt, artist, at the Isle of Shoals yesterday, was caused by melancholia, induced by close application, his gloomy condition for several weeks before being such that he had been secretly watched. . . . The discovery of his hat on the bank was the first intimation of suicide. . . . Coroner Whittier of this

city went to Appledore this morning to view the body. Nothing was found among the effects of the deceased to indicate premeditation of suicide.

On September 11th, Celia Thaxter addressed a letter to the New York Daily Tribune in which she gave an account of Hunt's last days attempting to extricate herself and others from any censure.

To the many friends of William Hunt it may be grateful to hear some trustworthy account of his sad end less shocking than the bare and often incorrect statements of the current journals. He had been living with his devoted sister at the Isles of Shoals, eight weeks, the centre of a bright and friendly circle in the cottage at Appledore, and in spite of the disease of nervous prostration under which he was laboring, I am thankful to believe he had hours of peace and even happiness during that time. He was sure of all our sympathy, and every one was glad to cheer and comfort him whenever and wherever the least opportunity offered itself to do him any service. He wore such a brave heroic front over all he suffered, we never dreamed of such a terrible end at hand.

Another early, unattributed report was also critical of the newspaper accounts and stated that his death was accidental.

The mania for attributing death in any unexpected or unusual form to suicide, was most unfortunately illustrated anew in the dispatch announcing the death of Mr. William M. Hunt, last Tuesday. From later accounts, there seems to be no ground for supposing that the drowning of Mr. Hunt in a tank on Appledore Island was intentional, but every probability that it was due to accident. The artist was ill with long over-work [and] had apparently gone out to walk in a convenient spot, and being attacked by a sudden fainting-fit, fallen into the water. It is to be regretted that a theory of the case, totally uncalled for should have been sent broadcast through the country by some one whose duty it was merely to record the fact of Mr. Hunt's death by drowning.

Notices of his death were indeed broadcast everywhere and some of them did border on the sensational, one headline reading: "Well-known artist throws himself into a cistern on the Isle of Shoals."¹⁰ From

these and other accounts it remains uncertain whether or not Hunt killed himself. Even Knowlton, in her tribute published at the time, admitted to not knowing. She implied that even if his drowning were accidental his wish to continue living was not very strong. "Whether his drowning was accidental or not may certainly never be known but enough has not been said of his extremely weak physical condition, with depression so great as to border on possible insanity."¹¹ Hunt's funeral took place in the Unitarian Church in Brattleboro. He was buried in the local cemetery in a family plot beside his father.¹²

Tributes to him were numerous both in the daily press and in leading magazines and art journals. Even Hunt's life-long critic, Clarence Cook called him a "distinguished artist" and said that his was an "unlooked for death." He continued his tribute by stating that Hunt's murals had expanded his reputation nationally and that "nothing as yet undertaken here in the art of monumental decoration at all approaches these mural paintings of Mr. Hunt, in the dignity of the composition as a whole, in the beauty of its parts, in the mastery of the execution." He then went on to link Hunt and Washington Allston, saying that: "Since Washington Allston, no American artist has played a part of such influence among his countrymen as Mr. Hunt; but in his case, as in that of the elder painter, there is lamentable little left whereby to explain that influence to future generations."¹³ Cook concluded his tribute with a personal recollection of his visit with Hunt on the scaffold in the Assembly Chamber before the murals were finished:

Mounting through the dust and rubbish, to the scaffolding that supported the artist and his assistant at their work in

the Assembly Chamber, we found Mr. Hunt, while waiting for luncheon, seated in the middle of the long bridge that was sixty odd feet from the floor . . . surrounded by a few friends, playing merrily upon the guitar. . . . Let us think of him in these sad days as mounted infinitely higher, surveying his work from a far loftier standpoint, but still happy in it, still with the cheerful temper of the child, mixed with the glad consciousness of duty done, and life well spent in consecration to noble aims.¹⁴

Hunt was also extolled as an apostle of beauty by the Unitarian minister Cyrus A. Bartol, whose daughter Elizabeth was one of Hunt's pupils.¹⁵ Even James Jackson Jarves writing from Florence added his tribute. Jarves passed over his abilities as an artist and instead decried his loss to the Boston art community.

[Hunt embodied] the ideas and principles most needed in the capitol of New England to counter balance its one-sided theories, by which art is deprived of intuitive inspirations and force, and reduced to kindergarten teaching, a kind of mathematical system of evolution by means of objective perception and drilling in the use of its tools as youth is taught to read, write and cipher, and artisans are taught their handicrafts. . . . His life was an unceasing protest against the mannerisms and pettinesses of the bona fide materialists and mechanicians in art.¹⁶

In addition to numerous obituaries two important memorial exhibitions of his work were held in Boston and New York. Over 60,000 persons attended the Memorial Exhibition at the Museum of Fine Arts that included 200 paintings and 110 drawings and pastels. It opened November 11, 1879 and was scheduled to close December fifteenth but interest in the exhibition was such that it was extended to January 31, 1880. In New York, fifty paintings by Hunt were included in the inaugural exhibition of the opening of Metropolitan Museum of Art's Central Park building in April 1880. As further indication of the popularity of both the artist and his work, an auction of works held in Boston in February 1880 netted

over \$60,000.¹⁷

In one respect, however, it was fortunate that Hunt was not alive to learn that the ceiling of the Assembly Chamber had developed leaks and that a year after his death his murals were in jeopardy. The earliest cause for the damage was attributed to moisture which had seeped into the ceiling through the unlined stone gutters on the roof. This problem was easily remedied, but the real cause of danger was fractures that had been discovered in the huge ceiling. From the beginning there was a dispute between Eidlitz and consulting engineers over what was causing the cracks and what efforts should be made in order to halt further damage.

Eidlitz, who as an architect was equally admired for his engineering skills, submitted a highly technical report in which he explained that the cracks were due to the "shrinkage and settling of the walls." The consulting engineers disagreed and said there was little evidence of settling and that the cause of the problem was that the supports of the four main pillars of the Assembly Chamber were as much as fifteen inches out of alignment, which may have been the result of the foundation having been built on quicksand. They recommended that the ceiling be taken down but Eidlitz, representing the architectural firm of Eidlitz & Richardson, which was still employed to complete the work on the South Center of the building, disagreed and won permission to repair the ceiling. "The architects protested and offered to repair it at their own expense; they were allowed to do so, replaced the defective stones, and all anxiety appears to have subsided."¹⁸

Unfortunately, damage had been done to the mural, The Flight of Night, and in 1882 Carter went to Albany to repair it. In his report he noted that it was not Hunt's paint which was scaling off but that the stonework itself was falling. "The water did not affect the paint, but . . . the sandstone which forms the background had apparently absorbed the moisture like a sponge, and pieces of the stone, in some instances to the depth of from one-quarter to one-half inch and a foot in length, have scaled and dropped off, carrying portions of the painting with them."¹⁹ The same year, Governor Alonzo B. Cornell appointed a three-man advisory team to study the problem further. This team--composed of an engineer, W.P. Trowbridge, and two architects, Charles Babcock and George B. Post--delivered the same recommendation as the early engineering consultants: the ceiling's stonework should be dismantled. "The committee while applauding the detail of the design, stated that it was an error of judgement to erect it under existing conditions and recommended that it be taken down."²⁰

Once again Eidlitz made repairs at his own expense and "in January, 1883, finished his task and pronounced the ceiling safe."²¹ Few were reassured, however, and four years later a third study was made. Dated March 24, 1887, the report stated that "the ceiling was in a very dangerous condition." Eidlitz had become aware of this danger and wrote Governor David B. Hill, urging him to authorize the additional repairs that he and his firm were then recommending. The Governor waited until January 1888, when the Legislature reconvened, and then shared with them Eidlitz's dire warnings.

'We [the architects] cannot, in reason, be held responsible for possible accidents. . . . But inasmuch as, by reason of the long neglect above referred to, such accidents are possible, we deem it our duty to respectfully protest against the further occupancy of the north wing of the Capitol in its present condition, and we request that you will direct that the Assembly Chamber, the State Library and the Offices in that part of the building be closed until definite action in accordance with our repeated recommendations shall have been taken.'²²

However, Eidlitz's recommendations were no longer trusted and a fourth commission was convened whose membership included State Engineer, John Bogart, a civil engineer from Poughkeepsie, Thomas Clarke, and the New York architect, Richard M. Upjohn, son of Eidlitz's first American mentor. On February 3, 1888, they recommended that the Assembly Chamber be vacated immediately, and in April, after further study, they gave the death knell to the ceiling and consequently to Hunt's murals. They specifically recommended that a flat ceiling of wood or metal be constructed which would "throw upon the walls and foundations as small a weight as is consistent with good construction and proper architectural effect." They concluded their report by stating that it was not the workmanship which was at fault but Eidlitz's vaunted engineering skills. "The ruin of the vaulted ceiling is due to the fact that the design and method of construction and loading of these arches and vaults have been such as to give pressures which have resulted in the disintegration of the structure; the joints being in many places, open, and in others compressed to such an extent that the stone has splintered and is full of cracks."²³

When news of the decision to cover the ceiling reached Boston,

efforts were made in earnest to at least save The Discoverer, since, according to an earlier report by the artist Charles M. Lang, The Flight of Night was too damaged to save. "[He] made a careful examination of the pictures and found that the one on the north wall of the Chamber, 'The Flight of Night' has been ruined by the chipping and crumbling of the stone on which it is painted. 'The Discoverer' on the south wall is in good condition and can be removed."²⁴ But how was it to be saved? Where might it go and who would pay for the labor involved were problems and frustrations that Hunt's family and friends were never able to solve.

Hunt's widow, concerned that his contribution would be completely forgotten, published a pamphlet in April 1888 which she hoped would explain the importance and meaning of his murals.

These pictures seem not to have been understood by the public, and as they are already doomed soon to fade forever from our sight, through the dampness and slow settling of the Capitol building, these few words have been written to act only as humble servitors, which may help to keep the deep symbolic meaning of them green in the memories of our people, and bear testimony to the GENIUS of our POET-PAINTER, WILLIAM MORRIS HUNT.²⁵

Among the offers of help was one made by Thurlow Weed Barnes who wrote the Boston Transcript in July 1888 that a friend of his from Albany, Worthington Frothingham, had approached the Metropolitan Museum of Art urging them to save the picture.²⁶ John Snaith, a contractor for the ceiling's repair, also approached the Metropolitan saying, that he would "cut it out for the sum of \$3,500." The Metropolitan declined the offer suggesting that it would be a more appropriate undertaking for the

Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. ²⁷

Meanwhile various fund-raising efforts were launched in New York and Boston. Jane and Richard set up a subscription in New York, while in Boston the Hunt Memorial Committee, established shortly after his death, also decided to take some action. The latter sent the artist J. Foxcroft Cole to Albany in order to "report upon the condition of the paintings, upon the possibility of such action, as the conditions of exhibition were necessarily very different."²⁸ Other Bostonians were also anxious to save the murals and a gentleman known only as 'J.C.C.' proposed that The Discoverer be saved and serve as the centerpiece of a memorial not only to Hunt's memory but "form the basis of a monument in commemoration of the discovery."²⁹ This was a timely idea since the 400-year anniversary of Columbus's discovery of America was about to be celebrated in 1892. But time was short and repairs on the ceiling could not be delayed. Unfortunately, neither money nor location were found in time to save the mural. In August 1888 a new ceiling was put in place and the murals covered over forever. That same month The Studio reported poignantly on their loss: "There is, we are assured, no longer any ground for hope that the pictures painted by the late William M. Hunt on the walls of the Assembly Chamber in the Capitol at Albany may be saved for the public."³⁰ The writer continued by regretting that the only way to save the murals was to saw them off the wall, a process that had already been rejected as too expensive. The writer then suggested that "the pictures should be copied on canvas by one of Mr. Hunt's many pupils", but concluded his article on a final, fatalistic note: "We have

not, however, the least hope that any such effort will be made, and perhaps it is as well that when the room has been destroyed for which the pictures were painted, the pictures themselves should pass away, and the memory of what in the minds of both the architect and the painter was an ideal dream, in part, at least, fulfilled, should pass into the limbo of forgotten things."³¹

Today, what remains of the murals can still be seen above the Chamber's false ceiling, and throughout the past one hundred years others have 'rediscovered' them.³² Conservators from the New York State Historical Association in Cooperstown examined the murals in 1974 and reported to this writer, that given modern techniques of restoration, the murals themselves could be reconstructed. However, the cost to remove the false ceiling and redecorate the vast, now-bare surface of Eidlitz's groined vaults would be prohibitive.

The loss of these murals is particularly tragic since their importance was recognized immediately. Three of the most astute critics of the age--Henry Van Brunt, Clarence Cook and Montgomery Schuyler--were stimulated to analyze Hunt's accomplishment in some detail. Also, all three writers were interested in architecture and were familiar with the practical problems of architectural decoration and mural painting.

The earliest of these descriptions was by Montgomery Schuyler in the American Architect and Building News published before the building officially opened.

As you already know, the pictures are painted directly on the stone. The space which each is to occupy is bounded by

the line of the vault above and at the sides, and by the window heads below, and is some fifteen by forty-five feet in area. The subjects are allegories. That on the northern wall (the axis of the room is east and west) represents the Flight of Night. The Queen of Night is driving before the dawn, charioted on clouds drawn by three plunging horses, one white, one black, one red, without other visible restraint than that of a swarthy guide, who floats at the left of the picture and whose hand is lightly laid upon the head of the outermost horse. At the right of the goddess, and in deep shade, is the recumbent figure of a sleeping mother with a sleeping child upon her breast. The other picture is equally simple in composition. The Discoverer stands upright in a boat, dark against a sunset sky, Fortune erect behind him, trimming the sail with her lifted left hand while the right holds the tiller. The boat is rising to a sea, and is attended by Hope at the prow, with one arm resting on it and one pointing forward, Faith, whose face is buried in her arms and who is floating with the tide, and Science, unrolling a chart at the side.³³

As he further noted, it was then too early to appraise their success as decoration: "The color decoration is everywhere a part of the carved decoration. I recall but one piece of stencilled work, a narrow border along the ribs of the vault. The decoration of the vault is completed, but that of the walls which leads up to it and to the pictures, which are the crown of a system of decoration embracing the whole room, is not yet done."³⁴ However, he went on to describe the exact location of Hunt's murals in relation to the planned decoration.

Each side of the transept [or central auditorium], you will remember has three windows below and five above. Between these two ranges is to be Mr. Ward's frieze, and above the upper, Mr. Hunt's picture [fig. 107]. The wall is left plain up to the springing of the lower windows. The springing course has an arabesque ornament, as already said. The leaf is to be left in its own color, and the ground filled with vermilion. The cove of the brown stone hood-mould is to be filled with ultramarine, the ground of the voussoir with vermilion, and the edges of the ornament gilded. The wall above the springing line is to be decorated, each stone by itself, with an incised ornament, and the ground filled with a brown red. Over this comes the sculpture, over this the second range of windows, the wall

plain as before to the springing line, and decorated as before above it, and over this the picture. The decoration of the ceiling is also part of the system. The Ohio-stone of which it is built, is of a mellow and yellowish gray tint. Each groin bears two belts of decoration, one almost at the ridge, the other not far from the springing, which follow the line of the courses. The ornament in the upper belt, fifty feet from the spectator, is very bold in design, and very boldly cut, the lower belt subordinate in all respects.³⁵

Cook visited the Assembly Chamber in late December, the day the scaffolding was removed and the room nearly completed. He shared Schuyler's enthusiasm for the room but complained in his review that the decoration was not rich enough! "We plead for more richness, we think the whole vaulting should have been of gold slightly enriched with color, but in floriated or figure-subject designs we find the incessant and conventionalized pattern so properly employed here very wearying, it almost succeeds in neutralizing the imaginative conception of the architecture itself."³⁶

At the end he turned to a discussion of Hunt's murals and applauded the State's decision to include such paintings in the Capitol. "For, considered as art, it is the only considerable adventure yet made by any of our governing bodies in the pictorial decoration of any public building." However, he regretted that it was not a New Yorker who was entrusted with this work but conceded that "there can be no question as to Mr. Hunt's preeminent right to be invited first to the splendid task."³⁷ He then went on to give a sympathetic, if not enthusiastic, description of Hunt's murals and an interpretation of their meaning. However, he did not discuss the murals as decoration nor how they formally related to Eidlitz's color interior. This analysis was

undertaken several months later by Henry Van Brunt and published simultaneously in the American Architect and Building News and the Atlantic Monthly. Van Brunt's article, however, was not on the building itself but on mural painting as a decorative art. As examples he chose La Farge's recently completed murals at Trinity Church and Hunt's murals in Albany. He began his discussion of Hunt's murals by noting that compared to La Farge, Hunt had very little control over the decorated environment of the Assembly Chamber.

The work of Mr. William Hunt at Albany is conceived upon a very different scale, and is adjusted to architectural conditions far less fortunate. We have observed that Mr. La Farge's work at Boston was especially free from embarrassments or conventional limitations. The whole scheme of color in the interior was at his command; the place and opportunity were in every way favorable to the greatest liberty of design in color and form.³⁸

He then proceeded to briefly describe the Assembly Chamber and the decorative constraints within which Hunt had to work.

The Assembly Chamber at Albany is a monumental hall of vast proportions, walled and vaulted with yellowish stone, very bold in its general design, and charged with a great abundance of incised decoration colored with red, blue, black, and gold. This decoration, though uninteresting in detail, is rich, and indeed almost Moorish, in general effect. . . .

When the artist undertook this important work, the conditions of entourage had already been fixed. The style of the work was uncompromisingly Gothic; the lower boundary of each tympanum was an arcade of bright windows; the upper boundary was the outline of the great enclosing vaulting arch. This vaulting surface was decorated with a series of ornamental belts with sunk patterns of coarse design enforced with the crude colors of which we have spoken. These belts abutted against the field of the proposed picture at right angles, and there was no vaulting rib or molding to mark the line between the wall and ceiling. To meet these conditions of light and color, Mr. Hunt was compelled to paint his pictures on a very high key, and to

give to his outlines an accent of exceptional vigor.³⁹

Van Brunt, did, however, have several complaints about Hunt's murals as decoration: their borders were not delineated, the composition merged with the surrounding decoration, and they were too illusionistic.

There is a fatal rawness in the decorative effect, which is readily accounted for by the absence of a distinct line of demarcation, or frame, to separate the aerial spaces of his compositions from the hard colored lines of the belts of the vaulting, which attack the very edges of his clouds. The pictorial character of the designs is another reason for their isolation by some such device from this unsympathetic neighborhood. The greatest masters of decoration fully understood this principle, and always used enclosing frames wherever their work ceased to be continuous.⁴⁰

Van Brunt cited successful European precedents such as the "loggie of the Farnesina and the Vatican, the ceiling of the gallery of Apollo at Paris, of the council Chamber at Venice, of the Sixtine [sic] Chapel at Rome, ..Roman work, as at Pompeii, in Romanesque work, as at Byzantium and St. Mark's, and in the art of the early Christian painters." The one exception was Michelangelo's Last Judgment whose "failure . . . as decoration is to be attributed almost entirely to the rawness of its boundary lines."⁴¹ According to Van Brunt, Michelangelo erred because he introduced modeling and perspective into wall painting and had thereby challenged the theory that mural decoration must be two-dimensional. Furthermore, Michelangelo's influence was such that all subsequent mural painters bowed to his example. "These great examples [Michelangelo's frescoes] have seduced nearly all subsequent art from a fair recognition of the flat surfaces which it occupies, and have tempted it to feats of illusion which are not in harmony with the principles of decorative as opposed to pictorial design."⁴²

Van Brunt's was a very sophisticated analysis and reflected the recent writings of Théophile Gautier and Viollet-le-Duc, both of whom had written on mural painting in France--Gautier on contemporary work, Viollet-le-Duc on ancient and medieval practice. Their ideas, along with the precedent of the European examples mentioned by Van Brunt, formed the basis of his aesthetic criteria. Viollet-le-Duc in his Dictionnaire devoted fifty pages to the art of painting and its relation to architecture. He began his entry by describing its ancient tradition: "Plus on remonte vers les temps antiques, plus on reconnaît qu'il existait une alliance intime entre l'architecture et la peinture."⁴³ The specific tradition which Viollet-le-Duc advocated was French decorative painting of the thirteenth century. He traced its roots to Byzantine painting, as had Ruskin earlier in his Stones of Venice, and discussed at length the application of decoration--both figurative and abstract--to the stone walls of churches, the colors and values used by medieval painters and the different types of bindings--egg, water and alcohol--that were used to hold the pigment. He also discussed the sixteenth-century fresco painting of Michelangelo, finding his work incomparable, but warned that unless an artist was cognizant of the decorative demands of an architectural space, the harmony of paint and structure was destroyed. Michelangelo, who was also an architect, possessed an insight that few other painters could equal and was thus able to retain this harmony. Yet Viollet-le-Duc was critical of Michelangelo's Last Judgement since the power of the painting overwhelmed the architectural space and a sense of ensemble was

lost. "Cependant Michel-Ange, architecte et peintre, a su, autant que le programme qu'il s'était imposé le lui promettait, si bien souder ses sujets et ses figures à l'ornementation, à la place occupée, que l'unité de la voûte est complète. Mais que devient la salle? Que devient même, au point de vue décoratif, sous cette écrasante conception, la peinture du Judgement dernier?"⁴⁴

Viollet-le-Duc was not the only French critic to articulate a decorative aesthetic. The poet, novelist, and critic Théophile Gautier wrote on these same issues defining them for the nineteenth-century painter. Writing in 1863 on Paul Baudry's paintings for a room in the home of the Duc de Galliera, Gautier isolated those distinctive qualities of mural painting: "'A balanced composition, rhythmic poses, interrelated symmetries. . . . A flat, clear composition . . . a decisive outline. . . . Farewell chiaroscuro, brush play, impasto, lapidary tones, glaze, skin tones, swirling drapery . . . sparkling highlights - all these tricks of the palette to which art-lovers are so sensitive.'"⁴⁵

It was these criteria--mural painting should be flat, clear, non-illusionistic, and responsive to its architectural milieu--that Van Brunt used in judging Hunt's work in the Assembly Chamber.

The medieval setting of Mr. Hunt's compositions, instinctively suggesting the flat treatment which the medieval decorators invariably used, and the shape and position of the tympanums which they occupy, seem to render their free pictorial treatment even more incongruous. The conditions not only suggest a return to the antique and medieval principles, which require illuminated and slightly modeled drawing, such indeed as Mr. Hunt has very properly confined himself to in this work, but compositions of

figures grouped with a certain regard to formal symmetry, even to the extent of a central figure or mass with supporters.⁴⁶

However, he ended his review by acknowledging that Hunt's murals were successful as works of art and he hoped that the artist would be offered other opportunities for mural painting. "We sincerely trust that his genius may have better scope in his next trial, and may not again be condemned to a 'pent-up Utica' under a high vault, with a blaze of windows beneath and a semi-barbarous pomp of crude color above."⁴⁷

When Americans in the nineteenth century first began to turn their attention to the need for a public, symbolic art they were hopeful that an artist would emerge, preferably American, who would create murals that would have the sentiment and formal power of European art. Hunt, with his paintings in Albany, was acknowledged as the first American artist who came close to fulfilling this national ambition. They admired that Hunt in his murals did not resort to the depiction of local history or the deeds of war heroes or statesmen. Only tangentially, through the figure of the Discoverer, did they refer to the history of the United States. In The Flight of Night and its pendant, The Discoverer, Hunt melded a range of historic, artistic and literary influences into symbols that were interpreted in a variety of ways by his contemporaries. For the viewer in the nineteenth century Anahita was an obscure Zoroastrian goddess, a seated Aphrodite and guardian of the night, a figure who linked Near Eastern, Greek and Roman mythological traditions and who represented evil and ignorance before the dawn of civilization. Her pendant, Columbus, was seen as both a

European and American hero whose appearance expressed links between the Renaissance and the nineteenth century, and between the two continents--Europe and North America. Together, male and female, they represented eternal polarities--good and evil, day and night, destiny and fortune.

His success and contribution were noted by his contemporaries who also saw his work as far superior to Constantino Brumidi's frescoes for the United States Capitol (for further information on Brumidi's murals consult "A Brief Outline of Nineteenth-Century Mural Painting" in the Appendix). Furthermore, even though Hunt's murals were covered over ten years after they were finished, writers at the turn-of-the-century continued to extoll their significance.

One of the earliest interpretations was by a writer for the Albany Argus probably written in November 1878 while Hunt was still at work. In his article the writer explained why he believed painted allegories were appropriate for the State Capitol:

Many will no doubt be surprised that historical scenes were not chosen for representation, but a little reflection upon the reasons which militated against the selection of such pictures for the principal room of the New Capitol at this time will approve them to be perfectly sound. The main reason, and one sufficient in itself to conclude the matter, was that the most interesting incidents of American history are still of comparatively recent date, and consequently too much the subject of controversy to permit their being depicted in permanent form in a public building representing the magnitude and grandeur of the Empire State. It would not do to attempt to fix upon its walls by the pencil and color of the artist a scene which the investigations even of the present generation might prove to be erroneous in many of its details. The subjects adopted have been chosen with great care, having been sketched and done in colors in various sizes, a score of times or more. They are

appropriate in every respect and will be finished in such a manner that New Yorkers may rest assured their ears will never burn at hearing such criticisms as are visited upon the decorations of the rotunda of the Capitol at Washington.⁴⁸

A another writer, probably from Springfield, Massachusetts, singled out Hunt's murals as being the first successful adaptation of the European mural tradition done in this country:

The Albany capitol affords the first important instance in this country--for critics do not admit the frescoes at Washington into competition--of applying the noblest art to the mural decoration of a government hall, in the way in which art has been employed in Europe with such effect for centuries. It is a Massachusetts artist, William M. Hunt, whom many hold to be head and shoulders⁴⁹ above the rest of our painters, to whom this honor falls.

At the end of the century, mural painting's important new status in this country was acknowledged by writers as diverse as Royal Cortissoz, Russell Sturgis, Pauline King, Samuel Isham, and Charles Caffin. American painters including Will Low, John La Farge, Edwin Blashfield, and Kenyon Cox, also wrote on this art form new to the United States.⁵⁰ In his History of American Painting published in 1905, Isham devoted an entire chapter to American mural painting which he began by acknowledging its great potential. "While portrait painting which was the chief occupation of our earlier artists has lost something of its primary importance, mural painting which was practically unknown to them has had of late a great and gratifying development so that it may fairly be claimed at present as the most interesting and the most promising branch of our art."⁵¹ While there was an indigenous American Indian tradition of painting on stone, and artisans had decorated domestic interiors since the first colonial settlements these turn-of-the-century

histories of American mural painting claimed for its beginnings John La Farge's murals for Trinity Church and Hunt's murals for the Albany State Capitol.⁵² La Farge's and Hunt's contributions were summarized by Pauline King, whose American Mural Painting was the first book on the subject. She devoted an entire chapter to Hunt's work in Albany and acknowledged the primacy of his achievement. "Farther than this, the occasion was one of particular importance to us, as the order that Mr. Eidlitz gave William Morris Hunt, of Boston, for two mural paintings for the Assembly Chamber, was the first commission for the decoration of a public edifice."⁵³ Writers continued to credit the importance of Hunt's murals even though most of them, with the exception of Will Low, had never seen the murals in place. As noted by King, "photographs of the drawing and cartoons for the paintings in Trinity Church and the Albany Capitol hung in the art schools, and were owned by a very few persons with decidedly artistic tastes, who looked upon them with something of the awe with which the works of Old Masters are regarded."⁵⁴ Even if his work could not be seen in Albany, the images were well-known and had entered the lexicon of American iconography.

In an article, "Modern Mural Decoration in America," written for the International Studio in 1911, Selwyn Brinton expressed the esteem in which, even the memory, of Hunt's murals were held. He based his discussion of on the version of The Flight of Night in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts.

We can well imagine the enthusiasm which these fine mural paintings created when they were unveiled in the State Capitol....Ten years after their completion these fine frescoes had entirely disappeared from sight, while their

creator himself had passed away before them. The decorations of the Albany Capitol, the first serious work of the kind in modern America, were a memory only—a⁵⁵ memory of high hopes destined to failure and disappointment.

The purpose of this dissertation was to recover, evaluate and explore the influences found in Hunt's Albany murals. It is hoped that the material presented here will insure that, even though they can never be seen again, their importance will not be lost.

NOTES - Chapter Five

- ¹ Cecil Roseberry, The Capitol Story, p. 44.
- ² Ibid., p. 47.
- ³ Knowlton, p. 172, and pp. 169-170.
- ⁴ Angell, May 1880, p. 640.
- ⁵ Knowlton, p. 185.
- ⁶ Ibid., p. 188.
- ⁷ "Mr. Hunt's Sad Death, Portsmouth, N.H., Sept. 9." in "William Morris Hunt - Obituary Notices," Scrapbook, p. 4B.
- ⁸ Celia Thaxter, "William M. Hunt's Last Days. To the Editors of the Tribune" Appledore, Isles of Shoals, September 11, 1879, "Obituary Notices," p. 4D.
- ⁹ "William Hunt's Death," "Obituary Notices," p. 1A.
- ¹⁰ "William M. Hunt's Suicide, The Well-known Artist Throws Himself in to a Cistern on the Isle of Shoals," (New York Sun), "Obituary Notices," p. 15B.
- ¹¹ Helen M. Knowlton, "The Last Year of William Hunt's Life," "Obituary Notices," pp. 7B & 8A.
- ¹² "William M. Hunt," (Boston Herald, September, 9th), "Obituary Notices," p. 9C.
- ¹³ C(larence). C(ook). "A Tribute to the Dead Artist. To the Editor of the Tribune," New York, September 9, 1879, "Obituary Notices," p. 12B.
- ¹⁴ Ibid., p. 13A.
- ¹⁵ "Dr. Bartol Preaches Three Obituaries," "Obituary Notices," p. 10A. The other two men were Rev. Dr. Rollin H. Neale and Rev. W.H.H. Murray.
- ¹⁶ James Jackson Jarves, "The Late William Hunt: Florence, Italy, November 21, 1879." (Boston Herald Supplement, December 3, 1879), "Obituary Notices," p. 17A.

17 In the "William Morris Hunt - Notes on Exhibitions," Scrapbook there are innumerable notices of these exhibitions and auction. Regarding the latter, an unsigned notice, p. 45C, stated that: "Sixty-three paintings and one hundred and one drawings were sold during the two days [February 3 and 4], and the aggregate receipts were \$63,887. The sale was the most remunerative ever made in this city, and one of the most so in the country."

18 "The Albany Capitol, Report of Engineers on Its Architectural Deformities. (Special Dispatch to the Sunday Herald.) Albany, N.Y., Jan. 1, 1881." in "William Morris Hunt - The Capitol at Albany," Scrapbook, p. 10B.

19 "The Capitol at Albany," p. 3D. Carter's visit was also noted in another unidentified clipping, p. 18B.

20 "The Departed Ceiling. A Brief History of Its Construction and its Gradual Decay. Engineering News." "The Capitol at Albany," p. 23B.

21 Ibid.

22 Roseberry, pp. 84-85.

23 Report of the Assembly Chamber Ceiling, New York State Capitol, April 16, 1888. Copy in Roseberry files, New York State Library, Albany, New York.

24 "Anxious to Save the Fresco," in "William Morris Hunt -The Capitol at Albany," Scrapbook, p. 4A.

25 Louisa Dumaresq Hunt, "Paintings on Stone," Washington, D.C., April 14, 1888. Pamphlet in Artists' File, New York Public Library, n.p.

26 Thurlow Weed Barnes, "To Save Hunt's Wall Paintings. To the Editor of the Transcript," The Tudor, Beacon Street, July 24, 1888 in "William Morris Hunt -The Capitol at Albany," Scrapbook, p. 22B.

27 Ibid., p. 23A: "As this morning's Post tells us that a gentleman has gone to Albany to purchase the Hunt paintings from the walls of the Capitol. It may be well to state why they are not now housed at the Art Museum. Some two months ago Mr. John Snaith who holds a contract for replacing the ceiling finding that the proposed repairs involved the destruction of the one remaining painting unless removed, sent a proposal to the Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York to cut it out for the sum of \$3,500 - this covering also the cost of rebuilding the wall. That museum courteously passed over the offer to the one in Boston."

28 Ibid. According to an unidentified clipping in "William Morris Hunt - Notes on Exhibitions," Scrapbook, p. 37B, a committee was set up to "establish a permanent memorial of the late William Morris Hunt." On

this committee were: Horace Gray, Edward Bangs, Elizabeth H. Bartol, Henry I. Bowditch, Martin Brimmer, Edward C. Cabot, Charles P. Curtis, Charles H. Dalton, Sophia T. Darrah, William Dorsheimer, Edmund Dwight, John M. Forbes, George Fuller, Elizabeth B. Greene, Henry L. Higginson, Henry [sic] M. Knowlton, Susan M. Lane, Quincy A. Shaw, Samuel G. Ward and Sarah W. Whitman. "The form which it is proposed that the memorial shall take is that of a collection of such of the pictures of the late artist as can be obtained, the same to be deposited in the Museum of Fine Arts, where it will be both safe and accessible."

29 "'The Discoverer' by Hunt. Noblest Monument Boston Could Raise to Columbus." "The Capitol at Albany," p. 21B.

30 "Notes," The Studio, n.s. 3, New York (August 1888): 141.

31 Ibid.

32 According to an article in the New York Herald-Tribune, Ruth A. Folger, assistant professor of fine arts at Russell Sage College, Troy, New York in 1937, "organized a 'searching party' after reading in an art encyclopedia that the once famous painting hung from the assembly chamber walls." However, it was Folger's conclusion that the ceiling had been lowered because the 1911 fire had damaged the Assembly Chamber and that "when the building was rebuilt, . . . the mural [was] left in position - apparently undamaged by the flames." See "Long-Lost Mural Found in the Capitol at Albany," New York Herald Tribune (November 5, 1937) clipping in "William Morris Hunt," Artists' File, New York Public Library.

Currently the building is being restored and a three-day symposium on the history of the building was held in March 1981. These preservation efforts have resulted in the successful renovation of Richardson's Senate Chamber and restoration work in the Assembly Chamber is progressing.

33 Schuyler, AABN, December 14, 1878, p. 196.

34 Ibid., p. 197. The frieze by John Q.A. Ward referred to by Schuyler was never completed. The fine political hand of Richard Hunt may have been at work once more with regard to Ward receiving this commission. Over the years Ward worked in collaboration with Richard Hunt on at least nineteen monumental sculpture commissions including two which were completed before 1877: the Seventh Regiment Monument (1867-1868, Central Park, New York) and the Commodore Matthew Perry Monument (1865-1868, Newport, Rhode Island). Regarding Ward's commission Schuyler noted later in the Architectural Record, "Eidlitz - III", p. 370: "Mr. J.Q.A. Ward had been invited to do friezes between the two ranges of windows in the Assembly chamber to complement Hunt's allegorical frescoes in the lunettes above the upper range. The frieze for some now forgotten reason, never materialized."

35 Ibid.

36 Clarence Cook, "A Description of the Building, December 24" (New York Tribune, December 1878) in "William Morris Hunt - The Capitol at Albany," Scrapbook, p. 7.

37 Ibid. Cook also summarized the contemporary mural projects in the United States which led up to Hunt's work at Albany: "The decoration of Trinity Church in Boston by Mr. John La Farge, Mr. Frank Lathrop, Mr. Maynard, Mr. Millett and others; the painting of the chapel of Bowdoin College with pictures by Frank Lathrop, and the painting of the apex of St. Thomas's Church in this city by Mr. John La Farge, are works of importance, which have no doubt had a great influence in leading up to this employment of Mr. William Hunt in the painting of his two great pictures in the Assembly Room."

38 Henry Van Brunt, "The New Dispensation of Monumental Art" Atlantic Monthly, May 1879, pp. 633-641, and AABN, May 24, 1879, pp. 164-165. Reprinted in Architecture and Society; Selected Essays of Henry Van Brunt ed. William A. Coles (Cambridge: Belknap Press, Harvard University Press, 1969), p. 140.

39 Ibid., p. 141.

40 Ibid., pp. 141-142.

41 Ibid., p. 142.

42 Ibid.

43 Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française du XI au XVI siècle, (1868 edition), 7:56.

44 Ibid., 7:65.

45 Quoted in Aimee Brown Price, "The Decorative Aesthetic in the Work of Pierre Puvis de Chavannes," in Louise d'Argencourt, Marie-Christine Boucher, Douglas Druick and Jacques Foucart, Puvis de Chavannes (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1977), p. 22. It should also be noted that Richard Hunt commissioned Baudry to create a ceiling decoration for the Vanderbilt Mansion in 1881.

46 Van Brunt, p. 142.

47 Ibid., p. 144.

48 "The New Capitol," [The Albany Argus], n.d., "William Morris Hunt - The Capitol at Albany," Scrapbook, p. 1A.

49 "New Public Buildings," [Springfield ?], n.d., "William Morris Hunt - The Capitol at Albany," Scrapbook, p. 4A.

50 The following is a partial list of writings on American mural

painting at the turn-of-the-century. In addition to the specific books and articles mentioned below, several of these writers including Caffin, Cortissoz, Sturgis, La Farge, Blashfield, Low and Cox, wrote a number of articles on individual projects for the Boston Public Library, the Library of Congress, Appellate Division Courthouse, New York, etc. The first book on the history and technique of mural painting published in this country was, Frederic Crowninshield, Mural Painting. Other articles and books which followed included: Royal Cortissoz, "Mural Decorations in America (First Paper)," Century, November 1895, pp. 110-121; Will Low, "A Century of Painting," Mc Clure's Magazine, April 1897, pp. 472-482; Russell Sturgis, "Mural Painting in American Cities," Scribner's Magazine, January 1899, pp. 125-128; Pauline King, American Mural Painting (Boston: Noyes, Platt & Co., 1902); Samuel Isham, "Recent Mural Decorations" in History of American Painting (New York: Macmillan; 2nd edition with supplemental chapters by Royal Cortissoz, 1927), pp. 538-560; John La Farge, "The Decoration of Our Public Buildings," Scrip, August 1906, pp. 355-357; Charles H. Caffin, "Some Notes on Mural Painting," in The Story of American Art (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1907), pp. 304-331, reprinted as "The Beginning and Growth of Mural Painting in America," in The Bookman 28 (1908): 127-139; Edwin Blashfield, Mural Painting in America (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1913); and Kenyon Cox, "Some Phases of Nineteenth-Century Painting, Part III, Mural Painting in France and America," Art World 2 (April 1917): 11-15.

51 Isham, p. 538.

52 There is a native American mural tradition that dates from at least 1100 A.D., when--in what is now known as Utah--the prehistoric Fremont people drew on the rock walls of caves. See David Gebhard, "Rock Art," in American Indian: Form and tradition, (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 1972). In addition there was a long tradition in this country of domestic wall painting, a tradition that dates from the early colonial settlements to the 1850s, when it was superseded by the introduction of machine-printed wallpapers. In New England this vogue for painted and decorated domestic interiors reached its height during the first half of the nineteenth century when artists such as Rufus Porter (1791-1884) painted scenic panoramas, often adapted from imported European wallpapers, directly on the walls of hallways, dining rooms and stairwells. Porter, who has been called our foremost early mural painter, was active in northern New England from 1825 to 1840. He also wrote extensively on his experiences and experiments with wall painting which he later published in the first volume of Scientific American, a publication which he founded in 1845. While one could imagine that Hunt saw wall paintings such as Porter's while he was growing up in Vermont, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, there is little to connect indigenous folk art tradition of Porter and the European, old master tradition of monumental mural painting of Hunt's Albany murals. See: Robert L. McGrath, "Rediscovery: Rufus Porter in Vermont," Art in America, January/February 1968, pp. 78-79. Also Jean Lipman, Rufus Porter, Yankee Pioneer, (New York: Clarkson N. Potter 1968; revised edition, as Rufus Porter, Rediscovered, 1980).

53 King, p. 41.

54 Ibid., p. 55.

55 Selwyn Brinton, "Modern Mural Painting in America,"
International Studio, January 1911, p. 176.

THE ALBANY MURALS OF WILLIAM MORRIS HUNT

by

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APPENDIX

A BRIEF HISTORY OF NINETEENTH-CENTURY MURAL PAINTING

The stated purpose of this dissertation was to document and interpret William Morris Hunt's mural paintings for the Albany State Capitol in 1878. During the course of this research, it became evident that there was a great deal to be learned about the entire history of nineteenth-century mural painting. It is an enormous subject and this appendix is to be regarded only as an outline which will, hopefully, be the beginning of research into an area that can tell us a great deal about the art and culture of this era.

One of the least discussed aspects of nineteenth-century art, the revival of this ancient technique had its beginnings in France and in Italy where it was initiated by the German Nazarene artists in the first decades of the century.¹ Later in France, an interest in mural painting continued with the reestablishment of the Bourbon monarchy under Charles X, and received additional support in the 1840s from the Catholic Church which commissioned mural paintings for old and new churches. In Germany the development was stimulated by Crown Prince Ludwig of Bavaria (later Ludwig I) who recalled one of the Nazarene artists, Peter von Cornelius, from Rome in 1819 to decorate the Munich Glyptothek. Later Cornelius,

who in the 1840s was thought to be the most learned muralist in Europe, was invited by the English to advise them on frescoing for the new Houses of Parliament. In the United States the construction of new government buildings--beginning with the Capitol in Washington--stimulated an interest in fresco and mural painting here, as well.

Because of its dependence on a decorative milieu, nineteenth-century mural painting is associated with architectural historicism or eclecticism. The development of architectural historicism, as well as mural painting, in the nineteenth century is not well understood for it transcends the usual division of the century into discrete movements such as neo-classicism, romanticism, realism, naturalism, etc. Instead these changes in architectural style and decoration are better seen as responses to certain political and historical developments such as the restoration of the monarchy in France, the religious revival in both France and England, and the rise of nationalism later in the century. Allied to these were the researches of the historian, medievalist, archaeologist and antiquarian all of whom gave a broad and meaningful context for the new religious enthusiasms and emerging concepts of self-government. Furthermore, the archaeological research into the history of English and French Gothic architecture and the writing of ancient and contemporary history often provided stylistic and narrative programs for architecture and its decoration.

The immediate impact that both factors, religion and nationalism, had on architecture was the restoration of medieval monuments throughout

Europe, principally in England and France. This was followed by new church building which, over the course of the century reflected the entire history of medieval architecture: English Middle Pointed, French High Gothic, German Romanesque and the polychromed architecture of Venice, Pisa, and Granada. Nineteenth architectural historicism also led to the revival of many traditional crafts relative to architectural design such as mosaic, ceramic tile, stained glass, and mural painting.

The development of nationalism in Europe emerged after the Congress of Vienna in 1814. Initially, the Congress was called together by the Austrian Emperor Francis I, in order to establish new national boundaries following the defeat of Napoleon I and his exile to Elba in 1814. Participating were the four major powers--Austria, Russia, Prussia and Great Britain--and, through the skilled negotiations of Charles Maurice de Talleyrand, France. In addition to the assignment of new European territorial boundaries, the Congress was responsible for the creation of a new German confederation, and the division of Poland. The most important outcome of the Congress of Vienna was the rise of the modern nation-state that in France replaced the absolute power of the monarchy, in Germany emerged with the unification of several principalities, and in Great Britain was reflected through the expanded power of the Parliament.

During the next three decades, 1820-1850, this rise of nationalism was nurtured by a search for a common national identity, a quest that was furthered by research into each nation's early history, folklore, ancient heroes, historic monuments, songs and legends. Later in the

century these researches were reflected in works such as Richard Wagner's The Ring of the Nibelungen (1853-1874), Alfred Lord Tennyson's Idylls of the King (1859 and 1872), and Puvis de Chavannes's mural decoration for the staircase of the City Hall in Poitiers, A.D. 732: Charles Martel Delivers Christendom by his Victory over the Saracens near Poitiers and Having Withdrawn to the Convent of Sainte-Croix, Saint Radegonde Shelters Poets and Protects Literature from the Barbarism of the Age, Seventh Century (both dated 1874). During the nineteenth century the writing of history became a major industry in Europe and the United States. The range of inquiry was vast. Its beginnings can be traced to the Enlightenment with the publication of Edward Gibbon's The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (1776-1788). This was furthered by the great historical writings of the Germans: Barthold Georg Niebuhr, Karl Otfried Muller, and Leopold von Ranke. Also, in the nineteenth century historians, archaeologists, antiquarians, as well as philologists such as Jakob and Wilhelm Grimm, began the compilation of ancient charters and folklore, and the preservation of documents of the recent history of the American and French Revolutions.²

With the growth of popular government in Europe and the United States, new state buildings, court houses, treasury building, post offices and war departments were needed. New space was either constructed or old buildings were renovated and refurbished. Mural painting which became an increasingly important element in the decoration of these buildings, gave visual reinforcement to the ideals of new state governments. Many of the early English efforts were

nostalgic illustrations of significant historical moments, while in Germany early projects were often the learned rendering of classical allegory and personification. However, a change began to happen in France with projects such as Delacroix's murals for the Palais Bourbon. Here Delacroix borrowed elements from a Baroque style of mural painting, a style traditionally associated with the glorification of the monarch or the church, and adapted it for a program that glorified the state. Others followed, namely Théodore Chassériau and Puvis de Chavannes who, along with Delacroix, invested traditional symbols with new meaning and constructed visual programs that reflected current democratic developments and new historical research.

Paralleling this rise of the nation state was an intense religious revival throughout Europe and the United States. In Great Britain this led to extensive investigations into medieval church architecture and the rehabilitation of English Gothic churches. These investigations also led to the building of new churches both in England and the United States in the English Gothic or Anglican style. So popular was the appeal of this revival that, beginning in the 1840s, the Gothic style was adopted for civic and domestic architecture as well.

The earliest researches into English Gothic architecture were government sponsored. The Church Building Act of 1818 established a Board of Commissioners whose job it was to oversee both the renovation of historic Gothic churches and the building of new ones. These churches built between 1818 and 1833 came to be called Commissioners Churches and announced the Gothic Revival.³ The English Gothic influence

was popularized for contemporary use by various writers. Most notable were the Pugins, Augustus Charles Pugin (1762-1832) and Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812-1852), father and son, who wrote in collaboration, Specimens of Gothic Architecture (1821-1823). Following the elder Pugin's death in 1832, A.W.N. Pugin became the chief advocate and proponent of the Gothic Revival. With his conversion to Catholicism in 1841, it became for him a personal, spiritual mission. In his Contrasts or a Parallel Between the Architecture of the fifteenth and 19th Centuries (1836), Pugin illustrated what he believed to be the moral superiority of medieval architecture by contrasting the finer and more integrated use of decoration, the truer proportions, the superior building materials, and the greater regard for the site found in the Gothic buildings of the 15th century, with contemporary building practices. Like John Ruskin twenty years later, he believed that when modern-day architects returned to medieval methods and practice, the quality of building would be improved and society as a whole would benefit. This conviction that good architectural practice led to social betterment took on even stronger religious overtones in his next book The True Principles of Pointed or Christian Architecture (1841). Pugin's enormous influence, like other aspects of traditional art in the nineteenth century, has not received enough attention. In addition to promoting the use of the Gothic style, it was his attitude towards architecture's symbolic importance for the moral improvement of the community that would be reechoed—without the religious overtones—in the writings of Louis Sullivan, Frank Lloyd Wright and Walter Gropius in the twentieth century.

Pugin was not alone in his growing religiosity. His architectural researches were put to use by the emerging Oxford and Ecclesiological Movements (both founded in 1833) that sought to renew the Church of England through the closer adherence to certain aspects of Roman Catholic doctrine and ritual. For the Ecclesiologists the style of church architecture became an important issue and the English Decorated or English Middle-Pointed Gothic was believed to be the truest expression of their more doctrinaire form of worship. These religious and architectural debates also spread to the United States.⁴

However, with regard to mural painting, the English Gothic with its rich decoration and tracery, multiple ribbed vaulting, and ogee-arched windows filled with stained glass provided little wall space or necessity for mural painting. The revival of this ancient technique in England, while related to the Gothic Revival, did not emerge in church architecture, but in another major Gothic-inspired project--the new Houses of Parliament. The old houses of Parliament had been destroyed by fire in 1834. In 1836, Sir Charles Barry, in collaboration with Pugin, was hired to design the new buildings. The decoration for this important government building led directly to the revival of fresco painting in Great Britain, although neither Barry nor Pugin were responsible for this development. This decision to include fresco painting arose from a lay commission appointed in 1841 "to consider 'the promotion of the fine arts in this country in connexion [sic] with the building of the Houses of Parliament.'"⁵ This promotion of the fine arts by the State was advocated because it was felt that it would lead to an

improvement in the design and quality of English manufacturers and, echoing Pugin's writings, an improvement in the country's moral climate. This interest in the decoration of public buildings was not restricted to Great Britain. Ten years later a comparable committee was established in Washington to advise Captain Montgomery Meigs on the decoration of the United States Capitol Extension.

Members of this lay commission for the Houses of Parliament included the prime minister, Sir Robert Peel; the President of the Board of Trade, Henry Labouchere; a member of the House of Commons, William Ewart; and a group of prominent citizens concerned with matters of taste. Fresco painting was among the chief interests of this committee for several reasons: it was considered the highest branch of the fine arts, it required a communal effort and the employment of many workmen, and it was a way to visually document England's glorious past. After its establishment the Committee immediately began to interview many authorities on the techniques and history of fresco painting including Peter von Cornelius who through his earlier work in Rome and Munich was "regarded as the schoolmaster of Europe in all matters of wall painting."⁶

As early as 1814, while living in Rome as member of a German colony of artists called the Nazarenes, Cornelius had expressed his interest in the revival of fresco painting and its relationship to the development of the German national state: "At last I come to what according to my innermost conviction would I feel, be the most powerful, I would say infallible means of giving German art a new direction compatible with

the great era of the nation and with its spirit: this would be nothing less than the revival of Fresco-painting as it was practiced from the great Giotto to the divine Raphael."⁷ His first commission to do mural paintings came in 1816 from the Prussian Consul-General, Jakob Solomon Bartholdy, for a room in the Palazzo Zuccari (transferred in 1888 to the Nationalgalerie, now East Berlin). Done in collaboration with other Nazarene artists, Johann Friedrich Overbeck, Philipp Veit, and Wilhelm von Schadow, the murals reflected the work of many Renaissance masters including, according to Fritz Novotny, Masaccio, Fra Angelico, Gozzoli, Signorelli, Perugino, Carpaccio, Raphael, Pintoricchio and Sodoma.⁸

A second project was commissioned by the Marchese Carlo Massimo for three rooms in his villa in Rome. Begun by Cornelius and Overbeck in 1817, the frescoes took ten years to complete. However, Cornelius was replaced by Veit when he returned to Germany in 1819 to create mural paintings for the Glyptothek in Munich, a building where the royal collection of sculpture was housed. Here Cornelius turned to classical mythology basing many of his subjects on the writings of Hesiod and Homer. Other murals by Cornelius included the Last Judgement (1836-1839) for the choir of the Ludwigskirche, Munich, and, the great project of his lifetime, a series of murals for a proposed 'Campo Santo' in Berlin. Unfinished at the time of his death, his cartoons are all that remain of this ambitious project.

In addition to Cornelius, the select Committee interviewed experts and scholars from many different fields. Among them was Sir Charles Lock Eastlake, whose researches resulted in the publication of

Contributions to the Literature of the Fine Arts (1848) that included an important history of fresco painting. Eastlake's nephew, also called Charles Lock Eastlake, was the author of the influential Hints on Household Taste (1868). More interesting to nineteenth-century artists than histories of fresco painting, were researches into the actual technique of fresco painting. One scholar, Mrs. Mary Philadelphia Merrifield, whose books Hunt consulted, was asked to translate Cennino Cennini's Il Libro dell'Arte. Based on Giuseppe Tambroni's 1821 Italian edition, Mrs. Merrifield's book, A Treatise on Painting (1844), was the first English translation of Cennini's handbook. Written in c. 1390, Cennini was the first to write on the art of Italian tempera painting and included extensive notes on the technique of fresco. Following the success of her Cennini translation, Mrs. Merrifield published other books on Renaissance fresco painting and related architectural decoration techniques: The Art of Fresco Painting as Practiced by the Old Italian and Spanish Masters (1844), and Original Treatises on the Arts of Painting in Oil, Miniature, Mosaic and on Glass, of Gilding, Dyeing and Preparations of Colours and Artificial Gems (1849).

Research on the art of fresco painting was available ten years later in the United States, for in 1861 it became the subject of a series of articles in The Crayon titled "Fresco Painting," excerpted from T.C. Gulick and J. Times's book Painting Popularly Explained. The writers explained in their opening paragraph the basis for this new interest in fresco painting.

The fact that the grandest works of human genius in painting have been executed in fresco, not to speak of the

great development in our times in fresco painting in Germany, and the revival of this style of art in England for the decoration of the New Palaces at Westminster - will assuredly justify our treating the subject at some length; especially as the details are interesting, and there appear to be frequent misconceptions in reference thereto.

However, the stylistic influence of British mural painting on the actual creation of frescoes or mural paintings in the United States did not appear until the turn-of-the-century, with the work of Edward Austin Abbey (1852-1911) and Frank Millet (1846-1912) both of whom spent many years of their professional life in England.¹⁰

Commissions for the frescoes for the Houses of Parliament were awarded after two competitions. The first was in 1842 "for cartoon drawings 'executed in chalk or charcoal, . . illustrating subjects from British History, or from the works of Spenser, Shakespeare or Milton.'"¹¹ One hundred and forty cartoons were submitted and exhibited the following year in Westminster Hall. Among the winners were Edward Armitage for his Caesar's Invasion of Britain, George Frederick Watts for his Caractacus Led in Triumph through the Streets of Rome, and Charles West Cope for his The First Trial by Jury.

Although most of these cartoons have been lost, their fame was spread since many of the prize-winning entries were published as lithographs. However, it was not until 1846 that a competition was held to determine who would be awarded commissions for specific fresco projects for the Houses of Parliament.

The Commissioners then proceeded in 1845 to a further competition for specimens of fresco painting, as a result of which it was announced that six arched spaces in the Lords' Chamber would be the first parts to be painted. After many

delays and further discussions as to the most suitable medium, one subject, The Baptism of Ethelbert was definitely assigned to William Dyce. In the following year [Daniel] Maclise was commissioned to paint The Spirit of Chivalry, Cope The Black Prince Receiving the Garter and [John Calcott] Horsley Religion.

Meanwhile, in France, the Bourbon monarchy had been restored. During the 1820s, Louis XVIII and Charles X began extensive renovations of the Louvre, the Palace of Versailles and the Palais Bourbon. Mural paintings by leading French artists such as François-Joseph Heim, Ingres and Delacroix were included in all three restoration programs. During the 1830s, the successor to Louis XVIII and Charles X, Louis Philippe, began an official inventory of French Gothic buildings and appointed Ludovic Vitet in 1831 as Inspector-General of Ancient Monuments. He was succeeded in this post by the author of Carmen (1847), Prosper Mérimée (1803-1870), in 1833. Over the next eighteen years, Mérimée personally supervised the research and restoration of many of France's most famous medieval monuments. His researches, along with those of other French scholars, were published in the Revue générale de l'architecture et des travaux publics in the late 1840s and early 1850s. Those relevant to the art of fresco and mural painting were two published by the painter and student of Baron Antoine Gros, Pierre-Jules Jollivet (1803-1871), "De la peinture murale, et particulièrement de la peinture à la fresque, de ses procédés et de ses avantages" in 1849 and 1851, and one by Mérimée, "De la peinture murale et de son emploi dans l'architecture moderne" in 1851.¹³

For the actual restoration of these monuments Mérimée was joined in 1838 by the architect, engineer and theoretician, Viollet-le-Duc. Among

the many renovations for which Viollet was responsible were the restorations of the Church of the Madeleine at Vézelay (1840-1859), Notre Dame Cathedral in Paris (1845-1864), the abbey of St. Denis, Paris (1851-1879), the fortifications at Carcassonne (1852-1879), and the Château of Pierrefonds, Oise (1858-1870). His renovations, however, were controversial for they were often too vividly colored and over-restored, reflecting Viollet's artistic taste rather than being true to the Gothic spirit.¹⁴ More important, though, than either Viollet's preservation work or his own buildings, which were few in number, were his architectural writings: Dictionnaire Raisoné de l' Architecture Française du XIe au XVIe siècle and Entretiens sur l'Architecture.

Of all the European countries France, in terms of both practice and decorative programs, was responsible for the most prolific and steady creation of mural paintings throughout the nineteenth century. In the first half of the century most of these mural paintings were framed wall paintings either of allegorical subjects or of French history, imitating the Italian Baroque tradition. Very few, with the exception of some church murals, were conceived programmatically. Also, these commissions were often for existing historic French palaces and buildings instead of new construction. These historic buildings included the Louvre, the Palais Bourbon, the Palace at Versailles, the Madeleine and the Hôtel de Ville.

Up until the mid-nineteenth century the Louvre was a royal palace.¹⁵ Its evolution as a public museum began in 1803 when, as the Musée Napoleon, it became the storehouse for the art works acquired by

Napoleon and his armies during their conquest of Europe. In addition it became one of the earliest sites for nineteenth-century mural painting. Prior to its transformation as the Musée Napoleon, Bonaparte, then first consul, retained Pierre-Paul Prud'hon to paint two ceiling decorations, Study Guiding the Flight of Genius (1801) for the Hall of Antonius and Diana Begging Jupiter not to Enslave Hymen (1803) for the Greek Sculpture Hall. These murals by Prud'hon recalled the early sixteenth century Baroque painting of Correggio and the French Rococo artist François Boucher. Unlike the later mural programs of Delacroix and Puvis de Chavannes, Prud'hon's paintings were conceived as individual examples of monumental decorative painting.

In the 1820s Charles X, in emulation of Napoleon I, created the Musée Charles X within the Louvre and commissioned a number of artists to create ceiling decorations for several rooms or galleries.¹⁶ Among the commissioned works were Michael-Martin Drolling's Law Descending to Earth (1825); Ingres's The Apotheosis of Homer (1827, removed in 1855 and relocated in the Louvre); Gros's The Genius of France Inspires the Arts and Protects Humanity (1827); François-Joseph Heim's two ceiling decorations (1826 and 1828); and Achille Devéria's Puget Presenting the sculpture, Milo of Cortona to Louis XIV (1832).¹⁷

Another important building, the Palace of Versailles, was, like the Parisian palaces, subject to a great deal of restoration. Built for Louis XIV by the architects Louis Le Vau and Jules Hardouin Mansart between 1669 and 1685, the first efforts at restoration were begun by Napoleon I who retained as supervising architects, Charles Percier and

P.-F.-L. Fontaine. Mural paintings were added by Louis XVIII who hired Heim to create a series of allegorical murals honoring France's military victories. These included works such as Valor and Military Vigilance (both 1817). Other paintings based on military themes were painted by Deveria in the early 1830s. Later, Louis Philippe, for his Pavilion du Roi, created a Gallery of Battles for which he commissioned historical painting that also celebrated the glorious victories of the French armies. These included another work by Heim, The Battle of Rocroy (1840), and one by Paul Delaroche Charlemagne Crossing the Alps (1847).¹⁸

While the Louvre was the first French building to accommodate nineteenth-century mural painting, it was in the Palais Bourbon that Delacroix created the most significant mural programs of the first half of the nineteenth century. Built in the eighteenth century during the reign of Louis XV by the architects Giardini and Lessurance, renovations were begun in the late 1820s by Charles X who hired J.-J.-B. de Joly as supervisor and designer of a new library. However, Delacroix was hired during the second phase of restoration work by Louis Philippe who, in consultation with his prime minister Adolphe Thiers, commissioned him to create two large-scale decorative programs, one for the Salon du Roi (1833-1838), the other for the Library of the Chamber of Deputies (1838-1847).¹⁹

The Salon du Roi is a square room, now a reception room for the French legislature, that can be entered from all sides. All four walls have three arched openings, eleven of which are glassed. Delacroix's

decorations are confined to the four pairs of pilasters, which separate the archways, and the spandrels above. These paintings were done in oil and wax on plaster. He also painted eight ceiling panels on canvas that were then cemented to the wall, a process called marouflage.

The scenes on the eight pilasters are allegorical representations of the six principal rivers of France--the Loire, the Rhine, the Seine, the Rhone, the Garonne, the Saone--and its two neighboring seas, the Ocean and the Mediterranean. On the spandrels above the glassed arched doors are four separate symbolic representations of civic enterprise: Justice, Industry, War and Agriculture. In the coffered ceiling the eight allegorical panels are related to the scenes in the spandrels. What is significant about Delacroix's program is that, for the first time in the nineteenth century, traditional personifications of justice, industry, war and agriculture are given a modern role that express the new responsibilities of a nation-state. Neither the Church nor the monarchy are glorified nor even alluded to. Furthermore, the personifications of rivers on the pilasters symbolize the country's lifeblood. These rivers and seas link cities and nations, transporting ideas and the products of industry and agriculture. In later murals Delacroix's programs, particularly those for the Library of the Chamber of Deputies, were more personal and literary, but the theme of the decorations for the Salon du Roi--the role of the modern state in the life of the citizenry--would be taken up again in later programs by Chassériaux and Puvis de Chavannes.

Unfortunately there have been few attempts to integrate an understanding of Delacroix's mural paintings, which occupied the last

thirty years of his life, with the image of him as the exemplar of the revolutionary Romantic painter. One of the problems is that mural painting, because of its public nature, is more conservative in content. However, the conservatism of his murals was not inconsistent with his own political leanings after the 1830 Revolution. According to George L. Hersey, Delacroix became disenchanted with the ideals of a people's democracy and while he was not a monarchist, he was without a doubt an "ex-democrat. "

Delacroix's own politics were appropriate to this monarchist mood. Like Louis Philippe, he was by now an ex-democrat. The man who in 1829-1830, had painted Liberty Guiding the People would in 1849 predict that 'progress' and revolution were leading France to barbarism. Delacroix's mural painting, beginning with the Salon du Roi,... reflects this conservative side of his nature. In contrast to his frothing, incandescent easel pictures the public paintings invoke a traditional Franco-Italian order and sobriety.²⁰

Typical of most modern assessments of Delacroix's murals is that of Walter Friedlander who focused on the decorative aspects of Delacroix's murals and ignored their rich iconographical content. According to Friedlander, Delacroix's murals fail as decoration because, unlike his Baroque predecessors, he was not free to integrate his compositional ideas into the preexisting architectural decoration.

Ceiling decoration (seen as pure art and not for its decorative value) is always difficult for the public. Apart from the Sistine Chapel which is in a class by itself, very few ceiling decorations have become popular. Besides, Delacroix developed no essentially new decorative ideas; and no facet of work surpassed the showpieces of the great frescoes painters of the cinquecento and the high baroque. This was partly due to the fact that a Veronese in the Villa Maser, an Annibale Carracci in the Palazzo Farnese, a Rubens in the Luxembourg, a Tiepolo in Wurzburg could work in rooms which they themselves had more or less helped to create or which were adequate to their particular styles; that a

Pietro da Cortona could pour out his stream of fiery baroque color in the state rooms of Roman and Florentine palaces which were conceived with such works in mind and which were awaiting their final completion by them. Delacroix, however - and all monumental painting in the nineteenth century suffers from this - had to decorate rooms that were already historic monuments; it was really a sort of archeology: ceilings in the Palais Bourbon covered with a row of cupolas and niches [Library of the Chamber of Deputies], the Lebrun showroom of the Louvre where subordination was demanded [Apollo Gallery], chapels in churches such as St. Sulpice.²¹

However, the judgement of Delacroix's contemporaries does not confirm Friedlander's viewpoint. Each one of his projects was an occasion for critical attention by the leading commentators of the day including Théophile Gautier, Gustave Planche for the Revue des deux Mondes, Théophile Thore, and Charles Baudelaire. In their reviews these critics described in detail Delacroix's programs and acknowledged his accomplishment in the highest terms. For instance, in 1863 shortly after Delacroix's death, the critic and relative of La Farge, Paul de Saint-Victor wrote in La Presse: "Mais l'oeuvre la plus considérable d'Eugène Delacroix est la décoration de la bibliothèque du Palais Bourbon. C'est là qu'il a déployé dans toute son ampleur, ce génie de composition dont seul, entre les artistes de notre époque, il semble avoir hérité des grandes écoles italiennes de la Renaissance." Saint-Victor continued his review with a detailed description of the Library decorations and noted in conclusion: "Jamais de notre temps la peinture monumentale ne s'est élevée à cette hauteur. Une clarté merveilleuse règne dans cette profusion de scènes et d'images; les pensées brillent à travers les formes, les symboles se révèlent au premier regard, chaque sujet caractérise un génie ou dramatise une époque avec la netteté du langage."²²

What modern writers ignore is that the content of Delacroix's murals was as important as their success as decoration and that his iconographic programs broke with past. While they do reflect a more personal conservatism they are in no way imitative of the contemporary renderings glorifying French monarchs--past and present--such as Heim's or Gros's. What Delacroix created were new modern programs that transcended the particular politics of those in power, be they royalist or democrat.

These new ideas were developed even more programmatically in his commission for the Library of the Chamber of Deputies. Also located in the Palais Bourbon, they were painted between 1838 and 1847. The Library is a long narrow room divided into five bays; each bay is created by transverse arches whose four pendentives are topped by a glass dome. At each end of the room is an apse. The areas assigned to Delacroix were the twenty pendentives in the five bays and the two hemicycle areas of the upper portion of the apses. The pendentive decorations were done in oil on canvas marouflage; the hemicycle decorations were painted in oil and wax directly on the plaster.

On one level the subjects of these decorations are those that one generally associates with the classifications of knowledge in a library--science, history, philosophy, legislation, eloquence, theology and poetry. But, as noted by Hersey, the personages and events that Delacroix chose to symbolize these classifications are not traditional and follow no discernible chronology or ordering: "What library would

contain the laws of Numa or histories written by Chaldean shepherds? Indeed why are these latter considered historians at all? And why does the Theology bay contain no theologians? Why is Achilles a poet? Why not a direct representation of Homer instead of an indirect one of Alexander treasuring his poems?"²³ The philosophic basis of his program, according to Hersey, reflected Delacroix's knowledge of the eighteenth-century Italian philosopher and historian Giambattista Vico, whose writings, specifically his Scienza Nuova Seconda (1744), were well-known in Delacroix's circle and helped explain "the oddities of subject matter...and, more importantly, it presents Antiquity as a set of independent cyclical histories of intellectual disciplines, involving a conflict between heroes and the mob."²⁴ This concept, that civilization was advanced by the hero and retarded by the mob, is summarized in the two large paintings for the apses: Orpheus comes to civilize the Greeks in their wild state, and to teach them the arts of Peace on the southern end, by Attila followed by his hordes crushes out the life of civilization on the northern end. Furthermore, Delacroix's program reflected his own personal philosophy, reinforced by France's fate following the revolutions of 1789 and 1830, that the achievements of civilization represented by the hero, writer, philosopher, etc., were jeopardized by ignorance and disorder.

This, his most complex civic program, was followed a few years later by a commission to paint a circular ceiling panel for the Galerie d'Apollon in the Louvre (1850-1851). Here in his painting Victory of Apollo over Python, Delacroix returned to the theme of the Palais

Bourbon, the hero victorious over a menacing protagonist. As the title implied, Apollo, the hero and putative father of Orpheus, in his triumph over the Python checked the dark, irrational forces that destroy civilization.²⁵ Delacroix even in his religious decorations, such as those for the Chapelle des Saint-Anges in the Church of Saint Sulpice, continued this theme of hero and protagonist, substituting biblical heroes and protagonists for those of ancient history or mythology.²⁶

After mid-century the leading French muralists were Paul Baudry and Puvis de Chavannes. Hunt and Puvis were in Couture's studio at the same time and Hunt may have seen the framed replicas of the four Amiens paintings which Puvis exhibited at the Universal Exposition in 1867. Begun in the early 1860s, he exhibited two of these paintings, War and Peace in the Salon of 1861. The latter was bought by the State and so as not to split the pair, Puvis donated War. These two, along with a related pair of framed paintings Labor and Rest (both 1863), were installed in the new Napoleon Musuem, now Picardy Museum, Amiens in 1864. To accompany these paintings, Puvis, at the time they were installed, created eight small oval panels of symbolic figures: The Spinner, The Harvester, Triumph, Despair, Abundance, War, Study, and Contemplation. Over the years Puvis did two additional large-scale panels that incorporated the themes of the original four paintings but expanded their meaning to include the ancient or traditional life of the French citizen, with particular reference to the land and occupations of the region of Picardy where Amiens is located: Ave Picardia Nutrix (Nourishing Picardy) (1865) and Pro Patria Ludus (Game for the

Fatherland) (1880-1882). As noted by Louise d'Argencourt, this entire suite interweaves traditional personifications and local history with the occupations and concerns of a modern society.

Ave Picardia Nutrix [or]... 'Nourishing Picardy,' as a theme, allows the illustration of fecundity in all its forms: the fecundity of the race (mother-child groups), fertility of the soil (oxen, products of the fields which provide man's food), productivity through labour (construction of a house, then of a bridge to disseminate all these riches)... This painting, which is meant by Puvis to call to mind or evoke the origins of Picardy, is contemporary with the extraordinary proliferation in France of learned societies and with the great 'decentralization' movement of the 1860s--a movement whose basic aims were, through the serious compilation of archives, to rediscover the particular characteristics--at once historical, archaeological, artistic, literary and scientific, economic and social--of the different regions of France.

Puvis was widely admired in the United States and received 250,000 francs (approximately \$50,000) for a suite of mural paintings for the staircase of the Boston Public Library in 1896. Before that, in 1887, Frederick Crowninshield in his book Mural Painting, the first book on the subject published in this country, reproduced murals by Puvis and acknowledged his supremacy as a decorator.

Hunt's program in Albany was not as ambitious nor as programmatic as Delacroix's or Puvis de Chavannes's. However, his work was allied to theirs in several ways. Hunt's murals were conceived as more than architectural decoration, and more than framed history paintings. Although he was criticized for ignoring the decorative conventions of the middle ages, his paintings were acknowledged as expressing important new meanings for a country which was just beginning to gain an appreciation for the value of architectural and pictorial symbolism in

its public buildings. The most important of these at the time being the United States Capitol.

The history of the building of the United States Capitol is even longer and more complicated than the history of the Albany statehouse, spanning as it does the entire nineteenth century. As monumental architecture the Capitol was and remains today a powerful symbol of this country's democratic ideals. In addition, its classically-inspired design was reproduced in numerous state capitols after 1830.²⁸ With regard to its sculpted and painted decoration, debates raged for many years over what historic narratives or personages, allegories or personifications should be depicted. The other large debate was the technical competency of native-born painters and sculptors to do this work. These debates, well documented in Lillian B. Miller's Patrons and Patriotism, made the building of the Capitol one of the most important national artistic projects of the nineteenth century.²⁹

The first architect of the Capitol was William Thornton, an amateur architect, whose classically inspired plans won approval in 1793. Thornton's design, which dominates its appearance even today, consisted of a central block, originally to be capped by a low dome, flanked on the north and south by the two houses of Congress. While Thornton was not permitted to supervise its construction, the north wing and the exterior of the south wing were built according to his specifications. With the election of Thomas Jefferson, himself an amateur architect, responsibility for the completion of the Capitol was transferred in 1803 to Benjamin Latrobe (1764-1820), an English-born architect and

engineer. Earlier, Latrobe had worked in Richmond with Jefferson on the construction of the Virginia State Penitentiary (1797-1798). Latrobe, according to the architectural historian Leland Roth, shared Jefferson's commitment to the important symbolic value of architecture for the new nation.

When building resumed with improved economic conditions after the Peace of Paris, architecture in the new United States of America began to change as architects came to feel that it should be symbolic of the new nation.

The constitutional government was an experiment in applied Enlightenment philosophy which rejected monarchical absolutism and attempted to recreate the natural society in which it is believed men were meant to live. Thus architects correspondingly rejected Baroque-Rococo complication of form in search of a simpler architecture suggestive of the first civilized state of primal man. The most radical architects, such as Ledoux in France and Jefferson and Latrobe in the United States, even suggested that architecture should be an instrument of social reform, a tool to reshape men's minds and to enhance civil intercourse.³⁰

As superintendent of construction and a professionally trained designer, Latrobe was also responsible for the interior decoration of the Capitol. Among the earliest recorded decorations commissioned by the United States government was a ceiling painting by the Philadelphia artist, George Bridport for the Hall of the House of Representatives. Unfortunately it was destroyed by the British in 1814.³¹ In his Art and Artists of the Capitol of the United States of America, Charles Fairman included a portion of a letter dated September 11, 1808, from Latrobe to Jefferson regarding Bridport's commission. "Mr. Bridport's ceiling will do him great honor. I fear the members will think it too fine, and I doubt not but that Mr. [John] Randolph [Congressman from Roanoke,

Virginia who that same year had been sharply critical of Latrobe's expenditures] will abuse it. The contract is for \$3,500 all expenses included."³²

However, because of unceasing legislative complaints about expenditures, Latrobe resigned in 1817. He was succeeded by the Boston architect, Charles Bulfinch (1763-1844), an appropriate choice following the success of his designs for state capitols in Hartford (1793-1796), and in Boston (1795-1797). The same year that Bulfinch came to Washington, the painter John Trumbull (1756-1843) won a commission to paint four monumental paintings for the Capitol Rotunda which was then under construction. Completed between 1819 and 1824 Trumbull's paintings, The Declaration of Independence in Congress, at the Independence Hall, Philadelphia, July 4, 1776; Surrender of Lord Cornwallis at Yorktown, Virginia, October 19, 1781; Surrender of General Burgoyne at Saratoga, New York, October 17, 1777; and General George Washington Resigning His Commission to Congress as Commander in Chief of the Army at Annapolis, Maryland, December 23, 1783, were installed in the Rotunda in 1826.

Trumbull had first conceived the idea of a series of Revolutionary War paintings in 1785 while studying in London with one of the most famous history painters of the era, Benjamin West. The Surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, although not completed until the time of the Rotunda commission, was one of these. The Declaration of Independence, which was the first to be completed, was begun by Trumbull a year later while in Paris as the guest of Thomas Jefferson then American Minister

to France. He based this painting on Jefferson's first-hand account of the historic signing and a sketch drawn by him of the room's interior. The last two paintings, Yorktown and the Resignation of Washington were new compositions.³³

Trumbell's success prompted other American artists to seek commissions for the four remaining spaces in the Rotunda. Between 1840 and 1855 the following paintings all, 12 x 18 feet, were installed: John G. Chapman's Baptism of Pocahontas at Jamestown, Virginia, 1613 (1840); Robert Weir's Embarkation of the Pilgrims at Delft Haven, Holland, July 22nd, 1620 (1843); John Vanderlyn's Landing of Columbus at the Island of Guanahani, West Indies, October 12th, 1492 (1847); and William H. Powell's Discovery of the Mississippi by De Soto, A.D. 1541 (1855).³⁴

However, these large-scale paintings, even though they were placed permanently in the Rotunda, have never been considered mural paintings.³⁵ At the turn-of-the-century, when interest in American mural painting was at its height, the writer, Samuel Isham, noted:

The first opportunity for mural decoration in America was connected with the Rotunda of the Capitol in Washington. . . . Even here, however, there is not mural painting properly speaking. The eight pictures in heavy frames with no attempt to fit them to the architecture or to unite them in a decorative whole. It could hardly be otherwise, for not only were there no traditions of mural work in America, but both in England and France, from which we received our inspiration, the art was at its lowest ebb, being either little practiced or with its fundamental requirements misunderstood.³⁶

Bulfinch completed his work on the Capitol in 1830, and aside from the Rotunda paintings it contained no other painted decoration. However, during the third phase of the Capitol construction, serious

consideration was given to the incorporation of painted decoration into the interior design.

Between 1830 and 1850 the needs of the Nation's Capitol had vastly expanded and in 1851, the Philadelphia architect, Thomas U. Walter (1804-1887) was hired to oversee the construction of two new wings and later, a central dome. Walter, however, had little involvement with the interior decoration, a responsibility that was assumed by a military engineer, Captain Montgomery Meigs who was hired as superintendent of construction in 1853 to serve as a watchdog over Walter's expenditures. According to Miller, Meigs had between 1853 and 1859, "paramount authority in planning and construction of the extension. . . . Meig's taste and artistic judgement, therefore, were responsible for most of the extension's decorations."³⁷ Undaunted by his responsibility, Meigs systematically set about educating himself on art and its national purpose and sought the advice of two respected authorities and connoisseurs: Edward Everett, patron of Thomas Crawford and William Wetmore Story, and Gouverneur Kemble, a New York collector active in support of the Hudson River School. According to Miller:

Meigs solicited Kemble's help in recommending artists qualified to fill vacant panels over the staircases and in other parts of the extension, and the advice that he got was sound. Kemble believed that 'unless Weir be excepted, we have as yet no artist fully qualified to undertake the decoration of our staircases.' Both Meigs and Kemble at the time were thinking in terms of easel paintings or of large canvases which could be mounted on panels prepared to receive them. They hesitated to assign these panels to American painters because they felt none of them had the talent or training for such large-scale monumental work.³⁸

Meigs did, however, receive an application for a commission from an

Italian painter, Constantino Brumidi (1805-1880), who declared himself competent to carry out the task of decorating the Capitol. John Chapman, author of the popular American Drawing Book (1847) and painter of one of the Rotunda paintings, who was also consulted by Meigs, advised against it. However, Meigs followed his own counsel and hired the Italian in 1855 to paint frescoes for various committee rooms and corridors in the Nation's Capitol. Although his work and employment were severely criticized, Brumidi was allowed to continue on his decorations for twenty-five years until his death in 1880.

Brumidi began his work in the Agriculture Committee Room (1855-1856, now occupied by the House Committee on Appropriations, Room H-144). Here he created five works—four frescoed lunettes and a large ceiling decoration—whose subjects, not surprisingly, all related to agriculture. On facing walls, Brumidi paired scenes from ancient and modern times. On the east wall Cincinnatus, the Roman hero, was paired with the American patriot, Israel Putnam both of whom were called from their plows to serve their countries. Similarly, a comparison of ancient and modern techniques of harvesting are displayed on the north wall and south walls. For the ceiling, Brumidi created a quadripartite Rococo-inspired decoration of the Four Seasons.³⁹ Following his work in the Agriculture Committee Room, he painted a large fresco for the south wall of the House Chamber, Cornwallis Sues for Cessation of Hostilities Under the Flag of Truce (1857, now in the Members' Private Dining Room, H-117) (fig. 108). The scene takes place in Washington's tent. Against a background crowded by his generals and aides, Washington stands

slightly to the right of center extending his right hand to the defeated British General Cornwallis. Washington's gesture is one of welcome and of emphasis for it is continued by Cornwallis who points across his body with his left hand to the flag of truce on the far left-hand side of the painting. The colors are chalky, the figures stubby and the scene little more than a stage set, but Brumidi has made an attempt to create some animation and symbolic content.

From the beginning Brumidi's work and foreign origin drew criticism from the press and from a large and influential group of American painters. In 1860, a writer for the New York Daily Tribune who during a month spent in Washington sent dispatches to New York that were highly critical of the new Capitol decorations. "All persons—all at least, of any taste and discrimination, and knowledge of art—who ever visited Washington, no doubt go along with us readily in this condemnation of the interior of our National Capitol. That which ought to be our pride and pleasure, is a source of mortification and pain."⁴⁰

The decorations which most incited this writer's sarcasm were Brumidi's frescoes for the Naval Committee Room. The writer felt that works such as Ancient Porticoes and Antique Vessels; Indian Heads; Maidens of the Navy; and Marine Gods and Goddesses, were not only meaningless but inappropriate. "We cannot see, for instance, the relation between Leda and the Swan, pictured here in a variety of attitudes and the American Navy, whether in a practical aesthetic or passional sense. The American eagle, we trust, is a bird of another feather, and not given to such erratic and erotic courses. But perhaps

we are dull. Under these delineations of passion attractions there may be a hidden subtle meaning which we fail to penetrate."⁴¹

At the turn-of-the-century, time had not dimmed the critics' dismay with Brumidi's work. In his survey, Isham wrote perhaps one of the most even-handed appraisals of Brumidi's work although he still regarded him as a bad painter.

Brumidi was a decorative painter. Not only did he know the technical side of the craft, how to draw and paint large figures in distemper on the curved plaster surfaces, but he was the inheritor of the great Italian traditions which started with Raphael and Correggio and were harmonized and codified by the later eclectic schools. He knew all the gods and goddesses of classical antiquity, their attributes and accessories, their floating formless draperies the way in which they should be grouped together, the scale on which they should be drawn to fit a given space, the architectural detail necessary to bind the whole together, and when to paint in color and when to give variety in monotint. While thus certainly a decorative painter,⁴² Brumidi was with equal certainty a very bad one.

More outraged than the critics, however, were American painters who were infuriated that a foreigner had received such a plum. A Select Committee appointed by Congress in 1858, reviewed their charges and recommended that President Buchanan appoint an Art Commission to prepare a report that would "'examine the system of decoration now installed in our public buildings' and 'to make recommendations for the future.'"⁴³

Three artists were appointed to this commission: Henry Kirke Brown, John F. Kensett (1816-1872) and James R. Lambdin (1807-1889) all of whom fairly represented the most popular branches of the the visual arts at this time in the United States—sculpture, landscape and portrait painting. Two of them, Brown and Kensett, were New York artists and had

spent considerable time traveling, studying and working in Europe, yet both retained a strong commitment to honoring American subject matter. Brown had won great critical acclaim for his equestrian stature of Washington placed in Union Square, New York in 1856. Kensett, after his return from Europe in 1846--where he traveled, with the then dean of American landscape painting, Asher B. Durand, and the noted history painter, Thomas Rossiter--became one of the most popular landscape painters in America.⁴⁴ Lambdin, a less well-known figure today, was from Philadelphia and a student of Sully. He had been for twenty years a leading painter of Philadelphia. He later established a national reputation with his portraits of Lincoln and Grant. Altogether these three men could be said to fairly represent the national cultural ideals of the 1850s. But they were, along with their contemporaries, according to Miller "quite untrained to compete for the kind of painting monumental building required."⁴⁵

One result of this artists' protest, as it came to be called, was that a number of American artists did receive commissions for individual paintings that were placed in three of the building's stairwells. In addition, Seth Eastman (1808-1875) an army officer and topographical draftsman, received several commissions during the 1860s and 1870s to do a series of paintings of Western forts and American Indian life for the House Indian Affairs Committee room, and for the first floor, west corridor.⁴⁶

For the east staircase William Powell, artist of the Rotunda mural, painted Battle of Lake Erie (1873, 20 x 30 feet). This was an enlarged

version of the same subject he had done earlier for the Ohio State Capitol at Columbus (1857).

The two paintings in the corridor between the Members' Private Stairways in the House Wing were done by the landscape painter, Albert Bierstadt (1830-1902). The painting located nearest the east stairway is Discovery of the Hudson River (1875, 6 x 10 feet) and nearest the west is Entrance Into Monterey (1878, 6 x 10 feet). Bierstadt's panoramic landscapes are backdrops for the historical incidents referred to in his titles. Three paintings by three different artists were commissioned for the west staircase: James Walker (1819-1889) Battle of Chapultepec (1857-1862, 17 feet 6 inches x 7 feet 9 inches, now in storage); Francis Bicknell Carpenter (1830-1900) First Reading of the Emancipation Proclamation (1864, 9 feet x 14 feet 6 inches, presented as a gift, 1878); and Emanuel Leutze Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way (1862, 20 x 30 feet, fresco).

Walker, born in England came to New York as a child. Little is known of his early training but he was able to visually record his impression of the Battle of Chapultepec which he had personally witnessed in 1848 as an interpreter for the American forces during the Mexican War.⁴⁷ Following the success of this painting he went on to record on canvas battles of the Civil War.

Carpenter was a portrait painter who spent most of his life in Homer, New York. His best known work was this painting for the Capitol. While working in Washington in 1864 he lived in the White House and painted

Lincoln from life. He benefited as much from his visit with the Lincolns as he did from his commission for he later painted The Lincoln Family in 1861 (New-York Historical Society) and wrote a book Six Months in the White House, based on his 1864 visit there.⁴⁸

Of all these artists, Leutze was by far the most experienced and competent. As early as 1852, Leutze had suggested to Congress two subjects suitable for placement in the Capitol--a replica of Washington Crossing the Delaware and Washington Rallying the Troops at Monmouth. No immediate action was taken, although Meigs wrote Leutze in 1854 asking his advice regarding mural painting for the Capitol and the competency of American artists to carry out such a project. It was not until six years later in 1861 that Leutze was given a commission. However, this time he chose a subject based on the theme of the Western migrations called Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way or more popularly, Westward Ho! (fig. 109), instead of Washington. After a trip to the Rockies, Leutze completed his final sketches in New York in late 1861. He then went to Washington to work in the Capitol where he painted directly on the plaster wall of west stairwell in the House wing. For this painting he used a new, painstaking process called stereochromy or water-glass painting in which the pigments were ground in a mixture of potassium silicate and water.⁴⁹ The subject of Leutze's work was the imaginary journey of a wagon train across the Rocky Mountains. The bottom of the painting is filled with people, animals and wagons--frontiersmen, scouts, pioneer women with their children, farmers, soldiers, oxen, cattle, horses and wagons loaded with

provisions. Behind them and in the distance are the Sierra Nevada mountains to the right and the Pacific Ocean to the left. Placed almost in the center of the composition but isolated atop a rocky outcrop is a figure of a man who, if this were a realistic representation, could not be seen at such a great distance. Silhouetted against a yellow sunset, he greets the object of their destination, the Pacific Ocean. Beneath him is the tail end of the wagon train. It weaves to the right, and then to the left, with the first arrivals spread fully across the bottom of the painting. In addition, Leutze included vignettes of historical figures in the decorative border--a Viking ship, Moses leading the Israelites, and Columbus. According to Groseclose, these vignettes linked the Western migrations in this country to the historic quest for new worlds. "When the border vignettes are read in conjunction with the central scene, one realizes that the motive of Westward Ho! was not simply the celebration of emigrant settling of the West but a far deeper (if somewhat historically fuzzy) characterization of the New World Eden."⁵⁰

In addition to these painters who received Capitol commissions there were a number of competent and popular painters who, in terms of their experience with interpreting national history, would have been qualified for consideration as mural painters. Prominent among them was the Philadelphia painter Peter Rothermel (1817-1895), who in the late 1860s painted the Battle of Gettysburg, now in the Pennsylvania State Capitol at Harrisburg. Thomas Rossiter (1818-1871), was another artist who after his return from his second European trip in 1856, devoted himself to

historical and religious painting. Daniel Huntington (1816-1906), who first made his reputation as a painter of religious subjects with his illustrations of John Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress, was a prolific artist and the powerful president of the National Academy of Design between 1862 and 1870, and again between 1877 and 1890. His vastly popular, Mercy's Dream (1842, original version, Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, one replica is in the Corcoran Gallery, Washington, D.C., the other in the Metropolitan Museum of Art) was based on an incident from Pilgrim's Progress. Christian Schussele (1824 or 1826-1879), a German-born painter who emigrated to Philadelphia in 1848 where later he became Professor of Drawing and Painting at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, made his reputation as a history painter with works such as Men of Progress: American Inventors (1862, National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C.) Lastly, the well-known genre painter George Caleb Bingham after his return from study at the Düsseldorf Academy in the mid-1850s, also turned to history painting, with a work such as Daniel Boone Coming Through the Cumberland Gap (1851, Washington University, St. Louis). However, none of these artists were trained in the particular techniques of fresco and mural painting--techniques which implied an understanding of the physical requirements of wall painting and a sensitivity to its decorative values.

There were, however, a few artists who did undertake wall decorations: Robert S. Duncanson (1821-1871) of Cincinnati; Carl Wimar (1828-1862), an expatriate German artist who had settled in St. Louis in 1843; and Leutze who was the only American to paint a fresco decoration

for the United States Capitol during the nineteenth century. Duncanson did a series of eight mural landscapes with painted borders and four-over door decorations for Belmont, now the Taft Museum, home of Nicolas Longworth, the influential Cincinnati patron of the arts. Done between 1848 and 1849, after his return from his study of art in Edinburgh, Duncanson's oil on plaster paintings are, in reality, a more refined and Europeanized version of the scenic landscapes of the self-taught, Rufus Porter.⁵¹

In 1861 Charles (Carl) Wimar received a commission to paint four large lunette panels for the interior of the new dome of the Old St. Louis Courthouse. Three of these paintings commemorated the discovery, founding and early history of St. Louis, The Discovery of the Mississippi by De Soto in 1541; The Landing of Pierre Laclède at the site of St. Louis in 1763; and The Indian Attack on St. Louis, May 26, 1780. A fourth, variously known as The Emigrant Train, and Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way, honored, as had Leutze's painting done contemporaneously, the Western migration of the 1830s and 1840s. Unfortunately, Wimar, who completed this work in 1862 the year he died of consumption, was physically as well as technically ill-equipped to do mural painting. Perry Rathbone, who wrote on the murals in 1946 when they were "hopeless ruins" noted that:

Almost since the time of their completion, a chain of untoward circumstances has rendered them hopeless ruins. Wimar was not an experienced mural painter, and consequently the Court House decorations were technically unsound. The chemical action of the plaster foundation, the soot and grime of decades and the inept hand of the restorer have dealt so severely with Wimar's last work that today the four lunette compositions are little more than shadowy wrecks.⁵²

However, these mural projects by Duncanson, by Wimar—even Leutze's at the U.S. Capitol--were not included in the histories of American mural painting at the turn-of-the-century. The only murals done in America to which Hunt's work was compared, were La Farge's and Brumidi's. To this writer's knowledge there has been no critical study of Brumidi's work at the Capitol. Both Fairman's book and the more recent Art in the United States Capitol exhaustively document his work, but his vast enterprise remains critically ignored. The embarrassment which nineteenth-century commentators felt about the poor quality and decorative inappropriateness of his work has not lessened and the only group that honors his contribution is the Capitol guides. His work, however, deserves further study. One reason is that, for better or worse, his were the first important, nationally known public murals done in this country. Little, if any, attention has been paid to the many iconographical programs he developed that were the adaptation of traditional European allegories and personifications for the representation of new American heroes and historic events. In many of his murals Brumidi attempted, in an awkward and uninspiring fashion, to express the history and ideals of the American democratic state. The work that best exemplifies Brumidi's accomplishment is the fresco for the canopy of the dome, The Apotheosis of Washington (1865) (fig. 110). Situated 180 feet above the Rotunda floor, it is a work sixty-two feet in diameter with a concavity of twenty feet seven inches. In imitation of the precedent of the great Italian Baroque paintings of the seventeenth century, Brumidi depicted Washington seated in majesty. He

is the center of a circle of various female personifications of fame, victory, and liberty, and the thirteen original states, two of whom hold a banner with the motto, "E Pluribus Unum" above Washington's head. Surrounding and supporting this circle is a thick bank of clouds below which are depicted six allegorical groups spread around the base of the dome. These are: War, Art and Sciences, Marine, Commerce, Mechanics and Agriculture. In War, which is right below Washington, a female image of Freedom, accompanied by an eagle, holds a sword, and a red, white and blue shield, as she assaults the forces of Tyranny and Kingly Power. In Art and Science, Minerva, goddess of Wisdom, addresses a varied group of people that includes Benjamin Franklin, Robert Fulton and Samuel F.B. Morse. For Marine Brumidi drew upon any number of historic paintings including Raphael's Galatea and Poussin's Triumph of Neptune and Amphitrite. However, Brumidi updated this classic representation by having Venus hold the Atlantic Cable. In Commerce, Mercury hands Robert Morris, financier of the Revolution, a bag of gold. In Mechanics, the figure of the god, Vulcan, is surrounded by the new technology of the nineteenth century. Agriculture is another traditional representation symbolized by Ceres, the Roman goddess of the harvest, who is presented with a cornucopia by a female personification of America.

In relation to the great masterpieces of European art, Brumidi's frescoes lack formal resolution, psychological nuance or iconographical resonance. On the other hand, over the course of time, Americans have invested works such as these with a powerful symbolism that transcends aesthetic criteria.

NOTES - Appendix

¹ The best book in English on the history, as opposed to technique, of nineteenth-century mural painting is James Ward, Colour Decoration of Architecture (London: Chapman & Hall, 1913). Frederic Crowninshield in his book, Mural Painting published in the 1880s, is a passionate advocate for mural painting in this country. It is a thoughtful and intelligent history of mural painting and its technique. However, there is little discussion of the history of this art form in the nineteenth century.

² See G. P. Gooch, History and Historians in the Nineteenth Century (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1913; revised paperback edition, Boston: Beacon Press, 1961).

This is a complex subject often ignored by nineteenth-century art historians, notable exceptions being Joseph Sloane, Paul Marc Joseph Chenevard (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962); George L. Hersey, "Delacroix's Imagery in the Palais Bourbon Library," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute 31 (1968): 383-403; Barbara Groseclose, Emanuel Leutze (1975); Francis Haskell Rediscoveries in Art: Some Aspects of taste, fashion and collecting in England and France (1976); M.H. Port, ed. The Houses of Parliament, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1976); Louise d'Argencourt et al, catalogue, Puvis de Chavannes (1977); Roy Strong Recreating the Past: British History and the Victorian Painter (New York: Thames & Hudson for the Pierpont Morgan Library, 1978); Honour, Romanticism (1979); and Albert Boime, Thomas Couture and the Eclectic Vision (1980).

³ Information on the early history of the Gothic Revival in England was obtained from Hitchcock, Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries, 147-151.

⁴ See William H. Pierson, Jr. "Richard Upjohn, Trinity Church, and the Ecclesiological Revival," in American Buildings and Their Architects (New York: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1978; paperback edition, Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1980), pp. 149-205.

⁵ Port, p. 269.

⁶ Ibid, p. 270.

⁷ Andrews, The Nazarenes, p. 14.

⁸ Novotny Painting and Sculpture in Europe: 1780-1880, p. 114.

⁹ "Fresco Painting. From 'Painting Popularly Explained,'" Part I, The Crayon 8 (January 1861): 15-18; Part II. (February 1861): 38-41. (Note: at the end of Part II is the notation "to be continued," however, The Crayon ceased publication this same year and the series was never completed).

¹⁰ According to Richard Guy Wilson in his essay "Presence of the Past," in The American Renaissance, 1876-1917, (New York: Pantheon Books for the Brooklyn Museum, 1979), p. 41: "The vast decorative program and historical paintings for the House of Parliament,..undoubtedly helped inspire American visitors. Some chose to stay, and among the American colony were Francis Millet, Edwin Austin Abbey, John Singer Sargent, James McNeill Whistler, and George H. Boughton."

¹¹ Port, p. 270.

¹² Ibid., p. 271.

¹³ Jollivet painted a series of ceramic panels for the facade of Saint-Vincent-de-Paul, Paris (1852-1860). See Robin Middleton, "Hittorff's Polychrome Campaign," in Robin Middleton, ed. The Beaux-Arts and Nineteenth-Century French Architecture (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982), pp. 174-195.

¹⁴ See Stuart Durant, "The Notre Dame Murals," in Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, pp. 40-47.

¹⁵ Originally built as a fortress and a residence for Philip II in the late twelfth century, the Louvre was rebuilt in the mid-sixteenth century by the architect Pierre Lescot for Francois I. It was expanded to include the Tuileries and Grande Galerie by Philibert Delorme for Catherine de Medici and further refurbished by Louis le Vau and Claude Perrault for Louis XIV in the seventeenth century.

¹⁶ These projects are not to be confused with the paintings commissioned by the government for the new chambers for the Council of State. See Norman D. Ziff, Paul Delaroche. A Study in Nineteenth-Century French History Painting (New York: Garland Press, 1977), pp. 62-63.

¹⁷ For further information on these artists and the work they did for the Louis XVIII and Charles X see French Painting 1774-1830: the Age of Revolution (Detroit: Wayne State University Press for the Detroit Institute of Arts and the Metropolitan Museum, New York, 1975), passim.

A considerable amount of architectural reconstruction was done on the Louvre at mid-century. Renovations were begun in 1848 by the architect J.-F. Duban. The addition of the New Louvre was ordered by Louis-Napoleon who in 1852 hired L.-T.-J. Visconti to design and oversee construction of the addition. Visconti died a year later and work was completed by H.-M. Lefuel in 1857. During this last building phase, Richard Hunt assisted on the construction of the new wing as Inspector of Works. However, no mural paintings or decorations were included in

these final plans.

18 Delaroche was originally commissioned to create five paintings for the Pavilion du Roi, however, Charlemagne Crossing the Alps was the only one he completed. Ziff, pp. 183-186.

19 See Maurice Sérullaz, Les Peintures Murales de Delacroix, (Paris: Les éditions du temps, 1963). Sérullaz's book contains photographs of all Delacroix's known mural paintings and a detailed critical history of each project.

20 G. L. Hersey, "Delacroix's Imagery in the Palais Bourbon Library," Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute 31 (1968): 385.

21 Walter Friedlander, David to Delacroix, trans. by Robert Goldwater (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), pp. 127-128.

22 Sérullaz, pp. 73-74.

23 Hersey, p. 388.

24 *Ibid.*, p. 392. While completing his work at the Palais Bourbon, Delacroix received two additional commissions. The first one, his first religious commission, was for a Pieta for the Chapel of the Virgin in Saint-Denis, Saint-Sacrement (1840-1844), the second was for the decorations for the Luxembourg Palace that housed the other legislative branch of government, the House of Peers. Here he was asked to create paintings for the surface of a large cupola and hemicycle in the Senate Library (1845-1847). The subject was based on fourth book of Dante's The Divine Comedy.

25 Delacroix did one last suite of public decorations. A central ceiling panel, Peace Comes to Console Man and Reestablish Abundance, and accompanying tympanums for the Salon de la Paix in the Hotel de Ville (1851-1853) that were destroyed during the Paris Commune in 1871. Built in the sixteenth century by the architect, Boccador, restoration of the Hotel de Ville in the nineteenth century was undertaken by a series of architects beginning in 1837 with E.-H. Godde and J.-B. Lesueur who maintained responsibility for the major plan of the restoration until 1853 when further work was supervised by Victor Baltard. Another room, the Salon de l'Empereur, was decorated by Ingres with his Apotheosis of Napoleon I (1853) also destroyed.

26 For the Chapelle des Saint-Anges in the Church of Saint Sulpice, Delacroix painted two 23 x 15 foot panels titled: Jacob Wrestling With the Angel and Heliodorus Driven From the Temple, and an oval ceiling panel, 16 x 12 feet, titled, St. Michael Vanquishing Lucifer. See, Jack Spector, Murals of Eugene Delacroix at Saint-Sulpice (New York: College Art Association, 1967). Spector's book, p. 160, also contains an important appendix of commissions for the decoration of Parisian churches between 1840 and 1860.

- 27 Puvis de Chavannes, pp. 61-62.
- 28 See Hitchcock & Seale, Temples of Democracy, passim.
- 29 Lillian B. Miller, Patrons and Patriotism, the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States, 1790-1860 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966; paperback edition, 1974).
- 30 Roth, A Concise History of American Architecture, p. 53.
- 31 Known to have lived in Philadelphia between 1811 and 1819, Bridport was a decorative painter and drawing instructor. Sometime between 1816 and 1817, he and his brother, Hugh, opened a drawing academy in Philadelphia. New-York Historical Society Dictionary of Artists, pp. 80-91. No dates were given for George Bridport, although his brother's are c. 1794-1868.
- 32 Charles E. Fairman, Art and Artists of the Capitol of the United States of America (Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1927), p. 16.
- 33 For further information on Trumbull's commission see: Irma B. Jaffe, "The Hall of the Revolution," in John Trumbull, Patriot-Artist of the American Revolution (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1975), pp. 234-263; and Egon Verheyen, "John Trumbull and the U.S. Capitol: Reconsidering the Evidence," in Helen A. Cooper, John Trumbull, The Hand and Spirit of a Painter (New Haven: Yale University Art Gallery, 1982), pp. 260-271.
- 34 For a detailed discussion of these commissions, and the personalities and political factors which surrounded the Rotunda paintings see Miller, Chapter Four, "Paintings and Politics," pp. 45-57.
- 35 In her book Jaffe, p. 257, noted that Bulfinch did accommodate Trumbull's request for some kind of decorative coherence in the architectural framing of his paintings: "In following Trumbull's' request for simplicity, Bulfinch had gone beyond even the artist's hopes. Replacing Latrobe's grand niches with colossal pilasters, he framed each painting within an architectural unit, thus creating a coherent aesthetic and iconographic scheme, in which the architecture is an active partner rather than a passive support."
- 36 Isham, p. 538.
- 37 Miller, pp. 68-69.
- 38 Ibid., pp. 71-72.
- 39 Art in the Capitol, pp. 314-317.
- 40 "Art in Washington (first article) the Chambers of Congress,"

New York Daily Tribune, April 28, 1860, col. 6, p. 4.

⁴¹ "Art In Washington (second article) Halls and Committee Rooms of the Capitol," New York Daily Tribune, May 5, 1860, p. 5.

Among Brumidi's other decorations were four medallion portraits for the Senate Foreign Relations Room (c. 1874, now the Democratic Policy Committee Room, S-118), four frescoes for the Military Affairs Committee Room (1871, now Senate Appropriation Committee Room, S-128) ceiling murals for the Senate Library(1858-1867, now the Lyndon B. Johnson Room, S-112), four frescoes for the ceiling of the room used by the Sargent of Arms (1876, now the Office of Vice President, S-212), a series of frescoed decorations for the Senate Reception room (1871-1872, S-213); a series of frescoed symbolic portraits of: Christopher Columbus for Discovery; William Brewster as Religion; Benjamin Franklin as History; and Americus Vespucius as Exploration for the President' Room (c. 1859, S-216); extensive decorations for the First Floor corridors finished before 1880; and in the Rotunda in addition to the canopy of the dome was the Rotunda frieze, unfinished at the time of his death and completed in 1954 by Allyn Cox. Titles and room numbers were taken from Art in the United States Capitol.

⁴² Isham, p. 539.

⁴³ Quoted in Miller, p. 82.

⁴⁴ According to Virgil Barker, American Painting (New York: Macmillan Co., 1950), p. 435: "[Kensett became] about the most popular and possibly the most prolific of the [Hudson River] School; indeed the steadiness of technique and attitude made him its most representative figure."

⁴⁵ Miller, p. 80.

⁴⁶ Eastman attended West Point where he received his first training in topographical drawing. He was stationed in Fort Crawford, Wisconsin and later Fort Snelling, Minnesota between 1829 and 1831. In 1833 he returned to West Point where he taught drawing and became close friends with Robert Weir, also an instructor and later professor of drawing. During the 1840s, Eastman was called into active service at the time of the Seminole War in Florida. It was during this period, while stationed in Florida, Texas and Minnesota, that he began studying and recording Indian life. These sketches and paintings served as a basis for his illustrations of Henry R. Schoolcraft's six volume History and Statistical Information Respecting the . . . Indian Tribes of the United States written between 1853-1856. Eastman's first Capitol commission was for nine paintings for the House Indian Affairs Committee room which he completed in 1869. These were moved in 1945 to Room 1324 in the Longworth House Office Building. His second commission for seventeen paintings of historic American forts came directly from President Grant. Done between 1870 and 1875, they were placed in the west corridor on the first floor.

47 The Battle of Chapultepec was the last actual battle of the Mexican War. The capture of Chapultepec, ancient seat of the Montezumas, by Major General Winfield Scott had, at mid-century, enormous symbolic, as well as military importance, for the United States.

48 New-York Historical Society Dictionary of Artists, p. 111.

49 Groseclose, p. 97.

50 Ibid., p. 61.

51 Robert S. Duncanson: A Centennial Exhibition, Cincinnati Art Museum, 1972, p. 37.

52 Perry T. Rathbone in Charles Wimar, St. Louis Art Museum, 1946, p. 29. While Wimar may have borrowed the subject, Westward the Course of Empire, from Leutze's fresco for the U.S. Capitol, completed a year earlier, it had been a theme popular with American artists since the 1840s as noted recently by William H. Truettner in "The Art of History: American Exploration and Discovery Scenes, 1840-1860," American Art Journal XIV (Winter 1982): 4-31.

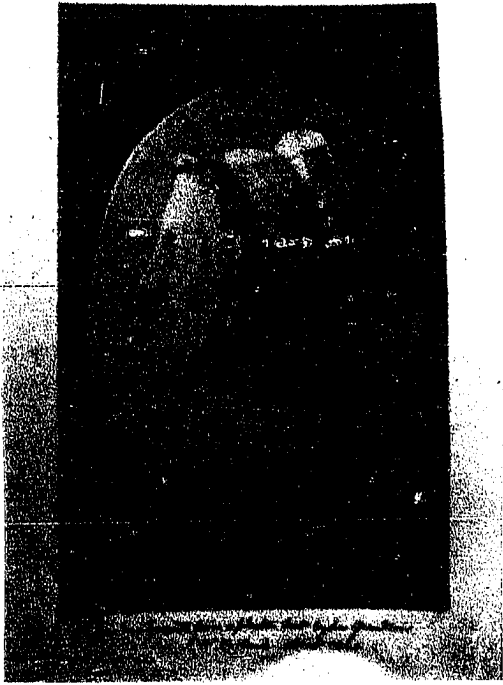


fig. 1 Jemima Leavitt (plaster cast).

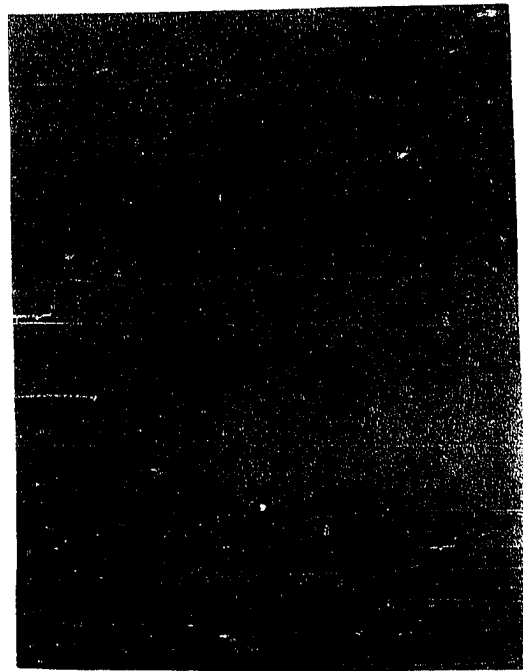


fig. 2 Jemima Leavitt

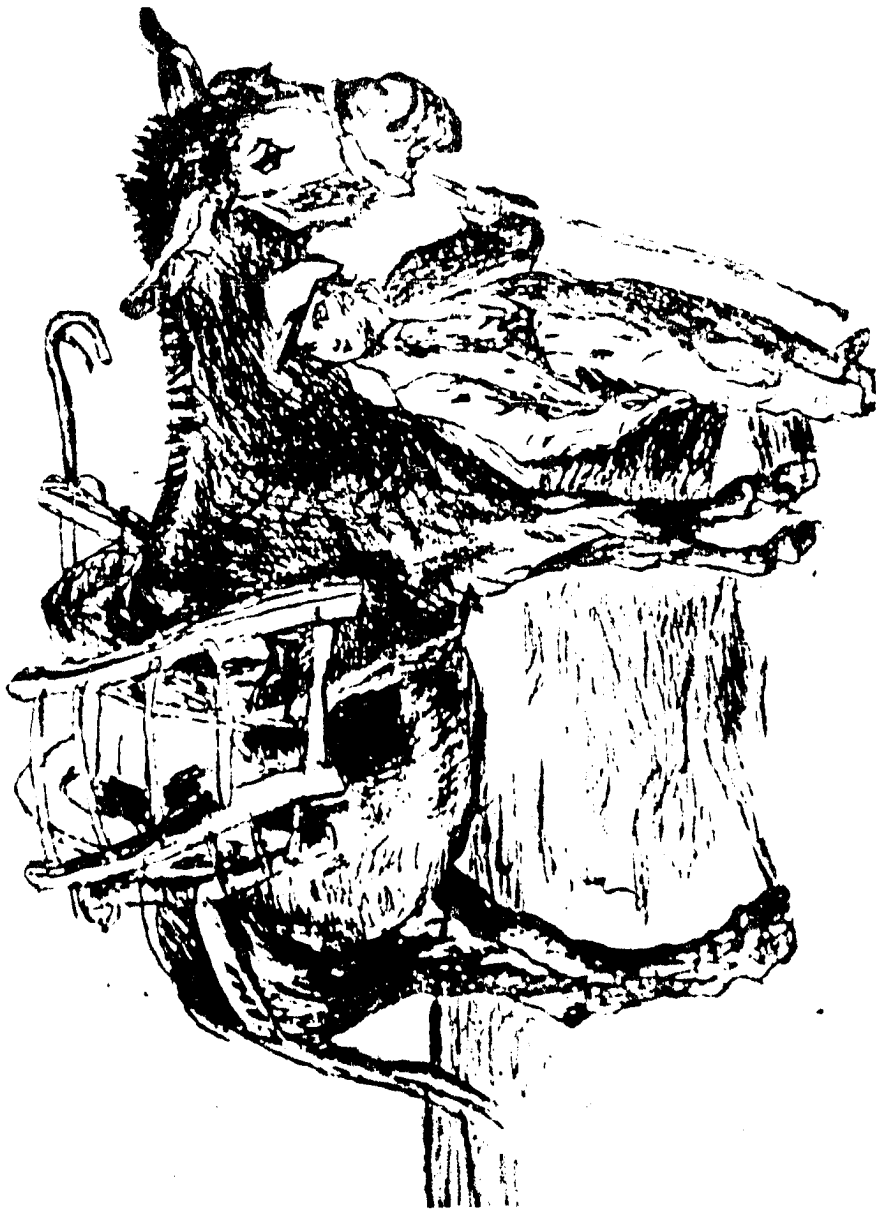


fig. 3 Boy Leading an Ass.



fig. 4 Old Man and Young Girl.

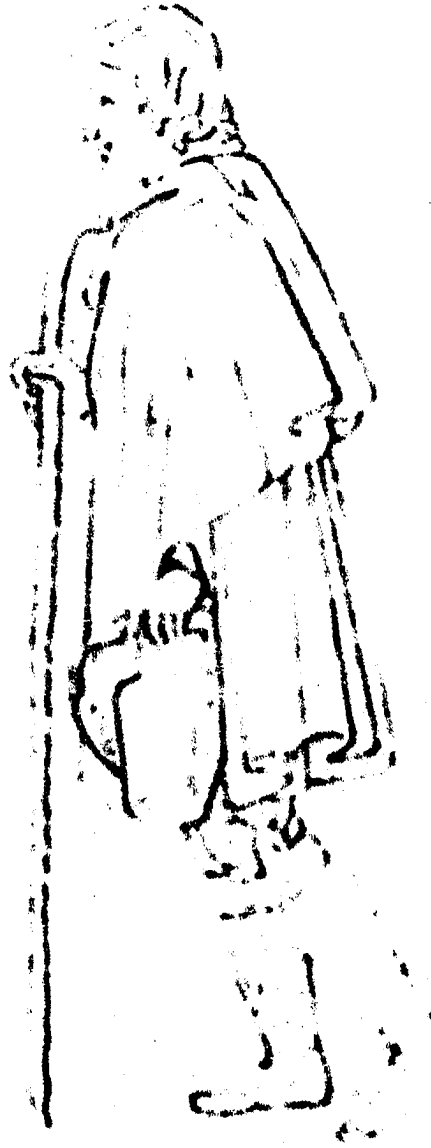


fig. 5 Pilgrim.

Fig. 9.



fig. 6 Henry Kirk Brown, Faun.

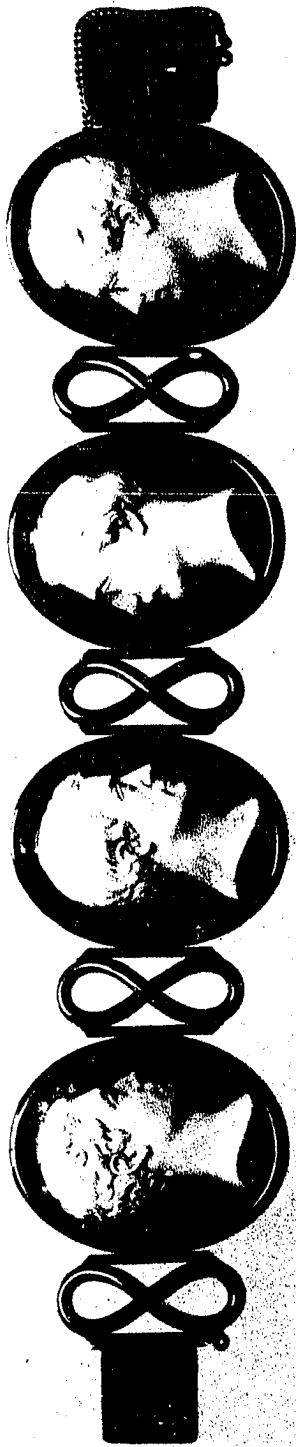


fig. 7 Cameo bracelet with four portraits of Hunt Brothers.



fig. 8 Thomas Couture.



fig. 9 Flight of Night - Horses of Anahita.



fig. 10 Emanuel Leutze, William Morris Hunt.



fig. 11 The Discoverer.



fig. 12 Thomas Couture, The Falconer.

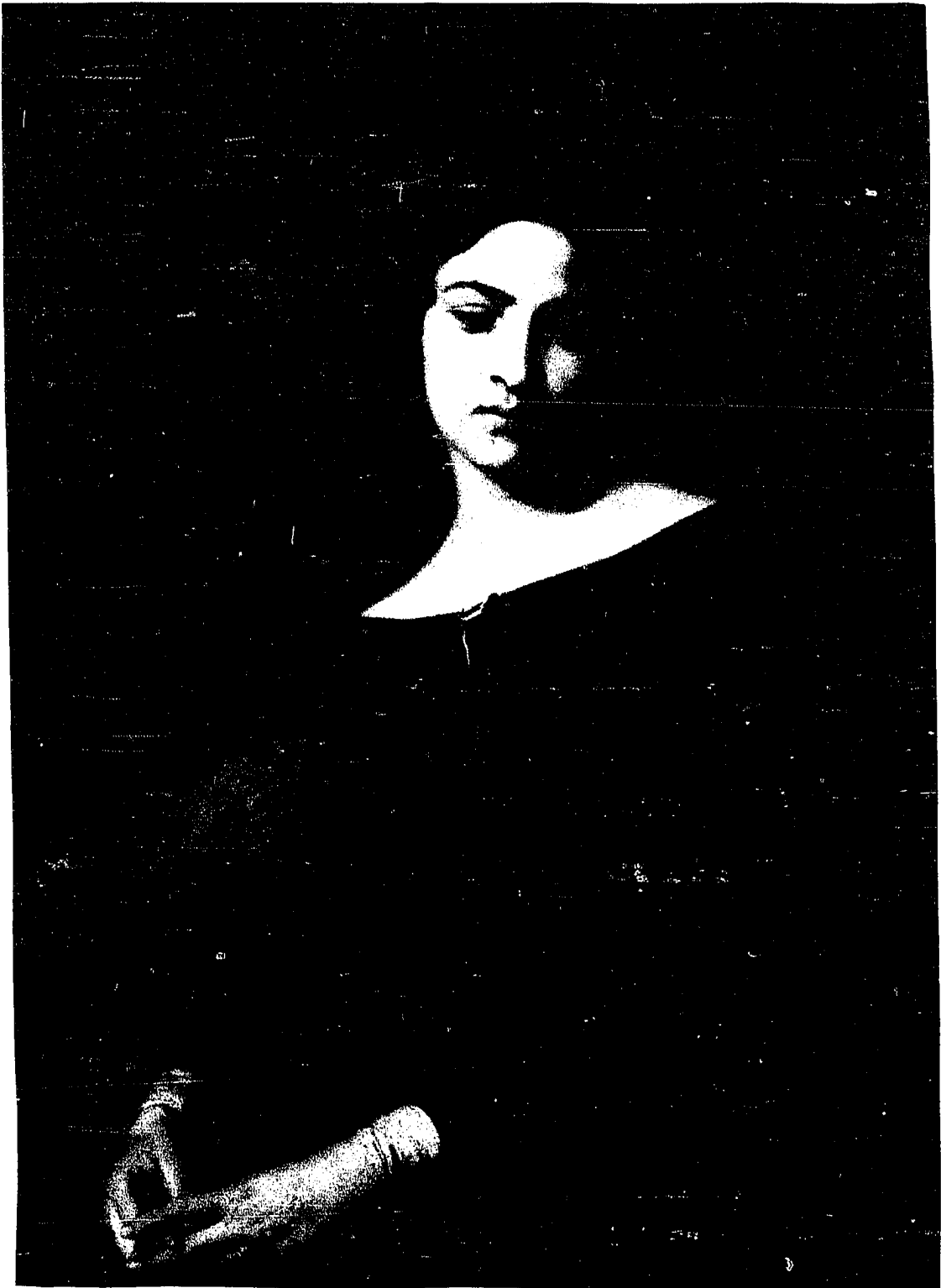


fig. 13 Thomas Couture, The Widow



fig. 14 The Greek Girl.



fig. 15 The Hurdy-Gurdy Boy.



fig. 16 Thomas Couture, The Troubadour.



fig. 17 The Violet Girl.



fig. 18 La Marguerite (1851).



fig. 19 La Marguerite (1853).



fig. 20 Goose Boy.



fig. 21 Boy With Goose.



fig. 22 Deer in Moonlight.



fig. 23 Deer.

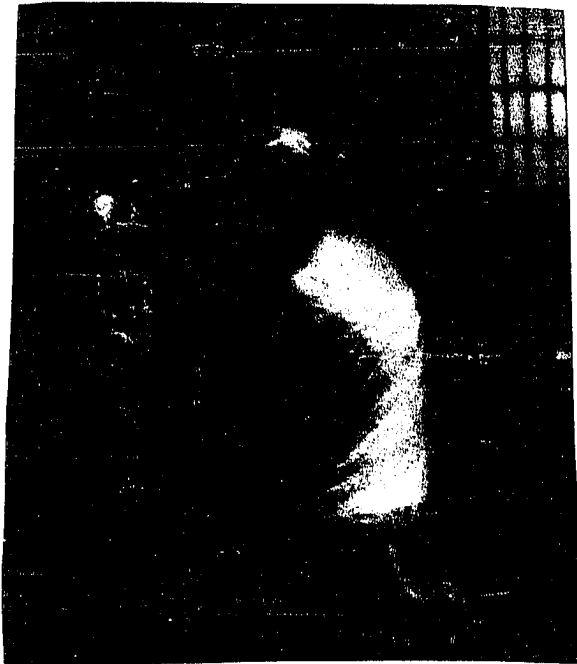


fig. 24 Elaine With Her Shield.



fig. 25 Francisca Paim da Terra Brum da Silveira.



fig. 27 Mrs. M. Woolsey Borland
and Madeleine Borland.



fig. 26 Judge Lemuel Shaw.



fig. 28 Mrs. Samuel Gray Ward.



fig. 29 Mrs. Joseph Randolph Coolidge.



fig. 30 Mrs. Robert C. Winthrop, Jr.



fig. 31 Mrs. Robert Shaw Sturgis.



fig. 32 Charles Francis Adams.



fig. 33 Hamlet.

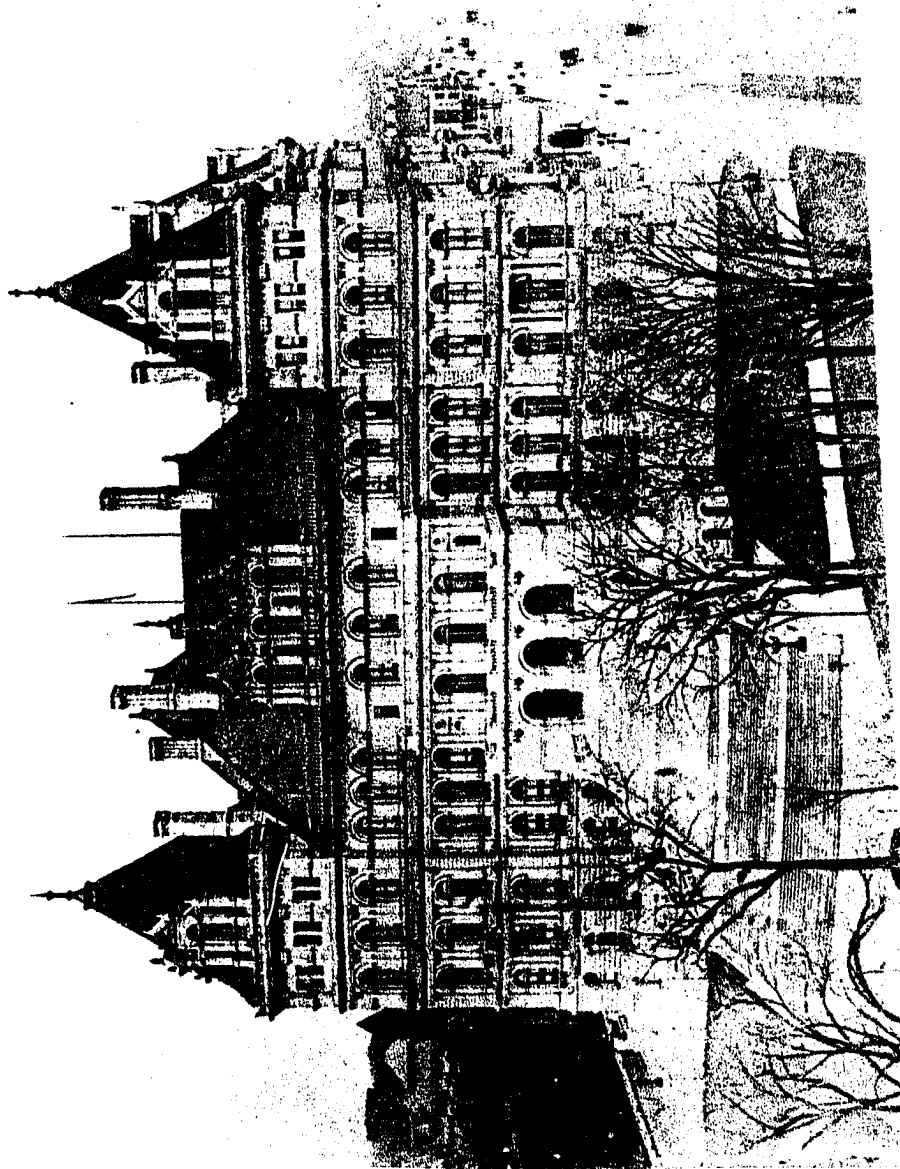


fig. 34 New York State Capitol, 1891, eastern entrance, as completed by Isaac Perry.



fig. 35 Philip Hooker. First New York State Capitol, southern view.

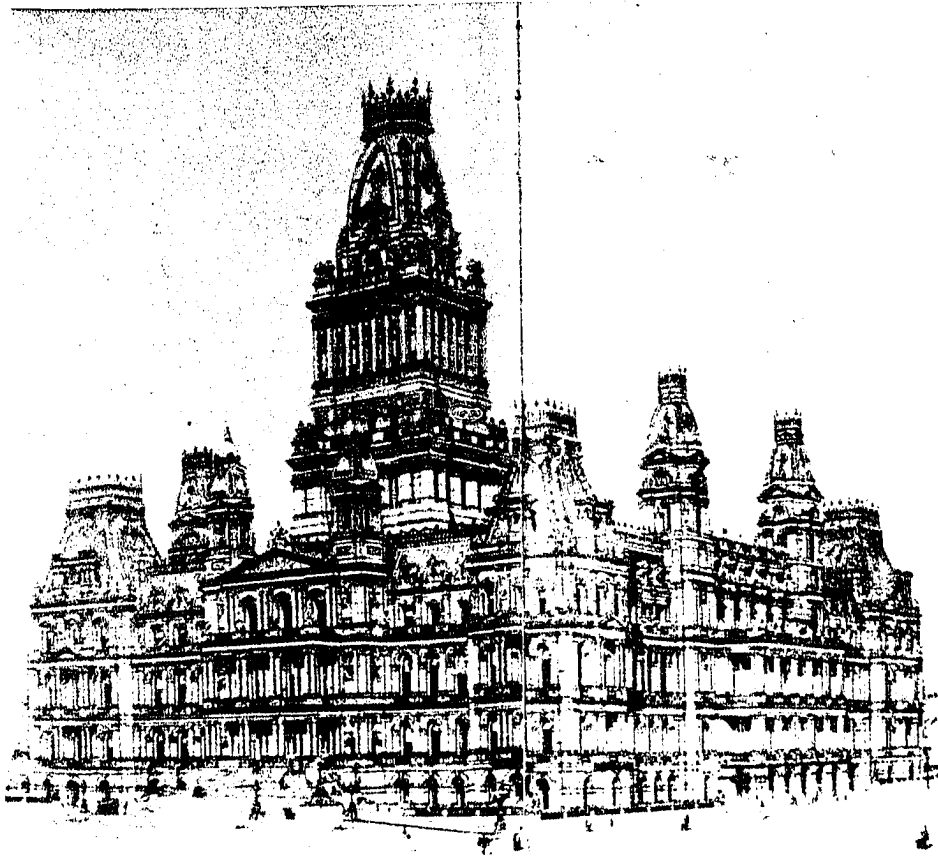


fig. 36 Thomas Fuller. Second Plan for New York State Capitol, 1865.

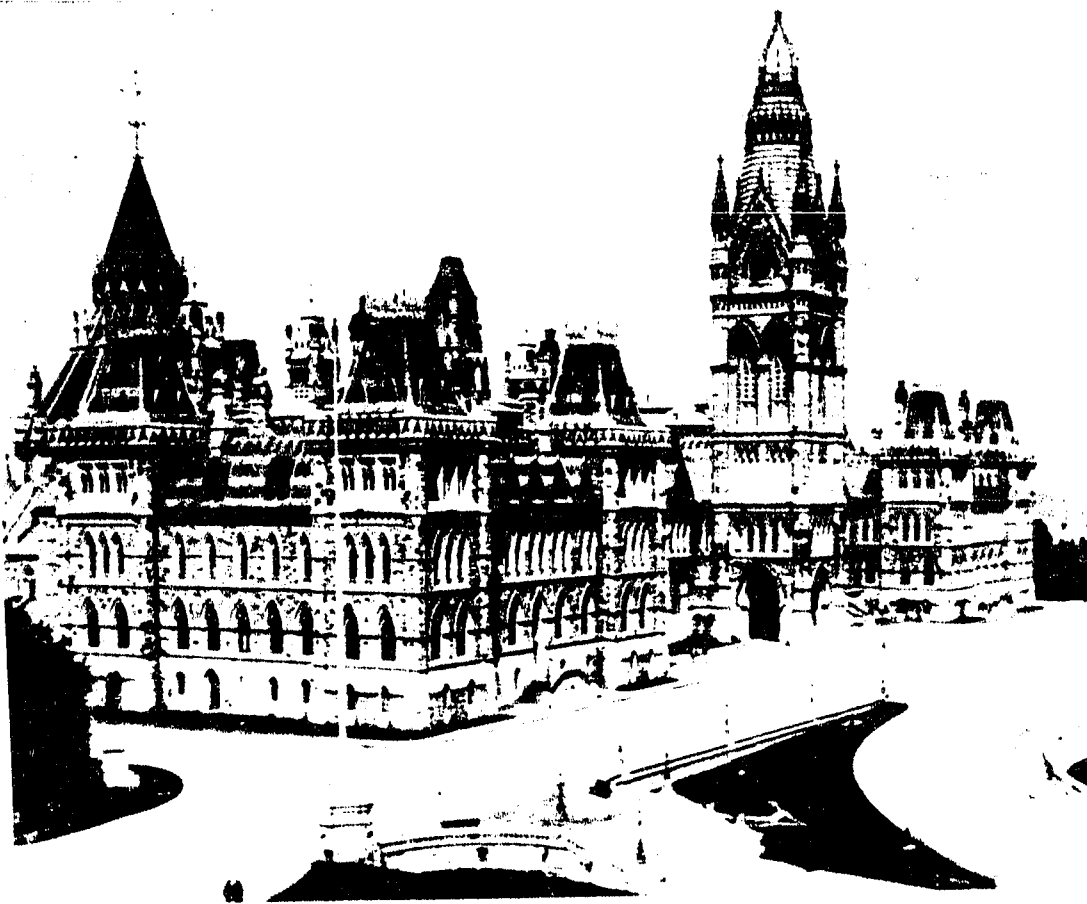


fig. 37 Fuller & Jones. Parliament Houses, Ottawa, Canada.

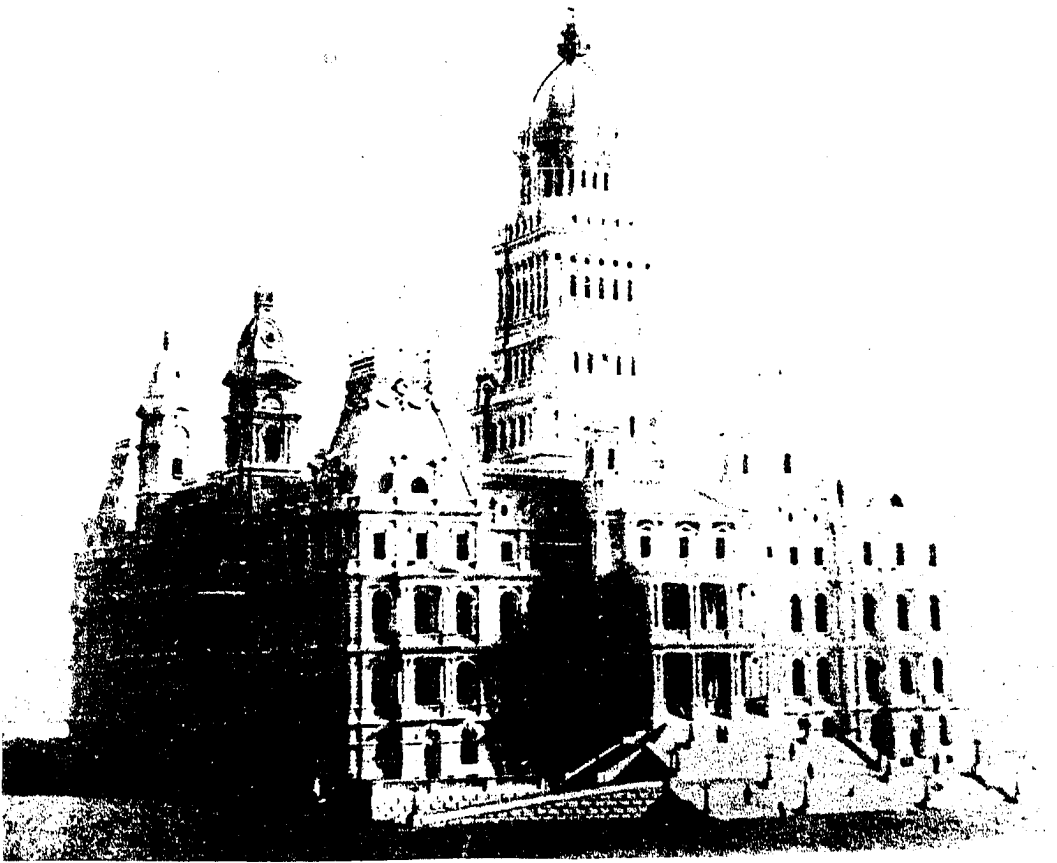


fig. 38 Fuller & Gilman. Design for New York State Capitol, model of accepted plan, 1871.

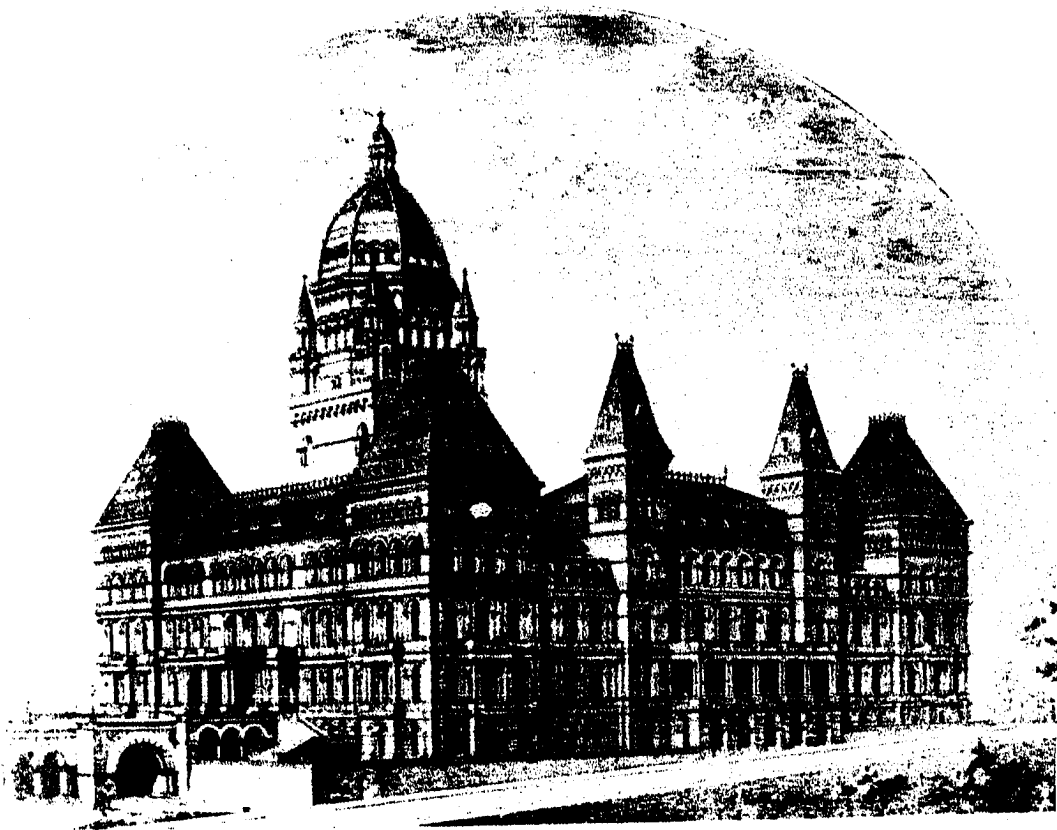


fig. 39 Leopold Eidlitz. First Plan for New York State Capitol.

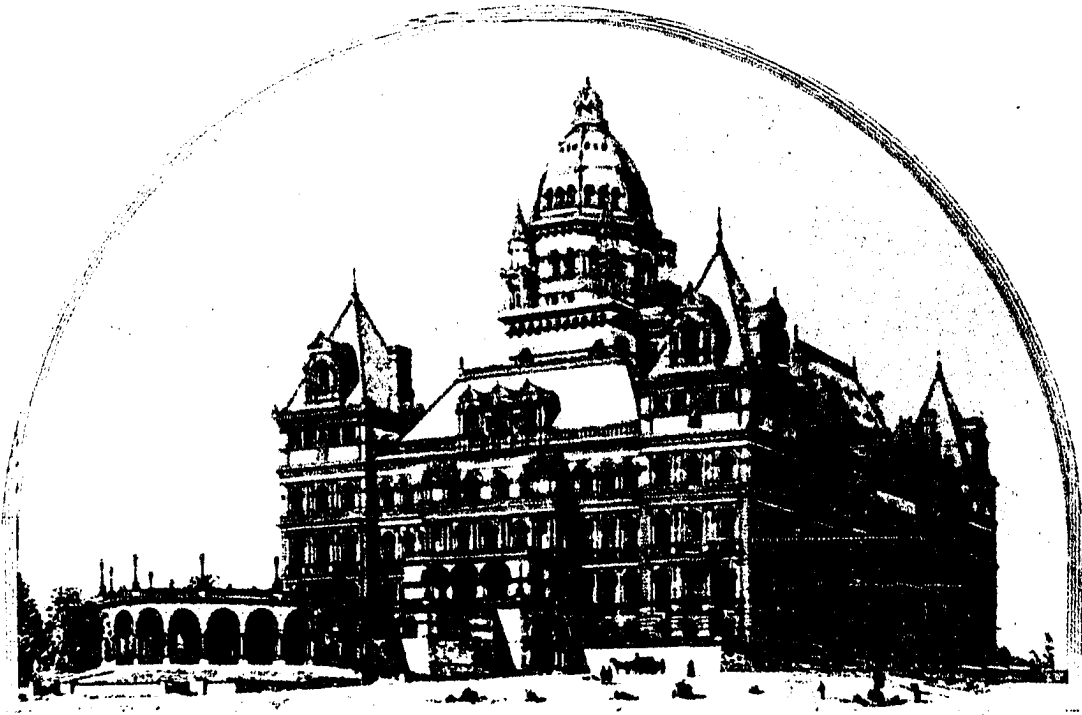


fig. 40 Eidlitz, Richardson & Olmsted, Amended Plan, New York State Capitol, eastern and northern facades.

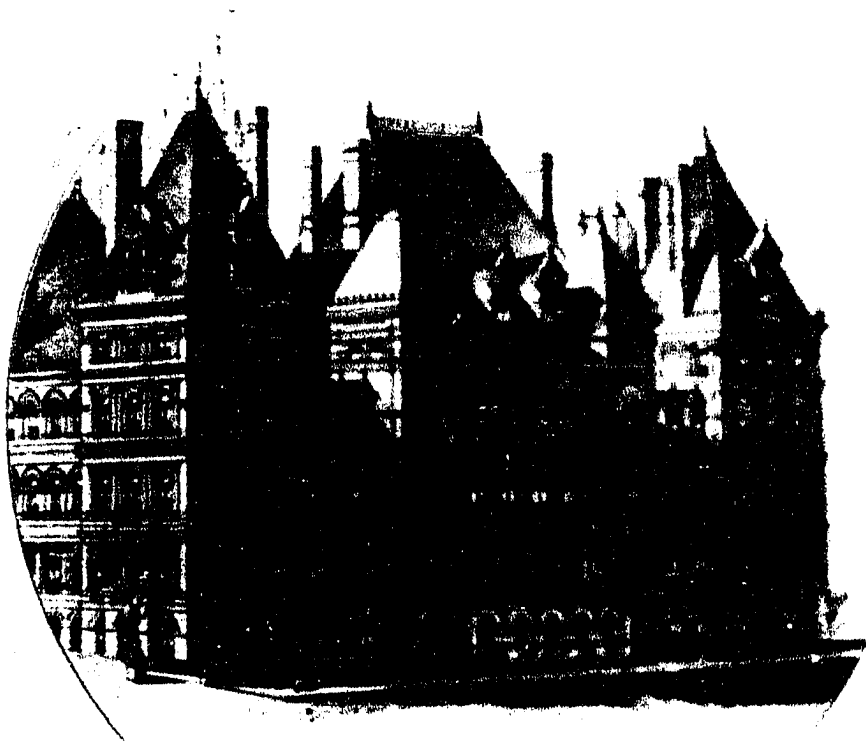


fig. 41 Eidlitz, Richardson & Olmsted. Amended Plan, New York State Capitol, northern facade.

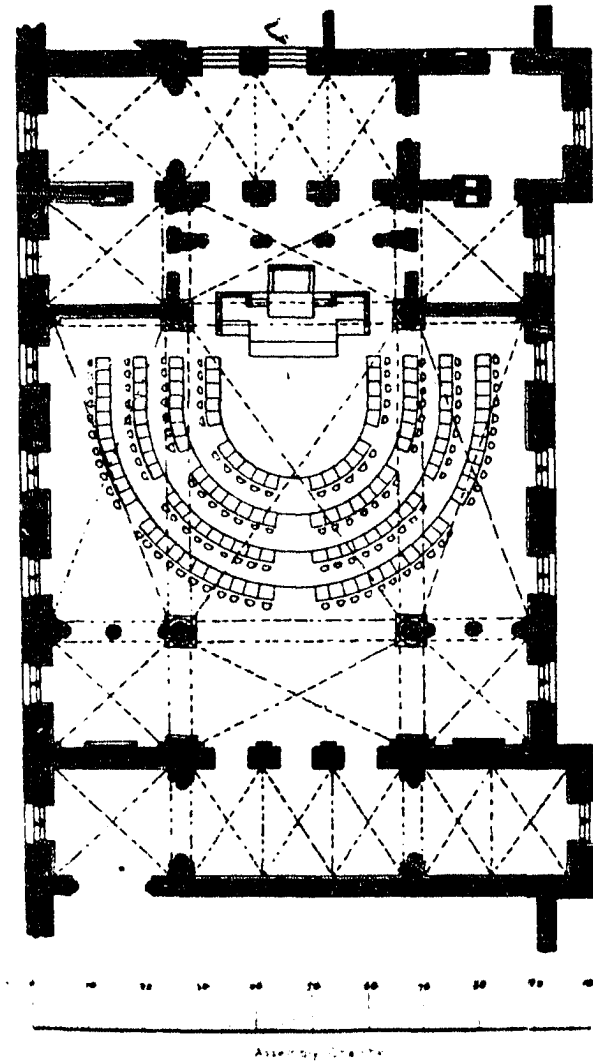


fig. 42 Leopold Eidlitz, Plan of the Assembly Chamber,
New York State Capitol.



fig. 43 Leopold Eitlitz, Golden Corridor, New York State Capitol.

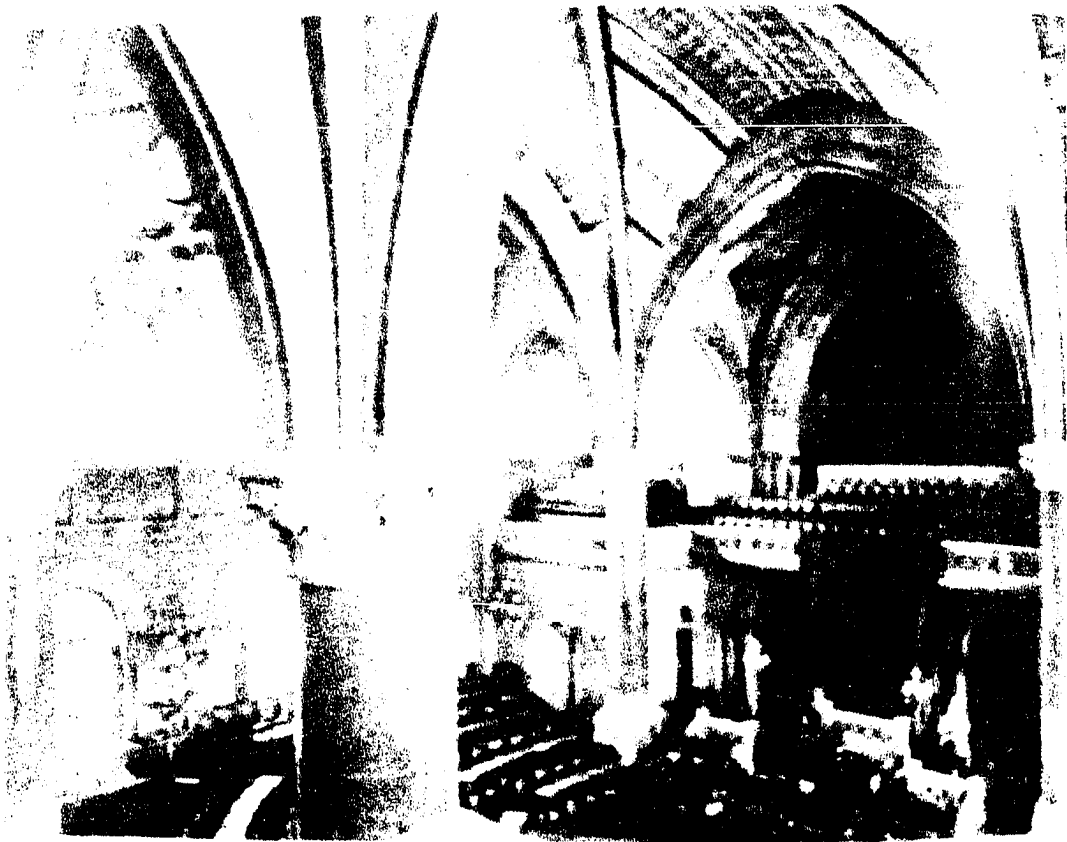


fig. 44 Leopold Eidlitz, Assembly Chamber, New York State Capitol.

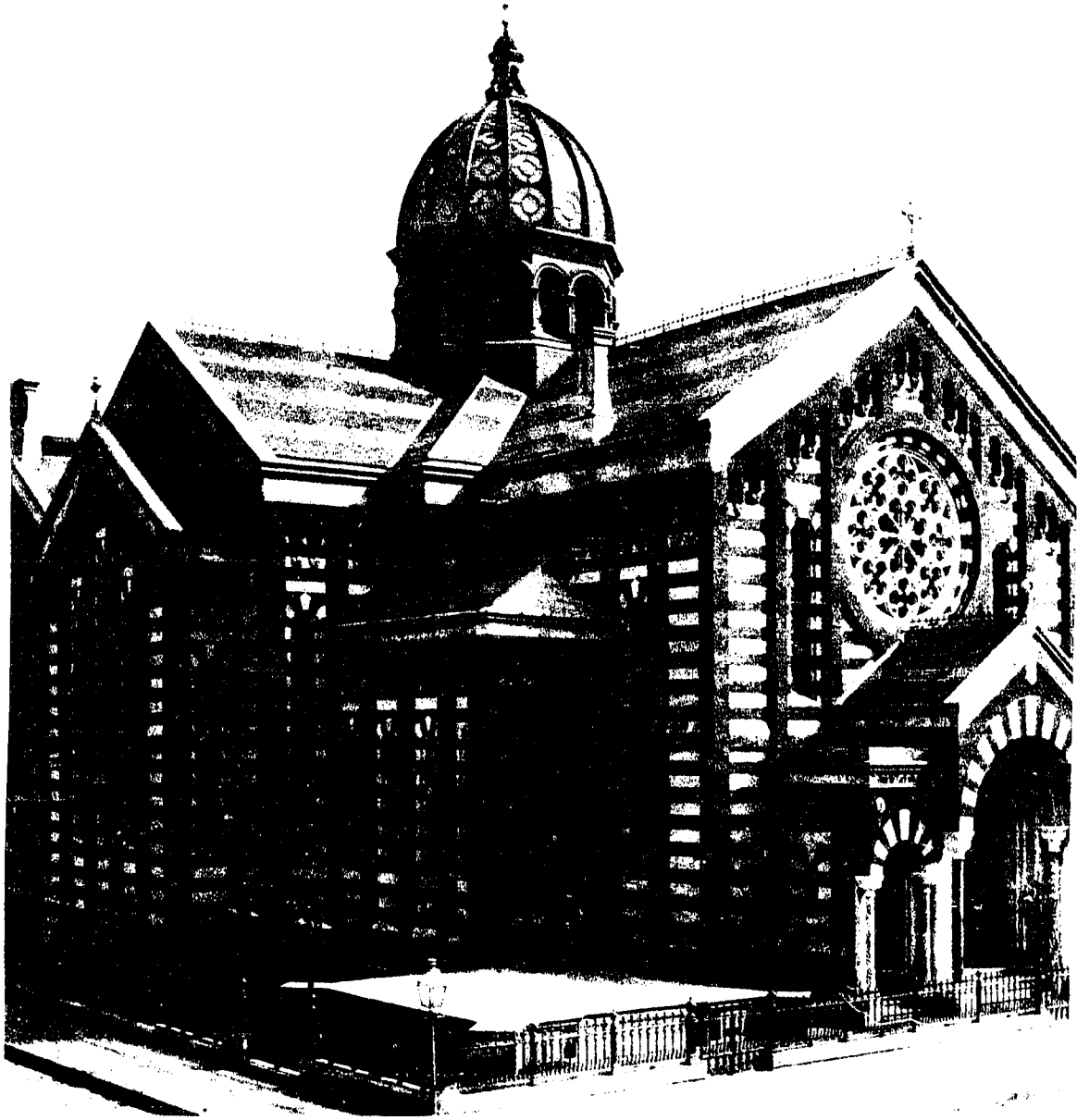


fig. 45 Jacob Wrey Mould, All Soul's Unitarian Church, New York.

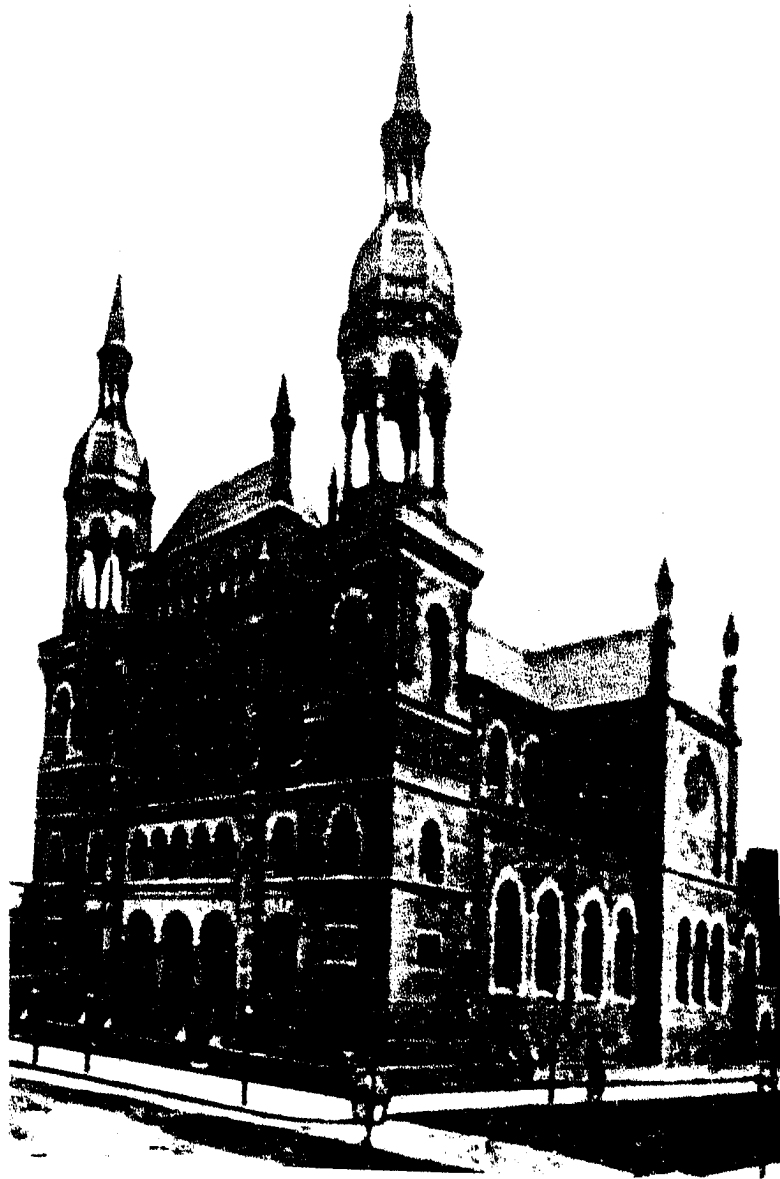


fig. 46a Leopold Eidlitz, Temple Emanu-el, New York,
Exterior View.



fig. 46b Leopold Eidlitz, Temple Emanu-el, New York,
interior view.

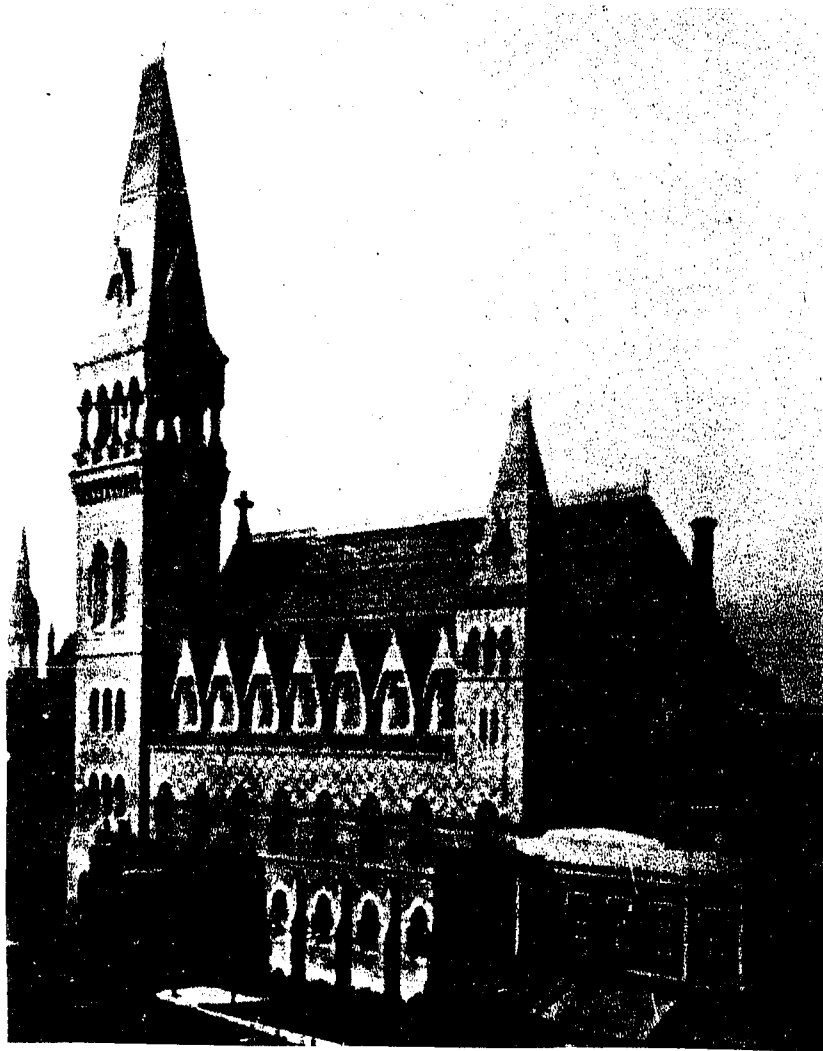


fig. 47 Leopold Eidlitz, Church of the Holy Trinity.

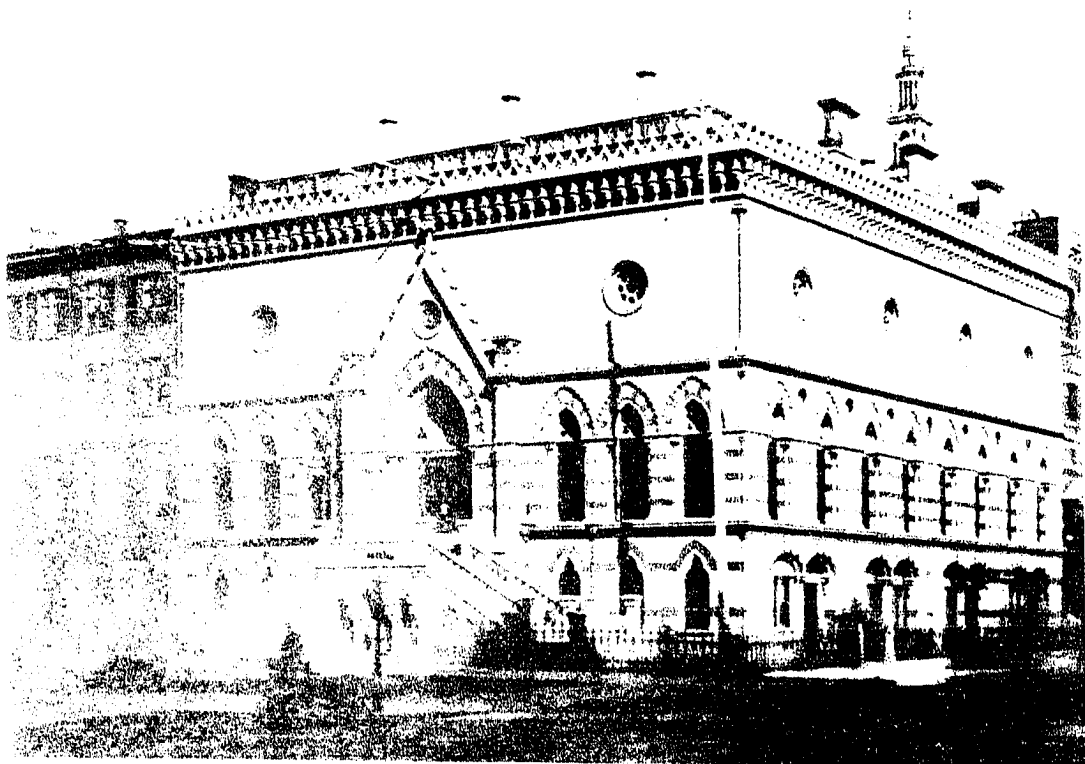


fig. 48 P.B. Wight, The National Academy of Design.



fig. 49 Mousetrap.

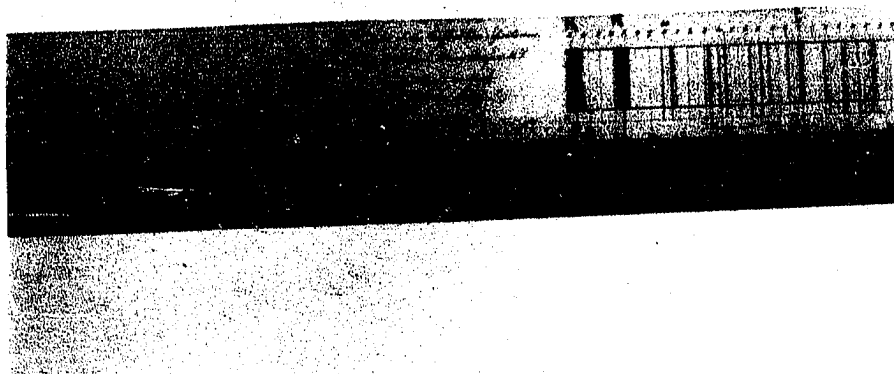


fig. 50 Verse of Mousetrap.



fig. 51 Study for The Discoverer.



fig. 52 William Rimmer, The Discoverer.

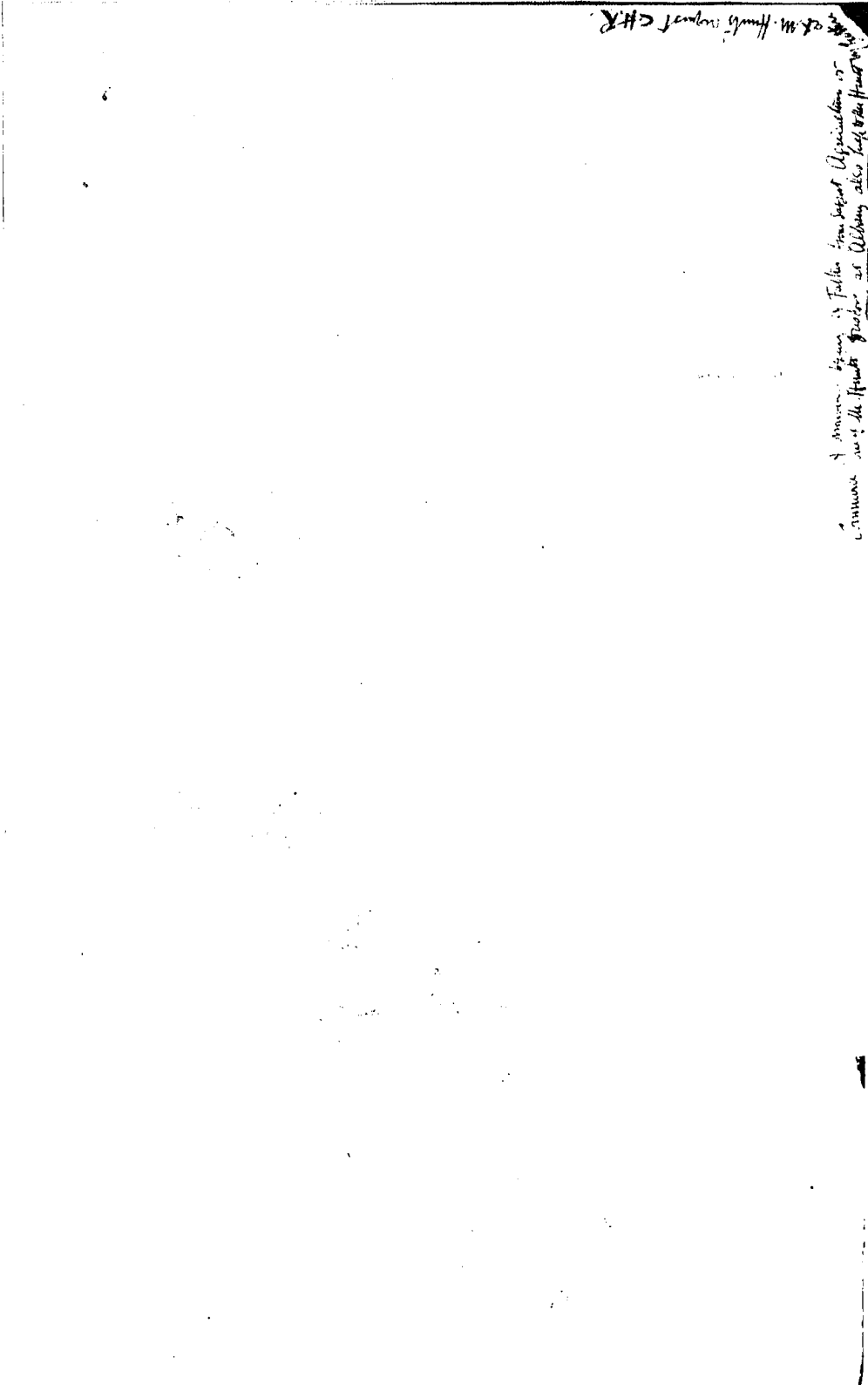


fig. 53 William Rimmer, Studies of Agriculture or Commerce.

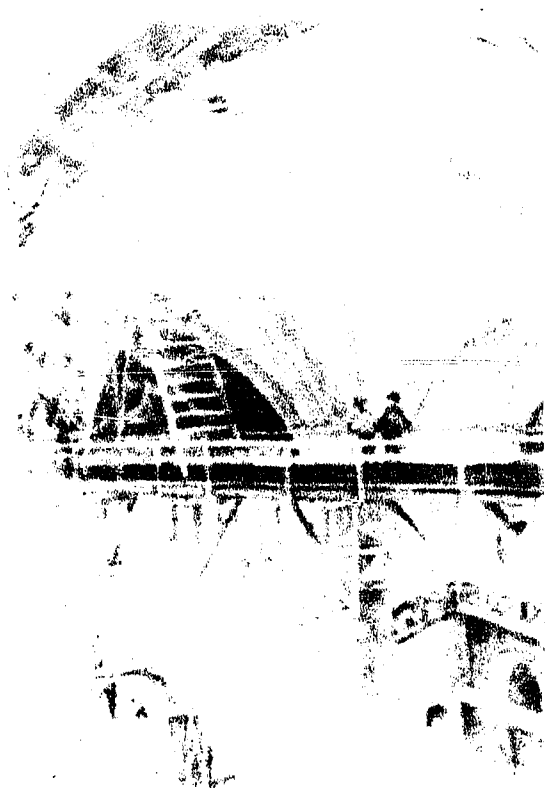


fig. 54 Jane Hunt "Albany."



fig. 55 Jane Hunt "Albany."

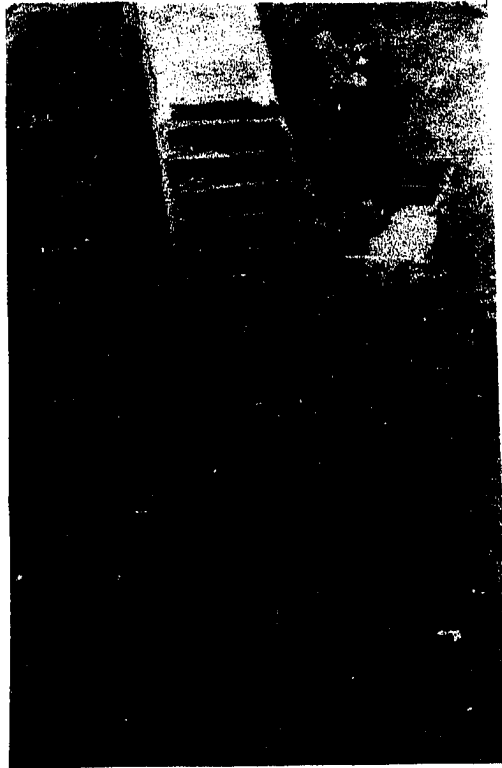


fig. 56 Jane Hunt "Albany."

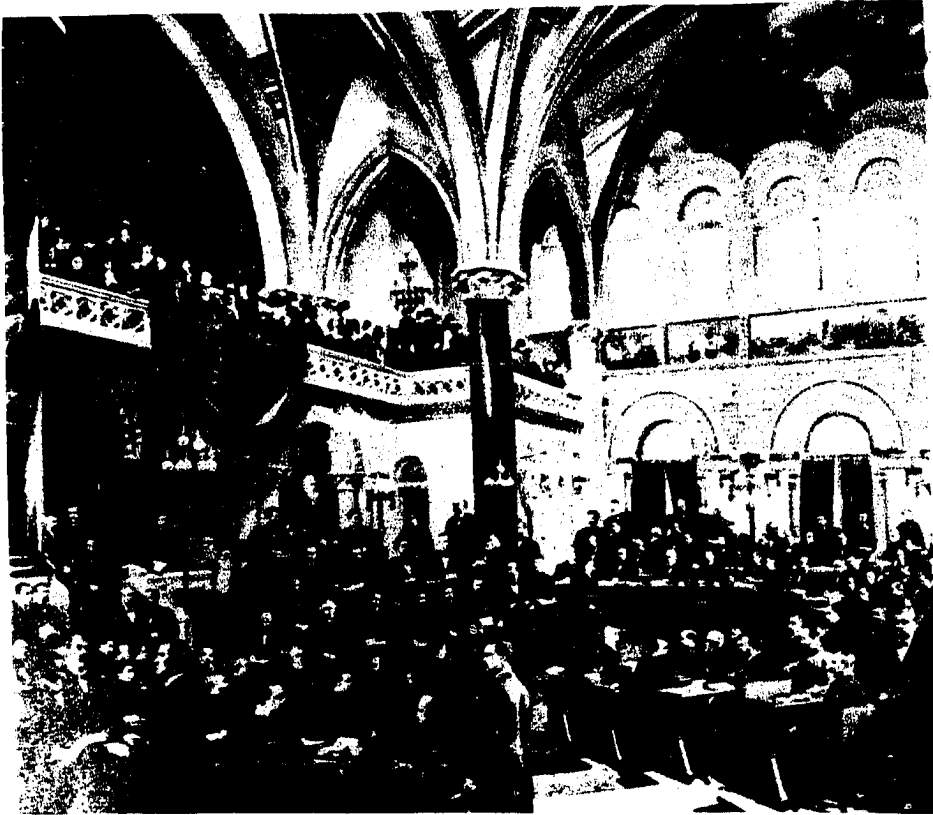


fig. 57 'Doctored' view of Assembly Chamber, New York State Capitol.

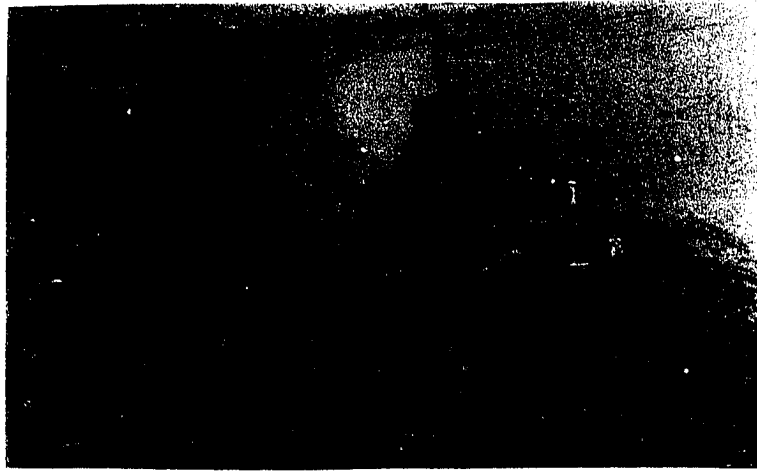


fig. 58 Study for The Flight of Night.

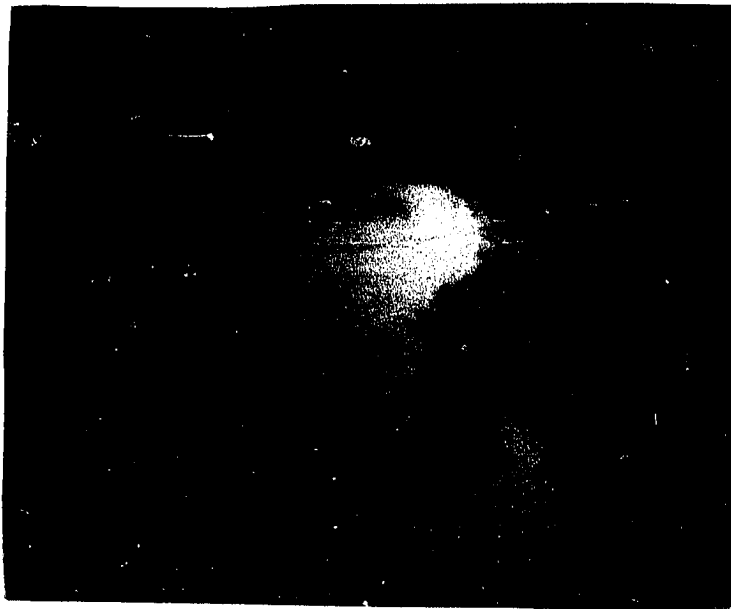


fig. 59 Head of Sleep.



fig. 60 Sketch of horses.



fig. 61a Sketch of horse.



fig. 61b Sketch of horse.



fig. 62a Sketch of two floating figures.



fig. 62b Sketch of two floating figures.



fig. 63a Sketch for The Singers.



fig. 63b Sketch for The Singers.



fig. 63c Sketch for The Singers.

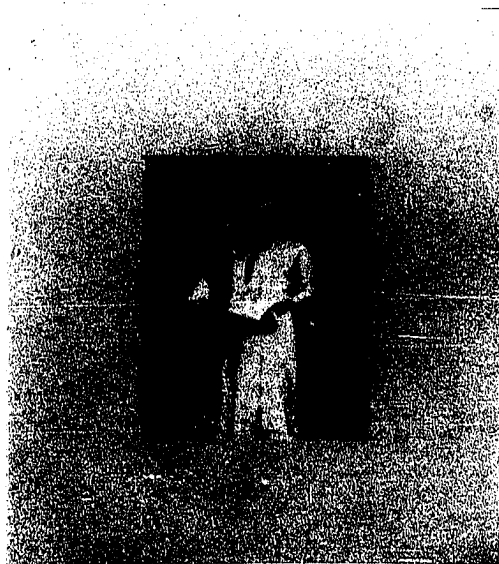


fig. 63d Photograph of painting,
The Singers.



fig. 64 Study for The Flight of Night (tea tray version).



fig. 65 The Flight of Night (1875 version).



fig. 66 The Flight of Night, Perry Print.



fig. 67 The Flight of Night (PAFA version).



fig. 68 The Flight of Night



fig. 69 The Flight of Night (MFA version).



fig. 70 The Flight of Night (Princeton).

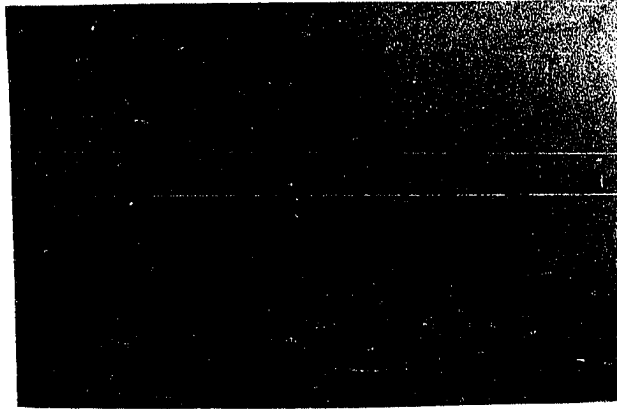


fig. 71 The Flight of Night, sketch.

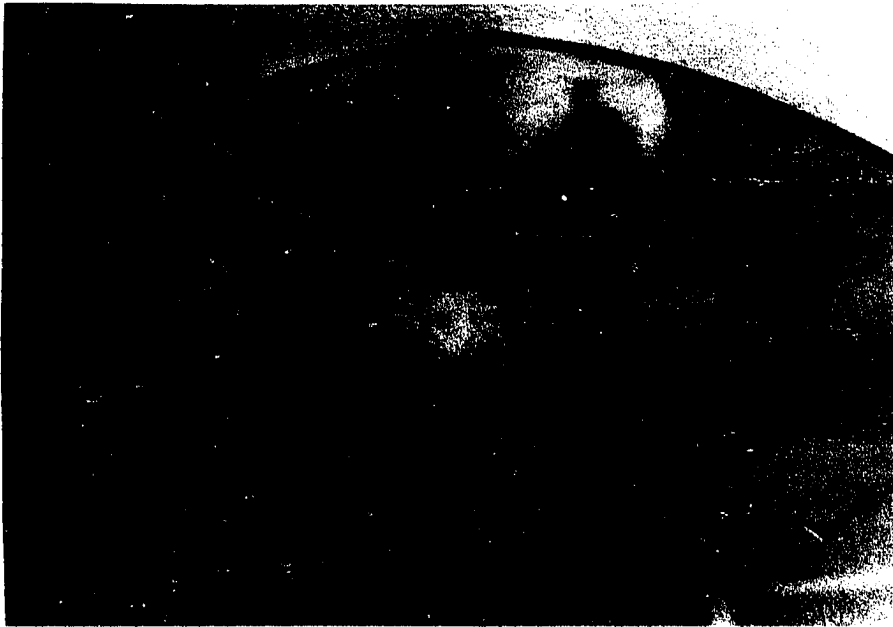


fig. 72 The Flight of Night, Forbes sketch.



fig. 73 Anahita, The Flight of Night (Hunt/MFA).



fig. 74 The Flight of Night (MFA).



fig. 75 Anahita.



fig. 76 Night (MMA)



fig. 77 Anahita.

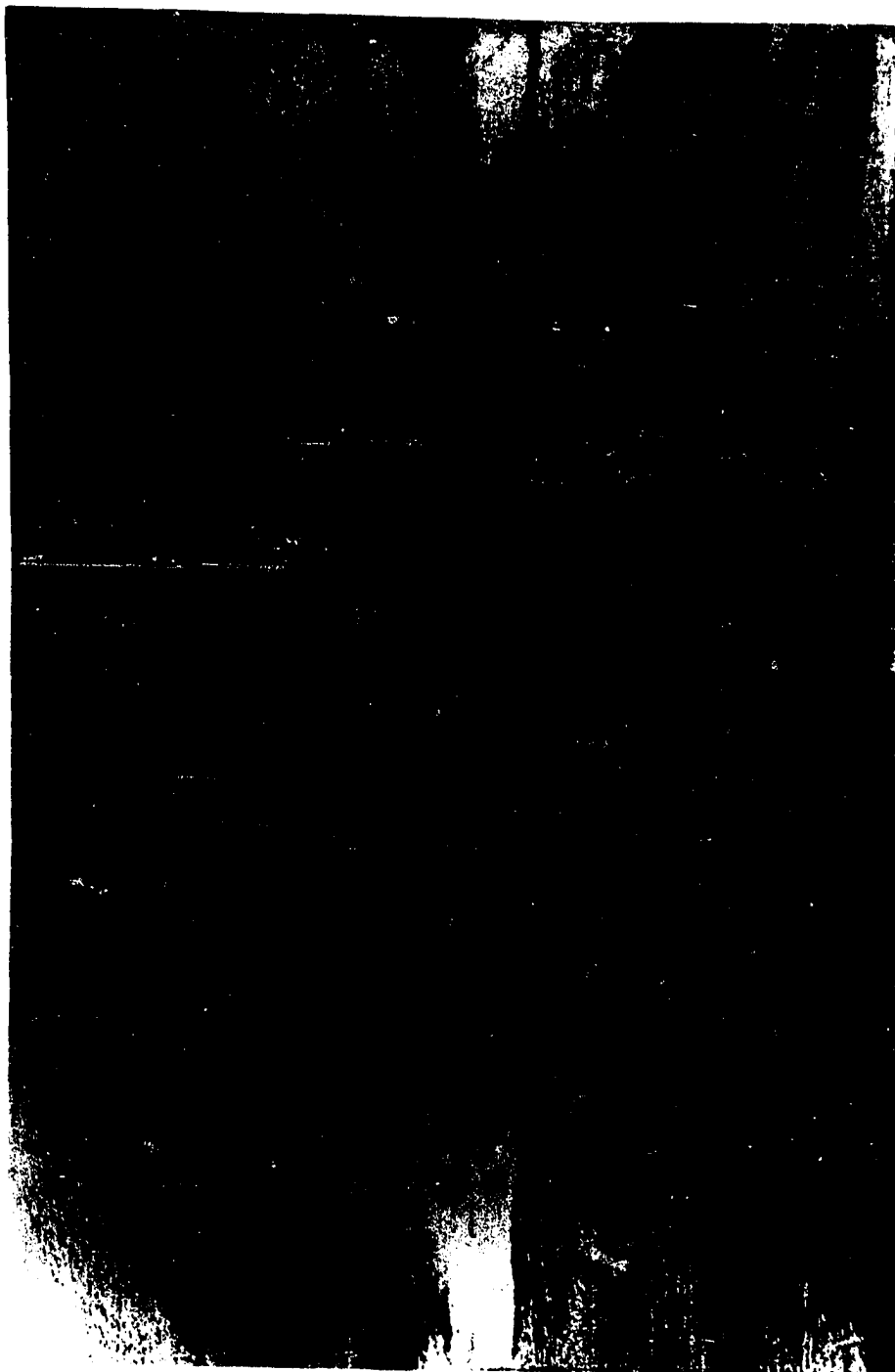


fig. 78 Study for The Discoverer (Fogg 1956.239).



fig. 79 Study for The Discoverer (Fogg 1956.240).



fig. 80 The Barque of the Discoverer.



fig. 81 The Bathers --- figure studies.

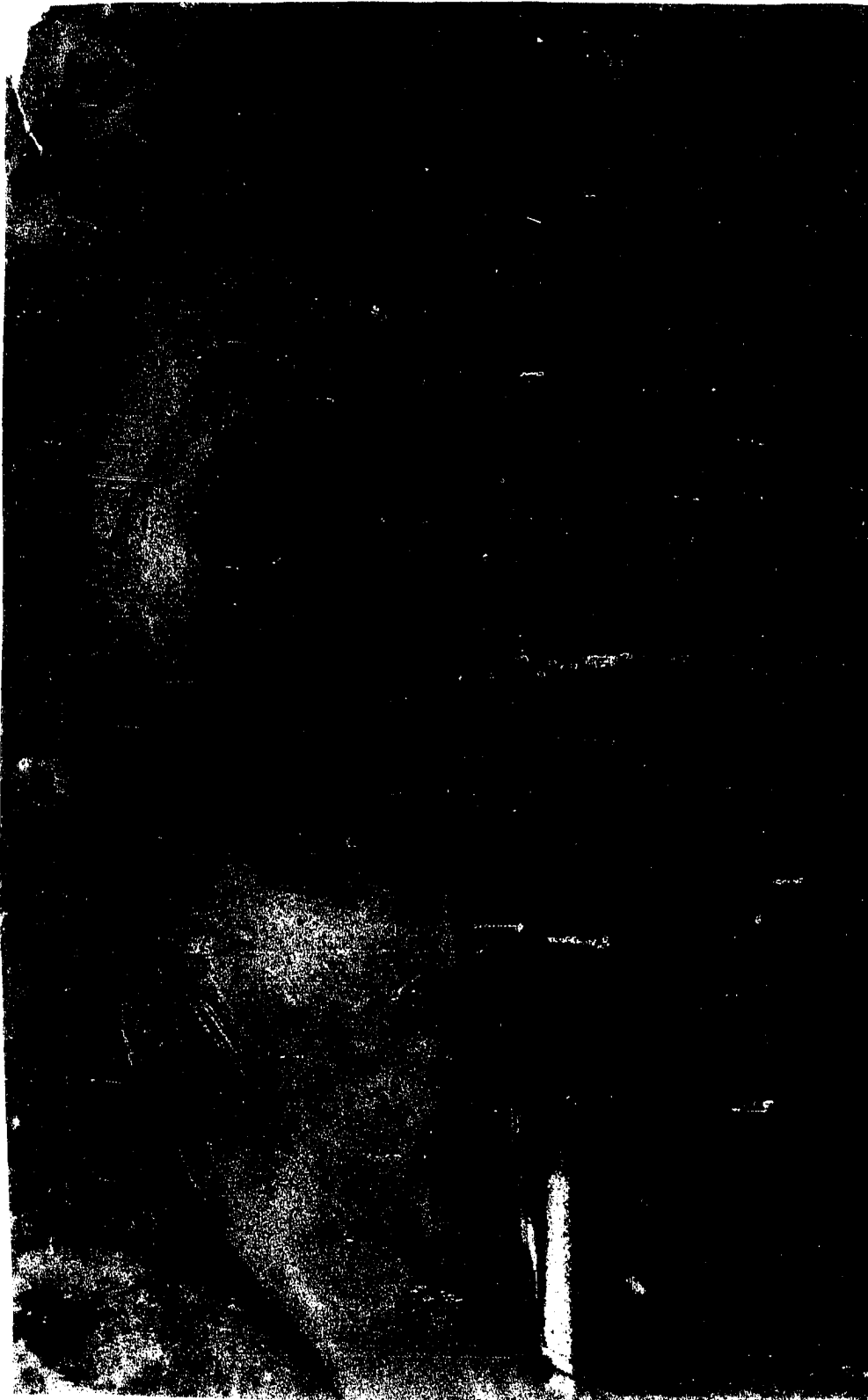


fig. 82 Study for The Discoverer (Fogg 1956.237).



fig. 83 Study for the Discoverer (Fogg 1956.238).

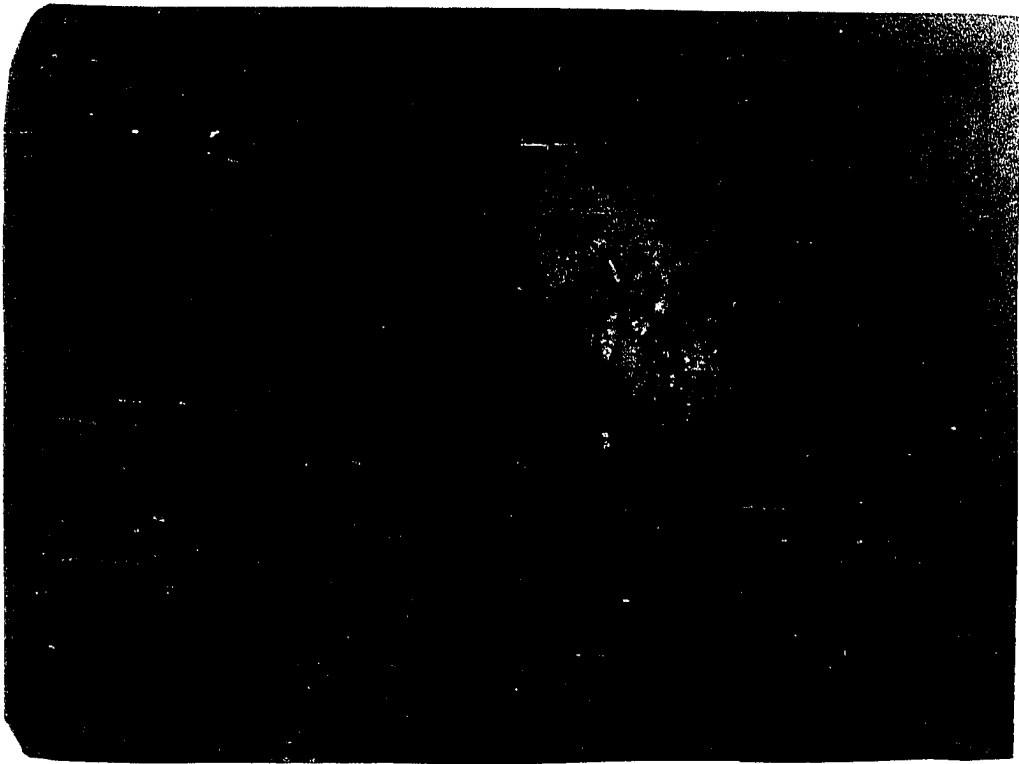


fig. 84 The Discoverer



fig. 85 The Barque of the Discoverer (Princeton).



fig. 86 The Discoverer (MFA).



fig. 87 The Discoverer.



fig. 88 The Discoverer.



fig. 89 The Discoverer (fragment).



fig. 90 "Face of Fortune."



fig. 91 Faith.



fig. 92 Hope.



fig. 93 Science.



fig. 94 Figure of Columbus as
the Discoverer.



fig. 95 Fortune at the Helm (MFA).



fig. 96 Winged Fortune (Cleveland).



fig. 97 Fortune (Jeffrey Alan).



fig. 98 Fortune (Fogg 1949.21).



fig. 99 Fortune (MMA).



fig. 100 Guido Reni, Aurora.



fig. 101 Mithra, bas-relief.

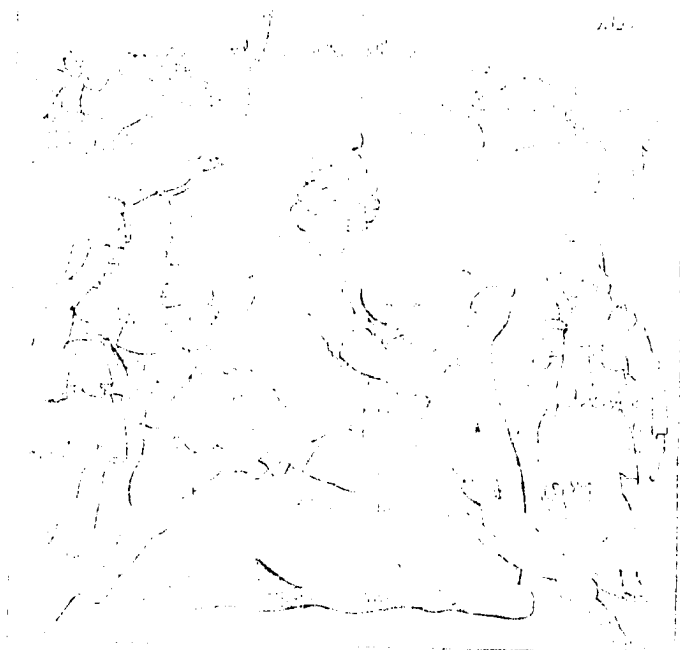


fig. 102 Mithra, bas-relief.



fig. 103 Head of Anahita.



fig. 104 Bertel Thorvaldsen, Night.



fig. 105 Jean-François Millet, The Shooting Stars.



fig. 106 Christopher Columbus (attributed), The Triumph of Columbus.

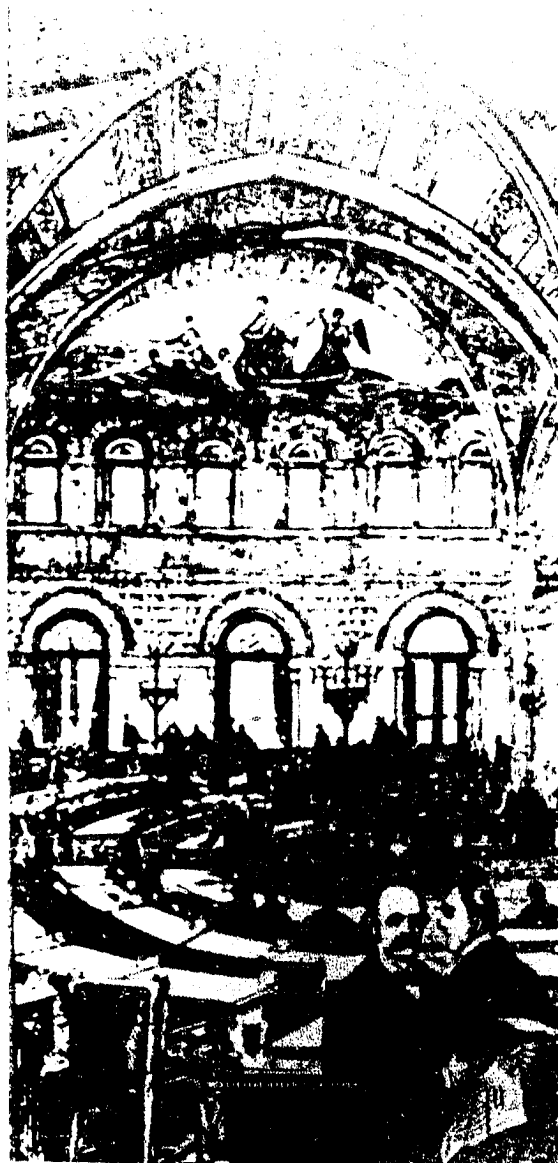


fig. 107 Interior view of the Assembly Chamber, New York State Capitol.



fig. 108 Constantino Brumidi, Cornwallis Sues for Cessation of Hostilities Under the Flag of Truce.



fig. 109 Emanuel Leutze, Westward the Course of Empire.



fig. 110 Constantino Brumidi, Apotheosis of Washington.

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