HORATIO AND RICHARD GREENOUGH:
A CRITICAL STUDY
WITH
A CATALOGUE OF THEIR SCULPTURE

DISSERTATION
Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of the Ohio State University

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Preface

The sculpture of Horatio and Richard Greenough has received almost no serious critical attention since the nineteenth century. Horatio's major essays in aesthetics have been reprinted, a book on the aesthetics of Greenough and Emerson, and a number of articles on Greenough's remarkable ideas have appeared, and Professor Nathalia Wright of the University of Tennessee is preparing a life of the sculptor; this dissertation, while not omitting pertinent biography, is an attempt to evaluate both of the Greenough brothers specifically as artists, and to develop a catalogue of their sculpture.

Discovering the whereabouts of a representative number of works by the Greenoughs was my primary problem. It has been necessary to see and study them, and to learn at first hand if their dismissal by our age is justified and why it has come about. The need for a catalogue of all the works known to be by these men was the next step, and last of all came the final task of evaluation.

I am grateful to librarians, museum curators and others too numerous to mention individually, who helped me in the early stages of my research. Mr. David Mc Kibbin of the Boston Athenaeum was most generous with his time and unique knowledge of the Greenoughs and their period.
Professor Nathalia Wright, members of the staff of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and the Boston Public Library were of great help to me in locating "lost" works. I want to thank the members of my committee, especially my adviser Professor Frank Seiberling, Jr., and Professors Ralph Fanning and Richard D. Altick who assisted me in various ways in preparing the first draft, and without whose help this work would never have been possible.
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Introduction

The neoclassic world was one of revolution and change, yet the majority of artists of the century from 1750 to 1850 looked to symbols of permanence, "the Ideal" and "the Absolute" as means by which to express themselves and their age. It seems today a paradox that their incentive to this "classic" art was found in broken fragments of dead Greece and Rome, because while making a dynamic and integral literary or artistic work is difficult under any circumstances, envisioning it as they did, within the husk of the style of another age, made the difficulties involved almost insuperable. Self-conscious devotion to an ancient civilization and its style led these artists on one hand to archaeology, pedantry and academicism, and on the other to an excuse for a personal, romantic, and sometimes effusive extension of themselves; it also led much conservative and official artistic taste in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to a point of view which appears to be a fusion of both romantic and classic elements, but is a hybrid which is "romantic-classic." Horatio and Richard Greenough admired Jacques Louis David and Ingres, were trained in the studio of Thorwaldsen, the leading advocate of "the Heroic," and
studied Quatremere de Quincy, the critical advocate of the
cademic "absolute," but they were, nevertheless, so much
involved in the ambiguities of the "neoclassic" artistic
position that they made sculpture which reflects almost every
conceivable deviation of which this style or range of styles
was capable. Even though both of the Greenoughs emulated
Thorwaldsen as the infallible classic model, Horatio,
almost in spite of himself, was in his earlier sculpture an
exponent of a late baroque taste which is embodied in such
Eighteenth century works as Canova's tomb of Clement XIII
in St. Peter's, and Giuseppe Ceracchi's portrait busts.
David d'Angers, Westmacott and others continued to keep
the baroque alive in "romantic" form and Horatio reflected
even this aspect of his century's divided taste as well as
its extension in the romantic naturalism of the French
academy, practiced by men like Dalou and Fremiet. Horatio's
"Phidian classic" late style (Richard began his career with
this phase) seems to be a serene peak between two valleys,
for the middle and late work of Richard, inheritor of the
artistic legacy of his brother, is derived from a marked
revival nearly a century after its rococo demise, of the
baroque as exemplified in Carpeaux' Rubensesque "La Danse"
(1869), made for the Paris opera house facade.

The aestheticians of the nineteenth and early twentieth
centuries, Hegel, Riegl and Wölfflin, saw style thus,
shifting from archaic to classic and finally to baroque, and the Greenoughs to a certain extent demonstrated this pattern in their art, but almost invariably those stylistic elements were also simultaneously present and demonstrable in all phases of their work. To most critics of the arts of the period, such a situation becomes an unresolved and ambiguous one, the pitiable sign of an art without a category and a fixed position. To be neither classic nor romantic but both, it has been pointed out, is to cancel out any validity the art might have. The pitfall of the artist in any period, D. H. Lawrence wrote in his study of James Fenimore Cooper, the novelist-friend of the Greenoughs, is that he "usually intellectualizes on top, and his dark underconsciousness goes on contradicting him beneath."¹ And Hawthorne, a hundred years before Lawrence, deplored the low artistic state of his countrymen, the sculptors whom he met in Italy in 1858, with their floundering attention to surface and an "intellectual" detail masking what might have been a valid statement of personal or national, which is to imply, moral significance.²


It would be truly difficult to find artists in whom there were more startling contradictions in theory and practice than there were in the Greenoughs, but it is certainly understandable that the style within which they worked was the expression of opposing and diverse attitudes. No doubt the burden of tradition and early training was too great, and perhaps the obvious fact that they worked in clay and stone made any extensive application or adaptation of a changing and radical aesthetic impossible for them. Perhaps new ideas may be easier to grasp than a new style in which to carry them out, and style may persist as a way of doing rather than a way of thinking. Yet neither Hawthorne nor Lawrence recognized that the neoclassic artists eagerly and single-mindedly looked forward to a purity and clarity of formal expression which is as close as one can come in any age to an artistic universal. Goethe himself had told this eclectic age after his escape from sturm und drang that "artists of classical times could come to terms with anything," and the classic artist knew that

3 Goethe's Tagebuch quoted in Werner Haftman, The Mind and Work of Paul Klee, p. 159.

a supreme artistic achievement could make "the heart of Dionysus...throb and burn in the form of Apollo." 4

4 Holbrooke Jackson, The Eighteen Nineties, p. 57.
Even though the critics were faced with what seemed to be an artistic as well as a critical impasse, the neoclassic artist, his eye fixed firmly upon his ideal, was almost stubbornly unaware of the problem he presented for those who judged him. He was possessed of methods and techniques which allowed him to be incredibly productive; and although he wasted vast amounts of energy and produced whole galleries of nondescript and even worthless objects, out of the welter of his numerous creations came many fine works on levels ranging all the way from Flaxman's Homer illustrations to Ingres' "Apotheosis of Homer," the splendid Baltimore cathedral of Latrobe, and Greenough's "Washington." We are perhaps overwhelmed by the profusion of trees when faced with the neoclassic forest, but from this furious and uninhibited productivity came much of the great art of the nineteenth century. Despite the "division" with itself, romantic classicism was a means to art with its own rules and style, actually enriched by a compound nature, deserving to be judged, and necessarily so, by what it was rather than by what it was not.

Too often we patronize "the white marmorean flock," as Henry James referred to Hiram Powers and the Greenoughs.  

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5 Albert Ten Eyck Gardner, Yankee Stonecutters, p. 39.
because they made amusing marble evidence of the Victorian desire to be surrounded by reassurances of the good, the true and the beautiful. The studied rejection in Horatio Greenough's "Washington," for example, of all that is particular or temporal, may seem, with the perspective of a hundred years, to be traceable to the feeling of anxiety and despair which we associate with the history of its time, and we may be fascinated with an art which almost ludicrously exemplifies this negative virtue. Perhaps we may even like it for its faults and its complete flaunting of modern taste, but neoclassic art deserves our interest and respect for better reasons than these. The creators of such works, the artistic pioneers of nineteenth century America, set the standards for the public taste by which the world identifies us and by which we know ourselves. When the Greenoughs turned to Periclean Athens and Augustan Rome for inspiration, they helped establish the only tradition out of which it was possible that a "form follows function" aesthetic might grow. They led the way as artists and philosophers of art toward the only reasonable aesthetic for a machine age. The Greenoughs stated the classic and rational premise upon which Sullivan and Wright were to build, and to which St. Gaudens' memorial to Mrs. Henry Adams as well as Lachaise's heroic nudes were to owe their monumentality.
By leading taste, however falteringly, toward an understanding of the truly classic - a classic tempered by the romantic imagination - and of the meaning of function and the implicit aesthetic of materials and the machine, the Greenoughs helped mark our age with dignity and beauty.
The Art of Horatio Greenough

Just as Bostonians began to think of their city as the American Athens, the sculptor Horatio Greenough was growing to maturity to help reinforce that illusion. Born in Green Street, Boston, September 1, 1805, he was the fourth of the seven children of David and Betsey (Bender) Greenough, and the fifth in descent from William Greenough (1639-1693) an English sea captain who settled in Massachusetts late in the seventeenth century. David Greenough, like many of his ancestors, was a well-to-do merchant, and although he seems to have had financial reverses, especially in his later life, his inherited wealth was great enough to give him and

6 Morse Papers, Library of Congress, 1836; Letter of Horatio Greenough, Florence, to Samuel F. B. Morse, New York. Hereafter, the place of origin of Greenough's letters is Florence, unless otherwise noted; these papers will be referred to hereafter as Morse.

his family considerable social prestige and the benefits of upper class Boston culture. All of the boys in the family went like Richard to the Boston Latin School, or to George B. Emerson's school, where Horatio at an early age seems to have proven himself a good student. He was especially fond of classical studies and continued to read Greek and Latin throughout his life, to judge from the scholarly references in his letters; but "to mathematics he had always a repugnance." 7 At the same time he was a healthy, athletic
From his early childhood, Greenough had a talent for making three dimensional objects, and his first "sculpture" seems to have been toy daggers and pistols and small figures in chalk. A marble statue of Phocion in the family's garden, no doubt a copy of the semi-nude figure known by this name in the Vatican galleries, seems to have been his first model and inspiration. By the time he was twelve, he had produced a collection of miniature busts and bas-reliefs copied from engravings and old coins, and had begun to attract the attention of friends of the family by virtue of his industry. Although some of these early works must have been preserved for a time by Greenough's friends and well-wishers, the only idea we can get of them now is by means of a clue in Dunlap's History. Henry Greenough, the painter and architect among the brothers, wrote the author, "I recollect, in particular, a little chalk statue of William Penn, which he copied from an engraving in the
of the bronze statue in Philadelphia."\(^9\)


(Fig. 1). It is easy to imagine the rather primitive result of copying so awkward an engraving.

William Dunlap, "the American Vasari," like his predecessor in his life of Michelangelo, is rather insistent upon the original and untaught nature of the genius of Greenough, but he does tell us that a neighbor, who was probably Colonel Thomas H. Perkins, introduced the precocious boy to William S. Shaw, then director of the Boston Athenaeum, an institution which served a triple function as private art gallery, library and lecture hall, and that Shaw saw in his chalk carvings "the germs of a great and noble art,"\(^10\) and gave him permission to use the facilities of the sculpture room, at that time consisting of casts of the "eighteenth century antiques," such as the "Venus d' Medici," the "Dying Gaul" and the "Laocoön." He promised him "he should always find a bit of carpet, to cut his chalk upon, whenever he wished to copy anything."\(^11\)

\(^10\)Dunlap, \textit{Loc. cit.}

\(^11\)Dunlap, \textit{Loc. cit.}

Greenough tried to learn clay modelling from directions in
the *Edinburgh Cyclopedia*, but apparently was enlightened on this matter by Solomon Willard, an architect and Athenaeum member who was later responsible for designing and erecting the Bunker Hill monument. A minor French sculptor of portrait busts, J. B. Binon, then working in Boston, and best known for his head of John Adams in Faneuil Hall, allowed Greenough to model by his side. Alpheus Carey, a stonecutter, who had done some sculpture, chiefly for tombstones, showed him how to carve in marble, and as a result he produced his first work in this medium, a small bust of Bacchus. No doubt by this time, he had begun to impress his own family a good deal, and except for their insistence that he graduate from Harvard, he was allowed to continue working with his sculpture as much as he wished. Joseph G. Cogswell, Harvard librarian and professor of mineralogy and geology, famous as a friend and correspondent of Goethe, loaned him drawings and engravings and was an interested and friendly adviser to this unusual college freshman. It was perhaps through Cogswell, too, that he came to know Dr. George Parkman, later to be a murder victim and to give his name to one of the most famous trials in American judicial history. Parkman helped Greenough with the study of anatomy, and gave him a foundation of knowledge in figure construction which was to be one of his distinguishing marks, and in a way, the mark of the entire
American school. During his junior year at Harvard he

12 One source mentions Greenough's being befriended by a Dr. J. Parkman whom I have not been able to trace, but the reader of a nineteenth century account of Greenough would probably have had in mind only one doctor of medicine named Parkman.

lived at the house of Edmund T. Dana, brother of Richard Henry Dana, where Washington Allston was a regular visitor, and to his inspiration, also, Greenough was deeply indebted. "Allston," wrote Greenough to Dunlap many years later, "was to me a father, in what concerned my progress of every kind. He taught me to feel. Before I knew him I felt strongly but blindly, as it were; and if I should never pass mediocrity, I should attribute it to my absence from him."13


Allston's position as the outstanding and earliest romantic painter of America is increasingly apparent, and this moody, gentle and sensitive man surely exerted an influence for good on the eager young artist whom he befriended. He brought to Greenough a taste for nature and experience in his art which was always marked, nevertheless, by the fact that almost the first statue he had ever seen was a copy from a Greco-Roman one. In Sweetser's biography of Allston, he mourns that artist's erratic and small output and that he insisted upon painting his own pictures; but
Greenough might well have heeded the intuition of the older man. In spite of vast numbers of sculptures to his credit, many of them actually the work of Italian assistants, the sculptor is much less secure in the ranks of American art than his teacher. Sweetser describes Allston on his way home from Europe in 1819, and tells a story which Greenough, no doubt, had heard from the painter himself:

The homeward bound artist crossed the ocean on the ship Galen, and met with much tempestuous weather. During the height of the worst gales of the season he remained on deck, engaged in argument with the captain ... and maintaining an unperturbed demeanour amid the terrors of the storm. He sketched the Galen as he supposed that she appeared in the heaviest seas.\[14\]

\[14\] M. F. Sweetser, \textit{Allston}, 1880, p. 91.

In spite of Greenough's occasionally romantic gesture, it is almost impossible to visualize him in such a situation. If he could have understood and translated this sort of experience into form, the direction and dynamics of American sculpture would have been vastly different; but although the stream of romantic painting continued in this direction, baroque sculpture was too recently dead to expect its revival except as one may detect it beneath, and indigenous to the surface of neoclassicism.

While Greenough was a senior in college, the Bunker
Hill Monument Association offered a prize of one hundred dollars for the best design for a column or an obelisk to mark the site of the battle. Robert Mills, Solomon Willard and about a dozen others drew plans, but Greenough's wooden model, for an obelisk to be one hundred feet high, was chosen, and then under somewhat mysterious circumstances, rejected. Actually no one person seems to have designed the monument as it stands today, and certainly no one received the prize money, but Solomon Willard's design for a shaft two hundred and twenty feet high was, after many adversities, finally erected just ten years before Greenough's death. Because of the general confusion associated with the project, Greenough, as well as each of the men in any way involved with it, seems to have believed that he himself had been the designer.  

This was his one attempt at architecture of any kind, and his "winning" the prize and the official announcement of it seems to have been by way of recognition by the committee (including Gilbert Stuart, Allston and Colonel Perkins) that the young artist needed encouragement. It was well known that Greenough was leaving for Europe before finishing his college work, and that the Harvard trustees were going to send his diploma after him in the spring. All Boston
knew that he was a very promising young man, and a number of wealthy Bostonians, including Amos Lawrence, the merchant (the subject of Chester Harding's most beautiful portrait), and Dr. Parkman contributed to an anonymous fund for the further education of this son of an old, but at this time, rather impoverished family. Colonel Thomas Perkins, always interested in the arts at home and abroad, gave him free passage to Europe in one of his ships bound for Marseilles. From there he travelled by land to Rome where he began to study in 1826. "Until then" he wrote to Dunlap, "I had rather amused myself with clay and marble than studied . . . It was not till I ran through all the galleries and studios of Rome, and had under my eye the genial forms of Italy that I began to feel nature's value. I had before adored her, but as a Persian does the sun, with my face to the earth. I then began to examine her — and entered on that course of study in which I am still toiling." Like other students in Italy, he had the beneficent attention of Bertel Thorwaldsen, the Danish sculptor, and came fortified with a letter of introduction from Colonel Perkins to the old master. In that atelier
he learned to compose "the whole rather than the parts,"

18 Manuscript letter of Thomas Crawford, Richmond, Virginia, to an unknown correspondent, January 1847, in the collection of T. B. Brumbaugh, hereafter referred to as Brumbaugh.

an idea which would seem to be a rudimentary one, but which was a revelation to many of the aspiring Americans, naively unable to generalize, almost "primitive" in their interest in surface particulars and detail. Only a few time in his work did Greenough manage completely to avoid this early tendency, and his failure to do so becomes one of the elements of his individual style. Finish and high polish of the surface are marks of Thorwaldsen's style, and yet the element which holds his works together and gives them their quality and still monumental scale is this essential structure which he made the key of his teaching.

Greenough's roommate at this time was the painter Robert W. Weir, eventually to be Whistler's instructor at West Point. Their house was situated on the Pincian Hill, directly opposite that which had been occupied by Claude Lorrain, and between those which had popularly been considered those of Salvator Rosa and Nicholas Poussin. One can imagine their enthusiasm at living on such nineteenth century "holy ground." While Weir studied the Raphael Stanze in the Vatican, Greenough drew from the antique and modelled classical subjects. After supper the artists all
met at the famous Cafe del Greco, a gathering place of artists since the time of the Caracci, and there learned to know the great and the near great and exchange ideas with them. Eichendorff's charming Aus dem Leben eines Taugenichts describes this light hearted world of gossip and camaraderie, where, "if the moon was up we would form small bands to go and dream among the ruins of the Imperial City."  

19 From a manuscript letter of Robert Weir to Alfred Greenough, undated; in the collection of Miss Irene Weir: Charleston, S. C., hereafter referred to as Weir.

In spite of some carefree excursions, the pressure from home to make a financial as well as an artistic success, must have been strong, and Greenough was desperately ambitious, as his letters from these years show. Finally exhausting himself to the point where he was easily susceptible to sickness, Weir recorded: "And Greenough overworked; after a long day of endeavor he would often rise at night to study some problem. He was greatly exhausted when malaria overtook him - he was very ill."  

20 Weir: loc. cit.

Accompanied by the faithful Weir, he returned home to a year of rest and recovery with his family and friends, and found himself already something of a celebrity, at least in
Boston. Although Greenough had modelled several life-size busts and copies of antiques in his first year abroad, the only certain one known from this period of apprenticeship is a self-portrait which has since disappeared, but which may have been sent to an exhibit in New York, and thus might still be in existence. 21 "Abel," a figure never put into marble, and the most ambitious work done before his return to America in 1827, has also been lost. The subject suggests a figure problem not unlike that which Morse had set for himself in "The Dying Hercules," now in the Wadsworth Athenaeum, but the fact that none of these early sculptures can be located, suggests that they were destroyed, possibly by the artist himself, or left behind to an uncertain fate when his illness made it necessary for him to leave Rome in haste. None of them had been commissioned, and they were all in clay, and except that so few of his clay models exist today, it is perhaps fortunate that we have been spared what were, after all, student exercises.

His health being restored, Greenough began to look about for possible commissions to be modelled in America, put into marble in Italy and then shipped back home. Among

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21 Morse: May 15, 1828, Greenough to Morse, New York, "I can but offer a bust which I modelled at Rome, two years since. . ."
the first of these was the bust of Josiah Quincy, president of Harvard, (1829-1845), which is one of his earliest and finest works. (Fig. 2). Suggesting the rather full, "muscular" style of Giuseppe Ceracchi, an Italian active in America ca. 1790-1800, a style which still retained at that date, something of the baroque of Bernini, it is, nevertheless, an original and characteristic work of Greenough, which "might well pass for the head of an Apollo or Jupiter," as the sitter's son wrote.22 And as F. O.


Matthiessen points out in the American Renaissance:

Moreover, our most dignified senators consciously modelled their public speech directly upon the examples of Greece and Rome, since a strong desire to profit from the analogies with classical experience had permeated every phase of our taste. John Adams, reading each year De Senectute; Colonel William Prescott, the hero of Bunker Hill, returning like Cincinnatus to his farm at Pepperell; the younger Josiah Quincy (the subject of Greenough's bust) seeing his father's career mirrored in Pope's Homer - such figures might equally well have been chiselled as Roman busts or have their lives written by Plutarch.23


The early interest in monumental size in the Josiah Quincy, prepares us for the achievement of the "Washington" ten years later, and the dignity and forthrightness of the
work have been an advantage, for it still stands in the spot in the library of the handsome Greek revival house in Boston for which it was originally intended. Greenough, in a way, "builded better than he knew," for so many of his sculptures like this one have, appropriately, become majestic and commanding ancestor portraits for some of the great families of America.

Travelling to Washington, the young sculptor carried introductions to Chief Justice John Marshall, and President John Quincy Adams, both of whom posed for busts. Neither of these men seems to have commissioned the artist, but rather he hoped by this means to attract other more remunerative, if less illustrious subjects. In his journal President Adams noted: "Mr. Greenough brought me a letter from Josiah Quincy, the Mayor of Boston (1823-1828) and asked permission to take my bust; to which I assented. He has a room at Mr. King's where he will give me notice when he is prepared and wishes my attendance."\(^2\)

The President, having been given notice, sat part of the morning of February 20, 1828, and Greenough records in a happy letter to his younger brother Henry, "A President is a man, you know, and so I put him in."\(^3\)


\(^3\) Horatio Greenough, Letters... to his Brother Henry, pp. 25, 26.
The President was also a Yankee, and was so pleased by his own likeness that he "gave . . . most gratifying proof of his respect for (Greenough's) talents." Greenough was commissioned to do a bust of John Adams, the president's father, for a monument in the Granite Church in Quincy, and writing of this to Henry, says rather giddily, "I shall adopt the Hermes form and treat the hair au naturel."26

26 Greenough, Ibid., p. 31.

At least three marble versions of the John Quincy Adams bust (Figs. 3, 4), and two of the John Adams exist today, to attest to the popularity of these portraits, but unfortunately the Marshall bust, which also pleased because "anyone would recognize my sketch," has disappeared.27 The hoped-for results of capturing distinguished subjects were quick to be realized. Robert Gilmor, a wealthy Baltimore merchant, invited Greenough to his tasteful "Gothick" home, where he did Mrs. Gilmor's portrait while surrounded by that early patron's collection of questionable Raphael, Guidos and Claudes, and very genuine Lawrences and Stuarts for which Gilmor and his wife had posed. It is interesting to note that they preferred Gilbert Stuart's frank likenesses of themselves to the more conventionalized ones
by Sir Thomas Lawrence. In line with this taste, we find that Greenough in his letters, again pointed proudly to the excellent likeness he had achieved of Mrs. Gilmor—"one of the best likenesses I have ever made," and we are reminded of the attitude of Copley, who sought this same visual realism before he, like Greenough, became Europeanized, marked by the taste of a more sophisticated patronage.

Carrying with him his precious plaster casts, usually made as soon as the original clay model had dried, the sculptor returned to Italy, spending some time at Carrara, familiarizing himself with the processes of stone carving there, and searching for assistants to help him with what was soon to become a lucrative business. He chose Florence as his permanent residence because of its artistic advantages (Thorwaldsen and Bartolini were living there) and climate (clay for modelling did not freeze during the mild winters) and from there in September 1830, shipped back the finished bust of Mrs. Gilmor, "in perfect white marble," to Baltimore, where it was seen and admired for more than
Robert Gilmor records in his manuscript Diary-Journal, the perfection of the marble and the interest shown in the bust of his aunt, and the "Medora" by Greenough, also in his uncle's collection. Men like John Quincy Adams, Emerson and Henry Clay visited the house and inspected the Gilmor collections. Emerson and Adams in their own journals, both record having seen the Greenough works.

This process from clay to marble, of over two years' duration and sometimes much longer, must have seemed endless to the patron who waited and had paid anywhere from one hundred to a thousand dollars for his sculpture, but the method was a very complicated one. After modelling and casting, Rembrandt Peale tells us, Greenough sent the plaster cast to Carrara to be pointed in marble by machinery and returned with about an eighth of an inch of stone to be trimmed off. This was probably the case with the early busts, in which Greenough felt he should take some final artistic responsibility. The integrity of old Alpheus Carey and the Yankee stone-cutters who had carved directly into the rough stone block must have been recalled to Greenough's mind many times. But in Italy the easy way to mass production was overwhelming. The ethics of Raphael and his school of assistants seemed to apply here exactly, and Thorwaldsen himself and Bartolini, with whom Greenough
studied briefly about this time, never carved their own works. Only once had Thorwaldsen carved an entire statue, an "Adonis," with his own hands, and it was the marvel of early nineteenth century sculpture. This stipulation had been insisted upon by Prince Louis of Bavaria, a lavish patron who was willing to pay for a, by this time, almost unheard of sculptural method. Surely Greenough saw and discussed this statue in the master's studio, as it had been modelled in 1808, and was not completed until 1832.32

32 Eugene Plon, Thorwaldsen: His Life and Work, p. 45.

Like a very few other critics and collectors, Prince Louis retained the Renaissance notion that only his sculpture was a true work by Thorwaldsen, and in spite of apologies for workshop methods by many artists of the time, the latest being William Wetmore Story's Excursions in 1891, we know that when Greenough accepted a commission from the American writer, James Fenimore Cooper, then living in Europe, he felt a responsibility for doing the work himself. Again, Rembrandt Peale tells us, "I have seen him at this pitiable labor, reducing the stone, which should have been done by more experienced workmen, and slowly copying, from his little naked and shivering subject, details of form which he had rendered sufficiently perfect in his clay
model." It seems more than a little absurd that a sculptor's having to carve should be considered pitiable, but agreeing with the aesthetic of the Florence of that time Peale continues: "It was a severe lesson, which he never repeated - although it is well for the modeller to be able to work in marble, that he may sometimes make a correction or direct his deputy sculptor."

This work which was the only "true" Greenough cannot be located today, unfortunately, and probably it has joined the thousands of anonymous Victorian marble statuettes of the same type, and may never be separated from them. We can reconstruct the "Chanting Cherubs," however, for the figures were frankly borrowed from the "Madonna of the Baldacchino," then as now, one of the treasures of the Pitti Palace, a work attributed to Raphael and his school. Also the success of "The Cherubs" led Greenough to a very slight variation of the theme, to judge from Raphael's picture, in the "Ascension of the Infant Spirit," of 1832-1833, which is preserved in the Boston Museum. (Fig. 13).

But the "Chanting Cherubs," although it may no longer exist, is in the noble classic tradition of Greek sculptures by Praxiteles and others which have disappeared and yet
continue to haunt us through many literary sources, and Roman copies of Roman copies. "The Cherubs" is a work which found contemporary fame in prose and poetry, and made Greenough's reputation as "the first American sculptor" in the minds of the nineteenth and twentieth century, yet the "first American sculpture," or at least the first official one, is not even recorded in an engraving or a photograph. Greenough was the first American sculptor to live in Italy and make a livelihood of his art, and possibly "The Cherubs" was the first group of two figures in marble to have been made by an American up to the year 1829. James Fenimore Cooper's interest in this matter, and his anxiety to be remembered as a patron of art and as a patron of the first American sculptor, shines through his letters of the late eighteen twenties written to Greenough, and attests to the young artist's growing fame. He writes:

I am glad to hear the boys are getting on, but I wish to hear after you have seen them, how they look in marble and how the stone has proved . . . You must make me acquainted with them by description. In your works, the purity of the marble has the effect which is produced by beauty of style in composition - they are both mediums of the ideas, and are equally ornamental to genius. As this is your first blow it is fortunate that the statues are free from all the grosser defects, since yours is an art, that first addresses itself to the senses . . .

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"The Cherubs" were finished late in 1830, and were sent off to be exhibited in America with Cooper's blessing upon them, chiefly in the form of letters of praise written to New York newspapers, but against the writer's wishes Greenough seems to have sent them to Boston, his eye on local prestige for himself. In a letter of 1831, Cooper wrote:

I do not think you have done wisely in sending the group to Boston, New York is the place. You will be covered with twaddling criticism a Boston, which is no better, with all due reverence to your nativity, than a gossiping country town, though it has so many clever people. The tone of criticism in Boston is essentially narrow and vulgar - so narrow and vulgar as scarce to conceal the parochial sort of venom which engenders it.

The initial unpleasantness with Cooper was an omen for further misunderstanding to come, although Richard Henry Dana heralded the group with a widely printed poem beginning:

Whence come ye, Cherubs? from the moon?  
Or from a shining star?  
Ye, sure, are sent a blessed boon,  
From kinder worlds afar;  
For while I look, my heart is all delight;  
Earth has no creatures half so pure and bright.
The insistence upon purity and outer space was fortunate, and no doubt a friendly bit of help on the part of Greenough's old friend, for the nudity of the cherubim caused a good deal of consternation among viewers who came to the exhibition in the Boston Athenaeum. There had been suggestions made in the newspapers that the figures be veiled in muslin, but this visual clouding or sifting of one's view was not to be adopted. Nevertheless, one can imagine what the blue stockings meant, for in a prose introduction to his poem, Dana admits: "What flesh, too! You are almost persuaded that it will yield to your touch." And brown and worn spots on significantly tender areas of most neoclassic statues are a mute but eloquent testimony to the continuing tactile appeal of these works.

A letter written to Cooper by a friend in New York tells us of the sculpture's reception there:

The cherubs failed here, owing it is said to their name, Our literal folks actually supposed that they were to sing, and when the man turned them round in order to exhibit them in a different position, they exclaimed, "Ah he is going to wind them up: we shall hear them now!" I wish the scene of this lay anywhere but in New York, but it
cannot be helped, and I must continue to consider my townsmen as a race of cheating, lying money getting blockheads.39


Aside from the deplorable state of the appreciation of art in New York City, something of the professional jealousy visited upon the work, is indicated in a letter of John Frazee, the sculptor: "Chanting Cherubs is not really fine statuary as the legs of the smallest boy completely obscures the other . . . This defect is of itself sufficient to damn the group."40

40Manuscript letter, New York Public Library: John Frazee to Gulian Verplanck, February 18, 1832.

Even Bartolini in Florence had spoken of "The Cherubs," with high approbation, as Cooper said, and it was clear that "the backs of the cherubs are entirely original, and this includes the wings and the disposition of the arm that is thrown across, which gave more difficulty than all the rest of the grouping."41 One had almost to expect this lack of respect for high art and originality from "yahoos" who had no background of culture whatsoever, and it became increasingly apparent to the republican Greenough
that the American artist of his time was only "free" in Europe. The idea of the disgruntled and refugee American artist (whose prototype was John Singleton Copley) seems to have been firmly established by this time. Greenough was a major factor in the pattern that later involved the lives and art of Henry James, T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, and in the last decade, a host of painters and writers working in Italy, France and Spain. He answered criticism from abroad, nevertheless, by way of letters to the newspapers, one of which, a highly indignant attack on American crassness and prudery, defended "those infantine forms... intrinsically pure and innocent, to say the least," and deplored the vast sums which were being spent at the time to see "harlot dancers" such as Fanny Elssler and Lola Montez, who were then touring the Atlantic coast cities. "I do not venture to hope that even high art will abolish 'cakes and ale,'" he wrote, "but I trust before many years are elapsed, no usée Terpsichore of Paris or Vienna will be able to show half a million as a measure of our appetite for the meretricious."\textsuperscript{42}

\textsuperscript{42} Henry Tuckerman, \textit{Book of the Artists}, 1867, p. 257.

But in spite of verbal attacks and the need to defend himself against them, the usual effect of a work of art's being banned or considered scandalous in Boston was
then, as now, financial success for the artist. In 1832 Cooper wrote him: "I hear you are asking only $400 for copies of the cherubs - your price should be 6 or 800 - you must not knock down their value . . ." Greenough, in possession of the original model, could of course, have had any number of copies made by the Carrara marble point- ers, and did perhaps sell duplicates, although there are no records to that effect.\footnote{Nashville: April 22, 1832, Cooper, Paris to Greenough.} The little group was seen as far south as New Orleans and Charleston, and brought attention to him from Americans travelling in Italy and the more important politicians at Washington who were looking about for artists to decorate the national capitol building which had been in the process of very gradual construction since 1800. Edward Everett, Cooper and Allston had many friends there, Danial Webster at the head of the list, and these men were prodded to keep Greenough in mind. He was not only an American who could make "American works," but also an artist who had proved himself capable of a great work such as a Washington statue for the Capitol rotunda, a memorial which had been under discussion even before Washington's death and which promised to be the artistic plum of the century for an American. All sculptors of the nineteenth century dreamed of vast Washington monuments,
and as early as 1829, we find Greenough writing of such a plan in a letter to his friend and confidant Cooper, who answered, discussing the means to form in a way as close to twentieth century ideas as it was possible to come:

I am glad you have undertaken a Washington . . . Make the figure as severe and simple as possible, for these two qualities contain the essence of the imagination with such a man. It will also suit our ideas of his character and of our own character. Aim rather at the natural than the classical, taking care always to preserve the dignity of the man and his status.

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Nashville; September 15, 1829. Cooper, Sorrento to Greenough.

Not until late in 1831 did Greenough begin to feel the prize was to be his, and actual contracts were not signed until 1832. Meanwhile he worked on a number of commissions such as the figure of Cornelia Grinnell at the age of five, a child's portrait modelled in the spring of 1830, - a commission given to him because of "The Cherubs'" success. A good many years later this child was to become the second wife of N. P. Willis, then acquiring a brief reputation as a poet and editor, but perhaps remembered today, if at all, as a dandy and bon viveur. By a curious and romantic coincidence, Willis' own bust by Greenough (Fig. 5), done two years later, we are told, came from the same block of marble, and stands today, united with the
other work, in the parlor of Idlewild on the Hudson.\textsuperscript{45}

\textsuperscript{45}Henry A. Beers, N. P. Willis, 1885, p. 121.

The visit to Italy in 1831, of the Rev. Dr. John Thornton Kirkland, then recently retired president of Harvard, was the occasion for the modelling of a rather forbidding, heavily draped bust for the Boston Athenaeum sculpture room. An important commission for the young sculptor because of Dr. Kirkland's prestige, it is interesting today because of the elaborate specifications which Greenough sent back with it asking that:

\ldots it be placed in nearly the same light in which it was wrought, lest its modulations of surface, its character, its flesh evaporate \ldots you will find the best effect produced by turning the right shoulder of the bust a little towards the source of light, so that the shadow of the nose may nearly reach the left corner of the mouth. A pedestal three feet high is recommended.\textsuperscript{46} (Fig. 6).

\textsuperscript{46}Boston Athenaeum Letter Book, April 9, 1832.

We learn here something of the method for achieving the often austere effect of the neoclassic bust today. Taken from the context of a carefully studied shadow and calm in which the artist saw it, the Kirkland bust now sits in the stark light of an Athenaeum room facing busy Beacon Street like a boulder left behind by an ice age. It seems to be doomed to this neglect in our time, but its
tremendous bulk suggests that it will survive until the advent of a more appreciative era.

Two marble busts of Cooper were begun in 1831, one of which remained to take its place on the shelves of the reading room of the Boston Public Library, while the other was converted into a bust of Samuel F. B. Morse, then a painter with a growing reputation as a portraitist, rather than the inventor later to be obsessed with the idea of sending messages by wire. (Fig. 7). Again a letter from Cooper tells us, "Samuel says that you have converted my old bust into one of him. He is much tickled with the transformation, for I suppose he remembers that Minerva was knocked out of the head of Jupiter, by means of a hammer." What may be the only existing original plaster cast of a sculpture by Greenough allows us to see his original conception of the Morse bust before the firm linear treatment of the features has been smudged and the simply designed shoulders reduced to a conventional "classic" turned base by the marble worker. (Fig. 8). American sculptors in Italy were too often to be impoverished by the tradition from which they sought sustenance; they did not have the strength of a sufficient faith in what they were doing to resist the taste which turned their
good clay models into plaster and then into a kind of "unblemished" marble which lacked any grain or character whatsoever, except its crystalline whiteness. Oddly enough, the marble itself took the credit for being the "art" and a kind of morality involved. Emerson, who had probably met Thorwaldsen in Europe, later recalled with approval his apostolic description of sculpture: "The clay was the life, plaster the death, and marble the resurrection of sculpture."\footnote{Quoted in Vivian C. Hopkins, 	extit{Spires of Form} A Study of Emerson's Aesthetic Theory, p. 93.} The descent into Hades was too often a round about way to the failure of a work, which may have been short on originality to begin with; but this metamorphosis was almost never questioned, and Greenough found it remarkable that "Two French ladies desire their busts, in plaster merely."\footnote{Greenough, op. cit., p. 88.} One wonders if these might have been two remnants of l'ancien régime who had posed for Houdon in their youth, perhaps, and still fancied the dry, witty style of rococo plasters and terra-cottas, rather than the polished reserve of marble.

An anonymous author writing in the 	extit{New England Magazine} for January 1833 relates a now ironic incident of "the surprise of the honest old lady, when looking at Chantrey's
Washington in the (Boston) State House, that 'the Gineral was so pale,'" and in all honesty today we are still not convinced of the validity of the convention which turned everything to stone, and seems to drain individuality from the artist's conception, to say nothing of "the Gineral."

Sculptors like William Rimmer and John Frazee, who never visited Europe and who worked directly in native American stone, were cut off from this lingering tradition of Greco-Roman art and thus in terms of materials had more to realize, even though they lacked the grandeur of conception and the psychological penetration which often raises Greenough above them.

Arriving on the same vessel from Leghorn with Morse's bust was a "Bust of Mr. Hole," and the ingratiating head of Thomas Cole the painter, done during 1831 when he shared rooms with Greenough in Florence. (Fig. 9). Cole was a very handsome man, and thus Greenough's bust of him is a handsome one. The bust of Morse was of a man, described on his passport as: "middling forehead . . . prominent nose, common mouth, common chin, . . . rather sharp face," and the scrupulous sculptor described just such a head, slightly "improved" by idealization. A comparison of these two busts leads one to the, in our
time, suspect doctrine that the face reflects the inner nature and meaning of the man, and that by close observation and recording of its characteristics we get by transcendental means to an artistic and truthful form. Nevertheless, it is still possible by means of this device to understand the subtle success in what, on first glance, seem only to be awkward versions of reluctant Romans. Like many of Greenough's works, the Cole portrait stands in the old Catskill, New York house of the man who posed for it, still suffused with the original spirit which it had when first made, and surrounded by the artist's paintings of landscape fantasies.

In December, 1830, Cooper, mindful as always of Greenough's need for an artistic coup to help establish his reputation at home and abroad, wrote him: "He (Lafayette) has given a sort of pledge to a French sculptor never to sit again for his bust, but as he says, 'how can I refuse an American sculptor. If your friend should be here in the spring, we will see what we can do' . . ." Cooper knew very well that when Lafayette died there would be a demand for portraits of the great man, and he continues, "You may have a statue to make some day, and the object is worth a little risk." By August of 1831, 

51 Nashville: December 10, 1830, Cooper, Paris to Greenough.
Greenough was in Paris waiting for Lafayette to sit to him. A bust of Washington after the Ceracchi head occupied his time, and it became a study for his projected "Washington" for the Capitol rotunda, and then finally on October 13, the old man gave him half an hour of the precious little time left to him. Later in referring to the finished work, Cooper wrote,

The bust of David (d'Angers) is like, it cannot be mistaken, but it is in his ordinary manner - heroic or poetical; on the other hand, the bust of Greenough is the very man, and should be dear to us in proportion as it is faithful. As Lafayette himself expressed it, 'one is a French bust, the other an American.'

Lafayette was ever the diplomat, and Cooper summed up the two busts very well. A glance at them side by side (Figs. 10, 11), shows Greenough's considerable indebtedness of manner to his great French contemporary. Treatment of the hair and the toga strap across the shoulder is very "like," but David d'Angers had taken his likeness when Lafayette was younger and much more vigorous. Greenough, in spite of a slight attempt at idealization, records with great accuracy the heavy jowls and furrows which mask the
passivity of a tired hero. A popular work in America, as Cooper knew it would be, at least three marble copies of it are in existence.

Greenough spent the remainder of the winter of 1831-1832 in France, a country which he did not like ("The Louvre seems mediocre and the Luxembourg makes me laugh") but while he was there, joined Morse in sketching trips to the Louvre, and made acquaintances among "republican" nobility, friends of Lafayette and Cooper, the latter of whom was just then enjoying the rôle of wealthy man of letters.54


When Cooper posed for his bust in bas-relief at David's studio, surely Greenough must have been introduced there, and the young sculptor also carried letters of introduction to Ingres and the Baron Gérard.55 Such contacts led to a number of portrait commissions at this time, the most important of which were of John Jacob Astor, then in Paris (Fig. 12), and the Princess Belgioso, exiled from Italy for a time, but eventually to be banished forever for her part in the revolutions of 1848. Greenough attended her
salon, where such a handsome young artist with five languages at his command must have been very welcome. He found the lady's "conversazioni interesting but capriciosa,"\(^{56}\) and at one of her parties, this lioness, later immortalized in one of Landor's \textit{Imaginary Conversations} ("It is worth all that remains of life to have lived one year in Italy,"\(^{57}\)) probably introduced Greenough to Albert Brisbane, exponent of Fourierism in the United States. The artist's bust of this radical social theorist was modelled about the time when that of the Princess was done, and no doubt went back to Italy with these travelling companions, who saw to its being turned into stone at Cararra or Serravezza.

Back in Florence after a winter of comparative inactivity, Greenough wrote to Morse who was still in Paris,

\[\ldots\] the violent pains of pocket have been relieved by the very liberal advancement on the part of Commodore (James) Biddle of the full price of a bust of William \ldots\ I have remodelled the bust so as to make it a companion for that of General Lafayette.\(^{58}\)

\(^{56}\)Greenough, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 86.

\(^{57}\)Walter Savage Landor, \textit{Imaginary Conversations}, 1883, p. 495.

\(^{58}\)Morse: April 23, 1832, Greenough, Florence, to Morse, Paris.
And thus a probable fourth Lafayette was sold as well. "Byron's Medora," modelled the next winter of 1832-1833, caused a flurry of excitement when that illustration of a stanza in Canto III of Byron's *The Corsair* arrived for exhibition in Boston and New York, eventually to find its way to the Baltimore house of Robert Gilmor who had commissioned it. A subject from Byron assured interest and success, and in a long poem, written to a statue about a poem, Richard Henry Dana again made a Greenough statue welcome in America, this time somewhat hesitantly calling:

> Medora, wake! - nay do not wake!
> I would not stir that placid brow,
> Nor lift those lids, though light should break
> Warm from the twin blue heavens that lie below.59

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59 Dana, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

Guessing correctly that the time was ripe to repeat the "success" of "The Chanting Cherubs," Greenough persuaded the Perkins family of Boston to commission "The Ascension of the Infant Spirit," or as he called it in a letter to Cooper, "The Journey to Heaven groupe."60

60 Cooper, *Correspondence of James Fenimore Cooper*, vol. I, p. 309.

(Fig. 13). The American artist's naive insistence upon nudity as a matter of artistic principle is seen in a delightful letter which concludes:
I feel confident it will take quite as well at least as the former one. Angels never wear cloathes, you remark. This comes strangely from you. I never saw one that was not dressed, and very tastefully too. I make 'em both stark naked. The conversation that passed between me and the gentleman who ordered the groupe was a scene. I fought hard and carried the day - the little fellows are to be provided with alabaster fig leaves which shall fall at a tap! of the hammer when the discerning public shall have digested the fruit of the knowledge of good and evil.61

61 Cooper, loc. cit.

As with many of his works, "The Journey" was greeted by poetry. Mrs. Frances S. Osgood addressed "The Child and the Angel-Playmate" to it,62 and Washington Allston, in


a neo-Platonic mood recalling Michelangelo's famous sonnet wrote:

He saw it in the quarry, deep in earth,
And stayed it by his will, and gave it birth
E'en to the world of sense; bidding its cell,
The cold, hard marble, thus in plastic girth
The shape ethereal fix, and body forth
A being of the skies - with man to dwell.63

63 Tuckerman, Memorial, pp. 237-239.

In spite of obvious derivations from della Robbia and Donatello reliefs, and the whole maze of classic putti with which he was surely familiar, the figures, scarcely
more than figurines, are undoubtedly illustrations of second rate verse of the kind which was spun about them ex post facto, as Greenough would have put it. It should be recognized as well that they are oddly realistic in conception, and Greenough told Cooper that (unlike Courbet) he had seen angels and thus sculptured them "stark naked."\(^{64}\) But their poetic appeal is most strikingly seen in an article in \textit{The New England Magazine} of (January-June) 1835, signed G.S.H. (probably G. S. Hillard). After two pages of explanation confounding the good, the true and the beautiful, he continues:

It is a great merit in this group, that it tells its own story so plainly. It needs no accompanying text of explanations. . . . It is a fine poem in marble - an idea, embodied in a material form. . . . Every line, every undulation and every muscle in the body is expressed with a fidelity which every mother can admire, but which none but an anatomist can fully appreciate. . . Heaven itself seems brought nearer as we contemplate the beautiful creations. . . Celestial odors are breathed around; and a light not of this world, gleams along the walls. The dream of the patriarch is realized in this old decrepit world, and we behold 'angels ascending and descending.'\(^{65}\)

\(^{64}\)Cooper, loc. cit.


A colossal "Achilles" admired by Emerson and others, busts of Byron, Frances Alexander, "the writer of some
exquisite verses under the signature of Roy, 66 and other small pieces came from Greenough's busy studio at this time, but above all else the "Washington" commission was, he felt, to be the great work of his career. "You would be amused," he wrote Cooper in January 1833, "to see the effect produced here among the artists by the rumour of commission. I find myself provided with a set of friends and foes in a jiffey. I know not which incommode me most. It is not pleasant to eat with hungry fellows looking through the window at you." 67 Actually he was to spend eight years being "incommoded" by foes, but especially friends, even those like Edward Everett, Cooper and the rest, who had lobbied Congress into choosing him to make the "pedestrian statue." (See Appendix I) From the first announcement of the prize, men like Everett began to impress upon him the mighty and awful nature of his task. "The Hall, where the statue is to be erected the vast rotunda of the Capitol of the United States is unquestionably the noblest in the world," 68 was followed 66 Tuckerman, Memorial, pp. 21, 22. 67 Cooper, loc. cit. 68 Nashville: April 12, 1832. Everett, Washington, to Greenough.
a few months later by a letter from Cooper: "Both Morse and myself think you are getting the statue too large in embryo. Twelve feet is enormous - nine or nine and a half . . . would be better." A few days later Everett wrote another letter, couched in the Jovian rhetoric of a fourth of July oration. Beginning by warning him of the lack of "the pure ideal" in Houdon's bust, probably the only sculptural likeness of Washington made from life, he goes on to pontificate:

I would have you warm and elevate your imagination, by reading the accounts of the great works of the great masters, and particularly the greatest work of the greatest master, the Jupiter Olympus of Phidias - your Washington may be to the people of America, as nearly as the difference in religion and manners will permit, what that great national statue was to the Greeks. . . . and on the principle of fixing the standard of excellence, to which you aspire, as high as possible, I would have that immortal work ever before your mind. - It will deserve your profound consideration, whether you will not have your Washington seated, like the Jupiter, and as near the colossal as modern taste permits. But Washington seated in the Chair of State, in the centre of the Capitol, looking out from its elevation, upon the country prospering under the blessings he had conferred upon it is, at least appropriate. Whether you dispose of the hands, will be a question for you to settle. . . . you are acquainted, no doubt, with the work of M. Quatremère de Quincy on the Jupiter Olympus -

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Nashville: July 24, 1832. Cooper, Paris, to Greenough.

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Nashville: July 29, 1832, Everett, Washington, to Greenough.
Writing from Paris early in January, Cooper said somewhat less eloquently:

Thirteen feet seems to me to be a devil of a pile of stone to be put into the rotunda. Measure it well, both with mind and eyes, for it will be no easy matter to shorten. Of course your costume will be classic, or something so near it, as to prevent us from thinking of tailor and breeches. 71

71 Nashville: January 19, 1833, Cooper, Paris, to Greenough.

And as an afterthought: "The idea of the angel and child is poetical, but is it not too much for marble?" 72

72 Nashville: loc. cit.

Surely the weight of authority represented by these men led Greenough to give careful consideration to their opinions, but when Everett a year later revised his earlier argument for a classic Zeus à la Quatremère de Quincy, and asked, "Who ever saw Washington with his shoulders and heart bare," one can imagine Greenough's confused and indignant state of mind. 73 That these letters

73 Nashville: January 13, 1834. Everett, Boston, to Greenough.

have been carefully preserved in the Greenough family shows the seriousness with which they were taken. A note of Henry Tuckerman, art critic and poet, written later in 1834 after Everett's complete reversal of his
opinion on the "Washington," thanks the artist for a drawing of "Orestes Tormented by the Furies," which may indeed have been an expressive document as well as a token of friendship.

Greenough worked for a time with small experimental models and Edward Everett continued to write advisory letters to him through 1834 and 1835, making even more insistently a case against his own earlier "radical" position in favor of a classically inspired figure. Nevertheless, about this time, "we have been told by gentlemen who have visited Mr. Greenough's studio, in Florence, that Homer is his constant companion . . . When Phidias was asked whence he derived the idea of the Olympian Jupiter, he replied by quoting the famous lines in the Iliad, which describe the Father of the Gods and then as shaking Olympus by his nod." In response to a drawing sent by the sculptor to Washington, asking that suggestions be made, Everett answered:

The chief objections were . . . to the action of the right hand, and the great nudity of the chest . . . It would seem inconsistent with the very principles of their existence, to follow any theory of taste to such an extent, as to shock the
LE JUPITER OLYMPIEN,
VU DANS SON TRÔNE ET DANS INTÉRIEUR DE SON TEMPLE.
prejudices of those, for whose gratifications the work is made. (It) appeared to the people just as an Apollo would to the Ancient Grecians, if dressed in Persian Pantaloons . . . Washington himself expressed a decided preference of the modern costume for his own statue. 76

76 Nashville: December 15, 1834, Everett, Boston, to Greenough.

Then in a letter Everett wrote Greenough in June 1835, we detect something of a tone of resignation. By this time the artist had probably decided that the frontispiece of Quatremère de Quincy's great and influential book on Le Jupiter Olympien ou l'Art de la Sculpture Antique held the answer to his problem. 77 (Fig. 14). A glance at the engraving of de Quincy's "Olympian Jupiter," shows us that Greenough's version is vastly simplified, and that except for the torso and the placing of the feet and legs, there is no direct relationship of the two. The arm positions have been reversed, and instead of a staff in the raised left, Greenough has given Washington's right hand to heaven. Jupiter's "Victory" has been traded for a sword. Something further of the creative development involved in the work can be observed in a group of sketchbook drawings in the John Davis Hatch collection. (Figs. 15, 16, 17). Figure 15 is a "doodle" in ink and
pencil. The main part of the sketch being of Chantrey's "Washington," in the Boston State House, a kind of touchstone of what a statue of Washington should be, since the state of Massachusetts had paid that British sculptor the enormous sum of twenty thousand dollars for it. A line drawing at the top, of Lafayette in profile, would seem to indicate it may have been done in Paris in 1832. Figure 16 has four sketches of Ceracchi's head of Washington, the basis for Canova's famous "Washington," destroyed in 1831 in the North Carolina State House fire. Greenough may have drawn this from a copy of the bust or from an engraving of Canova's work. The same double sheet has a drawing of the cast of a foot and sketches for a Hercules struggling with the serpents, probably copied from the Capitoline Museum statue. Figure 17 is another drawing of a foot, coupled with a sketch from a Gilbert Stuart Vaughn-type Washington portrait. Except for the Apollo relief, possibly based on a "Phaeton" in the Louvre, and the hip-shot figures of Columbus and an Indian on the chair, we have the unpromising basic ingredients of the work. Only Greenough's energy, imagination and tremendous anxiety to please a posterity he could never know, were able to overcome such obstacles.

"I think this (modifying the classic plan) could be satisfactorily done, by draping the figure somewhat higher
... (or) wait in patience the judgment of another age ...," Everett wrote, just avoiding, "or take the consequences." The increasing controversy concerning the projected statue combined with the death of his father in 1836, brought Greenough home to Boston early that year, but he was able to write in September: "I am about to embark again for Europe ... my affairs are in a very prosperous state; and I return to my mud and my hammer more convinced than ever that there is no place for an artist like his own studio." He was more than ever convinced that an artist should be true to his own genius, spurning the niggleing criticisms of those who imperfectly understood what he was attempting to achieve. To Morse he wrote:

On my arrival ... I found several numbers of the N.A. (National Academy) Review in which were articles on the fine arts - one by E. Everett on statuary - superficial pretending - insolent - abounding in blunders but very learned withal ... (an) association for the discouragement and humiliation of artists. ... I shall make it clear that I'm no kneeling or compromising man in an affair where the dignity of our professions are concerned ...
Although the "Washington" was the sculptor's central interest until 1840, the plans for a group for the front of the Capitol, "The Rescue," were being considered in Washington by 1837. Greenough's commanding presence there at that time must have been a major factor in his being chosen as its sculptor in 1838. Bas-reliefs of "The Genius of America" and "The Genius of Italy," probably made hopefully as studies toward pedestal decorations for possible equestrian monuments, the usual portraits, "Congressman Joseph M. White of Florida and his wife" (Figs. 18, 19), "Mr. Griffin's son" (two copies), Greenough's dog "Arno," later in the possession of Edward Everett; "Madame Para;" "Colonel Thompson's sons;" "Mr. and Mrs. Thomas" (Figs. 20, 21); "Mrs. Samuel Cabot;" "Botta the Italian historian;" and the usual illustrative ideal heads of "Psyche" and "Pope's Heloise" and the like, are part of the flow of work before 1838. Remarkably enough, Greenough was able to find time in 1837 to marry Miss Louisa Gore, the ward of Josiah Quincy, and begin building himself a permanent Florentine studio on the Piazza Maria Antonia. Here he was to display already made sculpture to the taste of visiting Americans, such as the head of the young Augustus (Fig. 22), a study developed from a drawing (Fig. 23), possibly of student days, while under the influence of Canova and Thorwaldsen. A successful bust of Senator
Samuel Appleton, merchant and patron of a number of artists (Fig. 24), brought to the sculptor further commissions of busts of female relatives who posed while on the European grand tour. A similar pattern is seen in that of the various works of the Sears family. It seems likely that the distinguished and simply treated bust of David Sears (Fig. 25), heavily dependent upon Canova's then well-known and much admired self-portrait, brought about the order for one of Greenough's most interesting "groupes," "The Children of David Sears Playing with a Squirrel." (Fig. 26). For many years it was a monumental conversation piece in the fine Boston city house built for this family by Alexander Parris. Draped in peculiar approximations of the toga, the children certainly are "remarkable specimens of spirited portraiture and felicitous action," as Tuckerman phrased it. Yet there is a striking incongruity between the painstaking, realistic detail of the toes and fingers, for example, and the oddly conventionalized treatment of hair and the mound of earth with its stalk of dandelion, (?) on which they sit. Somehow the work manages to avoid sentimentality and indeed, for a children's portrait, has a kind of grotesque monumentality which takes it out of the realm of the ordinary. It is certainly an
unresolved thing, full of tensions which make it unsatisfactory as a work of art, but by comparison with the boneless lack of energy in much of the work of Hiram Powers, for example, we realize a genuine struggle for a style in which to say something personally expressive has been involved here. "The Sears Children" was the product of years when Greenough was most intensely preoccupied with the problem of scale in the "Washington," and it bears the relationship to that masterpiece of its kind that a finger exercise has to the complexity of a sonata.

In June of 1838, Cooper wrote Greenough: "I take it for granted the Venus Victrix is a homage to your wife, or rather a votive offering to propitiate the goddess. I suspect it was commenced before marriage."  

(Nashville: June 31, 1838, Cooper to Greenough.) Although Greenough's answer does not exist, this work, begun in 1837, was one of the first American attempts at a nude statue of a woman, and was completed twenty years before Powers' "Greek Slave" was to shock and delight the generation of the 'sixties. And it was one of the largest of the works done during the year of his marriage. It is based to some extent on Canova's famous "Venus," but the debt to the "Venus d'Medici" and Praxitelean prototypes is also clear. That which
Greenough contributed, as in so many of his "classic" subjects, is first of all, the waxy surface finish, the processes and abrasives of which were something of a professional secret with him. Secondly, the proportions were undoubtedly and rather unusual at the time, precisely those of the model who posed, and unlike Canova's "Venus," the figure had not been elongated or idealized to the point of an effeminizing or over sentimentalizing of the artistic statement. There is, if anything, a somewhat prosaic and even ordinary statement made about feminine anatomy, and the figure has been topped with a head which is carved in the ingenious and frank style of a New England ship figurehead. The hand tangled in the hair is a device which would have delighted the proud skill of a late colonial woodcarver, and it is interesting to see other evidences of the survival of this craftsmanship in a small work of approximately the same time, the "Cupid Bound," (Fig. 28) also, no doubt, related iconographically to "Venus Victorious," and Greenough's marriage in 1837, as Cooper suggested. Cupid's chain is clearly a variation in marble of the "endless chains" of wood whittled beside the stove in the general store by many generations of New Englanders. The articulation of the almost Greek archaic-looking torso, and the carved curly hair, seems to be further evidence of this continuing tradition of
"neatness" in American art.

One can ascertain something of the furious energy of Greenough in these most productive years of his life, by looking through the catalogue of works done between 1832 and 1840. During those years America had become anxious to see and to have the widely discussed "Washington," begun in 1832; in 1839 Edward Everett wrote the sculptor an impatient letter which at the same time warned him that this must be a great work: "No artist perhaps of your age ever had so honorable a commission; perhaps no artist of any age."\(^{83}\) And at the same time,\(^{83}\) Nashville: May 20, 1839, Everett, Washington, to Greenough, Boston.

the example of Washington Allston, grown eccentric and obsessed with a painting of "Behshazzar's Feast," was held up to him: "Allston has sacrificed the happiness of twenty precious years . . . by finishing his Great Picture."\(^{84}\)\(^{84}\) Nashville: loc. cit.

Greenough's "great sculpture," he seems to have been afraid, had had more than enough time. By June of 1840, the colossal figure was placed in the Capitol rotunda, and was on its way to a century of placing and replacing which eventually made its total cost to the government more than forty-two thousand dollars. (See Appendix I)
Underestimating the final figure somewhat, and overestimating America's respect for art even more, Greenough asked, "When in future time, the true sculptors of America have filled the metropolis with beauty and grandeur, will it not be worth $30,000 to be able to point to the figure and say - 'There was the first struggle of our infant art?'"85 Without a doubt it was one of the most expensive statues of the century, and the Hon. Alexander H. Everett, elder statesman and brother of Edward Everett, aware of his cultural responsibilities wrote admiringly: "After seeing the most celebrated specimens of ancient and modern sculpture to be found in Europe, including the Laocoön and the Apollo Belvedere, with the finest productions of Canova, Thorwaldsen, Sergell and Chantry, I consider the Washington of Greenough as superior to any of them, and as the master-piece of the art."86

85 Frances Davis Whittemore, George Washington in Sculpture, p. 50.

86 Tuckerman, Memorial, pp. 224, 225.

Henry Tuckerman also gave the work unqualified praise and saw it as an invitation to national regeneration in a poem ending:

And it is well to place his image there
Upon the soil he blest;
Let meaner spirits who its counsels share,
Revere that silent guest!
Let us go up with high and sacred love
To look on his pure brow;
And, as with solemn grace, he points above,
Renew the patriot's vow. 87

87 Tuckerman, Ibid., p. 243.

In a family letter, Ralph Waldo Emerson wrote: "The statue . . . greatly contents me. I was afraid it would be feeble but it is not but reminds one of Allston's Jeremiah and of the Jupiter of Phidias about equally, in the attitude and drapery." 88 In the company of the sculptor, just returned from Europe to supervise the placing and lighting of the figure, Emerson visited the statue at night, and described a fantastic scene in writing to Margaret Puller:

It happened that night that our sconce did not succeed very well for it soon set on fire the wooden case which held the lamps and was let down rapidly lamps melting and exploding and brilliant balls of light falling on the floor. By the time it was fairly down it was a brilliant bonfire and it was necessary in order not to fill the rotunda (picture hung) with smoke to drag it out of the door on to the piazza where it drew together a rabble from all parts. . . 89

89 Emerson, op. cit., pp. 121, 122.
But before the statue had been in place a month, the indignation and astonishment of people in all walks of life began to be heaped upon it. Captain, later General, Montgomery C. Meigs, engineer-architect of the Capitol at the time, frankly wrote the sculptor Thomas Crawford, "We are not able to appreciate too refined and intricate allegorical representations, and while the naked Washington is the theme of admiration to the few scholars, it is unsparingly denounced by the less refined multitude."90

90Meigs papers: Library of Congress, ca. 1856.

The semi-nudity seemed to be the first target of most criticism. Some wits suggested that Washington had become lost on his way to the bath, or was pointing the way there, and almost everyone knew the favorite wisecrack was that the gestures of the hands meant "my sword's at Mount Vernon and my clothes are in the patent office," at that time also a museum, which was located on the second floor of the Capitol building. As his writings testify, Greenough had a rather marked contempt for popular taste, especially when he knew he was absolutely right in his views, but a letter written in self-defense to Edward Everett, a classicist in the grand manner, who gave the artist a considerable amount of public praise, brought only a private equivocation:

The question of decency in works of art is one of some difficulty. Regard must, I think, be had to
public sentiment, which is not the same in all countries, and hence a difficulty in laying down general rules.91

91Nashville: June 28, 1841, Everett, Florence, to Greenough, Washington (?).

The reception of the work must have been a blow to Greenough, even though he had anticipated something of this, as we see in a letter of 1839:

Has it not been born amid the sneers of ignorance and pretension? Nursed in solitary determination - wet with my tears - The cold eye of hatred has been on me - I have withstood but I have until now been happy only when alone. Nothing so withering, so exhausting as the vox clamantis in deserto - nothing so bitter as ignorant scorn for attempted services - proffered light - was it not always so? I am sure I have fared far better than generally falls to the lot of men, who undertake new things.92

92Charles Sumner papers: Harvard University Library, November 16, 1839, Greenough to Sumner, Vienna. Hereafter referred to as Sumner.

The still persistent jokes about the meaning of the figure are no less amusing, but we are certainly enlightened about the sculptor's intentions and almost pathetic high seriousness in a letter he wrote to Lady Bulwer, estranged wife of the author of The Last Days of Pompeii. He and his wife had met her en route to America in 1811, and she later wrote an appreciative article on his "Washington" for The London Court Journal.93 After apologizing for his wrongs

to "the Queen's English," he wrote:

Being intended to fill a central position in the Capitol of the United States, I have thought fit to address my statue of Washington to a distant posterity and to make it rather a poetical abstract of his whole career than the embodying of any one deed or any one leading feature of his life - I have made him seated as first magistrate and he extends with his left hand the emblem of his military command toward the people as the sovereign - He points heavenward with his right hand. By this double gesture my wish was to convey the idea of an entire abnegation of self and to make my hero as it were, a conductor between God and Man -

Though the presidential chair is very like any other chair, I have thought it my duty to make that on which Washington is seated mean something with reference to the country. He's too large to be left dumb. I have represented the superior position richly ornamented with acanthus and garlands of flowers while the body is solid and massive - by this I meant to hint at high cultivation as the proper finish for sound government and to say that man when well planted and well tilled must flower as well as grow. By the figure of Columbus who leans against the back of the chair on the left side - I wished to connect our history with that of Europe - By that of the Indian chief on the right to shew what state our country was in when civilization first raised her standard there. The bas-relief on the right side of the chair represents the Rising Sun (Apollo in the Chariot of the Sun) which was the first crest of our national arms - under this will be written "Magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo" - In that on the left side I have represented the genius of North and South America under the forms of the infants Hercules and Iphictus - the latter shrinking in dread while the former struggles successfully with the obstacles and dangers of an incipient political existence. "Incipe parve puer cui non visere parentes!"

Such is my invention - the Italians have been indulgent in their opinion of the work, but I am not
the less anxious for its fate in my own country. Here it has been like an opera of which they do not understand or feel the words. There it will be the words that will be thoroughly examined for of music they have less knowledge.  


Although the "explanatory" Latin inscriptions were not used on the bas-reliefs, there were words enough, as Greenough guessed there would be. Ten years after his death, the cries of enraged critics were still as violent as ever, and had gained some volume by the fact that in 1842, the statue, too heavy for the rotunda floor, was placed out-of doors, in front of the Capitol, and thus seemed even more starkly naked and outrageously "poetic" than it had been. In 1856 one critic wrote caustically but precisely enough, mirroring what the public really thought in the matter:

... real and great genius would have discovered an attitude, not have copied it ... An artist who examined the statue with us ... says it was not meant as a representation of Washington, but is intended as an incarnation of Patriotism ... If this was the design ... then (the artist) did not fulfill his contract with the Government, for they desired a statue of a real man, not a symbolical design.
An article by Charles Akers in *The Atlantic Monthly* told its readers of artists in "the flesh-pots of Italy," flaunting their classic "idols" before "popular appreciation in America," and that "the extraordinary effigy of George Jupiter Washington, at the National Capitol, is very classic and fine and heroic; but these qualities cannot compensate for the utter confusion of ideas involved in it. Nobody can get from it any notion of Washington as he was..." Mrs. Sedgwick, writing in one of the many travel books of the period, made feminine and hesitant excuses for it: "A French artist made a cast of Washington, while he was living, in military costume, and nobody liked it... Nothing remained for him (Greenough) but to present him artistically, and certainly his drapery is arranged with expression and grace..." Covered for a time by a small building, due to Greenough's entreaties, and then allowed to stand in the weather, the statue's deterioration became so evident...
that it was finally removed to the Smithsonian Institution, where it now sits, absurdly enough, in the apse of a nineteenth century Romanesque chapel-like room, surrounded by an indifferent exhibit on the history of printing. (Figs. 29, 30, 31). It is probably fortunate that the work has been such a costly relic of American taste, for it has been respected as such. Added to this is the fact that it would be almost impossible to throw the sculpture away, as the Greeks did their archaic Acropolis decorations. Greenough often told his contemporaries, to their great annoyance, that his masterpiece was made for the ages, and although its once lovingly pumiced surfaces are dirty and eroded, this truly monumental work waits, as patiently as a pyramid, for another time to "rise to the level of his (Greenough's) sympathies and knowledge, so shall we better understand him and appreciate his efforts." 99 Augustus St. Gaudens


told his generation, "Those (pioneer sculptors) were greater than we know," and refused to be a part of the merriment at the expense of the "Olympian Washington." 100

100 Adeline Adams, The Spirit of American Sculpture, pp. 33, 34.
Oliver Larkin has been almost the only defender of this majestic monument since Jarves wrote *The Art-Idea* in 1864. Larkin points out objectively that:

... formal inconsistencies do not wholly destroy the power of the conception. Greenough failed, as most of his contemporaries did, to resolve the conflict between Ideality and substance, but his effort was mightier than any other. His intellect towered above those of the expatriate flock as his colossal George towered above their "Clyties" and "Endymions."  

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101 Oliver Larkin, *Art and Life in America*, (1949) p. 183. See also Appendix II, another less considered modern appraisal.

Greenough's industry until his return to America in 1851 almost overwhelms the imagination, even when we remember the group of some ten to fifteen assistants who surrounded him. As he wrote to Charles Sumner in regard to "Washington," "When I tell you that I have chiselled and modelled over the surface of a figure 8 times in bulk that of Chantry's (Washington) you will allow that I have been diligent."  

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102 Sumner: July 5, 1839, Greenough to Sumner.

this letter that Greenough in the case of what he felt to be his great work, had actually done a good amount of the chiselling himself. "The chiselling this figure has been of great service to my health," he wrote. "It is hard
bodily labor and I would recommend it to your dyspeptic gentlemen of Boston that they should keep a lump of granite in their wood houses and pass their leisure in making Washingtons."\textsuperscript{103} Greenough's diligence in these years produced a group of bas-reliefs of which James Jackson Jarves, one of the most acute critical minds of his century, wrote: "(They are) replete with the best classical feeling. They are severely composed, and vital with inward life and graceful action."\textsuperscript{104} In regard to the "Castor and Pollux" in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 32), which he called "Castor Gemelli," he wrote: "His horses are beautiful creations, full of fire and spirit; steeds of eternity, like those of Phidias."\textsuperscript{105} Actually the comparison with Phidias does not seem unjustified, except that modern taste is not attracted to the Thorwaldsen-inspired smoothness of surface which is, indeed, a barrier to formal enjoyment of the work. In terms of the "form follows function" aesthetic of our day, which Greenough was helping to write at the very time when
he modelled "Castor and Pollux," this becomes a somewhat unsatisfactory sculpture. Unlike our contemporary

1[See: Charles R. Metzger, *Greenough and Emerson*, 1951, a recent interpretation of Greenough's, as well as Emerson's aesthetics.]

Constantin Brancusi, who uses highly polished surfaces as an integral part of the form of his work, and who in fact uses them as a device to reveal the structural nature of the stone or metal in which he is working, Greenough completely disguised the quality of the marble and his means to its handling. The texture of chisel marks upon which Brancusi depends at times, was scrupulously done away with by the earlier artist, and a sort of "secondary" texture, growing out of realistic hair and the artificial arrangement of the cloak of one figure has been used instead. This is a superficial means of approximating Greek form, but the genuine "Phidian" elements remain in spite of the critical vocabulary and tools which Greenough, suicidally, as far as his own work is concerned, gave to the twentieth century. An artist like Brancusi puts into practice a creative credo which has been pushed to its ultimate definition in his work. In "Castor and Pollux," the composition of the shapes within a difficult oval space is very fine, and the difficult placement of ten legs of horses and humans has been masterfully handled,
leading to a simple and sensitive statement in the best classic tradition. Greenough had gone as far in such a work as it was possible for him and his contemporaries to go toward purity of form.

"Castor and Pollux" was probably modelled after his other experiments in bas-relief, and thus it has an authority which is not felt in "The Angel Warning St. John Not to Worship Him," now in the Yale University Gallery. (Fig. 33). Nevertheless, "The Angel Warning" is less fussy in detail, and recalls Renaissance rather than Greek sculpture. The delicacy of line and the graceful drawing of the figures bring to mind those reliefs of the madonna and child in the Berlin and Boston Museums, which are usually attributed to Donatello; panels of approximately this size, scarcely more than incised drawings, but fully realized in formal terms. Greenough wrote Edward E. Salisbury, professor of Sanscrit at Yale, and patron of the arts who had commissioned it: "I have twice modelled it entirely, with a view of perfecting it as far as lay in my power. As you are the first American gentlemen who has ever ordered a bas-relief, it is but right that you should enjoy the benefit of taking the sharp edge off my curiosity and eagerness to model one."107

Undoubtedly the revisions led to modelling out of it the excesses of drapery and other "furniture" which might have marred it. In an early letter to Salisbury regarding this work, one detects something of a sigh of relief on Greenough's part, a sigh in which we can share: "I have been highly gratified by your proposal to commute the order of a statue of Washington for one of a more poetical character. I enclose you a rough sketch of a bas-relief of the subject from the Revelations . . ."\textsuperscript{108} Surely one colossal statue, a miniature copy of it, two small figures, and at least five separate heads were Washington enough even for the American nineteenth century to ask of a sculptor. Perhaps no other artist except Gilbert Stuart had made such a positive contribution toward the apotheosis of its hero.

As early as 1835 Greenough had begun negotiations to design a monument for the grave of George and Mary (née Channing) Gibbs. (Fig. 34). It was to be erected in the private Gothic church built by their daughter Sarah, and the first plans suggest that the sculpture involved posthumous portraits of the Gibbs'. But evidently, from the first, Greenough tried to turn the project toward his interest in relief sculpture, and the exercise of a
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gradually developing skill which was no longer marked by the peculiar realism of his first style. William Henry Channing, a nephew of the more famous Unitarian minister, wrote Greenough: "...I a little suspect she (Miss Gibbs) feels as if personal private feeling was somewhat too much expressed in your design." But

109 Nashville: December 23, 1835, Channing to Greenough.

whether the private feeling of Miss Gibbs or of Greenough was meant would seem to matter very little in as much as the monument as it stands today is wholly restrained and impersonal. Like the fourth century grave monuments of Greece from which it is derived, it represents the parting of the family. An angel of the type Greenough developed in his "Abdiel" is in the center of the panel and the gesture of his right hand seems to suggest that he is taking Mrs. Gibbs, who holds his left, to heaven. But at the same time, Miss Gibbs, mourning at the shrine of her father, and dressed in the costume of a Vestal, seems to be admonished by the angel to think on these sad things. The pediment and the frame are, by contrast with the delicately carved relief, rather richly ornate.

Writing to his brother Henry, aware of having again been the "first American" to undertake such a work, Horatio pointed out with justified pride, that "there is nothing
It remains unique in its Victorian context, and at no other phase of Greenough's development is Tuckerman's appraisal of him more justified: "The classical standard he thoroughly appreciated while, at the same time, the details of expression in nature were his constant study . . . The simplicity that belongs to true superiority had become with him a principle both of judgment and action."

Two small statues, an "Aristides the Just" and "The Angel Abdiel" were further commissions from Edward E. Salisbury, and although the "Aristides" is an adaptation of the Hellenistic figure in the Naples Museum, it is a handsome example of Greenough's later and more severe style. (Fig. 35). It has the further interest for us of being an idealized self-portrait. Harriet Hosmer, a sculptor who arrived in Italy the year after Greenough left, writing to a friend informed her: "No, no, no. I cannot bear to bust myself, for why should I. Puck and even Nigeria have my looks. Look again at Zenobia! Mr. Salisbury told me that Greenough put his phiz on Aristidiz . . ." In his letter of January 3, 1838, Greenough
Brumbaugh: undated, Harriet Hosmer, Rome, to Mrs. S. C. (?) Hall.

wrote Salisbury:

Allow me to mention to you . . . In the 5th Book of the Paradise Lost at the close you will find a description of Abdiel walking through the rebel host - worthy of a marble representation.


and in another hand on the same letter: "From amidst them forth he pass'd, Long way through hostile scorn, which he sustain'd superior." (Fig. 36). In 1839, this labor of love was finished and signed by the sculptor with his paraphe and the date. The resulting composition lets us see that in spite of his grasp of certain facile academic formulae, the idealization and generalization in the taste of Thorwaldsen, and the prettiness of detail such as the undulating skirt hem, Greenough has been original beyond the achievement of any of his fellow Americans of the time. As in the "Aristides," he has achieved a sense of monumentality because his thought was toward economy of expression, to the greatest lucidity of form possible within the means at his command. In a number of the best works of his last ten years of activity, we find him working much closer to the ideal of his own
aesthetic than he is usually given credit for.

Greenough's greatest task throughout the 'forties was "The Rescue," but these years produced among others the bust of Gino Capponi, Tuscan senator and prime minister, which he felt was his best portrait until that time, and he wrote to George W. Greene, United States consul at Leghorn: "I have derived more credit from the bust of the Marquis Capponi than from all I have ever done before in that line."\(^{114}\) Probably among the last portraits Greenough made, it has unfortunately disappeared with the demise of the Capponi family in the eighteen eighties, but it is likely that he had been pleased with a realism achieved in the manner of Hiram Powers, whose busts were the ideal of all sculptors of this genre. Greenough's own bust by Powers, now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, attests to his respect for that artist, and in his prosperity, he seems to have decided that to be commemorated by this "esteemed talent" was worth the expense. (Fig. 37). "Here was something totally new," George H. Calvert told his generation, "Here was a completion of imitation, a fidelity to nature never before approached, never aimed at by modern sculptors. Even the most delicate blood vessels, the finest wrinkles, were traceable . . ."\(^{115}\) Immortality
came at a high price, it might be mentioned, as Powers was to realize as much as a thousand dollars for a stone portrait of this type, and there is no indication that he cut prices for friends.

Greenough's bust of Mrs. Emily Marshall Otis, begun in 1837 and not finished until 1843, was a curious attempt at a posthumous portrait. (Fig. 38). A work in his late Powers-influenced style, it seems a harshly realistic look at a young woman who had been famous as one of the raving beauties of the century. We are shown a prim mouth, large jaw, a thin neck, and bulging eyes, indeed the very image of a plain looking woman. It is no wonder that Greenough took so long with it, "in hope of improving it from the suggestions of Emily's acquaintances," and that he sent it home to her bereaved husband, "in despair of satisfying (him) . . . and only to show I have tried. I hope he will not make an exhibition of it."

Two and possibly three Franklin busts came from the period when work on "The Rescue" was beginning. The huge head at the main entrance to the Boston Athenaeum is surely the one of which Greenough wrote: "I think of
sending it to Philadelphia or New York, as I find you Bostonians are not fond of the colossal,118 and of which Greenough, Ibid., p. 123.

Mrs. Greenough forty years later, wrote to the Athenæum Fine Arts Committee: "Mr. Greenough presented a colossal Bust of Franklin to the Athenæum when in Boston and it was placed over the entrance door. I have heard since that it has been removed, and if you know what its fate has been I should like to know where it has been placed."119


The answer to the letter and the action taken seems implicit in the present placement of the work, but it is of interest in the history of the vicissitudes of taste to note that by 1950, the Athenæum authorities could not venture a guess as to the name of the artist involved. A number of Greenough's works have surely "disappeared" in this fashion. An unsigned Franklin bust in the Boston Public Library, attributed there to either Greenough or Ceracchi, may be a copy by the former of the latter's work. (Fig. 39). Greenough's considerable skill as a copyist forbids our ruling out his name entirely, even though there is more of a baroque Italian feeling in it than in any other work of his we know. Greenough was not
only influenced by, but also copied Ceracchi as in the
Alexander Hamilton bust, probably done in the late eighteen
twenties. (Fig. 40). He used Ceracchi's "Franklin!" as the
basis for a head in his late portrait style, as well (Fig.
41); a drawing of a Ceracchiesque head (Fig. 42), along
with the Hatch drawings for the "Washington" suggest the
pervasive influence of this earlier artist throughout
Greenough's entire life. This was not only because
Ceracchi was a source of sculptural likenesses of dead
worthies upon which to draw for the trade in copies, but
also because Greenough's aesthetic point of view seemed to
coincide to some extent with that of his predecessor.
Especially notable in the "Andrews Norton" bust (Fig. 43),
probably done by 1830, and those of Josiah Quincy (Fig.
2), and Lafayette (Fig. 10), was his attraction to certain
baroque qualities of bigness of scale and heaviness of
shape. Except for the few classically understated bas-
reliefs of the late 'thirties and the hyper-realistic
portrait-style of the early 'forties, already inherent in
his earliest busts, Greenough's personality as an artist
had been clearly defined with the Josiah Quincy portrait.
His special variety of romantic classicism logically
arrived at the achievement of works like the head of "The
Angel Abdiel," now in the Chicago Art Institute. "He is
threatening Satan as he turns to leave the rebel host,"
Greenough informs us in a letter of 1843, and we are given the expressionless face of an "Apollo Belvedere" with distracting Medusa-like hair, topped by a masquerade-party Roman helmet, (Fig. 44). It is no wonder that in writing to his brother Henry, the sculptor noted: "I consider my head of Satan a higher effort in that line."\textsuperscript{120} Like the "Christ," made in two instances as a companion for "Satan," the "Abdiel" was planned with "Lucifer" as one of a pair of busts which would stand on opposite sides of a room and "look" at each other; or rather "Christ" was intended to look majestically at a retiring and defeated "Satan."

Not even Bernini had attempted the manipulation of a given space of a room in this way, and Greenough seems to have used the device even more obviously in the unlocated "Sons of Colonel J. Thompson of New York." He wrote: "I'm just finishing a statue of one of Mr. Thompson's boys. He stands with the shuttlecock ready to let drive at his brother, who is to be standing ready for it. They are for the opposite corners of a room, and please everybody highly, for the novelty and the expressive action."\textsuperscript{121}

\textsuperscript{120}Greenough, op. cit., p. 152.

\textsuperscript{121}Greenough, op. cit., p. 111.

Everybody in the parlor where they stood must also have
felt the uneasiness created by sitting in the midst of even a marble badminton game, but this astonishing and unclassic device is typical of Greenough's experimentation in his late years.

The "Head of Christ," supported by disembodied cherubim and a very scaly and realistic serpent (Fig. 45), like that of "Satan," seems to be a work of the mid-forties, and typifies the lusness of form of his work of that period. Two undated drawings (Figs. 46, 47), suggesting sources in Sebastiano del Piombo or other followers of Michelangelo, are certainly close in feeling to "Satan" and "Christ," and lead us to surmise that the endless numbers of drawings Greenough made throughout his life were often done from paintings, and that his "painterly" 

122See Tuckerman, Book of the Artists, p. 255.

sculpture, to adopt Wolfflin's word, was thus, at least partially, inspired by painting.

But in spite of the innumerable smaller commissions, Greenough's chief interest until 1851 lay in modelling "The Rescue." (Fig. 48). On October 22, 1838, President Martin Van Buren had signed the contract with him for "sculpture of a group for the east front of the Capitol at Washington . . . one of the said groups, to consist of two statues, nine feet high, together with a base for
the said group, six feet high . . ." Greenough's two-

Nashville: Contract with Greenough, signed by Martin Van Buren.

figure group was to be placed on a buttress of the Capitol portico, balancing the two figures by Luigi Persico, an Italian sculptor, which were already in place, flanking one side of the stairway. Persico's figure of Columbus proffering a globe to the world, and followed by an Indian girl in an ambiguous position, had been the butt of almost as many jokes and gibes as the "Washington," and Greenough hoped that his new group would avoid the stinging witticisms which most artists, and he especially, had had to endure in connection with work for the government.

"I am not surprised that you do not find many connoisseurs, nor amateurs, even at the capitol," W. H. Prescott, the historian, wrote Greenough as the sculptor began work on his last great project. "They are above the arts there, - above all arts but those of faction and interminable speech making . . . It is chilling to work for employers of so little taste." The artist had to ignore

Nashville: December 29, 1842, Prescott, Boston, to Greenough.

the guffaws of a swampy town of boarding houses and saloons, but still certain as ever of the essential rightness of his ambitious genius, Greenough began planning a group which
was to be twice the size of that by Persico. The original commission for the "Washington" had called for a figure slightly larger than life, and he had made it colossal; in this case the "two figures" for the portico were to grow into four colossal ones, including a mother with a child, and an enormous dog. Seen today, the work blends, by virtue of the weather and the pigeons, into the general patination of the Capitol building, although when it was newly in place it must, indeed, have looked like a successful attempt to outdo a rival sculptor and to defy the architecture against which it was placed. Although its pyramidal structure was designed to be observed from the front, it had been conceived in three dimensions, and is equally satisfactory as seen from the steps. It is much less a machine of the type of the Hellenistic "Farnese Bull," to which it makes reference, when looked at in detail. (Fig. 49). Subtly modelled passages are seen, especially in the mother and child; and the torso of the Indian is anatomically well done. But actually a successful work of this scope was beyond Greenough. The monumentality which save the Washington was lacking here in spite of the huge size of the figures, and we are attracted by the subordinate figure of the woman in a Niobe attitude, the odd looking dog, the Dantesque hat of the pioneer, details of plants and the loincloth of the Indian, like some sort
of fringed antimacassar. Greenough seems to have added material rather than pruned it away as he had in the "Washington." The eye cannot help floundering in the morass of particulars. Unlike "Washington," "The Rescue" dissolves into trivialities, the sculptor having lost control of the central structure of the work.

Part of the failure of "The Rescue" may lie in the fact that it was worked over for too long a time. It would seem that the lesson of Allston's "Belshazzar" had not really been understood by his protege. In the eight years spent on the work, it had been drastically revised a number of times. When William Cullen Bryant saw it in Florence in 1845 it was simply "The Indian and the Hunter," and did "... not fail to awaken sympathy in the poet who had written 'The Indian at the Burial Place of His Fathers.'"

By late 1846 and 1847, the figures of the mother and child had been added and then entirely remodelled and recast. A delay of four years, due to unsuccessful attempts to find a suitable block of Serravezza marble, enforced further reconsiderations of the composition by the artist, and led to impediments such as his writing home for Indian skulls which he might study toward "correctness" of the Indian figure. More than any of
his other works, it is dependent upon detail and subject matter. A primary concern with dramatic action and its motivation has made these things more obvious than is permissible within the architecture of so formal a composition. Incongruities are evident because the form seems ill suited to the content; one might as reasonably cast an episode of "The Lone Ranger" within the conventions of Phèdre. In a letter to Professor Salisbury, Greenough clearly pointed out the illustrative nature of his group, "... intended to commemorate the danger of our first contact with the Aborigines, and I think is susceptible of great dramatic interest, as of great variety of form and character and expression." Tuckerman writing of it says: "This group illustrates a phasis in the progress of American civilization, viz., The unavoidable conflict between the Anglo-Saxon and aboriginal savage races." But this soaring rhetoric and the thinly veiled quotations from the most famous Hellenistic sculptures have been expended upon an illustration, and Greenough's honesty
"did not empower him to avoid the danger he recognized, that 'the translation of rhetoric into stone' is a feat often fatal to the rhetoric, always fatal to the stone!"  

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M. Matthissen, op. cit., p. 145.

Varying a statement by Yeats on such matters, we might say further that when he struggled with others, with art and materials, Greenough often made empty rhetoric. From the struggle with himself, he a few times made poetry.

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M. Matthissen, op. cit., p. 33, "... Yeats' enunciation that from the struggle with others we make rhetoric, from the struggle with ourselves we make poetry."

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The saving grace of "The Rescue" lies in the fact that there is in it a modicum of the latter, in spite of so much of the former.

The more conventional nature of this group led to much less violent criticism than was visited upon the Washington. There were critics in the periodicals and newspapers who disapproved of the trecento costume of the backwoodsman, and who felt that such a "savage and perverted race" as the American Indian did not deserve commemoration, but a controversy concerning the nonchalant dog, for example, was dissipated perhaps too easily by an article in The Crayon which pointed out: "The inquiry about the breed of dog, and why he is not in a more ferocious
attitude, may be answered by saying that the dog is simply
an accessory, which, without injuring the group, gives the
pyramidal form so desirable in statuary.' The dog was,

W. J. Stone, "Horatio Greenough's Sculpture at

in fact, such an obvious prop for one side of the pyramid
that even those with a concern for pedigrees and the
defense of the mother and child, should have understood as
much. Soon after "The Rescue" was in place, Greenough's
friends began to make apologies and excuses for it. The
sculptor was ill and dying when, after many delays the
work, shipped in parts, reached this country; he had not,
of course, been present when it was assembled, and Clark
Mills, the sculptor, who was probably responsible, had not
put it together correctly, it was said. A number of

Charles E. Fairman, Art and Artists of the United States
Capitol, p. 139.

sources indicate that the mother and child were to have
been in front of the Indian, and a measurement made of

Manuscript letters in the office of the architect of the
Capitol, filed under "Statues."

the base area of the group showed that this might have been
possible, but the logically fitted jig-saw of rocks and the
inescapably stubborn dog, betray the inadequacy of this explanation. Surely this artistic offspring of an Etruscan wolf of the variety which suckled Romulus and Remus had been made to serve precisely the isosceles function in which we see it today. Greenough's dream of the work cast in bronze was not realized, and the formal unity brought to it by virtue of erosion and dirt and an antique respectability caused by broken parts, he had certainly not anticipated.

Greenough was fortunate that not many of his works were sacrificed to the vogue of the time for elaborate sculptural grave monuments. Rinehart, Story and Crawford saw, before their deaths, some of their major creations begin to deteriorate in park-like cemeteries such as Mount Auburn in Boston or Druid Hill in Baltimore. One of Greenough's least consequential sculptures, that of a Newfoundland dog, marks the graves in Mount Auburn of his friends the Perkins family of Boston, and is more interesting as an amusing indication of the idealistic artist's involvement with the real, than as a piece of sculpture. (Fig. 50). In 1830, Alfred Greenough wrote to his brother Henry: "I have sent Horatio a Newfoundland dog, as he requested for a model," but it was 1844 before the sculptor finally went to work at the evidently onerous task. Meanwhile after fourteen years, the impatient dog died, and
Greenough wrote: "I have begun Perkins' dog, and have had the very deuce of a time for want of a model."  

The result of his labors is indistinguishable from the thousands of Victorian dogs and sheep which commemorate the pathetic fallacy, so dear to the hearts of that era. No doubt artists have always, for economic reasons, had to accept such commissions as posthumous portraits and dog statues, but Greenough was fortunate beyond most of his contemporaries because he was usually given credit for having a high and important mission as an artist.

Greenough's last years were marked by an increased interest in aesthetics, coupled with a desire to make his ideas known by way of the newspapers and periodicals. Certain sculptures, of much less importance than "The Rescue," were made, but as with his very first productions, we are again faced with discussing unlocated or destroyed works known only through literary sources. Tuckerman tells us of a "Venus, . . . It is of heroic size, that of the Venus of Milo. This statue was much admired in Florence, and Browning the poet, urged Greenough to send it to the World's Fair in London." It was modelled entirely in

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134 Greenough, _op. cit._, pp. 66, 169.

135 Tuckerman, _Memorial_, p. 56.
plaster of Paris, as was a "Mother and Child," perhaps a study for the figures in "The Rescue," and we are told further that this was a new method for sculptors, one of those art processes which Gardner in Yankee Stoncutters complains of so often, because men like Powers and Dexter seem to have been more entranced with the mechanics than the art involved. Greenough wrote to his brother Henry:

I am more and more pleased with the mixture for modelling I invented in the autumn, and have nearly done a statue six feet high. It will be the best finished of my works. Gibson (the English neoclassic sculptor) said the other day of my Venus Vincitura, "I don't know when I have seen such a statue as this, whether for grace, form or style." 136


In editing her husband's correspondence, Mrs. Henry Greenough writes in a manner which bears striking comparison with the books of Pliny the Elder and Pausanias, telling us not quite enough about the works of their contemporaries:

These remarks by Gibson, were deserved, the Venus mentioned being one of Greenough's latest and most perfect works. It was modelled in a material of his own invention; and when cast, the plaster was stippled with some instruments designed by him and Powers till the surface was of the finest finish. Unfortunately the statue was broken into so many pieces before its arrival in America that restoration was not attempted. 137

137 Greenough, loc. cit.

In true Florentine tradition, a David was begun in
the middle 'forties, and on his return from almost a year
and a half in German and Austrian spas, he recorded finding
"David as fresh as a rose. He looked as if I had only
left him over night."\textsuperscript{138} A bas-relief, "representing an

\textsuperscript{138}Greenough, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 171, Letter of February 28, 1844.

artist whose labors are suspended by the failure of the
light by which he is working,"\textsuperscript{139} was possibly the work

\textsuperscript{139}Tuckerman, \textit{Memorial}, p. 56.

of many years, but was not installed in the home of George
Ticknor until 1851. The edition of 1909 of George Ticknor's

\textit{Life, Letters and Journals}, tells us:

The history of the bas-relief is interesting and
creditable to both parties. In Mr. Greenough's
youth, Mr. Ticknor, and other gentlemen who withheld
their names, enabled the young sculptor to go to
Italy . . . doing so partly by direct assistance, and
partly by such assurances as inspired him with
confidence in times of difficulty and depression.
Knowing no one in the matter but Mr. Ticknor, he
expressed his gratitude for the collective kindness
by making this bas-relief, one of his most graceful
works, and almost his latest, and sending it as a
gift. It represents an artist sitting in an atti-
dute of dejection before his work, - a female
figure, - while a hand, unseen by him, pours oil
into his expiring lamp. This charming work stands
in the entrance hall of Mr. Ticknor's house, and
it was a pleasure to him that Mr. Greenough,
before his death, saw it in its place, and was
satisfied with its position.\textsuperscript{140}

\textsuperscript{140}George Ticknor, \textit{Life, Letters and Journals of George
Since then George Ticknor's fine town house, probably designed by Latrobe, has become a cheap rooming house, with a line of shops across the front, and the bas-relief has disappeared, but the description of it would serve almost equally well for one by Thorwaldsen, "Art and the Genius of the Lamp," now in the Thorwaldsen Museum, Copenhagen. It is more than likely that Greenough's version was also very close in style to that of his old teacher.

A bust of James Fenimore Cooper, done in 1852, was to have been part of an elaborate monument to that writer's memory, to be placed at Newport near the mysterious old stone tower which figures in his novel Red Rover. But Cooper's denial of the ruin as a pre-Columbian one, and his insistence in the book that it was part of a seventeenth century mill, cooled the interest of the local patriots, who staunchly defended Newport as the site of Leif Erickson's Vineland. And no doubt Greenough's high-flown invective touched the real nerve of the matter:

I am fully aware that the great calls upon the means of citizens by amusements of an expensive character, by feasts and dances that vie with the royal follies of the old world, and embellishments, domestic and personal, which, like the triumphs of Rome, represent the achievements and the whims of the known world, have but scanty resources available for purposes like that I propose . . .
In a year of intense activity, Greenough also formed a project to execute with Henry Kirke Brown an equestrian statue of Washington for Union Square, New York City, and his extensive preparations and typically unusual ideas are well seen in a letter written to George Bancroft, the historian:

I count upon the interest you have manifested in my artistic efforts, to excuse my invasion of your leisure. I wish to consult you on a question of historical propriety.

In designing the colossal statue of Washington for Union Square, I desire to place at the angles of the pedestal, 4 statues of subordinate Generals and I would fain place in the rear, Arnold with a veil thrown over the upper portion of this figure.

The talents and services of Arnold were great. His crime made him for several months our chief danger and obstacle - this infamy can only add lustre to the faith of his fellows and the fame of his captors.

It is written that evil shall come - but woe unto him by whom it cometh! I have never seen any ground for American sympathy with Andre. For his king he staked his head at a foul game and fairly lost it - he has received at the hands of his masters such compensation as his devotion and manhood had earned.

I find a certain squeamish aversion to drag Arnold forth. To my sense it is as if Judas were excluded from the cenacolo, when our constellation of patriots appear shorn of this damned contrast. May I ask your views of this matter?
In spite of Bancroft's answer, whatever it may have been, we can be sure that Greenough would have planned the work to suit himself. As he did not live to do so, H. K. Browne and John Quincy Adams Ward later collaborated on the work.

Without a doubt, the most important creative work of Greenough's last year and a half was the group of lectures on art which he delivered a number of times before Lyceums and other groups in 1852. G. P. Putnam printed some of these studies in aesthetics that year, under the title of *The Travels, Observations, and Experiences of a Yankee Stonecutter*, and with the pseudonymous Horace Bender as author. Essays on "Aesthetics at Washington," (first printed in 1843), "American Art" and "American Architecture," were written by an artist caught in the toils of the machine age, as Gardner points out, but he was one who had discovered, nevertheless, a deeper meaning amid the confusion of standards that the machine had introduced. In *English Traits*, Emerson wrote:

\[\text{Gardner, op. cit., p. 56.}\]

I have a private letter from him, in which he roughly sketches his own theory. "Here is my theory
of structure: A scientific arrangement of spaces and forms to functions and to site; an emphasis of features proportioned to their gradated importance in function; color and ornament to be decided and arranged and varied by strictly organic laws, having a distinct reason for each decision; the entire and immediate banishment of all makeshift and make-believe.  

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Emerson, op. cit., p. 6.

Greenough's idea crystallized in the little book of 1852 and the succinct statement of his theory was:

Three proofs do I find in man that he was made only a little lower than the angels - Beauty - Action - Character.

By beauty I mean the promise of function.

By action I mean the presence of function.

By character I mean the record of function.

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Tuckerman, Memorial, p. 195.

"Here is adumbrated the prime fundamental of functional design which has so powerfully affected all phases of modern life, our ways of thinking, no less than our arts, our homes and all industrial design."

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Gardner, loc. cit.

Thanking the sculptor for the copy of the book sent to him, Emerson wrote: "... it is a very dangerous book, full of all manner of reality and mischievous
application, fatal pertinence, and hip and thigh-smiting personality, and instructing us against our will... But man and book are a great possession to me. I wish to get the power of them.¹⁴⁷ Later that month, still full of pleasure in the new work which was so close to, and in a number of ways, a fulfillment of his own ideas, Emerson invited Greenough to visit him at Concord, and assured him: "Channing and Thoreau, who are both excellent readers, agree with me in the importance of the book. Its radical good sense, its reality, and its strong American flavor captivated them also."¹⁴⁸ Emerson’s journal records a day of good talk with

an extraordinary man, a man of sense, of virtue, and of rare elevation of thought and carriage. One thought of heroes, - of Alfieri, of Michael Angelo, of Leonardo da Vinci. How old? 'Forty-seven years of joy I have lived' was his answer. He makes many of my accustomed stars pale by his clear light. His magnanimity, his idea of a great man, his courage, and cheer, and self-reliance, and depth, and self-derived knowledge, charmed and invigorated me, as none has, who has gone by, these many months. I told him I would fife in his regiment. The grandest of democrats. His democracy is very deep, and for the most part free from crotchets, - not quite, - and philosophical.¹⁴⁹
Ralph Waldo Emerson, Journals of Ralph Waldo Emerson, vol. III, pp. 318, 319.

The crotchets which disturbed Emerson, a belief in the necessity of the status quo of slavery, are made clear in a letter to the sculptor, telling him: "That on abolition, I have told you, is bad: if you print it, we will roast you." But in spite of this, "He finds everybody a believer in two gods, believer in the devil: he is not . . . wherever there is a wrong there is pain . . . In the Greek alone, beauty . . . He complains of England, that it never did or can look at Art otherwise than as a commodity it can buy."

Only a few months after their fine day of talk, Emerson writing to Carlyle had the sad duty to report: "Our few fine persons are apt to die. Horatio Greenough, a sculptor, but whose tongue was far cunninger in talk than his chisel to carve, and who inspired great hopes, died two months ago at forty-seven years."
But accounts of the artist's life and his death on December 18, 1852 in Somerville, Massachusetts, of what was diagnosed as brain fever, are too often ended with Emerson's epitaph. Even F. O. Matthiessen's thoughtful and serious study of Greenough in The American Renaissance is an examination of a man whose final paradox lay in the belief that "things would stay put in stone but not in argument." Because the twentieth century excessively admires and academicises certain of his ideas, and does not at all value the sculpture which he felt to be his great contribution to American culture, it has undoubtedly impoverished itself. A number of the portrait busts, "The Sears Children," the "Washington" and "The Rescue," are wholly or in part, works of art of a high order, able to take their places with the best sculpture of the nineteenth century. Within the fixed limits of his artistic aims, Greenough was successful, a classic artist, firm in the belief that what he had made in the full exercise of his intellect was worthy of being remembered. He knew that marble might crumble or be burned to lime, but in spite of this, he looked forward to a fame certainly as secure as that of Phidias, Praxiteles or Lysippos, none of whose works had existed for a thousand years. As the first
American aesthetcian, he was aware of this, only a little disturbed by his "paradoxes," as he knew better than almost anyone of his century that they would be resolved in time, and that posterity will soon relearn or grope through, even the most forbidding forms and conventions of an earlier age, if they contain a valid statement of the poetic struggle to know oneself.
The Art of Richard Greenough

When Horatio Greenough died in 1852, his brother Richard was his obvious artistic heir. In fact the life of the older of these two men seems to flow into that of the other, and looking at the sculpture of Richard Greenough, logically continuing in the direction Horatio's art had taken, one has the feeling that, perhaps, the older artist never died at mid-century, and that his real end did not come until 1904 after eighty years of activity under two different names. Richard, the youngest son of David and Betsey Greenough, born in Jamaica Plain, April 27, 1819, grew into manhood, a devoted admirer of his already famous older brother, and from the first seems to have been overshadowed by him. Probably not the precocious child his brother had been, we do learn though, from an early biographer, seemingly grasping at straws, that:

. . . before he could speak plainly he frequently sung simple ballads in perfect time and tune, to an accompaniment played on the piano by his sisters. A correct ear for time and tune, and the enjoyment of musical harmony has been considered by good judges as among the strongest evidences of an artistic organization. Bartolini, the late celebrated Florentine sculptor, whenever a young pupil was presented to him . . . instead of examining specimens of what he had done, used to ask the lad to whistle some tune he was familiar with, and if the trial showed a correct ear, he would say, "You have the capacity, if you choose to study."154.
After attending Charles W. Greene's School in Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts, Richard went to the Boston Latin School where he remained until he was seventeen, and although he was fully prepared, did not go on to college as his brothers had done. In 1822, when Richard was only three, four of David Greenough's sons were attending Harvard, but by 1835, family finances were in such a state that he seems to have either chosen, or found it necessary to work in the counting-room of two of his elder brothers, commission merchants in Boston. Shurtleff, in his memoir of the Franklin statue, anxiously informs us that this sculptor of the figure of the philosopher of "a penny saved is a penny earned," was well chosen, as he worked zealously at his bookkeeping; but by 1837, he increasingly "(gave) his leisure to drawing and modelling," and the brothers, recognising the practical value of having two sculptors in the family, sent Richard off to Florence to study under Horatio's guidance. He embarked on a vessel from Boston to Trieste, and from there, made his way to Venice, Ferrara and Bologna, and finally Florence, visiting the
galleries in those and other cities, making drawings and
admiring the Greco-Roman antiques especially. In Florence
with his brother, he was led about to all the leading
studios, drew and modelled from life, and studied anatomy.
Recalling his early years, he wrote in 1874:

I would say, ever avoid the dilatory. Seek the
exact science of form as I have seen old Gibson,
measuring first the man or maid, then the clay
until nature were transfixed. It was a practice
of Thorwaldsen to stand for hours in thought before
his statues, seeking for perfection which might
come with a single blow of the hammer.156

156 Brumbaugh: May 7, 1874, Greenough, Paris, to "Mr.
Horton."

Greenough had probably seen Thorwaldsen at work, and
stories of the greatest neoclassicist must have been
part of his unofficial training. In the spring of 1838,
following the pattern of his older brother, he became
ill and after only six or seven months in Florence, went
home to recuperate. After regaining his health, he set
up a studio in Boston, and began seeking local commissions,
which seem to have been very few. It is possible that he
worked for a time in the family counting-room during the
five years after returning, but in 1844, the immediate
success of his bust of the historian William H. Prescott,
was the means to his permanently establishing himself as
an artist. To Horatio Greenough, Prescott wrote:
I have been lately sitting to your brother Richard for a bust, and he has just completed the model in clay. It will be cast tomorrow, I think. It is pronounced a most faithful likeness by all who have seen it. I am no judge of this myself, but I shall be very content to have it so. Among those who have seen it are several best acquainted with the art here, and they agree that the execution of the work is excellent. I think this will give you pleasure as it augurs well for his success in a profession where mediocrity is not tolerated by gods or men. He seems to have his share of the genius which belongs to his name.\textsuperscript{157}

\textsuperscript{157}William Hickling Prescott, \textit{The Correspondence of William Hickling Prescott}, p. 455.

To another correspondent Prescott confided:

This evening is a grand smash at Mrs. Nathan Appleton's, seven hundred dear friends invited, four hundred consent, of which I am not one, not caring to be converted either into a jelly or a pincushion. I am the more anxious to preserve my lawful dimensions just now, as I am in the process of being painted and being sculptured, the latter to please an artist and the former to please myself, or rather my wife.

\textsuperscript{158}Prescott, \textit{Ibid.}, p. 447.

As we see from the letter, sitting for Richard Greenough was done as a favor to him by the famous historian; just as the John Quincy Adams and Lafayette busts had meant the beginning of a demand for portrait commissions for Horatio, Prescott's "faithful likeness" created interest in the younger man. The bust seems-not to have been put into marble, but many plaster casts were made and continue
to grace New England libraries. The attention to detail of this work, and the fact that it recorded a well known and respected face, was its most remarkable asset then, but now its lack of style seem to be its most unusual property. The work of a good and earnest student, it lacked the authority of his brother's more experienced and personal work.

Following this success, publicized in plaster replicas, many of them publicly owned, "He was constantly employed in executing portraits or fancy heads, and occasionally a statuette," we are told.159 A "Ruth" of this period

159 Shurtleff, op. cit., p. 379.

must be one of these "fancy heads," a work probably copied in numerous comparatively inexpensive casts. The finest early work in marble we know is the "Bust of a Child" in the Boston Museum. (Fig. 51). There is a simplicity of treatment in the drapery which suggests that the work may have been carved by the artist himself. A pensiveness of mood is quite well conveyed, and we are reminded of the best work of Horatio, whose influence is strongly felt here, even to the use of a toga. Roman dress soon disappeared in Richard's work, as that convention which Benjamin West had done away with in painting in the late eighteenth century, had almost completely run its course.
by 1845. Except for the later "Alma Mater" or "Psyche," works of an allegorical nature, or obvious classical derivation, surface details of dress such as lace, fur, jewelry and the like, began to attract the new generation. It was the sign of a change in taste from "classic" to "Hellenistic." A comparison of "Bust of a Child" with the "Bust of Cornelia Van Rensselaer," (Fig. 52), done in 1849, will show the rapidly shifting attitude of the artist. Going abroad in 1848, he was quick to adopt the new mode of greater faithfulness to nature and haut couture. That year of revolutions heralded new middle class taste for the realistic; and the "aristocratic" allegorical devices began to disappear. Greenough visited Florence during the year only briefly, and was soon off to Rome where Story and the second generation of sculptors in Italy were to establish themselves. "Cornelia Van Rensselaer" reflects a new classic attitude emboldened by contact with Roman baroque art. In Florence, Thorwaldsen and the quattrocento had been the masters, but with this bust, the tour de force as a means to expression seems to be in evidence, and one is reminded somewhat of Bernini's bust of Constanza Buonarelli in the Bargello at Florence. The fact that the Van Rensselaer bust was modelled in Italy and put into marble by Italian workmen, explains the lace collar and the fussy shirring of the dress, which
Greenough's own technique as a marble cutter was probably not capable of at any time in his career. The establishment of a handsome balance between the clothing and the severely modelled head, makes this a pleasing work regardless of the extent to which Greenough was or was not responsible for the actual cutting of the stone.

On October 20, 1846, Richard Greenough married Sarah Dana Loring of Boston, and by 1848 they had settled in Rome where they became the center of the trade in portrait busts commissioned by travelling Americans. Greenough's wife wrote a three volume novel there, as well as a book of short sketches, Arabesques, which her husband illustrated. The writing reflected the extensive travels of the newly married couple throughout Europe and North Africa during a period of six or eight years, but was a "sketches and fragments" type of prose which is almost unreadable today, with its heavy-breathing style, suggestive of Gautier or Pierre Louys. It was concerning this formative period of his life that he wrote: "I saw on visiting the artistic wonders of Europe that a true artist must find his life in his work. The chef d'oeuvre is the product of this mariage..."160 And sadly, we realize that the

160Brumbaugh: loc. cit.

comparative poverty of Richard's expression is truly wedded
to the fifty years of self-satisfaction which he found in his Rome, Newport and Paris studios until his death in 1904.

The self-consciousness and the archness of the new mode in sculpture was reflected in Richard's "Cupid Warming an Icicle with His Torch" of about 1849, as well as a "Psyche" of roughly the same period. It was of just such a statue in the taste of the mid-century, by the American woman sculptor Harriet Hosmer, that one of the typical and revealing critical stories of the period was told: "The Crown Princess of Germany (afterwards the Empress Frederick) on viewing (Puck) . . . exclaimed, 'Oh, Miss Hosmer, you have such a talent for toes.'"\(^{161}\)

\(^{161}\)Cornelia Carr, Harriet Hosmer, Letters and Memories, p. 79.

And developing his "talent for toes" was a preoccupation which led Greenough to make the "Shepherd Boy with an Eagle" of 1853. Modelled in Rome, the plaster copy was brought to Boston by the artist and cast in bronze at the Ames Foundry in Chicopee, Massachusetts, and became one of the first works of "high" art to be cast in this country. Less than life size, it is not an imposing work, and excessive attention paid to the "charming" and the "graceful" have given it a disastrously dated look. In spite of, or because of an effeminacy which it shared
with Harriet Hosmer's "Puck," the work was purchased by a committee of the Boston Athenaeum for its collections for the sum of fifteen hundred dollars. When one remembers that Miss Hosmer sold more than thirty copies of "Puck," each priced at about that figure, one is less impressed by the financial success of Richard Greenough. But artistically the "Shepherd Boy" is a better work than "Puck." It is clearly based on Thorwaldsen's "Ganymede," yet decorously avoids that subject by including a nest and having the nude boy rob it, a deed evidently more to the taste of the Boston of the time. The picturesque quality of the group won for it considerable praise and popularity, and the high finish of its surface, a product of a Massachusetts foundry, gave it further status in the community. Lorado Taft is one of the few modern critics even to notice it, and he finds the work "hardly interesting . . . The exigencies of the sculpture have compelled the artist to reduce the eagle to a portable size . . ." and Greenough "never extorts from one the cry, 'Oh, the poor man!' as did Puget's 'Milo of Crotona' from the emotional Maria Theresa. It must be acknowledged that some of Richard Greenough's portrait statues are more likely to call forth such an exclamation."162

It is not clear why Richard Greenough happened to be in Boston in 1853, leaving behind him in Rome a growing patronage for portrait busts and "ideal" subjects, but it is probable that his friends on the Franklin Statue Committee had privately summoned him, and that their desire to have a Franklin modelled by a Bostonian, in Boston, could only be fulfilled by Greenough. It is further likely that he had the "Shepherd Boy" cast in Chicopee as a sample of his "American" work and his willingness to cooperate with the growing nationalistic feeling of the time. In spite of the awed and slavish respect of Americans for foreign art and ideas, even Horatio Greenough a generation before had found that they were stubbornly true to their concept of themselves and their vision of reality as well, and he had been a victim of his inability to compromise with that vision. But Richard Greenough was to have no such problem. His portrait busts gave close attention to the dress of the time, as well as a correct likeness, and pleased because they dealt, first of all, with the recognizable. A bust of his sister, Laura Greenough Curtis, preceded his arrival in Boston and helped create faith in him as the artist of a Franklin, for "it is thought to be an excellent likeness and of exquisite workmanship."\textsuperscript{163}

\textsuperscript{163}Hannah Farnham Lee, \textit{Familiar Sketches}, II, p. 227.
Even Mrs. Curtis' jewelry, which is still owned by the family, had been carefully reproduced in the marble, and thus it was fitting that later the actual "suit of clothes worn by the illustrious Patriot and Philosopher on the memorable occasion of the signing of the treaty of alliance with France, in 1778," was loaned to Greenough by the Massachusetts Historical Society as a precaution that the "Franklin" would be correct in all respects.

(Fig. 53). Probably one of the most carefully documented works of art of the nineteenth century, this statue was the subject of a commemorative book of more than four hundred pages, and every receipt, note and letter connected with it has been preserved in the archives of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

It was certainly planned that the committee in charge of the monument found the sculptor "busily engaged in preparing his exquisite 'Boy and Eagle' for being cast in bronze, and otherwise much occupied."\footnote{Shurtleff, op. cit., pp. 358, 359.}

\footnote{Shurtleff, op. cit., pp. 358, 359.}

hearing suggestions as to what sort of work was desired, Greenough made a rough sketch in clay followed by more conferences, in the course of which some dissatisfaction was shown about the lack of finish of the sketch. Men who were spending approximately twenty thousand dollars
wanted to see what they were getting, and Shurtleff wrote:

The statuette modelled by Mr. Greenough, and exhibited by the Committee on Design, was intended simply as a rough and unfinished sketch, to convey an idea of what the artist proposed; and as such, it met with the decided approbation of the members of the General Statue Committee who were present at the meeting.165

165 Shurtleff, op. cit., p. 361.

Nevertheless, a very exact copy, one fourth the size of the actual statue, was made under the sculptor's direction by Miss Florence Freeman (1836-1876) of Boston, and this helped somewhat to dispel the fears of togas or poorly finished work. Something of the distrust must have been partially due to rumors of new and heretical directions being taken by French sculpture and painting, and the fear that this member of the Greenough family might possibly be another classicist in disguise. In a way this was true, but Franklin's old suit of heavy silk with fur trimming covered it up rather well. Using language which recalls that of his older brother in describing the "Washington," he wrote to the committee in May of 1854, in regard to a very different sort of work:

I have endeavored to trust my statue in harmony with his character simply. I would have it thoughtful, dignified, of kindly expression, and unconscious. In pursuing this course I am gratified to feel that the same principle was
observed in the most eminent portrait statues of antiquity. The statues of Menander, Demosthenes, Sophocles and Agrippina are signal examples in support of simplicity, always winning the attention, because they do not appear to wish to be seen of men! As it is important that the work be completed as speedily as is consistent with faithful execution, I would propose that the bas-reliefs be entrusted to such other sculptors as your committee think capable.166

166Shurtleff, op. cit., pp. 359, 360.

Apparently the Boston sculptor Hammat Billings (1818-1874), was considered for the bas-reliefs, but in the end, Greenough himself did two, and Thomas Ball (1819-1911), designed "Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776" from John Trumbull's painting of that subject in the Yale Gallery, as well as "Treaty of Peace and Independence, September 3, 1783." Ball's reliefs, his first public commission, were placed on the sides of the pedestal, while Greenough's "Franklin as a Printer" was placed in the frontal position, because the chief monetary support of the statue had come from Boston's mechanics, tradesmen and workers; "Experiments with Lightning" was put on the rear. "Curiously enough," Post points out, "of the four pictorial reliefs on the pedestal, the two simpler panels from Franklin's early life by Greenough are better than the two more complicated panels from his later life by Ball."167 The pedestal itself was designed by Henry
Greenough, the architect-brother of Richard, and finally early in September 1856, the work was put in place and made ready for the "inauguration" planned for it. This was, indeed, to be one of the most impressive ceremonies Boston had seen until that time, as Shurtleff's huge volume assures us, but James Russell Lowell, in a letter of September 9 to E. C. Stedman, gives us an amused and private picture of the affair:

Tomorrow . . . we are to inagurate Greenough's Franklin with a tremendous procession - which I look at solely from a Mabelian point of view. Did I say solely? Well let it stand. But I may just mention that the American Academy comes in before the governor, and Charles perhaps can tell you who some of the fellows are. It is thought that they will find carriages provided for them . . . There are to be two addresses and an oration. Only think how interesting! and we shall find out that Franklin was born in Boston, and invented being struck by lightning . . . and that a penny saved is a penny lost, or something of the kind. So we put him up a statue. I mean to invent something - in order to "encourage sculptors."168


The Pan-Bostonian procession to this "veritable jubilee" wound its way through streets and houses decorated with bunting and mottoes like, "Little strokes fell big oaks," while one printer "exhibited a kite and a key with the
inscription (also inscribed on the base of the statue itself) 'Franklin - Eripuit Coelo fulmen sceptrumque tyrannis!' 169

Dozens of other notable mottoes along the

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169 Shurtleff, op. cit., p. 110.

route were carefully recorded, and after a lengthy oration
and two addresses of precisely the type which Lowell had
anticipated, an "Ode" by James T. Fields was sung:

Give welcome to his sculptured form!
Art's splendid triumph here is won; -
Thus let him stand, in light and storm,
Our sea-girt city's greatest son. 170

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170 Shurtleff, op. cit., p. 274.

A competition among the city's fire companies ended the
day, and "Franklin" was on its way to becoming a landmark
in front of Boston's City Hall. The editor of The Crayon
pronounced it to be a "noble work, unaffected and
thoroughly full of common-sense." The fears of those who
had dreaded to see the old philosopher of the matter-of-
fact in a toga were proven groundless, but The Crayon
article continued:

This (common-sense) is a quality not by any means
so usual in modern Art as men might suppose in
these practical times. I believe, indeed, it is
the rarest of all artistic traits . . . The head
is a grand thoughtful piece of character . . .
shrewd, thoughtful, profound indeed, yet
essentially material in all his ideas . . . a gen-
uine work of Art - the realization of an idea. 171
An anonymous critic in the next issue of *The Crayon* was pleased to note that "Franklin's" head was "cast down as if in contemplation in order that the uplooking spectators might see it." The "posé" of the head was enough to make the work outrank Houdon's "Washington," for "it is the great fault of Houdon's statue . . . that it has its nose in the air so high that one ought to be on a level with the face in order to appreciate the likeness fully."^{172}

And a superficial but public merit of the work was its ability to withstand the test of changing times and tastes. Almost thirty years after its erection, T. H. Bartlett in a rather severely critical series of articles which still hit the mark, wrote:

> The bronze Franklin . . . is the most pleasing statue in the city. The pose is happy, human and effective; the statue looks like a fine, full-bodied old gentleman of another time. Its whole sentiment is refined. It does not show the verve, freedom of treatment, and knowledge of the human form that are found in famous statues, it neither shocks by vulgar pretence, careless workmanship or want of study. The historic halo that increasingly surrounds the name of Franklin will not be diminished by Greenough's tribute. The interesting scenes that the bas-reliefs on the pedestal depict will preserve them in public regard, although they are not quite as picturesque as the subject would warrant."^{173}
By means of a most conservative and conventional work, Greenough managed to escape the derogation of both his own time and that of the next generation into which he lived. Even Wendell Phillips seemed to be saying what he thought of Franklin the man, rather than what he saw in the statue, when he wrote: "It is a tipsy old gentleman, somewhat weak in his spindle-shanks, swaying freely to and fro on a jaunty cane, as with villainous leers he ogles the ladies." The "jaunty cane" had been copied most accurately from the very crab-tree walking stick which Franklin had bequeathed to Washington, so there could be no real complaint on that score.

Time and chemistry have dealt kindly with the statue, for even the yellow bronze, "made of copper . . . from Lake Superior where silver mingles with the copper," which reminded one critic of cheese, has taken on a rich green patina in our time. The "Franklin" undoubtedly marked the summit of the artist's fame, and because it was a
wholly satisfactory work, seemed to culminate the careers of the Greenough sculptors. If Horatio had lived, he would almost certainly have made such a costumed figure. The fact that it was made at the beginning of a taste for bronze and "iron photography," and is a realistic document of Franklin's appearance in 1776, is not too obviously the source of its faults. Greenough was never to waste his talent sculpturing shoe laces and button holes like his friend Story; he is even "classic" in doing nothing to excess in the "Franklin," but perhaps the work's great fault is that it seems to have none, or at least seems to avoid making any statement beyond the obvious. Horatio had always dared to speak his mind and "to fulminate as did his Jupiter against the giants," but Richard was content, simply to be competent and to please his patrons.

Aside from the rough sketch, the actual work itself, and Florence Freeman's copy, the Ames Foundry cast a small bronze copy as well as one in silver which was presented to Newell A. Thompson, Chief Marshall for the Inaguration. Further attesting to the popularity of the statue, thousands of lead and chalk copies were also made, and New England antique shops still sell these souvenirs of a momentous day and a work that enjoyed great fame in its

176 Charles Wesley Sprague, The Trades of the United States, p. 45.
time, and is now seen to be uninspired but competent and acceptable. In Richard, Horatio’s challenges to public taste as well as his feeling of responsibility for it, had been resolved, and those who knew what they liked because they liked it, had been given precisely what they expected. In fairness to Richard it might be said that he probably gave as much as he could.

Midway in his work on the Franklin, Greenough was commissioned by the proprietors of Mount Auburn Cemetery to make a seated figure of John Winthrop, the first governor of Massachusetts Bay, to be placed in the chapel there. (Figs. 54, 55). They looked toward creating a Westminster Abbey in the midst of a necropolis on the outskirts of Boston, and had begun as early as 1830 to assemble effigies of great men, as well as extract promises from living examples that they eventually allow themselves to be buried in or near the chapel. The fact that both Horatio and Richard Greenough, as well as other members of the family lie there, is evidence of the success of one sort of collecting, but it was also one of the

177 It is interesting to note that Richard Greenough and the painter Winslow Homer, who knew each other slightly during their lifetimes, share the same vault at Mount Auburn.

chief glories of the place that "the chapel ... contains a sitting statue of Governor Winthrop. The painstaking,
almost exquisite finish of the work, indicates a refinement of mind in the treatment of marble, that deserves a closer and more intense relationship with the true sense of sculpture."\(^{178}\) Or in Lorado Taft's words, it is a portrait of "a world-weary schoolboy, the scapegoat of the class . . .," and a sculpture in which an incredible technique has gone for naught.\(^{179}\) (Fig. 54). Delineation of details of clothing in Franklin's statue, especially the fur of the coat, had pleased many Bostonians, and on this basis, it might have been safe to assume that the boa which drapes Governor Winthrop was the essence of success, but this did not prove to be the case. The rather retiring and even shy attitude of the figure was only emphasized by its lack of weight and "consequence." The sensitive face, the costume and the prayerful hands suited the known facts of Winthrop's life, but unlike the costume pieces of French sculptors like Frémiet and Dalou, which it suggests, it lacked the tension that comes from a rigorous training and a strong artistic conviction.

On the positive side, it is possible to admire the consummate craftsmanship of the carving. And if nothing of
this was done by the artist himself, his modelling of the ruff, or the folded charter with its pendant seal, lying across the left leg, is surely a spectacular display of technique. Pride in surface and neatness of finish reached a high peak in this work, yet although the figure is life-size, it has no monumentality. Sacrifice of scale to detail has made an absurdly large "miniature," a porcelain figurine which seems to have been transcribed from a Dutch seventeenth century interior by a minor master. It is certainly significant that almost every critic who wrote of it sympathetically at the time it was made was forced to fall back on the word "exquisite" to describe it.

It is possible that a "Bust of Lafayette" in the New York Historical Society, attributed there to Horatio, but obviously of a later style, is a work by Richard Greenough, done during the eighteen fifties. (Fig. 56). Based on the Horatio Greenough bust of 1832, it shows a refinement and sweetening of the features, and a tastefully disheveled rearrangement of the hair which recalls Michelangelo's "Moses." The toga has given way to nineteenth century dress and Richard's interest in elaborately carved costume. It is an example of the artist's adaptability and his desire to please.

Back in Europe late in 1854, he and his wife again
travelled widely; but while they were in Austria in 1855, she died and was eventually buried in the Protestant Cemetery in Rome. He placed a marble version of his "Psyche" figure over her grave a number of years later. By 1855, Greenough had settled in Paris, and was one of the first Americans to work and study there, but he found few friends among French artists trained in the, by this time, severely political and inbred academies and studios of Paris. Outsiders were not encouraged to share in what was a virtual monopoly of the taste of the period, to say nothing of official commissions all over Europe. Americans such as Henry James, James Russell Lowell and Edmund Clarence Stedman were among the distinguished visitors to Greenough's studio, but as his most ambitious work was finished, his later sculptures were an anti-climax, and his studio usually attracted only curious expatriates, American society travelling on the continent, or relatives of the extensive Greenough family. The preeminence of French art and artists by this time was so great that among them, Greenough became almost a non-entity.

In 1855 and 1856, he was involved in another commission for the Mount Auburn Chapel, a standing figure of James Otis the Revolutionary patriot. (Fig. 57). Thomas Crawford (1813-1857), was in charge of the final execution, but Greenough seems to have negotiated with the committee while
he was in Boston, and prepared drawings from which Crawford later made a small study in Rome. (See Appendix III). The finished work abounds in the details which Greenough loved, such as lace cuffs, a finger ring and quill pen, and carefully stitched hems on an extravagantly arranged great-coat; one can see his often heavy hand in such things, but the figure is dynamic and alive in spite of this burden, and the wisdom of the committee's bringing about a collaboration of these two artists is very evident if one compares the result achieved here with "John Winthrop," and if it is kept in mind that at the peak of his popularity, Crawford was sometimes criticized for his too abundant energy and an inability to bring his work to a high finish.

"Washington Sheathing his Sword," of 1858, Greenough's only work in the Louvre collections, is a curious amalgam of elements. (Fig. 58). The figure of Washington is taken directly from Houdon, while the horse is a caroussel steed, caparisoned so elaborately that one scarcely notices the rider. A pair of cast lead horses in the Detroit Institute of Art, there attributed to Greenough, as well as a duplicate set in New York City, seem to bear some relation to what was probably a study for an equestrian Washington commission. Although signed and dated, "Richard S. Greenough Fecit, Paris 1858," the
"Washington Sheathing his Sword" may possibly have been submitted in the competition for the Union Square statue, finally designed by K. K. Browne and J. Q. A. Ward after Horatio's death. A bronze copy, cast in the Williams Foundry, New York, was in the possession of the artist's family until 1911. The Detroit Institute's horses, although of uncertain provenience, have a vigorous quality, a kind of energy which is akin to that of the horse which Washington rides. Allowing for the surface differences of casting lead and bronze, and their traditional attribution, it is quite possible that these are genuine works of Richard Greenough, and as such, are among his best achievements. (Figs. 59, 60).

In 1861 John Lothrop Motley, historian, and Lincoln-appointed ambassador to the court of Austria, posed in Paris for his bust while en route to his assignment in Vienna. A copy in marble took its place with the earlier "Bust of Prescott" in the Boston Public Library, but it is interesting to note that in the course of twenty years, the toga drapery had disappeared and been replaced by what is, in effect, a loosely draped business suit. "The likeness is very characteristic of the distinguished historian," Thomas B. Curtis, brother-in-law of the artist, wrote in a letter to George Ticknor, asking him to accept the work; and "I have thought it could not be more
appropriately placed than in the Public Library of Boston," he continued, evidently with some feeling, for by that time the Curtis house could boast a ponderous collection of at least fifteen works by the sculptor-brothers. 180

180 Boston Public Library, Correspondence File, Curtis to Ticknor, July 5, 1867.

"The Carthaginian Girl," begun in 1860, was not put into marble until 1863 when the work was signed and dated by the sculptor. (Fig. 61), "An interesting and almost spirited figure . . . it comes near being attractive and even distinguished," according to Lorado Taft, in his rather woebegone picture of American sculpture before Augustus St. Gaudens' appearance on the scene. 181

181 Taft, op. cit., p. 194.

Ostensibly an illustration of an incident of the second Punic war, it shows a young girl cutting her long hair which is to be used for bow strings by the defenders of Carthage. The torso and arms are modelled in a soft, boneless manner, and the "Venus de Milo" has been clearly quoted from, but the devoted and loving surface texture serves admirably to make "The Carthaginian" a work of strong sensuous appeal. One is aware of an allusion to Titian's paintings of Venuses who look into mirrors and
admire themselves. A cascade of drapery and the texture of the hair are delightful exercises in baroque, "painterly" handling of marble; for classicism here had become a Hellenistic variety, conceived by a sculptor who could also admire Bernini's "Magdalen" in the Siena Cathedral, and similar baroque works.

Exhibition records of the eighteen sixties list portraits of anonymous ladies and gentlemen, as well as busts like "Shakespeare," of which Tuckerman tells us: "He has selected the Chandos picture and other authentic portraits, taking scrupulously the features in which they all agree, and has composed an ideal head of intense beauty and truth." Beauty and truth, no doubt, lay in the fact that such a work described the mid-century ideal of Shakespeare, and as such was highly successful, even though it had little to do with the Elizabethan poet. Henry James writing in one of his short stories, "The Tree of Knowledge," about a sculptor named Mallow (a thinly disguised Mallow?) tells us:

There was luckily a certain independence, of the pecuniary sort, all round: the Master could never otherwise have spent his solemn Wanderjahre in Florence and Rome, and continued by Thames as well as by the Arno and the Tiber to add unpurchased group to group and model, for what was too apt to prove in the event mere love, fancy-heads of
celebrities either too busy or too buried - too much of the age or too little of it - to sit.

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Henry James, The Short Stories of Henry James, p. 417. Mr. David Mc Kibbin of the staff of the Boston Athenaeum says that in talking with some of the Greenoughs' descendants, he learned that they always felt James' "The Tree of Knowledge" was based on what he knew of the relationship between Richard Greenough and his son Gordon, the painter.

"Cupid and the Tortoise," sometimes called "Cupid Bound," was one of the unpurchased groups which is still in the possession of the artist's descendants. (Fig. 62). Exhibited at the British Royal Academy in 1865, in the course of its some ninety years of existence the nose and toes have disappeared and it has become a garden statue, almost covered with ivy, and until recently assumed by its owners to be the work of Horatio Greenough. Part of the "little staring white population, heroic, idyllic, allegoric, mythic, symbolic," of James' "fictional" sculptor's studio, it shows a loosely draped and "winged amor" or "erote bound," and evidently forced to ride on the back of a tortoise. The meaning of this "allegoric" group seems to be that love has a slow and uncomfortable road to travel, and in spite of the greatness of the theme in the hands of many artists, it seems hopelessly trivial in this variation of it. Louise Chandler Moulton, who saw the work a few years before the artist's death,
felt that:

Mr. Greenough has been cruel to cupid - no, it was the nymphs who were cruel to him, and the sculptor only made his portrait. The nymphs have clipped his wings and bound them with silken cords, and set him on the tortoise, slowest creature that moves at all; and here he is with the half-patetic, yet half-mischiefous look upon his face, as lovely a vision as sculptor ever summoned from the white depths of the marble. \textsuperscript{184}

\textsuperscript{184}Moulton, op. cit., p. 118.

The group as a whole was borrowed from Roman and Hellenistic cupids and dolphins, and children with various animals, or perhaps, one of Laocoön's sons, but one is hard put to discover the reason for Greenough's borrowing the Belvedere Apollo's hair arrangement. Nothing can save it from being one of the least consequential of the artist's works.

A "Magdalene" of 1869 seems scarcely to be the work of the same man. (Fig. 63), Slightly larger than life-size, and almost gigantic in scale, it has its "inspiration" in baroque caryatids, dying Amazons, and Bernini's ecstatic saints; and the sculptor had evidently been attracted to the French revival of interest in Jean Goujon and the French Renaissance as well. Another sculpture which was never sold, and was of that variety which, as James suggested, was made for "mere love," it is nevertheless, completely unlovable, except as a revealing and
libidinous document in the mood of Carpeaux' "The Dance" of the figure for Chapu's "Tomb of Regnault." One can only think of other statues in "The Magdalene's" presence. It has no individual identity, a circumstance which makes its unassimilated eclecticism inexcusable, and in its struggle with style and old art, it feeds upon itself and becomes a sort of curious anthology in which it is hard to distinguish one element from the other. The result of such effort is much less satisfactory than that which Horatio Greenough achieved in his struggles with himself and others.

"Alma Mater Crowning her Heroes" is a quietly modelled, life-size figure of a seated woman holding aloft a laurel crown. (Fig. 64). Of approximately the same date as "Magdalene," it has something of the introverted and reticent air of the "Winthrop." One feels that here the artist knew what he was about, undisturbed by a quasi-religious subject such as "Magdalene," or historical accuracy to costume as in the "Winthrops." "The wife of Dr. John Collins Warren (Dr. Warren had had his bust made by Horatio) posed for the studies of the statue when she was a young girl in Rome. Those who died in the war are named on the shield which she is holding. Those who returned are named on two marble tablets near the statue."185
Dedicatory exercises, held in December of 1870, produced a considerable amount of laudatory verse, but the most remarkable example was the "Ode" of Henry Williamson Haynes, of the class of 1842, who wrote:

Hoc marmor vovimus, discipuli tui
Sculptum, cara parens, artificis manu,
Fraternis animus, cordibus aemulis,
Grates testificous opus.

One of the last classically draped statues made by Greenough, it is also significant of the dying Greco-Roman vogue that a translation of the poem, which suggests that it had been written prior to the Latin version, was furnished on the program:

This marble, sculptured by the hand of one,
Whom thou, O Alma Mater, ownst as son,
With hearts where mingle brothers' pride and love
We pledge, our lasting gratitude to prove.

The oration by the Hon. William Maxwell Evarts, lawyer and statesman, who "clothed his thought with sentences as long as the English language can supply, and with great involution and circumlocution . . . of style drove on a whole flock of several clauses, before he came to the
close of a sentence," was also a suitable tribute to one of the last of the neoclassic statues: "The artist, with a touch grave and solemn, a sense of the duty which we all feel, has produced this emblematic mother full of exultation at the glories of her sons, full of grief at their sacrifice, full of serene joy that other sons yet survive."  

Until 1876 Greenough received no public commission in America, and aside from the dedicatory encomiums, reaction to "Alma Mater" was simply neutral. Being the center of indifferent criticism, the sculptor returned to almost ten years of busts and ideal heads, most of which have "disappeared" into private hands where no one pays any attention to them, evidently. Fortunately, however, unlike his brother, Richard Greenough seems to have signed many of his works, and thus, except for questionable early pieces, they can be identified very easily at some future time. The standing figure of Governor John Winthrop is signed and dated 1876, which suggests that the work, with copies executed in both bronze and marble, was the product of four years' labor.
The bronze copy, cast like the Franklin by the Ames Foundry, was not too well received, as is seen in an article on Civic Monuments in New England, in which T. H. Bartlett wrote:

"The last statue erected in Boston (1880) was the bronze of Governor Winthrop by R. S. Greenough, in Scollay Square. It is intended to illustrate the first governor at the moment when he steps from the ship onto the soil of Massachusetts, carrying the documents and objects of his authority and hope. The general feeling is that nothing could be worse than this mass of metal, a dirty yellow in color, without character except for its concentration of everything bad. If good work in the past is to mark the memory and preserve the name of an artist, let it be remembered in this connection, as having exhibited in other work that sentiment whose only legitimate expression is in form."

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The marble version in the Capitol's Statuary Hall was one of the first ten works to be placed there. In that strange room, now bursting with icons of gesticulating heroes of the forty-eight states, this "Governor Winthrop" has as little authority as did the seated version which the sculptor made in 1856. (Fig. 65). The standing figure, however, is much more satisfactory. Technically it is above the average of its time, as Lorado Taft points out, and the figure advances with a good stride on carefully drawn legs, while the arrangement of the arms is
well-considered and sculpturally massive. In the midst of so many different styles and so much crowded rhetoric, however, it seems to shrink to miniature proportions. Greenough's continuing delight in starched lace ruffs is remarkable, even though the costume on the whole, is much simpler in conception than in the earlier "Winthrop."

The Scollay Square version, now moved to the yard of the First Church, Boston, like the "Franklin" has been improved by a generalizing and simplifying patination. Although it is an exact duplicate, the bronze medium seems to create a more rugged effect in the work, even though knowing the artist's interest in particulars, one is forced to conclude that this was not his original idea. Some years ago, a movement was afoot to "Make Boston's Statues Beautiful Again," but fortunately for the "Winthrop," as far as modern critical, if not sanitary taste is concerned, the work remains as nature rather than the artist had made it.

A life-size "Circe" signed and dated 1882, was Greenough's last large work, one of those which Henry James recalled in 1900, as "the monumental being all
diminutive and the diminutive all monumental."\(^{192}\) (Fig. 67).

\(^{192}\)James, op. cit., p. 423.

When the artist's grand-daughters presented the work to the Metropolitan Museum, they wrote: "The Circe is life-sized in white marble and about to offer the enchanted wine to Ulysses - one of her transformed victims fawns beneath her chair."\(^{193}\) The attitude of the figure clearly puts the spectator into the role of a Ulysses, and Mrs. Moulton, somewhat carried away and easily "enchanted," wrote:

\[\ldots\] and the cup she offers, - I would drink it from that hand though I knew I must dwell henceforth and forever in her pigsty. Look at that hunting leopard under her chair! He was once a man. He loved her, and he drank from her cup. But is his fate so hard who dwells forever in the sunshine of her beauty? Perhaps she puts out her hand and touches his head sometimes, when we are not there to see.\(^{194}\)

\(^{194}\)Moulton, loc. cit., p. 118.

The "monumental is all diminutive" in "Circe," it should be noted, and it is a most curious example of the phenomenon of a large piece of marble being handled so that it has no weight or size. Detail here has been used
without any consideration of its relation to the figure problem involved, and one is convinced only of its suitability for ivory or blanc de chine. As in the late busts of William Whitwell Greenough his cousin (Fig. 68), and Constance Fenimore Woolson the writer, the eyes have a peculiar blank expression. "Circe's" head rolls back and stares with a "provocative" look that would do justice to a Victorian doll.

The W. W. Greenough bust, draped with a compromised toga, is the work of an old man, seen in one of his final commissions. In this portrait we feel nothing of the deeper sense of conviction found in even the most commercial busts by Horatio; the mechanical means, the dependence on lace and ruffs has not been attempted, and we feel only that the statement made has been pointless, as we are not given a convincing likeness, even though it may have been an accurate one. Busts of Constance Fenimore Woolson (Fig. 69), and George Bancroft (Fig. 79), are only slightly more satisfactory. They tend toward the fin de siècle French taste for realism and a Beaux-Arts academicism which relished smoothness spiced with a mild form of Rodin's impressionism, but the classic mold had been too strong, and in Greenough's last years, he worked in a style twenty-five years behind the most conventional academic tradition, and one which had
absolutely nothing in common with the innovations of men like Rodin, Bourdelle and Maillol.

Richard Greenough never had a biographer, but Cornelia Carr's biography of Harriet Hosmer (1830-1908), sums up the way in which the last of the neoclassicists must have seen themselves, in spite of the extent to which they may have sinned against their own code:

After the contortions of the Bernini school, arose by revulsion of taste the more modern classic school, of which Thorwaldsen was the bright, particular star, and so will it be to the end. Schools will arise in which grotesqueness will be called "originality" and caricature "nature." But after all these schools have completed their little cycles, lovers of all that is beautiful and true in nature will seek their inspiration from the profounder and serener depths of classic art. 195

195 Carr, op. cit., p. 334.

Further deploiring the taste of bad times as seen in the new French academic naturalism, Miss Carr quotes from a letter of Harriet Hosmer, written in her old age, concerning the tomb of de Maupassant in Pere Lachaise:

I also asked the Baroness Adolphe if it were true that the monument to Guy de Maupassant... really had a modernly dressed young Parisian seated at the foot of the column reading one of his novels? I read the description in a paper but could scarcely believe that art had dropped so low. The Baroness says it is quite true and that when she walks there... she avoids the place, not to have her eyes offended by the sight! So much for art in the 19th century. 196
In his allegory on the Richard Greenough family, Henry James has the painter-son ask, "But what did the Master, all aloft in his senseless fluency, know of impotence, and what vision - to be called such - had he in all his blind life ever had?"\(^\text{197}\) And the answer, although it is deplored by James, was: "The thing, was - for any artist - at least to "do" something."\(^\text{198}\)

Although Richard Greenough was the watered down and weakened end of a tradition, he nevertheless left monuments behind him which mark his place and his time; a few are works of real value which do him honor. In his sometimes "senseless fluency," he may have seemed a monster to an acquaintance like Henry James, trained in the tradition of Flaubert, yet even in his most insipid and hackneyed work, he revealed certain facets of his century's experience which help preserve for us the sense of that total phenomenon. He was an artist of the third rank, as his brother was probably of the second, but they were
artists as well as curious figures in the history of taste, and as one or the other or both, they have a permanent place in the cultural history of America.
Conclusion

Although individual works and periods of the Greenoughs' sculpture have been compared at times in the preceding chapters, with those of their contemporaries, it is necessary to make a more conclusive appraisal of their importance as artists, and to summarize their achievement in the context of the nineteenth century.

As two brothers and two minds with a single orientation of their aesthetic point of view, with lives that cover exactly a hundred years of time, and as early examples of a curious species, the artist in America, they are distinctly interesting personalities. They were consistent practitioners of the "classic" in sculpture, and even though the Renaissance, baroque or "realistic" as practiced in the nineteenth century might influence them briefly, they were only incidentally deflected from their belief that through the "responsibility and sanctity of the profession . . . when we shall be rich enough . . . and spend hundreds of thousands on sculpture and sculptors, the Grecian age will revive, and we shall have another Phidias to crown the New World with Glory."199 Nor did they ever doubt that this aim would


be achieved through any other means than that "classic"
which the Greeks had used to effect a serene and balanced statement of the nature of things. In devotion to this ideal, they were singularly blessed by more than three quarters of a century in which to express their convictions, and although the second brother was much less talented than the first, they were on the whole successful in what they tried to do, within their own stated limitations.

Except for one or two works by Horatio, the brothers cannot begin to rank even with Gibson, Chantrey or Westmacott in England, and as Italians they would have been lost in a limbo somewhere below Bartolini; but as Americans, they are worthy of interest, if only because they were among the first men of this country to see themselves in the role of artist. In a new nation looking for cultural roots and an identity of its own, they served as, unfortunately not great, but undoubtedly significant preachers and prophets. They helped to mark and shape a nation with their taste at a crucial time when its artistic development was most susceptible to permanent influence.

As to his rank among his American contemporaries, a final basis upon which he must be evaluated, Greenough's idealization is seen to be an improvement over the often stark style of the Yankee stonemasons and carvers born before 1800. Compared with John Frazee (1790-1852), who
attempted to record exactly what he saw, Greenough learned early in his career that artistic truth to nature should be tempered by imagination and a refinement of its raw material. He worked in a belief that "Truth . . . was an approximation of the essential." 200 Thomas Ball (1819-1911), a contemporary of both of the Greenoughs, was like the youngest member of that family, who in spite of his brother's credo, failed to record anything except the obvious. Frazee at least had heartily admired the rugged face of Andrew Jackson, and made a work of conviction out of his blunt honesty to the facts at hand, but Ball was enfeebled by a thinness of taste which never over- or understated, and thus failed to make any statement whatsoever. Thomas Ball's work suffers from a lack of talent, and seems to be overburdened with mechanical dexterity.

William Wetmore Story (1819-1895), with whom both of the Greenoughs were often compared, was a victim of poetic subject matter in his early work, and in his later sculpture, became the leading practitioner of the "iron photograph" in its most uninspired form. A finer artist than Richard Greenough, Story's work, however, did at times sink to the place where he could please a committee which asked of him: "We want the very man . . . just as
he looked in life, and we will send you his coat and
his trousers and his boots . . . he was known by his
large feet." His "George Peabody" in Baltimore and
Edward Everett" in Boston, are works in this "manner"
which can only claim merit as historical documents of the
man represented.

Edward S. Bartholomew's (1822-1858), portrait busts
are equal to the best of the Greenoughs; they are in
proportion as lyric and understated as Horatio's busts
are alert and aggressive, and they do have a personal
style, which was a great rarity at the time. Thomas
Crawford (1813-1857), produced large quantities of work,
but he rarely comes up to the quality of the best pieces
by either Richard or Horatio. His knowledge of anatomy
was in his favor, but the technique is wasted in inane
and over-sentimental, empty statements; the unquestionable
sincerity of Horatio Greenough puts him to shame. Alas,
it was only too disastrously true, as his biographer
disarmingly pointed out, that: "(Crawford) was an inspired
patriot, and his chisel was pen and sword at once." 202

202 Samuel Osgood, Thomas Crawford and Art in America, p. 15.

Henry Dexter (1806-1876), was trained as a blacksmith, and
only a mass of modelling clay, inadvertently left behind in Boston in 1836 by Horatio Greenough, led him to his career of making portrait busts. Like Crawford and Ball, though, he was an artist without a style; he had no intellectual pretensions and spurned "Art" in favor of hard, persistent work on getting a likeness, and because of this, is never of the rank of the Greenoughs at their best.

Harriet Hosmer (1830-1908) was, on the other hand, too much devoted to Art per se, or her anecdotal conception of it, and combined with a feeling for the "charming," her work became feminine in the worst sense of the word, and thus never achieved the universal significance of that of the best neoclassicists. Thomas D. Jones (1811-1891), and Joel T. Hart (1810-1877), the Greenoughs' contemporaries, were more or less limited by their lucrative repetitions of Lincoln and Clay portraits; Clark Mills (1810-1883), John H. Browere (1792-1834), and Shobal V. Clevenger (1812-1843), were heavily indebted to life and death masks for "inspiration," and thus can hardly be thought of as artists in the same sense as the Greenoughs. Hiram Powers (1805-1873), who touched the popular fancy with his "Greek Slave," was a mechanic without talent, who felt that by hard work and "honest" duplication and approximation of what he saw, he could be a great artist;
and to his contemporaries he was successful at this, but the thin line of inspiration, the line of imagination and vision, however limited in the Greenoughs, is a barrier which keeps Powers from their rank. When he attempted the imaginative Ideal, as in "Proserpines" and "Greek Slaves," it was a misunderstood device, a veneer over shoddy stuff.

Of the Greenoughs, only Horatio can be compared with William Henry Rinehart (1825-1874), and William Rimmer (1816-1879), and of the next generation, Daniel Chester French (1850-1931), and Augustus St. Gaudens (1848-1907), but Richard is certainly equal to Powers, and Erastus Palmer (1825-1892), and Randolph Rogers (1825-1892), and like them, is remembered by virtue of his having been born and become an artist in America. He worked on after his brother's death, as if he were an extension of the older man in a sort of artistic dotage, dreaming of a Venice, "with those fogs which soften harsh outlines, and that more even temperature which soothes all audacity," as Edward Everett Hale wrote of him.²⁰³ He seems to be a

²⁰³Edward Everett Hale, Tarry at Home Travels, p. 219.
Plato and the nineteenth century heroes of Greek sculpture, he never doubted that the beautiful was in the splendor of the true, and in a country where truth saw Sam Houston in the splendor of Marius on the ruins of Carthage, Washington Allston as Titian, and Edward Everett as Demosthenes, it is appropriate that the American Alcibiades, N. P. Willis, saw Greenough as Phidias. Like that of Greenough's predecessor, "his reputation is . . . very enviable; and his passion for his art, together with his untiring industry and his fine natural powers will . . . be an honor to our country . . . and begin (its) art of sculpture nobly," Willis wrote with a good deal of foresight.204 Perhaps

Horatio Greenough received his fair and supreme recognition in being acclaimed thus the American Phidias, for Rimmer transcended the neoclassic, Rinehart was its Praxiteles, and the others were simply not worthy. By means of self-inspiring analogies, the founders of an American culture identified themselves with the supremely great achievements of art, and gained thereby an identity of their own as well as a place in the history of a great tradition.

204 Nathaniel Parker Willis, Pencillings By the Way, 1853, p. 42.
Chronology of Horatio Greenough's Work

The date cited in each case is the earliest found in the records concerning the particular piece. As much as eight or ten years sometimes elapsed before completion, especially of larger works. Many sculptures are dated, while the dates of others are only approximate, and are often based on brief mentions in the artist's letters or similar, possibly inconclusive evidence. In the case of Washington busts, it has sometimes been impossible to make certain if new works or copies are meant, thus dates for them are extremely tentative.

1817  Bacchus (no. 1)
      William Penn (no. 2)

1826  Abel (no. 4)
      Self-portrait (no. 62)
      Josiah Quincy (no. 63)

1827  Apollo Belvedere Head (no. 5)

1828  Chester Harding (no. 64)
      John Adams (no. 66)
      Henry Clay (no. 67)
      John Quincy Adams (no. 65)
      Mrs. Robert Gilmor (no. 68)
      John Marshall (no. 69)

1829  Chanting Cherubs (no. 6)

1830  Andrews Norton (no. 70)
      Petrarch's Laura (no. 7)
      Cornelia Grinnell (no. 71)

1831  John Jacob Astor (no. 72)
      Robert (?) Kinlock (no. 73)
      Two French Ladies (no. 74)
      John Thornton Kirkland (no. 75)
James Fenimore Cooper (no. 76)
Thomas Cole (no. 77)
Samuel F. B. Morse (no. 78)
Washington Bust (no. 8)
Marquis de Lafayette (no. 79)
William(?) Hole (no. 80)
The Princess Cristina di Belgioso (no. 81)
Albert Brisbane (no. 82)

1832
S. S. Miles (no. 83)
William Biddle (no. 84)
N. P. Willis (no. 85)
Medora (no. 9)
Angel and Child (no. 10)
Colossal Washington (no. 60)

1833
Achilles (no. 11)
Francis Alexander (no. 86)
Lord Byron (no. 15)

1834
Genius of Italy (no. 13)
Genius of America (no. 14)
Mr. Griffin's Son (no. 89)
David Sears' Children (no. 92)

1835
Joseph M. White (no. 87)
Mrs. Ellen Adair White Beatty (no. 88)
Arno (no. 117)
David Sears (no. 90)
Madame Para (no. 91)
Gibbs Monument (no. 29)

1836
Cupid Bound (no. 16)
Samuel Appleton (no. 93)

1837
Castor and Pollux (no. 17)
Washington in Modern Dress (no. 18)
Elizabeth Perkins Cabot (no. 94)
Elizabeth Todhunter (no. 96)
Evan Philip Thomas (no. 95)
Aristides (no. 19)
Mrs. Cabot (no. 97)
Carlo G. G. Botta (no. 98)
Heloise (no. 20)
The Rescue (no. 61)
Psyche (no. 21)
1838  
Angel Warning St. John (no. 24)  
Jonathan Mason (no. 101)  
Francesca Alexander (no. 102)  
Colonel Thompson (no. 103)  
Ideal Head (no. 25)  
Chessmen (no. 118)  
The Angel Abdiel, Head (no. 33)  

1839  
Machiavelli (no. 26)  
Emily Marshall Otis (no. 104)  
Franklin (no. 27)  
The Angel Abdiel, Figure (no. 28)  
John Warren (no. 105)  

1840  
Adorie (no. 30)  
Franklin (no. 31)  
The Marquis Gino Capponi (no. 106)  

1841  
A Gentleman (no. 108)  
Child Gazing at a Butterfly (no. 107)  
Miniature Seated Washington (no. 32)  
William Ellery Channing (no. 109)  
The Countess Revicksky (no. 110)  
Young James Freeman Curtis (no. 111)  

1842  
Judgment of Paris (no. 34)  

1843  
Satan (no. 35)  
Christ (no. 36)  
Lucifer (no. 38)  

1844  
Venus (no. 39)  
Newfoundland Dog (no. 116)  
Mother and Child (no. 40)  
David (no. 41)  

1847  
Giusti Monument (no. 42)  

1848  
A Lady (no. 112)  

1849  
Artist's Labors Suspended (no. 43)  
The Nun (no. 44)  

1850  
Apollo the Avenger (no. 45)  
Bacchante and Faun (no. 46)
Chronology of Richard Greenough's Work

1844  William Hickling Prescott (no. 151)
1845  Ruth (no. 129)
1846  A Child (no. 152)
1848  Cupid Warming an Icicle (no. 130)
1849  Psyche (no. 131)
      Cornelia Van Rensselaer (no. 153)
1853  Boy with an Eagle (no. 132)
1854  Laura Greenough Curtis (no. 154)
      Thomas B. Curtis (no. 155)
      Mary Curtis (no. 156)
1856  Franklin (no. 149)
      John Winthrop, Seated (no. 133)
1858  Equestrian Washington (no. 134)
      Pair of Horses (no. 170)
1862  John Lothrop Motley (no. 157)
      George Hayward (no. 158)
1863  Carthaginian Girl (no. 135)
1865  Shakespeare (no. 136)
      A Gentleman (no. 159)
      Cupid and Tortoise (no. 137)
      A Lady (no. 160)
1869  Mary Magdalene (no. 138)
1870  Alma Mater (no. 139)
1876  John Winthrop, Standing (no. 150)
PAGE(S) 215 LACKING IN NUMBERING ONLY.

UNIVERSITY MICROFILMS
Catalogue

The two parts of this catalogue, I Horatio Greenough, and II Richard Greenough, list all the known works of sculpture that can in any way be attributed to these men. Each section is divided for convenience into four sub-sections: "Copies, Ideal Figures and Monuments," "Government Commissions," "Portrait Busts and Statues from Life" and "Miscellaneous Pieces, including Drawings."

The works have been arranged chronologically within the section. Each subject is given a number; the various examples of each work being listed by letter under that number. Nearly every entry cites a reference to the earliest source in which mention of the work occurs, on which is based information as to date and attribution. Some dates are derived from unpublished manuscripts in various private and public collections. In some cases it will be noted that there is documentary evidence that a particular work was executed or commissioned, but the sculpture itself can no longer be located. The first name under the heading "Ex-coll." is that of the patron who ordered or first owned the specific work.
I Horatio Greenough

Copies, Ideal Figures and Monuments

1. Bacchus

   Bacchus was the god of wine, a son of Zeus and Semele, and the deity of an emotional religious cult. Mentioned in Dunlap, op. cit., p. 217, as made about 1817 when the artist was twelve years of age.

   Marble.
   Coll. Unlocated.

2. William Penn (Fig. 1)

   Tuckerman's Memorial, p. 13, and other sources refer to this small figure of before 1820.

   Chalk.
   Coll. Unlocated.

3. Three Little Heads

   Probably cherub heads, Lee, op. cit., p. 139, saw them in Amos Lawrence's house in Tremont Street, Boston, and felt they "give evidence of the future fame of the sculptor of Chanting Cherubs."

   Wood.
   Ex-coll. Amos Lawrence, Boston, Massachusetts.
   Coll. Unlocated.

4. Abel

   Tuckerman, Ibid., p. 54. "A statue of Abel, modelled in Rome in 1826, but never executed in marble." This work may have been similar in composition to Morse's single extant sculpture, "The Dying Hercules," Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford Connecticut.

   Clay.
   Coll. Unlocated.
5. Apollo Belvedere Head

A copy of the head of the famous Apollo in the Vatican Gallery, Rome. Morse: op. cit., May 15, 1828, Greenough offered to loan it to Morse for exhibit in New York.

Coll. Unlocated.

6. The Chanting Cherubs

Two cherub figures from the "Madonna of the Baldacchino" in the Pitti Palace, Florence. Nashville: September 15, 1829. Cooper writing from Sorrento to Greenough at Florence was "glad to hear the boys are getting on."

Marble.


Coll. Unlocated.

7. Petrarch's Laura

Laura was the inspiration for Petrarch's Canzoniere. Greenough, op. cit., p. 55, Letter of April 1, 1830.

Ex-coll. Edmund Law Rogers, Baltimore, Maryland.

Coll. Unlocated.

8. Washington Bust

The artist's first Washington sculpture. Nashville: October 4, 1831, James P. Roosevelt, Jr. (1795-1875) wrote Greenough from Paris: "... a friend of Mr. Morse's yesterday ... told me he had heard that the work was done ..."

Marble.


Coll. Unlocated.

9. Byron's Medora

An illustration of the dead Medora, as described in Byron's The Corsair, Canto III. Morse: op. cit., April 23, 1832, "The Medora is under full sail as
well as 4 busts."

Marble.

Ex-coll. Robert Gilmor, Baltimore, Maryland.
Coll. Unlocated.

10. The Ascension of the Infant Spirit  (Fig. 13)

The group represents a child-angel ushering a newly arrived child-spirit into heaven. Cooper, op. cit., p. 309, Letter of January 28, 1833. Described as finished and equipped with alabaster fig leaves which have since disappeared.

Marble. H. 31 1/8. Signature: HO GREENOUGH Pt 1832, on back. Gilded incised lettering on front; QUAENUNC ARIBUS IN LOCA?

Ex-coll. Mr. Cabot; Thomas B. Curtis; Laura Greenough Curtis; Laurence Curtis, all of Boston, Massachusetts. Coll. Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts.

11. Achilles

A colossal size representation of the hero of the Iliad. Emerson saw Greenough at work on this figure in Florence, May 16, 1833. Emerson, Letters, I, p. 382. Because of its size, and the fact that it was not commissioned, it was probably destroyed.

Clay.
Coll. Unlocated.

12. Washington

Although it is impossible to tell one "Washington" from another in old catalogues, the popularity of the subject would suggest that many copies were made of Washington busts.


b. Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts Catalogue, 1834, copy.

Coll. Unlocated.
13. The Genius of Italy

A female genius, probably designed as a decoration for a large monument such as that to Giusti (see no. 42). National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1834.

Marble.

Coll. Unlocated.

14. The Genius of America

A small-scale study, Tuckerman, Memorial, p. 54, described it as a statuette. National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1834.


Coll. Unlocated.

15. Lord Byron Bust

Tuckerman, Memorial, p. 22, mentioned seeing "the noble pilgrim-bard" in Greenough's studio in 1833.

Marble.

Coll. Unlocated.

16. Cupid Bound (Fig. 28)

The presence of Athena's owl at the chaining of this "erote," would seem to symbolize the wisdom of the action. A letter in the Charles Greely Loring papers, Harvard University; Greenough to Loring, undated, but probably 1838, mentions the work as finished. The wings and legs of the figure have been broken and repaired.


Ex-coll. Mrs. Horatio Greenough, Boston, Massachusetts.


17. Castor and Pollux Bas-relief (Fig. 32)

Castor and Pollux took part in the Argonautic expedition, carried off the daughters of Leucippus,
and are often associated with horses and stars. Greenough, Letters, p. 229, mentions "a very able French draughtsman has requested to lithograph the Castor and Pollux . . .," 1851. Stylistically the work resembles his other bas-reliefs of the late eighteen thirties and early 'forties.


18. Washington in Modern Dress

In Greenough, op. cit., p. 114, June 16, 1837, he wrote: "Mr. Halsey has commissioned a statue . . . of Washington in modern dress . . . two feet high." It is possible that this order was cancelled.

Marble. H. (approximately) 2 feet.


19. Aristides the Just

A statuette of the fourth century Athenian statesman, based on the Hellenistic statue in the Naples Museum, and designed as a companion piece to no. 18. Greenough, op. cit., p. 114, June 16, 1837.


20. Heloise, Ideal Bust

An illustration based on Pope's Eloisa to Abélard, 1717, "he imaged the most vague yet effective of Pope's female portraits - Heloise.

'Dear, fatal name! rest ever unrevealed,
Nor pass these lips in holy silence sealed;
Hide it, my heart, within that close disguise
Where, joined with God's, his loved idea lies.'"
Tuckerman, Memorial, p. 57; Greenough, op. cit., p. 114, June 16, 1837.

a. Marble.
Ex-coll. Baltimore Maryland
Coll. Unlocated.

b. Marble.
Ex-coll. Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Coll. Unlocated.

21. Psyche Bust

Because most of his contemporaries anthropomorphized the soul as a beautiful young woman, one is probably safe in assuming that this was a work of the same type. Greenough, op. cit., p. 114, "Mr. F. C. Gray of Boston, has given me an order for a head of Psyche . . . " June 16, 1837.

Marble.
Ex-coll. Francis C. Gray, Boston, Massachusetts.
Coll. Unlocated.

22. Augustus as a Boy

This bust of the emperor as a child was copied from the Vatican head. Greenough, loc. cit., June 16, 1837.

a. Marble.
Ex-coll. Francis C. Gray, Boston, Massachusetts.
Coll. Unlocated.

b. Marble.

23. Venus Victrix (Fig. 27)

Venus is represented as holding the golden apple given to her by Paris. Greenough, op. cit., p. 121,
January 17, 1838.

Marble. H. 57. Unsigned.

Ex-coll. John Lowell, Boston, Massachusetts.
Coll. Boston Athenaeum, Boston, Massachusetts.

24. The Angel Warning St. John (Fig. 33)

A bas-relief illustration of Revelations 1:17, "And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as dead. And he laid his right hand upon me, saying unto me, Fear not; I am the first and the last." Letters from Greenough to E. E. Salisbury, January 1838 to April 1839, Yale University Art Gallery Files.


Coll. Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven, Connecticut.

25. Ideal Head

Greenough, op. cit., p. 14, March 28, 1838, "I have made an ideal head in American clay. At four paces' distance you would pronounce it a highly wrought marble, such is the degree of finish of which it is susceptible."

Clay.

Coll. Unlocated.

26. Machiavelli


Marble.

Coll. Unlocated.

27. Franklin Bust

A bust of colossal size based on the head by
28. The Angel Abdiel

Described as "the Angel Abdiel walking through the rebel host of Angels; from Milton's Paradise Lost," Greenough, op. cit., p. 121, March 18, 1838.


29. Gibbs Monument (Fig. 34)

A monument to the memory of George and Mary (Channing) Gibbs, designed in the form of a Greek grave stele. The bas-relief plaque shows the parting of the family by the angel of death. Nashville: December 23, 1835; a letter of W. H. Channing to Greenough discussing the design for the project.

Marble. H. 9 - 4 (at tallest point) W. 4 - 8. Unsigned.


30. Adorie

"Adorie" was probably an ideal female bust. Seen by Charles Sumner who wrote Greenough about it. Luhrs Collection, Shippensburg, Pennsylvania; letter of February 28, 1841.

Coll. Unlocated.

31. Franklin Bust (Fig. 41)

This life-size head is reminiscent of that by Ceracchi, probably copied by Greenough; see fig. 39.

Ex-coll. Horatio S. Greenough, Boston, Massachusetts. 
Coll. State House, Boston, Massachusetts.

32. Seated Washington

This was a miniature copy of the "Washington" for the Capitol, done for the child of the Prime Minister of Tuscany, Gino Capponi. Greenough, op. cit., p. 134, May 15, 1841.

Marble.

Ex-coll. Marquis Gino Capponi, Florence, Italy. 
Coll. Unlocated.

33. The Angel Abdiel Bust (Fig. 44)

An idealized head of the loyal seraph who resisted Satan's proposal to revolt. "Among the faithless, faithful only he," according to Milton. Compare with no. 28. Greenough, op. cit., p. 122, February 28, 1838. The work was probably not finished until 1843.


Ex-coll. Mrs. Elizabeth H. Bartol, Boston, Massachusetts. 
Coll. Chicago Art Institute, Chicago, Illinois.

b. Marble.

Coll. Unlocated.

34. The Judgment of Paris

This bas-relief probably showed Paris seated, holding the apple, as the goddesses approach. Mentioned as a gift received, in the Boston Athenaeum Letter Book of 1842, it is doubtful if the work was ever in the Athenaeum collection, as there is no record of its having been exhibited.

Ex-coll. John Lowell, Boston, Massachusetts. 
Coll. Unlocated.
35. Satan Bust

Busts of Lucifer and Satan seem to have been designed as companion pieces to Christ or Abdiel. Greenough, op. cit., p. 152, July 8, 1843.


Coll. Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

36. Christ Bust


Coll. Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

37. Christ Bust (Fig. 45)

Tuckerman in his Memorial, p. 57, calls this "Our Saviour Crucified." p. 33. "The bust is fixed upon a coiled serpent whose head is bowed in front; and the whole conception is eloquent with the highest moral significance."


Ex-coll. Horatio S. Greenough, Boston, Massachusetts; Augustus Loring, Boston, Massachusetts.

Coll. Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts.

38. Lucifer Bust

"Lucifer" was the companion to the "Christ," no. 37.


Ex-coll. Horatio S. Greenough, Boston, Massachusetts; Augustus P. Loring, Boston, Massachusetts.

Coll. Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts.

39. Venus Contending for the Golden Apple

In Greenough, op. cit., p. 224, October 4, 1850, he wrote to his brother Henry: "Gibson said the other day of my Venus Vincitura, 'I don't know when I have seen such a statue as this, whether for grace, form or style.'" In progress, February 28, 1844, Greenough, op. cit., p. 170.
40. Mother and Child

This group was probably a study for "The Rescue," no. 61. Mentioned by Tuckerman, Memorial, pp. 56, 57, as about the same date (1844) as no. 39.

Plaster. Life-size or larger.

Coll. Unlocated.

41. David

References in Greenough, op. cit., pp. 171, 201, suggest that this was the work of nearly three years, from 1844 to late 1846. It was an experiment in modelling in plaster. See nos. 39 and 40.

Plaster. Life-size or larger.

Coll. Unlocated.

42. Giusti Monument

Erected to the memory of the Italian poet, Giuseppe Giusti (1809-1850) in the town of his birth, Pescia Tuscany, it shows a seated female figure of Genius, surrounded on four sides of the base by figures representing Italy, the Priest, the Soldier and Poetry. Greenough, op. cit., p. 206, June 23, 1847, describes the work in progress on the central figure. Greenough may have been working on this monument as early as 1834. See no. 13.

Marble. Figures of life-size.

Coll. Pescia, Tuscany.

43. An Artist's Labors Suspended by Failure of Light

This bas-relief showed an artist "seated in an attitude of pensive dejection, while a hand from a cloud supplies oil to the lamp." Ticknor, op. cit., II (1909) pp. 48, 241, October 1849.

Marble.

44. The Nun

Probably a veiled and idealized head based on Canova. The nun had great popularity as a subject with most neoclassic sculptors. Listed in Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts Catalogue, 1849. See Fig. 53. Marble. Coll. Unlocated.

45. Apollo the Avenger

This was possibly a bas-relief representing Apollo killing Python, a dragon which guarded Delphi. Greenough, op. cit., p. 223, October 4, 1850. Coll. Unlocated.

46. Bacchante and Young Faun


47. Dwight Monument

In Greenough, op. cit., pp. 235, 236, September 3, 1851, he wrote: "I inclose a rough draft of the form of Mr. Dwight's monument." It is unlikely that this late project ever went beyond the planning stage. Coll. Unlocated.

48. Washington Equestrian Statue

In Greenough, op. cit., p. 239, April 12, 1852, he seems to be deeply concerned with this commission with H. K. Browne. This bronze horse and rider were planned for Union Square, New York, New York.
Works of Undetermined Date

49. Washington Bust

A head based on the Ceracchi bust, it may have been cast after Greenough's death.

Bronze. Unsigned.


50. Washington Bust

A reduced copy of Houdon's bust of Washington.


Ex-coll. Mrs. Horatio Greenough, Boston, Massachusetts.

51. Washington Bust


Coll. Unlocated.

52. Napoleon Bust

Mrs. Horatio Greenough in the Boston Athenæum Letter Book, July 21, 1890, wrote E. N. Perkins of the Fine Arts Committee: "It was modelled in Florence from a mask of Napoleon taken after his death, and was tho't to be a fine likeness by the Bonaparte family then living in Florence."


Ex-coll. Mrs. Horatio Greenough; Horatio S. Greenough; Boston Athenæum; all of Boston, Massachusetts.

53. Napoleon Bust
"An excellent fac-simile he wrought of a bust of Napoleon" while an undergraduate at Harvard, we are told in Tuckerman, Memorial, pp. 17, 18. This may have been a copy of Canova's famous laurel-crowned head. A drawing from this bust is the reverse of no. 127.

Coll. Unlocated.

54. Young Napoleon Bust

There is a possibility that this work may be the same as no. 53, although it would seem unlikely that Greenough would have taken a youthful work done in the states back to Florence with him. This sculpture, like no. 55, is still in the possession of Greenough's descendants.


Coll. Mrs. Elisa(?) Horton, Florence, Italy.

55. Homer Bust

A head of an old man with vine leaves in his hair; Homer, or an aged Bacchus, perhaps.


Coll. Mrs. Elisa(?) Horton, Florence, Italy.

56. Franklin Bust (Fig. 39)

A Ceracchi-type bust, it is possibly a copy by Greenough. Letters in the Trustees' Office, Boston Public Library, indicate that this is a nineteenth century attribution, but an original "Franklin" by Ceracchi in the Corcoran Gallery, Washington, D.C., is almost indistinguishable from it.

Marble. 20 1/2. Unsigned.

Ex-coll. Frank Wood, Boston, Massachusetts.

Coll. Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts.

57. Alexander Hamilton Bust (Fig. 40)

A bust based on Ceracchi's portrait of the first secretary of the treasury.
58. The Graces

The daughters of Zeus, goddesses of beauty and grace, who distributed joy and gentleness, were the subject of this statuette, possibly based on Canova's famous group. *Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, p. 232.

Coll. Unlocated.

59. The Genius of Love

An idealized female bust of the type of "Adorie" (no. 30) it was made for a neighbor who also owned a copy in plaster of a Roman coin which Greenough made as a child. Tuckerman, *Memorial*, p. 57.

Coll. Unlocated.

**Government Commissions**

60. Seated Washington  (Figs. 29, 30, 31)

Based on Phidias' figure of the Olympian Zeus, as reconstructed by Quatremère de Quincy, the seated "Washington" was Greenough's most ambitious and successful work. The presidential chair is decorated with bas-reliefs of "Hercules Struggling with the Serpents," "Apollo Driving the Chariot of the Sun," and small figures in the round on the back, of "Columbus" and an "Indian." Although begun as early as 1830, Greenough, *op. cit.*, p. 108, June 16, 1835, wrote: "My statue is done to all intents and purposes, except the finishing." National Collection of Fine Arts file no. 51996.

Marble. H. 11 - 4, W. 5 - 3 1/2, L. 8 - 7 1/4.
Inscribed on back:
(And not without great difficulty did Horatio Greenough make this a likeness to the great example of freedom.) Cut in 1941 on front of pedestal: WASHINGTON BY H. GREENOUGH. 1840.


61. The Rescue (Figs. 48, 49)

This group of colossal size "is intended to commemorate the danger of our first contact with the Aborigines," as Greenough put it. Salisbury, op. cit., p. 332. Begun in 1837, finished in 1851 and put in place on the Capitol steps in 1853, it shows an Indian about to tomahawk a mother and child, who are in turn defended by a pioneer father. A dog balances the mother and child figures in the composition.

Marble. H. 9 - 1 (main figure) Unsigned.

Portrait Busts and Statues from Life

62. Self-portrait Bust

In a letter, Morse: op. cit., May 15, 1828, Greenough refers to a self-portrait bust modelled at Rome in 1826.
Coll. Unlocated.
63. Josiah Quincy  (Fig. 2)


Ex-coll. Josiah Quincy; Edmund Quincy; Edmund Quincy II; all of Charles River Square, Boston, Massachusetts. Coll. Edmund Quincy III, Charles River Square, Boston, Massachusetts.

b. Marble. H. 31. (?)

64. Chester Harding

Harding (1792-1866) was one of the best of the American portrait painters of the generation after the death of Gilbert Stuart. "He is to paint my portrait, and I model his bust." Greenough, op. cit., p. 37, Baltimore, March 26, 1828.

Coll. Unlocated.

65. John Quincy Adams


a. Marble. H. 23. Signature: \( \Gamma P H N \Omega \). (Fig. 4)
Coll. Boston Athenaeum, Boston, Massachusetts.

b. Marble. H. 21 1/2. Unsigned.  (Fig. 3)

66. John Adams

The bust of the first president Adams (1735-1826) was a posthumous portrait commissioned by his son. Greenough, op. cit., p. 31, February 28, 1828.

Coll. Granite Church, Quincy, Massachusetts.

Ex-coll. Mrs. Horatio Greenough, Boston, Massachusetts.

67. Henry Clay

This bust was made about the time of the "John Quincy Adams." Letter file: P. P. Caproni and Brother, Boston, Massachusetts.

Coll. Unlocated.

Coll. P. P. Caproni and Brother, Boston, Massachusetts.

68. Mrs. Robert Gilmor

Mrs. Gilmor (1774-1848) was the wife of a wealthy Baltimore merchant and collector. Greenough, op. cit., p. 36, March 26, 1828, records that the modelling was then half finished.

Ex-coll. Robert Gilmor, Baltimore, Maryland; Miss Isabel Ladson, Charleston, South Carolina.
Coll. Mrs. Grover Cleveland Edwards, Inman, South Carolina.

69. John Marshall
Chief Justice Marshall's bust was modelled February 28, 1828 in Washington, D.C. Greenough, op. cit., p. 31.

Marble.

Coll. Unlocated.

70. Andrews Norton (Fig. 43)


Coll. Mrs. William Norton Bullard, Lenox, Massachusetts.

71. Cornelia Grinnell

A standing figure-portrait of a child at the age of five, who was later to become the wife of N. P. Willis. (see no. 85) Modelled in the spring of 1830.

Marble. H. 3 1/4. (including base)


72. John Jacob Astor (Fig. 12)

John Jacob Astor (1763-1848) was a merchant, furtrader, real-estate owner and financier who founded the Astor family and fortune in America. Greenough's bust was made about 1831 when Astor was travelling in Europe. Tuckerman, Memorial, p. 57.


73. Kinlock Bust

Greenough, op. cit., p. 87, October 11, 1831, "I last night received from my old friend Kinlock of Carolina an order for a bust." This may be Robert Kinlock of Charleston, an amateur painter who worked in Florence in the 'thirties.

Coll. Unlocated.

74. Two French Ladies' Busts

Greenough, op. cit., p. 88, October 11, 1831, "Two French ladies desire their busts in plaster merely."

Coll. Unlocated.

75. John Thornton Kirkland (Fig. 6)

John Thornton Kirkland (1770-1840) was a theologian, Biblical scholar and president of Harvard College. Greenough, op. cit., p. 47, February 6, 1830. "I am to make a bust of him (Dr. Kirkland) and have had several sittings already."


Coll. Boston Athenaeum, Boston, Massachusetts.

b. Plaster. H. 28(?).

Ex-coll. John Gibson

76. James Fenimore Cooper

James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851) novelist and man of letters, posed for this bust in October, 1831, Nashville: December 24, 1831. An earlier bust of Cooper, modelled and carved in marble in 1829, was unsuccessful and possibly destroyed.


Ex-coll. Charles Henry Parker; Ellen Greenough Parker,
Thomas Cole (1801-1848) American landscape painter, was a friend of Greenough's, and lived with him in Florence in 1831. Greenough, op. cit., p. 74, September 26, 1831.


The bust of Morse (1791-1872) then a struggling painter living in Florence and Paris, was modelled at the same time as that of Thomas Cole. Greenough, loc. cit.

a. Painted Plaster. H. 21 1/2. Unsigned. (Fig. 8)

b. Marble. H. 23. Inscribed on back: 1831. (Fig. 7)
Ex-coll. Samuel F. B. Morse; Edward L. Morse, both of Pittsfield, Massachusetts.

c. Marble.
Coll. Unlocated.

Lafayette

The bust of the Marquis de Lafayette (1757-1834) friend and soldier of the American Revolution, was
one of Greenough's most successful works. Brumbaugh: August 14, 1831.

a. Marble. H. 27. Signature on back: H G. (Fig. 10)

Ex-coll. Horatio S. Greenough, Boston, Massachusetts.
Coll. State House, Boston, Massachusetts.

Ex-coll. Mrs. Horatio Greenough, Boston, Massachusetts.

d. Marble.
Coll. Unlocated

80. Mr. Hole

A bust of an unidentified gentleman, possibly William Hole of California, Cooper, op. cit., p. 277. August, 1832. "The busts of Morse and Hole have arrived."

Marble.
Coll. Unlocated.

81. The Princess Belgioso

The Princess Belgioso, née Cristina di Trivulzio (1808-1871) was an Italian author and patriot, exiled and living in Paris. Greenough, op. cit., p. 86, October 31, 1831. "The fortune of the Princess Belgioso has been confiscated, so that I make merely a model of her head."

Plaster.
Coll. Unlocated
82. Albert Brisbane

Albert Brisbane (1809-1890) American social reformer, was the chief exponent in the United States of Fourierism. Redelia Brisbane, Albert Brisbane, A Mental Biography with a Character Study, pp. 146-149. Greenough met Brisband in Rome in 1830, and modelled the bust in October 1831.

Marble.


83. Mr. Miles

Morse: June 3, 1832; Greenough wrote: "I have just finished the model of a bust of Mr. Miles." Other references in the Morse correspondence to Mr. Miles and "the panic", suggest that this was S. S. Miles, the Boston banker.

Coll. Unlocated.

84. William Biddle

William Biddle was a less distinguished brother of Commodore James Biddle, who negotiated the first treaty between China and the United States. Morse: April 23, 1832. Designed as a companion to "Lafayette," no. 794.

Marble.


85. Nathaniel Parker Willis (Fig. 5)


86. Francis Alexander

Francis Alexander (1800-1881) was a dilettante poet and painter and expatriate American living in Florence. Tuckerman, Memorial, pp. 21, 22, saw this bust in Greenough's studio in 1833.

Marble.

Ex-coll. Francis Alexander, Florence, Italy; Francesca Alexander, Florence, Italy.
Coll. Unlocated.

87. Joseph M. White (Fig. 18)

Congressman White (1781-1839) was a representative from Florida, 1825-1837. He travelled in Italy in 1835 when Greenough may have made this bust.


88. Mrs. Ellen Adair White Beautty (Fig. 19)

Mrs. White (1801-1884) was the first wife of Congressman Joseph M. White, whose bust no. 87, Greenough also made, probably in 1835.


Ex-coll. Mrs. Ellen Adair White Beautty; Mrs. Peyton Skipworth; Mary Skipworth Buie, all of New Orleans, Louisiana.

89. Mr. Griffin's Son

Probably the bust of a child, this was a posthumous work, modelled from a print and a mask. Greenough, op. cit., p. 101, January 18, 1835.

a. Marble.

Ex-coll. Mr. Griffin, New York, New York.
Coll. Unlocated.

b. Marble.
90. David Sears (Fig. 25)

The bust of this Boston merchant was made, presumably, about 1835 when the portraits of his children were being modelled. Greenough, op. cit., p. 106, February 17, 1835.


Ex-coll. David Sears, Boston, Massachusetts.
Coll. Somerset Club, Boston, Massachusetts.

91. Madame Para

Greenough, op. cit., p. 109, June 16, 1835, "... have just made another bust of Madame Para, with which all the world seems satisfied."

Coll. Unlocated.

92. David Sears' Children (Fig. 26)

In February 1835, Greenough, op. cit., p. 106, wrote: "I have nearly completed a group for Mr. Sears..." By 1838 it had been put into marble, and these portraits of two children playing with a squirrel on a string, were in place in the Sears House, now occupied by the Somerset Club, Boston.


Ex-coll. David Sears, Boston, Massachusetts.
Coll. Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston, Massachusetts.

93. Samuel Appleton (Fig. 24)


Marble. H. 27 1/2. Unsigned.

Ex-coll. Samuel Appleton, New Ipswich, New Hampshire; Edward Bangs, Boston, Massachusetts.
Coll. Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
94. Elizabeth Perkins Cabot

This is a bust of Miss Cabot, later Mrs. Henry Lee, at the age of about seventeen. As she was born in 1821, the work must have been made in 1836 or 1837.


95. Evan Philip Thomas (Fig. 21)

Thomas (1776-1861), was the first president of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad. Greenough, op. cit., p. 114, June 16, 1837. He and his wife, (no. 96) posed for Greenough while on their wedding trip to Europe, 1835-1836.

Marble. H. 27 1/2. Unsigned.

Ex-coll. Evan Philip Thomas, Baltimore, Maryland; Mrs. H. Irvine Keyser, Baltimore, Maryland.

96. Elizabeth Todhunter Thomas (Fig. 20)


Ex-coll. Evan Philip Thomas, Baltimore Maryland; Mrs. H. Irvine Keyser, Baltimore, Maryland.

97. Mrs. Cabot

Greenough, op. cit., p. 118, December 19, 1837, "The Cabots have gone to Rome. I made a bust of Madame."

Coll. Unlocated.

98. Carlo Giuseppe Guglielmo Botta

Botta (1766-1837), was a historian of Italy, and a leading figure in radical republican circles in which Greenough also was interested. Greenough, op. cit., p. 114, June 16, 1837.

a. Marble.

b. Marble.

Ex-coll. The Marquis Gino Capponi, Florence, Italy.  
Coll. Unlocated.

99. Colonel Thompson's Sons

This was a pair of portrait statues, designed to be placed at opposite corners of a room. The boys were shown playing badminton. One was serving and the other receiving.  Greenough, op. cit., p. 111, March 19, 1836. The sculptor finished the first figure of the boy "ready to let drive," late in 1835. The other figure was done by August 1837.

a. Marble.

Coll. Unlocated.

b. Marble.

Coll. Unlocated.

100. Miss Mary Appleton

The first copy of this bust did not please the Appleton family, and it was, perhaps, destroyed.  Greenough, op. cit., p. 128, January 2, 1839.

a. Marble.

Ex-coll. Nathan Appleton, New Ipswich, New Hampshire;  
Mrs. Samuel Appleton, Boston, Massachusetts.  
Coll. Unlocated. (Destroyed?)

b. Marble.

Ex-coll. Nathan Appleton, New Ipswich, New Hampshire;  
Mrs. Samuel Appleton, Boston, Massachusetts.  
Coll. Unlocated.

101. Jonathan Mason

A bust of Jonathan Mason III. This family at one time owned most of the Beacon Hill area in Boston, and developed it as a fashionable residential area.  Greenough, op. cit., p. 122, March 28, 1838. "Tell Jonathan Mason that his bust is coming on rapidly and without a strain."

102. Francesca Alexander

A portrait bust of Francesca Alexander (1830-1917) as a young child. Greenough, op. cit., p. 121, March 18, 1838. "Had it been an old man's head, I should be sanguine; but these little milk sponges are so subtle in their forms, so difficult to copy under the most favorable circumstances. . ."

Ex-coll. Francis Alexander; Francesca Alexander, both of Florence, Italy.
Coll. Unlocated.

103. Colonel J. Thompson

Greenough, op. cit., p. 119, January 17, 1838. "I am now making a bust of Colonel Thompson."

Marble.

104. Emily Marshall Otis (Fig. 38)

Mrs. Otis (1807-1836), was a famous beauty of the period. Greenough, op. cit., pp. 115, 116, September 25, 1839. Greenough was dissatisfied with the bust and did not send it to the United States until 1844.


105. John Warren

Dr. John Warren (1753-1815), Boston surgeon and teacher at the Harvard Medical School, was the brother of Joseph Warren, hero of Bunker Hill. Greenough, op. cit., p. 130, September 25, 1839.

Gino Capponi (1792-1876), was Tuscan prime minister (1848) a senator, historian and scholar. Brumbaugh: August 18, 1840. This bust was probably modelled late in 1839.


This was a full-figure portrait of the child of the Austrian minister in Florence, Count Revicksky, a "Hungarian nobleman." It showed a little girl of three, seated on a bank of flowers, looking at a butterfly which has just settled on her raised forearm. Tuckerman, Memorial, p. 32, 1841 says, "The intentness with which she regards the symbol of the immortal soul, happily indicates the awakening of an infant understanding. So entirely absorbed is she... that a lizard creeps fearfully from his hole in the bank of flowers."

Marble. On a base of dark oriental marble, with raised gold letters telling the name and age of the child.


Channing (1780-1842) theologian and author, was considered the "apostle" of Unitarianism. Greenough, op. cit., p. 134, May 15, 1841.

Marble. Inscribed on base: "His word was with power."


The Countess Revicksky

Marble.

111. James Freeman Curtis

A bust of one of Greenough's nephews, it shows Curtis (1839-1888) at the age of two, according to family tradition, thus dating the work at about 1841.

Marble. H. 15 1/2 (including pedestal) Unsigned.
Ex-coll. Mrs. Thomas B. Curtis; James Freeman Curtis; Mrs. James Freeman Curtis; all of Boston, Massachusetts. Coll. Miss Mary Curtis, Hamilton, Massachusetts.

112. A Lady

National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, I, 1848, p. 197.

113. James Fenimore Cooper

Anon., "Greenough the Sculptor," Putnam's Monthly Magazine, I, 1853, p. 320, "His last bust was one of his friend J. Fenimore Cooper. This he executed last summer in Brooklyn."

Bronze. (?) Coll. Unlocated.

Works of Undetermined Date

114. H. Henderson's Child

The bust of an unidentified child was exhibited at the Pennsylvania Academy in 1866 and 1868.
115. John Collins Warren

Dr. Warren (1778-1856), was the first person to use ether in a surgical operation, 1846.


Coll. Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

b. Plaster.

Coll. Unlocated.

Miscellaneous Pieces, Portraits of Greenough, and Drawings

Although at least fifty drawings by Greenough can be located today, and there are numerous literary references to drawings, only those works definitely connected with the sculpture, or mentioned in this dissertation, have been listed here.

116. Newfoundland Dog (Fig. 50)

A grave monument for the members of the family of Colonel Thomas H. Perkins, it represents a reclining but watchful dog. Greenough worked on this piece from 1830 until 1844. Greenough, op. cit., pp. 66, 169.

Marble. H. 30 2/3 (at head of dog) including base. Unsigned.
Coll. Mount Auburn Cemetery, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

117. Arno

Arno was Greenough's pet greyhound dog which he bought in 1834. "His marble effigy, in an attitude peculiar to him," was first mentioned in an article by Edward Everett, "American Sculptors in Italy,"

Marble. Life-size.

Edward Everett, Boston, Massachusetts.
Coll. Unlocated.

118. Chessmen

Greenough, op. cit., p. 126, April 27, 1838, "I am making a splendid set of chessmen of bronze and brass gilt."

Coll. Unlocated.

119. Ink well

A tradition in the Norton-Bullard family attributes the design of this silver ink well to Greenough. It was supposedly a wedding present to Andrews Norton from the artist. Norton was married in 1821, however, when Greenough's technique would probably not have been capable of such a complicated design.


Coll. Mrs. William Norton Bullard, Lenox, Massachusetts.

120. Horatio Greenough by Chester Harding

Greenough, op. cit., p. 37, March 26, 1828, "He (Harding) is to paint my portrait, and I model his bust." Chester Harding (1792-1866) see no. 64.

Coll. Unlocated.

121. Horatio Greenough by Thomas Cole  (Fig. 71)

This was a drawing of Greenough by Thomas Cole (1801-1848) see no. 77. In Cole's hand at the bottom of this drawing from his sketch book of 1829-1830: "Horatio Greenough."
Pencil. H. 8 X W. 5.
Coll. Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan.

122. Horatio Greenough by Rembrandt Peale

Greenough, op. cit., p. 72, September 7, 1831 mentions "Peale's portrait of Horatio." This is almost certainly a portrait by Rembrandt Peale (1778-1860) one of the last pupils of Benjamin West, and a prolific portrait painter for more than half a century.


123. Horatio Greenough by Hiram Powers (Fig. 37)

Greenough, op. cit., p. 126, April 27, 1838, was posing for his bust by Hiram Powers (1807-1873).

Ex-coll. Horatio Greenough, Newport, Rhode Island; Charlotte Greenough; Charles Greely Loring; Charlotte Greenough, all of Boston, Massachusetts. Coll. Boston Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Massachusetts.

124. Horatio Greenough by John G. Chapman (Fig. 72)

The Boston Athenaeum Letter Book, July 6, 1832, records John Gadsby Chapman's (1808-1889) gift of his portrait of Greenough as a young man. "I made it in his own studio in Florence and did not think I were doing justice to a friend whose talents and worth in every respect are daily shedding glory around the genius of his nature, in a foreign land."


125. Horatio Greenough by William James Hubard (Fig. 73)

William James Hubard (1807-1862) painted this portrait of Greenough about 1838 or 1839, when the sculptor was at the height of his fame. Greenough
is shown in his studio with what may be a "Juno" on his right, and "The Nun," very close to Canova's version of that subject, on the modelling stand at his left. Documents in Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia.

Oil. H. 36 X W. 29.

Ex-coll. Mann S. Valentine, Richmond, Virginia.
Coll. Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia.

126. Studies for the Seated Washington (Figs. 15, 16, 17)

These studies comprise three drawings in ink and pencil: I, H. 9 X W. 6., II, H. 6 X W. 8, III, H. 5 1/4 X 8 1/2. See no. 60.

Coll. John Davis Hatch, Jr., Norfolk, Virginia.

127. Sculptured Head (Fig. 42)

This drawing in ink and pencil may have been copied from a work of Ceracchi. The reverse is an outline drawing of Canova's bust of Napoleon. H. 10 5/8 X W. 8 1/8.


128. Christ at the Column (Figs. 46, 23)

This double sheet from a sketchbook, also contains a drawing of the Vatican "Augustus as a Boy." Pencil. H. 12 X W. 18. Inscribed on rear: "H. Greenough after Canova," a tiny "G" on column.


II Richard Greenough

Copies, Ideal Figures and Monuments

129. Ruth

This pensive female head, turned slightly left, shows the heroine of the Biblical "Book of Ruth."
254


Coll. Howard Street Antiques, Baltimore, Maryland.

130. Cupid Warming an Icicle

Shurtleff, op. cit., p. 379, mentions this work. It was done about 1848.

Coll. Unlocated.

131. Psyche

A copy of this kneeling figure representing the soul, finished in 1849 or earlier, was placed by the artist over the grave of his wife, Sarah Dana Loring (d. 1855) in the Protestant Cemetery, Rome.

a. Marble.
Coll. Protestant Cemetery, Rome, Italy.

b. Plaster.
Coll. Unlocated.

132. Boy with an Eagle

This work represents a nude boy caught robbing the nest of an eagle which is about to attack him. The idea and composition are derived from Thorwaldsen's "Ganymede." Although modelled in Rome in 1853, the work was cast in 1856 in Chicopee, Massachusetts.


Coll. Boston Athenaeum, Boston, Massachusetts.

133. John Winthrop (Figs. 5H, 55)

This is a seated figure of the governor of Massachusetts Bay. Winthrop (1588-1649) is shown seated, and in a contemplative attitude, the Massachusetts charter lying across his left leg.

Marble. H. 76, including base; Inscribed on front: JOHN WINTHROP. On rear: PARIS 1856. Unsigned.
Coll. Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

134. Equestrian Washington

This equestrian work shows Washington sheathing his sword, a symbol of his giving up command of the army to return to civilian life.

Coll. Blerancourt Museum, Chateau de Compiegne, Oise, France.

b. Bronze. H. 33 1/2. Signature: RICHARD S. GREENOUGH FECIT, PARIS 1858. (Fig. 68)
Ex-coll. Mrs. William Payne Thompson, Newport, Rhode Island.
Coll. United States Military Academy, West Point, New York.

135. Carthaginian Girl (Fig. 61)

This figure illustrates an incident of the Punic Wars when the women of Carthage cut their long hair to make bow strings for the defenders of the city.

Ex-coll. Elizabeth Joy, Boston, Massachusetts;
Boston Athenaeum, Boston, Massachusetts.

136. Shakespeare

Tuckerman, Book of the Artists, (1867) p. 593, records Greenough's bust of Shakespeare, a composite of the "authentic" portraits.

Marble.
Coll. Unlocated.
137. **Cupid and the Tortoise**  (Fig. 62)

This allegory shows cupid bound and set on the back of a tortoise. The work was exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, in 1865.


Ex-coll. Anne Blade Richardson, Charles River, Massachusetts.
Coll. Francis B. Richardson, Charles River, Massachusetts.

138. **Mary Magdalene**  (Fig. 63)

This is a life-size representation of the penitent Magdalene.


Ex-coll. Redwood Library, Newport, Rhode Island (permanent loan); Miss Alice Blight, Newport, Rhode Island.

139. **Alma Mater**  (Fig. 64)

This figure of a classically draped, seated woman, personifies Alma Mater, about to crown with laurel, the Boston Latin School heroes of the Civil War. Jenks, Catalogue of the Boston Latin School. . . pp. 127-137, describes the dedication of the work in 1870.

Marble. H. 68. Unsigned.
Coll. Boston Latin School, Boston, Massachusetts.

140. **Circe**  (Fig. 67)

The sorceress of the Odyssey is shown offering an enchanted cup to her next victim, one of whom, in the form of a leopard, is beneath her chair.


Ex-coll. Miss Alice Blight, Newport, Rhode Island.

Works of Undetermined Date

141. Nemesis

Moulton, op. cit., p. 119, refers to this work which she saw in the sculptor's studio in Paris sometime before 1898. It was a personification of the idea of retribution or righteous indignation.

Marble.

Coll. Unlocated.

142. Death

National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, XXIII, p. 253, mentions this bust which may have been another name for "Nemesis," no. 141.

Marble.

Coll. Unlocated.

143. Portia

Moulton, op. cit., p. 117, mentions an ideal bust of the heroine of Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice.

Coll. Unlocated.

144. Touro Monument

A monument to Judah Touro (1783-1854) New Orleans philanthropist, was planned by Greenough, possibly soon after 1854, but never executed. Leon Huhner, The Life of Judah Touro, p. 118, tells that the plan outlined by the sculptor was to include "a group of heroic figures representing charity, placed on a pedestal, to be wrought in bronze."

145. Lafayette (Fig. 56)
This bust, based on Horatio Greenough's Lafayette, no. 79, and attributed to him at the New York Historical Society, is probably the work of Richard. The softened modelling of the head, and the modern dress suggest that it was done after 1850.

Marble. H. 27 1/2. Unsigned.


146. Lincoln

None of the extensive iconographies of Abraham Lincoln note the existence of this work mentioned in National Cyclopaedia of American Biography, XXIII, pp. 252, 253.

Coll. Unlocated.

147. Beatrice

In the Vita Nuova of Dante, Beatrice was "the glorious lady of his mind." This was probably an idealized head. Ibid., p. 252.

Coll. Unlocated.

148. Elaine

This head was probably an idealization of the heroine of the seventh of Tennyson's Idylls of the King, "Launcelot and Elaine." An obituary of the artist in American Art Annual, 1905-1906. V, p. 121, lists it with a number of the late works of the artist, who seems to have been attracted to sculpturing literary heroines in his last active years.

Marble.

Coll. Unlocated.

Government Commissions

149. Franklin (Fig. 53)
Benjamin Franklin is shown in a thoughtful pose as American minister at the signing of the treaty of alliance with France in 1778. Commissioned in 1853, the work was dedicated in 1856. Shurtleff, op. cit., pp. 360-365. Reliefs on the pedestal by Richard Greenough: Front, "Franklin as Printer," Rear, "Experiments with Lightning." Reliefs by Thomas Ball: left front, "Declaration of Independence," right front, "Treaty of Peace and Independence." Henry Greenough, the sculptor's architect-brother, designed the pedestal.


Coll. City of Boston, Massachusetts (on lawn of City Hall)

b. Clay. (small sketch)

Coll. Unlocated.


d. Bronze. This was a small cast made by the Ames Foundry, Chicopee, Massachusetts.

Coll. Unlocated.

e. Silver. H. 7 1/2 on H. 9 1/2 pedestal, also of silver.


150. John Winthrop (Figs. 65, 66)

This is a standing figure of the colonial governor. It shows him carrying the charter as he steps from the ship onto the soil of Massachusetts.

a. Bronze. H. 78. Signature: RICHARD S. GREENOUGH fecit. Inscribed on bronze plate on front of pedestal: John Winthrop / First governor of/
Massachusetts Bay Colony / One of the founders / of Boston / and of the / first church in Boston / A.D. 1630.

The bronze version was cast in 1880.

Coll. City of Boston, Massachusetts (on yard of First Episcopal Church, Boston, Massachusetts.)


Portrait Busts and Statues from Life

151. William Hickling Prescott

Prescott (1796-1859) the historian, posed for Greenough in March, 1844, the year following the publication of his History of the Conquest of Mexico. Prescott, op. cit., p. 455.


Ex-coll. William Crowninshield Endicott, Salem, Massachusetts.
Coll. Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts.


Ex-coll. William Hickling Prescott, Boston, Massachusetts.
Coll. Boston Athenaeum, Boston, Massachusetts.


Ex-coll. William Hickling Prescott; Mrs. Roger Wolcott, Sr., both of Boston, Massachusetts.
Coll. Roger Wolcott, Jr., Boston, Massachusetts.


Coll. P. P. Caproni and Brother, Boston, Massachusetts.

152. A Child (Fig. 51)
A bust of an unidentified child.


Ex-coll. John Pierpont May, Boston, Massachusetts.

153. Cornelia Van Rensselaer (Fig. 52)

This bust of Cornelia Van Rensselaer Thayer (1823-1897) is the earliest non-classical work of Richard Greenough.


Ex-coll. Stephen Van Rensselaer; Cornelia Van Rensselaer Thayer; Kiliaen Van Rensselaer, all of New York, New York.

154. Laura Greenough Curtis

Laura Greenough (Mrs. Thomas B. Curtis) was the sculptor's sister. Her bust was one of his most successful early portraits. Lee, op. cit., II, p. 136, writes about it in 1854 as if it had recently been received in Boston.


Ex-coll. Laura Greenough Curtis, Boston, Massachusetts; Louis Curtis, Brookline, Massachusetts.
Coll. Mrs. Louis Curtis, Brookline, Massachusetts.

155. Thomas B. Curtis

A portrait of Greenough's brother-in-law, it was probably done as a companion to the bust of his wife, no. 154, and modelled in 1853 or earlier.

Marble. 2½ 1/2. Unsigned.

Ex-coll. Laura Greenough Curtis, Boston, Massachusetts; Louis Curtis, Brookline, Massachusetts.
Coll. Mrs. Louis Curtis, Brookline, Massachusetts.
156. Mary Curtis

A bust of the daughter of Thomas B. Curtis by his first wife, nee Sargent, it shows her as a young girl. This work also dates from approximately the same period as nos. 154 and 155.

Ex-coll. Louis Curtis, Brookline, Massachusetts.
Coll. Mrs. Louis Curtis, Brookline, Massachusetts.

157. John Lothrop Motley

Motley (1814-1877) was a historian and Lincoln-appointed minister to Austria; he posed for his bust in Paris en route to his duties in Vienna in 1862.

Ex-coll. Thomas B. Curtis, Boston, Massachusetts.
Coll. Boston Public Library, Boston, Massachusetts.

158. George Hayward

George Hayward (1791-1863), was for many years, professor of surgery at Harvard.

Marble. H. 29. Signature: R.S. GREENOUGH S.
Ex-coll. George Hayward, Cambridge, Massachusetts.
Coll. Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

159. A Gentleman

A bust of a gentleman, no 1020, was exhibited in 1865 at the Royal Academy of Arts, London.

Marble.
Coll. Unlocated.

160. A Lady

A bust of a lady, presumably a companion piece to no. 159, was exhibited at the Royal Academy of Arts, London, no. 975.
Marble.
Coll. Unlocated.

161. Constance Fenimore Woolson (Fig. 69)

A grand-niece of Cooper, Miss Woolson (1840-1894), was an American novelist and short story writer who lived in Italy after 1879. Although this portrait seems idealized, the age of the sitter at the time would indicate a date around 1885 for the bust.

Marble.

162. A Young Girl

"She has long hair down her back and a bandeau. Her frock has round low neck, is embroidered at the top with a Pre-Raphaelite acanthus design, and is pleated. Her head is inclined to the left and she is looking down." Brumbaugh: Letter from Sir Arthur Elton, London, England; February 7, 1955.


163. William Whitwell Greenough

Greenough (d. 1899), was a cousin of the sculptor, and for thirty-two years a trustee of the Boston Public Library.


164. George Bancroft (Fig. 70)

Bancroft (1800-1891), the historian is shown
here in his old age. The work probably dates from about 1885. Greenough have a bronze copy of the work to the Harvard Library in 1889.

   Coll. Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts.

   Coll. P. P. Caproni and Brother, Boston, Massachusetts.

Works of Undetermined Date

165. Samuel May

Samuel May (1810-1899), was a clergyman prominent in the New England abolitionist movement.

Coll. Boston Athenaeum, Boston, Massachusetts.

166. George Williams Lyman

Lyman (d. 1880) was a member of a distinguished Boston family of teachers and clergymen. Attributed in Swan, op. cit., p. 159, to Horatio Greenough, the style of the clothing and the "impressionist" cutting of the stone suggest a date between 1860 and 1870, and an attribution to Richard Greenough, as more appropriate.

Ex-coll. George Lyman Paine, Boston, Massachusetts.
Coll. Boston Athenaeum, Boston, Massachusetts.

167. Harriet Hosmer

In an undated letter written from Rome, Harriet Hosmer (1840-1904) mentions this bust by Greenough. Brumbaugh: letter to Mrs. S. C. (?) Hall.

Coll. Unlocated.
168. Bishop Potter

The Dictionary of American Biography, VII, p. 589, mentions a bust of Bishop Potter among the artist's works. This was probably Episcopal Bishop Horatio Potter (1802-1887).

Coll. Unlocated.

169. William Waldorf Astor

Ibid., p. 589, mentions a bust of William Waldorf Astor (1848-1919) financier and Anglophile.

Coll. Unlocated.

170. Seated Female Figure

Maud Howe Elliott, This Was My Newport, p. 123, mentions this work, modelled during Greenough's last summer in Newport. (1874?) "Ellen Mason sat for the hands and arms, while the brow was modelled from Miss Kate Powel, later Mrs. Randolph."

Coll. Unlocated.

Miscellaneous Pieces

171. Two Horses (Figs. 59, 60)

These two pairs of horses cast in lead seem related to the "Equestrian Washington," no. 134, but at the same time, they seem to have an independence of conception which one cannot account for in studies toward a larger work. The first pair came to the collections of the Detroit Institute of Arts with a traditional attribution to Richard Greenough.


Coll. Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Michigan.


Appendix I

From APPROPRIATIONS AND EXPENDITURES FROM THE NATIONAL TREASURY FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA MAY 16, 1790 - JUNE 30, 1876 - p. 49.

Washington Statue

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date of act making the appropriation</th>
<th>Amount of annual appropriation</th>
<th>Year of Expenditure</th>
<th>Expenditure by Warrants</th>
<th>Amount carried to the surplus fund</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 14, 1832</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>1833</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>... 5,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For an additional payment for the statue of Washington.......................... Mar. 2, 5,000 1834 5,000 ... 5,000 1833

For additional payment for the statue of Washington.............................. (June 27, 5,000 1835 5,000 ... 5,000 1834)
........................................................................................................ (Mar. 3, 5,000 1836 5,000 ... 5,000 1835)
For cost of preparing suitable foundation for supporting the colossal statue of Washington in the centre of the rotunda of the Capitol...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>July 21</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840</td>
<td>1840</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>...</td>
<td>1841</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842</td>
<td>9.26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That the accounts of Horatio Greenough, for expenses incurred in the execution of the pedestrian statue of Washington, authorized by a resolution of Congress, February 13, 1832, and the accounts and charges for freight of the same to the United States, be settled, under the direction of the Secretary of State, according to the rights of the claimants under their several contracts liberally construed...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 9</td>
<td>6,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the freight aforesaid and detention of the ship, and for an iron railing around the statue, including the sum of $1,500 assumed to be paid by the said Greenough in addition to the original contract as made by Commodore Hull, or so much thereof as may be necessary...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Amount</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sept. 9</td>
<td>8,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841</td>
<td>7,700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>620</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the purpose of removing the said statue from the navy yard at Washington and for erecting the same in such part of the
rotundo of the Capitol as may be deemed best adapted for the same by the Secretary of the Navy, in accordance with the joint resolution of Congress of May 27, 1840 (5 Stats, 409).......................... Sept. 8, 5,000 1841 1,000 ... 1,000 1841
... ... 1842 4,000 ... 4,000

For the removal of the statue of Washington, under the direction of a joint committee of both houses of Congress, the account for which shall be audited and certified by said committee.......................... May 1842 1,000 1842 860 ... 860 1842
... ... 1846 ... 140 ...

For the removal of the statue of Washington from its present position and permanently placing the same on a proper pedestal and covering it temporarily in the inclosed and cultivated public grounds east of the Capitol, directly in front of the main entrance and steps of the east front of the Capitol, as suggested in the report of the Joint Committee on the Library and in the letter of Mr. Greenough, dated February 3, 1843, referred to and reported by said committee in connection with the memorial of Horatio Greenough under the direction and supervision of the said Greenough............................. Mar. 3, 5,000 1843 2,500 ... 2,500 1843
... ... 1844 2,500 ... 2,500 1844
... ... 1851 19.61 ... ...
Appendix I (continued)

For the removal of the building over the
statue of Washington and erecting an
iron fence around same.................... Aug. 10, 1,000 1847 1,000 ... 1,000

\[ 1846 \]

Total ........................................... \[ ... 49,100 ... 42,199.61 \]

\[ 6,929.26 \]

\[ 42,170.74 \]
WASHINGTON. - Let us clean up the rest of the cherry pie, fellow patriots, and consider my annual tale of George Washington without a shirt.

I have checked as usual at this time of year and regret to report that the father of his country looks as goose-pimply as ever with a sheet around his middle, a laurel wreath on his brow, and his bare toes sticking in the breeze. Only change is that he's a little dustier; all 10 feet and six inches of him, mostly naked, in white marble.

Congress' sorriest experience with the arts began in 1832 when the lawmakers slipped Horatio Greenough, the celebrated Boston sculptor, $5000 to sculp a heroic statue of Washington to decorate the Capitol lawns. Horatio took the money to Florence, Italy, whence he emerged six years later with his 20-ton statue securely packed in a wooden box.

Getting same to the seaport meant he had to chop down all the olive trees on the left side of the narrow road from Florence to Leghorn. This, plus some other incidental
THE ENGINEERS at the dock started to hoist the statue onto a boat. The rope broke. George Washington crashed through the hull and sank in the mud. The ship settled on top of him. Insurance took care of this, without cost to Congress. The U. S. Navy, at expense borne by it, sent a battleship to Italy, where the sailors fished Washington from the muck.

The ship docked in New York, but the railroad tunnels between there and here weren't big enough for him to squeeze through. The Navy took him then to New Orleans and forwarded him to Washington via devious routes without tunnels. The freight bill was a whopper.

By now this artistic enterprise had cost $26,000 and some odd cents. Congress appropriated $2000 more for a base to hold the statue and the great day of the unveiling came on George's birthday in 1841. The Navy band tooted, the lawmakers made patriotic speeches, the speaker of the House pulled the string - and good-gosh-amighty!

THERE WAS George Washington twice as big as life, clad as a Roman senator on the way to his bath. His chest muscles rippled in the sunlight; a wreath held down his curls. A marble sheet, loosely draped around his middle, barely saved the proprieties. His toes, the big ones,
were encircled with thongs to keep his Roman sandals from falling off.

A horrified gasp rose over Capitol Hill. Congress decided after weeks of bitter debate to dynamite its statue, only to discover a law already 50 years old, which made it illegal for the Government to destroy any of its works of art. The statesman had bought a statue sight unseen and they were struck with it. They vowed they didn't have to look at it.

They built a wooden shed (cost $1600) to hide their statue. Then they argued some more. Year after year they battled, while tourists wondered what was inside the mysterious structure on the south lawn. By 1908 the lawmakers were so mortified and the shed so weatherbeaten that they appropriated a final $5000.

This was for tearing down the lumber and hauling the semi-naked Washington - in the dead of night - to the Smithsonian Institution. There you will find him in the cellar of the main building, behind a row of antique printing presses. Not hidden, as I reported the first time I wrote this dispatch many years ago. The management is touchy on this point.
London Sept. 4, 1855
Trafalgar Hotel

Jack Bigelow Esq

Dear Sir -

In reply to your letter of July 5/55 which was handed to me a few days since by Mr. Richard Greenough in Paris, I presume 'tis scarcely necessary for me to say that I have much pleasure in accepting the order for the Statue of James Otis, according to the terms you propose.

Regarding the mode of payment for said statue, I beg leave to suggest a slight difference from that adopted thus far, due to Mr. Greenough's share in it, and instead of necessary payment when the small study is completed, I would prefer to have half the entire cost $2,500 when the full sized model is ready to be copied into marble, and the remaining $2,500 when the marble statue arrives in Boston.

I suppose there can be no objections to this, as the advantage - if any - remains with the committee. I am under the impression that I possess a memoir of James Otis accompanied by a portrait, published many years since in a vol of American Biography. Should I be able upon my return to Rome (within the next two weeks) to find the memoir in my library, I will let you know. If not I shall be obliged to request, that you will procure the book for me, and I will direct in what way it can reach me.

Presuming that what I have said will be sufficient for you to prepare the contract to which you allude, and which may be sent in duplicate to me by Post. I shall make immediate preparations after my arrival there to commence the modell for the statue.

I remain with many thanks, your attentive . . .

Thomas Crawford

The memoir to which Crawford refers in this letter, is probably William Tudor's *The Life of James Otis*, in *The Library of American Biography*, New York, 1834. The book includes a frontispiece engraving which may have been referred to by Crawford in making his idealized portrait of Otis.
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