Public Portraits and Portrait Publics

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The following article is part of my dissertation on public portraiture in antebellum America. This dissertation addresses the skewed scholarly emphasis on reading habits by underlining the visual literacy of the antebellum middle classes. Employing portraits for a range of political and social ends, the nineteenth-century middle classes created a culture that revolved around representation. This article outlines the material circumstances of this culture. It charts Americans' encounters with likenesses of "worthies" from private collection to public gallery, professional society and antebellum home. Tracing the spaces of visual representation, it profiles an emerging viewing public.

I. Public Galleries

"What is this Academy of Fine Arts? asked one of two countrymen, who were conjointly pouring over the columns of a fully extended newspaper. I suppose, said the other, it is a place where *Finery* is made for the ladies, such as fine ribbons, fine necklaces and fine kickshaws or thingembobs of every kind. Ay, I suppose it is, replied his companion. No, no, taking the cigar from his mouth, exclaimed, in an authoritative tone, a certain corpulent personage, who was sitting at a little distance from them, over a glass of beer, —it is not that at all. It is a sort of a show-house, a place where they have figures, or as they call them *statutes* of men and women, alls [sic] one as them there that they put at the head of vessels, only that they are not made of wood, nor painted so handsomely; and what is still worse, none of them have any clothes on. For my own part, I would rather pay half a dollar to see a puppet show, than six cents to see all them nonsensical things, that they not only paid a monstrous sum of money for, but took the trouble to bring all the way from France, and build a fine house on purpose to put them in. But fools and their money are soon parted, they say. —And that's an academy of fine arts, is it! rejoined one of the countrymen, Well, what will the follies of these Philadelphians come to, at last?"

Alexander Graydon, 1811[1]

The early Republic witnessed a revolutionary change in the world of portraiture. At the end of the eighteenth century, few Americans were exposed to portraits. Portraits were on display in the private home and artist's studio where they served to confirm narrow bonds of kin and social status. This situation changed in the early nineteenth century. The founding of art institutions and the maturing of the art market put portraiture in the public

domain. Here, the meaning of art was no longer strictly determined by the relationship between artist and patron, but by a rising middle class that for the first time came into regular contact with pictorial material. Some of its members were moderate buyers in the art market. Others contributed to collective purchases. All were confronted with increasing numbers of heads in American private and public interiors.

By 1825 one of the places where Americans were most likely to see portraits was the public art gallery. In this year, Philadelphia, boasting the most advanced art market in America, housed four of these galleries. The oldest was the Philadelphia Museum, founded in 1784. In the Museum's "long room," proprietor Charles Willson Peale combined portraits with a large collection of, among other things, minerals, fossils, and birds.[2] Constituting the historical corollary to the natural world classified by Linnaeus, the portraits depicted heroes and rare human specimens, including albinos and people who had lived to an extraordinary great age. An 1822 watercolor of this room (see figure 1) by Peale and his son Titian Ramsay, provides us with an impression of the collection. It shows portraits in gold frames hung in double rows above glass cases with bird specimens. Plaster busts of worthies face the portraits across the aisle.[3]

The elder Peale also played a large part in the founding of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in 1807. By 1820, according to a description by its president Joseph Hopkinson, the Academy counted three rooms; a rotunda, a large room to the north, and a long gallery to the east.[4] Catalogues from the 1830s suggest the addition of the Director's Room.[5] The Academy hosted a series of small exhibitions, made possible by loans from private collections and travelling shows. These were infrequent and more likely to feature paintings with religious or historical subjects than portraiture,[6] unlike the Academy's annual exhibition at the end of spring. This exhibition lasted six weeks and followed a fixed pattern. The long gallery displayed plaster copies from classical statues. The Rotunda housed the only minimally changing permanent collection of paintings. The Director's Room hosted drawings, prints, and a collection of miscellany including, for instance, a few old masters, a recently-excavated Herculean vase, a presidential portrait, and a limb after ancient example. The northern gallery was generally, and according to the 1831 catalogue officially, devoted to new works or works that had not been shown before at the Academy. All galleries contained portraits. Until 1845, when a fire destroyed most of the collection, the annual exhibitions displayed on average about one hundred and eighty heads.[7]

The second floor of James Earle's mirrors, glass, and frame shop housed a third gallery. Earle opened the gallery in collaboration with Thomas Sully, the city's most successful portraitist, in 1819. Two surviving daguerreotypes of the interior (see figure 2) show a skylight duplex crowded with paintings and

Courtesy of The Detroit Institute of Arts. Founders Society Purchase, Director's Discretionary Fund.

Figure 1:
Charles Willson Peale and Titian Ramsey Peale, The Long Room, Interior of the Front Room in Peale's Museum, *1822, watercolor over graphite, 35.6 x 52.7, inches. Acc. no. 57.261.*

busts.[8] The combination of gallery and art store appealed to many artists. Rembrandt Peale chose Earle's gallery for the display of his "Italian Pictures."[9] William Dunlap exhibited here his *Christ Rejected* and *Christ Bearing the Cross*.[10] The gallery was also a venue for "portraits of public & private characters."[11] When John Trumbull requested space to exhibit Thomas Lawrence's portrait of Benjamin West at the Academy, its president Joseph Hopkinson advised him to go to Earle's. Hopkinson praised the gallery for its size and light. Moreover, he wrote, because of its location across the street from the State House, "its situation in point of publicity [is] much better than the Academy."[12]

The Franklin Institute was the newest gallery. Founded for the encouragement of American manufactures, the Institute held its first fair in a rented space at Carpenters' Hall in 1824. The fair welcomed a wide variety of products, including "blister steel and grass bonnets, japanned goods and broad cloths."[13] Medals were awarded to the best specimens in each category. Although the fair's display did not overlap with art exhibits, it regularly featured plaster busts and prints.

The comprehensive character of these galleries suggests that portraits alone attracted insufficient visitors. With the exception of Joseph Delaplaine's short lived "Panzographia," [14] most galleries were founded specifically for the exhibition of other painting genres. Peale's Apollodorian Gallery of Paintings, in existence between 1811 and 1815, focused on historical and allegorical paintings.[15] Apparently so did the respective galleries of Sully and Earl before they entered their partnership.[16] Conversely, the example of the Pennsylvania Hospital Picture House suggests that portraits were not a requisite for a successful gallery. The Picture House was devoted to Benjamin West's history painting *Christ Healing the Sick*. West donated the picture to help the institution raise money to build a new wing. The House opened in 1817 and continued to draw visitors for more than twenty-five years.[17]

* * *

These Philadelphia galleries signalled the emergence of a public that had transcended the confined locales of the artist studio and the private collection. That the public outgrew the small artist' studio is quite literally suggested by Sully's complaint about "some ladies," who had made a hole in a painting by bumping another one from the easel.[18] Restricted access safeguarded private collections from such accidents. Yet, their exclusivenesss also diminished the significance they might have had to the visual education of the middle classes.

The idea of visual education itself underwent change in the early nineteenth century. Art's moral qualities had been stressed in previous ages, and the belief that portraits of worthies elicited noble thoughts and action remained a commonplace in antebellum rhetoric. In 1824 Gulian Verplanck could still

Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia.

Figure 2: James Earle's gallery, upstairs, c. 1860, photograph. Society Photo collection, Stores and Factories/ Art Galleries, box 113, folder 1.

pronounce the youngster who encountered portraits "dull and brutal indeed...if the countenances of the great men which looked down upon him, did not sometimes fill his soul with generous thoughts and high contemplations."[19] Others, however, were reformulating art's moral purpose. Charles Willson Peale gave a republican twist to Verplanck's classical truism in an address to city representatives of Philadelphia. Referring to his Museum as a "useful school of knowledge," he told his audience that it was from "a political point of view...an important establishment in a republic."[20]

The link between visual education and politics gained significance in the nineteenth-century Atlantic world. The idea behind it was not new. It flowed almost naturally from the Federalist mix of Enlightenment thought and republican rhetoric. Yet, the expanding political society provided it with a different resonance. During the course of the new century, strategies of visual representation increasingly influenced political success. The early art galleries provided Americans with the training ground for the skills required to recognize and participate in these stratigies.

Such skills and the conditions under which they were acquired would come to define a new public. This public contained very few traditional patrons. Few of its members ever saw an art studio or knew artists personally. Most derived their knowledge of art mainly from visits to public galleries and print shops. Only a relatively small number commissioned paintings. Removed from the production of art, and unlikely to own paintings or sculpture, they constituted, above all, a public of viewers.

The British art world slowly accommodated itself to this new public. One by one private collections, including the Stafford collection in 1808,[21] opened their doors to a paying audience. Testifying to the fact that viewers and sitters were no longer acquainted with each other, exhibition catalogues started to print the names of sitters.[22] President of the Royal Academy Benjamin West, according to Rembrandt Peale, originally aghast at the idea of "popular exhibition[s],"[23] revised his opinion and displayed his history paintings outside the Academy.

Artists approached this public in similar ways in America. Entrance fees to galleries confirmed that exhibitions no longer constituted free advertisement for buyers. Although the galleries still served to promote art, they increasingly functioned as public spaces for the visual education of the middle classes. Charles Willson Peale wished to accommodate these middle classes. For an exhibit at the newly-founded Pennsylvania Academy, he proposed to the artist and inventor Robert Fulton to add labels that identified the artist and conveyed the story narrated in the paintings.[24] In response, Fulton pointed out that engravings at "Mr. Conrad's Bookseller" on Chesnut Street "will explain the subjects." In addition, he acknowledged that "to excite curiosity at the time of exhibiting [the paintings]," it was necessary "to raise their fame by something handsome in the public prints, for 50 see and judge by public opinion for one who has a knowledge of art."[25]

Complaints about crowding testify to the large and diverse audiences these galleries attracted. Academy exhibitions caused one Philadelphian to grumble that the pictures were "gazed at by Men, Women and Children, Hawbucks and all."[26] The artist John Neagle(1796-1865) wrote that "the Franklin institute has been so crammed both early and late that it was a matter almost of impossibility to see shape, colour or texture of any thing exhibited; my wife

was half squeezed to death after the third day of wedging."[27] Neagle was not exaggerating. The Institute received 600 visitors on the day of his third visit.[28] The Hospital picture house was even more successful. In its first year of operation, it received a stunning 30,000 visitors, roughly the equivalent of one-third of Philadelphia's population.[29]

Who were these visitors? Although little archival reveals the social composition of the majority of gallery visitors, a few sources provide indirect evidence. Admission fees, special entry permits, and petitions, for instance, render an outline of their social identity. Each of the galleries discussed above charged a twenty-five cents admission fee. The Peale Museum featured special hours (and special fees) for school classes.[30] The Pennsylvania Hospital picture house admitted lunatics (when "orderly").[31] The Pennsylvania Academy issued free tickets to soldiers.[32] On the eve of the Civil War, the Academy was petitioned to permit entry to blacks (when "decent and respectable").[33] These measures reveal a profile of visitors usually excluded: enlisted men, the poor, the colored, the underaged, and mentally crippled."

A lithograph by Max Rosenthal (see figure 3) highlights a different profile. It displays the interior of Independence Hall on the eve of the Civil War. Fourteen well-dressed ladies, gentlemen, and children are evenly positioned in a large, comfortably empty hall of pictures.[34] This picture gallery, we are led to believe, is the domain of the fashionably genteel, the young scions of Philadelphia's leading families. In reality, members of these families were prime art patrons, and dominated the Academy board. Yet they constituted but a small minority of the audiences at public galleries.

The majority of the new antebellum public was socially situated between these two groups. The richest members of this class were first-generation buyers of portraits in oil. Artists' client lists identify them as artisans, shopkeepers, and professionals.[35] Sully's early customers included a grocer, a theater manager, and a cabinet maker.[36] Neagle's clientele included a silversmith,[37] a bookseller,[38] and the owner of a dry goods store.[39] The many instances of barter underline ther are and costly nature[40] of the expense portraits represented for these middle-class patrons. Cabinet maker Pore commissioned a bust length portrait by Sully "to settle an account for furniture."[41] Silversmith Edward Lownes allowed Neagle to take "silver and gold work...out of his store as wanted," in lieu of pay for his portrait.[42] Physician William P. DeWees paid for his three-quarter length portrait by cancelling Neagle's outstanding medical bills. He also promised "to attend [Neagle's] family from this date w/o further charge."[43] Neagle "[e]ngaged to take *Greenback's Periodical Library*... (one or more copies as I please)...in barter of painting for Greenbank."[44]

Each of these transactions pertained to portraits of kin. They do not necessarily indicate a general taste for public likenesses. Yet there is one good reason to suppose that the two went together: the wealthier artisans, grocers,

Courtesy Independence National Historical Park.

Figure 3:
Max Rosenthal, Interior View of Independence Hall, *c. 1855-1856, lithograph, 17 3/16 x 22 1/16 inches. Neg. No. 10.947.*

and physicians who ordered private portraits also belonged to the nation's fledgling professional societies.[45] These societies, including medical colleges, universities, mechanics' and mercantile societies, began to compete with art galleries as venues for the display of public likenesses in the second quarter of the nineteenth century. Initially, their collections were small. Indeed, very few of them became fully formed portrait galleries before the Civil War. Yet their beginnings provided middle-class men with a medium that enabled them to express themselves as a group within a national historical context. Their existence bent the classical view that art provided moral uplift into the mold of professional pride and national history.

The visual etiquette observed in these portrait collections suggests how this process of identity formation worked. The first acquisition was always a portrait of a founding member or patron which, uncontroversial and therefore easily donated and subscribed to, presented a logical choice for institutional wall decoration. The American Philosophical Society acquired a portrait of Benjamin Franklin.[46] The New York Chamber of Commerce commissioned portraits of Alexander Hamilton and Cadwallader Colden.[47] The Governors of the New York Hospital commissioned Dunlap's *Thomas Eddy* for its Asylum for the Insane.[48] The Lowell Mechanics' Society commissioned George Healy to paint Andrew Jackson's portrait for their quarters.[49]

These first portraits formed an axis around which a gallery could be built. The Pennsylvania Hospital added a series of portraits to its busts of Penn and Washington.[50] It commissioned full length portraits of its president Samuel Coates and physician Benjamin Rush, both of which arrived in 1813.[51] That year the Hospital acquired another likeness of Rush, and one of his colleague Philip Physick.[52] Likenesses of the physicians Caspar Wistar and Lloyd Zachary followed.[53] The combination of professional peers and founding fathers provided historical memory and identity for the institution. Adding stature to the flanking portraits by linking them to the national past, they cemented the self-image of the professional middle classes.

Emerging municipal galleries further encouraged this enhancement of bourgeois identity. They provided local government with a nationalizing visual context. Philadelphia's State House, later renamed Independence Hall, housed pictures since the early nineteenth century. Peale's gallery was located on the upper floor from 1802 to 1827, and after 1856. The portraits downstairs, in the courtrooms, included Thomas Sully's *Marquis de Lafayette*, Henry Inman's *William Penn*, and James Peale's *George Washington*.[54] Charles Burton's 1831 watercolor of the Governor's Room in New York's City Hall (see figure 4) displays a similar collection.[55] It shows five full length portraits of naval commanders from the war of 1812 painted by John Wesley Jarvis. They depict Thomas MacDonough, Oliver Hazard Perry, Isaac Hull, William Bainbridge, and Jacob Jennings Brown.[56] In addition, Burton's water color shows six waist

length portraits which, due to their small size and sketchy nature, cannot be identified. City Hall's collection of waist-length portraits included *Richard Varick* by John Trumbull, *Stephen Allen* by Samuel Lovett Waldo and William Jewett, *William Paulding* by Samuel Finley Morse, and *Philip Hone* by John Vanderlyn.[57] Boston's Faneuil Hall owned *Major General Joseph Warren* and *Edward Preble* by John Singleton Copley, and *Major General Henry Knox* by Gilbert Stuart.[58] A much later daguerreotype showes Faneuil Hall displaying Healy's enormous painting of the Webster-Hayne debate flanked by a series of smaller, unidentifiable portraits.[59]

With the exception of the collection in New York's City Hall, public galleries generally evinced a desultory collecting pattern. Portraits were often acquired at the whim of board members who wished to express their mourning for the death of a beloved member, honor a president, or celebrate a significant event in the nation's or institution's history. Neagle discovered that these collecting habits bode poorly for gallery planning. In the early 1830s, he embarked on a project to paint nine three-quarter-length portraits of the medical faculty at the University of Pennsylvania. Working for moderate renumeration, Neagle hoped to derive income partly from the prints engraved after the series. After completing two of the portraits, however, he had to abandon the project because of the public's lack of interest in the prints.[60]

In some cases, random collections resulted from unsollicited loans and donations. Budding historical organizations generally functioned as a repository for homeless portraits, many of which were part of manuscript collections. Illustrative of the result of such collecting is the inventory compiled by the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1838. Following the society's hanging order, it lists: 1. Discoverers; 2. Winslow family; 3. Governors and Lieutenant-governors; 4. Generals; 5. Distinguished Laymen; 6. Clergymen; 7. Aged women.[61]

The peripatetic character of early professional societies constituted the biggest obstacle to the creation of coherent portrait galleries. The portraits of Hamilton and Colden belonging to the New York Chamber of Commerce were rarely on view at the Chamber's offices before the Civil War. Frequently changing location, they were on loan to New York's American Academy of Fine Arts, hidden in a Wall Street loft, and on deposit at The New-York Historical Society before they were permanently moved into the Chamber's own Hall at Nassau Street in 1868.[62]

If more complete and less peripatetic than professional galleries, the early history of national portrait galleries resembled that of grand monuments. Lauded by critics and elites alike, they eventually crumbled under heavy financial strains to become stranded beacons of unfulfilled republican virtue. Peale's collection of heads survived with great difficulties. When the Museum's operating costs proved too high, the Peale sons petitioned the city council for

Collection of the New-York Historical Society.

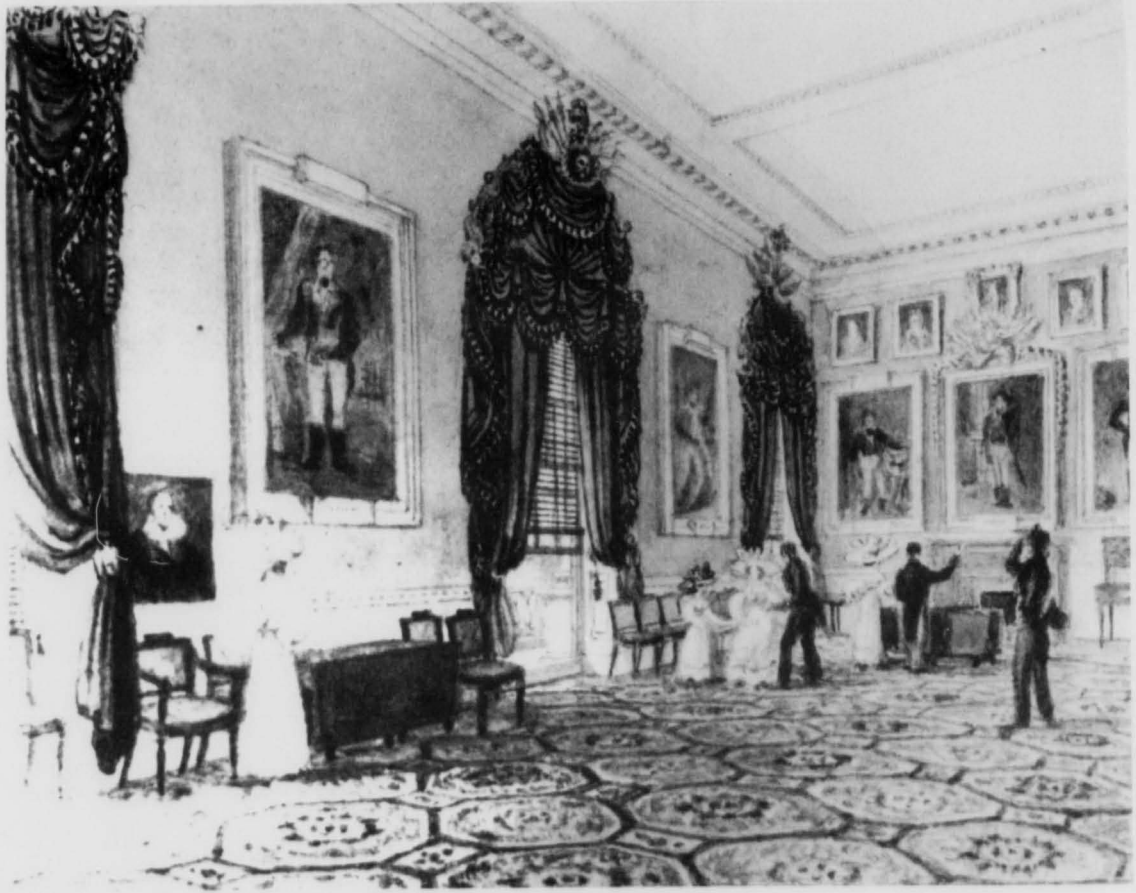


Figure 4:
Charles Burton, Governor's Room, City Hall, *c. 1831, sepia water color on paper, 2 11/16 x 3 1/2 inches. Neg. No. 38880.*

Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia. Bequest of William Bingham.

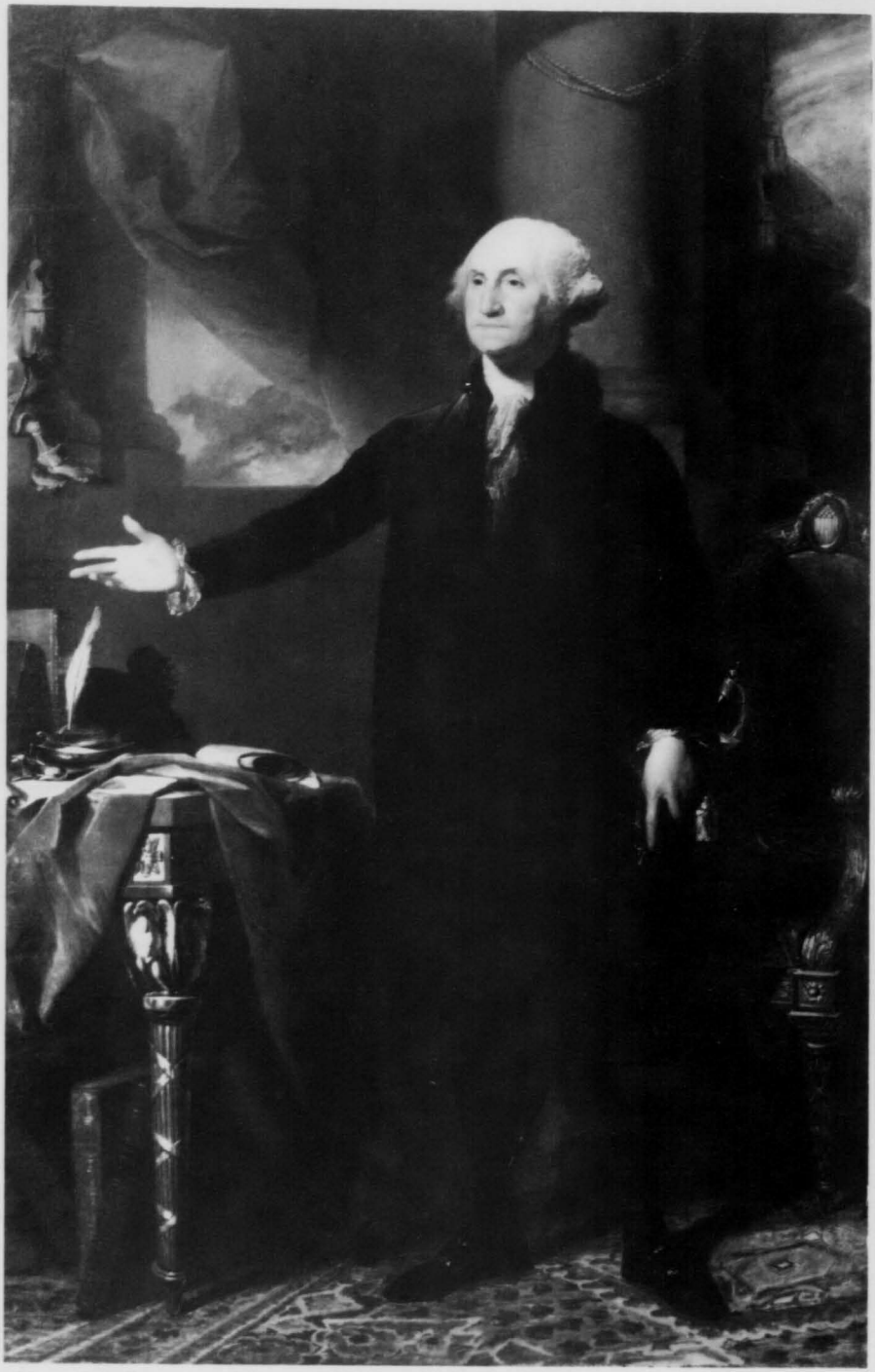


Figure 5: *Gilbert Stuart,* George Washington *(The Lansdowne portrait), 1796, oil on canvas, 96 x 60 inches, Acc. no. 1811.2.*

Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia. Gift of the Lyon family.

***Figure 6:** John Neagle,* Pat Lyon at the Forge, *1829, oil on canvas, 94 1/2 x 68 1/2 inches, Acc. No. 1842.1.*

The Art Collection of the Union League of Philadelphia.

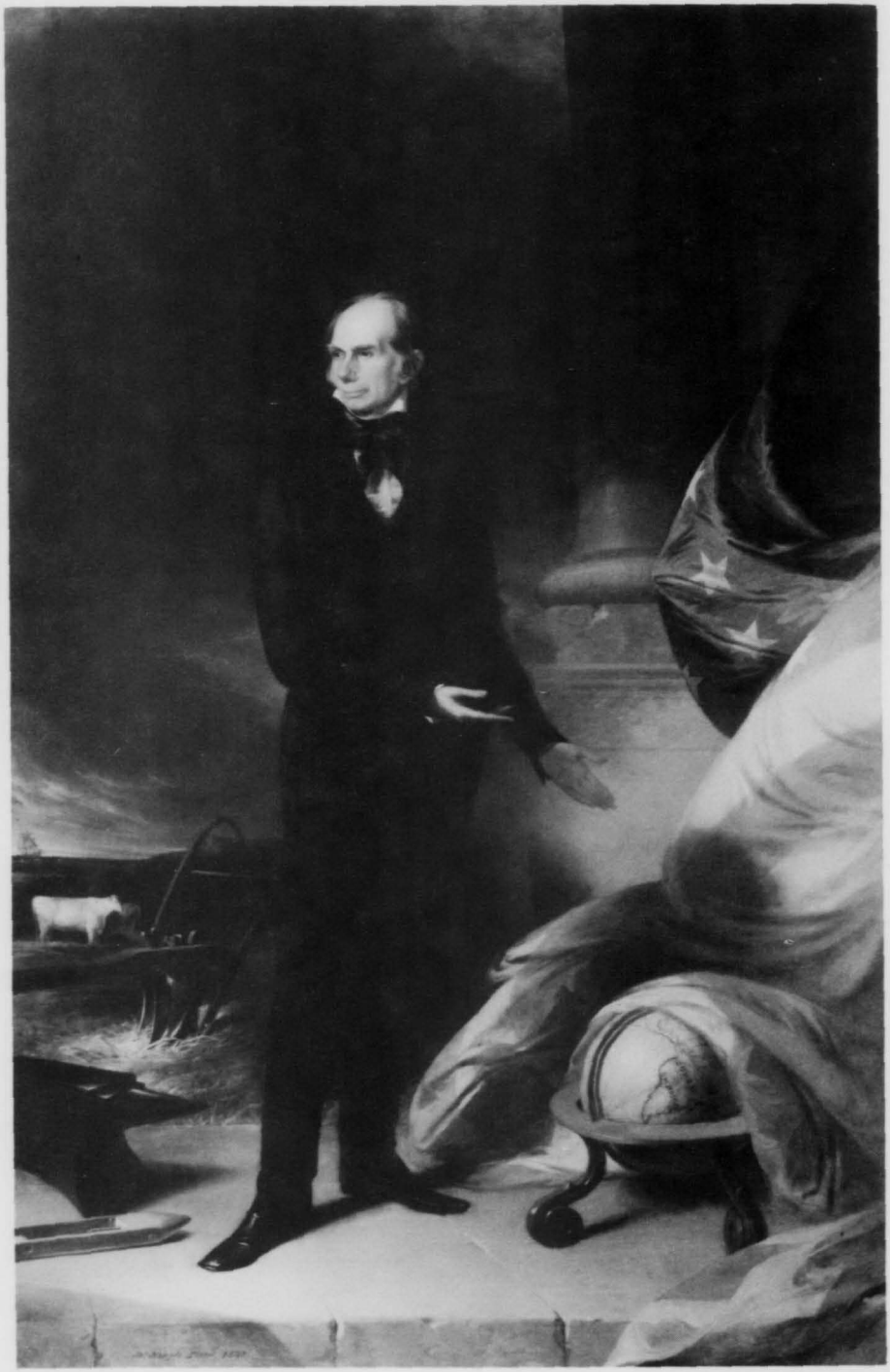


Figure 7: *John Neagle,* Henry Clay, *1843, oil on canvas, 111 1/4 x 72 1/2 inches.*

subsidy. Upon the council's rejection, the sons sold the Museum's natural specimens and shipped the collection of portraits to Cincinnati. A group of Cincinnati citizens attempted to keep the collection out west. But a subscription failed to produce the necessary funds. At the end of the summer of 1853, the portraits were shipped back to Philadelphia and put up for public auction. The city purchased approximately half of the collection. Restored to the State House on the eve of the Civil War, it formed the nucleus of the national portrait gallery depicted in Rosenthal's print.[63]

Notwithstanding these growing pains, the above examples testify to a powerful middle class aspiration to express its newly-won political and financial status in a visual lineage. Portrait collections acquainted individual members of this class with the likenesses of peers and worthies. In addition, they cohered them into social and historical constituencies, and cohered those constituencies into a national collective.[64] The added significance compelled viewers to pay more attention to individual portraits which seemed to convey ever more meaningful messages about their subjects.

Portraits

The regular visitor to the Pennsylvania Academy became familiar with a series of portraits displayed in successive exhibits. The two full length portraits of George Washington (see figure 5) and Patrick Lyon at the Forge (see figure 6), on view throughout most of the antebellum years, merited special notice in tourist guide books.[65] Portrayed by Gilbert Stuart, George Washington stands in the spatial fantasy of higher office: a columned room containing elaborately carved gilded furniture, books and writing instruments, and crimson draperies partly veiling the sky in the back. Standing stiffly erect, the wigged Washington is dressed in a black velvet costume. Gesturing over a marble table with his right hand, while his left hand rests on the hilt of his sword, he stares past the viewer with an expression suggesting that he inhabits another world.

Neagle's Pat Lyon lacks the unworldly, ceremonial atmosphere of Stuart's Washington. The blacksmith is portrayed in his shop, a small interior cluttered with tools. The blazing heat of the smithery, reflected in the red-toned brick walls, appears not to affect the faces of both Lyon and his apprentice. Their cool looks match the classical form depicted outside the only window. The structure is the cupola of the prison where Lyon was once wrongfully imprisoned.[66] Standing square, feet apart, the muscled, ruddy-cheeked blacksmith wears a dark apron over green trousers, and a white shirt, buttoned open at the chest, and with the sleeves rolled up. Resting his hammer at the anvil, he looks at the viewer with the unassuming expression of a working man.

Other regular portraits at Academy exhibits included those of Alexander Hamilton, the Marquis de Lafayette, Andrew Jackson, and Henry Clay.

Giuseppe Ceracchi exhibited his marble bust of Alexander Hamilton continuously between 1816 and 1821. The bust portrays the tragic hero in the stylish classical idiom of the day. Hamilton is clad in roman dress and features the curling short hair characteristic of Roman senatorial portraits. The classical idiom is absent in Sully's commanding full length of Lafayette exhibited in the late 1820s and early 1830s. The portrait depicts him standing on a stone porch dressed in a dazzling red lined dark cape loosely draped over a black suit. Lafayette's ageless face is defined by smoothly arched brows and an angular nose. His serene expression impassively comments on the flamboyant parade celebrating his return which is depicted in the background. From the mid-1840s to the eve of the Civil War, visitors found Sully's romantic three-quarter length portrait of General Andrew Jackson, the head of which adorns the modern twenty dollar bill. Sully flattered the general by painting bristly eyebrows over handsome dark eyes and full lips. He leans casually against the back of his horse and holds the reigns loosely in his hand. Neagle's full length portrait of Henry Clay (see figure 7) was permanently on public display at the Academy or the Clay Club between 1845 and the Civil War, shows the presidential candidate lean faced, with a slight smile belying his earnest expression. He is surrounded with an array of attributes, ranging from an enormous American flag draped over a globe, to an anvil, a plough, and cows.[67]

Different in style and expression, these portraits represented a series of messages. Neagle's Clay and Lyon portraits suggested to the viewer that America was dependent on the industry of the working man. The proud, class-conscious portrait of Pat Lyon personified this man, while the presidential full length of Henry Clay aspired to represent him politically. Sully's dapper Jackson transported visitors back to a time when the late president's reputation was that of a war hero still unscathed by the dramatic bank wars. The portraits of Washington and Hamilton impressed the visitor with the glory of the founding era. The likeness of the aging Lafayette urged them not to forget this era, of which he was one of the last living relics.

Portrait pairings evoked yet other memories.[68] The paired busts of Franklin and Hamilton recalled their role as the brains of the American Revolution.[69] The neighboring portraits of Napoleon and Washington invited comparison of the two greatest men of the era, prompting one reviewer to comment that the latter is more "worthy of admiration" than the former.[70] The bust of Nicholas Biddle and the portrait of Andrew Jackson evoked their titanic struggle over the continued existence of the Second Bank of the United States.[71]

Jarvis's full length portraits at the City Hall of New York invited similar comparison. The artist took care to delineate individual characteristics and suggest narrative differences in each of his likenesses of naval commanders. His portrait of Commodore Perry (see figure 8) captured the historical moment in which he had lost his brig in the Battle of Lake Erie. Perry's face betrays no

urgency, but his agitated pose and disarrayed uniform speak volumes. Standing in a rowboat, surrounded by men who attempt to pull him away, the Commodore clenches his right hand into a fist, while his left hand gestures to a ship engaged in battle on the horizon. A damaged flag wrapped around his arm and featuring part of his famous utterance "don't give up the ship," further illustrates his eagerness to continue the battle on the *Niagara*. Displaying the opposite demeanor, Jarvis's *Commodore William Bainbridge* (see figure 9) reiterates a conventional eighteenth century pose.[73] The commodore stands in repose on deck of his ship. Featuring a placcid smile, and resting his foot on a canon ball rack, he seems impervious to the battle whose smoke envelops the background of the picture.

Notwithstanding Jarvis's effort to vary the portraits in pose and expression, his five naval commanders conveyed a visual coherence absent in the Academy exhibits. They were made to comparable size and featured similar frames.[74] The commanders wore the same uniform consisting of dark boots, high waisted white pantaloons and dark blue high collared slipcoats adorned with gold lamée. Their like appearance enhanced the sense of a community of illustrious forebears. Hung in a space of local politics, their presence suggested their visual guardianship of civic virtue. They invited visitors to associate antebellum politics with historical triumphs, and encouraged them to view local politics in the context of a national past. These visually-induced associations contributed to the unquestioned assumption that the middle classes were the natural heirs of America's pantheon of heroes.

II. Home Galleries

While the richest members of the new public commissioned portraits, the rest consumed prints. Relatively rare at the turn of the eighteenth century, prints became the mainstay of the emerging portrait market. While illustrating portraiture's enhanced social significance, they also obeyed the values of a market in which resonance and appeal were paramount. The most successful portrait became the portrait that commanded the widest circulation and received the most exposure. Portraits became the currency of middle class discourse as a result of their reproduction in various media, and their avaliability to the antebellum home.

Neagle recollected growing up in a house with "three or four coloured engravings as were usual as wall decoration of that day."[75] Notices bear out Neagle's recollection that only the wealthy and urbane could afford to have more than a handful of engravings. Fashionable shops customarily advertised portraits alongside luxury goods in the first decade of the nineteenth century. This is illustrated by the row of shops on Philadelphia's lower Chesnut Street. Robert Welford advertised for sale "busts of Shakespeare and Milton" among "standing Cupids" and "Imitation Fruit." [76] Sam Kennedy offered "Prints from

Courtesy of the Art Commission of the City of New York.

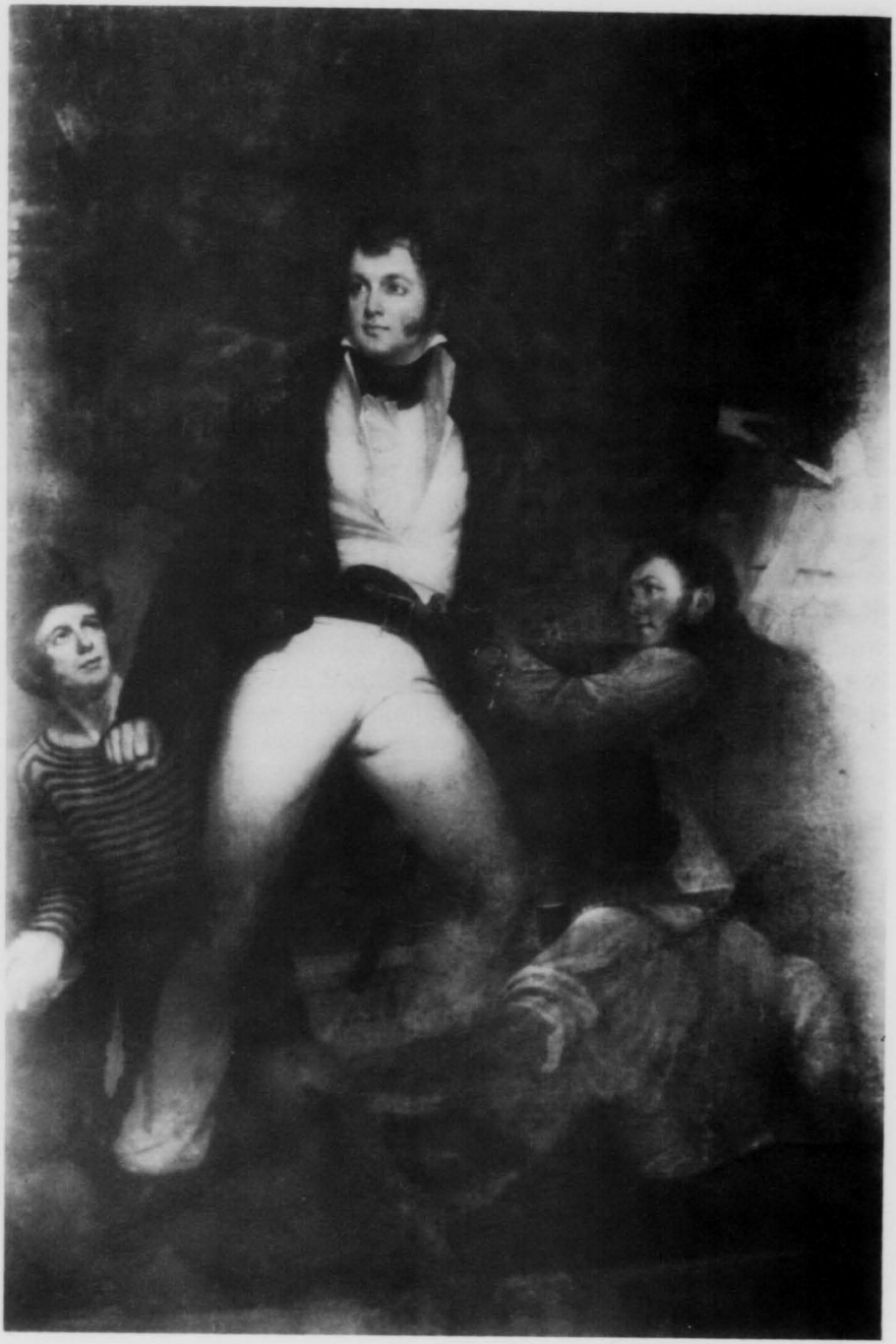


Figure 8: John Wesley Jarvis, Oliver Hazard Perry, *c. 1816, oil on canvas, 96 x 60 inches.*

Courtesy of the Art Commission of the City of New York.

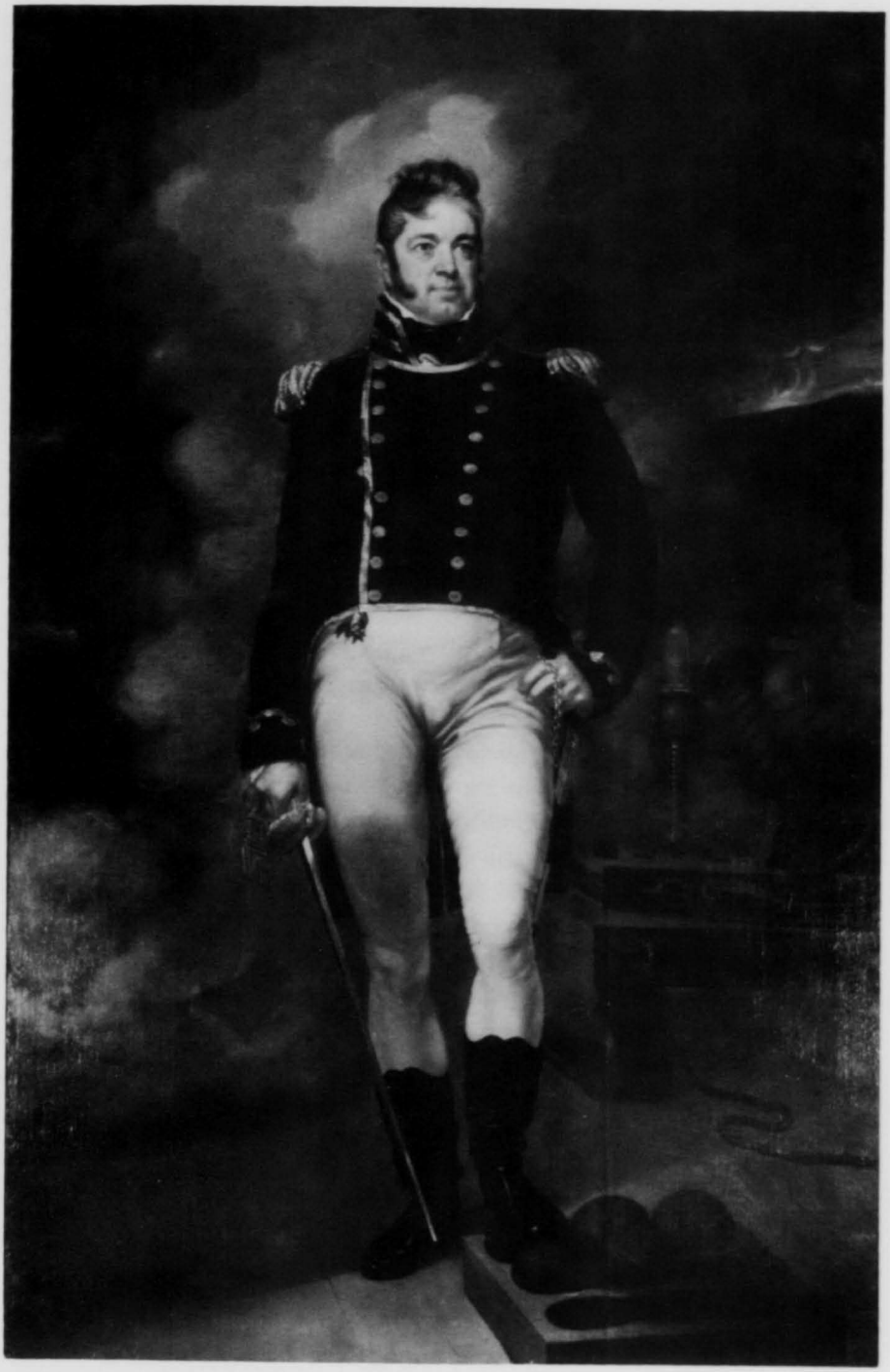


Figure 9: John Wesley Jarvis, William Bainbridge, *c. 1814-15, oil on canvas, 88 x 60 inches.*

the pencils of B. West, David, Guido, Reni," and portrayed subjects including "the Washington family, Liberty, Columbus." He also sold "portraits of Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, Rittenhouse etc." by Edward Savage.[77] John Eckstein vended "marble and alabaster ornaments, consisting of elegant vases, urns, mantle pieces," and a "gallery of original paintings."[78]

The rapid expansion of the print market blunted the luxurious reputation of prints in the 1820s. The introduction of lithography and the steel plate facilitated the production of prints in bulk. More prints became available at a wider price range. In the 1830s, the prices of popular worthies ranged from one quarter to ten dollars. Prints after John Neagle's portrait of *Dr. Chapman*, Ralph Rawdon's *Dr. Sprague* and Thomas Sully's *General Jackson* were sold for the standard price for fine engravings which was one dollar. Approximately the size of a small painting, they were designed to be hung in private homes. Notwithstanding advertisements that assured "a portrait for every home,"[79] however, most made it only into houses that had hallways and parlors.

Yet for every visitor who bought a fine portrait print, there were a hundred who saw it exhibited in a shop window. Nominally, the shop window served to advertise prints to specific audiences. To boost the sale of engravings after his portrait of local Philadelphian dignitary Dr. Sprague, the artist Ralph Rawdon urged church fellow Henry Webb "that [the portrait] be placed in a good light either in your store or in such other place...where our Church and Congregation together the Docter's [sic] friends generally may be invited to call & see it."[80] In practice, prints displayed in shop windows often attracted large and diverse audiences. In his 1856 history of Philadelphia's Chesnut Street, the antiquarian Caspar Souder reminisced that he "and thousands more [had] feasted their eyes upon the gratuitous exhibitions of the fine arts" in Spencer Nolen's shopwindow and that prints exhibited in Thomas Natt's frame shop "drew crowds round the bulk window."[81] George Bethune pointed to these crowds as a sign of the educated taste of Philadelphians.[82] The sentiment was confirmed by Souder, who claimed that Natt's shop window taught "many an idle gazer" the "first smatterings of taste."[83]

The newly-emerging genre of the illustrated biographical dictionary provided another venue for portrait prints. These dictionaries introduced a series of worthies in short biographical sketches, each illuminated by an engraved portrait. A continuous presence on the antebellum market, their individual histories followed an organic rise and decline pattern. Initial success was followed by dwindling resources which ended in bankruptcy. Bankruptcy, in turn, enabled the rise of a successor. *The National Portrait Gallery* by James Longacre and James B. Herring, published between 1834 and 1840, appeared after two similar projects had folded: Joseph Delaplaine's *Repository of the Lives and Portraits of Distinguished Americans*, and John Sanderson's *Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence*.[84] Longacre had produced most of

the engravings for Sanderson's illustrated biography. Building on this experience, he set out with his new partner James Herring to publish a four-volume *National Portrait Gallery*, "appropriate alike for the library or drawing-room table."[85]

Combining "the instructiveness and fascination of biography with the individuality imparted by pictorial identification,"[86] the Gallery contained thirty-six engraved portraits. Many of these were engraved after portraits on view in public places. The collection included engravings after Sully's *Benjamin Rush* (see figure 10) at the Pennsylvania Hospital, Peale's *Benjamin Franklin* (see figure 11) at the American Philosphical Society, and four of Jarvis's naval commanders at New York's City Hall.[87] The series could be bought in various formats, on different types of paper, in loose sheets or bound volumes. The projected gallery attracted one thousand subscribers in New York, and another thousand in New England.[88] Eventually, however, a combination of poor management, misfortune, and whithering support forced Longacre and Herring to end their collaboration.[89] Longacre sold the plates to other printers and publishers who used the prints for new, cheaper paper galleries. The introduction of daguerreotype-based lithographic portraits accelerated the production process. The genre prospered at mid-century when John Plumbe published his *Plumbeotype National Gallery*, Currier and Ives, *Eight Presidents of the United States*, W. H. Brown & Kellogg, the *Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Citizens*, Matthew Brady, the *Gallery of Illustrious Americans*, and D. Rice & A.N. Hart the *National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans*.[90]

Like their public equivalents, these printed galleries represented an inclusive, if white and overwhelmingly male national set of worthies. Other galleries targeted specific constituencies.[91] John Livingston published *Biographical Sketches of Eminent American Lawyers*,[92] The New York Methodist Bookroom advertised portraits of the clergy.[93]

Myriad cheap portrait prints flooded the market in addition to the relatively expensive prints in shop windows and paper galleries. Some of these were engravings after old master paintings. Others depicted notables who had left the public arena, and whose names were largely forgotten. In the 1830s one could buy most of these prints for a quarter, and sometimes even less. Neagle, who purchased prints by the pound, acquired "a lot of engravings" for three or four dollars on more than one occasion. In 1837 Earle sold him "a lot of miscellaneous prints in number about 300 or 325" for fifteen dollars.[94]

The increasingly popular genre of illustrated magazines routinely printed portraits in the 1830s. With the exception of the founding fathers, whose likenesses appeared in all types of publications, most periodicals focused on likenesses of figures that accorded with their social and political outlook. The law review printed portraits of lawyers, political organs like the *Democratic Review* and the *Whig Review* displayed the likenesses of fellow partisans in office.[95] Public figures more broad in appeal, or less easy to categorize, also

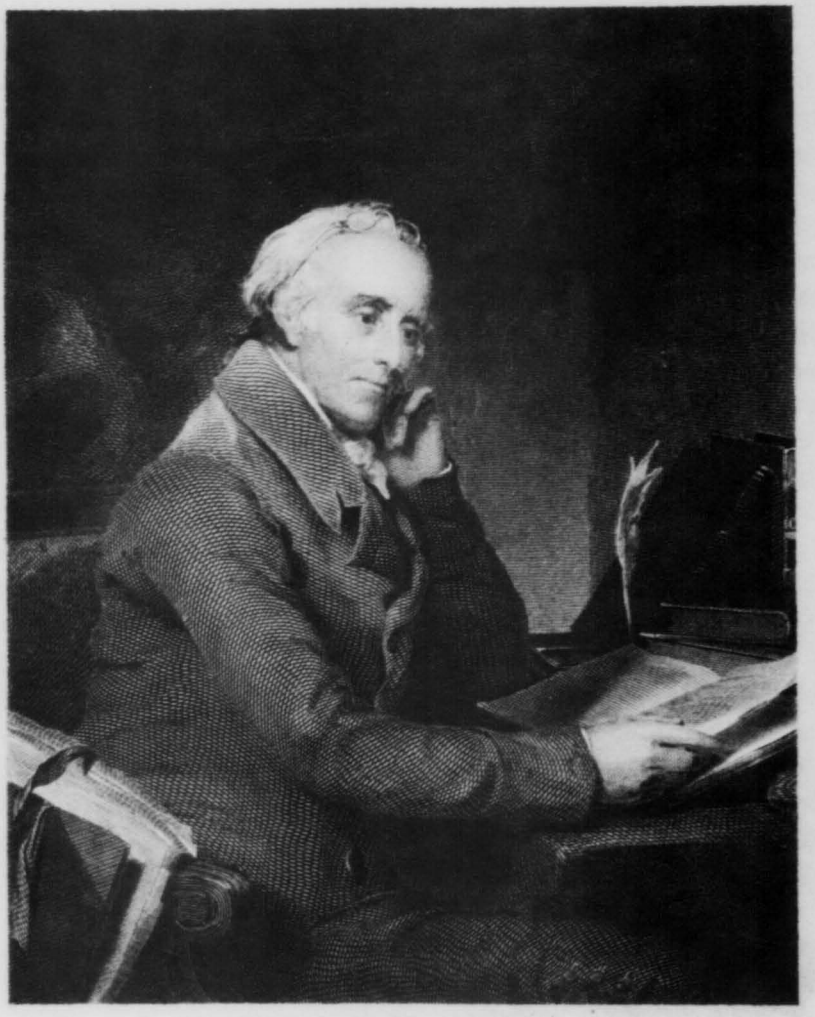


Figure 10: Benjamin Rush, *R. W. Dodson after Thomas Sully, engraving in James Longacre and James Herring's* The National Portrait gallery, *vol. III, 1836.*

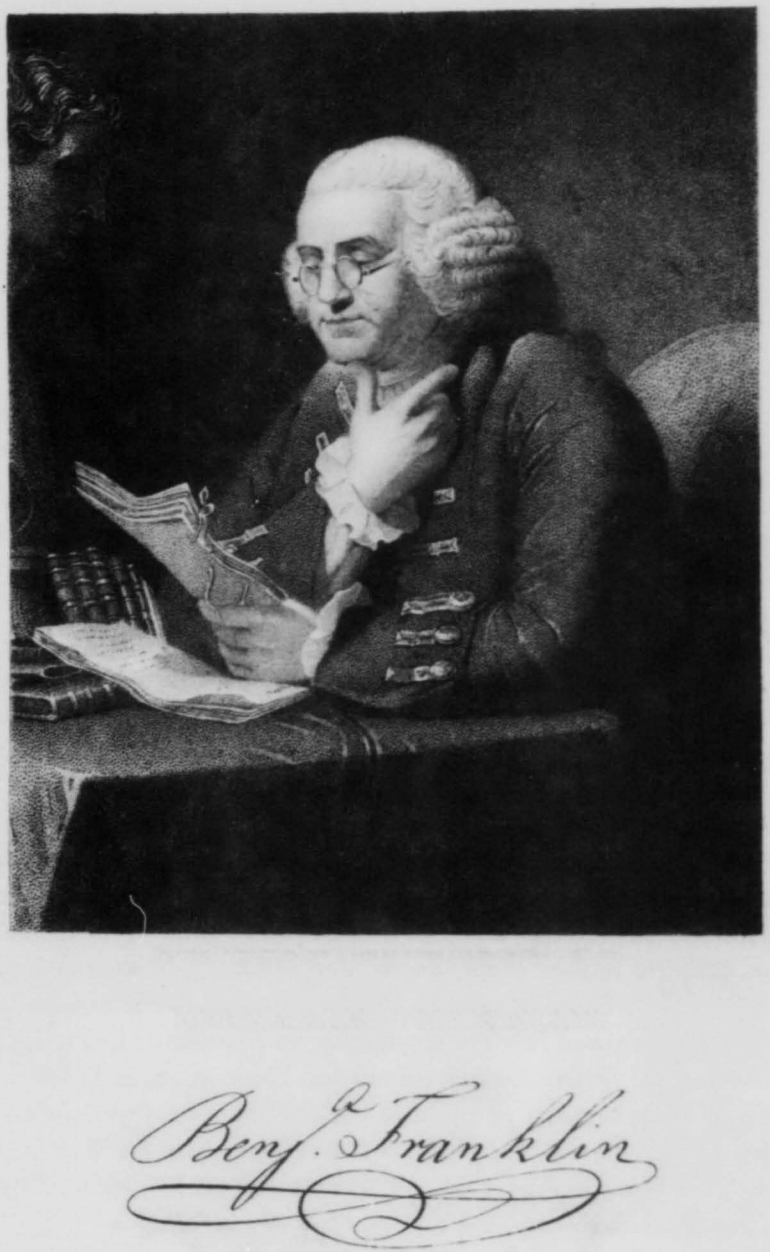


Figure 11: Benjamin Franklin, *T. B. Welch after Charles Willson Peale (after David Martin), 1772, engraving in* The National Portrait Gallery, *vol. II, 1835.*

Political History Collection, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution.

Figure 12: Snuff box with the portrait of Andrew Jackson, c. 1830, Papier-mâché. Acc. No. 95.7124.

appeared in print. In 1832, for instance, DeWitt Clinton's portrait appeared in the *Casket*; Robert Fulton's in the *New York Mirror*; and Patrick Lyon's in the *Atlantic Souvenir*.[96]

A plethora of small portrait objects, ranging from lapel badges to mantel piece ornaments, accompanied the soaring print market. Worthies had inspired souvenir production since the Republic's beginning, but their range remained limited until 1824. In that year, two events caused a surge in the memorabilia market. The first of these events was Andrew Jackson's presidential candidacy, which initiated a boom of portrait objects including flasks, bandannas, and snuffboxes (see figure 12).[97] The second was the Marquis de Lafayette's return to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. Lafayette's sixteen-month visit yielded the imprint of his features on badges, cravats, and kid gloves.[98] Successors followed their example. William Henry Harrison's features were depicted on a brush (see figure 13), Henry Clay's on a pipe, and Franklin Pierce's on a shaving mirror.[99]

Portrait objects became a staple of everyday life. Portraits of Washington by Stuart and others appeared on reward of merit certificates for young students (see figure 14), newspaper receipts, and tavern signs.[100] Neagle's Pat Lyon was reproduced on receipts from his shop (see figure 15) & banknotes;[101] his likeness of Clay on campaign ribbons (see figure 16).[102] Most of these objects were

Political History Collection, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution.

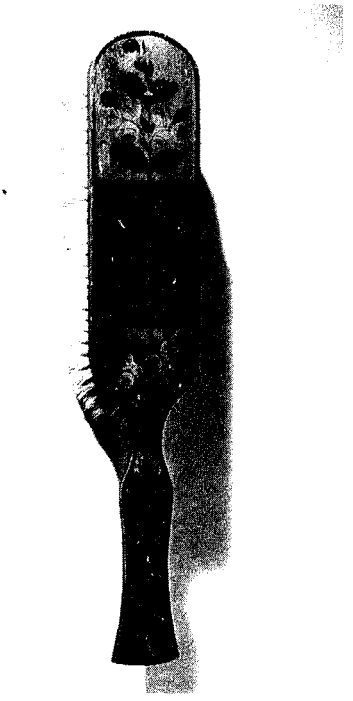


Figure 13: Brush with the portrait of William Henry Harrison, c. 1840. Acc. No. 64.98.

crudely manufactured ephemera. Many were produced and advertised in bulk. Thomas Dyott, owner of the Kensington Glass works, for instance, offered for sale 250,000 portrait flasks in one advertisement.[103]

The rise of this market of goods brought public portraits into the antebellum home. From the 1820s onwards, not only men, but also women and children who were often unwelcome in the professional societies, perused through volumes illustrated with portraits. They leisurely studied a print hung in the hallway or library. And they surrounded themselves with portraits on wood, silver, glass, and papier maché. Unlike oil paintings, which submitted viewers to passive meditation, these portraits invited active use. Both objects and prints could be touched, handled, and played with. Their tactile quality greatly facilitated obtaining intimate knowledge of the sitter's features. Longacre viewed this "familiarity" as a prerequisite for the "influence" of prints "upon

Courtesy of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

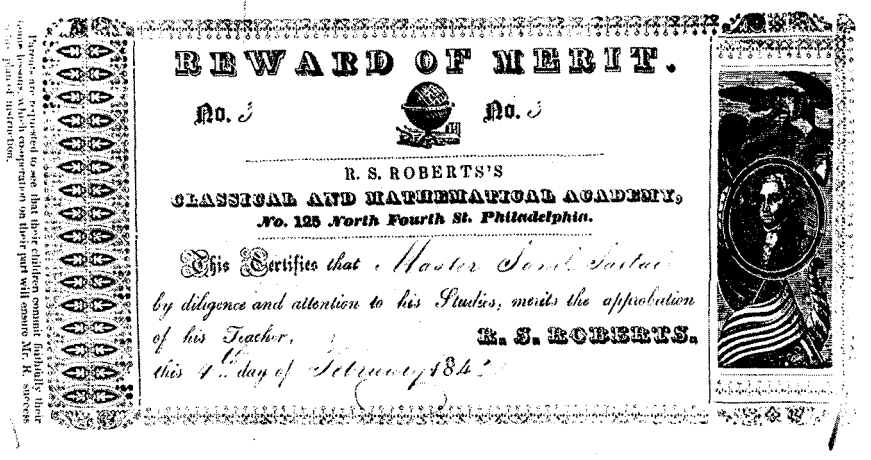


Figure 14: Reward of Merit Certificate with vignette woodcut portrait of George Washington (after Stuart), c. 1840-1850, Sartain Papers, Samuel Sartain, letters and papers, 1842, 1850, Samuel Sartain, 1842.

Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

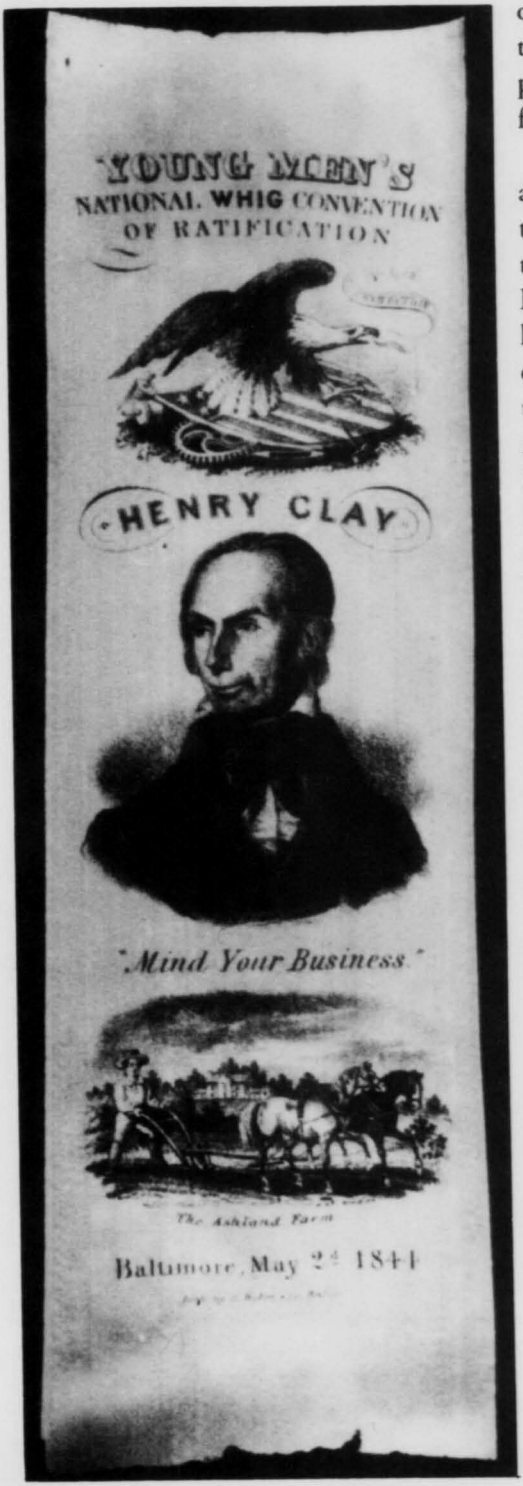
Figure 15: Patrick Lyon Fire and Engine Co. shop receipt with vignette portrait Pat Lyon (after Neagle), Scrapbook "Engraved Portraits and Views," gift by Judith Anna Gardom, 1935.

society." This influence, he wrote, is "scarcely appreciated by the Statesman or Philanthropist -as the beauty of the sky is unthought of by the traveller, although it reaches his heart and cheers his spirits; simply because it is over him every day."[104]

Scrapbooks provide the most tangible evidence of the fact that people familiarized themselves with portraits at home. They became popular among the middle classes in the decades preceding the Civil War. Long overlooked as collectibles, only the richest exemplars have survived. Many of these are large-size volumes, containing hundreds of pages comprising a variety of clippings, pictures, drawings, and writings.[105] Their makers were typically women, who retrieved the vast majority of their pictorial material from books and magazines.[106] *Godey's Lady's Book* catered to such collectors in its advertisement of a volume of engravings. "It is an elegant thing as it is," the advertisement read, "but the engravings may be taken apart, for scrap-book ornaments and the like."[107] Neagle's sollicitation of a "few prints" from Longacre for his wife's scrapbook suggests that on occasion, loose prints were used as well.[108]

At first glance, the arrangement of pictures in scrapbooks seems to echo the hangings at an annual exhibit at the Academy. They feature a similar range of visual genres, portraiture, genre scenes, biblical and historical images, but in larger numbers and often tightly pasted together. One page may contain as much as a dozen partly overlapping prints. Indeed, scrapbooks offer such a

Political History Collection, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution.



wealth of pictorial material that one is tempted to believe that they are compilations of every possible picture that could be found in a certain era.

Yet scrapbook arrangements also present shared pictorial themes. For portraiture, these themes can be divided into European peerage and national history. Scrapbooks that exemplify the latter theme tend to present a local flavoring of national history. They feature Pennsylvania heroes including Rush, Franklin, and Penn pasted next to national heroes including Washington and Madison, and interspersed with Philadelphia views of Fairmount, the Pennsylvania Hospital, and the U.S. Bank.[109] Scrapbooks illustrating the theme of European peerage suggest a horizontal relationship between American and European heroes. They present transatlantic galleries in which, for instance, Washington's portrait can be found in the company of the poets Burns and Schiller, and the composers Mozart and Bach.[110]

Some portrait arrangements in scrapbooks present a less ornate version of the single page portrait galleries used as book illustrations. Originally reserved

Figure 16:
Campaign ribbon "Mind Your Own Business," with the portrait of Henry Clay, Baltimore, 1844, silk, Acc. No. 59.703.1.

Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Figure 17: [Benjamin Franklin *after David Martin;,* George Washington *after Stuart,* George Washington *after Canova;* James Monroe *after Otis;* George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, *and* James Madison *in decorative setting,* Edward Jenner, *by Mackenzie;* Placidus Fixlmillner, *by Mackenzie.*] *Opening leaf, Unidentified scrapbook, P. 40.*

Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

Figure 18: Jacob Jones esq.: in the United States Navy; Isaac Chauncey esq.: in the US Navy; General Pike: Late of the US Army; Stephen Decatur esq. of the US Navy. *Edward Jordan, scrapbook of engravings, 1830.*

for celebrated poets and statesmen, these miniature galleries consisted of four or more neatly-framed heads in a decorative setting. With the intensified urge of collective representation, this format became popular with various groups, including military officers, professionals, and political assemblies.[111] Scrapbooks reflect this trend. An early scrapbook, for instance, displays portraits of Franklin and Monroe, two portraits of Washington, and a foursome of Washington, Jefferson, Adams, and Madison in a decorative frame on the opening page (see figure 17).[112] Another early scrapbook comprises a gallery of the 1812 commanders Jacob Jones, Isaac Chauncey, Zebulon Pike, and Stephen Decatur (see figure 18).[113] A mid-nineteenth century scrapbook offers a greater variety of galleries. It comprises a group of English reverends,[114] and an assembly of reverends and statesmen.[115] In addition, it features a medical gallery consisting of the portraits of members of the University of Pennsylvania medical staff, George B. Wood, Nathaniel Chapman, William Gibson, and Samuel Jackson (see figure 19).[116]

The assembled galleries in these scrapbooks constitute the family records of a historicizing trend in American visual culture. Similar to the impetus underlying the creation of public portrait galleries, they highlight the way in which the middle classes learned to position themselves in both a national and an international context.

Text

The same positioning can be gleaned from portrait criticism. In the early part of the century, visitors generally received limited textual support when they viewed portraits. Exhibition catalogues, although they identified sitters and artists of all the works on display, restricted commentary to only a handful of the paintings. As a rule, this commentary dealt with paintings inspired by an identifiable textual source: scriptural, genre, and history pictures. The commentary constituted a form of reverse illustration. As a reminder to the viewer, it cited the often dramatic lines from the bible, popular literature, or history which had inspired the portrayed image.[117] The Academy manifested its most evident neglect of textual elucidation in the endless series of portraits nominally introduced in the catalogue as "Portrait of a Lady," or "Portrait of a Gentleman." In their sparse use of commentary, the Academy pamphlets followed the example set by English exhibition catalogues which served primarily to identify subjects and artists. Presupposing a highly literate audience, they sought their educational task in proper visual display and aesthetic virtue rather than in a textually ordered system of values.

Exhibition reviews were equally brief. Notwithstanding rich English examples, early nineteenth-century art criticism was poorly developed in America. Grasping for the correct way to express their opinions, art critics devoted long reviews to the definition of true criticism. In 1812 a *Port Folio*

Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

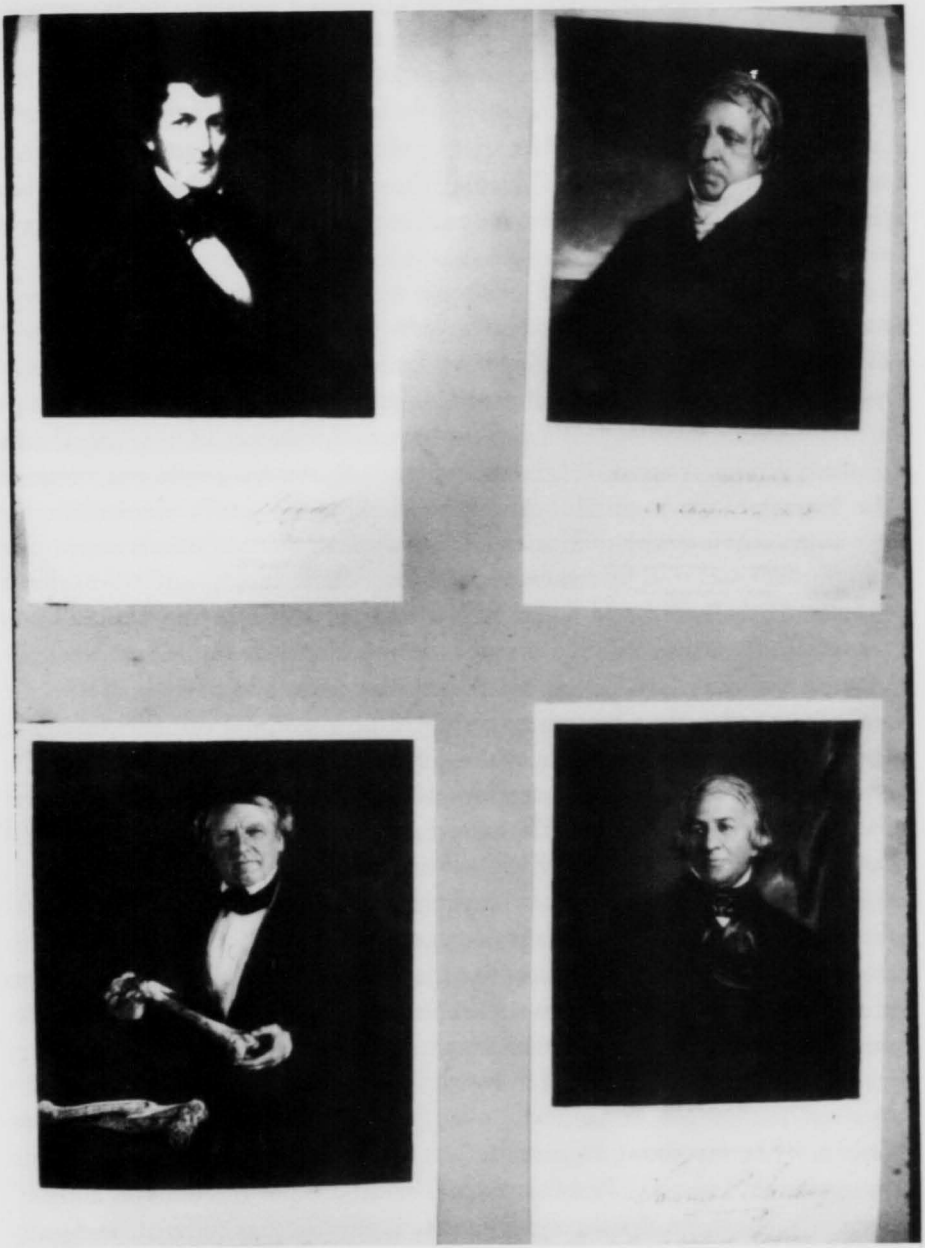


Figure 19: George B. Wood, M.D., Professor of Materia Medica and Pharmacy in the University of Pennsylvania, *engraved by Welch and Walter after a portrait by James R. Lambdin;* Nathaniel Chapman, M.D., Professor of Theory and Practice of Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania, *engraved by Welch and Walter from a Daguerreotype by M.P. Simmons;* William Gibson, M.D., Professor of Surgery in the University of Pennsylvania, *drawn and engraved by L.H. Baker from a daguerreotype by Highschool London 1847;* Samuel Jackson, M.D., Professor of Institutes of Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania, *engraved by Welch and Walter from a daguerreotype by M.P. Simons. Scrapbook "Engraved Portraits and Views," gift by Judith Anna Gardom, 1935.*

critic pointed out that reviews rarely went beyond boasting the progress of American art. Noting that "few are capable of giving a just criticism on works of art," he believed that even the judgment of professional artists was defective. Not only was their judgment clouded by self interest, he wrote, it was also inclined to emphasize rather "the *trickery* of art, than...the faithful and natural representation of real objects." Having thus narrowed the pool of candidates for the job, the critic oddly concluded that the "basis of taste and criticism is *common sense.*"[118]

The term "common sense" opened the door to amateur opinion. Indeed, many reviews in this period were written by people who discounted their expertise by calling themselves "just" amateurs. In the early part of the century, this form of self depreciation illustrated the undefined nature of the rules of art criticism in America. As the years progressed, it became little more than a modern variant of a traditional rhetorical style figure. A compliment to one of the "amateur" reviewers illustrates how they had become connoisseurs, for whom common sense had little to do with the judgment of artistic merit. The compliment was paid by Academy president Joseph Hopkinson who praised the amateur's "useful and agreeable" exhibition review in the *United States Gazette.* In the article, Hopkinson took the opportunity to outline the elements of good criticism. In order to "instruct the spectator and to do justice to the artist," a good review, according to Hopkinson, pointed out the flaws and "beauties that would escape a passing eye." Only by focusing the public's attention to "excellencies in composition, drawing, expression, colouring, and the management of light and shadow," could its "taste [be] improved and directed to the paintings which constitute perfection in the arts." [119]

Notwithstanding Hopkinson's emphasis on the particulars of the craft, the nature of portraiture dictated that critics combined connoisseurship with common sense. After all, audiences were generally more interested in the success of the likeness than the correct application of painterly technique. As a rule, therefore, critics paired comments about composition, expression, and drapery with an opinion about the likeness of the portrait. In a typical example, a reviewer praised the drapery and overall effect of Sully's George Frederick Cooke, while expressing regret that "the artist has not been so fortunate in preserving the likeness." Rembrandt Peale's portraits presented more "faithful" likenesses," he wrote elsewhere in the same review, but they suffered "in dignity and grace." [120]

The latter comment suggests the ways in which remarks about technique were always intertwined with judgments about (social) propriety. Eighteenth-century aesthetic theory codified this intertwinement. It provided art with an "inner" morality based on classic example which dictated dignified poses and proper expressions. The antebellum public warranted new ways to express this morality. Less bound by a common education than earlier generations, it was

less attached to classic example and more susceptible to the application of contemporary (not aesthetically motivated) morality to works of art.

Curiously, Peale's eighteenth-century blend of "amusement and instruction,"[121] came much closer to the antebellum sensibility than to the eighteenth-century classical idiom. Peale provided each of the portraits in his Museum with both a name tag and a number corresponding "to a concise account of each person" on the opposite cases.[122] In addition, he wrote lengthy catalogue entries which distinguished sitters on the basis of a defining act or product. These entries identified scientists by their inventions, statesmen (mostly revolutionary heroes) by their role in a historical event. Beyond mere description, Peale's commentary often heightened a portrait's suspense. The portrait of General Joseph Reed, one entry read, represented the hero "after his horse was shot under him at the battle of White Marsh." Such narrative enrichment of faces was indispensable when the sitter was both unknown and unremarkable to the visitor. Such was the case with portraits of sitters who had earned their place in the gallery due to the peculiarity of their appearance or history. Examples of these were John Hutton, who was over one hundred and four years old, James Gallaway, who grew a horn on his chest, and "Negro James who became white."[123]

Ignoring issues of style, technique, and even likeness this criticism was blatantly contextual. Indeed, it had often as much to do with the identity of the sitter as with the quality of the art work. By speaking directly to the audience's social and political world, it suggested a powerful alternative view to the tandem of taste and virtue advocated by cultural elites.

This alternative view also opened up the art discourse to transparently ideological messages. The *Aurora* praised a series of engravings of naval heroes of the War of 1812. "As those patriots are characteristic of events glorious to the recollection of every American, we wish the proprietor success in his endeavors to transmit to posterity correct models of men who in the hour of danger, Washington-like, stood firm amidst the cannon's roaring."[124] A reviewer for the *Balance* wrote with acerbic wit about John Neagle's celebrated portrait of the Philadelphia blacksmith Patrick Lyon. Expressing regret that "Sir Patrick is the *only* subject of *wonderment* at the academy," the author hoped that Neagle would expand the series with portraits of "*similar genteel characters.*" He suggested that these portraits include "*Tommy Wickedsham, Major Pfeiffer, Captain Strutt, 'squire P'Shaw, Sam Rainholes* and the Big Ostler."[125] Another author, "Henry," praised the "truly characteristic" engraving of Sully's portrait of Andrew Jackson by Longacre. "We see none of the primness of stripling officers," he wrote. "There is a republican plainness in his dress — a careless unaffected ease in his position, as he stands leaning his left arm on his horse's neck and resting his right hand on the hilt of his sword, as on the staff with the point on the ground; at the same time he seems firm and dignified and

something seems to indicate a *resolution that never wavers.* In short, it reminds us of 'Old Hickory.'"[126]

Hardly surprising in a time replete with partisan strife and moral preaching, this commentary befitted a culture in which public portraits were used rather than revered. The coincidence of a rising middle class and the ascendance of art galleries created a public of viewers which employed the medium as an instrument of collective representation. Their representational quality engendered a range of functions: means of identification, political tool, measure stick for mind readers, criminologists, and reformers. Public portraits were still judged by their artistic merit. Yet, their pervasive presence and political use in and outside the home motivated the antebellum citizen to make that judgment subservient to social, political, and historical concerns.

Notes

This article grew out of a paper presented to the Philadelphia Center for Early American Studies at the Winterthur Museum in October 1996. I wish to thank the following colleagues for their encouragement, assistance, fellowship, or all of the above: Thomas Bender, Larry Bird, Judith Van Buskirk, Richard S. Dunn, Pat and Geoff Halfpenny, Tom Humphrey, Brendan McConville, Nancy Mykoff, and Linda Stanley. In addition, I thank the Barra Foundation, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the Smithsonian Institute, and the Henry Francis Dupont Winterthur Museum for financial assistance.

1. Alexander Graydon to John Lardner, March 30, 1811, John Lardner papers, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (Henceforth HSP). With thanks to Judith Van Buskirk for providing me with this source.

2. [Charles Willson Peale], *Guide to the Philadelphia Museum*, [nd.] 1816, 3-5. The literature on Peale's Museum is extensive. See, for instance, Lillian B. Miller and David C. Ward eds., *New Perspectives on Charles Willson Peale: A 250th Anniversary Celebration*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press for the Smithsonian Museum, 1991), esp. Roger B. Stein's "Charles Willson Peale's Expressive Design: The Artist in his Museum," 167-218. See also Charles Coleman Sellers, *Mr. Peale's Museum: Charles Willson Peale and the First Popular Museum of Natural Science and Art*, (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1980), and David R. Brigham, *Public Culture in the Early Republic: Peale's Museum and Its Audience* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995).

3. Charles Willson Peale and Titian Ramsey Peale, *The Long Room, Interior of the Front Room in Peale's Museum*, 1822, water color on graphite, The Detroit Institute of Arts. In that year, Peale's Museum owned approximately ninety oil portraits. See the various "portrait chronologies" assembled by the Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia. With thanks to Karie Diethorn.

4. Joseph Hopkinson to John Trumbull, Feb. 18, 1823, John Trumbull papers, New York Public Library, Special Collections (hereafter cited as NYPL).

5. A pencil drawing in the 1831 catalogue in the Watson Library at The Metropolitan Museum of Art (hereafter cited as MMA) suggests the possibility that the latter may have been split off from the east gallery.

6. "Washington Allston's *The Dead Man Restored to Life*," 1816; "Celebrated Gallery of Paintings from England. Catalogue of Paintings by the Great Masters," 1833.

7. The galleries combined displayed on average 376 works of art. About half of these were heads. The largest group of heads were to be found in the statue gallery, which housed a median of close to ninety sculptured portraits. Many of these were of mythological and historical figures of ancient Greece and Rome. About twenty-five, however, were busts of moderns. These busts, many executed in Roman dress, were of local worthies, revolutionary heroes, foreign statesmen and philosophes. In addition, the gallery displayed on average just over 50, the Rotunda about 25, and the Director's Room twenty portraits. A few of these were drawings, prints and busts, but most heads were executed in oil. Excluded from these numbers are group portraits, genre figures, biblical portraits, and figures in landscapes, because they presented a story rather than a face to the viewer.

8. Both daguerreotypes are in the collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. One is in Caspar Souder's extra-illustrated *History of Chesnut Street, Philadelphia; From the Founding of the City to the Year 1859 With Illustrations*, 1859, 371, the other is in the Society's photo collection, Stores and Factories/ Art Galleries, box 113, folder 1. Earle's gallery, as far as far as I can determine, left no business records, nor did its later rival, Germon's Temple of Art, of which only a daguerreotype of the exterior facade remains. A letter from Rubens Peale to Titian Ramsay Peale on August 4, 1819 dates the partnership between Sully and Earle in that year. Charles Willson Peale, *The Collected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and His Family*, Edited by Lillian B. Miller (National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. Millwood, N.Y.: Kraus-Thomson Organization, 1980)

mf VIIA/3B2-5. Microfiche Edition.

9. *Catalogue of Peale's Italian Pictures Now Exhibiting at Sully and Earle's Gallery*, 1831, mf. VIB/3A12-B7, Peale, *Collected Papers*. In the 1850s, Earle became a clearing house for prints of Peale's Washington portraits. See Rembrandt Peale to F.J. Dreer, April 12, 1853 ibidem, mf. VIA/11B 9; Rembrandt Peale "Peale's Monochrome of Washington," May 1857, ibidem, mf. VIA/12B 8-9. Earle advertised Peale's *Washington* in mezzotint in the early 50s, and the same in monochrome in 1857.

10. William Dunlap, *The History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design, New Illustrated Edition*, ed. Frank W. Bayley and Charles E. Goodspeed (1834; Boston: C. E. Goodspeed & Co., 1918), vol. I, 341; 350. He exhibited *Christ Rejected* in 1822, and *Christ Bearing the Cross* in 1825.

11. Rembrandt Peale, testimony, *Suit: Society of the Sons of St. George v. Thomas Sully*, Society Collections, Legal Miscellaneous, 17, HSP.

12. Joseph Hopkinson to John Trumbull, Feb. 18, 1823, Trumbull papers, NYPL. Hopkinson responded to Trumbull's request (articulated in a letter dated January 27, 1823) to have the painting exhibited alone and close to the Hospital (to profit from the proximity of West's *Christ Healing the Sick*). After Hopkinson's reply, Trumbull sent an almost identical letter to Earle, dated March 23, 1823. Both letters are in the Dreer collection, painters and engravers, vol. V, box 1, HSP.

13. Charles Peterson, "Carpenter's Hall," *Historic Philadelphia From the Founding Until the Early Nineteenth Century: Papers Dealing with Its people and Buildings With an Illustrative Map*, (reprint *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. 43, Part I, 1953; American Philosophical Society, 1980) 96-126, 111.

14. The Panzographia existed between 1819 and 1823. Gordon M. Marshall, "The Golden Age of Illustrated Biographies: Three Case Studies," Wendy Wick Reaves, ed., *American Portrait Prints: Proceedings of the Tenth Annual American Print Conference* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, published for the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1984) 29-82, 45. The Library Company in Philadelphia has the *Prospectus of Delaplaine's Panzographia, for the Reception of the Portraits of Distinguished Americans*, Philadelphia, 1818.

15. For information about Peale's gallery, see William T. Oedel, "After Paris: Rembrandt Peale's Apollodorian Gallery, *Winterthur Portfolio* 27 (Spring 1992): 1-27.

16. Dunlap describes various history paintings in Sully's gallery. *History*, vol. I, 328-329. Sully made note of the opening and closing of the gallery in his "Journal," entries May 18, 1817, 20, and March 19, 1818, 21, NYPL. James Earl was listed in the Philadelphia Directory of 1811 as proprietor of a Shakespeare Gallery. Cited in Carrie Rebora, "Sir Thomas Lawrence's *Benjamin West* for the American Academy of Fine Arts," *The American Art Journal* 21, (1989), 18-47, 46.

17. The correspondence between West and the Hospital is discussed in Thomas G. Morton, *The History of the Pennsylvania Hospital, 1751-1895* (Philadelphia: Times Printing House, 1895) 305-321. Both Peale and Sully participated in the design of the Picture House.

18. Thomas Sully "Journal," NYPL, entry March 9, 1827, 48.

19. Gulian Verplanck, *Address to The American Academy of the Fine Arts*, May 11, 1824, 27-28. This part on exemplary faces was also quoted in *The Columbian Star*. Richard Ray's *Address* to the same audience one year later illustrated how conventional this wisdom was. Detailing the interaction between students and portraits, Ray proclaimed that "[h]e may turn to the great philosophers themselves, and put the question at once to them. And if he does not hear a voice actually issuing from their pictured lips, to tell him what is noble in thought, and what is proper in action, still he will perceive such an influence of their spirits upon his heart, that will itself answer the question, as they themselves would have done." [Richard Ray, *Address to the American Academy of the Fine Arts*, Nov. 17, 1825].

The idea of an inspiring portrait or bust was also a popular subject for artists. Building on a rich Renaissance tradition, they created a genre out of portraits with American muses. Stuart's portrait of Mrs. Perez Morton included a bust of Washington, his portrait of Jefferson

one of Benjamin Franklin. Samuel Morse portrayed Lafayette with the sculptured heads of Franklin and Washington, Thomas Sully depicted Rush with the bust of Hippocrates.

20. Charles Willson Peale, "Address to the Corporation and Citizens of Philadelphia," July 18, 1816, Lillian B. Miller, ed., *Selected Papers of Charles Willson Peale and his Family*, vol. 3 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, published for the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1991) 411-422, 415. For similar ideas, see also William Rush's 1820 *Memorial to the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania*, History Files, 1820, np. [1], Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts (hereafter cited as PAFA).

21. *The Review of Publications of Art*, vol. 1, #3 (London: Samuel Tipper, 1808) in Neagle, "Essays on the Fine Arts," vol. 6, 197-220, 204, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

22. Anthony Pasquin, *A Critical Guide to the Exhibition of the Royal Academy, for 1796* (London, 1796), 18: "[t]he Portrait painters, of this Exhibition, have hit upon a novel method of allaying public inquiries, by affixing the names of the parties depicted, in the catalogue."

23. Rembrandt Peale, "Reminiscences, Exhibitions & Academies," Dreer collection, vol. III, box 2, [nd] 105 [5], HSP.

24. The exhibit featured Robert Fulton's collection of paintings. Not above admitting his own ignorance of the authorship of some of the old masters, Peale wrote "Who painted Abel? Titian or Pousian [sic]? Who painted Adam and Eve? Rubens?" Charles Willson Peale to Robert Fulton, November 15, 1807, *Charles Willson Peale Papers Relating to the Early History of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts Put Together by Titian Ramsay Peale in a Scrapbook*, PAFA minutes and other papers, n.d. [1877?], 21, HSP.

25. *Ibid.*, Fulton to Peale, November 18, 1807, 22.

26. J.J. Paeton to Benjamin West, Dec. 26, 1809, Simon Gratz collection of American painters and sculptors and engravers (hereafter cited as Gratz collection), Benjamin West: incoming mail, HSP.

27. John Neagle to James B. Longacre, October 7, 1820. James Barton Longacre papers, box 2, folder 6, Library Company of Philadelphia (hereafter cited as Libco).

28. *Ibid.* Neagle reported that the Instituted netted $150 on that day. The entrance fee was 25 cents.

29. The bookkeeper entered $10,526.90 as the first year's income. If all 5,000 printed pamphlets were sold at 0.25 cents each, and 200 people purchased a "perpetual ticket" at $10, the income from visitors was $7,250. At 0.25 cents entrance fee, and not counting the visitors that came several times on perpetual tickets, this means that the painting drew almost 30,000 visitors in its first year. Spread out over 200 opening days per year, on the average about one hundred and fifty per day. For first year income, see *Pennsylvania Hospital, Visitors Book West's Painting in Possession of President Coates*, n.p., n.d. HSP. Statistics for the annual income a decade later, suggest a sharp decline: 3,300 visitors for 1827, 2,460 for 1830, and 1,950 for 1831. For price of perpectual tickets, and number of pamphlets printed, see William Armstrong, "West, Benjamin," *Chronological Index to Subjects in the History of the Pennsylvania Hospital, 1750-1888*, compiled between 1880 and 1895, 410, HSP.

Sidney Hart and David G. Ward cite a population number of 90,000 for 1810 in "The Waning of an Enlightenment Ideal: Charles Willson Peale's Philadelphia Museum, 1790-1820," Miller and Ward, *New Perspectives on Charles Willson Peale*, 219-236, 224.

30. Titian R. Peale to the Board of the Philadelphia Museum, April 17, 1834, Peale Papers, case 16, manager reports 10, HSP.

31. Armstrong, "West," 411: On Feb. 26, 1827, the board ordered "any orderly patient to be permitted to see West's painting."

32. See the 1845 invitations for the regiment under Cadwallader, PAFA file, HSP.

33. W.H. Furness to the Board of the Pennsylvania Academy, May 4, 1857. History files, 1857, PAFA.

34. Max Rosenthal, *Interior View of Independence Hall*, lithograph, c. 1855-1856, Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia. Compare to prints of Bunker

Hill outings on Sunday afternoon, Boston Athenaeum, Department of Prints, and contrast with prints of crowds at presidential inaugurations in *Leslie's Weekly* in the 1850s.

35. Women ordered pictures as well, but Neagle's receipts identify neither their social status nor their occupation.

36. Sully, "Journal," entries for resp. Aug. 1805, Sept. 1805, and April 1806, 5, NYPL.

37. Neagle, "Blotterbook," entry July 15, 1833. John Neagle collection, HSP.

38. *Ibid.*, entry Jan. 12, 1835.

39. Neagle, "Cashbook, 1832-1842," entry Dec. 31, 1835. Neagle collection, HSP.

40. Neagle cited in his Blotterbook his price range for portraits between Feb. 1832, and Feb. 1836: $50 for a bust portrait, to $600 for a full length portrait.

41. Sully, "Journal," entry April 1806, 5.

42. Neagle, "Blotterbook," July 15, 1833.

43. *Ibid.*, Dec. 7, 1833.

44. *Ibid.*, Sept. 5, 1833. Underlining his.

45. Stuart M. Blumin, *The Emergence of the Middle Class: Social Experience in the American City, 1760-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989). See especially his chapter on voluntary associations, 192-229.

46. Charles Willson Peale (after David Martin), *Benjamin Franklin*, oil on canvas, 1772, given to the American Philospophical Society by the artist in 1785.

47. John Trumbull, *Alexander Hamilton*, oil on canvas, 1792; Matthew Pratt, *Cadwallader Colden*, oil on canvas, 1772.

48. William Dunlap, *Thomas Eddy*, oil on canvas, 1826-7. Information in Dunlap, *History*, vol. I, 357. The text is ambiguous on exactly when the copy was ordered for the Hospital.

49. George P. A. Healy to Charles Bird King, October 7, 1843, Dreer Collection, Painters and Engravers, vol. II, box 2, 68, HSP.

50. Morton, *The History of the Pennsylvania Hospital, 1751-1895*, 339-341. Both busts were executed in marble and presented by their sculptor James Tracquair, Penn in 1802, and Washington in 1810. The Hospital also owned a full length lead statue of William Penn. Made by an unknown sculptor, it was donated by one of Penn's descendants in 1804, 331-332.

51. *Ibid.*, 342. Sully, *Benjamin Coates*, oil on canvas, 1813, and *Benjamin Rush*, oil on canvas, 1813-1814.

52. *Ibid.*, 343. The busts of Rush and Physick, Both were plaster busts made by the sculptor William Rush. They were presented respectively by Joseph S. Coates and John R. Coates.

53. Armstrong, "Pictures, Prints, Sketches, Engravings, Paintings, Statue [sic], Busts, Drawings," *Chronological Index*, 281. Zaccheus Collins presented the bust of Caspar Wistar by an unknown maker. It was placed in the library in 1818. Artist Joseph Parker Norris presented his likeness of Dr. Lloyd Zachary in 1824.

54. A fourth downstairs portrait was Gilbert Stuart's Decatur, bequeathed in 1847. See Select Council of the City of Philadelphia, Dec. 9, 1847, City Archives Philadelphia. In 1854, Peale's portrait collection was brought to public auction, where the city (under name of Erben, also spelt Herben or Urban in the annotated auction catalogue at the HSP) bought about one third of the portraits. These portraits are now in the Second Bank of the United States in Philadelphia. The information about Erben can be found in a letter by John McAllister to Benson J. Lossing, Oct. 7, 1854, Peale-Sellers Papers, The American Philosophical Society (hereafter APS). With thanks to Karie Diethorn, Independence National Historical Park, who provided me with this information.

55. Charles Burton, *Governor's Room, City Hall, New York City*, 1831, sepia watercolor on paper, 2 11/16 x 3 1/2 inches, New-York Historical Society (hereafter cited as NYHS).

56. Naval commanders painted by John Wesley Jarvis, in the order in which they appear in Burton's sketch from left to right: *Thomas MacDonaugh*, 1815, *Oliver Hazard Perry*, 1816, *Isaac Hull*, 1815, *William Bainbridge*, 1814-1815, and *Jacob Jennings Brown*, 1815. A sixth naval commander, *Stephen Decatur*, painted by Thomas Sully (1814) is not depicted. Among other full lengths in the collection at the time of Burton's sketch were Jarvis, *General Joseph Gardner Swift*, 1817, John Trumbull, *Alexander Hamilton*, 1805, Samuel Morse, *Marquis de Lafayette*, 1825-1826 and John Vanderlyn, *Andrew*

Jackson, 1820, and *James Monroe*, 1822.

57. John Trumbull, *Richard Varick*, 1805, Samuel Lovett Waldo and William Jewett, *Stephen Allen*, 1824, Samuel Finley Morse, *William Paulding*, 1826, and John Vanderlyn, *Philip Hone*, 1827. A waist length portrait in the bottom left of Burton's interior is possibly Paul van Somer's *Henry Hudson*, 1620, which can be identified in the picture by Hudson's seventeenth-century wide ruff.

58. Portraits in municipal buildings have been less well inventoried than in federal buildings. Often, their locations have to be gleaned from credits on engravings. See, for instance, credits for the Warren, Preble, and Knox portraits in James Longacre and James B. Herring, *National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans* (Philadelphia, 1833-1839) vol. II.

59. The daguerreotype of Faneuil Hall is in the Haven collection, Massachusetts Historical Society (hereafter cited as MHS). Besides the ones mentioned here, I found few visual records of interiors. The HSP, MHS, and the Philadelphia Athenaeum left no visual record of their interiors for this period (although they do have architectural drawings). An 1862 photograph and 1859 woodcut of King's Indian gallery in Washington are reproduced in Herman Viola, *The Indian Legacy of Charles Bird King* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution and Double Day & Company, 1976) 117; 145.

60. The information on Neagle in this paragraph stems from Robert Torchia's excellent catalogue *John Neagle, Philadelphia Portrait Painter* (Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1989) resp. 53, 144-146, 152-155. Neagle's prospectus, titled "A Series of Well Engraved Portraits of the Medical Professors, in the University of Pennsylvania, From Original Paintings, To Be Executed by Himself, Expressly for the Work" boasted that "other portraits are in a state of forwardness, on canvas, and that of DR. PHYSICK is nearly finished; the engraving from which will appear as *number two.*" (emphasis his) Notwithstanding this claim, only the portraits of Dr. Nathaniel Chapman, engraved by Thomas Kelly (1831), and Dr. William Potts Dewees, engraved by M.E.D. Brown (1833), were completed. John Neagle Papers, APS.

61. Andrew Oliver, Ann Millspaugh Huff, and Edward W. Hanson, *Portraits in the Massachusetts Historical Society: An Illustrated Catalogue with Descriptive Matter* (Boston: MHS, 1988), xvi.

62. George Wilson, *Portrait Gallery of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New-York, Catalogue and Biographical Sketches* (New York: Press of the Chamber of Commerce, 1890) iii-iv. Many institutions postponed forming collections. The Philadelphian College of Physicians, founded in 1791, had its early quarters at Philosophical Hall. They moved into the Mercantile Library in 1845. Although they acquired their first portrait, an engraved likeness of Dr. Joseph Hartshorne, in 1850, they only started actively commissioning portraits after they obtained their own building in 1863. Gretchen Worden, "The History of the Collection," in: Julie S. Berkowitz, ed., *The College of Physicians of Philadelphia: Portrait Catalogue*, (Philadelphia: College of Physicians of Philadelphia, 1984) xvii-xxii, xvii-xviii.

63. Most of this info stems from Sellers, *Mr. Peale's Museum*, 330-331.

64. Since the later Indian galleries of George Catlin and Charles Bird King present both a marginal aspect of the proliferation of portrait galleries, and a powerful example of a different cultural trend than the one here described, their history falls outside this inquiry.

65. *The Stranger's Guide* of 1850 listed as portraits of special interest Gilbert Stuart's full length of Washington (Lansdowne), Thomas Sully's Jackson, and Neagle's Patrick Lyon at the Forge. See *The Stranger's Guide in Philadelphia to All Public Buildings, Places of Amusement, Commercial, Benevolent, and Religious Institutions, and Churches, Principal Hotels* (Philadelphia: Lindsay & Blakiston, 1850) 126-127.

66. As a young man, Pat Lyon successfully sued a group of citizens responsible for his wrongful imprisonment for theft. John Sartain, *The Reminiscences of a Very Old Man, 1808-1897* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1899) 192-193.

Neagle exhibited two portraits of Pat Lyon at the Academy. Between 1831 to 1845 he exhibited a replica, after 1845 the original. See

Peter Hastings Falk, *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1807-1870, Being a Reprint with Revisions of the 1955 Edition of Anna Wells Rutledge's Cumulative Record of Exhibition Catalogues Incorporating the Society of Artists, 1810-1814 and the Artists' Fund Society, 1835-1845* (Madison, Connecticut: Soundview Press, 1988) vol I, 150.

67. *Ibid.*, 151.

68. At Academy exhibits, oil portraits (both public and private) were just as likely flanked by a landscape, sentimental piece or religious painting as they were paired with other portraits. Similarities in style and materials seems to have often motivated their pairing. Pastel portraits were linked to other pastel portraits, neo-classical heads were sided with their stylistic equivalents.

69. Franklin's bust was made by Houdon, Hamilton's by Andrew Jardella. They were paired for much of the 1830s. See, for instance, *Twenty-First Annual Exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, May 1831* (Philadelphia: Russel and Martien, 1831) 10, and the successive catalogues for May 1832, p. 8; October 1834, p. 9; and 1840, p. 6.

70. Review *National Gazette*, May 27, 1822. The reviewer's comment applied to Sully's portrait of Washington, and a portrait of Napoleon after Jacques-Louis David. In the thirties, Giuseppe Cerracchi's bust of Washington, and a copy after Canova's bust of Napoleon were often paired. See, for instance, the catalogues for 1832, p. 8; and 1834, p. 9.

71. The Biddle bust by E. Luigi Persico, and the Jackson portrait by Sully were paired in the 1849 exhibition, see *Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Chesnut Street above Tenth, Catalogue of the Twenty-Sixth Annual Exhibition* (Philadelphia: T. K. and P. G. Collins, 1849) 24.

72. The precise text, which cannot be deciphered from the painting itself, stems from Harold E. Dickson, *John Wesley Jarvis: American Painter, 1780-1840, With a Checklist of his Works* (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1949) 189.

73. See, for a famous example, Charles Willson Peale, *George Washington in Princeton*, oil on canvas, 1780, MMA.

74. The portraits' size was 60" wide by between 88" and 96" long. The fluctuation, although minor, seems to refute John Walker Harrington's claim that Jarvis's portraits set the standard for future portraits for the Governor's Room. "John Wesley Jarvis, Portraitist." *The American Magazine of Art* 18 (November 1927) 577-584, 580. I have confined myself here to the five portraits actually visible in Burton's water color. Sully's *Decatur* and Jarvis's *Swift* fit by and large the same descriptions, but I cannot with certainty claim that they were hung in the same room.

75. Neagle, "Autobiographical sketches," 1850, n.p., Neagle papers, APS. Neagle was born in 1796.

76. Robert Welford, Notice, Oct. 27, 1801, #49 Chesnut Street, Souder, *History*, 30.

77. Sam Kennedy, nd, no newspaper indicated, Souder, *History*, 63; Edward Savage, May 27, 1800, name newspaper not indicated, Souder, *History*, 107.

78. Advertisement, July 1801, no newspaper indicated, Souder, *History*, 129.

79. The ten dollar "Marshall's Household Engraving of Stuart's Washington" was advertised by T.B. Pugh, nd. [1850?], see Sartain papers, Samuel Sartain, printed materials, HSP. In the same collection is an advertisement for Samuel Sartain's 25 cents engraving of a Lincoln portrait after a miniature by J. Henry Brown, nd. [1860].

80. Ralph Rawdon to Henry L. Webb, June 25, 1834, Gratz collection, HSP. Underlining Rawdon's.

81. Souder, *History*, 64.

82. George W. Bethune, *The Prospects of Art in the United States: at the Opening of Their Exhibition, May, 1840: An Address before the Artist Fund Society of Philadelphia*, (Philadelphia: John Clark for the Artists' Fund Society), 9.

83. Souder, *History*, 64.

84. James Longacre and James B. Herring, *National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans* (Philadelphia, 1833-1839); Joseph Delaplaine, *Delaplaine's Repository of the Lives and Portraits of Distinguished Americans* (Philadelphia: William Brown for the Proprietor, 1816-1818); John Sanderson's

Biography of the Signers to the Declaration of Independence (Philadelphia: Joseph M. Sanderson for the Proprietor (vols. 1-2), R. W. Pomeroy (vols. 3-9) 1820-1827).

85. Advertisement, n.d., Longacre Papers, box 3, folder 11, Libco.

86. *Ibid.*

87. *Rush*, R. W. Dodson after Sully, Longacre and Herring, *National Portrait Gallery*, vol. III; *Warren*, Thomas B. Welch after Charles Willson Peale (after David Martin), Ibidem, vol. II; *MacDonaugh*, J. B. Forrest after Jarvis, Ibidem, vol. I; *Perry*, W. G. Jackman after Jarvis, Ibidem, vol. I; *Bainbridge*, G. Parker after Jarvis, Ibidem, vol. III. Rush's portrait was after a replica in the possession of Richard Rush. All full length portraits were changed into waist lengths, some of which featured changed details in dress or background.

88. Longacre, draft of letter, [n.d.], no addressee, Longacre papers, box 2, folder 37, Libco. Longacre mentions another hundred subscriptions for Washington, D.C., and a disappointing two hundred for Philadelphia.

89. For the editors' hardships, see, for instance, Longacre's sketching his disappointment in the public response, especially in Philadelphia, to his portrait gallery. Longacre papers, box 2, folder 37, Libco. General information in this paragraph stems from Marshall Gordon, "The Golden Age of Illustrated Biographies: Three Case Studies," in Wendy Wick Reaves ed., *American Portrait Prints: Proceedings of the Tenth Annual American Print Conference* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, published for the National Portrait Gallery, Smithsonian Institution, 1984) 29-82, esp. 39-67.

90. Currier and Ives, *Eight Presidents of the United States*, 1840. W.H Brown & Kellogg's *Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Citizens*, 1844. John Plumbe's *Plumbeotype National Gallery*, 1846; Goupil, Vibert & Co.'s *Portraits of Distinguished Americans*; Matthew Brady's *Gallery of Illustrious Americans*, 1850. D. Rice and A.N. Hart, *Rice & Hart's National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans*, 1856. The Jonah Thompson, Portrait Collection in the HSP contains a prospectus by Robert E. Peterson & Co, for a "National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans," in forty numbers, 25 cents each, dated 1852-1853.

91. For Indian galleries, including J. O. Lewis, *The Aboriginal Port Folio, or a Collection of Portraits of the Most Celebrated Chiefs of the North American Indians* (Philadelphia: Lehrman and Duval, 1836-1838), and Thomas Loraine McKenney and James Hall, *History of the Indian Tribes of North America, with Biographical Sketches and Anecdotes of the Principal Chiefs* (Philadelphia, 1837-1844), see footnote 64.

92. John Livingston, ed., *Biographical Sketches of Eminent American Lawyers, Now Living: With Well Executed Portraits*, in four parts (New York: [no publisher named], 1852).

93. An example is the print of Reverend Ezekiel Cooper "of the Philadelphia Conference," by E. Mackenzie after Paradise, n.d. [c. 1830]. Joseph Verner Reed Collection, box 50, (hereafter cited as Reed collection), Department of Drawings and Prints, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

94. Neagle, "Cashbook," entries Jan. 17 1833, Sept. 29, 1835 and Jan. 30, 1837. In an entry in his "Blotterbook," Neagle boasted that he had "the largest collection of good engravings from fine masters of any artist in Philadelphia." See Neagle, "loose ms. pages removed from his Blotterbook," entry 1827, 3, Neagle collection, HSP.

95. Magazines linked to political machines printed routinely the portraits of their candidates. Jackson's portrait was a regular feature in the *Democratic Review*, Clay's likeness appeared frequently in the *Whig Review. The Token*, the *Gift*, but also *Sartain's Magazine*, specialized in printing engraved genre pieces and generally stayed away from portraits. Yet, other magazines, including *Graham's Magazine*, *Godey's Lady's Book* and the *Atlantic Souvenir* did print popular portraits.

96. *DeWitt Clinton*, William S. Leney after John Trumbull, the *Casket*, September 1827, frontispiece; *Robert Fulton*, W.G. Mason after Henry Inman, the *New York Mirror*, July 21, 1832. 17; *Patrick Lyon*, Thomas Kelly after Neagle, the *Atlantic Souvenir*, Jan. 1832.

97. Edmund B. Sullivan, *Collecting Political Americana* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1980) 102, 132-3, 151.

98. Stanley Izerda, Anne C. Loveland, and

Marc H. Miller, *Lafayette, Hero of Two Worlds: The Art and Pageantry of his Farewell Tour of America, 1824-1825* (New York: Queens Museum, 1989) 115-118.

99. The William Henry Harrison brush, c. 1840, Clay pipe, c. 1844, and the Franklin Pierce shaving mirror, c. 1852, are in the Political History collection, National Museum of American History, Smithsonian Institution (hereafter cited as PHC).

100. Reward of merit, Sartain papers, Samuel Sartain, letters and papers, 1842, 1850, Samuel Sartain, 1842, HSP; *Evening Gazette* Payment Slip, 1841-42, Haven Collection, MHS; Tavern sign, Edward Hicks, *Washington at the Delaware*, 1834, Eleanore Price Mather and Dorothy Canning Miller, *Edward Hicks: His Peaceable Kingdoms and Other Paintings*, (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1983) 155.

101. Pat Lyon receipt, Scrapbook, "Engraved Portraits and Views, gift by Ms. Anna Gardom, 1935, n.d., n.p., HSP. The Augusta banknote with Pat Lyon's likeness, early 1840s, is in the National Numismatic Collection, National Museum of American History, Washington, D.C. Also reproduced in Harry R. Rubinstein, "With Hammer in Hand: Working-Class Occupational Portraits," Howard Rock, Paul A. Gilje, and Robert Asher, *American Artisans: Crafting Social Identity, 1750-1850* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995) 176-198, 185.

102. See, for instance, the Henry Clay ribbon "Mind Your Own Business," produced for the Young Men's National Whig Convention of Ratification in Baltimore, May 2, 1844, lithograph by E. Weber and Co., Baltimore, PHC.

103. Arlene M. Palmer, "Through the Glass Case: The Curator and the Object," Winterthur Conference 21 (1975), Ian M.G. Quimby ed., *Material Culture and the Study of American Life* (New York: Norton 1978) 219-244, 241-242. Palmer does not indicate the advertisement's date or place, but she does date one of the flasks, now in the Winterthur collection, 1826-28.

104. Longacre, draft letter, n.d. [c. 1834], no addressee, Longacre papers, box 2, folder 37, Libco.

105. The availability of prints often determined the proportion between drawings, text, and prints in scrapbooks. The earliest scrapbooks contain less prints and more text and drawings than the later examples. A rare early example of a print-rich scrapbook is Sarah Harris's, dated 1825, in the HSP collections.

106. The *Port Folio*, and Longacre and Herring's *National Portrait Gallery* were popular sources for the early scrapbooks.

107. *Godey's Lady's Book,* 46 (Jan. 1853), 87. The full title of the advertised volume was "Godey's Pictorial Gallery of Pictures by the First Masters."

108. Neagle to Longacre, Oct. 9, 1824, Longacre papers, box 2, folder 6, Libco.

109. See, for instance, two scrapbooks in the Downs collection of the Henry Francis DuPont Winterthur Museum, Delaware: Emma Edwards Scrapbook, n.d., Folio 255; the Norris Family Scrapbook, n.d., Folio 241.

110. See, for instance, Constantine Hering, "Collection of Portraits, 1840-1860," n.p., HSP. For a similar example, see Jonah Thompson, "Portrait Collection," 1854, HSP. Less focused on portraits alone is the scrapbook put together by Samuel R. Shipley in 1856, also in the HSP.

111. For a traditional example, see the "Eminent Living American Poets" print, which displays likenesses of James Gates Percival, Fitz-Greene Halleck, Edward Coote Pinkney, James Brooks, Samuel Woodworth, Washington Irving, John Pierpont, Charles Sprague, and William Cullen Bryant. James Eddy engraved the print for the *New York Mirror*, 5, Jan. 26, 1828, 225. The print can be found in the Reed collection, box 18. Later examples include "The First Free Legislative Assembly of the Territory of Kansas, Elected 1851," n.d. [1851] lithograph by Middleton, Strobridge & Co, PHC; Lincoln's cabinet in 1862 and 1864, resp. in Reed collection, box 3 and 1, New York City's "Heads of Executive Council," (c. 1868-1870) Reed collection, box 3, and Greeley Democrats William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Henry Ward Beecher, Horace Greeley, Gerrit Smith, Theodore Tilton, and William Gannaway Brownlow, nd. [1872], Reed collection, box 8.

112. Unidentified Scrapbook, 40, n.d., n.p., HSP. *Benjamin Franklin* after David Martin; *George Washington* after Stuart, *George Washington* after Canova; *James Monroe* after Otis; *George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams*, and *James Madison* in decorative setting, *Edward Jenner*, by Mackenzie; *Placidus Fixlmillner*, by Mackenzie. The attention devoted to Dr. Charles Renshaw makes it plausible to assume that the scrapbook was made by his daughter, Alicia Johnston Renshaw, whose name is written in pencil on one of the blank pages in the back of the book.

113. Edward Jordan, Scrapbook of Engravings, 1830, n.p., HSP. *Jacob Jones esq.: in the United States Navy*; *Isaac Chauncey esq.: in the US Navy*; *General Pike: Late of the US Army*; *Stephen Decatur esq. of the US Navy*. See also: Unidentified Scrapbook, n.d., n.p., HSP, which has prints after Jarvis's Major General Brown (by Maverick), and John Rodgers esq., of the U.S. Navy (by Edwin) joined by Edwin's General Anthony Wayne, Napoleon, and views of the Capitol in and the Military Academy at West Point.

114. Scrapbook, "Engraved Portraits and Views," gift by Ms. Anna Gardom, 1935, n.d., n.p., HSP. *Rev. John Smart A.M., Leith*; *Rev. Joseph Cockin: Late of Halifax*; *Rev. John Stewart, D.D.: Liverpool*; *Rev. John Hunt: Chelmsford*; *Rev. John Styles, D.D.: North Braxton.*

115. *Ibid.*, n.p., n.d., *Rev. John Campbell, D.D. London*; *Rev. J.L. Poore, Salford Manchester*; *J.C. Calhoun*, "Your Affectionate Father"; engraved by E.B. Welch from a portrait by W.H. Scarborough in the Possession of the Clariosophic Society of the South Carolina College; *Daniel Webster*, Daguerreotype by Jonathan Whipple; engraved by A.H. Ritchie, New York; published by Edward Anthony, 1848.

116. *Ibid.*, n.p., n.d. *George B. Wood, M.D., Professor of Materia Medica and Pharmacy in the University of Pennsylvania*, engraved by Welch and Walter after a portrait by James R. Lambdin; *Nathaniel Chapman, M.D., Professor of Theory and Practice of Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania*, engraved by Welch and Walter from a Daguerreotype by M.P. Simmons; *William Gibson, M.D., Professor of Surgery in the University of Pennsylvania*, drawn and engraved by L.H. Baker from a daguerreotype by Highschool London 1847; *Samuel Jackson, M.D., Professor of Institutes of Medicine in the University of Pennsylvania*, engraved by Welch and Walter from a daguerreotype by M.P. Simons. For another example of medical communities, see Edwards, Folio 255, vol. II, 283, 286-7, Downs collection, Winterthur Museum.

117. See Catalogues of the annual exhibits of the Pennsylvania Academy, the Philadephia Artists' Fund Society in Philadelphia, and New York's National Academy of Design. For an early example of the same, see Robert Edge Pine's *Descriptive Catalogue of Paintings*, 1784. (Mostly Shakespeare and a bit of history). Note that single picture exhibits often received a four page or so pamphlet. These pamphlets were usually educational in a preaching way. Since they invariably dealt with scriptural or historical paintings, they fall outside of this inquiry.

118. G.M., "Review of the Second Annual Exhibition.", *Portfolio* 8, # 1 (July 12, 1812). Author's italics.

119. H. [identified by Neagle as Joseph Hopkinson], no title. The complimented reviewer signed his critique with "AN AMATEUR." Neagle identified him as the anatomy teacher Dr. [John] Bell. Both pieces were published in the *US Gazette*, Neagle "Scrapbook, 1821-1833," vol. I, n.p. [17], Neagle collection, HSP.

120. "Review of the Second Annual Exhibition," *The Port Folio* 8, no.1 (July 12, 1812). The review was signed G.M. [unidentified]. For Cooke [represented while impersonating Shakespeare's Richard III], by Thomas Sully, see 21, #48, for comments on Rembrandt Peale's portraits, see 25 #4, 41, 52 & 73.

121. "[T]he mind, when constantly engaged on one *object*, will loose its elasticity, *like a bow* that is constantly bent. Therefore such exhibitions as blend *amusement with instruction*, are most valuable." Charles Willson Peale, *Lecture on Natural History and the Museum*, draft, Gratz autograph collection, 7 b, HSP. Original emphasis.

122. [Charles Willson Peale], *Guide to the*

Philadelphia Museum, n.d. [1816], 5. James Herring adopted the same practice for his Apollo Gallery in New York. His circular stated that "[d]escriptive catalogues will be provided, so that each picture will be made the means of conveying information and improvement to the mind and pleasure to the eye." James Herring, circular, May 1, 1838, Longacre papers, box 3, folder 11, Libco.

123. [Charles Willson Peale], *An Historical Catalogue of Peale's Collection of Paintings*, Philadelphia, 1795, items 14 (p. 5), 65 (pp. 17-18), and 71 (p. 19). The text devotes 3 lines to Reed, 32 lines to Hutton, 14 lines to Gallaway, and 30 lines to Negro James. This practice of textual elucidation persisted throughout the antebellum period, and was as a matter of course adopted by the much later Cincinnati and Independence Hall catalogues of the same collection.

The annual exhibition catalogues of the Baltimore Peale Museum displayed as a rule no commentary. The 1835 New York Peale Museum catalogue commentary illustrates Rembrandt Peale's flair for advertisement. With the exception of one line about a painting of a humming bird by a female mouth painter, all text is reserved for his unsold Washington and Lafayette portraits.

124. Unsigned, *The Aurora*, n.d., in Neagle, "Scrapbook," vol. I, n.p. [3]. Thomas Gimbrede engraved the series, which was published by Michael Bowyer, New York.

125. Unsigned, *The Balance*, nd. [1827] in Neagle, "Scrapbook," vol. I, n.p.

126. "Henry," *The Union*, May 28, 1821, author's emphasis. In Neagle, "Scrapbook," vol. I, n.p. [1] The print was dated c. 1820.