

THE ART OF THOMAS HICKS AND CELEBRITY CULTURE IN
MID-NINETEENTH-CENTURY NEW YORK

BY

©2010

Letha Clair Robertson

Submitted to the graduate degree program in Art History and the Graduate Faculty of the University of Kansas in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Dr. Charles Eldredge, Chairperson

Dr. David Cateforis

Dr. Marni Kessler

Dr. Chuck Berg

Dr. Jonathan Earle

Date Defended: 19 November 2010

The Dissertation Committee for Letha Clair Robertson certifies that this is the approved version
of the following dissertation:

THE ART OF THOMAS HICKS AND CELEBRITY CULTURE IN
MID-NINETEENTH-CENTURY NEW YORK

Dr. Charles Eldredge, Chairperson

Date approved: 19 November 2010

ABSTRACT

During the antebellum period, American audiences became fascinated, even obsessed, with celebrity. While celebrity was traditionally associated with fame and its classical ideals of virtue and honor, by the mid-nineteenth century these definitions began to shift as American audiences became enchanted by public personalities. The development of the mass media and the growth of the public relations industry fostered this new fascination. The invention of photography, and especially the inexpensive *carte-de-visite*, encouraged this interest as for the first time it allowed audiences to collect celebrity portraits cheaply. This posed a challenge for traditional portrait painters who wished to remain competitive in the new market of the celebrity image.

This dissertation considers how mass media, photography, and celebrity culture affected traditional portraitists as exemplified through the career of Thomas Hicks (1816-90). Primarily active in New York City, Hicks integrated himself into artistic, political, and literary circles to acquire commissions. My exploration of Hicks's portraits provides insight into the ways in which Americans understood and fostered changing notions of fame and celebrity at mid-century. I argue that these portraits served as calculated constructions to promote and sell both the artist and his celebrated subjects.

Chapter One introduces historical and theoretical concepts of fame and celebrity. Chapter Two examines Hicks's early training and how he used the popular press to establish his reputation. Chapter Three explores the dual functions of Hicks's political portraits at mid-century, specifically those of New York governor Hamilton Fish and presidential candidate Abraham Lincoln. Chapter Four investigates literary celebrity, nationalism, and gender constructs as represented by Hicks's *Authors of the United States* (1860). Chapter Five examines

Hicks's multiple portraits of Arctic explorer Elisha Kent Kane within the context of America's new fascination with the Arctic regions; the creation of an American hero at a time of national distress; and the ways in which a celebrity image could be manufactured and manipulated in the popular press. Chapter Six discusses Hicks's multiple portraits of actor Edwin Booth in the role of *Othello*'s Iago; the use of the paintings as advertisements; and the reciprocal nature of the actor-artist relationship. To conclude, I consider Hicks's critical reception and how he fell victim to the fickle nature of fame and was forgotten by the end of the century.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My dissertation about the life and work of Thomas Hicks began in the Deep South. As I began my initial research at the Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts in the summer of 2003, I never would have imagined how rewarding this journey would be. Over the course of the next seven years, I travelled across the country and met extraordinary people without whom this dissertation would not be possible. I am humbled by their guidance, support, and love.

I want to begin by thanking my advisor, Charles Eldredge. It is almost impossible to express my gratitude as he provided unwavering support of my dedication to Hicks since I arrived at the University of Kansas in August 2004. He taught me never to stop questioning, to think beyond the conventional, and also provided much needed financial support throughout my tenure in Lawrence. I am especially grateful for last minute funding that enabled me to hop a flight to Florida and examine a previously undocumented Hicks family diary. I am thankful to Dr. David Cateforis and his expert editorial skills that made this dissertation consistent and readable. Dr. Cateforis also provided unwavering support professionally and personally—for that I am truly grateful. Dr. Marni Kessler consistently encouraged and pushed me to go beyond my comfort zones when analyzing works of art. Her high standards and tough critiques have made me a better art historian—thank you. Dr. Chuck Berg has been an absolute delight to have on my committee. His passion and enthusiasm for film, jazz, and American culture is contagious and we will talk about a screenplay soon! I also want to thank Dr. Jonathan Earle, who acted as the representative for the graduate school. I am pleased that he was able to participate and appreciate his insight to nineteenth-century American politics and culture. I am also grateful to the many members of the Kress Foundation Department of Art History faculty who provided professional and financial support over the last seven years: Dr. Linda-Stone Ferrier, department

chair; Dr. John Pultz; Dr. Sally Cornelison; Dr. Steve Goddard; Dr. Gitti Salami; Dr. Valija Evalds; Susan Craig, Chief Librarian, Art and Architecture Library; Katherine Greene, Wheat Law Library. I want to thank especially Maud Humphrey and Karen Brichoux who consistently and patiently answered questions about research and teaching—they kept me running through it all.

In addition, there have been a number of teachers who impacted my decision to become an art historian and who guided me through the process: Mary Nell O’Connell, my fifth grade social studies teacher who inspired my love for art history; Robin Preston, my seventh grade history teacher (and cheerleading sponsor!) who taught me to love Texas; Gerald Kramer and Stephen Seleny, my headmasters at Trinity Valley School in Fort Worth, Texas; Dr. James Clifton; Dr. Anne Helmreich; Patti Junker. From Texas Christian University, I want to thank Dr. Mark Thistlethwaite, who encouraged and supported my passion for American art. Dr. Thistlethwaite has provided invaluable advice since I first attended his classes in Fall 2001. I especially want to thank my advisor from the University of Texas at Arlington, Dr. Mary Vaccaro. Dr. Vaccaro cultivated my interest in art history through her own passion for Italian Renaissance art. At the earliest stage in my studies, she taught me how to research, how to be professional, and most of all provided unwavering personal support when I needed it most.

To my fellow graduate students who relentlessly supported me and kept me sane: Lara Kuykendall Sherman; Brittany Lockard; Sean Barker; Mindy Besaw; Loren Whittaker; Debra Thimmesch; Ashley Elston; Jack Willson; Natalie Svacina; Chaz Kirchhoff; Elizabeth Williams; Denise Giannino; Halle O’Neal; Ellen Raimond; Ellen Rife; Kate Meyer; Ai-lian Liu; Rob Fucci; Lindsey Waugh; Maureen Warren; Tera Lee Hedrick; Michelle Moseley-Christian; and Jennifer Talbott.

I also want to thank a number of institutions and individuals without whom this dissertation on Thomas Hicks would not be possible. The National Portrait Gallery and the Smithsonian American Art Museum provided a pre-doctoral fellowship that led to my discovery of Hicks's connection to celebrity culture. At the National Portrait Gallery: Dr. Ellen Miles, Curator and Chair of Painting and Sculpture; Dr. Brandon Fortune, Curator of Painting and Sculpture; David C. Ward, Historian; Dr. Wendy Wick Reaves, Curator of Prints and Drawings; Carolyn Carr, Deputy Director and Chief Curator; George Parlier, Curatorial Assistant; Linda Thrift, Coordinator, Catalogue of American Portraits; Liza Kirwin, Curator of Manuscripts, Archives of American Art; and Martin E. Sullivan, Director. At the Smithsonian American Art Museum: William Truettner, Curator; Eleanor J. Harvey, Chief Curator; Robin T. Dettre, Coordinator, Inventories of American Painting and Sculpture; Amy Baskette, Curatorial Assistant; Amelia Goerlitz, Fellowship Program Coordinator; Cynthia Mills, Academic Programs Coordinator; Colonel Merle Moore, Volunteer Extraordinaire; Doug Litts, Senior Reference Librarian; Lou Molnar, Conservator; Elizabeth Broun, Director; and my dear, old friend, Hugh Shockey, Objects Conservator.

I am thankful to the Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts for awarding me the Kapelanski-Atkins Fellowship which led to my discovery of Thomas Hicks. At the MMFA, I want to thank Margaret Lynne Ausfeld, Chief Curator; Mark Johnson, Director; and Alice Carter, Librarian. I am appreciative of the many people that contributed to my research by answering questions, making copies, and generally assisting in whatever way they could: Laura Pass Parry, senior curator at the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center; Marianne Martin, Visual Resources Librarian, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; Constance Kimmerle, Curator of Collections, Michener Art Museum; Sara Buehler, Collections Registrar, Michener Art Museum; Friends

Library, Swarthmore College; Cheryl Leibold, former archivist at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts; Nantucket Historical Association; Beth Lander, former Director of Library Services at the Spruance Library at the Bucks County Historical Society; Amie Stryckland at Neal Auction Company in New Orleans; Dr. Kimberly Orcutt, Associate Curator of American Art at the New-York Historical Society, who tirelessly answered many questions about Hicks and New York City; Andrew Praynzer at the New-York Historical Society; Elizabeth Wallace at the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Dr. H Barbara Weinberg at the Metropolitan Museum of Art; Jim Cheevers, Curator at the United States Naval Academy Museum; Matthew Hofstedt, Associate Curator of the Supreme Court of the United States; Dr. Mark Meltzer Sawin; Melissa Jolley, Curator at the Redcliffe Plantation State Historic Site; Keri Butler, Special Project Manager, Public Design Commission of the City of New York; New York City Mayor Michael Bloomberg; Karolyn Fisher, Librarian, Newtown Library; Mayor Dennis O'Brien, Newtown, PA; Davin Peterson, the Office Automation Assistant in the Science, Technology and Business Division at the Library of Congress; Constance Carter, the Head of Science reference at the Library of Congress; Kathleen W. Dorman at the Smithsonian Institution; Georgianna Ziegler, Head Librarian at the Folger Shakespeare Library; Ray Wemmlinger at the Hampden-Booth Library; Bud and Laine Brainard; Jane Cuccurullo at Green-Wood Cemetery; Richard J. Moylan, President, Green-Wood Cemetery; Frederick Voss; Ted O'Reilly, Manuscript Department, Library at the New-York Historical Society; Mark Osterman; David B. Long, Social Science Reference Center, Firestone Library, Princeton University; Emily Walhout, Houghton Reading Room, Harvard University; Maria Molestina, Morgan Library and Museum; Kimberly Reynolds, Curator of Manuscripts, Boston Public Library; Greg Korn, Junior Warden Kane Lodge #454; John Clubbe; Betsy Mack, Trenton Falls Historian; Dr. Paul Schweizer, Director and Chief

Curator, Munson-Williams-Proctor Museum of Art; Dr. David Tatham; Stuart Feld, Director, Hirschl & Adler; Ben Simmons, Roby and John David Curator, Nantucket Historical Society; Bruce Weber at the National Academy of Design; Kenneth Cobb, Municipal Archives, City of New York; Jill Slight, Department of Rights and Reproductions, New-York Historical Society; David April, Tour Program Coordinator, New Jersey State Legislature; Margaret O'Reilly, Assistant Curator, New Jersey State Museum; Jenny Martin, Registrar, New Jersey State Museum; Barbara Katus, Rights and Reproductions, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts; Andrew Coldren, Curator, Civil War and Underground Railroad Museum; Roy Goodman, Assistant Librarian and Curator of Printed Manuscripts, The American Philosophical Society; Gene Shapiro, Gene Shapiro Auctions; Amey Hutchins, Assistant Curator of Manuscripts, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania; Suzanne Prabucki, Curator, Fraunces Tavern Museum; Elizabeth Clingerman, Assistant to the Director of Art Collections, Huntington Library and Art Galleries; Karie Diethorn, Chief Curator, Independence National Historical Park; Dr. J. Larry Sanders; Anne Halpern, Department of Curatorial Record, National Gallery of Art; Garth Baer, Tayloe House; Eliza Gonsalves, Curatorial Assistant, Hood Museum of Art; Jason Haxton, Museum Director, Still National Osteopathic Museum; Keith MacKinnon, Head of Reference Services, Saint John Free Public Library, New Brunswick; Patricia M. Boulos, Photographic Services, Boston Athenaeum; Dr. Kenneth W. Maddox, The Newington-Cropsey Foundation; Courtney Riordan, Alexander Gallery; Jonathan Harding, Curator, Century Association; Sarah Gillepsie, Curator of Fine Arts, Brooklyn Historical Society; James M. Cornelius, Curator, Lincoln Collection, Abraham Lincoln Presidential Library & Museum; Erin Blake, Curator of Art & Special Collections, Folger Shakespeare Library; Andrew Davis, Assistant Professor, Otis College of Art & Design; Michael Haller, Gallery 44; Dinah Faber,

Hartford County Historical Society; Daniel Watermeier, Emeritus Professor of Theatre, University of Toledo; Elizabeth Sterling, Christie's New York; Jackie Killian, Curatorial Assistant, Department of Drawings, Prints and Graphic Design, Cooper-Hewitt, National Design Museum; Dr. Gerald Kennedy, William A. Read Professor, Department of English, Louisiana State University; Gina Greer, Spanierman Gallery, University of Kansas; Jackie Penny, Graphic Arts Assistant and Imaging Rights Coordinator, American Antiquarian Society; Susan G. Drinan, Registrar, Philadelphia History Museum at the Atwater Kent; Peter Ciferri, Advance of Bucks County; Nicolette Bromberg, Visual Materials Curator, Special Collections, University of Washington Libraries; Ruth Janson, Coordinator, Rights and Reproductions, Brooklyn Museum; Stuart Schneider; Nina Gray, Consulting Curator, Park Avenue Armory; David Burnhauser, Park Avenue Armory; Alex Morganti, Associate Registrar, The New Britain Museum of American Art; Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan; Ramin Talaie; Frank DeCurtis, Collection Manager, Chicago History Museum; Denise Mahoney, Collection Manager and Research Assistant, Department of American Art, The Art Institute of Chicago; John and Lane Snedden; Mariam Touba, Reference Library, New-York Historical Society; Anita Israel, Archives Specialist, Longfellow National Historic Site; Constance Fuller Threinen; David Callahan, Director, Newtown Historic Association; and my dear friend, Peter R. Adams. I also want to thank the many private collectors for their enthusiasm and support of my research. I very appreciate their permission in publishing images of their works.

In closing, I would like to thank my family: my mother and father, who have provided unconditional love and support through my pursuit of the elusive Mr. Hicks. Without them, this dissertation would truly not have been possible. Words cannot express my gratitude for your faith and devotion. I love you. I also want to thank my brother and his family: Chance, Kory,

Truman, and Preston Robertson, who have also unconditionally gave their love, support, and counsel on multiple occasions; my cousin and his wife, Dr. Lee and Carole Smith, who graciously housed me during my stay in Washington, DC; and many others: Pedro Mora; B. W. and Donna Robertson; Aaron and Jean Dover; Bettye and Bill Dakin; Doris Brown; and Ron, Kirsten, and Kendyll Robertson. And for anyone I may have inadvertently forgotten, I thank you.

For my parents

Table of Contents

List of Illustrations.....	xiv
Prologue.....	1
Chapter 1: A Brief Overview of Celebrity Culture Studies and Its Development in the United States.....	11
Chapter 2: Becoming a Celebrity Portraitist.....	23
Chapter 3: Politicians.....	46
Chapter 4: Authors of the United States.....	74
Chapter 5: Elisha Kent Kane.....	107
Chapter 6: Edwin Booth as <i>Iago</i>	142
Epilogue.....	166
Illustrations.....	171
Note to the Appendix.....	223
Appendix.....	225
Bibliography.....	423

List of Illustrations

Fig. 1. Mathew Brady Studio. *Thomas Hicks*, c. 1850-60. Daguerreotype. Library of Congress.

Fig. 2. Thomas Sully. *Lord Byron*, 1826-28. Oil, 28¾ x 21. Private Collection.

Fig. 3. Mathew Brady. *Jenny Lind*, 1850. Daguerreotype. Library of Congress.

Fig. 4. "*Little Sallie*" *Hicks*, c. 1833-36. Oil, 20½ x 25½". Location unknown.

Fig. 5. *Portrait of a Man*, 1836. Oil, approx. 26 x 22". Private Collection.

Fig. 6. *Charles Satterthwait*, June 1836. Oil, measurements unknown. Private Collection.

Fig. 7. *Hannah Ann Satterthwait*, September 16, 1836. Oil, 26 x 22". Courtesy of Atwater-Kent Museum, Philadelphia.

Fig. 8. *Hannah Anne Satterthwait*, verso.

Fig. 9. *Edward L. Hicks*, c. 1837. Oil, 20 x 16½". Private Collection.

Fig. 10. *Edward Hicks (Edward Hicks Painting the Peaceable Kingdom)*, c. 1837-38. Oil, 27¼ x 22 1/8". Courtesy of the Abby Aldrich Folk Art Center.

Fig. 11. *Edward Hicks (Edward Hicks Painting the Peaceable Kingdom)*, c. 1839-41. Oil, 36 x 29". Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, Washington, DC

Fig. 12. *Edward Hicks (Edward Hicks Painting the Peaceable Kingdom)*, c. 1850-52. Oil, Courtesy of the James A. Michener Museum, Doylestown, Pennsylvania. Museum purchase funded by Eleanor K. Denoon, The Bella S. and Benjamin H. Garb Foundation, Inc., Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Gemmill, George S. Hobensack, Jr., Laurence D. Keller, William Mandel, Members of Newtown Friends Meeting, Olde Hope Antiques, Inc., Residents of Pennswood Village, Eleanor and Malcolm Polis, Ms. Leslie E. Skilton, Kingdon Swayne and Anonymous Donors.

Fig. 13. *Captain Josiah Macy*, c. 1839. Oil, 36 x 29". Courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.

Fig. 14. *Lydia Hussey Macy*, c. 1839. Oil, 36 x 29". Courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.

Fig. 15. *William H. Macy*, c. 1839. Oil, 36 x 29". Courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.

Fig. 16. *Ann Eliza Macy*, c. 1839. Oil, 36 x 29". Courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.

Fig. 17. *Calculating*, 1844. Oil, 13 5/8 x 17. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Fig. 18. *Male Model with Mandolin #2*, c. 1846-47. Watercolor and graphite on paper, 11 ¼ x 8 5/8". Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.

Fig. 19. *Italian Peasant Study*, c. 1846-47. Watercolor, pencil or charcoal on paper, approx. 14 x 12." Private Collection.

Fig. 20. *Shepherd Boy (Shepherd Boy of Cevaro?)*, 1847. Oil, 38 x 32". Dr. Larry Sanders, Dalton, GA.

Fig. 21. *Dolce Far Niente*, 1850. Oil, 21 x 30". Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.

Fig. 22. *Fountain at Palestrina*, 1850. Oil, 24½ x 30". Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.

Fig. 23. *Margaret Fuller*, 1848. Oil, 16 x 13". Courtesy of Constance Fuller Threinen.

Fig. 24. *Hamilton Fish*, 1852. Oil, 9' x 6'6". Collection of the City of New York. Photograph by Glenn Castellano, courtesy of the Design Commission.

Fig. 25. John Trumbull. *Alexander Hamilton*, 1805. Oil, 94 x 72". Collection of the City of New York. Photograph by Glenn Castellano, courtesy of the Design Commission.

Fig. 26. Gilbert Stuart. *George Washington (Lansdowne portrait)*, 1796. Oil, 97½ x 62½". Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, Washington, DC.

Fig. 27. John Vanderlyn. *James Monroe*, 1822. Oil, 100 x 76". Collection of the City of New York. Photograph by Glenn Castellano, courtesy of the Design Commission.

Fig. 28. Governor's Room at City Hall, 2008. Photo by Ramin Talaie for *The Sun* (New York).

Fig. 29. *Governor John Alsop King*, 1860. Oil, 96 x 66". Collection of the City of New York. Photograph by Glenn Castellano, courtesy of the Design Commission.

Fig. 30. *Mayor Daniel Fawcett Tiemann*, 1860. Oil, 48 x 36". Collection of the City of New York. Photograph by Glenn Castellano, courtesy of the Design Commission.

Fig. 31. *Mayor Charles Godfrey Gunther*, 1872. Oil, 48 x 36". Collection of the City of New York. Photograph by Glenn Castellano, courtesy of the Design Commission.

Fig. 32. *Abraham Lincoln*, June 13, 1860. Oil, 24 9/16 x 19½". Chicago Historical Society.

Fig. 33. Alexander Hesler. *Abraham Lincoln*, June 3, 1860. Albumen print. Library of Congress.

Fig. 34. Alexander Hesler. *Abraham Lincoln*, 1857. Gelatin Silver Print. Library of Congress.

Fig. 35. Baker & Godwin Publishers. *Lincoln Campaign Poster*, c. 1860. Library of Congress.

Fig. 36. Mathew Brady. *Abraham Lincoln*, February 27, 1860. Library of Congress.

Fig. 37. *Harper's Weekley*, May 26, 1860.

- Fig. 38. J. Sage & Sons Publishers. [Lincoln and Douglas in a political footrace], 1860. Library of Congress.
- Fig. 39. *Abraham Lincoln*, c. 1860-70. Oil (?) on ivory, 3½” tall. Schneider Collection, River Edge, New Jersey.
- Fig. 40. Leopold Grozelier, after Thomas Hicks. *Abraham Lincoln*, 1860. Lithograph, 22 x 16”. Library of Congress.
- Fig. 41. Charles A. Barry. *Abraham Lincoln*, 1860. Lithograph, 36 x 24”. Library of Congress.
- Fig. 42. Print after Hicks’s original. *Abraham Lincoln*, 1862. Author’s collection.
- Fig. 43. Alexander H. Ritchie, after Thomas Hicks, *Authors of the United States*, 1866. Engraving, 19x35”. Author’s Collection.
- Fig. 44. Key to *Authors of the United States*. Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.
- Fig. 45. Thomas Rossiter. *Merchants of the United States*, c. 1858-60. Oil on canvas, 9x16’. Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society.
- Fig. 46. Detail of central group in *Authors of the United States*.
- Fig. 47. Detail of group at left in *Authors of the United States*.
- Fig. 48. Detail of group at right in *Authors of the United States*.
- Fig. 49. Detail of statues in *Authors of the United States*.
- Fig. 50. Anonymous photographer. Parlor of Boston, Massachusetts home, c. 1868-70. Stereograph. Historic New England Preservation Society.
- Fig. 51. John McRae, after Hicks. *Henry Ward Beecher*, 1853. Engraving. Library of Congress.
- Fig. 52. Thomas Hicks. *Bayard Taylor in Turkish Costume (A Morning in Damascus)*, 1855. Oil, 24½ x 29¾”. Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.
- Fig. 53. Photographer Unknown. *Achmet*, c. 1850. Daguerreotype. Courtesy of the Bayard Taylor Memorial Library, Kennett Square, Pennsylvania.
- Fig. 54 (left). Mathew Brady. *Bayard Taylor*, c. 1850. Halftone photo- mechanical print. Library of Congress.
- Fig. 55 (center). Detail of Taylor in *Authors of the United States*
- Fig. 56 (right). Formerly attributed to Thomas Hicks. *Bayard Taylor*, c. 1850. Oil on canvas, 26½x19¾”. Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Fig. 57. Mathew Brady. *William Cullen Bryant*, c. 1860-65. Daguerreotype. National Archives, Washington, DC

Fig. 58. Detail of William Cullen Bryant in *Authors of the United States*.

Fig 59 (left). Gilbert Stuart Newton. *Washington Irving*, c. 1830. Oil, 19½x15½". Sleepy Hollow Restoration, Tarrytown, NY.

Fig. 60 (center). Detail of Irving.

Fig. 61 (right). Mathew Brady. *Washington Irving*, c. 1850. Daguerreotype, approx. 5½x4". New-York Historical Society.

Fig. 62. Thomas Doney (after James Whitmore, after daguerreotypes by Victor Piard and Edward Anthony). *United States Senate Chamber*, 1846. Mezzotint and etching, 26 7/8 x 36". Library of Congress.

Fig. 63. Robert Whitechurch (after Peter Rothermel, after daguerreotypes by Victor Piard). *United States Senate Chamber A.D. 1850*, 1855. Engraving, 25 7/8 x 34 3/16". Library of Congress.

Fig. 64. Christian Schussele. *Men of Progress*, 1862. Oil, approx. 4 x 6'. Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.

Fig. 65. John Sartain, after Christian Schussele. *Men of Progress*, 1862. Mezzotint and engraving, 26 x 40". Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.

Fig. 66. F. O. C. Darley and Christian Schussele. *Washington Irving and His Friends at Sunnyside*, 1864. Oil, 53 x 78½". Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.

Fig. 67. *Elisha Kent Kane*, 1858. Oil, 42 x 51". Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society.

Fig. 68. *Elisha Kent Kane*, 1859. Oil, 72 x 53". Naval Academy Museum, Annapolis.

Fig. 69. *Elisha Kent Kane in the Cabin of the Advance*, c. 1859. Oil, 13 3/16 x 12". Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.

Fig. 70. *Elisha Kent Kane at Fern Rock*, 1866. Oil, 73 x 63". Courtesy of the Kane Lodge #454, New York City.

Fig. 71. John Sartain after drawing by James Hamilton, after sketch by Kane. *Entering Lancaster Sound*, 1854. Frontispiece to *U.S. Grinnell Expedition*.

Fig. 72. John Sartain after drawing by James Hamilton, after sketch by Kane. *The 'Rescue' nipped in Melville Bay, August 1850*, 1854. Engraving from *U.S. Grinnell Expedition*.

Fig. 73. Photographer Unknown. *Elisha Kent Kane*, c. 1849.

Fig. 74. Brady Studio. *Elisha Kent Kane and Members of the Second Grinnell Expedition* (From left to right: Amos Bonsall, Henry Brooks, Kane, William Morton, and Isaac I. Hayes), c. 1855. Daguerreotype. Location Unknown.

Fig. 75. Mathew Brady (?). *Elisha Kent Kane*, c. 1855. Ambrotype, 3 x 2 5/8". Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.

Fig. 76. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, December 15, 1855.

Fig. 77. D. G. Thompson, after James B. Wandesforde. *Elisha Kent Kane*, 1858. Engraving, 26³/₄ x 18". Redcliffe Plantation, Beech Island, South Carolina.

Fig. 78. After Alonzo Chappel. *Elisha Kent Kane*, 1858-62. Engraving.

Fig. 79. Brady Studio. *Elisha Kent Kane*, c. 1855. Ambrotype. Private Collection.

Fig. 80. Mathew Brady. *Elisha Kent Kane*, c. 1855. *Carte-de-visite* after daguerreotype. Collection of Mark Metzler Sawin.

Fig. 81. James Reid Lambdin. *Elisha Kent Kane*, 1857. Oil, 30 x 25 1/8". American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

Fig. 82. Giuseppe Fagnani. *Elisha Kent Kane*, 1857. Oil, 30x25. Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.

Fig. 83. *John Kintzing Kane*, 1859. Oil, 33 1/8 x 28 7/8". American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.

Fig. 84. *Archibald Moore*, 1859. Oil, measurements unknown. Private Collection.

Fig. 85. *Edwin Booth as Iago*, 1861. Oil, 42 1/8 x 32 1/4" (cut down from 90 1/2 x 51 1/2 in 1969). Courtesy of the Century Association.

Fig. 86. Thomas Hicks. *Edwin Booth as Iago*, 1863. Oil, 31 1/2 x 21 1/2". Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.

Fig. 87. Thomas Hicks. *Edwin Booth as Iago*, 1864. Oil, 14 x 10". Courtesy of the Hampden-Booth Library.

Fig. 88. Thomas Hicks. *Edwin Booth as Iago*, 1864. Oil, 10 x 14". Unlocated.

Fig. 89. Thomas Sully. *George Cooke as Richard III*, 1811. Oil, 95x60 1/2". Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.

Fig. 90. Mathew Brady (attributed). *Junius Brutus Booth as Richard III*, c. 1844-52. Daguerreotype. Library of Congress.

Fig. 91. Sarony. *Edwin Booth as Iago*. 1875.

Fig. 92. Sarony. *Edwin Booth as Iago*. 1875.

Fig. 93. Brady Studio. *Edwin Booth*. c. 1862. Library of Congress.

Fig. 94. Mathew Brady Studio. Variants of Edwin and Edwina Booth, 1866. Library of Congress.

Fig. 95. (left) Jeremiah Gurney & Sons. *Edwin Booth as Edwin Booth as Richelieu*. c. 1870. Library of Congress.

Fig. 96. (right) Jeremiah Gurney & Sons. *Hamlet*. c. 1870. Library of Congress.

Fig. 97. Jeremiah Gurney & Sons. Edwin Booth as Iago, c. 1870. Library of Congress.

Fig. 98. Jeremiah Gurney & Sons. Edwin Booth as Iago, c. 1870. Library of Congress.

Fig. 99. Jeremiah Gurney & Sons. *Edwin Booth as Iago*, 1870. 19th Century Actors, Carte de Visite Collection, Special Collections, University of Washington.

Fig. 100. *General George Meade at Gettysburg*, 1876. Oil, 96 x 60". Civil War and Underground Railroad Museum, Philadelphia.

Fig. 101. Mathew Brady Studio. *General George Meade*, c. 1860-1870.

Fig. 102. Thomas Hicks (underneath umbrella) painting during Niagara Falls/Erie Canal excursion with the Artists' Fund Society, 1880. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.

Fig. 103. *A Puritan Maiden*, 1872. Oil, 11¾ x 9½." Private Collection. Courtesy of Neal Auctions, New Orleans.

Prologue

In late summer of 2003, I began a fellowship at the Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts in Montgomery, Alabama. Part of my duties as the 2003-2004 Kapelanski-Adkinson Scholar included researching the permanent collection of American paintings for the forthcoming collection catalogue.¹ One painting included in my examination was the portrait of George Washington (1867) (cat. no. 497) by Thomas Hicks (1816-1890) (fig. 1).² I had never heard of Thomas Hicks; like most people, the only Hicks I knew was the artist's cousin, *Peaceable Kingdom* painter Edward Hicks (1780-1849).

As I began investigating Thomas Hicks, I became fascinated with his biography. Born into poverty in Newtown, Pennsylvania, Thomas apprenticed in his cousin Edward's sign and coach painting shop where he demonstrated a natural talent for painting. Thomas then studied in Philadelphia and New York before spending almost four years abroad. Thomas developed a reputation as a charming raconteur with a daring personality. American newspapers reported that while Hicks was in Rome, he was stabbed in the back during a fight between a group of Italians and Americans. While in Paris, he supposedly housed French insurgents and helped them escape the country during the 1848 revolution.³ After returning to the United States in 1849, Hicks became one of the most prominent portraitists in the third quarter of the nineteenth century by painting famous Americans.

Hicks's contemporaries held him in high regard from the beginning of his career. For instance, on May 7, 1853, the *New York Times* reported a horrific train accident in Norwalk, Connecticut that resulted in approximately forty-six deaths. The article's author lamented that "it

¹ See Margaret Lynne Ausfeld, *American Paintings from the Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts* (Montgomery: Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts, 2006).

² Where "cat. no." appears throughout the text, see the corresponding catalogue no. in the Appendix.

³ For instance, see [no first name given] Perley, "Foreign Correspondence of the Atlas," *The Boston Daily Atlas*, May 21, 1846 and Henry Tuckerman, *Book of the Artists* (New York: Putnam, 1867), 465.

is not improbable that Art had been deprived, by the common calamity, of one of its most talented and enthusiastic devotees, in the loss of Mr. Thomas Hicks, the well known portrait and landscape painter of this City.” While the story was later proven false—Hicks died in 1890 at the age of seventy-three—it provides insight into the painter’s reputation at mid-century since he was the only individual named in preliminary reports. Twenty-five later, H. W. French remarked in *Art and Artists in Connecticut* (1879) that Hicks “honored the State with his presence...it would be impossible, within the limits of the subject, to offer Mr. Hicks so much as a salutation from the State in accord with his position in art and society.”⁴

These statements suggest that Hicks was renowned in his own lifetime. Over a career spanning five decades, he created hundreds of paintings whose subject matter included portraits, landscapes, still lifes, and genre. His works can be found in major collections across the country, yet little has been published about the artist and his career. Only one article about him has appeared since 1910: David Tatham’s “Thomas Hicks and Trenton Falls.”⁵ In this study, Tatham examined Hicks’s landscapes of Trenton Falls, New York, a nineteenth-century tourist spot that rivaled nearby Niagara Falls. Trenton Falls is located on the former property of New Yorker Michael Moore (1803-1888), whom Hicks and his wife knew well. Moore ran the grand Moore Hotel, a popular gathering place for artists and writers.⁶ Hicks and his wife bought property and a home nearby, which the artist used as a summer studio until his death. Hicks painted a large group portrait (cat. no. 267) and single sitter portraits of the Moore family (cat. nos. 304 and 313), which Tatham considered in relation to the landscapes. When Hicks elsewhere appears in

⁴ See “The Tragedy of Yesterday,” *New York Times*, May 7, 1853; H. W. French, *Art and Artists in Connecticut*, unabridged ed. (1879; repr., New York: Kennedy Graphics, Inc., 1970), 121.

⁵ *The American Art Journal* 25, no. 4 (Autumn 1983): 5-20.

⁶ The hotel was demolished in the early twentieth century. The property that includes Trenton Falls is now owned and regulated by Brookfield Renewable Power. The Trenton Falls Scenic Trails are selectively open to the public each year. For more on the Moore family and hotel, see Howard Thomas, *Trenton Falls, Yesterday and Today* (Prospect, NY: Prospect Books, 1951).

American art scholarship, he is usually mentioned in regard to his early training with his Quaker cousin Edward; his student Martin Johnson Heade (1819-1904); or his colleague and close friend John Frederick Kensett (1816-1872).⁷

The neglect of Hicks's career by American art scholars may be partly due to his reputation for inconsistency in style. While Hicks painted a number of remarkable images of his contemporaries, he also produced what Tatham called "a good deal of dross in a long career."⁸ James Thomas Flexner communicated displeasure with Hicks's work in *That Wilder Image* (1962). Discussing what he considered to be a decline of mid-century portraiture, Flexner expressed distaste towards painters like Hicks. Flexner wrote about the artist's portraits of explorer Elisha Kent Kane (1820-1857) (cat. no. 310) and Gettysburg victor General George Meade (1815-1872) (cat. no. 566), stating that "in such elephant-sized portraits, the romantically contorted faces atop photorealistic bodies, a dichotomy which reveals that no more than his fellow portraitists did Hicks have any real strength of vision." Two paragraphs later, Flexner ends the chapter by stating "as an art form, American portraiture was dead, awaiting possible resurrection."⁹

Flexner's sweeping dismissal of mid-century portraiture is reflective of general trends in scholarship on nineteenth-century American art, which also accounts for the neglect of Hicks's career. Most scholars have focused on landscape, genre, and history painting, with portraiture serving largely as illustrations for biographical and contextual essays on the period. The 1980s saw a surge of interest in portraitists who were predominantly active in the first four decades of

⁷ For instance, see Carolyn Weekley, *The Kingdoms of Edward Hicks* (New York: Harry Abrams, Inc., 1999); Theodore Stebbins, Jr., *Martin Johnson Heade* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999); and John Paul Driscoll and John K. Howat, *John Frederick Kensett: An American Master* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1985).

⁸ Tatham, 6.

⁹ James Thomas Flexner, *That Wilder Image: The Painting of America's Native School from Thomas Cole to Winslow Homer* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1962), 186.

the nineteenth century. The Smithsonian Institution's National Portrait Gallery and the National Academy of Design organized exhibitions with accompanying catalogues about Samuel F. B. Morse (1791-1872), Chester Harding (1792-1866), Henry Inman (1801-1846), and Thomas Sully (1783-1872). Of these early nineteenth-century portraitists, only Sully has held the attention of scholars. Over his long career, Sully produced hundreds of portraits, including the 1838 portrait of Queen Victoria that was the focus of a Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition in 2000.¹⁰ By contrast, portraitists who were predominantly active between 1840 and 1870 have been neglected in favor of landscape artists and history and genre painters.

Hicks is far from the only mid-nineteenth-century portraitist whose contributions have been overlooked. The *oeuvres* of many of his contemporaries, such as Daniel Huntington (1816-1906), Charles Loring Elliott (1812-1858), and G. P. A. Healy (1813-1894), have yet to be thoroughly considered.¹¹ Hicks and his peers produced hundreds of portraits during their careers, which suggest a consistent demand. For instance, New York newspapers often reported that Hicks had more commissions than he could handle. As a result, the artist's popularity may

¹⁰ See National Academy of Design, *Samuel F. B. Morse: Educator and Champion of the Arts in America* (New York: National Academy of Design, 1982); Monroe Fabian, *Mr. Sully, Portrait Painter* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1983); Leah Lipton, *A Truthful Likeness: Chester Harding and His Portraits* (Washington, DC: National Portrait Gallery, 1985); William H. Gerds, *The Art of Henry Inman* (Washington, DC: National Portrait Gallery, 1987); Paul J. Stiasi, *Samuel F. B. Morse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Carrie Reborá Baratt, *Queen Victoria and Thomas Sully* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); and Edward Biddle and Mantle Fielding, *The Life and Works of Thomas Sully (1738-1872)* (Charleston: Garnier and Co., 1969).

¹¹ Within the last half century, Huntington has received the most attention in regard to his history paintings. For instance, see William H. Gerds, "Daniel Huntington's 'Mercy's Dream': A Pilgrimage through Bunyanesque Imagery," *Winterthur Portfolio* 14, no. 2 (Summer 1979): 171-194; Nancy Rash, "History and Family: Daniel Huntington and the Patronage of Thomas Davis Day," *Archives of American Art Journal* 34, no. 3 (1994): 2-15; or Wendy Greenhouse, "Daniel Huntington and the Ideal of Christian Art," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31, no. 2/3 (Summer-Autumn 1996): 103-140. The last publications about Healy came in the 1950s: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, *A Souvenir of the Exhibition Entitled Healy's Sitters* (Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1950) and Marie de Mare, *G. P. A. Healy American Artist: An Intimate Chronicle of the Nineteenth Century* (New York: David McKay Co., Inc., 1954). A modern examination of Elliott's oeuvre has yet to be undertaken. One of the few mid-century artists to receive an exhibition devoted his career is Alonzo Chappel, who was known to his contemporaries for his portraits and engravings of nineteenth-century luminaries. See Barbara J. Mitnick, *The Portraits and History Paintings of Alonzo Chappel* (Chadds Ford, PA: Brandywine River Museum, 1992).

also be why his works possess stylistic inconsistencies, particularly if he was inundated with commissions.¹²

Although there are few studies about mid-nineteenth-century portraitists, these artists often appear in museum exhibitions and collection catalogues. For instance, the National Portrait Gallery has consistently featured mid-century portraits in exhibitions such as *This New Man: A Discourse in Portraits* (1968); *Portraits of the American Stage* (1971); *Fifty American Faces* (1978); and more recently, *Brushes with History: Paintings from the National Portrait Gallery* (2001). The Los Angeles County Museum's 1981 exhibition, *American Portraiture in the Grand Manner: 1720-1920*, tangentially considered mid-century portraits within the grand manner painting tradition. Despite these efforts, many scholars still regard these paintings as static and uninteresting.

Regardless of whether one finds mid-century portraits aesthetically pleasing, one must consider the wider implications of the increase in their production. Who commissioned these images and for what reason? Are they for private or public consumption? Did they function as didactic images to stir patriotism and inspire exemplary behavior? Why do such large numbers of portraits, particularly those of nineteenth-century luminaries, appear at mid-century? There are many questions that need addressing in regard to those "elephant-sized" paintings. I contend that these portraits are more than just records of their sitters' likenesses as Flexner suggests. They reflect larger historical, social, and political concerns of the period.

This dissertation focuses on Hicks's portraits of nineteenth-century artists, politicians, authors and other luminaries—the works for which he was best known in his lifetime. I argue

¹² Sometime stylistic inconsistencies can be the result of different hands at work; for example, if an artist had multiple assistants working in his studio. While Hicks had several students, it does not seem that the artist had regular assistants in his studio.

that Hicks's paintings are signifiers of a larger cultural phenomenon occurring at mid-century: the birth of American celebrity culture. During the antebellum period, American audiences became fascinated, even obsessed, with celebrity. The term entered the American lexicon in the 1840s and referred to individuals whose remarkable leadership and accomplishments gained public attention and respect. While celebrity was traditionally associated with fame and classical ideals of virtue and honor, by the mid-nineteenth century the definitions shifted as American audiences became enchanted by public personalities. Development of the mass media and the growth of the public relations industry fostered this new fascination. Daily newspapers and magazines informed readers about appearances and even habits of their favorite luminaries. Advances in photographic reproduction, such as the inexpensive *carte-de-visite* in 1850, encouraged interest in celebrity culture. For the first time, audiences could collect inexpensive portraits of their favorite celebrities. This posed a challenge for traditional portrait painters who wished to remain competitive in the new market of the celebrity image.

I contend that Hicks recognized these trends and carefully constructed his reputation as an important American artist prior to opening his studio in New York City in 1850. After establishing himself as a portrait painter, Hicks embraced the new cultural trend by integrating himself into celebrity circles. The artist was active primarily in New York City, the central location for publishing houses, photography studios, and social gatherings for mid-century luminaries. As a result, the New York City metropolitan area provided Hicks with an opportunity to obtain commissions as he participated in artistic, political, and literary circles. The artist's subjects included local and national politicians such as New York governor, then United States senator, and later Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish (1808-1893); President Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865); authors Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882) and Harriet

Beecher Stowe (1811-1896); Arctic explorer Elisha Kent Kane; and actor Edwin Booth (1833-1893). As I will show, Hicks's portraits served as calculated constructions to promote and sell both his celebrated subjects and the artist himself. Hicks became a celebrity by painting celebrities, then fell victim to the fickle nature of fame and was all but forgotten by the end of the century.

The dissertation is organized thematically, with separate chapters focusing on artists, politicians, authors, an explorer, and an actor. In Chapter One, I discuss historical and theoretical concepts of fame and celebrity and the state of the research in nineteenth-century celebrity culture studies. I define what it meant to be a celebrity in the nineteenth century and how this definition differed from traditional notions of fame. I consider how development of the mass media, the public relations industry, and photography fostered these changes. In Chapter Two, I examine Hicks's apprenticeship in his cousin Edward's sign and coach painting shop, his study in Europe, and how he used the popular press to establish his reputation.

Chapter Three explores the dual functions of Hicks's political portraits at mid-century. I begin by examining the artist's first major public commission in New York City, the portrait of Hamilton Fish for City Hall. I argue that the portrait exemplifies classical fame and I consider it in respect to public perception of the Governor. I examine the portrait within the context of the grand manner portraiture tradition and compare it to other City Hall portraits by John Trumbull (1756-1843) and John Vanderlyn (1775-1852). In contrast to my consideration of the Fish portrait as a representation of classical fame, I examine Hicks's portrait of Abraham Lincoln as campaign propaganda. I compare the portrait to contemporary photographs and prints and suggest it be considered as a hybrid of classical fame and celebrity. This discussion serves as a backdrop to explore changing definitions of celebrity as exemplified by portraits in subsequent

chapters.

Chapter Four examines literary figures as represented by Hicks's *Authors of the United States* (1860), a group portrait of men and women that survives only in an engraving (1866) by Alexander H. Ritchie (1822-1895). Initially believed to have been commissioned by Englishman William P. Wright (c. 1815-1880), the original painting was one of four to be assembled in a New York gallery of famous men. Huntington, Thomas Rossiter (1818-1871), and George A. Baker, Jr. (1821-1880) were to paint the scientists, merchants, and artists, respectively. First, the image is examined within the context of Hicks's early training and in relation to the artist's individual authors' portraits. I suggest that *Authors of the United States* may have originated with Hicks as a result of increasing interest in literary celebrities. I also consider how the image served as a means for the artist to increase his own fame. Furthermore, I examine Wright's involvement in the original commission and argue that it provided him an opportunity to compete with his fellow patrons. In addition, I consider the commission in relation to Wright's patronage and collection practices and how they may have been shaped by his connection to the institution of slavery through his cotton brokerage. I then explore the painting as a representation of nationalism and its relationship to group portraits of great men. Since *Authors of the United States* included women, I also consider the new female celebrity and gender constructs in mid-nineteenth-century America.

Chapter Five focuses on Hicks's multiple portraits of Arctic explorer Elisha Kent Kane. A participant in the British and American search expeditions for lost British explorer Sir John Franklin, Kane published an account of his experiences entitled *Arctic Explorations* (1856). The book became an instant bestseller. Kane's adventures defined him as the great American hero—an exemplar of ideal virtue who helped to fulfill Manifest Destiny. This chapter considers

Hicks's portraits of Kane within the context of America's new fascination with the Arctic regions; the creation of an American hero at a time of national distress; and the ways in which a celebrity image could be manufactured and manipulated in the popular press.

Chapter Six discusses Hicks's multiple portraits of actor Edwin Booth in the role of *Othello's* Iago. I examine the Booth portraits in light of those by Hicks's contemporaries as well as in relation to other portrayals of Shakespearean actors. I am also concerned with the use of the portrait as advertisement and its role in nineteenth-century theater. I explore the Booth portraits' relationship with theatrical photography and the popular pastime of collecting celebrity *cartes-de-visite*. These paintings are also examined in relation to the dissemination of Shakespeare's plays and the ways that the English playwright became a part of American popular culture, both in New York City and across the nation.

To conclude, I consider Hicks's critical reception and how his disappearance from the public eye was likely the result of his failure to embrace changing styles of portraiture. By the mid 1870s, critics saw Hicks's veristic technique as repetitive and outdated as he was uninterested in experimenting with a new style such as Whistler's tonalism. Hicks's notoriety for stylistic inconsistencies may have also contributed to his reputation's decline. Hicks demonstrated mastery of brush in portraits such as those of Jasper Frances Cropsey (1823-1900, National Academy of Design) and poet/artist Christopher Pearce Cranch (1813-1892, National Academy of Design). In addition, his portraits of lesser-known and anonymous sitters frequently surpass in quality those of his celebrated subjects. This may be due to Hicks's practice of painting portraits after photographs, when subjects were unavailable for sittings or when quality was sacrificed for speed of execution. Some critics noted the inconsistencies and remarked that

the artist painted well “when he wills,”¹³ suggesting that quality arose from the artist’s desire to achieve it and was not dependent on his ability.

An appendix of Hicks’s known works appears at the end of the dissertation and is a foundation for a future catalogue raisonné. The appendix includes prints made after the artist’s paintings as well as attributed works. The appendix is by no means complete, and I anticipate additions and corrections as my research continues. Over half of the works listed are unlocated, including important portraits of nineteenth-century luminaries such as Washington Irving (1783-1859), Horace Greeley (1811-1872), and Henry Ward Beecher (1813-1887). While I am concerned primarily with Hicks’s portraits in this text, I hope the inclusion of Hicks’s other subject matter provides the reader with a greater sense of his lifetime production. In other words, while Hicks was certainly cognizant and desiring of fame, he was also an artist who loved to paint.

¹³ “The Fine Arts,” *The Independent*, November 23, 1854.

Chapter 1: A Brief Overview of Celebrity Culture Studies and Its Development in the United States

Any study of nineteenth-century celebrity culture begins with Leo Braudy's seminal *The Frenzy of Renown: Fame and Its History* (1986).¹⁴ Braudy meticulously documents fame's history in western society over the past 2000 years to understand its significance in the twentieth century. Although my dissertation is limited to the nineteenth century, Braudy's research is a foundation for understanding modern concepts of fame and how they differ from contemporary definitions of celebrity. Braudy explains that fame consists of four elements: a person; an accomplishment; his or her immediate publicity; and what posterity has thought of him or her. Traditional definitions of fame derive from classical ideologies related to public service, civic virtue, and national glory. For centuries, leaders such as Alexander the Great (356-323 BCE) and Julius Caesar (100-44 BCE), who exponentially increased their empires and reputations through military deeds, served as measures of greatness for future monarchs. Both men also understood the power of the image to promote public identity. Some 2000 years later, we still study these leaders' accomplishments and know their idealized visages from portraits on coins, mosaics, and in sculpture.

Braudy also defines fame through Judeo-Christian ideals. This type of fame is exemplified through the life and teachings of Jesus Christ who stressed humility, spirituality, and

¹⁴ Leo Braudy, *The Frenzy of Renown: Fame and Its History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). Scholarship on twentieth- and twenty-first-century celebrity culture is significantly larger than that on the nineteenth century. Foundational studies include: Daniel Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964); Richard Schickel, *Intimate Strangers: The Culture of Celebrity* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1985); and Joshua Gamson, *Claims to Fame: Celebrity in Contemporary America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994). Several new celebrity culture readers and a new journal devoted to the subject attest to the increasing attention celebrity culture studies are currently receiving in academia. See the inaugural March 2010 issue of *Celebrity Studies* (London: Routledge); Su Holmes and Sean Redmond, eds., *Framing Celebrity: New Directions in Celebrity Culture* (London: Routledge, 2006); P. David Marshall, ed., *The Celebrity Culture Reader* (London: Routledge, 2006); and Sean Redmond and Su Holmes, eds., *Stardom and Celebrity: A Reader* (London: Sage Publications Ltd., 2007).

virtue over the authority of a single individual. In contrast to Alexander and Caesar, Christ did not utilize images of himself to spread Christianity throughout the Roman Empire since this would have contradicted his message of humility. Instead, Christ communicated the word of God through sermons that the disciples later disseminated to followers.¹⁵

Modern concepts of fame are partly an amalgamation of classical and Judeo-Christian definitions. Braudy argues that concepts of fame began to shift during the Renaissance with the rise of individualism and humanism. During the fifteenth century, scholars and philosophers began to question the absolute authority of the Church and argued that the individual should take pride in his or her humanity instead of feeling shamed by sin. For example, in “Oration on the Dignity of Man,” humanist scholar Pico della Mirandola (1463-1494) wrote that man was not confined to predetermined patterns of behavior but had the ability to control his own destiny. This shift in emphasis from authoritative bodies to the individual was essential to changing definitions of fame.

Individualism was also manifest in art, particularly with the rise of the secular portrait. With the advent and dissemination of portraits in print form, one no longer had to be wealthy or associated with royalty or the papacy to have his image recorded.¹⁶ Portraits of artists, scholars, clergy, and others proliferated and could be widely circulated. Thus, printing allowed for wider facial recognition and gave individuals the ability to gain renown more quickly than ever before. By the end of the eighteenth century, the rate of public recognition had increased exponentially with the advent of the Industrial Revolution. New technologies, the growth of urban populations, rising literacy rates, and revolutions against monarchies facilitated the shift in

¹⁵ The image of the bearded Christ, believed to have been invented by the Christian Church, appeared some 500 years after his death.

¹⁶ Braudy, 266.

classical definitions of fame. The post-Industrial Revolution world was one of self-promotion that provided a foundation for celebrity.

As David Giles explains in *Illusions of Immortality: A Psychology of Fame and Celebrity* (2000), fame and celebrity are not necessarily interchangeable terms. Celebrity suggests temporality and contemporaneity, whereas fame connotes longevity and immortality. A celebrity is “known for his well-knownness” as opposed to being recognized for historic accomplishment.¹⁷ Celebrity has been characterized as a modern media construction facilitated by capitalist society. The term implies that a certain type of audience, specifically “fans,” is required in order to create and sustain “well-knownness.” Yet critics such as Richard Schickel argue that celebrity could not exist before the twentieth century.¹⁸ Theoretically, Schickel’s assumptions are true if one considers the development of tabloid magazines or the paparazzi. However, Braudy argues that “the fan,” a concept which is integral to modern celebrity and fame, appeared as early as the eighteenth century when portraits, books, pamphlets, and caricatures were widely disseminated and introduced the famous to the public.

Braudy explains that the development of “the fan” was partly due to a new phenomenon in which audiences begin to shape public figures according to their own desires. In other words, audiences sought to improve themselves or better their situations through interaction with the famous. Fans followed Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1717-1778) into exile in Switzerland and puzzled Rousseau with their behavior since some had never read his books, but still wanted to see him and be like him. These fans believed that they would not only learn how to be poets, but could also cultivate their true selves and perhaps even gain their own fame by absorbing

¹⁷ See David Giles, *Illusions of Immortality: A Psychology of Fame and Celebrity* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd.: 2000), 3-4 and Boorstin, 56.

¹⁸ Schickel, 23.

Rousseau's aura.¹⁹

More recent scholars, who agree with Braudy's contentions, demonstrate that by the 1780s public individuals were beginning to understand concepts of celebrity— especially the ways in which art and the popular press could be used for self-promotion. This recognition helped fame and celebrity coalesce. Fame is still achieved through some type of accomplishment, but is not defined strictly by classical or Judeo-Christian ideals. In tandem, modes of audience reception and behavioral patterns begin to change and echo the pandemonium associated with twentieth- and twenty-first-century fans.

British actress Sarah Siddons (1755-1831) dominated the English stage during the late Georgian period and experienced situations similar to Rousseau's. However, Siddons's self-promotion may have instigated her fans' behavior as described below. At the time, Siddons was known as one of Britain's great tragic actresses. Her career began in 1775, but she initially failed to gain public acclaim. Seven years later, Siddons returned to the stage—this time enthraling audiences with her “embodiment of domestic woe” in the title role of the tragedy *Isabella*. After seeing Siddons's performance, British diarist Hester Thrale wrote, “The town has got a new *IDOL*—MRS. SIDDONS the actress: a *leaden* one She seems, but we shall make her a *Golden* one before 'tis long.”²⁰ Thrale's predictions soon became true when Siddons's public and private life merged. In her memoirs Siddons wrote, “My door was soon beset by various persons quite unknown to me, whose curiosity was on the alert to see the new Actress, some [of] whom actually forced their way into my Drawing-room in spite of remonstrance or

¹⁹ Braudy, 380-382.

²⁰ Katharine C. Balderston, ed., *Thraliana: The Diary of Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale (Later Mrs. Piozzi), 1776-1809*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), I: 554, quoted in Robyn Asleson, “‘She was tragedy personified’: Crafting the Siddons Legend in Art and Life,” in *A Passion for Performance: Sarah Siddons and Her Portraitists*, ed. Robyn Asleson (Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1999), 41.

opposition.”²¹ This impropriety was virtually unheard of in the eighteenth century. Part of the pandemonium was almost certainly the result of Siddons’s self-promotion. She constructed her public image by carefully manipulating the press and using portraiture as publicity.

For example, Sir Joshua Reynolds’ (1723-1792) portrait of Siddons as the Tragic Muse (1784) is perhaps the best known image of the actress. Recalling Michelangelo’s prophets and sibyls from the Sistine Chapel ceiling, Siddons sits on a throne dressed in swaths of drapery. Her pale face and skin dramatically contrast her golden brown dress. She gazes upwards and out of the picture plane. At least eight other artists, including George Romney (1734-1802) and Sir Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788), painted multiple portraits of the actress in various roles. One fan visited these artists’ studios to see the portraits and saw the actress perform during a day of “Siddonimania.”²² Such a day of celebrity sight-seeing might end with the purchase of a print made after a portrait. Siddons took an active part in creation of the prints and even instigated the production of the print made after Reynolds’s portrait. For some fans, owning such a print created false intimacy between subject and viewer. Fans believed that they “knew” the actress, when in reality they only knew her self-fashioned public image. This may be why some fans felt they had the right to appear at the actress’s home uninvited.²³

British poet Lord Byron (1788-1824) experienced a type of pandemonium similar to that which surrounded Siddons. In *Byromania and the Birth of Celebrity Culture* (2009), Ghislaine McDayter investigates parallels between Byromania and modern popular culture. As McDayter explains, Byron was an overnight sensation after the publication of *Childe Harold’s Pilgrimage* in 1812. Modern critics describe the poet as a “Regency Elvis” and compare his popularity to

²¹ William van Lennep, ed. *Reminiscences of Sarah Kemble Siddons, 1773-1785* (Cambridge, MA: Widener Library, 1942), 20-21, quoted in Asleson, 43.

²² Asleson, 43-47.

²³ For more on the imagined intimacy between the famous and the fan in the twentieth century, see Schickel.

Beatlemania in the 1960s, stating that Byron wielded sexual power over male and female fans. Byron's contemporary critics believed his popularity lay in his ability to weave self-portraiture into his poems. McDayter states that descriptions of Byron's public appearances sound like something out of a teen magazine: whenever Byron appeared at his publisher's office, crowds gathered outside to catch a glimpse; women fainted whenever they saw him; all of England's elite wanted him as a guest at their dinner tables; and he received inordinate amounts of fan mail.²⁴ Much like Siddons and Rousseau, Byron's popularity was based as much on looking upon his visage as it was on reading his poetry.

Similar to Siddons, Byron was painted by a number of artists during his lifetime. British artists Thomas Phillips (1770-1845) and Richard Westall (1765-1836) created some of the best known portraits of the poet.²⁵ In these images, Byron appears in the "uniform" for poets and authors; a dark cloak with contrasting white collar and cuffs. The sitter is lit dramatically as he gazes longingly into the distance.²⁶ Thomas Sully's posthumous portrait of Byron did not depart from this order and is a quintessential example of Romantic painting in early nineteenth-century America (fig. 3). In contrast to Siddons, Byron was not fond of portraiture, calling it "the most artificial and unnatural" of all the arts.²⁷ Nevertheless, the portraits increased Byron's fame throughout western Europe and eventually in the United States. Painting celebrities such as Siddons or Byron made the artists themselves famous. A relatively unknown painter could see

²⁴ Ghislaine McDayter, *Byromania and the Birth of Celebrity Culture* (New York: SUNY Press, 2009), 2-5. For more on the Romantic era, also see Tom Mole, ed. *Romanticism and Celebrity Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

²⁵ In *Byron, Sully, and the Power of Portraiture* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005), John Clubbe notes that one of the great art historical tragedies was that Byron and Sir Thomas Lawrence could not sync their schedules so that the British artist could paint the poet. See 34-35.

²⁶ Christine Kenyon Jones, "Fantasy and Transfiguration: Byron and his Portraits," in Frances Wilson, ed. *Byromania: Portraits of the Artist in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Culture* (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1999), 113.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 122.

his reputation blossom overnight should his celebrity portrait be well received at the Royal Academy. If the artist had the portrait engraved, then his fame could potentially surpass that of his celebrated subject.

In America, celebrity emerged during the first quarter of the nineteenth century. In *Sentiment & Celebrity: Nathaniel Parker Willis and the Trials of Literary Fame* (1999), Thomas N. Baker investigates N. P. Willis's pivotal role in establishing modern celebrity culture in the United States. Similar to Thomas Hicks, Willis has all but vanished from the history of American literature and is typically a footnote to someone else's story. Today, Willis is known primarily as a contemporary champion of Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849). Baker explains that Willis's writings are instrumental to the birth of celebrity obsession in the United States. In 1835, Willis published *Pencillings by the Way*, a collection of letters about his European travels and his intermingling with high society. In these letters, which originally appeared in the *New-York Mirror*, Willis reported on parties and secret conversations of England's elite. The subject matter of the letters fostered public fascination with the rich and famous. Willis's subjects were not necessarily known for any particular accomplishment, but rather for their wealth and ostentation. Willis had a voracious appetite for turning the private public and was one of the first writers to understand the potential of exploiting celebrity.²⁸

In the same year that Willis published *Pencillings by the Way*, Poe satirized the obsession with this new class of celebrity in his short story "Lionizing." Poe's story comments on the public's ability to create celebrity based on their inability to distinguish popularity from true fame. The protagonist of "Lionizing" is declared a genius after discovering his nose with both hands as a child. He then goes on to specialize in "Nosology," writes a pamphlet of the same

²⁸ Thomas N. Baker, *Sentiment & Celebrity: Nathaniel Parker Willis and the Trials of Literary Fame* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 8-9.

title, and becomes famous by exhibiting his nose to admiring crowds. By titling his story “Lionizing,” Poe referenced a social pastime in which society hostesses (known as lion-huntresses) competed to bring male literary celebrities (known as lions) to their parties. The interest in having the celebrity present was more about being able to look at the man than about actually talking with him.²⁹ The term “lionizing” originated as a description of tourists who came to see the lions at the Tower of London. In its nineteenth-century usage, lionizing connotes the emptiness of certain types of fame. Braudy explains that while Poe sought literary celebrity, his satire indicated the type of fame he did not want.³⁰ Baker argues that Willis’s “lionizing” facilitated public fascination with figures of renown.

Baker notes that the term celebrity initially signified a quality or condition of renown, as in a “celebrated person,” and was seen as a descriptor of fame embodied. In the United States, new celebrities were defined as talented men and women from the middle to lower classes.³¹ These people were not celebrated because they were born into an aristocratic or royal family line, but achieved renown through their own accomplishments. The notion of personal autonomy paralleled broader concerns of creating an American identity in the decades immediately after the American Revolution. The Jacksonian era was the time of the self-made man, as white male Americans enjoyed unprecedented freedoms to decide who they were and what they wanted to be, no matter their station in life. Ralph Waldo Emerson characterized it best when he wrote in his journal in February 1827, “It is the age of the first person singular.”³² In other words, people are what they make of themselves. As David Haven Blake explained, in antebellum America

²⁹ Mole, 6. Also see Richard Salmon, “The Physiognomy of the Lion: Encountering the Literary Celebrity in the Nineteenth Century,” in the same volume, 60-78.

³⁰ Braudy, 466-467.

³¹ Baker, 8.

³² See William H. Gilman, ed. *The Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960): III, 70, quoted in Daniel Walker Howe, *Making the American Self: Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 107.

celebrity became a distinct category of democratic identity.³³

The first American celebrities to experience widespread public acclaim in the nineteenth century were professional authors such as Washington Irving and James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851). New technologies such as cheaper and faster printing, rising literacy rates, and development of the mass media facilitated their successes. The exponential increase in publication of weekly newspapers and magazines brought information about luminaries to audiences faster than ever before. In addition, audiences could also see and hear their favorite public figures lecture in lyceums across the country. Americans soon became enchanted by these public personalities.

At their origin, lyceums were sites of public education where attending lectures were an important ritual of citizenship.³⁴ Subject matter came from a wide range of disciplines: law, science, literature, and religion. Lectures provided an arena for critical thinking and debate about historical and current events. In 1836, the debaters at a Providence, Rhode Island lyceum asked whether “the destruction of tea in Boston harbor during the Revolution was justifiable?” In 1840, a Davenport, Iowa lyceum asked, “Which is the greatest injury to a community, a Thief or a Tattler?”³⁵ While these forums initially promised of public education and moral reform, they soon became vehicles of self-promotion. The most popular lecturers included authors and preachers such as Henry Ward Beecher, Bayard Taylor (1825-1878), Oliver Wendell Holmes (1809-1894), and Emerson. A critic for *Putnam’s* lamented that the lyceum had become the American theater. The critic stated that “it provides weekly amusement in the smallest and

³³ David Haven Blake, *Walt Whitman and the Culture of American Celebrity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 29.

³⁴ Peter Cherches, “Star Course: Popular Lectures and the Marketing of Celebrity in Nineteenth-Century America” (PhD diss., New York University, 1997), 5.

³⁵ Angela G. Ray, *The Lyceum and Public Culture in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2005), 28.

remotest towns, and it secures to the insatiable Yankee the chance, an hour long, of seeing any notability about whom he was curious.”³⁶

The new fascination with celebrity paralleled the beginning of the public relations industry as American tastes for sensationalism spread to various forms of entertainment, particularly in New York City. The booming metropolis’s market economy allowed for greater variety of entertainments and entrepreneurial individuals took full advantage of the opportunity. In the same year that Willis published *Pencillings by the Way*, P. T. Barnum (1810-1891), who is considered the father of the public relations industry, staged his first exhibition in New York City—a one hundred-and-sixty-one year old slave named Joice Heth, who claimed to have been George Washington’s nurse.

Barnum became intrigued with Heth’s story in the summer of 1835 when he met Coley Bartram, of Reading, Connecticut. Bartram told Barnum that he had sold his ownership shares in Heth because her exhibition in Philadelphia was unsuccessful. The young Barnum, who had yet to find his calling in life, recognized the potential in showcasing the woman and purchased her. As a biological oddity in extreme old age and as a person who claimed a direct connection to Washington, Heth could attract large audiences. Neil Harris explained that Barnum’s genius lay in his publicity techniques. First, Barnum scheduled Heth’s appearances at Niblo’s Garden, a popular New York City theater on Broadway. Second, he hired attorney Levi Lyman, who wrote, illustrated, and sold a biographical pamphlet about Heth. Third, Barnum printed Heth’s portraits on flyers and posted them throughout New York City. The advertisements claimed Heth was “the first person to put clothes on George Washington, the most ancient specimen of mortality Americans were ever likely to encounter.” The show was a hit and Barnum took Heth

³⁶ “Lectures and Lecturers,” *Putnam’s* 9, no. 51 (March 1857): 317.

on a tour of New England.³⁷

One of Barnum's most successful campaigns was Swedish opera singer Jenny Lind's 1850 American tour (fig. 3). Prior to arriving in New York City, Lind was little known in the United States. Barnum launched an unprecedented publicity campaign so he could recoup Lind's \$187,000 fee and make a profit from the tour. He published and distributed the singer's biography, which emphasized her piety and philanthropic nature. In letters to newspapers, Barnum explained that Lind performed for charities and stressed she was a woman whose sole concern was the well-being of others.³⁸ Those who attended Lind's performances would not only see a magnificent performer, but would also be graced with the presence of a pious, virtuous individual. Barnum's publicity campaign surpassed all expectations. Thousands of people gathered to greet Lind when she arrived in New York harbor; crowds mobbed her carriage and threw bouquets as she proceeded to her hotel. Lind's reception was unprecedented and all of it occurred before she sang a single note. Antebellum New York City proved to be the ideal location for Barnum and the rise of celebrity.

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, New York City became the center of North American commerce and trade. Historians estimate that in 1835, more than 1,000 ships from 150 ports passed through New York harbor. By the 1840s, New York City managed over half of the country's imports and nearly a third of its exports. The city was America's major provider of goods, ships, money, and commercial skills. Merchants like Philip Hone (1780- 1851) and John Jacob Astor (1763-1848) helped make New York City a commercial beacon and used part of their profits to patronize the arts. The city became a center for publishing houses and a gathering place for American luminaries.

³⁷ Neil Harris, *Humbug! The Art of P. T. Barnum* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1973), 21-23.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 119-120.

Aspiring artists flocked to New York City not only because of its patrons, but also because it was home to one of the few training institutions in the country, the National Academy of Design.³⁹ Founded in 1825 by Samuel F. B. Morse, Asher B. Durand (1796-1886), and Thomas Cole (1801-1848), the Academy sought to “promote the fine arts in America through institution and exhibition.” Artists who came to New York City also found support in the American Art-Union (1839-1851).⁴⁰ The AAU was a subscription-based organization and sought to promote art through the exhibition and sale of works by American artists. There were also social clubs where artists could meet and socialize with both patrons and celebrities. One of these was the Century Association, founded in 1847 as a club for artists and authors called the Sketch Club. Its ranks soon swelled to include politicians, actors, and other nineteenth-century luminaries.

When Thomas Hicks arrived in New York City around 1839, he witnessed the city’s continuing growth and the frenzy that surrounded public personalities. The environment’s impact on the young Hicks is obvious. From the beginning of his career, Hicks carefully self-promoted and networked among artists, writers, politicians, and others who could introduce him to important patrons. His career became tightly intertwined with the city’s most prominent citizens. As a result, Hicks established himself as New York City’s premier celebrity portraitist.

³⁹ Hereafter referred to as the NAD.

⁴⁰ Hereafter referred to as the AAU.

Chapter 2: Becoming a Celebrity Portraitist

Modest Beginnings

Thomas Hicks was born to Joseph and Jane Bond Hicks on October 18, 1816 in Newtown, Pennsylvania. The seventh of nine children, the future artist and his family suffered financial hardships throughout his childhood.⁴¹ By the early 1830s, the young Hicks demonstrated a talent for painting as exemplified in portraits of his extended family. One of the earliest paintings attributed to the artist by Alice Ford is “*Little Sallie*” Hicks (c. 1833-1836) (fig. 4), the artist’s cousin and daughter of Edward Hicks.

In the quarter-length portrait, “*Little Sallie*” has a round face and stylized curls of long hair that cascade down her neck and past her shoulders. She has high arched brows, wide eyes, a long nose, and full lips. Her eyebrows and nose appear to be connected by a single line that can be traced from the left eyebrow, down the bridge of the nose, and back up to the right eyebrow. Despite the somewhat naïve rendering of the facial features, there is an effort to model the young girl’s likeness. For instance, her head turns slightly to the left so that her jaw casts a shadow onto her neck. Hicks also attempted to model the folds of Sallie’s white shirt between her neck and shoulders.

At the same time that Thomas painted “*Little Sallie*,” he served as an apprentice in his cousin Edward’s sign and coach painting shop in Newtown. To facilitate Thomas’s training,

⁴¹ Hicks’s birth year has been published erroneously as 1823 since at least 1859. For instance, see “The Artists of America,” *The Crayon* 6, no. 5 (May 1859): 136. In *The Kingdoms of Edward Hicks*, Carolyn J. Weekley gives Hicks’s birth year as 1817. His tombstone at Greenwood Cemetery in Brooklyn, New York gives his age at death as 73. Hicks’s age on his death certificate as 73 years, 11 months, 20 days on October 8, 1890. This places his birth year at 1816, as opposed to 1817 or 1823. The significance of this discovery will be discussed in more detail below. Thomas and his siblings appear in the Bucks County Poor School Children tax records from 1823 to 1825 and 1828. See the Bucks County Poor School Children 1810-1845 Tax Record, 95-6, Bucks County Historical Society. Alice Ford published a number of anecdotes about Thomas’s early life and career in Edward’s shop in her two books on Edward Hicks: *Edward Hicks: Painter of the Peaceable Kingdom* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952) and *Edward Hicks: His Life and Art* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1985). While Hicks scholars are certainly in debt to her early research, her scholarship must be considered with a skeptical eye. Ford had a tendency to embellish the Hicks family history and did not document her sources.

Edward borrowed portraits for the young artist to study; in 1836 the elder painter borrowed a portrait of Reverend Edward Stabler by James Bowman (1793-1842) from Richard Price in Philadelphia.⁴² Thomas's first recorded portrait appears in the shop's ledger book, kept by Edward's son, Isaac Worstall Hicks (1809-1898). Thomas painted approximately fifty portraits of Newtown and Philadelphia residents between July 1836 and June 1837. On average, the shop charged six dollars for a portrait of a single sitter. The prices for double and triple portraits ranged from ten to twelve dollars. Isaac typically paid Thomas one to three dollars for his labor depending upon the size of the painting. The shop occasionally accepted goods or services in lieu of cash payment: Thomas received a teeth cleaning in exchange for painting a portrait of Philadelphia dentist Dr. H. Clagett.⁴³ Unfortunately, most of the early shop portraits by Hicks have not been located. However, I suspect that a portrait of an unidentified man may represent one of the sitters listed in the ledger.

The painting is a half-length portrait of a man (1836) (fig. 5) with a prominent widow's peak and bright red hair. Hicks's technique still possesses a certain naiveté in its rendering of facial features; however, the artist's modeling is improved over the portrait of his younger cousin. The well-to-do man wears a black coat, yellow vest, white shirt, and black cravat. A diamond shaped red and gold pendant can be seen at the center of his shirt. A fob chain hangs

⁴² Richard Price to Edward Hicks, December 3, 1836, and Edward Hicks to Richard Price, December 12, 1836. Alice Ford Files, Newtown Historic Association. The letters in the Ford files are Ford's typed transcripts. For reasons unknown, Ford did not completely transcribe the letters, and the typed copies have multiple ellipses that presumably indicate there was more to the letter than what she copied. It is unknown if they would provide any further information on Thomas's early training. Unfortunately, the original letters are unlocated. The present whereabouts of Thomas's copy of the Stabler portrait and Bowman's original are unknown.

⁴³ An advertisement for Clagett's visit to Newtown was published in the *Doylestown Democrat and Farmers' and Mechanics' Gazette* on June 22, 1836. The advertisement read: "H. Clagett, Surgeon Dentist, Philadelphia. Respectfully informs his friends and the public generally, that he has taken an office at J. Archambault's Hotel, in Newtown, where he is prepared to perform operations based on their teeth necessary for their health preservation and beauty. Also, to insert transparent, incorruptible teeth, from single teeth to full sets. Those disposed to avail themselves of his services, are invited to make early application as he can only remain in Newtown a few weeks." Dentists file, Newtown Historic Association. Also see Isaac Hicks Daybook, 33, Newtown Historic Association.

around his neck and is tucked into an inside coat pocket. The man holds a quill pen in his left hand and rests his left arm on a chair back. The writing implement and jewelry indicate his level of education, business success, and wealth. He appears in front of a nondescript brown background, which becomes lighter in color the closer it gets to the sitter's head. Diagonal strokes of paint form a "V" shape behind the sitter.

Other early portraits are similar to the unidentified man as seen in the half-length portrait of Charles Satterthwait (June 1836) (fig. 6). Satterthwait wears similar clothing as the unidentified man and also rests his left arm on a chair back. A ledger book and quill pen appears on a table in the lower right corner of the portrait. Like the unidentified man, the objects suggest Satterthwait's occupation as a merchant or businessman. Satterthwait may have also commissioned a portrait of his daughter, Hannah (September 16, 1836) (fig. 7). A rare inscription on the back of the portrait indicates that it was painted on Hannah's fifth birthday (fig. 8). In the painting, Hannah appears as a well-behaved little girl from a wealthy family. She wears a blue dress and clutches a black bag in her right hand. A coral necklace and gold pendant inscribed with her initials hang around her neck. Hannah holds a book entitled *A Pleasing Variety for the Youthful Mind* in her left hand. Published in 1835, the children's book was a compendium of short essays that also included poems, natural history, and lessons on proper behavior. Thus, judging from this painting, the depiction of the child's proper upbringing and education was just as important as the display of the family's wealth for the patron.

Around the same time that Hicks recorded likenesses of Newtown residents, he also tried his hand at self-portraiture (c. 1836-1837).⁴⁴ In this portrait, Hicks painted himself as an artist—he holds brushes, a maulstick, and a palette in his left hand. He wears a white shirt with a

⁴⁴ For image, see Weekley, 85.

black vest and cravat. Soft, brown curls of hair frame his face and he gazes past the viewer with big, round, blue eyes. Pentimenti are visible in the background, as two faces can be seen underneath the thin layer of brown paint at the right side of the canvas. On the left side, a mouth and disembodied fingers appear to float in the background. The pentimenti do not seem to be organized in any particular fashion, and as a result, it appears that the artist utilized the canvas for practice before painting his self-portrait.⁴⁵

One of the most remarkable paintings of the artist's early career is that of his brother, Edward L. Hicks (c. 1837) (fig. 9).⁴⁶ Similar to the artist's self-portrait, Edward L. Hicks looks at the viewer with the same big, round, blue eyes. He has light brown hair and wears a light brown jacket with a white shirt and black tie. The painting shows vast improvement in Hicks's technique as the naïve rendering of facial features seen in earlier portraits has given way to subtle and delicate modeling. In the portrait, Hicks built form through color as opposed to the linear rendering of facial features as seen in his early self-portrait. The stylistic changes may be the result of professional training; by this time, Hicks may have begun studying at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts in Philadelphia. While little is known about this early period in Hicks's career, a short biography by George William Sheldon appeared in Appleton's *Art Journal* in 1879 and provides some information about the artist's early training.⁴⁷

Sheldon explains that when Hicks was a young man, he mischievously drew unflattering caricatures of local Masons. The Newtown postmaster, Major Joseph O. V. S. Archambault (1796-1874), saw the sketches and gave Hicks a copy of Allan Cunningham's *The Lives of the*

⁴⁵ The Mercer Museum has not x-rayed or taken infrared photographs of the canvas to reveal the full extent of the images in the background.

⁴⁶ Edward L. Hicks (b. 1822) should not be confused with Thomas's cousin, Edward Hicks.

⁴⁷ Although the article does not list an author, one can presume the author is Sheldon as the biography appeared verbatim in Sheldon's *American Painters with Eighty-Three Examples of Their Work Engraved on Wood* one year later. Appleton's also published the book.

Most Eminent British Painters (1833).⁴⁸ According to Sheldon, the life of history painter James Barry (1741-1806) so impressed the young Hicks that he vowed to become a painter and immediately commenced the famous portrait of his cousin Edward.

The portrait of Edward Hicks painting the *Peaceable Kingdom* (1839) (fig. 10) is Thomas's best known painting. The first of three extant versions (fig. 11-12), it is the only known likeness of the famous folk artist.⁴⁹ In the half-length portrait, Edward sits in a Windsor chair and wears a black coat with a tan vest, tan trousers, a white shirt and cravat. He holds a palette with three brushes in his left hand and another brush in his right. A *Peaceable Kingdom* painting can be seen at the left side of the portrait and an open Bible appears on a table behind him.⁵⁰ Edward's head tilts slightly to the left and his glasses have been pushed to the top of his forehead. He pauses from painting and gazes sternly at the viewer with piercing blue eyes.

In the portrait, Hicks modeled Edward's chiseled facial features with careful attention to color, light, and shadow. Edward gazes at the viewer with a furrowed brow and stern expression. According to family legend, Thomas engaged Edward in a religious discussion that incited anger in the Quaker preacher. The expression represented in the portrait is ostensibly the result of that

⁴⁸ Joseph Oliver Victor Senez Archambault was an aide-de-camp to Napoleon at the Battle of Waterloo. He came to Philadelphia to serve Joseph Bonaparte, Napoleon's older brother. Archambault moved with his family to Newtown in 1821 and ran several businesses there. Aside from the post office, he also ran a hardware store, a Veterinary Surgery and Dentistry business, and purchased the Brick Hotel. A portrait of Archambault that was at one time attributed to Hicks is in the Mercer Museum in Doylestown. The portrait is included as an attributed work in the appendix (cat. no. 73) and a reproduction can be found on the Mercer Museum's website, www.mercermuseum.org.

⁴⁹ The Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center owns the first version of the Edward Hicks portrait. It is hereafter referred to as the AARFAC portrait. At some point in the 1850s or 1860s, Edward's head from the portrait was reproduced as a *carte-de-visite*. A copy can be found in the Newtown Library in Newtown, Pennsylvania. Walter Teller noted that the lions' facial features in Edward Hicks's *Peaceable Kingdom* paintings bear a striking resemblance to those in Thomas's portraits and may be a self-portrait. For example, see the *Peaceable Kingdom* (1845) at the Yale University Art Gallery in New Haven. See Walter Teller, *Twelve Works of Native Genius* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1972), 59-60.

⁵⁰ Although the text is illegible, Ford states that the Bible was open to Isaiah, which includes a passage that is generally accepted as an inspiration for Edward Hicks's *Peaceable Kingdom* paintings. Isaiah 11:6 reads: "The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them." See Ford 1985, 132.

conversation.⁵¹ Close examination of the face also reveals that Hicks seems to have made preliminary sketches directly on the canvas before painting. Charcoal lines are visible just below the nose and around the mouth. Hicks sketched and painted in the same manner throughout his career, as lines are visible in several of his later portraits.

Despite vast improvement in rendering facial features, Hicks was still learning to paint a naturalistic figure because Edward's arms and head are disproportionate to his body. It appears as if his right arm is detached from his torso while his head seems to be a little too small. Approximately one year later, Hicks painted a copy of the portrait for a family member, probably around the same time he began to study at the NAD (c. 1838-39) (fig. 11).⁵² Similar to the AARFAC portrait, the proportions of Edward's body are slightly awkward. However, Thomas's ability to render anatomy had improved substantially. For instance, Edward's right hand possesses anatomical structure, whereas in the AARFAC version the hand seems elastic, lacking bone and ligament. In the NPG version, Thomas enlarged Edward's head and softened his facial features. The sternness present in the AARFAC portrait has dissipated into a gentler expression. Overall, Thomas possesses a better handling of line and tighter control of the brush in the NPG portrait as opposed to the slight sketchiness of the AARFAC version.

Almost twelve years later, Hicks painted another version of the painting. The third version of Edward's portrait seems to be a combination of the AARFAC and NPG versions (fig. 12). Created about 1850-1852, the painting suffered severe damage as the result of being tossed

⁵¹ Mary Barnsley Hicks Richardson to Abby Aldrich Folk Art Center, 17 February 1967, Hicks curatorial file, AARFAC. Richardson wrote: "My father [Edward Penrose Hicks] told many times of this incident (which his father Isaac [Edward Hicks's son] told him)—Thomas purposely entered into a religious discussion with Edward, determined to disagree with him on a point, which he did, in order to stir Edward to anger, and thus caught the delightfully stern expression..."

⁵² Hereafter referred to as the NPG version.

into a coal bin and has since been restored.⁵³ In contrast to the earlier portraits, the Michener version possesses an overall golden hue. The pre-restoration photograph seemingly suggests that the original portrait was richer in color with a tighter handling of line than seen in its current state.⁵⁴ Hicks descendents believed that Thomas deliberately emulated his earlier style at the request of the family member who commissioned the portrait which probably accounts for the overall golden hue.

According to Sheldon, Hicks hid the AARFAC portrait for two months after completion in fear of being ridiculed. The biographer states that Hicks finally decided to show the portrait to Edward's brother-in-law, Dr. Edward H. Kennedy (b. 1811), who commended the young artist for his efforts. Kennedy then encouraged Hicks to study at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. Upon arriving in Philadelphia during the winter of 1839, Hicks found the Academy closed. As a result, he went to New York City where he attended the NAD. While Sheldon provides a relative timeline of Hicks's early career, he does omit a few details.

First, Sheldon does not mention Hicks's apprenticeship in Edward's studio or discuss any of the early portraits painted there. Sheldon's account suggests that Hicks's first painting was of his cousin, which we know not to be true. Second, Sheldon states that Hicks first attempted study at the PAFA in 1839. Extant primary documents date the artist's initial visit to 1837.

⁵³ Hereafter referred to as the Michener version. This version was owned by one of Edward's daughters, either Sarah B. or Susan Worstall Hicks. The portrait was given to Dr. Cheesman (the family doctor), who then gave it to the Quaker Friends New York Yearly Meeting. According to Mabel Willets Abendroth (Sarah B. Hicks's daughter), the portrait "hung in the Sunday school room-but was eventually relegated to the coal-bin. Many years ago [Sarah B. Hicks] received a very nice letter from the New York Yearly Meeting telling her that the meeting no longer wanted the picture of her grandfather Edward Hicks could she have it [*sic*], if she could come and get it. Mother couldn't go herself—so, one hot day, our colored chauffeur drove me into New York to get the picture, all the time our chauffer kept fussing about the dust—especially in the old coal bin—but we had a pretty big car and the picture stood up nicely all the way home. . .[my mother] gave me the picture. . .for all my trouble. . .The picture was in horrible condition, when we got it, and it still is. . .The portrait of Edward Hicks, painted by Thomas Hicks, I gave to my son Robert more than thirty years ago, the face is so sad." Mabel Willets Abendroth to Alice Ford, June 10, 1969. Alice Ford files, Newtown Historic Association.

⁵⁴ For image, see Hicks curatorial file at the AARFAC.

Sheldon was correct in stating that Kennedy encouraged Hicks's study at the PAFA and provided him with a letter of introduction to gain entry.

Philadelphia and New York City

In the summer of 1837, Thomas traveled to Philadelphia with a letter of recommendation from Dr. Kennedy, who was Thomas's second cousin and a practicing physician in the largely Quaker city. Kennedy, whose portrait Thomas painted in August 1836, wrote to Dr. Thomas Harris (1784-1861) on June 30, 1837.⁵⁵ Harris was a renowned Naval surgeon who founded the first school of Naval medicine and maintained a successful medical practice in Philadelphia.⁵⁶ In his letter, Kennedy requested that Harris assist Thomas's admittance into the PAFA. Kennedy described Thomas as "an artist of considerable promise, having lately emerged from the coach painter's shop to the dignity of the easel" and that Thomas was "young, modest, and poor, but possessed genius."⁵⁷ Kennedy suggested that Harris write letters to Judge Joseph Hopkinson (1770-1842), the current president of the PAFA, and John Kintzing Kane (1759-1858), a Philadelphia attorney. Both men were ardent supporters of the arts in Philadelphia. The introduction to Kane proved to be fortuitous, as Hicks developed a close relationship with the Kane family and painted several of their portraits. These included multiple images of Kane's famous Arctic explorer son, Elisha Kent Kane.⁵⁸ Kennedy also recommended that Harris write to Thomas Sully, or "any other artist of your acquaintance," to obtain formal training for the young Hicks. On July 5, 1837, Harris followed Kennedy's recommendations and wrote to Kane,

⁵⁵ The portrait is presently unlocated, but was erroneously exhibited at the Bucks County Bicentennial Exhibition in 1882 as one of Edward Hicks's first portraits. See Henry O. Michener, *Bucks County Bicentennial Exhibition* (Doylestown, PA: Paschall Brothers, 1882), 34.

⁵⁶ For information on Harris's significance in establishing the first medical instruction in nineteenth-century Philadelphia, see Louis H. Roddis, "Thomas Harris, M.D., Naval Surgeon and Founder of the First School of Naval Medicine in the New World," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 5, no. 3 (Summer 1950): 236-250.

⁵⁷ Edward H. Kennedy to Dr. Thomas Harris, June, 30 1837. Archives of the PAFA.

⁵⁸ The Kane portraits are discussed at length in Chapter 4.

stating that Hicks was “quite anxious to have the privilege of visiting the academy of Fine Arts.”⁵⁹

It is not known whether Hicks received proper instruction that summer as formal records were not kept at the PAFA until 1856. In the 1830s, students at the PAFA were largely self-taught, with artists studying from paintings or casts in the collection. Hicks would have had ample opportunity to study from a variety of works, since the PAFA held annual exhibitions of American art. The Artists’ Fund Society also held annual exhibitions at the Academy from 1835-1845 (with no exhibition occurring in 1839), providing students with the opportunity to copy paintings by artists from outside of Philadelphia.⁶⁰

It is unclear if the PAFA was actually open the first time Hicks attempted to study there in the summer of 1837. The Academy had financial difficulties in the 1830s and was open only intermittently. Hicks did study there at some point prior to August 12, 1839, as his permission slip of the same date stated he had previously received admittance to the galleries and was thereby granted permission again.⁶¹ Whether Hicks met Sully the summer of 1837 is unknown, but any lengthy study seems unlikely since the elder artist was probably preoccupied with travel preparations to paint Queen Victoria in England.

Although Hicks’s precise movements are not known with certainty during this early period, he seems to have traveled back and forth between Newtown, Philadelphia, and New York

⁵⁹ Thomas Harris to John K. Kane, July 5, 1837. Archives of the PAFA.

⁶⁰ For more on the history of the PAFA, see Stephen May, “An Enduring Legacy: The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1805-2005,” in *Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts: 200 years of the Fine Arts, 1805-2005* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 2005), 10-27; Peter Hastings Falk, ed. *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1807-1870* (Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1988); and Frank H. Goodyear, Jr., “A History of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1805-1976,” in *In this Academy: The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1805-1976* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1976), 12-50.

⁶¹ The permission slip states “M. Thomas Hicks had formerly a Certificate of admission into the Academy for improvement in drawing. He is therefore now entitled to the same privileges.” The note is signed by Hopkinson and addressed to the curator. PAFA Archives. I am grateful to Cheryl Leibold for locating the slip and providing me with a copy.

City from about 1838 until 1841.⁶² This was a fruitful period for the artist; he created several portraits and smaller genre scenes. Hicks began study at the NAD in 1839 and showed paintings in the annual exhibition that year. An anonymous critic at the *New-York Spectator* described his entries as “credible.” The artist exhibited either the AARFAC or NPG portrait of Edward Hicks, a portrait of a gentleman owned by J. Hicks (unlocated), and a portrait of Captain Josiah Macy (1785-1871) (c. 1839) (fig.13).⁶³ The portrait of Josiah Macy was one of four commissioned by the Macy family. Hicks also painted Macy’s wife, Lydia Hussey Macy (1786-1861) (fig. 14); their son, William H. Macy (1805-1887) (fig. 15); and their daughter, Ann Eliza Macy (1818-1882) (fig. 16). The exact circumstances of the commission are unknown. However, Hicks and the Macys likely knew one another either through family or business connections.⁶⁴

One local Nantucket resident who attended the 1839 NAD exhibition did not care for Hicks’s portrait of Captain Macy. In May he wrote to the *Nantucket Inquirer*:

Here is a portrait of J_ M_ whom you also know, a very good looking man as well as a very good one, but this is a very poor picture; it is wanting in two essentials, good coloring and correct drawing; the artist is a Mr. Hicks; I presume he is a Friend, from the drabish [*sic*] hue of his pigments, and from his name.⁶⁵

Despite the author’s critique of color and drawing, the portrait of Captain Macy is remarkable because it demonstrates that Hicks’s style and ability to render the human figure improved substantially in a relatively short period. Compared with Hicks’s early paintings, the Macy

⁶² A letter to his cousin Elizabeth Hicks places him in New York City in early 1838 or 1839. The letter gives a date of February 28, but the year was apparently illegible. Ford’s notes indicate that the year was 1838 or 1839. I have not seen the originals; I have only seen Ford’s partial transcriptions as the original letters are in a collection that is closed to scholarly research.

⁶³ “National Academy of Design, No. IV,” *New-York Spectator*, June 17, 1839.

⁶⁴ Charlotte Emans Moore explains that Hicks may have known the Macys through mutual Quaker friends. The Macys also conducted business with shipping and trading firms in Philadelphia and may have known the Hickses through their visits to the area. See Moore’s catalogue entry on the Macy portraits in *Picturing Nantucket: An Art History of the Island with Paintings from the Collection of the Nantucket Historical Association* (Nantucket: Nantucket Historical Association, 2000), 124-125.

⁶⁵ “Original Correspondence,” *Nantucket Inquirer*, June 5, 1839, quoted in Moore, 124.

portrait possesses a greater sense of modeling, a more confident handling of the brush, and a closer attention to naturalism. This lends credence to Hicks's reputation as a "child" prodigy, despite the fact that he was nearly twenty-two years old instead of sixteen at the time the paintings were created.

It was also during this period that Hicks painted the young Martin Johnson Heade (1819-1904), who served as an apprentice in Edward Hicks's studio.⁶⁶ In the half-length portrait, Heade appears in front of a grey-blue background with a cluster of trees in the lower right corner. He wears a black jacket, maroon vest, white shirt and black cravat. With his torso slightly angled to the left, Heade looks to the right side of the picture. Heade's face and upper torso are awash with light. Hicks delicately rendered Heade's facial features, paying careful attention to color, light, and shadow; Heade's flushed cheeks contrast with his pale skin. Hicks captured a sense of animation in the sitter's eyes, as small white highlights seem to make the eyes glisten.

On May 13, 1841, the NAD elected Hicks an associate member. As required by the Academy's by-laws, every associate member had to present the institution with a self-portrait to remain in the collection. In his quarter-length self-portrait, Hicks appears in profile in front of a nondescript background.⁶⁷ He turns his head back to the right to meet the viewer's gaze. As in the Macy and Heade portraits, Hicks demonstrated continued mastery of modeling the figure. Here, the hard edge lines seen in the earlier works have softened as the artist has gained confidence with his brush. He is no longer the shy young man in the self-portrait of about 1836. Instead, he is a confident twenty-four year-old at the beginning of a career that would span five decades.

⁶⁶ For image, see Weekley, 86.

⁶⁷ For image, see David B. Dearing, ed., *Paintings and Sculpture in the Collection of the National Academy of Design* (New York: Hudson Hills Press, 2004), 269.

For the next four years, Hicks continued his studies at the NAD. Extant family letters between relatives in New York City and Newtown indicate he was “well along a start in New York toward a career as a painter.”⁶⁸ Hicks painted and exhibited prolifically during this period. Exhibition records show that Hicks’s portraits, still lifes, landscapes, and genre paintings were exhibited at the NAD, the American Art Union, and the Brooklyn Art Institute.⁶⁹

While many of these early works are unlocated, one exception can be found in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Hicks’s *Calculating* (1844) (fig. 17) shares affinities with Jacksonian era genre paintings by artists such as William Sydney Mount (1807-1886) and Francis Edmonds (1806-1863). In *Calculating*, Hicks created his own version of what Elizabeth Johns called the “Yankee farmer.” As Johns explains, this figure was a rural New Englander who rarely farmed, but possessed self-confidence, a calculating nature, and suspicion of the new.⁷⁰ In the painting, the “Yankee farmer” appears inside a virtually empty barn. The only objects remaining are from a household: a table, a stool, cloths, and a jug. The farmer’s dog lies at his feet and a woman on a horse is visible through the barn doors, the animal loping into the background. Johns rightly argues that the painting implies the “Yankee farmer” has lost his home and most of his possessions due to the Panic of 1837. Despite having lost nearly everything, the “Yankee farmer” retains his defining characteristics and continues to calculate.

⁶⁸ Phebe Ann Carle, to Elizabeth Hicks, January 16, 1844. Partial transcription in Alice Ford files, Newtown Historic Association.

⁶⁹ According to Tuckerman, Hicks received public acclaim for his first exhibition painting, *Death of Abel*, in 1841. This information was repeated in multiple biographies of the artist in subsequent dictionaries and encyclopedias of American art. However, no such painting appears in the exhibition lists at the National Academy of Design, or the American Art Union. A painting entitled *Death’s First Visitation* appears in the National Academy of Design 1841 exhibition catalogue. The painting is unlocated and I have not found any contemporary descriptions or critiques. I do not know if Tuckerman was mistaken or if *Death of Abel* was an unrecorded exhibition painting. Furthermore, Hicks first exhibited two years prior to Tuckerman’s given date. I mention this discrepancy here because *Death of Abel* is frequently listed as Hicks’s “breakthrough” painting, yet I have been unable to find any records documenting its exhibition.

⁷⁰ Elizabeth Johns, *American Genre Painting: The Politics of Everyday Life* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 14-15 and 24-29.

One of Hicks's few surviving early genre paintings, *Calculating* demonstrates that the artist was cognizant of contemporary events and popular taste in American art.

Study in Europe

On July 2, 1845, Hicks left New York for France to begin study in Europe. President James K. Polk's brother, Colonel William Polk, was on board the same ship and provided the artist with a letter of introduction that aided his acquisition of a passport at the American embassy in London. Hicks spent the next four years studying and painting in Europe. Many of his pictures from this period are unlocated, but the few extant works demonstrate that Hicks's study was typical of American artists making the Grand Tour. For example, the artist copied from the Old Masters and made sketches of local populations and landscapes.

According to Sheldon, Hicks made copies of early modern paintings such as Sir Joshua Reynolds's *Infant Samuel* (1776, National Gallery, London), Correggio's *Mystic Marriage of St. Catherine* (c. 1520, National Gallery, London), landscapes by Constable, and hunts by Diaz. Reportedly, the artist's copy of Raphael's portrait of Pope Julius II was so exact, that he was ordered to change details so that it would not be confused with the original. Hicks later stated that he considered Raphael's portrait to be one of three pictures for which he had a profound respect. He believed it possessed "the embodiment and the vindication of the true principles and methods of portraiture."⁷¹

Hicks arrived in Rome in October of 1845 and joined a community of American artists already established there. Sculptor Thomas Crawford (1815-1857) was one of the first artists to call on Hicks; the two men became close friends. In his eulogy of Crawford, Hicks recalled many enjoyable evenings spent with other American artists and writers in the sculptor's home in

⁷¹ Sheldon, 167.

Rome.⁷² Hicks also befriended John Frederick Kensett (1816-1872), who at the time was suffering from an arthritic condition that confined him to bed for several weeks. Hicks helped nurse Kensett back to health and the two men became lifelong friends.⁷³ After Kensett recovered from his ailments, the artists painted and traveled together throughout Italy from July through early October in 1846. By November, Hicks and Kensett had returned to Rome and shared a studio on Via Margutta near the Spanish Steps until the following spring. The Hicks/Kensett studio quickly became *the* meeting place for artists, writers, and other Americans traveling abroad. It was here that Hicks began cultivating relationships that proved beneficial in gaining commissions when he returned home. Among the Hicks/Kensett circle were individuals such as journalist George W. Curtis (1824-1892), Benjamin Champney (1817-1907), Jasper Francis Cropsey, William Wetmore Story (1819-1895), and art-and-literary critic Margaret Fuller (1810-1850). Poet-and-artist Christopher Pearse Cranch and his wife Leonora recalled enjoyable gatherings at the artists' studio. Leonora Cranch reported that "one evening in Tom Hicks's room, I truly enjoyed myself in a more social, though less elevated style. By great luck there were four of us who sang Moore's 'Melodies.' We also had glees and solos, and the evening passed away delightfully."⁷⁴

The artists also gathered at an Italian night-school where they painted costumed models.

⁷² Thomas Hicks, *Thomas Crawford; His Career, His Character, and Works. A Eulogy* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1858), 38-39.

⁷³ Hicks states that he and Kensett visited a number of small towns south and west of Rome, such as Subiaco, Palestrina, and Cervaro. See Hicks's comments about Kensett in *Proceedings at a Meeting of the Century Association Held in Memory of John F. Kensett, December 1872* (New York: Century Association, 1872), 8-9; Madeleine B. Stern, "New England Artists in Italy 1835-1855," *The New England Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (June 1941): 251; John Paul Driscoll, "From Burin to Brush: The Development of a Painter," in *John Frederick Kensett: An American Master*, ed. John Paul Driscoll and John K. Howat (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1985), 57.

⁷⁴ Leonora Cranch Scott, *The Life and Letters of Christopher Pearse Cranch* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1917), 124. For Mrs. Cranch's fond recollections of Hicks and other American artists, see 73, 107, 170, 171, and 242. Also see George W. Curtis, "Editor's Easy Chair," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 46, no. 274 (March 1873): 611. For more on American artists and Italy, see William L. Vance, Mary K. McGuigan, and John F. McGuigan, Jr. *America's Rome: Artists in the Eternal City, 1800-1900* (Cooperstown, NY: Fenimore Art Museum, 2009).

In his reminiscences, Cranch wrote:

On the winter evenings for two successive years I attended a costume academy where about 30 or 40 students of different nations drew and painted in watercolors from living models dressed in the festal costumes of various Italian towns. At the close of the second season I had accumulated nearly 100 watercolor drawings of these models, male & female. The models posed for two hours every evening. For each season we paid the trifling sum of \$1.50.⁷⁵

At least thirteen of Hicks's costumed peasant sketches survive and provide a sense of the artist's draughtsmanship (fig. 18-19 and cat. nos. 193-205). Hicks incorporated the figure studies into paintings he made both in Italy and after his return home. For example, a variant of the peasant figure stands atop large boulders in *Italian Landscape* (c. 1845-47, National Academy of Design).⁷⁶ This painting provides a sense of Hicks's early use of rich color. For instance, the artist thickly painted the storm clouds in varying shades of gray that change from dark to light as they break to reveal a bright blue sky in the upper left corner of the canvas. The peasant stands out against the dark grey sky in his brilliant red cloak and blue pants. Hicks built the form of the rocks through color and gave the stones brilliant white highlights that suggest the sun has not yet been blocked by the oncoming storm. In addition, the artist painted the vegetation with deep greens that contrast the golden and dark brown shades of the soil. A similar peasant figure also appears in *Shepherd Boy* (1847) (fig. 20).

In the painting, Hicks depicted an Italian shepherd standing over the body of a dead lamb. A rare extant example of the artist's early religious themed work, the painting is a poignant depiction of a shepherd mourning the loss of Christ, who the lamb symbolizes. Two more shepherds, a sheep herd, and a large cross appear in a mountainous landscape in the background.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 107, quoted in Nancy Stula, *At Home and Abroad: The Transcendental Landscapes of Christopher Pearse Cranch (1813-1892)* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2007), 104-105. A large number of Kensett's costume studies survive. See John Paul Driscoll, *John F. Kensett Drawings* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University, 1978), 37-46.

⁷⁶ For image, see Dearing, 270.

Hicks also used the shepherd figures in Italian genre paintings he created in New York. For example, a similar peasant as seen in figure 20 and cat. no. 196 appears in *Dolce Far Niente* (1850) (fig. 21) as a reclining shepherd. A shepherdess sits among rams and sheep just behind him. Ancient ruins that recall those in *Italian Landscape* can be seen atop a cliff in the background at the left side of the painting. Similar ruins appear in the left background in *Fountain at Palestrina* (1850) (fig. 22). In this painting, two women, who wear costumes similar to the one in figure 19, chat at a fountain. An Italian vista, complete with quaint peasants and ancient ruins, appears in the background.

In June 1848, Hicks traveled to Paris where he remained for approximately one year. While there, he made painting sojourns to Fontainebleau and Barbizon with Cropsey. Hicks entered French academic painter Thomas Couture's atelier sometime thereafter. Couture opened his studio to private lessons about 1847, the same time he received critical acclaim for *The Romans of the Decadence* (1847, Musée d'Orsay) at the annual Salon. His classes were popular among Americans, and included artists such as George P. A. Healy (1813-1894), Eastman Johnson (1824-1906), and William Morris Hunt (1824-1879). When Couture opened his studio, the debate over the importance of drawing versus color was revived in a battle between the Classicists and the Romanticists. Couture did not favor one over the other and did not distinguish between the two. What mattered to the French master was "that the value of execution is in just accord with its conception."⁷⁷ Harmony of composition should not be sacrificed for any other formal element.

Couture's teachings about the use of color were particularly influential in Hicks's later works. The master taught that color should be pure; the artist should avoid mixing when

⁷⁷ Marcel E. Landgren, *American Pupils of Thomas Couture* (Baltimore: University of Maryland, 1970), 12.

possible. He warned that if an artist must mix color, he should never combine more than three, as then the “picture has no longer any life; it becomes scrofulous, it vegetates and dies.”⁷⁸

Couture’s insistence on the primacy of color is reflected in Hicks’s works throughout his career; it became a signature characteristic on which his contemporaries frequently commented.⁷⁹

Couture taught his students that they should begin a portrait by sketching the sitter in charcoal directly on the canvas, making sure to shake any excess from the surface so it would not ruin the effect of the color. As I explore in the following chapters, Hicks followed this practice throughout his career as traces of initial sketches can be seen through thin veils of paint. The next step in Couture’s process was to trace the outline of the charcoal drawing with a “sauce” of boiled oil and turpentine. Then, the outline should be traced again with a mixture of bitumen and brown red. After this dried overnight, the artist would then begin to paint light tones in thin layers.⁸⁰

Couture’s clearest influence may be seen in Hicks’s portrait of Christopher Pearse Cranch (c. 1850, National Academy of Design).⁸¹ Hicks forgoes the linearity of his early works in favor of drawing directly on the canvas with lengthy strokes. While he still rendered some detail as is evident in Cranch’s eyes, Hicks mostly favored looser yet bolder strokes to build form in the portrait. Outlines of the figure, as described in Couture’s technique above, are visible in the shoulders and around the top of the head. Much like Couture in his undated self-portrait (New Orleans Museum of Art), Hicks modeled light and shadow in dramatic fashion across Cranch’s

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 13.

⁷⁹ Hicks’s use of color will be explored further in the discussion of the portrait of Hamilton Fish in Chapter 1.

⁸⁰ In the August 1850 issue, an article entitled “Parisian Hints for Artists” appeared in the *Bulletin of the American Art Union*. Authored by “T. H.,” the article provides advice about studying in Paris for aspiring artists. While it is unknown for certain whether it was written by Hicks, it seems likely as it details Couture’s studio and many of the locales Hicks visited and studied. The author recounts that Couture fully expected his students to know how to draw prior to entering his atelier so that his lessons could focus on the rudiments of painting from nature.

⁸¹ For image, see Dearing, 269.

face. The Cranch portrait is one of the most striking of Hicks's career. Subsequent chapters discuss how Hicks's later formal paintings unfortunately did not retain the sense of immediacy seen in the Cranch portrait.

Like many artists and writers studying abroad, Hicks recognized the power of the press while he was in Europe. Authors such as Margaret Fuller sent dispatches to New York detailing political, social, and artistic news. These sometimes gossipy reports were typical of the era, attesting to public interest in the comings and goings of American artists. For example, Hicks first appeared in print in May 1846, when the *Boston Daily Atlas* reported an injury he sustained in a fight between Italians and Americans during Carnival in Rome. Hicks suffered a stab wound from which he recovered with Kensett's help. Aside from scraps with locals, Hicks was also mentioned in reports about Congress's debate to acquire George Catlin's Indian paintings for a national collection. Hicks was one of eleven artists to sign a petition in support of the purchase, which was rejected. For the rest of his career, Hicks actively encouraged national support for the arts in America.⁸²

Hicks and Fuller worked together to promote his work in America while Hicks was abroad. Fuller began the campaign by singing Hicks's praises to friends such as Francis G. Shaw (1809-1882), a radical abolitionist and reformer who was well known in American intellectual circles in New York.⁸³ On October 25, 1847, Fuller wrote to Shaw and appealed to his political nature. She explained that Hicks was the only artist deeply interested in social reform, and he would paint his ideas if only he had the time and freedom to do so. Fuller also said if the

⁸² See "Foreign Correspondence of the Atlas," *The Boston Transcript*, May 21, 1846 and "Catlin's Collection of Indian Memorabilia," *The Evening Post* (New York), June 30, 1846. In subsequent years, Hicks served on a number of planning committees for Sanitary Fairs, the Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, and as the president of the Artists' Fund Society from 1873-1885.

⁸³ Shaw was the father of Robert Gould Shaw (1837-1863), the colonel of the all-black 54th Regiment from Massachusetts. Col. Shaw and his troops was the subject of one of Augustus Saint-Gaudens best known memorials.

paintings Hicks sent back to the American Art Union sold, then the artist would have the opportunity to paint his ideas on reform. Fuller then asked Shaw to examine the paintings; and if he liked them, he should bring them to the attention of others who might buy them. The paintings Hicks sent to the American Art Union while he was abroad included *Italia* (c. 1846, unlocated), *Pifferari* (c. 1846, unlocated), *The Fountain of Elveto* (c. 1847, unlocated), and *A Peasant Girl of Ischia* (c. 1847, unlocated).⁸⁴ According to Hicks, the paintings “found ready sale.”

Six months after Fuller wrote Shaw, *The Evening Post* (New York) published a letter that Hicks wrote to an unidentified friend. The artist first detailed his thoughts about art in America and Europe. His commentary echoed what Lillian B. Miller described as the national apologia, meaning that American art had yet to meet the quality standards and expectations for what had been and what was being produced in Europe.⁸⁵ Hicks wrote, “when I came here the uncaring of Art burst upon me. I saw how through long ages it had struggled up its meridian, and that what we call Art in America was only faint imitations of the dead leaves and decaying branches of a goodly tree.”⁸⁶ Although this is a bit harsh, Hicks goes on to intimate that his hard work and study may result in great American art. With dramatic nineteenth-century flair and “humbleness,” he states that he can only hope to achieve greatness. He continues:

I have painted some small pieces which have found ready sale in New York, and have planned several works of considerable magnitude which I hope to paint, but am not yet prepared to do so. I have experienced my full share of hardships and difficulties, and almost turn sick at heart when I recur them and to the obstacles I have met and in some degree overcome—How inch by inch I have fought my way, have struggled, studied, and thus gained a footing for myself, upon which I hope, in days to come, to build. You know how I began my career—poor, illiterate, with no mental development, without friends

⁸⁴ See cat. nos. 181, 182, 185, and 188.

⁸⁵ See Lillian B. Miller, *Patrons and Patriotism: The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States, 1790-1860* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1966), esp. 1-32.

⁸⁶ “Art Intelligence,” *Boston Transcript*, November 30, 1847.

other than a few willing to give me ‘bread’—the last that an ambitious man ever wants—yet I started: I saw who were before me, and I felt that years of patient labor and study *might* enable me to overtake them in the race. Thus far, indeed, success has attended my exertions, for I have developed my own nature, and attained a degree of skill in my profession which is an omen of better things in time to come. But for the present, nay for two or three years yet, I must remain here in Rome, humbly but laboriously developing my days and my nights to the study of Art...⁸⁷

In other words, through hard work and perseverance, the artist hoped to surpass his predecessors to become a great artist of original thought and skill. In later years, Hicks would take that same tone of humility when submitting works to the collection at the New-York Historical Society.

About one year later, Fuller published an account of American artists in Italy in *The New York Tribune* on March 20, 1849. Her comments echoed Hicks’s own sentiments concerning his status as a struggling artist with potential genius. As in her letter to Shaw, Fuller explained that if only a patron could foster Hicks’s talents, then Hicks might become an artist of immeasurable success. Fuller wrote:

Of Hicks I think very highly. He is a man of ideas, an original observer, and with a poetic heart. His system of coloring is derived from thoughtful study, not a mere imitation of nature, and shows the fineness of his organization. Struggling unaided to pursue the expensive studies of his art, he has only a small studio, and received only orders for little cabinet pictures. Could he carry out adequately his ideas, in him would be found the treasure of genius. He has made the drawings for a large picture of many figures; the design is original and noble, the grouping highly effective. Could he paint this picture, I believe would be a real boon to the lovers of Art, the lovers of Truth. I hope very much that when he returns to the United States, some competent patron of Art—one of the few who has mind as well as purse, will see the drawings, and order the picture. Otherwise, he cannot paint it, as the expenses attendant on models for so many figures, &c., are great, and the time demanded could not otherwise be taken from the claims of the day.⁸⁸

Thus, with Fuller’s help, Hicks launched his own publicity campaign. As a result, when he returned to New York, he and his work would be familiar to the American public.

⁸⁷ Ibid. and “Hicks, The American Painter,” *The Evening Post* (New York), April 15, 1848.

⁸⁸ Margaret Fuller, “American Artists in Italy, &c.” *The Literary World*, March 26, 1849. The article was first published in *The New York Tribune*, and was then picked up by *The Literary World*. Fuller’s description of Hicks’s cartoons for a group picture may refer to the genesis *Authors of the United States* which will be discussed in greater length in Chapter 2.

According to her biographers, Fuller instantly fell in love with Hicks upon their first meeting in 1847 and this may in part account for her initial support for the artist. She passionately pursued Hicks, yet he rejected her advances. Nevertheless, the two became and remained close friends while the artist was abroad. Hicks painted Fuller during the siege of Rome in 1848 (fig. 23). In the portrait, Hicks depicted Fuller in Venice as opposed to Rome. She sits on a rich, red settee near the Gothic arcade of the Doge's Palace. Fuller wears a purple dress and cream shawl. Her head tilts at a downwards angle to the left as she looks out of the picture plane. A rose garden appears behind the writer at right, while gondolas can be seen in the distance at left. A statue of *Eros of Centocelle* (Vatican Museums) can also be seen directly behind her. Susan Cragg Ricci argued that the inclusion of Eros suggests Fuller's romantic involvement with Marchese Angelo Ossoli, a young Roman aristocrat. Although Fuller became pregnant with Ossoli's child, there is no evidence the couple ever married. Ricci further explains that the roses at Fuller's feet, and the couple in the background, suggest her encounter with Ossoli.⁸⁹ However, Fuller's morose demeanor counters the romantic theme. It seems unusual that the artist would paint her in such a manner if the portrait were to be one that resounded with love. Therefore, it is possible that Fuller's sullen expression was not intended and is the result of the artist's naiveté. Fuller, Ossoli, and their child tragically died on their return to America from Europe when their ship wrecked off of Fire Island (near Long Island, New York) on July 19, 1850. Hicks kept the portrait and Fuller's letters until his own death in 1890.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ See Ricci's entry on Hicks in *The Lure of Italy: American Artists and the Italian Experience, 1760-1914*, ed. Theodore Stebbins (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1992), 198-200.

⁹⁰ A few of the letters are located in the Boston Public Library and the Houghton Library at Harvard College. For more on Fuller, Hicks, and their relationship, see Mason Wade, ed. *The Writings of Margaret Fuller* (New York: The Viking Press, 1941); Robert N. Hudspeth, ed. *The Letters of Margaret Fuller* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), esp. vol. 3 and 4; Margaret Fuller, "*These Sad But Glorious Days*": *Dispatches from Europe, 1846-1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992); Bell Gale Chevigny, *The Woman and the Myth: Margaret Fuller's Life*

When Hicks returned to the United States in the late summer of 1849, he was saddened to learn that he had missed his cousin Edward's death and funeral by five days. Thomas visited with family in New York, who were somewhat dismayed at his bohemian appearance. His cousin Caroline Hicks Seaman wrote to Elizabeth Hicks that "he looked much more healthy than when he left for Europe but wore a great deal of hair about his face, which we very much regret...."⁹¹ Anxious to get to work, Hicks sublet a studio space from Cropsey in the New York Dispensary Building at the corner of White and Center Streets and began accepting portrait commissions. The following spring, Hicks exhibited eight paintings at the 1850 NAD annual exhibition. Included were three portraits, two of which were of an unidentified man and woman. The third was a portrait of J. H. Johnson, M. D. (unlocated). The remaining five were genre and landscape paintings the artist created in Italy. Hicks's positive reception in New York was no doubt the result of the artist's talent while Fuller's public support prior to his return also aided his success. Hicks soon found himself inundated with portrait commissions. *The Home Journal* (New York) reported on December 21, 1850 that "Hicks is constantly employed on portraits. We spent half an hour in his studio, a few days since, and were much pleased with the fruits of his pencil. Among several recently executed pictures, were a pair of portraits of that straight-laced sect, the Friends. What a change since the days of the great Benjamin West—then a Quaker portrait would have been a rarity indeed."⁹² Approximately one year later, Hicks received his first major commission, one that ostensibly launched his career as an important New

and Writings (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1994); and Charles Capper, *Margaret Fuller: An American Romantic Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

⁹¹ Caroline Hicks Seaman to Elizabeth Hicks, August 28, 1849, New York. Partial transcription by Alice Ford, Newtown Historic Association.

⁹² "Art and Artists," *The Home Journal* (New York), December 21, 1850.

York portraitist—that of former New York governor and newly elected United States Senator Hamilton Fish.

Chapter 3: Politicians

On December 22, 1850, the New York City Board of Aldermen voted unanimously to honor outgoing governor Hamilton Fish with a full-length portrait to be hung in the Governor's Room of City Hall. The Board selected Thomas Hicks to paint the portrait and allotted six hundred dollars for the painting and frame.⁹³ The Fish portrait was Hicks's first major commission in the city. Once selected, Hicks became a member of an elite brotherhood of artists whose works adorned the government building. The collection also included works by John Trumbull, John Vanderlyn, and Samuel F. B. Morse. The City Hall portrait collection was one of the most prestigious public art galleries in nineteenth-century New York and the benefits of being featured within the collection were immeasurable.

First, the receipt of the commission acknowledged an artist's ability and the association with the renowned sitter brought him fame. Second, the full-length, life-size format allowed a painter to demonstrate his skill on a larger scale, particularly if he usually created smaller portraits or treated other subject matter such as landscapes and still lifes. Third, if the portrait were publicly exhibited prior to entering the City Hall collection, an artist might receive critical acclaim that could lead to subsequent commissions. As a result, City Hall portraits were among the most highly coveted commissions by nineteenth-century American artists.⁹⁴

Hicks's receipt of the Fish portrait commission marked the beginning of his career as an established painter in New York City. Until 1851, Hicks was known mostly for his

⁹³ New York City Hall, Comptroller's report, 1854. First called the Common Council, the Board of Aldermen was the equivalent of New York City's City Council in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Unfortunately, there are no extant records at City Hall or the Municipal Archives that indicate how Hicks was selected or what other artists were considered for the commission.

⁹⁴ See The Art Commission of the City of New York, *Catalogue of the Works of Art Belonging to the City of New York* (New York: The Gilliss Press, 1909), 1 and William H. Gerdts, "Natural Aristocrats in a Democracy: 1810-1870," in *American Portraiture in the Grand Manner: 1720-1900* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1981), 27-28.

European genre paintings and smaller portraits of New Yorkers. The Fish portrait was his first large-scale painting of a famous American whose fame embodied the classical characteristics of public service, civic virtue, and national glory. A member of the Whig party, Fish was one of New York's most respected politicians. He began his political career in the House of Representatives in 1843 and was elected governor in 1849. After a single gubernatorial term, he served in the United States Senate (1851-1857), and as Secretary of State in the Grant administration (1869-1877). Fish's contemporaries characterized him as a man who was firm in his convictions, considerate of the rights and opinions of others, and described him as someone who "...possess[ed], in an eminent degree, all the graces of a finished and highly-educated gentleman...."⁹⁵

In painting Governor Fish, Hicks utilized the grand manner portraiture style that dominated American art at mid-century.⁹⁶ Grand manner portraiture emphasized the expression of the sitter's character and commemorated his accomplishments. This style of painting went beyond simple representation of the sitter's likeness and sought to inspire and uplift the viewer. Since the seventeenth century, European artists had used the grand manner for state portraits. The style's adaptation by American artists suited the representation of political fame. Thus, Hicks's portrait of Hamilton Fish honored the Governor, commemorated his accomplishments, and inspired viewers through expression of his noble character.

At mid-century, political portraiture also served as campaign propaganda. In 1860, New York art publisher W. H. Schaus sent Hicks to Springfield, Illinois to paint Republican

⁹⁵ John S. Jenkins, *Lives of the Governors of the State of New York* (Auburn, NY: Derby and Miller, 1851), 35-36. For more on Fish's character, also see New York State Legislature, *Proceedings of the Legislature of the State of New York in Memory of Hon. Hamilton Fish* (Albany: J. B. Lyon, 1894) and Allan Nevins, *Hamilton Fish: the Inner History of the Grant Administration* (New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1936).

⁹⁶ Gerds, 50.

presidential candidate Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865). Schaus wanted an accurate likeness that could be lithographed and disseminated to the public. As a result of the commission, Hicks claimed to be the first artist to paint Lincoln from life. While the Lincoln portrait differs from that of Fish since the former was intended for reproduction and dissemination, the two portraits share a common goal in their successful expression of character.

Lincoln was notoriously ridiculed in the press for his unusual height, rural origins, and homeliness. After his nomination at the Republican convention in Chicago, the demand for his image increased substantially. Printmakers and Lincoln's supporters recognized the necessity for a new picture that emphasized his character over the recording of his precise likeness. This image essentially served as Lincoln's surrogate at political rallies, parades, and political clubs. Therefore, Hicks's commission derived from the desire to create a "new" and "original" image of the Republican candidate. The Lincoln commission also demonstrates the increasing importance of images in the public's perception of political figures.

This chapter explores the dual functions of Hicks's political portraits at mid-century. I examine the Hamilton Fish portrait as a representation of classical fame and consider it in respect to the public perception of the Governor. I consider the painting within the context of the grand manner tradition and compare it to other City Hall portraits such as John Trumbull's portrait of Alexander Hamilton and John Vanderlyn's portrait of James Monroe. In contrast, I examine the Lincoln portrait for its function as campaign propaganda. I consider the image in relation to photography and compare it to those of Hicks's contemporaries. I also contrast the 1860 painting with another portrait Hicks painted of Lincoln in 1862. In conclusion, I suggest that the Lincoln portraits can be considered as hybrids of both classical fame and celebrity. This discussion serves as a foil against which changing definitions of celebrity and fame will be

explored in subsequent chapters.

Hamilton Fish

Hicks's portrait of Hamilton Fish is a full-length, life-size painting of the governor in his office (fig. 24). He wears a black suit with a white shirt, black cravat, and dark green overcoat. His walking cane, top hat, and another overcoat or cape appear on the chair behind him with a rolled document on its seat. Fish has brown hair, a brown chin strap beard, brown eyes, and rosy cheeks. Hicks modeled his features through subtle coloring and the modulation of light and shadow. For example, light enters the painting from the left and illuminates the right side and front of Fish's face. Hicks highlighted the bridge of the nose and corners of Fish's collar with delicate strokes of white paint. Fish's forehead is awash with light, perhaps intended to emphasize his intellect. Close examination of the face reveals a thin line that extends from the top right side of Fish's forehead, down his face and across the upper area of his beard. The line seems to disappear as it extends up the shadowed side of his face. While Hicks tried to cover the line with the beard; it is still visible and is indicative of the artist's working process. The presence of the underdrawing seemingly suggests that Hicks practiced Couture's portraiture techniques.

In the portrait, Hicks suggests fortitude through Fish's pose. The Governor stands with perfect posture; his body angles to the right while he turns his head slightly to the left and looks past the viewer. Fish's left arm is akimbo, a traditional arm position for formal portraits. However, instead of painting Fish's hand open and resting on his hip, Hicks painted it in a fist within which the governor clutches a pair of gloves. Because he holds the gloves and is still wearing his overcoat, it appears that Fish has just entered his office.

Hicks emphasized Fish's left arm by illuminating the wall behind the left side of the governor's body. As a result, the viewer's attention is drawn to the firmly planted left fist. Fish's right hand touches a folded paper and the Homestead Exemption Act of 1850, which partially covers the desk in front of him. Hicks painted Fish's right hand and fingers at a downward angle, so that it appears as if the Governor is pushing the documents towards the viewer. Well worn books and pamphlets are stacked on and around Fish's desk. An unidentified landscape painting and Houdon's portrait bust of George Washington appear just behind the desk and a sculpture medallion of the 1850 New York State seal hangs on the wall to Fish's right.⁹⁷

The painting is a *portrait d'apparat* where the sitter appears in his daily surroundings with objects that symbolize his occupation and status. Here, all the objects reference Fish's occupation as governor, his education, his status as a gentleman, and his patronage of art. The inclusion of the Homestead Exemption Act, which prevented the seizure of a homestead against debt, acknowledges Fish's signing of the legislation in 1850.⁹⁸ The landscape painting contains a homestead, which also alludes to the Act. The painting and sculptures connote both Fish's knowledge of the fine arts and his role as a collector and patron. The Governor was particularly fond of sculpture and owned a copy of Houdon's portrait bust of Washington.⁹⁹ Hicks was likely aware of Fish's patronage as the governor had commissioned one work from the artist's friend

⁹⁷ In the seal as depicted by Hicks, Liberty stands to the left of the shield with Justice seated at the right side. In a sculpture medallion of the seal at the State Capitol building, the image is reversed. It is unknown which artist had the orientation correct. The seal was slightly altered in 1882 whereby Justice and Liberty both stand and the eagle appears atop the globe with spread wings. See Joseph Gavit, "Unrecorded State Arms of 1850," *New York History* 29, no. 1 (January 1948): 68-71.

⁹⁸ Alison D. Morantz, "There's No Place Like Home: Homestead Exemptions and Judicial Constructions of Family in Nineteenth-Century America," *Law and History Review* 24, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 245-295.

⁹⁹ Fish's collection included eighteen marbles by Erastus Dow Palmer, Hiram Powers, and Thomas Crawford. See John K. Howat, "Private Collectors and Public Spirit: A Selective View" in *Art and the Empire City: New York, 1825-1861*, ed. Catherine Hoover Voorsanger and John J. Howat (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 83-108 and Thayer Tolles, "Modeling a Reputation: The American Sculptor and New York City," in Voorsanger and Howat, *Art and the Empire City: New York, 1825-1861*, 135-167.

and colleague, Thomas Crawford. Furthermore, inclusion of Washington implies a relationship between the Founding Father and the Governor. Audiences probably drew connections between Washington's leadership and that of Fish's. The bust, placed in the shadows, acknowledges the past, while Fish, awash in light, acts in the present to preserve Washington's legacy.

Like the Homestead Act and the painting and sculptures, the books and pamphlets also reference Fish's occupation and education. Two volumes from the *Natural History of New York* appear underneath the desk in the lower left corner of the canvas. While their placement implies that they are not used regularly, their inclusion suggests that Fish's knowledge extends beyond the realm of politics and law. Ebenezer Emmons (1799-1863), author of the agricultural volume of the *Natural History of New York*, dedicated the text to Fish in appreciation of his efforts to advance the sciences and agricultural studies while in office. The Governor further supported the disciplines by suggesting in his 1849 message to the legislature that the state appropriate funds for the establishment of a state agricultural school. He argued that if farmers had access to higher education in agriculture, New York State could become more self-sufficient and further its development of natural resources.¹⁰⁰ Theoretically, an increase in production and commerce would follow. Fish's dedication to improving the lives of New Yorkers resulted in tremendous public support.

Fish also encouraged the increase of humanitarian institutions. He promoted public education by signing legislation that permanently established normal schools in Albany and urged the legislature to establish free schools throughout the state. While in office, Fish successfully reformed tax and criminal codes. Contemporary newspapers praised him in

¹⁰⁰ Charles Z. Lincoln, ed., *State of New York: Messages from the Governors* (Albany: J. B. Lyon Co., 1909), 4: 431-433 and Donald B. Marti, "The Purposes of Agricultural Education: Ideas and Projects in New York State, 1819-1865," *Agricultural History* 45, no. 4 (October 1971): 271-283.

particular for his abolitionist viewpoint. For example, in his message to the legislature in 1850, Fish spoke in support of the Wilmot Proviso, which forbade slavery in any territories acquired during the Mexican War. He emphatically stated that the people of New York recognized the moral principle driving the opposition to slavery, and argued that this overrode any political or territorial gain. His alignment of New Yorkers with the noble cause of freedom endeared Fish to the state's citizens. Fish was a dedicated, hard-working governor who paid meticulous attention to detail. Hicks very subtly depicted these qualities of Fish's character within the portrait.

Close examination of the richly colored rose patterned carpet reveals that the artist drew horizontal striations in order to imitate the weft of the textile. Spots within the floor appear to be worn, as indicated by the change in color pattern. In the lower right corner of the canvas, the striations become more evident and a cream color is visible underneath the green foliage. The carpet is most obviously threadbare and worn in front of Fish's desk, by his feet. Instead of a continuation of the rose pattern, Hicks painted in a neutral hue, emphasized the horizontal striations, and spotted the area with green weft. The rendering of the area is a bit unnatural since it appears as if Hicks drew out the space and then filled it with color. Nevertheless, the implication is that the Governor spends a tremendous amount of time behind his desk working for the people of New York.

Hicks also painted a half-full wastepaper basket underneath the desk which connotes Fish's work ethic. The inclusion of a wastepaper basket was novel for mid-century portraiture, since it was not yet a common household object. Paper was still expensive at mid-century and to possess a trashcan intimated wealth: one who threw away paper was a person of means. In fact, its presence purportedly marks the first time a wastepaper basket was included in any American

portrait.¹⁰¹ More importantly, the wastepaper basket and the papers within it indicate that this is a working office.

Throughout the portrait, Hicks paid close attention to detail and rendered objects with careful precision. The artist layered paint to create the furled pages and textured surface of the book bindings to create the appearance of frequent use. In painting the *Natural History of New York* volumes, Hicks copied the spines from the actual books to ensure accuracy.¹⁰² He utilized pure color to build form and as a result, the materials within the painting possess a tactile quality. For example, the wood on the chair and desk are colored in a rich brown and appear to be smooth to the touch. Hicks created this effect through careful modeling of the decorative details, light, shadow, and color. Likewise, the rich red color of the chair cushion coupled with modeling of light and shadow intimate the material's softness.

Overall, the portrait demonstrates that the artist's study in Europe served him well. The awkward representation of the body present in the AARFAC and NPG Edward Hicks portraits has given way to the careful rendering of human form. Hicks gained a tighter control of his brush, as the painting lacks the sketchiness of the Edward Hicks portraits. Contemporary critics especially lauded the artist for his efforts in coloring and his attention to detail. However, Hicks was criticized for his rendering of Fish's clothing.

Before the Fish portrait officially entered the City Hall collection, Hicks submitted the painting to the National Academy of Design's 1852 annual exhibition. A critic from the New

¹⁰¹ Harold L. Peterson, *Americans at Home: From the Colonists to the Late Victorians* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), plate 98 and Gerdtz, 51.

¹⁰² I am indebted to Davin Peterson, the Office Automation Assistant in the Science, Technology and Business Division at the Library of Congress. Mr. Peterson scanned and emailed an image of the spine of a *Natural History of New York* volume which demonstrated Hicks copied the actual books. I am also grateful to Constance Carter, the Head of Science reference at the Library of Congress, who directed me to the New York State Library for a complete set of the series.

York newspaper *The Evening Post* stated that:

Hicks's portrait of Governor Fish is a splendid picture. Nothing can be finer than the accessories, which are admirably disposed, and painted with a Venetian richness of coloring. We do not quite like the face as a likeness, and to the drapery, we have the objection to make, that it is too real, that it reminds one too forcibly of the essential deformity of modern costume. The sleek over-coat and pantaloons are very good as exact and faithful representations of an overcoat and a pair of pantaloons just from the tailor's, but their fault is that they force the spectator to look at them.¹⁰³

While the critic clearly had problems with contemporary fashion, one supposes that Fish's clothing could have fallen more naturally on the body and appeared softer. However, the formality of the clothing is appropriate for an official government portrait.¹⁰⁴ While it is not entirely clear as to why this particular critic found fault with the depiction of Fish's likeness, *The American Whig Review* provides insight into the issue.

In its review of the NAD exhibition, *The American Whig Review* lauded Hicks's portrait of their party's governor. The critic stated that the Fish portrait elevated Hicks's rank as a portraitist among New York artists. In regard to Fish's likeness, he further stated that:

it is no impropriety to say that [Fish's] upright and manly face and person do not altogether fill the ideal that an artist might desire for the hero of his pencil. We cannot say of our own knowledge how far Mr. Hicks meets the requirements of a faithful likeness, though in this respect the report of others who know Gov. Fish well is altogether satisfactory; but the far more difficult requirement of an artistic and powerful picture he has certainly met with originality, beauty, and character, that give the work a very high value independent of its merely personal interest.¹⁰⁵

In other words, the critic explains that while the portrait is a faithful likeness of Fish, Hicks might have imbued the Governor with a greater sense of heroism. More importantly, the critique

¹⁰³ "The Exhibition of the Academy," *The Evening Post* (New York), April 16, 1852.

¹⁰⁴ Today, the portrait is located in the "bullpen," otherwise known as Mayor Bloomberg's office. Visitors are typically not allowed into the Mayor's office to view the portrait. I am grateful to Mayor Bloomberg and to Keri Butler, Special Projects Manager of the Design Commission of the City of New York, for allowing me time to examine the portrait. I did not immediately notice anything peculiar or "too real" about Fish's clothing. Thus, it seems that the author's criticism may have had more to do with the uncomfortableness of contemporary men's fashion.

¹⁰⁵ "The American School of Art," *The American Whig Review* 16, no. 192 (August 1852): 145.

indicates that part of the portrait's success came from Hicks's originality and rendering of character. Both *The Evening Post* and *The American Whig Review* critiques were echoed in another review that appeared in *The Home Journal* (New York), whose critic called the Fish portrait "the most impressive of all the full-length portraits in the present Exhibition." Although the critic agreed with the *Post* regarding to the rendering of the clothing, *The Home Journal* argued that Hicks's present work demonstrated that he had no artistic rival, and that his technique had improved substantially over the last year. The critic further stated:

The earliest specimens of [Hicks's] genius were painted in obedience to principles which he must have arrived at by intuition, and from which he ought never to depart. In the picture we are noticing, there is a prodigious display of contempt for the littleness of manner which marks the full-lengths in the Governor's room in the City Hall. The massive character of the accessories—the *abandon* with which the few masterly strokes of the pencil seemed to have reveled in, indicate a great capacity for the highest branch of art.¹⁰⁶

This critique makes two important points: it acknowledges Hicks's improvement and asserts that he possessed the ability to surpass his contemporaries in terms of style. It also distinguishes the Fish portrait from others within the City Hall collection. *The Home Journal* critic was likely referencing Henry Peters Gray's portrait of Governor John Young (1849) and James A. Whitehorne's portrait of Governor Silas Wright (1848).¹⁰⁷

All three governors' portraits are full-length, life size paintings and include various objects. For example, Whitehorne's portrait of Wright contains a table, chair, papers, and writing implements. By contrast, Gray's portrait of Young has two pieces of paper oddly placed in the lower right corner, which are almost swallowed by a billowing red curtain. Gray awkwardly organized his composition, since the classical columns and drapery seem to

¹⁰⁶ "Fine Arts," *The Home Journal* (New York), May 22, 1852.

¹⁰⁷ For images of the Young and Wright, see the website for the Art Commission of the City of New York: <http://www.nyc.gov/html/artcom/html/portrait/gallery.shtml>.

overpower the subject. Whitehorne balanced his composition, yet the drapery appears stiff and unrealistic. *The American Whig Review* complimented Hicks's omission of such a curtain, explaining that its inclusion was unsuited for the subject and would have ruined the composition. In addition, both Gray and Whitehorne seemed to have had difficulties rendering the figure. For example, Governor Young's pose is difficult to read because Gray created little contrast between Young's black suit and the dark red curtain behind him. It also appears as if he is unnaturally thrusting his hip to the left. The figure of Governor Wright is stiff, unnatural, and disproportionate. For example, Whitehorne rendered Wright's features and hands in a somewhat naïve manner. Instead of modeling form, he painted the Governor in a linear fashion. Overall, the portraits of Governors Young and Wright lack the immediacy and character present in the Fish portrait. Hicks also isolated Fish within a larger space, resulting in the figure standing out more impressively from the environment. Fish's confident stance implies that he is a force to be reckoned with, while those of Young and Wright suggest a weaker disposition.

All of Hicks's critics lauded the artist for his use of color. Throughout the portrait, Hicks utilized pure, bold color to render Fish's clothing and the objects. With the exception of the cool blue pamphlet, the white of the papers, and the grey wall, the rest of the portrait is painted in rich, warm hues of red, green, and brown. *The American Whig Review* complimented Hicks's coloring, stating that "the absolute purity and cleanness of the separate hues is remarkable. They are the unadulterated pigments, and once lain on, have evidently not been touched again. This, with the great freshness and elasticity of Mr. Hicks's *touch*, is one secret of the uncommon power of his coloring."¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ "The American School of Art," 145.

The Tradition of Grand Manner Portraiture

Hicks's painting of Hamilton Fish follows the European tradition of grand manner portraiture. The term "grand manner" originated with Sir Joshua Reynolds's *Discourses on Art*, a series of lectures he delivered at the Royal Academy in London from 1771 to 1790.¹⁰⁹ Reynolds explained that if an artist wished to paint effectively in the grand manner style, then he must study examples from the antique, the Renaissance, and nature. However, nature should not be slavishly copied. Painters should seek to improve their composition through invention and Imagination.¹¹⁰

In his *Discourses*, Reynolds taught the hierarchy of subject matter in painting, whereby history painting occupied the highest level in the hierarchy and was followed by portraiture, genre painting, landscape, animal painting, and still life. Reynolds explained that a portrait painter could elevate his subject by applying elements of history painting.¹¹¹ For example, Reynolds utilized the grand manner style in his allegorical portrait *Sarah Siddons as the Tragic Muse*. In depicting Siddons in the guise of a muse, Reynolds believed that he raised the portrait beyond mere likeness by drawing from Renaissance precedents and elevating his sitter through the depiction of her tragic nobility.

Hicks likely became familiar with Reynolds's theories and the hierarchy of painting during his study at the NAD in the early 1840s. In a review of the NAD's second annual

¹⁰⁹ Initially, grand manner characterized history paintings that represented heroic or noble actions. Subject matter derived from history, mythology, religion, or literature and typically carried a universal message that inspired or taught viewers moral lessons.

¹¹⁰ Reynolds cited Raphael's cartoons, such as *The Miraculous Draught of the Fishes* (1515-1516, Victoria and Albert Museum), as prime examples of the grand manner. He explained that Raphael imbued the figures with nobleness and emphasized their heroic qualities. See Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on Art*, ed. Robert R. Wark (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), 41-42, and see Wayne Craven, "The Grand Manner in Early Nineteenth-Century American Painting: Borrowing from Antiquity, the Renaissance, and the Baroque," *The American Art Journal* 11, no. 2 (April 1979): 25.

¹¹¹ A grand manner portrait is also referred to as a historical portrait.

exhibition, Daniel Fanshaw named the hierarchy with examples of corresponding types of paintings. Fanshaw listed Reynolds's *Sarah Siddons as the Tragic Muse* as an example of the historical portrait.¹¹² Hicks also became familiar with Reynolds's work when he visited London's National Gallery in 1846. However, Hicks's portrait of Fish does not possess the grand manner style that Reynolds applied to portraits of European royalty, such as in the painting of William Augustus, Duke of Cumberland (c. 1765, *The Duke of Devonshire and the Chatsworth Settlement Trustees*), which exemplifies the eighteenth-century state portrait. In the painting, Augustus appears in the robes of the Order of the Garter, an award that acknowledged service to the United Kingdom. He wears an extravagant costume and stands in front of a billowing Baroque curtain that is drawn to reveal a landscape in the background. A British adaptation of Hyacinthe Rigaud's French Baroque portrait of King Louis XIV (1701, Louvre), the image possesses the grandeur associated with royal portraits, and establishes Augustus's legitimacy as a member of the royal family.

One difficulty American artists faced when applying the grand manner style was how to depict American dignitaries without alluding to aristocracy. As Deborah Bershad Addeo explains, the fear was that a portrait laced with trappings of power might suggest monarchical ambition as opposed to republican values.¹¹³ The patrons wanted to honor national heroes, not create American kings. The New York City Hall portrait commissions gave American artists an opportunity to address this challenge and establish an art that represented the new nation. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, John Trumbull and John Vanderlyn were able to successfully fuse the European grand manner style with American pragmatism in their portraits

¹¹² Daniel Fanshaw, "The Exhibition of the National Academy of Design, 1827," *The United States Review and Literary Gazette* 2 (July 1827), 244, quoted in Gerdts, 28.

¹¹³ Deborah Bershad Addeo, "The New York City Hall Portrait Collection, 1790-1830" (PhD diss., The City University of New York, 2005), 77.

of Alexander Hamilton and James Monroe for City Hall. Hicks was certainly familiar with and was likely inspired by paintings such as these when he began his portrait of Fish.

In the fall of 1804, City Hall commissioned Trumbull to paint a portrait of Hamilton (fig. 25) shortly after the statesman was killed by Aaron Burr.¹¹⁴ In the portrait, Hamilton, who was considered to be a national martyr by the American public, makes an oratorical gesture and stands in front of classical columns and a curtain backdrop. The composition not only recalls Reynolds's portraits of English royalty, but also Gilbert Stuart's renowned "Lansdowne" portrait of George Washington (1783) (fig. 26). In Stuart's painting, Washington appears in an oratorical pose and stands among accoutrements that refer to his role as Father of the Country. The ornately gilded chair and table coupled with the rich red curtains and chair cushion suggest the lavishness associated with European state portraits. Trumbull likely knew the "Lansdowne" portrait, since he was a student of Stuart's. The compositions are similar in that Hamilton stands next to objects that represent his authorship of the Federalist papers and acknowledge his role as statesman.¹¹⁵ However, Trumbull's portrait contrasts the European grand manner tradition

¹¹⁴ The Hamilton portrait was one of twelve Trumbull painted for City Hall. Addeo argues convincingly that Trumbull's portraits should be examined within the larger context of his history paintings and ambitions to create a national art. For a lengthier discussion of the Hamilton portrait and Trumbull's other commissions, see Addeo, 148-153.

¹¹⁵ I omit a lengthier discussion of the "Lansdowne" portrait here because the portrait was a private commission by Philadelphia merchant William Bingham and his wife, Ann Willing Bingham. The painting was a gift for William Petty, first marquis of Lansdowne, one of the few outspoken British supporters of American independence. The "Lansdowne" portrait is strikingly different from other full-length depictions of Washington, such as Charles Willson Peale's *George Washington at Princeton* (1779, The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts), where Washington appears as Revolutionary general. The "Lansdowne" portrait is undoubtedly close to representing Washington as monarch. However, Marvin Sadik argues that it is an appropriate depiction for the intended British audience. Sadik explains that the portrait made the right statement about Washington in that "the rebel general who had wrestled independence from Great Britain, was now the first president of the United States, and it was necessary that he be imbued with a dignity equal to that of George III himself." See Marvin Sadik, "Heroes for a New Nation: 1776-1812," in *American Portraiture in the Grand Manner: 1720-1900* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1981), 27-28. For more on Stuart's "Lansdowne" portrait and other images of Washington, see Dorinda Evans, *The Genius of Gilbert Stuart* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), 60-73 and Carrie Rebora Barrett and Ellen G. Miles, *Gilbert Stuart* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 129-238.

because it lacks the ostentation of royal portraits. This is due partly to Trumbull's use of subdued color and his emphasis on Hamilton's intellectual qualities, which successfully depicted the grandeur associated with grand manner portraiture while avoiding an association with monarchy.

Similar to Trumbull, John Vanderlyn depicted President James Monroe as a working politician in his contribution to the City Hall portrait collection (1822) (fig. 27). In the painting, Vanderlyn used the same compositional formula as in the Reynolds, Stuart, and Trumbull portraits. Monroe appears with a gold and red chair on his left; documents, books, and writing implements appear on a table to his right. The portrait recognizes Monroe's accomplishments as President, especially his acquisition of Florida in 1819. For instance, Monroe places his right hand on an unrolled map of Florida that appears on the table next to him. Although Trumbull incorporates the red and gold in the chair and curtain sliver on the left, he subdues their effect by balancing the warm colors with the cool green tablecloth and blue carpet. As a result, the painting possesses the formality of a state portrait without evoking notions of royalty.

Like his predecessors, Hicks successfully conveyed the dignity of his sitter without alluding to aristocracy. The placement of Fish in his office implies a specific work ethic absent from European grand manner portraits. Here was an individual who earned fame through hard work and virtue. The grand manner portrait style was ideal for depicting American dignitaries because it allowed viewers to become familiar with both the individual's likeness and his noble accomplishments. The New York City Hall portraits epitomized classical fame as defined by Braudy because they depicted men who were famous for their public service and their virtue in the quest for national glory. As the seat of political power in New York, City Hall was the ideal

location for a collection of portraits of famous politicians.

The City Hall Portrait Collection and Political Fame

New York City Hall housed one of the first public art collections in the United States. Established in 1790, the portrait collection commemorated “those great and good men who have done honor and service to our Country.”¹¹⁶ The Board of Aldermen selected both local and national heroes whose deeds affected the community and the nation positively. Sitters include New York State governors, New York City mayors, generals, military heroes, presidents, and foreign dignitaries painted by renowned American artists such as Trumbull, Vanderlyn, Sully, and Morse.

One of the most significant aspects of the New York City Hall portrait collection was its conscious effort to establish the city as the leader of the arts in the United States. Addeo explains that the collection began the same year the nation’s capital moved from New York City to Philadelphia. This was a devastating loss to New Yorkers who counted on the political and financial benefits of being the nation’s capital. The city leaders recognized that since New York City would no longer be a political center, their national importance must come from other sources.¹¹⁷ Thus, the municipal government began to create an art collection that demonstrated the city’s wealth and honored famous Americans.

Certainly, other cities started portrait collections at approximately the same time as New York. The best known is Charles Willson Peale’s public gallery of Revolutionary heroes in

¹¹⁶ *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York, 1784-1831*, vol. XIV, 38-9, quoted in Addeo, 1. This overview of the City Hall Portrait Collection draws largely from Addeo’s dissertation.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 4-5. Addeo also points out that the desire to establish New York City as a leader in the arts coincided with the establishment of the American Academy of the Fine Arts in 1802, which was arguably the first important art school in the United States. For more on the American Academy of the Fine Arts, see Addeo, 112-116 and Lillian B. Miller, *Patrons and Patriotism: The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States, 1790-1860* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1966), 90-102.

Philadelphia. As David C. Ward demonstrated, Peale's gallery aided in establishing a national culture by providing audiences with a history lesson on the early Republic. The portraits enabled visitors to recognize virtuous and moral men who placed their country before themselves: John Adams (c. 1791-1794, Independence National Historic Park Collection), Benjamin Franklin (1785, Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts), and Alexander Hamilton (1790-1795, Independence National Historic Park).¹¹⁸

Peale's portrait collection contrasted with New York City Hall's in two important ways. First, the Philadelphia portraits were bust-length paintings rather than New York's full-length works. Painted in the grand manner style, the portraits gave City Hall a grandeur not associated with Independence Hall in Philadelphia where Peale exhibited his paintings. Second, the gallery of Revolutionary heroes was the result of a private individual making his collection public, whereas the New York City Hall collection originated from a municipal body that commissioned portraits for the public.¹¹⁹

More importantly, as Addeo explains, New York City Hall's portrait collection was unique because it was generated by politicians who used public funds on behalf of the community.¹²⁰ The collection also represented what the city council believed to be appropriate public art. The portraits were displayed in the Governor's Room, which was open to the public and was also a reception room for national and foreign leaders who visited City Hall (fig. 28). Upon entering the Governor's Room and seeing the grand manner portraits of America's heroes,

¹¹⁸ David C. Ward, *Charles Willson Peale: Art and Selfhood in the Early Republic* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2004), 82-90. For images, also see Ward.

¹¹⁹ Addeo, 12. Philadelphia did not purchase Peale's portraits until 1854. For more on portrait collections during the Federal period, see Brandon Brame Fortune, "Portraits of Virtue and Genius: Pantheons of Worthies and Public Portraiture in the Early American Republic, 1780-1820" (PhD diss., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1987).

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, 4.

audiences became familiar with the luminaries' likenesses and received history lessons about the sitters' deeds that benefited nation and community. Therefore, when Hicks's Fish portrait was added to the collection, it joined a group of paintings that related the history of the nation through its most important and most famous politicians.

The positive reception of Hicks's Fish portrait established the artist's preeminence as a portrait painter in New York City and led to several more large scale portrait commissions. For example, City Hall commissioned three more portraits from Hicks over the course of the next twenty years: Governor John Alsop King (1860) (fig. 29), Mayor Daniel F. Tiemann (1860) (fig. 30), and Mayor Charles G. Gunther (1872) (fig. 31). While the paintings are of the same general type as the Fish portrait, the Tiemann and Gunther portraits are smaller than those of Fish and King because the full-length format was reserved for governors, while mayors were allotted the half-length size. At about the same time that Hicks received the Fish commission, he also painted a full-length portrait of James A. Van Dyke, former president of the Detroit Fire Department and former mayor of Detroit, Michigan (cat. no. 253). At present, it is unclear how the City of Detroit selected Hicks, but it is suggestive of the artist's renown in the early 1850s and further demonstrates the artist's self-promotion prior to his return from European study was successful.¹²¹ Hicks's most significant political portrait commission came in 1860, when he painted Republican presidential candidate Abraham Lincoln. This political portrait contrasts with the Fish commission because it served as propaganda for the presidential campaign instead of commemorating Lincoln and his accomplishments.

¹²¹Another example of Hicks's grand manner portraits is that of George T. Trimble, head of the Board of Education of New York City. See cat. no. 254.

The Lincoln Portraits

In the summer of 1860, New York publisher W. H. Schaus and Company sent Hicks to Springfield, Illinois to paint Lincoln from life (June 13, 1860) (fig. 32) so that a lithograph could be made after the portrait. The day after Hicks received the commission, he visited the offices of the *New York Tribune* to meet with Horace Greeley, who had just returned from the Chicago Republican convention. While at the *Tribune*, Hicks acquired a letter of introduction to present to Lincoln's law partner, William H. Herndon (1818-1891), from his friend and *Herald* journalist, Charles A. Dana (1819-1897). On June 8, 1860, the artist left New York and reached Springfield three days later.¹²² Sittings lasted from eight until nine in the morning with Hicks working throughout the day when Lincoln was not otherwise engaged. Lincoln told Hicks that this was the first time he had ever sat for a portrait.¹²³ During the sittings, the future president took great interest in Hicks's process and the two men occasionally discussed the art of

¹²² The dates for Hicks's departure and arrival derive from the artist's wife's diary. See Angie Hicks diary, 68-70 (Private Collection). Hicks recounted his experience in painting Lincoln in an essay published in *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time*, ed. Allen Thorndike Rice (New York: American Publishing Company, 1886), 593-607. Hicks related several anecdotes about visitors and conversations the artist had with the future president. One of the most amusing involved Lincoln's son Tad and one of his companions. According to Hicks, Tad and his friend very quietly entered the room and got a hold of Hicks's paints. Reportedly, in turn they squeezed red, blue, and yellow paint onto their hands and then smeared it on the walls. Hicks claimed that he saw what the children were up to, yet opted to enjoy watching "the enthusiastic young colorists, as they made their first effort in brilliant wall decoration." Lincoln responded to the boys' actions, and mildly chastised them, saying "Boys! Boys! You musn't meddle with Mr. Hicks's paints; now run home and have your faces and hands washed." While it is difficult to imagine an artist would allow children to waste expensive materials in such a fashion, the story as told by Hicks suggests that the artist and the future president shared an intimate familial moment which demonstrated both men's congenial nature. Hicks also recounted a dramatic event on his return trip home in which he stated two men tried to take the painting because they wanted "to have some fun with it." Hicks kept the portrait locked away and prevented the men from absconding with it.

¹²³ Hicks, 596. This fact is in dispute as Philip O. Jenkins, an Illinois physician and amateur artist, painted a portrait of Lincoln that is signed and dated 1856. The Jenkins portrait discovery was published in an article that appeared in *American Heritage* magazine in 1990. However, I could not find any scholarly literature that authenticated or mentioned the Jenkins portrait. See James L. Swanson and Lloyd Ostendorf, "Lincoln from Life," *American Heritage* (March 1990): 92-97.

painting.¹²⁴ Hicks completed the portrait within two days.

Hicks's painting of Lincoln is unique because it depicts the president *before* he grew his beard. Here, the viewer is presented with a youthful Lincoln whose face has not yet been ravaged by the emotional toll of the Civil War. The painting is a bust length, three-quarter profile portrait of the candidate. Lincoln wears a black suit with a white shirt and black cravat. He appears in front of a blue-green background and looks to the right. Light enters the painting from the left side, illuminating Lincoln's face and the wall behind him. His forehead is especially bright in comparison to the rest of his face. For example, Hicks painted Lincoln's forehead in light shades of cream while building the form of his cheekbone and nose with darker shades of pink. Lincoln's congenial expression gives him the appearance of a likeable individual. His tousled and unkempt hair suggests the future president is not overly concerned about outward appearance.

As Harold Holzer noted, Hicks's portrait bears a striking resemblance to Alexander Hesler's (1823-1895) photograph of Lincoln taken on June 3, 1860 (fig. 33). Hicks's portrait also recalls Hesler's 1857 photograph of Lincoln (fig. 34), which Holzer does not mention. Holzer argues that Hicks's portrait "was not solely the product of skill and inspiration—not truthfully an example of 'the fine arts'" since he believes it depended largely on Hesler's

¹²⁴ Upon the completion of an initial charcoal sketch, Lincoln noted that he recognized his likeness. As Hicks painted, Lincoln stated "it interests me to see how, by adding a touch here and a touch there, you make it look more like me. I do not understand it, but I see it is a vocation in which the work is very fine." Hicks replied, "that is the reason why painting is called one of the fine arts." Lincoln responded, "I once read a book which gave an account of some Italian painters and their work in the fifteenth century, and taking the author's statement for it, they must have had a great talent for the work they had to do." See Hicks, 599. Harold Holzer was the first Lincoln scholar to describe Hicks's reminiscences in relation to the portrait in *That Lincoln Image: Abraham Lincoln and the Popular Print* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1984), 43-50. On page 43, Holzer published a photograph of a man he identified as Hicks. The man is actually Charles A. Dana. The cropped photograph derived from a larger image in which Hicks appears to Dana's right with journalist George W. Curtis to Dana's left. The cropped photo of Dana is located in the Illinois State Historical Library. Mathew Brady's Studio photographed Hicks, Dana, and Curtis, and the original has yet to surface.

photograph. Holzer also states that Hicks defied the purpose of the commission since the publisher wanted a new image of Lincoln that was not taken from a photograph.¹²⁵ However, Holzer fails to acknowledge that Hicks's portrait is not a copy of either Hesler photograph. A comparison of the two images reveals that Hicks idealized the presidential candidate in his portrait.

For example, Hicks reduced the size of Lincoln's nose and smoothed the texture of his skin to give it a more youthful appearance. The slightly unkempt hair in the Hicks portrait contrasts with Lincoln's combed hair in the 1860 photograph. Hicks accurately captured the presidential candidate's square jaw line, but deemphasized his sunken cheeks. Lincoln's tie is also slightly altered in the portrait, as the ends stick out from the knot, whereas they are neatly tucked away in the 1860 photograph. Furthermore, the portrait does not possess Hicks's tell-tale signs of copying a painting from a photograph, a talent for which the artist was known since about 1855. In these images, such as his portrait of Elisha Kent Kane (1857) (fig. 94), the likeness of the sitter is a careful copy of the photograph, which is not the case here.¹²⁶

Primary documents also record Hicks painting the portrait. Lincoln's close friend, Orville H. Browning (1806-1881), was present at the sittings and on June 12, 1860 wrote:

Fine day. After breakfast called to see Hon. Abraham Lincoln at his room in the State House. He was very glad to see me, and received me with great cordiality. I found Mr. Hicks, an artist of New York, painting a portrait to be lithographed in Boston, and at the request of himself and Mr. Lincoln, I remained and talked to Lincoln whilst Mr. Hicks worked upon the picture. In the afternoon I called and did the same thing, and promised to call again to-morrow, as Mr. Hicks says he greatly prefers to have some friend present whilst he is at work. The picture promises to be a very fine one.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Holzer, 46.

¹²⁶ Hicks's use of photography is discussed in more detail in the chapters that follow.

¹²⁷ Theodore C. Pease and Jas. G. Randall, eds. *The Diary Orville Hickman Browning* (Springfield: Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, 1925), 415.

Holzer also fails to consider the possibility that Hicks *did not* work from Hesler's photograph. Hicks and Hesler met Lincoln within eleven days of one another, and it does not seem unusual that Lincoln looked about the same when he met with the respective artists. Regardless of whether Hicks utilized the Hesler photograph, the larger error in Holzer's argument is that the artist in fact *did* fulfill the publisher's wishes in creating an "accurate" image of the presidential candidate.

Pictures of Lincoln flooded the marketplace as soon as he accepted the Republican nomination on May 2, 1860. The first woodcuts appeared in illustrated newspapers and campaign posters. These were made after Hesler's 1857 photograph (fig. 35) and Mathew Brady's photograph taken on February 27, 1860, just hours before Lincoln gave his speech at the Cooper Union in New York City (fig. 36-37). Typical of the period, Lincoln did little personal campaigning after his nomination; images therefore served as surrogates at rallies, parades, and political clubs.¹²⁸ As a result, the demand for Lincoln's likeness increased substantially. Printmakers, photographers, and painters responded accordingly.¹²⁹

The press frequently lampooned Lincoln for his unusual height, his ugliness, and his frontier roots. For example, J. Sage & Sons of Buffalo, New York published a print in which Lincoln appears in a foot race with Stephen Douglas (fig. 38). In the print, Lincoln's height is triple that of his opponent's and he towers over Douglas's dwarfish figure. The men race towards the U. S. Capitol building and approach a rail fence. The fence, as well as the rail-

¹²⁸ Harold Holzer, "The Lincoln Image: Made in New York," in *Lincoln and New York*, ed. Harold Holzer (London: Philip Wilson Publishers, Ltd., 2009): 129.

¹²⁹ Classified ads in *Harper's Weekley* testify to the increase in demand. For instance, Derby and Jackson Publishers (New York) ran an ad that stated "AN ARMY OF AGENTS WANTED TO SELL The Life and Public Services OF HON. ABRAHAM LINCOLN. WITH A PORTRAIT ON STEEL By D. W. Bartlett," in the June 9, 1860 issue. In the July 7, 1860 issue, Garrison & Co (Chicago) ran an added that stated "1000 AGENTS WANTED to sell five different size Portrait of Abraham Lincoln, from 25 cents to \$1.00. Also Life of Lincoln and Hamlin. Large profits."

splitter maul in Lincoln's hand, refers to Lincoln's image as a rail-splitter. The presence of an African-American man stuck in the fence asking for Douglas's help references the slavery question raised during the campaign.

Regarding looks, the future president did not deny that he was "homely," as one photographer described him. According to his biographers, Lincoln liked to pull a jackknife from his pocket and tell the following story:

I was once accosted...by a stranger who said, "Excuse me sir, but I have an article in my possession which belongs to you." "How is that" I asked, considerably astonished. The stranger took a jackknife from his pocket. "This knife," said he, "was placed in my hands some years ago, with the injunction that I was to keep it until I found a man *uglier* than myself. Allow me *now* to say, sir, that I think *you* are fairly entitled to the property."¹³⁰

Printmakers and Lincoln supporters realized it was necessary to produce an image of the candidate that was appealing to American audiences. After all, it was unlikely that Americans would want to hang a print of an ugly, freakishly tall backwoodsman in their parlors. Thus, after his nomination, printmakers sent artists and photographers by the droves to Springfield to capture an "accurate" likeness of Lincoln.

When Hicks completed the portrait, Lincoln was reportedly pleased with the results. He said "it will give the people of the East a correct idea how I look at home, and, in fact, how I look in my office. I think that picture has a somewhat pleasanter expression than I usually have, but that, perhaps, is not an objection." Mary Todd Lincoln agreed, stating "Yes, that is Mr. Lincoln. It is exactly like him, and his friends in New York will see him as he looks here at home. How I wish I could keep it, or have a copy of it."¹³¹ Hicks makes no other reference to creating a copy for Mrs. Lincoln; however, he may have painted a miniature after the portrait

¹³⁰ Quoted in Philip B. Kunhardt, Jr., et al. *Lincoln: An Illustrated Biography* (New York: Gramercy Books, 1992), 8.

¹³¹ Both Lincoln and his wife are quoted in Hicks, 602.

(fig. 39). Created with a flurry of tiny brushstrokes, the portrait is perhaps the sole extant example of a Hicks miniature. Close examination suggests that the artist made a preliminary sketch before applying paint. For example, dark, sketchy lines are visible beneath the cream and pink colors of the face.¹³² While it is not certain when or for whom the miniature was created, the portrait suggests an intimacy between the sitter and owner because it was an object that could be held in the hand or pinned to a lapel.

Before Hicks left for New York, O. H. Browning provided the artist with a letter that testified to the larger portrait's accuracy. Browning wrote:

I have carefully examined the portrait of Hon. A. Lincoln painted by Thomas Hicks Esq. and do not hesitate to pronounce it a great success. I have known Mr. Lincoln intimately for many years, and was present and in conversation with him much of the time whilst it was being painted, and cannot adequately express my admiration of the fidelity of the picture, and the perfect and satisfactory idea which it gives of the original, and his physical, mental, and moral characteristics. I doubt whether art is capable of transferring to canvass [*sic*] a more exact, and life like representation of the "human face divine."¹³³

Browning's testimony implies that Hicks's idealized representation was an accurate depiction of the future president, which contrasted with contemporary depictions of Lincoln. It is unknown if Browning wrote the letter of his own accord or if Hicks requested it from him. If the artist did request the letter, then this demonstrates Hicks's tenacity in giving himself an edge over the competition through self-promotion.

When Hicks returned to New York City with the portrait, he immediately sent it to

¹³² Hicks may have painted other miniatures of the portrait. In the June 15, 1936 issue of *Lincoln Lore*, a notice states that in February 1936, newspapers in Philadelphia and Providence announced the discovery of two Hicks miniatures: "Colonel John Gribbell, President of the Pennsylvania Historical Society of Pennsylvania, recently acquired in England a miniature of Lincoln by Hicks; and Brown University announced that a Hicks miniature of Lincoln 'discovered in an obscure antique shop in London by Mrs. Steward Campbell,' would be displayed." I do not know if one of the miniatures mentioned is the one in the Stuart Collection, or if they are separate paintings. I am still trying to locate the miniatures mentioned in the article and determine their provenance.

¹³³ O. H. Browning, June 13, 1860, Springfield, Illinois, Hicks file, Chicago Historical Society. The letter is also reproduced in Hicks, 605-606.

Boston so it could be engraved by French artist Leopold Grozelier (1860) (fig. 40). In the lithograph, Grozelier idealized Lincoln more so than in the original portrait by giving him a pleasanter expression. The idealization is especially evident when comparing the image to Charles A. Barry's lithograph of Lincoln which was also made in June 1860 (fig. 41). The print is quite similar to Grozelier's as it is a bust-length image with Lincoln in the same clothes. In contrast to Hicks and Grozelier, Barry drew Lincoln's sunken cheeks, the long lines in his face, and circles under his eyes. Lincoln has a stern expression and uncombed hair. Barry's lithograph possesses an intense, wild quality. Lincoln, who tirelessly posed for numerous artists and photographers who came to see him, told Barry "even my enemies must declare that to be a true likeness of Old Abe."¹³⁴ Thus, it seems that in true political style, Lincoln was diplomatic in his responses to the artists who depicted him.

After Hicks sent his portrait to be lithographed, he visited friends at the *Tribune* and showed them Browning's letter. On June 27, 1860, the *Tribune* reported to its readers that while they had not seen the portrait, they had seen testimony from Lincoln's neighbors, "who speak of it in the highest terms as a spirited and truthful likeness of 'Honest Old Abe.'"¹³⁵ Three weeks later, the *Tribune* lauded Hicks for the Lincoln portrait in a review that is worth quoting at length. Their critic wrote:

If in the multitude of portraits, there is knowledge, the public will, by and by, learn what manner of man the Republican candidate for the Presidency is. Busts, photographs, and engravings, have multiplied, and have all deepened the impression that Mr. Lincoln was—well, not handsome. Mr. Hicks has put another face upon the question. In the lithograph of his picture, published by Schaus, we have a portrait of evidently the same man, with the same general characteristics, but one which, nevertheless, conveys a totally different impression of the personal appearance of Mr. Lincoln. Hicks has the faculty, so valuable to the portrait painter, but one, which, unfortunately, every painter of portraits does not possess, of finding the exact pose of the head and the exact view of the face, in

¹³⁴ Quoted in Rufus Rockwell Wilson, *Lincoln in Portraiture* (New York: The Press of the Pioneers, Inc., 1935), 92.

¹³⁵ "City Items," *New-York Daily Tribune*, June 27, 1860.

which the best features, and the best expression of his subject, show to the most advantage, and those which are not best may be softened. He has evidently succeeded in doing this with Mr. Lincoln. Having had the advantage of several long sittings, and a careful study, therefore, of the head and face before him, he has produced a portrait which the friends who know the subject best will recognize as most true, and giving that best look which is also the most familiar. There are subtle expressions and fine lines about this face which can hardly be otherwise than true to nature. Of other portraits, it would no doubt be said, by those who know Mr. Lincoln well, that ‘they are like.’ And the same persons, when shown this of Hicks, would wonder that they did not detect the absence of those traits which give to this its real character, but without which it would be nevertheless a likeness. We think we have here a semblance of the outward man which answers to what we know to be true of his real character.¹³⁶

Certainly the positive response in the *Tribune* helped to sell Grozelier’s print after Hicks’s portrait. More importantly, the critic’s emphasis on character demonstrated that “accuracy” depended on the artist’s ability to render character as opposed to an exact likeness of the sitter. Knowing Lincoln’s character through pictures was critical to Americans who could not see him in person. Thus, Hicks’s depiction of the future president provided audiences with a sense of the man who would govern the country.

Two years later, the artist painted Lincoln again—but this time he created a much different image of the President. In 1862, Hicks traveled to Washington, D. C. to paint Lincoln in the White House. At present it is unknown if the portrait was a commission or if the artist created it of his own volition.¹³⁷ This portrait more closely resembles the image of the President with which we are most familiar, as the emotional toll of the Civil War can clearly be read in his face (1862) (fig. 42).¹³⁸ In contrast to the idealization of the 1860 portrait, Hicks painted Lincoln’s sunken cheeks and the President appears gaunt. Lincoln no longer has the congenial

¹³⁶ “City Items,” *New-York Daily Tribune*, July 13, 1860.

¹³⁷ If the portrait was created of his own accord, Hicks likely did not experience any difficulty in accessing the President. In the nineteenth century, visitors were able to call on the President and wait in one of the receiving rooms. They were not promised that they would see the President, but they were allowed to wait.

¹³⁸ I have not yet seen the portrait in person and do not have a reproducible image. The picture included here is a print made after the portrait in the 1930s.

expression seen in the earlier portrait, but instead he looks past the viewer with gravity. Here Hicks depicts a president facing the uncertain future of the country as opposed to the hopeful candidate trying to win voters. In his reminiscences, Hicks noted the changes he observed in the President:

Seeing Mr. Lincoln [in 1860] under a variety of circumstances and in the intimate relation of the sitter and the painter, I observed the leading traits of his character. But when I saw him in Washington three years later, the elements which I had studied in our intercourse at Springfield, and other, newly developed, were so broadened and sharpened by the great events of the time, both of success and disaster, that he seemed almost transfigured by the change.¹³⁹

Hicks's portraits of Lincoln and Fish demonstrate that nineteenth-century viewers expected portraits of public figures to depict more than the sitter's likeness. Audiences and critics wanted to learn what the subject looked like and know something of his moral character. As Hicks's first public commission, the Hamilton Fish portrait allowed the artist an opportunity to demonstrate his talents in depicting one of New York's most respected and well-known politicians. The artist adapted Reynoldsian principles and applied them in a manner that did not suggest European royalty, but instead pictorialized the American work ethic by depicting the Governor in his office surrounded by objects that symbolized his accomplishments and his efforts in improving New York State. Hicks honored the Governor and elevated him by depicting Fish's fortitude and dedication to the office. When seen within the context of his predecessors' work in City Hall, the portrait effectively demonstrated Fish's success as a politician whose actions affected New York City in a positive manner. The portrait's public display within City Hall reinforced Fish's embodiment of classical fame as visitors connected his

¹³⁹ Hicks, 604. I realize that there is a date discrepancy in that the second portrait is dated 1862 and Hicks states he saw the president three years later. While he may not specifically be referencing his trip to Washington, DC to paint Lincoln, the quote is relevant for the comparison. On November 2, 1861, Angie Hicks wrote in her diary that Thomas returned from Washington, however she does not mention the portrait.

virtuous accomplishments with civic pride and by extension, national glory.

Similarly, Hicks's portrait of Lincoln familiarized Americans with aspects of his character. Whereas the Fish portrait commemorated the governor as he left office, the Lincoln portrait aimed to improve public perception of the candidate before he entered the office of the presidency. By idealizing Lincoln and emphasizing his noble qualities through gentle expression, Hicks elevated the portrait's purpose above that of a mere likeness. In contrast to the Fish portrait, the Lincoln image was specifically commissioned so that it could be reproduced and sold to the public. For the patron, W. H. Schaus and Company, it was a commodity from which they expected to make a profit. Therefore, the Lincoln portrait can be understood as a result of the public relations industry and as a response to the increasing demand for images of public figures at mid-century that is more closely associated with celebrity. Lincoln's fame was an amalgamation of both classical fame and celebrity because his image was so frequently reproduced before, during, and after his presidency.

The political paintings are significant because they mark Hicks's own fame at different points in his career and demonstrate the circuitous nature of celebrity in the nineteenth century. The Fish portrait commission acknowledged the faith that patrons had in Hicks's ability and the painting's success established him as one of the leading portraitists in New York City. As a result of the portrait's positive reception, the artist increasingly painted luminaries that were known both locally and nationally, such as the *Authors of the United States*, actor Edwin Booth, and explorer Elisha Kent Kane. These portraits, along with that of Fish, arguably influenced Schaus to select Hicks for the Lincoln commission, thereby solidifying Hicks's own fame.

Chapter 4: Authors of the United States

In its April 1857 issue, the art journal *The Crayon* announced the commission of a portrait gallery of famous Americans:

Four artists of this city have been commissioned by Wm. P. Wright, Esq. to paint each a picture to form a series representing respectively the Artists, Men of Science, Literary Men, and Merchants of our country. Mr. Baker will paint the Artists; Mr. Huntington, the Savans [*sic*]; Mr. Hicks, the literary characters; and Mr. Rossiter, the Merchants. The paintings, when finished, will be exhibited and engraved. The size of each we believe is to be 9 by 14 feet. The commission is a very liberal one, and certainly a very creditable one to Mr. Wright.¹⁴⁰

Upon completion, the portraits were to be placed in a gallery Wright intended to build at an undisclosed location.¹⁴¹

¹⁴⁰ “Sketchings: Domestic Art Gossip,” *The Crayon* 4, no. 4 (April 1857):123. A large amount of erroneous information has been published about the Wright Commission and *The Crayon* was the first to report it correctly. For instance, on March 30, 1857, *The Evening Post* (New York) reported that Huntington was to paint the merchants and Rossiter the scientists. In their August 1857 issue, *Dwight’s Journal of Music: A Paper of Art and Literature* reported that Huntington was responsible for the authors portrait. Neither Hicks nor the scientists portrait was mentioned. In its December 2, 1857 issue, the *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* also stated that Huntington was responsible for the authors with no mention of Hicks. John Davis was the first to note the mistake in his essays on Daniel Huntington’s portraits of Dr. James Hall and Dr. John Edwards Holbrook in the National Gallery of Art collection catalogue, *American Paintings of the Nineteenth Century* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 2n336-7. Letters from Daniel Huntington to sitters for *Men of Science* provide the best information about the commission. For instance, see Huntington to John W. Draper (chemist), May 10, 1857, John William Draper Papers, 1771-1951, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress and Daniel Huntington to Joseph Leidy (paleontologist), May 13, 1857, Society Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania (first quoted in Davis, 336). I have yet to locate any Hicks correspondence regarding *Authors of the United States*.

¹⁴¹ Henceforth, the project will be called the Wright Commission. The English Wright was a well-known collector and art patron in New York City who retired to England about 1870. For his collection, see Henry H. Leeds & Miner, *Catalogue of the Valuable Collection of Oil Paintings formerly the private collection of W. P. Wright, Esq...on March 18th, 1867*, Frick Art Reference Library. Confusion regarding Wright’s identity began as soon as contemporary newspapers announced the commission. *The New York Times* (“The Four Great Pictures,” April 6, 1857) and *The New York Post* (“Personal,” April 6, 1857) identified Wright as the Hon. William Wright of Newark, New Jersey. The American Wright (1794-1866) was a leather manufacturer, New Jersey state senator, and one-time mayor of Newark. On August 29, 1857, *Dwight’s Journal of Music: A Paper of Art and Literature* named the patron as J. M. Wright. In December 1857, the *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* also reported J. M. Wright as the patron of the pictures. *The Crayon*, in its April 1857 issue, was the first to identify correctly Englishman William P. Wright as patron.

The confusion continued into the twentieth century. For instance, William H. Gerdt identified Wright as William B. Wright in his essay “Natural Aristocrats in a Democracy: 1810-1870” in *American Portraiture in the Grand Manner (1720-1920)* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1981), 54-55. In 1982, Richard J. Koke also identified the patron as the American Wright in the entry on Thomas Rossiter’s *Merchants of the United States*. See *American Landscape and Genre Paintings in the New-York Historical Society* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1982), 3:111-114. Their information was likely gathered from Rossiter’s granddaughter, Edith Rossiter Bevan, who wrote *Thomas Rossiter, 1818-1872* (Ruxton, MD: Private Printing, 1957), 15. Davis also identifies the patron as the

Unfortunately, the project never reached fruition. The patron, English cotton broker William Parkinson Wright (c. 1815-1880), likely cancelled it due to financial difficulties involving a pending lawsuit over lost bales of cotton.¹⁴² By the time contemporary newspapers announced rumors of the commission's retraction in 1859, the artists' work was well underway. Hicks had begun a study of the *Authors of the United States* (fig. 43-44); Thomas Rossiter (1818-1871) finished his nine-by-sixteen foot canvas of *Merchants of the United States* (1859) (fig. 45). Daniel Huntington (1816-1906) completed a series of compositional drawings and several oil

American Wright in his Huntington essays. See I: 334-337. Sally Mills was the first to distinguish correctly between the English and American Wright. See "'Right Feeling and Sound Technique': French Art and the Development of Eastman Johnson's Outdoor Genre Paintings," in *Eastman Johnson: The Cranberry Harvest, Island of Nantucket* (San Diego: Timken Art Gallery, 1990), 74n74. Kathleen W. Dorman was the first to identify correctly the English Wright as the patron of the group portraits in *The Papers of Joseph Henry*, Vol. 9: *January 1854-December 1857-The Smithsonian Years* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2008) 4n450-51. Also see William Parkinson Wright's obituary in *The New York Times*, 8 July 1880.

I have been unable to discover the precise location for the large picture gallery, which was likely to be separate from Wright's home and private gallery. Due to the confusion surrounding Wright's identity, the precise location of his New Jersey home and gallery is unclear as it had been located in both Weehawken and Hoboken. The sites for the large picture gallery were probably either Weehawken or Hoboken, New Jersey or New York City. The 1850 United States Federal Census indicates that Wright lived in Hoboken as of July 11, 1850. The 1860 and 1870 United States Federal Censuses indicate that Wright lived in North Bergen Township, New Jersey. The 1870 United States Federal Census lists Wright as "William B. Wright" which also may account for some of the confusion regarding his name. Misspellings are not uncommon within the Census records. See U. S. Bureau of the Census. *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1850; U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Eighth Census of the United States, 1860*. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1860; and U.S. Bureau of the Census. *Ninth Census of the United States, 1870*. Washington, DC: National Archives and Records Administration, 1870, <http://www.ancestry.com>. (accessed January 30, 2009).

¹⁴² Ogden & Co. filed the original lawsuit in 1844 against Wright and his former partner, Thomas J. Stewart, over 285 lost bales of cotton. See "Supreme Court-Special Terms: Partnership Adventure in Cotton," *The New York Times*, September 7, 1854; "Supreme Court-General Terms-Nov. 20, Before Judges Davies, Sutherland, and Hodgeboom," *The New York Times*, November 30, 1858; and "Purchase of Shipment of Cotton," *Journal of Mercantile Law* 41, no. 2 (August 1859): 189-192. The exact reason for the cancellation is unknown. Davis stated Wright cancelled the commission due to bankruptcy, but does not give a source for the information. See I:336. The census reports show that Wright's real estate worth increased from \$9,000 in 1850 to \$30,000 in 1860. His personal worth in 1860 was \$20,000. While this may initially suggest that Wright possessed enough money to support the commission, it is impossible to ascertain his net worth without knowing his total debts. Wright intended to pay each artist \$1000. Wright's cost would have exceeded \$4000 if one also considers the cost of building the gallery. See Bevan, 15; Davis, 336; and Koke, 114. On February 10, 1859, *The Evening Post* (New York) reported on rumors "the order (the Wright Commission) had been countermanded." A report that the commission was officially cancelled does not appear until November 1860. See "Politics and Art in New York," *Boston Transcript*, November 20, 1860 and "Sketchings: Domestic Art Gossip," *The Crayon* 7, no. 2 (February 1860): 57.

sketches of his sitters.¹⁴³ Reportedly, George A. Baker, Jr. (1821-1880) began the artists' group portrait; however, no extant sketches are known.¹⁴⁴

Despite the commission's cancellation, Hicks completed his oil sketch of *Authors of the United States* and sold the painting to engraver Alexander H. Ritchie (1822-1895) in November 1860 (fig. 43-44). On May 24, 1866, *The New York Times* advertised that the print was available for purchase from publisher I. G. Hubbs. Ritchie then sold the plate to the New York newspaper *The Independent*, which offered the print as a premium to subscribers by 1869.¹⁴⁵ The dissemination of Hicks's work in the form of a popular print enhanced the artist's reputation and increased his fame as the painter of the American *literati*.

While William P. Wright is recognized as the patron of the commission, it is possible that the idea for the group portrait originated during Hicks's training in Europe. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Margaret Fuller reported to *The New York Tribune* in 1849 that Hicks "had made drawings for a large picture of many figures."¹⁴⁶ In addition, Hicks began painting individual sketches and finished portraits of American authors as early as 1855, two years before he

¹⁴³ Huntington's sketches are located in the Cooper-Hewitt Design Museum. His portrait studies are located in a number of museum collections, such as the Corcoran Gallery of Art and the National Gallery of Art in Washington, DC.

¹⁴⁴ In 1898, chemist Henry Carrington Bolton tried to resurrect Huntington's *Men of Science*, albeit unsuccessfully. See Davis, 337n3; Dorman, 450n3; and Henry Carrington Bolton to Samuel P. Langley, September 10, 1898, Office of the Secretary (Samuel P. Langley), 1891-1906, Incoming Correspondence, RU 31, Smithsonian Archives. I am grateful to Kathleen Dorman at the Smithsonian Archives who allowed me to browse through her extensive files on Huntington and the *Men of Science*. At present, Rossiter's canvas is rolled and in the New-York Historical Society's off-site storage. Unfortunately, Rossiter's canvas was damaged in the 1950s by "street urchins" who maliciously poked out the eyes of some of the figures. It has yet to be restored. See Bevan, 15. A sketch for the painting is in a private collection in New York. Apparently, Baker frequently suffered from eye disorders and other maladies such as Bright's disease, which prevented him from painting. For more on Baker, see "The Fine Arts," *The Home Journal* 3, no. 1 (January 1858); "Death of Baker, the Artist," *The New York Times*, 3 April 1880; and Theodore Bolton, *Dictionary of American Biography*, I:519.

¹⁴⁵ Because Hicks's study is unlocated, this chapter will be concerned with Ritchie's engraving after the original. See "Politics and Art in New York," *Boston Transcript*, November 20, 1860. *The New York Times* noted that the painting had been exhibited and "survived the ordeal of criticism." Unfortunately, I have not been able to find any other documentation of the painting's exhibition. See "Authors of the United States," *The New York Times*, May 24, 1866. The advertisement for the *Authors of the United States* print appeared multiple time in *The Independent*, beginning on January 7, 1869.

¹⁴⁶ Margaret Fuller, "American Artists in Italy, &c," *The New York Tribune*, March 20, 1849.

received the official commission from Wright. Regardless of whether these early author portraits were made specifically as preliminary sketches for *Authors of the United States*, their existence demonstrates that the artist was cognizant of the public's interest in the literary celebrity. By the mid-nineteenth-century, Americans considered literature an established and successful art. Audiences read books by their favorite authors, attended their lectures, collected their portraits, and displayed their images in the home.

This chapter first examines *Authors of the United States* in relation to Hicks's early training and as a response to the increasing demand for images of literary celebrities. I consider Hicks's individual portraits of American authors and demonstrate that they established a pattern in the artist's *oeuvre* in terms of creating portraits that were disseminated in the form of prints. Since the exact circumstances surrounding the original commission are unknown, I also consider Wright's role as patron. I argue that the commission served as a way in which Wright could compete with fellow patrons and present himself as a philanthropist. The public's perception of Wright as a benevolent patron was of special importance since his livelihood relied on the institution of slavery. *Authors of the United States* is also considered in relation to nationalism and group portraiture at mid-century. I also argue that Hicks's print is exceptional because it included women in a field where men traditionally dominated.

The Image

Authors of the United States is a group portrait of forty-four living and deceased male and female American authors. Hicks organized the imaginary gathering of writers in a stage-like setting composed of classicizing architecture. The writers stand and sit in various poses at and around three tables located in the right, center, and left foreground. Authors also line the stairs that lead to a landing above the central figures. Three statues of European writers—Johann

Wolfgang Goethe (1749-1832), William Shakespeare (1564-1616), and Dante Alighieri (1265-1321)—appear between Ionic columns in the middle of the landing. Classical-style buildings behind the colonnades recede into the background.

Throughout the engraving, a series of lines leads to the center of the composition. Geometric tile panels in the foreground, the diagonal lines of the banister below the statue of Shakespeare, and the entablature between the stories of the buildings direct the viewer's attention to the man standing at center, James Fenimore Cooper. Cooper, who wears a double-breasted coat with a white vest, shirt, and cravat, turns slightly to the left as he gazes out of the picture plane. He rests his right hand on the table in front of him and holds a document in his left. Cooper forms the apex of a triangle completed by Washington Irving on his left and William Cullen Bryant (1794-1878) on his right (fig. 46). Bryant wears a dark suit with embroidered detail. He sits tall in a large chair with a cloak draped over its arm that terminates in an elaborately carved eagle's head. With his lower body angled towards Cooper, Bryant's torso turns slightly to the right as he gazes past the viewer. In contrast to Bryant, Irving slumps in a smaller and plainer chair that may symbolize the younger author's place in the literary hierarchy beneath the elder Romantic poet. Irving wears a fur-lined overcoat, dark suit, and white shirt with a dark cravat. He leans on the table with his right elbow and his left arm hangs at his side. Like Cooper and Bryant, he also gazes out of the picture plane, past the viewer.

Two tables with ten figures around them appear to the right and left sides of the central group. Catharine Maria Sedgwick (1789-1867), Lydia Huntley Sigourney (1791-1865), and E.D.E.N Southworth (1819-1899) sit at an elaborately carved library table on the left side of Cooper, Bryant, and Irving (fig. 47). A single book rests on the table and forms a diagonal that directs the viewer's attention to Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1822), who sits in a short-

backed chair. With his lower body angled to the right, Longfellow looks to his left and directs the viewer's eye back to Bryant. Edgar Allan Poe (1809-1849) stands just behind Longfellow and gazes toward Donald Grant Mitchell (1822-1908), who leans between Longfellow and the women. Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864) stands with his back to Poe, forming his mirror image as he looks down towards Fitz Green-Halleck (1790-1867), who sits at the central table between Bryant and Cooper.

At the right side of the engraving, a small stack of books appears in front of another table around which Harriet Beecher Stowe (1811-1896), Caroline Kirkland (1801-1864), and John Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892) gather (fig. 48). Whittier looks towards Stowe, who sits on the opposite side of the table. Stowe, her body in profile, gazes up and out of the picture plane. To her right, William Ellery Channing (1818-1901), Margaret Fuller, and Richard H. Dana (1815-1882) sit in a diagonal formation that leads the viewer's eye back to the central group of Cooper, Bryant, and Irving. Bayard Taylor stands behind Whittier with his left hand resting on the chair back. Taylor both directs the viewer's attention to the seated group and serves as a connector to the figures standing in the background.

Behind Cooper and the seated authors stand nineteen men about whom some general observations can be made (fig. 44). First, to convey a sense of depth, figures that are intended to be perceived as farther back in space appear smaller than those closer to Cooper. Second, they stand in a variety of poses and gaze in a number of directions that generally lead the viewer's eye back to the central group. George Bancroft (1800-1891), John Lothrop Motley (1814-1877), and George W. Curtis (1824-1892) look towards Taylor, who gazes in the direction of Cooper. Only three of the forty-four authors engage the viewer: William Hickling Prescott (1796-1859), James Russell Lowell (1819-1891), and John Godfrey Saxe (1816-1877). Saxe, who stands at the far

right of the engraving, is the first of five figures lining the stairs at right. Hicks placed another five figures on the stairs at the left side of the print to make the composition symmetrical. The statues on the landing above the authors serve to direct the viewer's attention to the central group.

Hicks placed the sculptures of the European authors on raised pedestals at the center of the landing. The statues appear in front of a large curved niche decorated with architectural elements and carved swags of foliage that visually connect the statues (fig. 49). The sculpture of Shakespeare has the largest pedestal, which includes a relief carving of a man and his muse. Both the elaborate pedestal and the architectural forms of the banister and space below separate the Bard from his German and Italian counterparts. The banister that runs parallel to Shakespeare's pedestal protrudes forward just before it reaches those of Goethe and Dante. The indentation formed by the architectural elements frames Cooper, connecting him to Shakespeare above. Light and shadow also return the viewer's gaze to Cooper, Bryant, and Irving.

Light enters the image from the left side, as indicated by the diagonals that echo Poe's position and the banister just below the statue of Goethe. The diagonals formed by the left shadow and Poe lead to Bryant, while the shadow beneath Goethe leads to Cooper. That diagonal is continued by Prescott's left arm, thereby connecting Irving to his predecessors. Light also illuminates the oversized books in the foreground. The curving form of one of the books echoes the light and shadow of the cloth on the central table, the patterns formed by the men's coats and vests, and the swags that visually connect the statues.

While the American *literati* are visually connected to their Old World predecessors, it is unclear what their separation means, if anything. Has this American school achieved the fame and respect accorded to those above? Will they ever stand on equal ground or will the

Americans forever be placed below the European greats? Their inclusion certainly acknowledges past literary traditions.¹⁴⁷ Moreover, since Goethe, Shakespeare, and Dante appear as sculptures, Hicks seems to relegate them to the past in contrast to the living American authors who are part of a vital present.¹⁴⁸

Origins

On March 20, 1858, *The Home Journal* reported “we have taken a *coup-d’oeil* of Hicks’s great cartoon of a few of the poets and authors of our country. It promises to have those qualities which remind of one of Paul Veronese. We shall see.” The Veronese comparison was apt as the Italian master’s work influenced Hicks throughout his career. Hicks first saw Veronese’s paintings while studying in Venice and their impact was reinforced by Couture, with whom Hicks studied in 1848. Couture worshipped Veronese and taught his methods of coloring to students.¹⁴⁹ Veronese’s *The Marriage at Cana* (1563), which entered the Louvre’s collection in 1798, inspired Couture’s *The Romans of the Decadence* (1847, Louvre). When Hicks entered Couture’s atelier, he witnessed the success the French master enjoyed after the painting’s positive reception at the Salon of 1847. Consequently, Hicks was made aware of the fame such a painting could bring an artist and may have been inspired to create his own.

When Margaret Fuller wrote to *The New York Tribune* in 1849 about Hicks’s cartoons for a group portrait, she stated that Hicks could not execute the painting because of the expenses involved. However, if he were able to acquire a patron, then Fuller was certain the painting would meet with great success.¹⁵⁰ It is unknown if these drawings were early sketches for

¹⁴⁷ In 1864, Longfellow began a translation of Dante’s *Divine Comedy* and Taylor began his translation of Goethe’s *Faust* as early as 1850.

¹⁴⁸ I wish to thank David Cateforis for this observation.

¹⁴⁹ See Albert Boime, *Thomas Couture and the Eclectic Vision* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 152-155 and 443-445.

¹⁵⁰ Fuller, “American Artists in Italy, &c.”

Authors of the United States or for a different subject. Nevertheless, their existence demonstrates that Hicks wanted to create a large, multi-figure canvas long before he received the *Authors of the United States* commission. The cartoons are also indicative of Hicks's ambitions and demonstrate that the artist desired fame from the beginning of his career.

While in Paris in 1848, Hicks probably studied directly from Couture's *The Romans of the Decadence* and Veronese's *The Marriage at Cana*. Hicks also saw Raphael's *School of Athens* (1509-1510, Vatican) while studying in Rome. These European paintings served as sources for his American version of the group portraits. A comparison of the images demonstrates that Couture, Veronese, and Raphael inspired the final version of *Authors of the United States*.

In Hicks's and the European masters' paintings, the figures appear within a stage-like setting surrounded by classical statuary and architecture. In *Authors of the United States*, the sculptures at the top of the landing resemble the classical sculptures of Apollo and Athena in *School of Athens*. Just as the god and goddess stand above the heads of the great pre-Christian philosophers, so do the "gods" of European literature stand above the American authors in Hicks's composition. As mentioned above, Hicks relegates Goethe, Shakespeare, and Dante to the past and presents the American authors as the living present, just as Raphael depicts science, reason, and philosophy as represented by Pythagoras, Aristotle, and Plato surpassing the ancient polytheism of Apollo and Athena.

All four paintings utilize architecture to frame the central figure groups. For example, the staircases, balustrades and central landing in *Authors of the United States* recall those in *The Marriage at Cana*. The receding classical architecture in the background, the U-shaped formation of the tables, and the square tiles in the foreground of Hicks's image are similar to

those in Veronese's, Raphael's, and Couture's paintings.

More figural affinities can be found with Couture's *The Romans of the Decadence*. In this painting, Couture placed a group of five reclining figures at the center of the composition with two other groups of figures on either side. Couture filled the far sides of the canvas and background with reveling Romans. Hicks organized the authors in a manner similar to Couture's Romans by including three core groups who are surrounded by figures at the sides and in the middle ground of the print. Just as Couture placed attributes of decadence—wine and fruit—in the foreground of his painting, Hicks includes attributes of the authors—books—in the foreground of the image. The books, wine and fruit effectively serve to distance the viewer from the figures.

In *Authors of the United States*, the oversized books on the floor in the foreground sufficiently block access to Cooper and Bryant. The space in front of Irving allows entry, yet he appears lost in reverie. It would be almost impossible to penetrate the mass of figures to ascend the stairs to admire the sculptures of Goethe, Shakespeare, and Dante. In Couture's painting, wine and fruit block access to the central group. Open spaces appear to their right and left; however, one could not maneuver past the reclining figures. Some of the Romans's debaucheries and unconscious states do not encourage participation, just as the stillness and rigidity of the authors do not promote congeniality. The gazes of the three authors who engage the viewer in *Authors of the United States* also support this sentiment because they do not invite us in, but rather ward us off. Thus, Hicks's *Authors of the United States* and Couture's *The Romans of the Decadence* were not necessarily scenes the viewer was intended to join, but instead provided moral instruction to their respective audiences. One should be forewarned of the results of drunken revelry and lascivious behavior while gazing upon Couture's *The Romans*

of the Decadence. In observing Hicks's pantheon of American literati, one should admire their virtuous behavior and contemplate their accomplishments. Just as Raphael's *School of Athens* honored the greatest thinkers of Western civilization, Hicks's *Authors of the United States* celebrated America's literary geniuses and exemplified the public interest in the literary celebrity.

Individual Author Portraits and Literary Celebrity

Two crucial factors in the American public's fascination with literary celebrities were rising literacy rates and the development of the mass media. Scholars estimate that by the first quarter of the nineteenth century, approximately ninety percent of the adult white male population was literate.¹⁵¹ Technological advances in printing made publishing cheaper and faster, thereby providing writers with more places to publish than at any previous time in American history. Approximately 1,200 newspapers and 1,500 magazines were in publication across the country by 1844.¹⁵² As a result, sale became highly competitive and publishers developed clever ways to win customer loyalty. One method to attract subscribers was by hiring well-known authors to create serials for weekly journals.

In 1846, entrepreneur and publisher Robert Bonner recruited famous writers such as Bryant, Longfellow, Beecher, and Stowe to write for his family story paper, *Merchant's Ledger*. Bonner paid them exorbitant advances; the most went to Beecher, who received \$30,000 for his novel *Norwood*, while Longfellow received \$3,000 for a single poem. Magazine publishers also began using authors' names as advertisements. In the early 1840s, *Graham's Magazine* put

¹⁵¹ Mary Kelley, *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 10.

¹⁵² See Kenneth M. Price and Susan Belasco Smith, *Periodical Literature in Nineteenth-Century America* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995), 4-5 and Richard Brodhead, *Culture of Letters: Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1993), 76-77.

Cooper's, Longfellow's, and Poe's names on the cover to sell more issues.¹⁵³

Newspapers and magazines also utilized images to increase circulation numbers by offering prints as gifts for subscriptions. As mentioned above, *The Independent* offered Hicks's *Authors of the United States* as a premium beginning in 1869. The dissemination of *Authors of the United States* in the form of a print allowed audiences to bring the "gallery" of American luminaries into their parlors. Therefore, audiences could both read their favorite authors and display their images in the home.

As Louise L. Stevenson explained, the parlor was the center of intellectual life in the Victorian home. Aside from functioning as a receiving room, it also served as the central locale for reading in the home.¹⁵⁴ While men, women, and children utilized the space, the parlor can be considered a gendered room in that the "new woman" was responsible for its décor as a representation of the cultured and cultivated family. As defined by literary historian James H. Hart, the "new woman" directed social and cultural enlightenment in the home with her delicate nature and charm. These proper codes of behavior required guidance, which came in the form of etiquette books.¹⁵⁵ Some of these publications were written by the women who appeared in Hicks's print.

For example, in *Letters to Mothers* (1838), Lydia H. Sigourney advised readers that "simplicity of taste, extending both to dress, and manner of living, is peculiarly fitting in the daughters of the republic." Sigourney further explained that "the home and its virtues were considered the great conservative influence to which especially our country is to look for its

¹⁵³ See Kelley, 3-4 and David Haven Blake, *Walt Whitman and the Culture of American Celebrity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 39.

¹⁵⁴ Louise L. Stevenson, *The Victorian Homefront: American Thought and Culture, 1860-1880* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 1-2.

¹⁵⁵ Hart, 86. For more on the relationship between art and etiquette, see Wendy J. Katz, "Lilly Martin Spencer and the Art of Refinement," *American Studies* 42, no. 1 (2001): 5-37.

security against anarchical disorder.”¹⁵⁶ According to Sigourney, in properly designing the parlor, women were not only creating a cultured space but also providing a place of refuge from the dangers of the outside world. In *The American Woman’s Home, or, Principles of Domestic Science* (1869), Catharine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe advised women how to decorate the parlor with chromolithographs and engravings. In regard to the selection of artworks to be displayed, Beecher and Stowe explained that:

The educating influence of these works of art can hardly be over-estimated. Surrounded by such suggestions of the beautiful, and such reminders of history and art, children are constantly trained to correctness of taste and refinement of thought, and stimulated—sometimes to efforts at artistic imitation, always to the eager and intelligent inquiry about the scenes, the places, the incidents represented.¹⁵⁷

In other words, one should be mindful in her selection as these images were not only aesthetically pleasing, but also should provide some type of moral instruction. Hicks’s *Authors of the United States* was a logical choice for the “new woman.”

As seen in an anonymous stereograph of a Boston, Massachusetts home, Hicks’s *Authors of the United States* was prominently displayed in the parlor (fig. 50). In this image, a proper Victorian couple sits among fine furnishings and *objects d’art*—their seated positions echoing those of the authors in the print. Perhaps inspired by the virtue and accomplishments of the authors that appear above them, the couple betters themselves by reading. Books appear everywhere within the stereograph—in Hicks’s print, in the couple’s hand, and prominently displayed on the table in the foreground. As Stevenson explains, when Americans displayed portraits of famous men and women in their homes, they were in effect bringing the influence of

¹⁵⁶ Quoted in Katherine C. Grier, *Culture and Comfort: People, Parlors, and Upholstery 1850-1930* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988), 92.

¹⁵⁷ Catharine Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, *The American Woman’s Home, or, Principles of Domestic Science* (1869; repr. Hartford, CT: Stowe-Day Foundation, 1975), 94.

public figures into the private realm.¹⁵⁸ Here the luminaries served as exemplars of moral virtue, particularly for children.

Perhaps the most significant female author included in *Authors of the United States* in terms of the changing status of women was Margaret Fuller. In addition to serving as a correspondent for *The New York Tribune*, Fuller is best known for *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845), which is today recognized as one of the foundational texts of feminism. In the book, Fuller called for equality between men and women, encouraged women to do more than their traditional roles allowed, and encouraged women to take pride in their accomplishments. Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony stated that Fuller “possessed more influence upon the thought of American women than any women previous to her time.”¹⁵⁹ Thus, Fuller and the other women writers included in *Authors of the United States* reminded women that they possessed the capability to extend their gendered roles outside of the home and influence others, even perhaps on a national scale.

As Hart explains, women writers began dominating American literary tastes in the 1850s due to the rise of the middle class and “the new woman.” Because women turned to popular periodicals and fiction as a means of bringing culture into the home, publishers saw an increase in female readers and women writers soon began to outsell their male counterparts. In 1853, Fanny Fern (Sarah Willis Parton) sold 70,000 copies of *Fern Leaves from Fanny’s Portfolio*, while only 7,440 copies of Nathaniel Hawthorne’s *The Blithedale Romance* sold in 1852.¹⁶⁰ It is no wonder that Hawthorne bitterly remarked that:

¹⁵⁸ Stevenson, 7.

¹⁵⁹ Quoted in Margaret Vanderhaar Allen, “A Classic of Feminist Literature,” in *Woman in the Nineteenth Century: An Authoritative Text, Backgrounds, Criticism*, ed. Larry J. Reynolds (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1998), 235.

¹⁶⁰ Hart, 92-93. Fanny Fern is mysteriously absent from *Authors of the United States*.

America is now wholly given over to a damned mob of scribbling women, and I should have no chance of success while the public taste is occupied with their trash—and should be ashamed of myself if I did succeed. What is the mystery of these innumerable editions of the ‘Lamplighter,’ and other books neither better nor worse?—worse they could not be, and better they need not be, when they sell by the 100,000.¹⁶¹

One wonders if Hawthorne’s attitude is the reason Hicks posed him with his back turned to women writers Catharine Maria Sedgwick, Lydia Huntley Sigourney, and E.D.E.N. Southworth in the *Authors of the United States*.

Audiences were not entirely satisfied by text alone as they wanted to see firsthand how their favorite authors carried themselves in their daily lives. One of the most popular sites for public appearances was the lyceum, where audiences could attend lectures by favorite authors. Many writers were in such high demand that they eventually began charging for lectures, and the lyceum became a site for celebrity promotion.¹⁶² Audiences especially favored speakers such as Beecher, Stowe, Emerson, Holmes, and Taylor. Richard Henry Dana, Horace Greeley, John G. Saxe, Park Godwin, and George W. Curtis also regularly made the lyceum circuit. Incidentally, all of these writers are included in Hicks’s print. As a result of the increasing fame of America’s best known authors, it is not surprising that artists like Hicks recognized the potential publicity they might receive in creating images for lyceum audiences.

For example, Hicks painted Beecher’s portrait about the same time the reverend became one of the most popular lyceum speakers. Hicks sold the portrait to John C. McRae (c. 1853) (fig. 51), who engraved the painting and made it available for purchase. Advertisements for the print appeared in Boston’s *Daily Evening Transcript*, *The Home Journal*, *The Literary World*,

¹⁶¹ Quoted in Hart, 93. Hawthorne refers to the novel *The Lamplighter* (1854), written by Maria Susanna Cummins.

¹⁶² See Blake, 33-34 and Carl Bode, *The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), 224-237.

and the *Liberator*.¹⁶³ *The Home Journal* remarked that the print image looked just like Beecher in likeness and in pose whenever he spoke. Over the next several years, Hicks continued to sell portraits of speakers and other illustrious Americans to engravers. For example, McCrae also engraved a portrait of Bishop Wainwright (cat. nos. 354 and 2a) and Hezekiah Wright Smith engraved Hicks's full-length portraits of George Washington (c. 1859, original unlocated) (cat. no. 3a) and Edward Everett (c. 1875, original unlocated) (cat. no. 6a).¹⁶⁴ If audiences could not afford to collect individual author portraits (or if they did not possess the space to display them), then Hicks's pantheon of celebrity writers in *Authors of the United States* was an attractive alternative. Thus, by the 1860s, audiences could read works by their favorite authors, see them speak at lyceums, and purchase their portraits in the form of prints. This increased publicity meant that American authors began seeing public recognition that paralleled the acclaim for contemporary singers and entertainers.

As previously mentioned, singer Jenny Lind received an unprecedented welcome in New York City when she arrived for her 1850 tour thanks to P. T. Barnum's publicity efforts. Lind was mobbed on the streets and obtaining tickets for her shows became newsworthy events. Harriet Beecher Stowe secured tickets to a Lind performance based on her own literary fame after publishing *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852. Not to be outdone, Stowe drew her own crowds, had her travel plans publicly announced, and packed lecture halls on her own. Stowe's most frightening experiences with fame came when she toured England. Hundreds turned out to gaze at her when she arrived in London. According to Stowe's biographer Forrest Wilson, crowds stampeded at one lecture hall and one woman was almost trampled to death. Stowe's husband

¹⁶³ See "A Capital Portrait," *The Evening Post* (New York), November 17, 1853; "A Capital Portrait," *Daily Evening Transcript* (Boston), November 18, 1853; "The Fine Arts," *The Literary World*, November 26, 1853; "Fine Arts," *The Home Journal*, November 26, 1853; "Portrait of Henry Ward Beecher," *Liberator*, December 30, 1853.

¹⁶⁴ A short list of engravings after Hicks's paintings is included with images after Hicks's works. These works are referenced by the letter "a" after the cat. no.

Calvin quickly grew exasperated over the English mob's intrusive behavior. He stated "I am tired to death of the life I lead here. All that was anticipated by the newspapers, and ten times more, had befallen us. From the lowest peasant to the highest noble, [my] wife is constantly beset, and I for her sake, so that we have not a moment's quiet."¹⁶⁵ As literary historian Richard Brodhead notes, Stowe "found a career as a famous object of public attention."¹⁶⁶

Much like Stowe, Bayard Taylor also experienced the pandemonium of frenzied crowds at speaking engagements. Taylor became well known to American audiences through his travel letters, which were published in magazines and newspapers such as the *Saturday Evening Post*, *Putnam's Monthly*, and the *New York Tribune*. When Taylor returned to New York in January 1854 after two years of worldwide travel, he was astonished at how famous he had become. He accepted numerous invitations to speak about his adventures and delighted audiences by wearing native costumes he acquired while abroad. However, Taylor quickly found himself overwhelmed by fame.

In March of 1854, Taylor wrote to poet Richard H. Stoddard, "I have lectured nine times since I saw you, and have had great success everywhere. Crammed houses; women carried out fainting; young ladies stretching their necks on all sides, and crying in breathless whispers, 'There he is! *That's* him!' etc. Believe me, Stoddard, it is a miserable business, this lecturing."¹⁶⁷ Considered one of the most handsome literary celebrities, Taylor was described by Stoddard as "tall, erect, active-looking, and manly, with an aquiline nose, bright, loving eyes,

¹⁶⁵ Forrest Wilson, *Crusader in Crinoline: The Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1941), 363, 377, 379, quoted in Michael Newbury, "Eaten Alive: Slavery and Celebrity in Antebellum America," *ELH* 61, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 169.

¹⁶⁶ Brodhead, 53.

¹⁶⁷ Taylor, to R. H. Stoddard, Buffalo, March 5, 1864, in *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor*, ed. Marie Hansen-Taylor and Horace E. Scudder (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1895), I:271.

and the dark ringleted hair with which we endow in ideal, the head of poets.”¹⁶⁸

Hicks painted the handsome Taylor in an exotic costume he purchased overseas (fig. 52). In the painting, Taylor wears Turkish clothing and sits on an oriental rug. He holds the end of a hookah pipe in his right hand while his left rests on a stack of red and gold-striped pillows. At the left side of the painting, his servant Achmet, carrying a tray of dishes, prepares to exit the scene. Damascus appears in the background at the right side of the painting, a view based upon Taylor’s own sketches.

As Ellen Miles has noted, the portrait is unusually well documented by primary sources. While traveling in Upper Egypt, Taylor wrote about Achmet to his mother and described his clothing as seen in the portrait. On December 11, 1851, he wrote:

My dragoman is a man who makes himself respected everywhere, and makes the Arabs respect me. He always speaks of me to them as ‘His Excellency.’ I am now wearing one of his dresses: a green embroidered jacket, with slashed sleeves; a sort of striped vest, with a row of about thirty buttons from the neck to the waist; a large plaid silk shawl as belt; white baggy trousers, gathered at the knee, with long, tight-fitting stockings and red morocco shoes.¹⁶⁹

We also learn from Taylor’s letters that the inclusion of Achmet came after Hicks began the portrait. In another letter to his mother, Taylor wrote from New York on November 16, 1855:

Hicks has nearly finished the Oriental portrait. It is one of the most charming things you ever saw. I found at Taunton, Mass., a daguerreotype of Achmet in the hands of a gentleman who traveled with him a year ago, and borrowed it to get a copy made. I shall get Hicks to put Achmet into my picture.¹⁷⁰

Aside from securely documenting the portrait, Taylor’s letter also provides insight into Hicks’s working process in that the artist utilized photography to aid his painting.

¹⁶⁸ Quoted in John Tomsich, *A Genteel Endeavor: American Culture and Politics in the Gilded Age* (Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1971), 28.

¹⁶⁹ Taylor, to his mother, Upper Egypt, December 11, 1851, in *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor*, I:223. Also see Carolyn Kinder Carr and Ellen Miles, *A Brush with History: Paintings from the National Portrait Gallery* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 2001), 115.

¹⁷⁰ Taylor, to his mother, New York, November 16, 1855, in *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor*, I:308-9. Also see Carr and Miles, 115.

A comparison of the portrait and the daguerreotype demonstrates that Hicks slightly altered the servant's pose so that it was pleasing to the composition. In the daguerreotype (1850s) (fig. 53), Achmet wears baggy trousers with a shirt, long-sleeved jacket and hat. He stands with his body angled towards the right while his right hand rests on the back of a chair. In contrast to his appearance in the photograph, Hicks painted Achmet with his back to the viewer and face in profile. The artist also richly colored Achmet's clothes in green and red as opposed to painting them white or beige as they appear in the daguerreotype. As a result, Hicks unified the composition through color and connoted the exoticism of non-Western costume without deflecting attention from Taylor.

Hicks derived the setting in the portrait from Taylor's new travelogue, *The Lands of the Saracen, or, Pictures of Palestine, Asia Minor, Sicily, and Spain*. Published in 1855, *The Lands of the Saracen* was the second of three volumes detailing Taylor's two-year world tour. Taylor wrote of his hotel in Damascus:

The walls of the house are painted in horizontal bars of blue, white, orange and white... Beyond this is a raised floor covered with matting, and along the farther end of a divan, whose piled cushions are the most tempting trap ever set to catch a lazy man... Leaning back, cross-legged, against the cushions, with the inseparable pipe in one's hand, the view of the court, the water basin, the flowers and the lemon trees, the servants and dragomen going back and forth, or smoking their narghilehs in the shade—all framed in the beautiful arched entrance is so perfectly Oriental... that one is surprised to find how many hours have slipped away while he has been silently enjoying it.¹⁷¹

Taylor probably commissioned the portrait as part of an elaborate campaign to market *The Lands of the Saracen*. Prior to the book's publication, a teaser article entitled "The Vision of Hasheesh" [*sic*] appeared in the April 1854 issue of *Putnam's Magazine*. "The Vision of

¹⁷¹ Bayard Taylor, *The Lands of the Saracen, or, Pictures of Palestine, Asia Minor, Sicily, and Spain* (New York: G. P. Putnam's and Sons, 1855), 123. Quoted in Holly Edwards, *Noble Dreams Wicked Pleasures: Orientalism in America, 1870-1930* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 122.

Hasheesh” was a somewhat controversial essay about Taylor’s experimentation with hashish in Egypt and later appeared in revised form as a chapter in *The Land of the Saracen*. In June of 1854, Taylor wrote again to his mother, explaining that he had been “daguerreotyped in Arab dress, to be engraved for *Putnam’s Magazine*.”¹⁷² Mathew Brady’s studio made the daguerreotype and it appeared as an engraving in the August 1854 issue. At about the same time, Taylor toured the lyceum circuit and lectured in his Turkish costume about his travels. Taylor’s campaign culminated in the publication of *The Land of the Saracen* and with the completion of Hicks’s portrait in 1855. The portrait was then exhibited at the NAD annual exhibition in 1856 as *A Morning in Damascus*. Hicks’s portrait of Taylor exemplifies the way in which painters, printmakers, photographers, and authors worked together as part of a larger marketing campaign that benefited everyone involved. Furthermore, the images demonstrate how Taylor catered to multiple audiences in having his image made in print, paint, and photographs.

Due to Taylor’s intensive lecturing schedule, Hicks may have utilized one of the photographs to depict the author’s likeness in the singular portrait and in *Authors of the United States*. Taylor’s portrait in both images also recalls another Brady daguerreotype taken of the writer sometime in the 1840s (fig. 54-56). Certainly utilizing photographs was not unusual, particularly for a portrait like *Authors of the United States* where some of the authors were deceased. When a photograph was necessary, Hicks most commonly utilized Brady’s images.

For instance, Hicks’s representation of William Cullen Bryant shares affinities with

¹⁷² Taylor, to his mother, New York, June 13, 1854, in *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor*, I:277.

Brady's c. 1860 daguerreotype of the author (fig. 57-58).¹⁷³ In February 1860, *The Crayon* stated that Hicks copied his portrait of Washington Irving after Gilbert Stuart Newton's portrait of the writer:

Hicks has nearly completed the finished study for his large picture of "The Literary Men of America," begun some months ago. The nature of the subject, as well as its treatment, renders this one of the most important historical pictures of the day. One of the most interesting figures in the group is that of Washington Irving, who occupies a place in the center; Mr. Hicks has chosen Newtown's portrait as the best one of Irving.¹⁷⁴

Hicks's depiction of Irving has obvious similarities with Newton's portrait in regard to pose (fig. 59-60). However, Hicks's Irving appears older than Newton's depiction and bears a striking resemblance to Brady's daguerreotype of the author (c. 1850) (fig. 61). Thus, Hicks combined elements from both images to create his portrait of Irving.¹⁷⁵

While Hicks used photographs for some portraits of the writers in *Authors of the United States*, he also painted some of the figures from life. For example, Margaret Fuller's portrait was based on Hicks's 1848 portrait of the author. Hicks derived his portrait of Harriet Beecher Stowe from an earlier study he painted when she sat for him in 1855.¹⁷⁶ In the portrait, Hicks depicts Stowe with a severity and sadness not typically seen in other portraits of her. In Alvan Fisher's portrait of Stowe (1853, National Portrait Gallery), she gazes out of the picture plane with a slight smile. Her hair neatly and perfectly curled, she sits with her hands crossed in front of her body and wears a black dress with a lace collar and cuffs. In contrast, Hicks painted Stowe with her hair loose around her shoulders and with bags under her eyes. Hicks's Stowe has

¹⁷³ Hicks painted an individual portrait of Bryant, however, its date and location are unknown. See cat. no. 581. In *A Biography of William Cullen Bryant* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1883), Parke Godwin lists Hicks as one of the artists who regularly visited the elder poet. See 2:58.

¹⁷⁴ "Sketchings: Domestic Art Gossip," *The Crayon* 7, no. 2 (February 1860): 57.

¹⁷⁵ Hicks painted a singular portrait of Irving after Newton around 1860. Presently unlocated, *Harper's Weekly* described it in the magazine's March 21, 1860 issue. See cat. no. 313.

¹⁷⁶ Dearinger 2004, 270-271.

the appearance of an individual under stress, which stands in opposition to Fisher's idealized portrait.

Like Stowe, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow also sat for Hicks in 1855 (Longfellow National Historic Site). Longfellow first mentions the portrait in a letter to James Thomas Fields from August 25, 1855. The author initially expressed surprise that Hicks was to paint him. Longfellow asked: "What do you mean of Hicks's portrait of me? I have never heard of it."¹⁷⁷ Three days later, the author sat for the artist. Longfellow, somewhat irritated, recorded the sittings in his journal:

Tuesday 28 [Aug 1855]	Hicks begins a portrait of me.
Wed. 29	Hicks works away all the morning at my portrait.
Thurs. 30	Portrait again, all the morning.
Friday 31	Still working away at the Portrait. It has consumed a week of my time. ¹⁷⁸

The early author portraits first suggest that Hicks recognized the rising market for the literary celebrity image. The print of Beecher, as well as those of non-authors, publicized the artist's name and made him increasingly well-known. Additionally, since some of the singular author portraits were created *before* Hicks received the *Authors of the United States* commission, this suggests he may have been planning the ambitious picture before he had a patron. If Hicks shopped for a patron as Fuller's 1849 dispatch to the *New York Tribune* suggested, then it is possible that the artist had a larger part in initiating the Wright commission. Hicks had the opportunity to meet wealthy patrons through social clubs such as the Century Association, where both he and Wright were members. A commission such as the *Authors of the United States* and its companion portraits likely appealed to Wright as a way for him to compete with fellow

¹⁷⁷ Andrew Hilen, ed. *The Letters of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1972), III:493.

¹⁷⁸ Typed copy of MS Journal, courtesy of Anita Israel, Archives Specialist at the Longfellow National Historical Site in Cambridge, MA.

patrons and shape the public perception by mitigating his connections to slavery as a cotton broker.

The Patron and His Commission

William Parkinson Wright was born about 1815 in England. He arrived in New York City in 1832 and began his career as a clerk with the cotton brokerage of Ogden, Waddington, & Co. Wright later established his own cotton brokerage firm, William P. Wright & Co. In 1853, Wright began publishing a business report entitled *Cotton Circular*. As the leading print authority on cotton, the weekly circular kept readers apprised of crop conditions and financials such as costs of imports and exports.

By the end of the 1850s, cotton production in the South accounted for ninety percent of the world's cotton market. Plantation owners sold their cotton to brokers in the North, who sold it to Northern textile industries, then exported it to the milling industries in England. As a result, cotton brokers like Wright earned enormous profits in the years just before the Civil War. Since the cotton shipments were produced through slave labor, Wright had a vested interest in the debate over slavery. It was therefore crucial that the merchant appeared as a philanthropist in the eyes of Northerners.¹⁷⁹

No different from a number of other wealthy New Yorkers at mid-century, Wright spent most of his profits on art. Like fellow patrons Robert M. Olyphant (1825-1918), Marshall O. Roberts (1814-1880), and Alexander T. Stewart (1803-1876), Wright assembled a large collection of European and American art. As Lillian B. Miller explained, collections such as

¹⁷⁹Wright's various partnerships included Gibson & Wright, Stewart & Wright, and Wright & Levin before he established William P. Wright & Co. See Wright's obituary, *New York Times*, July 8, 1880. The Library Company of Philadelphia has a partial collection of the *Cotton Circular*. See John Davis, "Eastman Johnson's *Negro Life at the South* and Urban Slavery in Washington, DC," *The Art Bulletin* 80, no. 1 (March 1998), 91n73. Also see Thomas Boaz, *Guns for Cotton: England Arms the Confederacy* (Shippensburg, PA: Burd Street Press, 1996) for a lengthier discussion on cotton surpluses in 1860 and the South's failed attempts to withhold shipments in efforts to gain England and France's support for secession.

these were fashionable, patriotic, and exemplified the collector's desire to demonstrate his refined taste to a larger public. Contemporary critics frequently compared merchants such as Wright to Renaissance princes since their patronage of native artists was perceived as an expression of national culture. Hoping that the encouragement of native artists and the fine arts would lead to greater public appreciation, critics argued that the American mercantile economy and republicanism would lead to an artistic renaissance. The underlying belief was that the development of a national art and literature led to the establishment of a refined civilization.¹⁸⁰ Critics explained that this national art "must be of a purely popular character and origin—its individuals must come from the people, and be renowned for those qualities which captivate the hearts of a free, enthusiastic, and high spirited nation."¹⁸¹

Authors of the United States fulfilled this call for a national art as the selection of sitters was not limited to one region. For example, Bryant, Cooper, and Irving, who are associated with the North, appear with their southern counterparts: William Gilmore Simms (1806-1870), John Pendleton Kennedy (1795-1870) and P. Pendleton Cooke (1816-1850). Simms and Kennedy were best known for their sentimental novels of plantation life, while P. Pendleton Cooke's poems romanticized the Virginian gentleman. Other writers associated with the South included *New Orleans Picayune* newspaper correspondent George W. Kendall (1809-1913) and *Louisville Daily Journal* editor George Dennison Prentice (1802-1870). While the northern dominance may initially suggest regional favoritism, the selection of authors was more likely due to popular taste in literature. Confirmation about the selection of sitters is difficult since the exact circumstances of the commission are unknown.

A letter written by Daniel Huntington to one of the sitters in *Men of Science* provides

¹⁸⁰ See Miller, esp. 142-159 and 218-219.

¹⁸¹ "American Sculpture," *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* 4, no. 1 (1860): 2.

insight into this issue. On May 13, 1857, Huntington responded to chemist John William Draper's inquiry about who was responsible for the selection of sitters. Huntington wrote: "I am not responsible for the names selected – neither is Wm. Wright – but several have been consulted."¹⁸² Considering the number of sitters to be included in the commission as a whole, it is not unusual that Wright sought the assistance of others. It is also possible that Wright simply provided the funds while someone else oversaw the planning of the portraits. If *Authors of the United States* originated with Hicks, it is plausible that he primarily selected the authors, perhaps with the assistance of his many literary friends. Regardless who selected the sitters, *Authors of the United States* exemplified the desire for an art "of a purely popular character and origin" through its depiction of American literary figures and provided Wright with an opportunity to compete with his fellow patrons.

In order to make the public aware of his collections and patronage, Wright frequently opened his New Jersey home for public viewings. Visitors saw European works such as Rosa Bonheur's *Horse Fair* (1853-1855, Metropolitan Museum of Art) and Eugene Delacroix's sketch for *The Barque of Dante* (c. 1822) in Wright's collection. They also viewed American landscapes by Albert Bierstadt, John F. Kensett, and George Inness, as well as genre paintings such as Eastman Johnson's *Negro Life in the South* (1859, New-York Historical Society). As John Davis has demonstrated, Wright's collecting and exhibition practices—particularly in regards to *Negro Life in the South*—were intimately related to his cotton business.¹⁸³

As someone who depended upon slave labor for financial survival, Wright surely felt the burgeoning pressure of civil strife as the debate over slavery intensified during the 1850s.

Contemporary literature such as Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852) raised public awareness of

¹⁸² See Huntington to John W. Draper (chemist), 13 May 1857, John William Draper Papers, Library of Congress.

¹⁸³ Davis 1998, esp. 84-88.

slavery and strengthened antislavery sentiments. Five years later, North Carolina author Hinton Rowan Helper published *The Impending Crisis of the South* (1857), arguing that slavery was not compatible with industrialization and therefore impeded the South's economic and cultural development. A shocking attack by a Southerner on his home region, *The Impending Crisis of the South* initially saw paltry sales, but soon became well-known and controversial. Authorities burned ten copies publicly in a North Carolina town and officials in Alexandria, Virginia arrested a man for owning a copy.¹⁸⁴

Wright and other northern cotton manufacturers often attempted to counter abolitionist accusations of cruelty and inhumane treatment of slaves. In response to publications like Helper's, New York merchants developed a proslavery defense as published in *The Five Cotton States and New York; or, Remarks upon the Social and Economical Aspects of the Southern Political Crisis* (1860). The pamphlet argued that slavery was "justifiable upon sound, social, humane, and Christian consideration" and that it was harmless so long as owners refrained from and prevented abuse.¹⁸⁵ As Davis explains, paintings such as *Negro Life in the South* that depicted idyllic slave life supported such mercantile viewpoints. Wright frequently loaned *Negro Life in the South* for exhibition, thus demonstrating that he realized how his collection could influence public opinion.¹⁸⁶ One might argue that the Wright Commission served a similar purpose. If Wright's gallery of famous American men and women had been completed, then the public might have seen the patron as a philanthropic individual who utilized his profits from a slave-related industry to benefit the American public by honoring native genius. In fact, contemporary journals such as *The Crayon* and the *Cosmopolitan Art Journal* praised Wright for

¹⁸⁴ For the discussion on Stowe and Helper, see James D. Hart, *The Popular Book: A History of America's Literary Taste* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1950), 112-113.

¹⁸⁵ Quoted in Davis 1998, 86n75.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 85.

his generosity.

However, not everyone was so impressed with Wright's ambitious commission. After Wright initiated it in the spring of 1857, *The New York Times* expressed skepticism about his possibility of finding thirty sitters for each portrait. The newspaper stated:

This is certainly a very liberal commission, and we are glad to know we have so magnificent a Maecenas among us. But where are all the distinguished persons to be found who are to fill up these monster canvases. Thirty distinguished living personages in one frame, and four pictures of that magnitude will require no less than one hundred and twenty subjects. We shall expect to see an advertisement in the morning papers, headed thus: "Wanted—A few living personages to sit for their pictures. Good references required." We might suggest the names of a few, but it might be deemed officious.¹⁸⁷

One week later, the newspaper continued to mock the commission, particularly in regards to Rossiter's *Merchants of the United States*:

It will be no very difficult matter to get together thirty men of science, of literature, and of art, though there may be some difficulty in grouping them; but where are the thirty eminent merchants to be found, and what is to be the standard of greatness with merchant princes? How many millions must a merchant have accumulated to entitle him to pictorial honors? Every man should be painted with his bank book in his hand, in which his wealth should be inscribed. Of all human greatness there is none so brittle as that of a merchant; he may be the greatest man in Wall-street to-day, and a nobody to-morrow. We have a few eminent men who have amassed fortunes by trade, but they have achieved greatness by other deeds than those connected with their calling.¹⁸⁸

The critic's ridicule of the merchants portrait is not surprising, especially considering that when *The New York Times* commentary was published in the spring of 1857, the United States was on the cusp of its worst financial decline in several decades. A general recession began in the fall of 1856; however, it was not until the following summer that the bottom fell out. On August 24, 1857, the New York branch of the Ohio Life Insurance and Trust Company failed. Mass bank

¹⁸⁷ Maecenas refers to Caius Cilinius Maecenas, a confidant and advisor to Roman emperor Octavian and important patron of the arts. His name became a byword for wealthy patrons of the arts in the nineteenth century. See "A Chance for Distinguished Persons," *The New York Times*, March 31, 1857.

¹⁸⁸ "The Four Great Pictures," *The New York Times*, April 6, 1857.

failures followed and businesses closed at an alarming rate. Soon thereafter, the British began removing funds from U.S. banks, grain exports decreased due to the end of the Crimean War, and railroads failed after land speculation programs collapsed. Known as the Panic of 1857, this financial crisis devastated many Americans.¹⁸⁹ In addition, violence over the intensifying slave debate erupted along the Kansas-Missouri border and only made matters worse. The uncertainty over current domestic events might lead one to conclude that Wright's commission was ill-advised. Yet the cotton market remained relatively stable during the economic crisis and as a result, Wright was initially capable of financing the commission.

Despite *The New York Times's* skepticism over the merchants portrait, audiences were increasingly receptive to group portraits as forms of national expression. In 1860, after Rossiter completed *Merchants of the United States*, the *Boston Transcript* expressed the hope that such a "national picture" could find a home in a public institution such as a Mercantile Library or Chamber of Commerce. The article further stated that "this class of pictorial works is growing in public estimation."¹⁹⁰ Thus, when Wright hired the four artists to paint the large group portraits, he was contributing to a tradition of group portraiture and the galleries of great men.

Nationalism and Group Portraiture at Mid-Century

In commissioning a gallery of famous men and women, Wright participated in a long-standing tradition in the history of art.¹⁹¹ Since at least the fifteenth century, wealthy patrons had

¹⁸⁹ For a more extensive discussion on the Panic of 1857 and the Civil War, see James L. Huston, *The Panic of 1857 and the Coming of the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1987) and Charles W. Calomiris and Larry Schweikart, "The Panic of 1857: Origins, Transmission, and Containment," *Journal of Economic History* 51, no. 4 (1991): 807-834.

¹⁹⁰ "Politics and Art in New York," *Boston Transcript*, November 20, 1860.

¹⁹¹ I am specifically thinking of Andrea del Castagno's Famous Men and Women fresco cycle (c. 1450, Uffizi) from the Villa Carducci (Florence) and the portraits of famous men in Federigo da Montefeltro's Urbino *studiolo* (1470s). For more on Carducci and Montefeltro, see John R. Spencer, *Andrea del Castagno and His Patrons* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1991); Cecil H. Clough, "Art as Power in the Decoration of the Study of an Italian Renaissance Prince: The Case of Federico da Montefeltro," *Artibus et Historiae* 16, no. 31 (1995): 19-50; and

commissioned artists to paint galleries of famous men to honor their accomplishments. As previously mentioned, this tradition originated in the United States in the late eighteenth century with Peale's portrait gallery of Revolutionary heroes in Philadelphia and the collection at New York City Hall. The representation of great American men continued throughout the first half of the nineteenth century in the form of biographical books.¹⁹²

For instance, Joseph Delaplaine published *Delaplaine's Repository of the Living Portraits of Distinguished American Characters* (1815), which included portrait engravings after Peale, Stuart, Trumbull, and John Singleton Copley (1738-1815). John B. Longacre and James Herring's *The National Portrait Gallery of Distinguished Americans* (1824), William H. Brown's *Portrait Gallery of Distinguished American Citizens* (1845), Benson J. Lossing's *Biographic Sketch of the Signers* (1848), and Abner Dumont Jones's *Illustrated American Biography* (1853), soon followed. In 1854, Samuel Hueston published *The Knickerbocker Gallery*, a compendium of articles by contributors to the *Knickerbocker* magazine. Engraved portraits of the authors accompanied their essays. The volume included seventeen of the forty-four writers in *Authors of the United States* and testifies to their popularity. Therefore, it is possible that books like *The Knickerbocker Gallery* served as a reference for the selection of sitters.

Around the same time, Mathew Brady established his National Gallery of Daguerreotypes in Washington, DC and published *The Gallery of Illustrious Americans* (1850) with Charles Lester. Brady and Lester's book was similar to its predecessors in that portrait engravings accompanied biographical essays. It differed from the others only because the prints

Luciano Cheles, *The Studiolo of Urbino: An Iconographic Interpretation* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1986).

¹⁹² The discussion that follows originated with conversations I had with Wendy Wick Reaves, Curator of Prints and Drawings at the National Portrait Gallery. Also see Mary Panzer, *Mathew Brady and the Image of History* (Washington DC: National Portrait Gallery, 1997), 55-69. This synopsis derives from both Reaves and Panzer.

were engraved after daguerreotypes as opposed to oil portraits.¹⁹³ In theory, the purchase of these books provided an opportunity for the public to own their own gallery of famous Americans. However, most of these publications failed to sell because of high production costs coupled with low demand.

A more affordable alternative appeared in the form of the group portrait print. For example, the National Miniature Gallery of Anthony, Clark & Co., published Thomas Doney's *United States Senate Chamber* (after James Whitehorne, after daguerreotypes by Victor Piard and Edward Anthony) (fig. 62) in 1846. The *American Review* described the image as "very nearly what took place in the Senate Chamber upon Henry Clay's public retirement from legislative life, in 1842."¹⁹⁴ The print included ninety-seven portraits of politicians in the gallery and balcony of the Senate chamber. In 1854, Doney created another group portrait of American luminaries, *Distinguished Americans at a Meeting of the New York Historical Society [sic]* (after Julius Gollman). With only forty-nine portraits, *Distinguished Americans* "represents an interior view of the large Chapel of University with the New York Historical Society [sic] in session. The heads with one or two exceptions were painted from life...."¹⁹⁵ The best known of these group portrait types is Robert Whitechurch's *United States Senate Chamber A.D. 1850* (after Peter Rothermel, after daguerreotypes by Victor Piard) (1855) (fig. 63). In this image, Henry Clay introduces the Compromise of 1850 to the Senate.

In a sale advertisement of Whitechurch's *United States Senate Chamber*, publishers Butler & Long described it as

¹⁹³ Panzer, 60. Also see Gordon N. Marshall, "The Golden Age of Illustrated Biographies: Three Case Studies," in *American Portrait Prints*, ed. Wendy Wick Reaves, 29-82 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1984).

¹⁹⁴ "The United States Senate Chamber," *American Review* 4 (1846): 431.

¹⁹⁵ NYHS Minutes, January 3, 1854, published in R. W. G. Vail, *Knickerbocker Birthday: A Sesqui-Centennial History of the New-York Historical Society* (New York: New-York Historical Society, 1954), 110-111.

a work of art, it as far transcends anything hitherto produced in this country, as the period chosen for illustration surpasses, in interest, any since the memorable July of 1776. It is not our intention to dwell on the political events of the time, or on the danger when they seemed to threaten our beloved Union; it is sufficient for us to know that they were averted by the strong good sense of the People of America, aided by the brilliant talents and intense patriotism of her chosen Statesmen and Orators. Many of these have since passed away from us, but they 'still live' in the consecrated memory of a great nation.¹⁹⁶

The publisher's commentary first suggests that Clay's Compromise of 1850 was more important than independence because it averted secession and civil war. The publisher also suggests that crisis could be averted once again through remembrance of patriotic actions as pictured by the individuals in the print. Thus, the print functioned as both a political and didactic image. A commentary published in *The Crayon* echoed this sentiment in December 1860, just one month after Hicks completed the sketch of *Authors of the United States*. An unidentified critic wrote:

Notwithstanding political commotion, the art world pursues the even tenor of its way. Artists are busy in their studios with the harmonies of nature, not its discords. We cannot help but think that the general cultivation of artistic feeling and perception would be of great political advantage. If it is not calculated to cure, it might prevent social disturbances that now seem to be due more to exaggerated cerebral action than anything else. We have too many patriots like Peter the Hermit, and Praise-God Barebones, men who are dominated by one idea, who are enthusiastic through conceit rather than through judgment; a slight infusion of artistic sensibility would render them judicious as well as enthusiastic. But we have to chronicle the patriotic efforts of artists, and accordingly turn to them....¹⁹⁷

In other words, a national culture could succeed where politics failed.¹⁹⁸ Art should remain unaffected by political strife and perhaps even had the ability to restore harmony and prevent discord through depiction of "national" subjects. Group portraits appeared with increasing frequency as a result of this call.

Christian Schussele's *Men of Progress* (1862) (fig. 64) celebrated American scientists and inventors whose discoveries and products advanced the sciences and mechanical arts. The

¹⁹⁶ Advertisement published in unidentified text, curatorial files, National Portrait Gallery, Washington, DC.

¹⁹⁷ "Sketchings: Domestic Art Gossip," *The Crayon* 7, no. 12 (December 1860): 353.

¹⁹⁸ See Miller, 228-229.

portrait included men such as Samuel Colt, inventor of the revolving pistol; Dr. William Morton, discoverer of anesthesia; Samuel F. B. Morse, artist and inventor of the telegraph; and Jordan Lawrence Mott, who developed the coal-burning cook stove.¹⁹⁹ Much like Hicks's *Authors of the United States* and Rossiter's *Merchants of the United States*, Schussele organized the men of progress around a table at the center of the canvas. Schussele selectively placed their drawings and mechanical inventions throughout the image. Benjamin Franklin presides over the scene in the form of a portrait located in the upper left corner. His inclusion connects the modern men of progress to their historical past and connotes the continuation of Franklin's legacy. Before Schussele completed the portrait, John Sartain began engraving it in 1861 (fig. 65). Once the engraving was finished, the painting was exhibited in New York in 1862. A flyer that accompanied the portrait at exhibition celebrated the contributions of the sitters: "it is to such men as constitute this group that modern civilization owes its chief triumphs..."²⁰⁰ Thus, the men of progress were exemplars of individuals whose personal labor was for the betterment of American society.

F. O. C. Darley and Christian Schussele's *Washington Irving and his Literary Friends at Sunnyside* (1864) (fig. 66) also exemplifies the group portrait as a form of national expression.²⁰¹ Inspired by Thomas Faed's *Sir Walter Scott and His Literary Friends at Abbotsford* (1854, Sleepy Hollow Restoration, Tarrytown), Darley depicted Irving surrounded by his colleagues in the comforts of his home. A bust of Shakespeare appears above the authors in the background and serves a function similar to the statue of the Bard in *Authors of the United States*, suggesting that the American authors carry on the legacy of the English playwright. Like the other group

¹⁹⁹ The National Portrait Gallery's painting is a smaller version of the portrait owned by the Cooper-Hewitt National Museum of Design. For a complete list of the sitters and their inventions, see Carr and Miles, 122 and Gerdtz, 55.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 31.

²⁰¹ Darley first drew the group portrait before it was copied in oil by Christian Schussele and then engraved by Englishman Thomas Oldham Barlow.

portraits, *Washington Irving and his Friends at Sunnyside* was also engraved and made available to the public (Sleepy Hollow Restoration, Tarrytown). When the portrait was exhibited in 1864, an accompanying pamphlet explained its national significance:

The production of this charming picture will be universally regarded as a National event. It is, in the truest and completest sense, a National picture, and has an interest to the cultivators and lovers of American art, and American literature, which no work of the kind heretofore presented to the American public can rival. For whatsoever point of view it may be regarded, artistic, literary, or personal, it challenges with a peculiar force the national acceptance, and the national admiration; presenting as it does the very embodiment and central unity of native genius.²⁰²

Darley and Schussele's *Washington Irving and his Friends at Sunnyside*, like Hicks's *Authors of the United States*, embodied the national expression for which the critics called as a celebration of both art and literature. While Hicks's *Authors of the United States* shares affinities with the group portraits mentioned above, its significance also lies in the inclusion and placement of women within the image. Women had been previously included in group portrait prints. For example, women appear in Doney's *United States Senate Chamber* and Whitechurch's *United States Senate Chamber A.D. 1850* where they are marginalized to the background and balconies and serve as spectators to historic events.²⁰³ By contrast, the women in *Authors of the United States* appear in the foreground of the image, where, one might argue, they appear as equals to their male counterparts. *Authors of the United States* not only serves as an example of nationalism and literary celebrity, but also as a representation of the changing status of women at mid-century. Moreover, Hicks's singular portraits of American authors and *Authors of the United States* are by-products of the larger "machine" of the mass media and the public relations industry, and are also demonstrative of the circuitous nature of celebrity promotion.

²⁰² See *Sketches of Distinguished American Authors, Represented in Darley's New National Picture, Entitled Washington Irving and His Literary Friends, at Sunnyside* (New York: Sanford, Harroun and Co., 1864), 3.

²⁰³ Certainly the representation of women in the background of the U. S. Senate images was not too unusual since women were not yet allowed to serve in the Senate.

Chapter 5: *Elisha Kent Kane*

On January 4, 1859, an anonymous group of donors, known only as a “Group of Ladies of New York,” presented Hicks’s portrait of Dr. Elisha Kent Kane (fig. 67) to the New-York Historical Society. The portrait was covered with a map and unveiled as Reverend Dr. Frances L. Hawks eulogized the Arctic explorer. Reportedly, the presentation was so moving that many were brought to tears.²⁰⁴ The portrait is one of four painted by Hicks over the course of eight years. The artist created a second version (1859) (fig. 68) and a small copy (c. 1859) (fig. 69) for the Kane family. In 1866, Hicks made another portrait of the explorer for the Kane Masonic Lodge in New York City (fig. 70).²⁰⁵ Initially it may seem curious that Hicks painted four portraits of an individual who has disappeared from public attention and memory in our era. However, in the nineteenth century, Americans revered Kane as one of the greatest heroes who ever lived.

Over the course of his short life, Elisha Kent Kane built a reputation as a world traveler, naval surgeon, and explorer. He is best known for his participation in the 1850 and 1853 search expeditions for lost British explorer Sir John Franklin (1786-1847). Franklin disappeared while trying to find the Northwest Passage and the mystery of his fate captured both British and American popular imaginations. Contemporary newspapers and journals such as the *New York Tribune* and *Harper’s Weekly* kept readers apprised of the latest information about the expeditions. As a result, Americans became enchanted with Kane’s courageous behavior in searching and exploring the unknown far North. Kane published two accounts of his

²⁰⁴ Angie King Hicks, January 31, 1859, MS diary, Private collection and “The Historical Society,” *The New York Times*, January 5, 1859.

²⁰⁵ To avoid confusion between the multiple versions, the portraits will be referenced in regards to their current locations. For example, the New-York Historical Society portrait will be called N-YHS; the Naval Academy Museum and National Portrait Gallery versions, NAM and NPG; and the Kane Lodge portrait will be called Kane Lodge.

experiences: *The U. S. Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin* (1854) and *Arctic Explorations in the Years 1853, '54, '55* (1856). Both books became immediate bestsellers because they provided readers with firsthand accounts of the expeditions. As a result, Kane and the Franklin expeditions launched America's obsession with the Arctic.

In the mid-nineteenth century, the unknown Arctic regions exemplified nature's sublime grandeur. Men like Kane, who were willing to sacrifice themselves in pursuit of scientific knowledge for the betterment of humankind, were seen as heroes. Nineteenth-century Americans identified the conquest of the Arctic with virtue and honor. In other words, the exploration of the Arctic exemplified the good character of man under extreme conditions.²⁰⁶ Arctic exploration also fulfilled Manifest Destiny and offered the United States a chance to enhance its reputation on the world stage and was thus promoted through nationalism at mid-century.

Despite the fact that Kane's expeditions failed to find Franklin, the American public still revered him as a national hero. This was largely due to Kane's willingness to sacrifice himself in pursuit of knowledge, a factor which contributed to his untimely death at the age of thirty-seven. In addition, Kane and his family manipulated the popular press to construct his heroic public persona through text, image, and speech both before and after his returns from the Arctic expeditions. This chapter considers Hicks's portraits of the explorer within the context of America's new fascination with the Arctic regions; the creation of an American hero at a time of national distress; and the ways in which a celebrity image could be created and manipulated in the popular press. I compare Hicks's portraits of Kane to those produced by the artist's contemporaries such as Mathew Brady, Alonzo Chappel, and J. B. Wandesforde. I also examine

²⁰⁶ Michael F. Robinson, *The Coldest Crucible: Arctic Exploration and American Culture* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2006), 6.

the ways in which Hicks utilized the Kane portraits to increase his own fame. A close technical examination of the portraits provides insight into the artist's working process as he was required to work from photographs. In conclusion, I demonstrate that Hicks's canvases were part of the larger cultural phenomenon of celebrity and a new interest in the Arctic at mid-century.

Elisha Kent Kane as Arctic Hero

Elisha Kent Kane was born into a prominent Philadelphia family on February 3, 1820. His father, attorney John Kintzing Kane (1796-1866), eventually became the U. S. District Court Judge of Eastern Pennsylvania. Kane's mother, Jane Duval Leiper (1795-1858), was the daughter of Thomas Leiper (1745-1825), a Revolutionary War hero and powerful Philadelphia tobacco merchant. As a prominent Philadelphia family, the Kanes were attuned to the importance of social status and public perception. They took special care to ensure that their children's occupations reflected well upon the family. This vested interest was particularly important to the way in which the American public came to know and love the eldest Kane son, Elisha.²⁰⁷

As a young man, Kane enrolled at the University of Virginia, where he pursued interests in engineering and the natural sciences. It was there that he suffered his first attack of rheumatic fever. The illness plagued Kane throughout adulthood, often leaving him bedridden for weeks at a time. In an era where strength, bravery, and aggressiveness were deemed necessary characteristics in order to maneuver successfully through society, the weak man plagued by

²⁰⁷ I am indebted to a number of Kane biographers for this summary of the explorer's life. I primarily relied upon Mark Metzler Sawin's *Raising Kane: Elisha Kent Kane and the Culture of Fame in Antebellum America* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2008) because it is the most recent and most accurate account of Kane's life. I was also interested in Sawin's text as he explores issues of fame at mid-century. Other essential Kane biographies include: David Chapin, *Exploring Other Worlds: Margaret Fox, Elisha Kent Kane, and the Antebellum Culture of Curiosity* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004); George W. Corner, *Dr. Kane of the Arctic Seas* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1972); Jeannette Mirsky, *Elisha Kent Kane and the Seafaring Frontier* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1954); Samuel M. Smucker, *The Life of Elisha Kent Kane, and of other Distinguished American Explorers* (Philadelphia: G. G. Evans, 1860); and William Elder, *Biography of Elisha Kent Kane* (Philadelphia: Child and Peterson, 1858).

frequent illness would be quickly left behind. Kane's father encouraged him to become vigorously active, believing it would not only heal his son's illness but also make him more masculine. From that point forward, Elisha Kent Kane ignored all medical advice against strenuous activity.

After graduating from the University of Virginia, Elisha returned to Philadelphia where he studied medicine for three years at the University of Pennsylvania. Upon his 1842 graduation, Kane's family hoped he would open a medical practice and settle down in Philadelphia. However, the routine life of a city physician was unappealing to the ambitious young Kane. Instead, he joined Caleb Cushing's diplomatic mission to China as a civilian in May 1843. This diplomatic trip was the first of many adventures that took the explorer to the farthest reaches of the globe. Two months into the journey, he was appointed naval surgeon.

Over the next two and a half years, Kane visited Asia, Egypt, South America, and Europe. Throughout his adventures, the inquisitive Kane continued to investigate the natural sciences. Reportedly, he routinely placed himself in harm's way to make scientific observations. For example, while in the Philippines, he had himself lowered into the Taal volcano to collect samples of minerals and water that he believed contained sulphuric acid. In Egypt he climbed the colossus of Amenophis III to read hieroglyphs inscribed on the Egyptian pharaoh's tablets. As historian Mark Metzler Sawin noted, exploits such as these had less to do with knowledge and more with bravado: the Egyptian tablets were only twenty feet above the ground and could easily be read from below.²⁰⁸ Regardless of their veracity, these stories later formed the foundation for Kane's heroic public persona.

When Kane returned to Philadelphia in the late summer of 1845, he was one of the most

²⁰⁸ Sawin, 30.

well-traveled Americans of his time. He had crossed the Atlantic four times, visited five continents, and traveled some forty thousand miles. Throughout his journeys, Kane wrote letters to his family in Philadelphia and kept detailed journals. His father and younger brother, Thomas Leiper Kane (1822-1883), encouraged him to publish his writings as a travel narrative.²⁰⁹ Kane left Philadelphia in May 1846, sailing to Africa with the Navy. A year later, he entered the Mexican-American War where he was wounded in battle. He convalesced in Mexico and again wrote to his family. Elisha emphasized which parts of his letters he wanted his father to play up in the newspapers and where he wanted the stories published. Philadelphians soon became enamored with their hometown hero.²¹⁰ However, Kane was not the only man whose courageous actions drew the attention of the American public in the late 1840s. By 1848, American audiences were enthralled with the story of another adventurer, the British naval officer and explorer Sir John Franklin.

In 1845, the British Navy sent Franklin with two ships and 129 crewmembers to the Arctic to complete the Northwest Passage. When nothing had been heard from the men by 1848, the British Admiralty sent search expeditions to the northern coast of North America. American newspapers and magazines picked up the story from the British press and American audiences became fascinated by the mystery. Soon after the story hit American presses, Franklin's wife, Lady Jane Franklin (1791-1875), made direct appeals to President Zachary Taylor (1784-1850) for America's assistance in the search. The press also gained the attention of Henry Grinnell (1799-1874), a wealthy New York shipping merchant who offered to donate two ships to aid the search. In January 1850, with the support of the President, Congress debated the benefits of

²⁰⁹ This particular narrative was never published; however, some of his letters and journals survive in the Elisha Kent Kane Papers at the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia.

²¹⁰ Sawin, 49-51.

American involvement in the expedition.

As Arctic historian Michael Robinson has explained, at mid-century there were no immediate justifications for spending time and resources to search for Franklin. The benefits associated with the expedition were less material than symbolic: participation would increase America's reputation on the world stage. Deploying men to the Arctic also gave the United States the opportunity to demonstrate its own scientific prowess. The prospect of being the first to discover the Northwest Passage as well as the first to discover the Open Polar Sea spurred national support.²¹¹ America's involvement also offered a positive distraction from domestic disputes over new territories acquired during the Mexican-American war and the escalating slave debate. If the country could not unify politically, then it could rally behind courageous American men who sought to conquer the Arctic. It was in this period and climate that Kane decided to devote his life to science and exploration. In March 1850, he wrote to the Secretary of the Navy, William Alexander Graham (1804-1875), requesting attachment to the newly approved Arctic expedition. Two months later, on May 22, Kane shipped out with the U. S. Grinnell Expedition and crew aboard the *Advance* and *Rescue*.

Although Kane's family still wanted him to settle down in Philadelphia, they recognized the attention and respect his adventures could bring to the family name. Each time Kane wrote home, his father and brother immediately published excerpts from the letters in *The New York Daily Tribune* in efforts to attract national attention to their son's exploits.²¹² These articles were also peppered with accounts of Kane's past exploits in the Philippines, Mexico, and Egypt.

²¹¹ Robinson, 25-29. The Open Polar Sea theory suggested that there was a warm body of water in the Arctic surrounded by ice and land. Robert Thorne, a sixteenth-century English merchant and cartographer, formulated the theory. The theory has since been disproven. See Sawin, 71-72.

²¹² Because Elisha was the first to provide the American public with information about the search, the public gave him credit for the expeditions. This is why the expeditions are frequently referred to as "Kane's Expeditions" even though he was captain only on the second search.

While on board the rescue ship, Kane kept the official record of the search because the crew's captain, Edwin J. De Haven (1816-1865), did not want the task traditionally performed by the senior officer. This decision led to Kane's first book, *The U. S. Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin* (1854).²¹³ Due to his family's promotional efforts, Kane was a national celebrity by the time he returned home in 1851.

Almost immediately upon his arrival in New York City, Kane campaigned to lead a second expedition in search of Franklin. He theorized that Franklin made it to the Open Polar Sea and was stranded there. If a search team could discover the location, then Kane was certain Franklin would be rescued. Although Kane used the search for the British explorer to justify his second trip to the Arctic, the real reason was his passion for adventure and scientific discovery. He wanted to continue collecting specimens and the scientific observation of the Arctic landscape, flora, and fauna he began on the first expedition. This combination of science and humanitarian action turned Kane into a media darling and virtuous hero. For nineteenth-century Americans, a hero was no longer defined by actions alone, as he had been in the past. A writer for *The Knickerbocker* magazine explained that heroism involved more than courage and bravery on the battlefield and included those who pursued science in order to advance humanity. The author "Ayrault" wrote:

Heroism in the nineteenth century has assumed a type of things grander and more beautiful to come. It is rolling back the waves of ignorance to their source. It finds ample room for the exercise of its prowess in the pursuits of science and of song, in the elevation of human propensities, and in the propagation of those words of truest import the WORLD'S GREATEST HERO uttered eighteen centuries ago.²¹⁴

In other words, the mid-century hero was a man of good moral character, both courageous and intelligent, seeking to enlighten humankind through scientific discovery and knowledge. This

²¹³ Sawin, 83.

²¹⁴ Ayrault, "Heroes and Heroism," *The Knickerbocker, or New York Monthly Magazine* (June 1855): 6.

was precisely the kind of hero Kane epitomized and was publicized as by himself and his family upon his return.

One day after the Grinnell expedition returned to New York harbor, a detailed narrative appeared in *The New York Times* and *Harper's* soon agreed to publish Kane's first book about his ordeals in the Arctic. Joseph Henry (1797-1878), the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, requested that Kane give lectures to both Congress and the public about his scientific observations of the Arctic's flora and fauna. Kane readily agreed and the lecture series drew fiscal support for the second expedition. During his speeches, Kane won audiences and his financial backers by peppering his scientific discussions with tales of Arctic life. The explorer made an indelible impression upon attendees. After hearing him speak in Boston, one woman wrote "I am with the party in all their weary journeys and when I turn to gaze on the dark magnificent landscape, I can almost realize the solemn, the dreadful stillness of the Arctic night as [Kane] so vividly and pathetically describes."²¹⁵ Kane's success was partly due to his ability to tell a good story about the dangers of the unknown Arctic.

Since the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the Arctic had captured American imagination. Information about the region first came in the form of newspaper and magazine reports about early British expeditions. Boston's *Athenaeum* and Philadelphia's *Saturday Magazine* published stories about the latest exploits of British explorers such as John Ross (1777-1856) and William Parry (1790-1855), who, like Franklin, also searched for the Northwest Passage. These reports, coupled with romantic notions of the sublime, established the polar region as a place of awe and wonder. Only individuals with a scientific mind and manly character dared risk their lives for the pursuit of knowledge and empire. Arctic exploration was

²¹⁵ Quoted in Robinson, 41.

also readily identified with Humboldtian science.

Nineteenth-century Americans revered the German scientist and explorer, Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859). They saw him as a hero who documented scientific and physical phenomena in his efforts to demonstrate global interconnectedness. His dedication to furthering knowledge and unraveling life's mysteries for the betterment of humankind was demonstrative of his good moral character. Kane was a follower of Humboldtian science. In his search for Franklin, he poised himself as a global humanitarian and as a seeker of scientific knowledge. Despite his noble efforts, Congress denied Kane funding for his second expedition. Franklin had been missing for five years and no one believed that he would be found alive. For Congress, another search was simply not worth the risk nor expense. Nevertheless, Kane's popular appeal and scientific ambition gained him the support of the Smithsonian Institution, the American Philosophical Society, the Naval Observatory, the Philadelphia Academy of Natural Science, and the American Geographical Society. These institutions provided both financial support and supplies for the second expedition.²¹⁶

Despite his noble intentions, Kane's second expedition also failed and is now considered

²¹⁶ See Robinson, 22-25 and David Chapin, "Science Weeps, Humanity Weeps, the World Weeps': America Mourns Elisha Kent Kane," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 123, no. 4 (October 1999): 286-288. During the time between expeditions, Kane met and fell in love with one of the most controversial women of the nineteenth century, "spirit rapper" Margaret Fox (1836-1893). Fox, along with her sister Kate, claimed to have the ability to communicate with the dead via knocking noises. For instance, they would ask questions of the spirits who would then respond through a series of raps. Many luminaries, such as William Cullen Bryant, Nathaniel Parker Willis, and James Fenimore Cooper, attended their séances and were impressed by the women. Although the sisters were proven frauds by the end of the century, they are now considered an important aspect of the spiritualist movement in the nineteenth century. An association with a woman of such dubious nature could only result in disaster in the eyes of Kane's family. From the time of their first meeting to the years after Kane's death, his family worked to hide any connection between the two lovers. Nevertheless, Kane loved Fox deeply and their relationship continued sporadically for the remaining three years of his life. The battle between Fox and the Kane family is legendary in the Kane literature. A ghost written book entitled *The Love-Life of Dr. Kane* (New York: Carleton, 1866) contained much of the correspondence between Kane and Fox that has since been lost. In addition, Kane commissioned Italian artist Giuseppe Fagnani to paint a small portrait of Fox to take on the second expedition. The portrait has since been lost. See Sawin, 113-161; Corner, 102-146; and Anne Braude, *Radical Spirits: Spiritualism and Women's Rights in Nineteenth-Century America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001).

to be one of the most ill-prepared in history. When the *Advance* left New York harbor on May 31, 1853, it had a crew of eighteen men and a sickly, thirty-three-year-old celebrity at its helm. Although Kane and a few other crew members were part of the first Grinnell expedition, the particularly harsh Arctic winter nearly overtook them. The *Advance* froze into the ice the first winter, and the crew suffered from scurvy and other maladies as the result of living in dark, damp, and cold quarters. Although the crew lined the interior of the cabin with moss and mud in an effort to stay warm, temperatures were often well below zero. Several crewmembers lost appendages due to frost bite.

Kane also had difficulty maintaining discipline. In summer 1854, when it became clear they would have to endure a second polar winter because the *Advance* was still not free from the ice, the crew mutinied. Eight men left in an effort to escape to the Danish colonies in Greenland, only to return after realizing they would never make it there alive. Five months later, in May 1855, Kane finally accepted the fact that they would have to abandon the *Advance* and head south. With two small boats and the remaining provisions, they arrived in the small town of Upernavik on the western coast of Greenland three months later. In the end, the expedition lost three men and the remaining crew would not have survived without the help of Inuit peoples.

When Kane and his crew had not returned by the fall of 1854, Kane's family lobbied Congress to send a search party. The rescue team left New York on the second anniversary of the *Advance*'s departure, May 31, 1855, on two ships, the *Release* and the *Arctic*. The crew included Elisha's youngest brother, John Kintzing Kane, Jr. Three and half months later, the American ships met the Danish ship *Marianne* leaving Godhavn, a small town south of Upernavik. The Americans noticed much excitement on board the *Marianne* as two small boats were lowered from the brig and headed towards the *Release*. John K. Kane, Jr. wrote, "the men

in the boats were long-bearded and weather-beaten; they had strange, wild costumes; there was no possibility of recognition. Dr. Kane, standing upright in the stern of the first boat, with his spy-glass hung around his neck, was the first identified; then the big frame of Mr. Brooks; in another moment all hands of them were on board of us.”²¹⁷ It was this image of Kane as heroic Arctic explorer that was propagated by his family upon his return.

Although Kane’s health began deteriorating shortly after his arrival, he did not let it deter him from beginning the narrative of the second expedition. Kane signed with publisher George W. Childs (1829-1894), who immediately began promoting the book through his new company, Childs & Peterson. Childs made press releases to newspapers and magazines such as the *Philadelphia Ledger* and the *American Publishers’ Circular & Literary Gazette*. Like *The U. S. Grinnell Expedition, Arctic Explorations* also contained engravings, maps, and scientific notations. The promos explained that the publisher was “sparing no expense to make the book worthy of the subject, and judging from the fact that the estimated cost of its production is upward of \$20,000, we have every reason to believe that it will be one of the most magnificent and elaborate works ever issued from the American press.”²¹⁸ Childs also commissioned a biography of Kane that played upon his role as noble American hero. As Sawin notes, since Kane was seen as a national hero, purchasing the book was equated to an act of patriotism.

Despite receiving numerous lecture invitations, Kane rarely appeared in public due to his failing health. Lady Jane Franklin refused to give up the search for her husband despite the fact that Scottish explorer Dr. John Rae (1813-1893) discovered Franklin’s fate through Inuit testimony in 1854. The Inuits told Rae that after the ship became stuck in the ice, Franklin and his crew attempted to escape on foot, eventually succumbing to the extreme conditions.

²¹⁷ Quote in Corner, 223.

²¹⁸ Quoted in Sawin, 278.

Nevertheless, Lady Jane Franklin wanted to know her husband's exact fate and appealed to both Kane and the U. S. government once again. Kane declined to lead a third expedition and instead agreed to promote a new search. Kane left for England in October 1856 and upon arriving was struck with another bout of rheumatic fever and collapsed after meeting with the British admiralty. In November, Kane left Europe for Havana, Cuba, hoping the warmer climate would cure his illness. While en route, he suffered an apoplectic stroke that rendered him partially paralyzed and unable to speak. He gradually regained some mobility, but suffered another stroke and died on February 16, 1857.

Kane's demise prompted an unprecedented outpouring of public grief. To date, the only public funeral that surpassed Kane's in size and scope was that of Lincoln in 1865. Over the course of the month-long journey that brought Kane's body from Havana to Philadelphia, thousands of Americans turned out to pay their respects to the great explorer. The procession passed through major cities such as New Orleans, Louisville, Cincinnati, and Baltimore. Kane lay in state in each city and major ceremonies were staged to honor the national hero. When people could not attend public events, they lined the rivers and railroad tracks as Kane's body passed through the countryside. As David Chapin explains, Kane was worthy of this enormous outpouring of public mourning because he was understood as a martyr of science who had sacrificed himself for the betterment of mankind.²¹⁹

Furthermore, Kane died when the division between the North and South had reached a critical point and many Americans saw him as a symbol of national unity. Kane's heroism appealed to all classes in all regions; he signified a cohesion that could not be achieved by contemporary American politicians. In other words, Kane was a man who sacrificed himself for

²¹⁹ Chapin, "Science Weeps...", 277.

the advancement of America when national leaders would not do the same.²²⁰ Reports of the funeral procession provide evidence of Kane's symbolic role as national unifier. The *Baltimore American* reported that "on no occasion have our citizens united more generally, or with a greater earnestness of purpose, in manifesting their appreciation of distinguished worth and eminent services." When Kane's body arrived in Philadelphia, a building on Chestnut Street displayed a flag that read "Philadelphia mourns an illustrious son, and the world a martyr to science and humanity." Another building's banner read "Science Weeps, Humanity Weeps, the World Weeps."²²¹ In the four short years between Kane's death and the start of the American Civil War, Kane became an iconic symbol of cultural unity for the American people. This would not have been possible without the efforts of Kane's family, and of artists like Hicks who strove to immortalize the fallen Arctic hero through visual images.

The Portraits

The N-YHS painting is a half-length portrait of Kane in profile (fig. 95). He sits at a table filled with objects that signify his occupation as a writer and scientific explorer. Momentarily pausing from his academic pursuits, Kane gazes expressionless out of the picture plane and appears unaware of the viewer's presence. A window behind the table opens to a calm seascape. Confronted with a slightly larger than life image of the heroic explorer, the viewer is encouraged to contemplate and be inspired by the virtuous deeds of a man who placed the pursuit of scientific advancement and his country ahead of his own well-being.

Hicks organized the composition horizontally with the sitter and objects pressed to the picture plane. The painting is divided into two parts by a green and blue striped curtain that

²²⁰ Chapin, *Exploring Other Worlds*, 295-297.

²²¹ See the *Baltimore American*, March 11, 1857 and the *Pennsylvania Inquirer and Gazette*, March 13, 1857. Quoted in Chapin, *Exploring Other Worlds*, 282.

frames the window on its right side. Kane appears to the right of the curtain while books and objects appear to its left. Kane sits tall in his chair in front of a nondescript gray wall. He wears a white shirt and black cravat with a black coat. His black dress coat with red lining is draped over his chair. A distorted black rectangle on the lining represents an armhole or interior pocket. The chair's armrest, similar to William Cullen Bryant's in *Authors of the United States*, ends in an elaborately carved eagle's head. Kane's dark brown hair curls up and out around his ear and down the back of his neck. His moustache curves down around his mouth and his flushed cheeks contrast with his pale skin.

Kane rests his left hand on the table and holds a pen in his right. Illegible manuscript pages, intended to reference his writings about the Arctic, appear beneath his right hand. The table is covered with a green and gold striped tablecloth. Books (one of which is labeled "ARCTIC"), miscellaneous pamphlets and papers, a rolled map, a globe and a compass are arranged on the table. Hicks did not organize the items neatly, but instead shuffled and scattered them across the table. The pamphlets' furred pages and soft curling covers, the worn condition of the books, and their slight disorganization suggest they are actively used, as opposed to being mere references to Kane's education and knowledge.

Just behind the objects on the table, an open window reveals a seascape with serene waters and a setting sun. A tall ship, which references Kane's sea voyages to the Arctic, sits on calm waters underneath white and pink tinged clouds. Blue sky with a barely visible waning crescent moon can be seen in the upper left corner of the window.²²² The green and blue striped curtain partially falls on the inside of the room and drops behind Kane's right hand, visually

²²² The blue sky and red and white clouds suspiciously resemble the pattern of an American flag. It is especially evident when viewing the painting in person. It is unknown if this was intentional or not and brings to mind Frederic Edwin Church's *Our Banner in the Sky* (1861, Terra Foundation).

connecting him to the sea.

Aside from the curtain, Kane is the only form that crosses into the top half of the canvas. In combination with the artist's use of light and color, this organization serves to direct the viewer's attention to Kane and create a sense of three-dimensionality. For example, Hicks predominantly used cool colors in the upper half of the painting. The light gray of the wall and the soft pinks and blues of the sunset recede into the background. In contrast, warm reds, browns, and green colors of the objects project forward, making it appear as if the objects are closer to the viewer. In combination with color, light also serves to direct the viewer's attention to Kane. Light enters the painting from the left side, illuminating the sitter and part of the wall behind him. Kane's forehead is awash with light, as if to draw focus to the sitter's scientific mind. As a result, Kane's dark brown hair and black suit contrast with the pale background and draw the viewer's attention to the upper portion of the canvas.

Line also serves to return the viewer's gaze to the sitter. For instance, when the viewer looks at the portrait, the eye is immediately drawn to Kane. The arc formed by the curls of his hair lead the sightline downward, past Kane's shoulder to the chair beneath him. The curving chair back directs the eye to the table. The diagonal position of the compass is paralleled by the upward diagonal created by the furred page of the book on which it lies. This upward motion is continued in the pink book that leans against an unknown object at the left side of the canvas. The arching line is echoed in the curving form of the globe and thereby directs the viewer's attention to the ship on the horizon. The contrast in scale between the ship and Kane then directs the eye back to the explorer.

The overall effect of the N-YHS portrait of Kane is similar to that of *Authors of the United States*, which the artist was painting at about the same time. Viewers are meant to

observe and contemplate Kane's scientific mind, just as they were meant to admire the American *literati*. Even though Hicks suggested intimacy by arranging the sitter and objects close to the picture plane, we are not intended to interact with the explorer. Kane frustrates the connection by his lack of engagement with the viewer. He does not acknowledge our presence, but instead seems oblivious to it. Furthermore, the serene waters, Kane's perfect posture, and his isolation against the cold, gray wall imply a hushed stillness appropriate for a posthumous portrait. Thus, one was meant to gaze upon the intrepid explorer with quiet reverence and admiration.

Eight years later, Hicks painted another portrait of Kane in a similar pose. The Kane Lodge version is a full-length portrait of Kane in profile (fig. 70). As in the N-YHS portrait, Kane sits at a table covered with books, rolled maps, a globe, manuscript pages, and a pen. In contrast to the sparsely decorated room of the N-YHS version, here Kane appears in the richly decorated library of his family home in Fern Rock, Pennsylvania. As a result, the Kane Lodge portrait seems less formal and more personal despite the fact that the sitter still does not engage the viewer. Kane's dress and pose reinforce the relaxed atmosphere of the portrait.

In the painting, Kane leans back slightly in his chair with his left leg crossed over his right. His right forearm rests on the corner of the table, while his left arm hangs loosely at his side. He is not actively writing, but instead appears to be reflecting about his work or looking to someone outside of the picture plane. He wears a white shirt, red cravat, yellow vest, gray pants, red socks, and black shoes. He also wears a long black coat that falls open at the waist. The ends of the coat fold into a pile in the foreground of the painting. The coat appears unusually long—if Kane were to stand, the coat tails might drag on the floor behind him. The coat has a luxurious silver silk quilted lining, which can be seen beneath Kane's left hip and behind his right leg. The large amount of space given over to the lining afforded Hicks the opportunity to

demonstrate his skill in painting fabrics. Hicks built up the form of the lining by applying color in fluid brushstrokes. He varied tones of gray with light and shadow to enhance the material's tactile quality. As a result, the lining almost shimmers as light is reflected across its surface.

Hicks positioned Kane at the center of the canvas, framed by the open door of the library. Similar to the N-YHS portrait, a light background frames the explorer's head. Kane is undoubtedly intended to be the focus of the viewer's attention; however, the carpet and the abundance of objects in the room compete with the sitter as the focal point. For example, Hicks painted the carpet in saturated shades of red, orange, turquoise, and lime green. While the garish color and design may have suited contemporary tastes, to modern viewers it might prove a distraction. Shelves filled with books, an impossibly suspended telescope, a flag, large folio books, maps, manuscript pages, and a globe appear behind and in front of Kane. Certainly these objects are intended to reference Kane's education and occupation; however, here they deflect attention away from the sitter. In contrast, Hicks was more successful in balancing the explorer and his tools in the NAM and NPG portraits.

In the NAM and NPG portraits, Hicks presents the viewer with a completely different image of Kane (fig. 68-69). Here Kane does not appear as the refined, academic gentleman of the N-YHS and Kane Lodge portraits, but rather as a weary, anxious explorer. Depicted within the cramped confines of his Arctic ship, the *Advance*, Kane sits at a makeshift desk and writes in his journal. He wears a red shirt with a black fur-lined coat and covers his lap and legs with a large fur blanket. Kane momentarily pauses from writing and gazes out of the picture plane. His worried, anxious expression contrasts his blank stare in the N-YHS and Kane Lodge portraits. Large gray bags beneath his eyes suggest he has gone several days without rest and his watery eyes intimate frustration. His long hair and full beard make him seem almost primitive. Hicks

brilliantly illuminated Kane's face in comparison to the other figures in the cabin, thereby drawing the viewer's attention to the explorer before anything or anyone else within the painting.

William Morton, Kane's loyal shipmate, appears bundled in fur and sleeps behind the explorer at the right side of the canvas. Another unidentified shipmate can be seen sleeping in the berth in the background. Their slumber contrasts with Kane's alertness, emphasizing his strength as he appears on watch. As in the N-YHS and Kane Lodge portraits, Hicks included several accoutrements that reference Arctic exploration. A rifle and powder bag hang behind Kane's head and a knife hangs over a blurry portrait print of Sir John Franklin, the lost British explorer for whom Kane and his crew search, at the right side of the canvas. Two more rifles lean in the corner of the room at the right side of the painting. A small handgun can be seen underneath Kane's desk atop a trunk partially labeled "ANCE." The inclusion of multiple guns serves to emphasize the danger of the expedition and enhances Kane's courage.

To emphasize the cramped nature of the cabin, Hicks organized the figures and objects close to the picture plane. Almost every area of the portrait is occupied by a figure or object; the crew barely seems to have enough room to stand up and move about. Hicks enhanced the claustrophobic feeling by using warm colors and omitting a natural light source.²²³ In the painting, light derives from the oil lamp above Kane's desk. Furthermore, the absence of an exit enhances the room's claustrophobic atmosphere. Although a door can be seen behind Kane, it is unclear if it is an exit or closet. In contrast to the N-YHS and Kane Lodge portraits, the viewer identifies with Kane on a psychological level here because of the explorer's weary and worried

²²³ James W. Cheevers, chief curator and associate director of the Naval Academy Museum, informed me that in the 1970s many paintings were covered with a three-layer varnish in order to protect paintings from spray paint vandalism after the attack on Picasso's *Guernica*. As a result, many of the details of the Kane portrait are lost. For instance, in a black and white photograph of the painting taken prior to varnishing, delicate rays of light can be seen extending from the oil lamp. They are not visible today when looking at the painting. As a result of the varnish, the reds at the sides and the green curtain that hangs in the background in front of the berth are muted and dingy.

expression. Just as Kane was unsure of his survival in the Arctic in 1855, so were American audiences who faced an uncertain future as political and social tensions increased in 1859.

Creating the Image of “Dr. Kane”

When Kane returned from his second trip to the Arctic in 1855, he arrived to discover he was both a hero and a celebrity. His book about the first Grinnell expedition was published during his absence in 1854 and immediately became a best seller. The first printing of a few thousand copies sold out and publishers scrambled to meet demand. Over 130,000 copies were produced and sold in a little over a year.²²⁴ *The U.S. Grinnell Expedition* appealed to audiences not only because it was a travel narrative, but also because it relayed scientific information. The book included maps, scientific notations, observations about the Arctic and its peoples, and several engravings of the previously unknown Far North. Engraved by John Sartain after James Hamilton’s drawings, which in turn were based on Kane’s sketches, the images dramatically depicted the crew battling the awe and terror of the Arctic sublime (fig. 71-72). These images stimulated the imagination of the public and artists alike. *The U. S. Grinnell Expedition* and subsequent *Arctic Exploration* inspired Frederic Edwin Church to paint his behemoth landscape, *The Icebergs* (1862, Dallas Museum of Art).²²⁵

In addition to reading about Kane and his Arctic adventures, Americans were entertained by panorama shows that dramatically told his story. One month prior to Kane’s arrival, audiences saw the first American moving panorama of the Arctic at Odd Fellows Hall in Washington, DC. The show debuted at the height of public concern for Kane’s well-being and

²²⁴ Scholars estimate the sales number to be between 130,000 to 150,000. See Chapin, *Exploring Other Worlds*, 292; Carl Bode, *The Anatomy of Popular Culture* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), 223; and Mirsky, 180.

²²⁵ For more on Church’s Arctic landscapes and his use of Kane’s *The U.S. Grinnell Expedition*, see Timothy Mitchell, “Frederic Church’s *The Icebergs*: Erratic Boulders and Time’s Slow Changes,” *Smithsonian Studies in American Art* 3, no. 4 (1989): 3-23.

was based on engraved plates from *The U.S. Grinnell Expedition*. The show's manager, Edmund Beale, was one of many who quickly capitalized on Kane's increasing fame.²²⁶ With this rapidly rising interest in Arctic exploration and in Kane himself, the explorer and his family realized they needed to move quickly to control his public image.²²⁷

Before Kane's return, the only circulated image of the explorer was a daguerreotype taken around the time of the Mexican-American War (fig. 73). In the photograph, Kane appears as a dashing young military officer. Because of his small frame and his persistent illnesses, the new image needed to be one that also depicted him as the paragon of health and manliness. When Kane stepped off the ship at New York harbor, he appeared as if he had just left the Arctic tundra. He wore a long beard and the same furs that protected him while in sub-zero temperatures. As Sawin explained, the month-long journey from Greenland to New York gave the explorer ample time to shave and dress as a gentleman. However, his appearance provided the American public with exactly what they expected to see—an Arctic hero.

Kane's brother Thomas began constructing Kane's visual image as Arctic hero within a few days of his return. In a letter to their young brother John, Thomas described how Elisha should look. First, Thomas wanted the crew to be photographed in their Arctic furs. Second, he thought they should be arranged so that Elisha appeared to be the tallest member of the crew despite his small frame. Thomas also felt that certain symbols should be included, such as a Masonic sign to indicate Elisha's membership in the brotherhood, an American flag, and one of the sled dogs brought back from the trip. Furthermore, Thomas thought that the photograph

²²⁶ Russell A. Potter, *Arctic Spectacles: The Frozen North in Visual Culture, 1818-1875* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007), 120-121.

²²⁷ The Kanes went so far as to ensure Elisha was the sole author of the book about the second expedition. At the suggestion of his father, Kane secured the rights to the story by forcing his crewmembers to relinquish their publishing rights before they even set sail. As a result, Kane had full control over the narrative and was able to play down events such as the mutiny and his continued ill health throughout the expedition.

should depict some type of event from the expedition. Thomas hired the Mathew Brady studio to take the photographs of Kane and his crew (fig. 74).²²⁸ While the photograph does not exactly mirror Thomas's conception, it did match the man the public saw at New York harbor and met their expectations of what their Arctic hero should look like.

In the daguerreotype, Kane holds a telescope and is at the center of the image with his crew crowded around him. The explorer's heavy fur clothing makes him appear to be the largest. In another photograph attributed to Brady, Kane appears by himself and wears a heavy cloak with a hood (fig. 75). He still wears a beard and bundles himself in the coat, making it seem as if he is still in frigid temperatures. These photographs were subsequently copied, engraved, and published (fig. 76). They also served as the basis for Hicks's NAM and NPG portraits and for those by other artists in the years following Kane's death.

A contemporary journal entitled *The Albion, A Journal of News, Politics, and Literature*, commissioned James B. Wandesforde (1817-1902) to paint a portrait of the explorer discovering the graves of Franklin's men on Beechy Island.²²⁹ D. G. Thompson engraved the painting, and the print was offered as a gift to new subscribers in January of 1858 (fig. 77). In the engraving, Kane holds his telescope and stands in front of the three graves of Franklin's crew members. One of the expedition ships is visible in the background. The advertisement from *The Albion* explained that the likeness was taken from Brady's photograph, and the scene from Kane's own words in *The U. S. Grinnell Expedition*. Kane wrote:

I was still talking over our projects with Captain Penny, when a messenger was reported, making all speed to us over the ice. The news he brought was thrilling. "Graves, Captain Penny! Graves! Franklin's winter quarters!" We were instantly in motion. Captain De

²²⁸ Sawin, 259-261.

²²⁹ Wandesforde is a lesser-known English painter who immigrated to the United States in 1850. According to a note left by two crewmembers on King William Island, Franklin died on June 11, 1847. Franklin's grave was never discovered.

Haven, Captain Penny, Commander Phillips, and myself, joined by a party from the *Rescue*, hurried on over the ice, and scrambling along the loose and rugged slope that extends from Beechy to the shore, came, after a weary walk, to the crest of the isthmus. Here, amid the sterile uniformity of snow and slate, were the head boards of three graves, made after the old orthodox fashion of grave-stones at home.²³⁰

Kane's fellow crewmembers are conspicuously absent from the image. As a result, the implication is that the heroic Kane was alone in the discovery.²³¹

Three years later, illustrator and portraitist Alonzo Chappel (1828-1887) also created a full-length portrait of the explorer for E. A. Duyckinck's *National Portrait Gallery of Eminent Americans* (1861) (fig. 78). In this version of the discovery of Franklin's graves, Kane holds his telescope in his left hand and rests his right on the tombstone of one of Franklin's crew members. A sled dog appears in the foreground with the expedition ships and crew members appearing in the background. According to Sawin, this image may have been sold as a souvenir at Arctic panorama shows. Images such as these epitomized and idealized Kane's heroic and manly character. Here he appears healthy and unaffected by the extreme conditions, which stood in stark contrast to the reality of Kane's constant battle with his health. In any case, this was not the only type of Kane image made familiar to the American public, as Brady also photographed the explorer in a very different manner.

In another series of ambrotypes, Kane appears clean shaven and in formal dress (fig. 79-80). In one image, Kane faces the viewer, while in the other he appears in right profile. Here Kane appears as the noble, refined, and educated hero of scientific mind. The profile photograph was also engraved and published. It was this photograph that Hicks copied for his N-YHS and Kane Lodge portraits. In addition, these photographs or others like them may have served as

²³⁰ Elisha Kent Kane, *The U. S. Grinnell Expedition in Search of Sir John Franklin* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1854), 162. Quoted in "The Albion Print for 1858: Dr. Kane at the Graves of Sir Franklin's Men," *The Albion, A Journal of News, Politics, and Literature* (January 9, 1858), 19.

²³¹ A cropped version of this engraving was utilized as a frontispiece for Smucker's biographies of Kane and other explorers.

models for Hicks's colleagues, James Reid Lambdin (1807-1889) (1857) (fig. 81) and Giuseppe Fagnani (1819-1873) (1857) (fig. 82).

Painting from Photographs

By the time Hicks began the N-YHS portrait in 1858, he had earned a reputation as an artist adept at copying photographs. In 1854, a short commentary published in the *Christian Inquirer* noted the artist's ability. The author wrote that having "witnessed [Hicks's] great success in that most difficult task, that of painting a life-size portrait of a little girl from a small daguerreotype, we may perhaps be instrumental in giving to other bereaved parents the same great satisfaction which two of this class have recently enjoyed."²³² Posthumous portraits such as the one mentioned in the *Christian Inquirer* served as a public form of commemoration. This was certainly the case with the Kane portraits.

In painting portraits from photographs, Hicks may have had help from new technologies. By the 1850s, it was possible to project daguerreotypes onto a canvas or screen through the use of a magic lantern and lantern slides.²³³ While no primary sources document Hicks's use of a magic lantern, a close examination of the Kane portraits provide visual clues to the artist's working process.

The N-YHS and Kane Lodge portrait heads are virtually identical to the Brady *carte-de-visite* of Kane in profile except for the orientation. In the portraits, Kane's profile is reversed from that in the photograph and suggests that the image may have been projected onto the canvas. Tracing lines present in the Kane Lodge portrait provide further information about the artist's technique. For instance, a thin black line is visible along the explorer's profile in the

²³² "Thomas Hicks-Artist," *Christian Inquirer* (December 16, 1854), 3.

²³³ The Langenheim Brothers of Philadelphia patented the hyalotype, or glass photo slide, in 1850. See Martin Quigley, Jr., *Magic Shadows: The Story of the Origin of Motion Pictures* (Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press, 1948), 106-114 and Barbara Maria Stafford and Frances Terpak, *Devices of Wonder: From the World in a Box to Images on a Screen* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2002), 297-305.

Kane Lodge portrait. The line begins at the crown of his head and extends down his forehead and nose. It disappears underneath his moustache and reappears at his chin. The line seems to have been traced onto the canvas, and then color applied within the silhouette.²³⁴ This is particularly evident at Kane's widow's peak, where brown stokes of paint are meticulously kept within the lines. The tracing line cannot be seen at the back of Kane's head, where the artist painted more freely. While the lines suggest that Hicks traced the profile, they are also indicative of the artist's technique as underdrawings are present throughout the entire portrait.

For example, underdrawings are readily visible in the shelves and books underneath the table next to Kane's feet. Two orthogonals begin at the top shelf and extend at an upward diagonal to the middle of the table. A series of vertical lines appear along the side of the book that lies on the bottom of the shelf. In addition, horizontal lines of the bottom shelf and of the books can be seen through the large green portfolio that leans against the table. Contour lines are also visible around Kane's legs, socks, and shoes. The presence of the lines suggests that Hicks planned out his compositions precisely with preliminary sketches, and then applied the color in thin layers. Comparisons with other portraits made about the same time reveal similar characteristics.

The same year that Hicks completed the N-YHS version, the American Philosophical Society commissioned the artist to paint a portrait of their late president and Kane's father, John Kintzing Kane (fig. 83). In this half-length portrait, John K. Kane appears in front of a green cloth backdrop and sits next to a table stacked with books. Kane touches his right index finger to his right temple while resting his right elbow on the corner of the table. A bookshelf can be seen in the background at the left side of the canvas. The John K. Kane portrait was also posthumous,

²³⁴ Slight shadowing around Kane's head suggests that Hicks may have altered the location of the profile.

and it is believed to have been copied from an unlocated daguerreotype or painting.

When examining the head and hands closely, one can see Hicks's underdrawings as in the Kane Lodge portrait. There are visible sketch lines down the bridge of the nose, around the nostrils, in the cheeks, around the lips, and in the sitter's hand, but the visibility of preliminary sketches is not consistent throughout the painting. For example, Hicks took great care to paint the books on the table next to Kane. One can see where the artist attempted to create texture by varying the thickness of the paint in the bindings. Impasto is also evident in Kane's shirt and cravat.

A 1996 conservation report revealed that the surface of the John K. Kane portrait suffered abrasions and overcleaning during a previous restoration.²³⁵ The conservator also noted that the lower facial area appeared to be painted using a thin watercolor-like technique. It is unclear how much of the paint surface of the John K. Kane portrait was removed, and as a result, how much of the underdrawing visibility is the result of the overcleaning. In any case, it seems that Hicks painted the Kane Lodge and N-YHS portraits in a similar manner, utilizing a thin watercolor-like technique.

Hicks did not consistently paint in this manner. His portrait of family friend Archibald Moore (1859) (fig.) is exemplary of his polished and finished style.²³⁶ The painting is a half-length portrait in which Moore appears in front of a nondescript background. He looks out of the

²³⁵ John Kintzing Kane, curatorial files, American Philosophical Society. A number of Hicks's portraits suffer from overcleaning and as a result have been stripped of paint. Hugh Shockey, objects conservator at the Smithsonian American Art Museum, informed me that this was the case with a number of paintings conserved in the 1960s and 1970s. For instance, see Hicks's portrait of Cecilia Jones Cunningham (cat. no. 618) (c. 1884, Private Collection) and General George Meade (cat. no. 565) (1872, Union League Club, New York City). Both portraits suffer from large areas of paint loss. Cecilia Jones Cunningham's hair was almost completely removed and much of the detail of her face has been lost due to a horrific cleaning in the 1960s.

²³⁶ Archibald Moore was the brother of Michael Moore, the owner of the Moore Hotel in Trenton Falls, New York. The portrait may have professionally cleaned at an unknown point in time as there appears to be in-painting on the forehead. The drip spots on the portrait occurred after the cleaning. They may be Coca-Cola spilled by Moore's rambunctious great-great-grandson.

picture plane to the left. Moore wears a white shirt, black cravat, and vest with a grey coat. In examining the face closely, underdrawing cannot be seen as in the Kane portraits. Here, Hicks masterfully modeled the face by layering and blending paint brushstrokes of varying thickness. For instance, the brushstrokes in the face are thicker than the delicate wisps that make up Moore's hair. One can also see where the artist built form from color, particularly in the body. Hicks utilized brushstrokes of varying lengths and colors to build form. It does not seem that the artist drew a sketch or traced Moore's form before painting the portrait. If he did, he disguised it through the layering of paint. The Moore portrait was likely painted from life when Hicks was at his summer studio in Trenton Falls, New York. One might conclude that Hicks's technique differed depending on whether or not he worked from a photograph. However, close examination of the NAM and NPG portraits leads to a different conclusion.

As with the N-YHS and Kane Lodge paintings, Hicks also relied on Brady's photographs to create the NAM and NPG portraits. Hicks's technique in the NAM and NPG portraits differs from that in the N-YHS and Kane Lodge paintings: the artist delicately modeled Kane's features in a similar manner to those of Archibald Moore. No underdrawings are visible in Kane's face as Hicks built form through color and subtle modeling of light and shadow. The objects also exemplify Hicks's ability in rendering three-dimensional form through careful modeling and application of paint. However, Hicks's style does not remain consistent in the NAM portrait, as underdrawing is visible through the scarf and signage at the right side of the painting. The NPG portrait exemplifies the artist's mastery in creating a finished and cohesive portrait and his talent as a miniaturist (fig. 69) as the artist took great care in rendering detail and modeling form. The portrait also bears a rare preliminary sketch of a man in the margins of the canvas.

If the visibility of the underdrawings is not the result of over cleaning, it remains unclear as to why the artist would allow his canvases to have unfinished appearances. The most likely explanation is that it was a matter of time and convenience. Hicks was working on at least twenty other canvases around the same time he painted the N-YHS and NAM portraits. This includes the *Authors of the United States*, since the commission had not yet been cancelled. Therefore, quality seems to have been sacrificed for speed of execution. As demonstrated above, when Hicks painted his multiple portraits of Elisha Kent Kane, he utilized iconography established by Kane and his family. An examination of the patronage of these images is illustrative of the impact the explorer had on the American consciousness.

Commemorating Kane

Within a year of Kane's death, Hicks received the commission for the N-YHS portrait. The patrons are known to us today only as a group of "several ladies of New York." The commission is remarkable because it serves as an early example of female group patronage in the United States. During the antebellum period, women were considered arbiters of cultural taste within the confines of the home. Contemporary journals such as *Godey's Lady's Book* established guidelines for women decorating the home. For instance, editor Catharine Beecher advised women to set aside twenty percent of their household budgets for prints and engravings that served to enlighten and educate families and guests. At mid-century, women did not have a public sphere in which they could demonstrate their refined tastes. The majority of public philanthropy was limited to service to others through religious societies and nursing care.²³⁷

In commissioning the portrait of Kane, these women stepped outside of prescribed cultural roles. One might argue it was acceptable in this case because the subject of their

²³⁷ Kathleen D. McCarthy, *Women's Culture: American Philanthropy and Art, 1830-1930* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991), 5-6.

admiration was Kane. He was a hero for the ages—one whose self-sacrifice was not only an expression of patriotism but also humanitarian gain. His virtue and moral dedication to the advancement of knowledge were exemplary for men, women, and children of all ages and classes. Furthermore, his heroism was defined by an ability to appeal to both men and women. He demonstrated his masculinity through his courageous effort to brave the unknown North particularly by overcoming his physical limitations. Through caring for his sick crew during the expeditions, he also exemplified qualities associated with femininity. The *Daily Telegraph* (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania) reported that in restoring the health of his men, he epitomized “the sterner qualities of man” with “the gentle qualities of woman.”²³⁸ Thus, both men and women could honor Kane as an exemplar of ideal virtue. *The New York Times* recognized this in a commentary on the portrait’s dedication, stating that Dr. Hawks completed his eulogy by thanking “the fair donors for their gift, which shall remain in those halls as a witness to those who should come after them that the women of the present age could appreciate and reward noble daring and manly worth.”²³⁹ In other words, Kane’s humanitarian and scientific contributions were so great that they transcended gendered associations of virtue. For Hicks, the commission provided not only an opportunity to honor a fallen hero, but also the chance to enhance his own reputation by association, particularly within the N-YHS.

As historian Kathleen D. McCarthy explained, institutions like the NYHS helped male artists develop relationships with patrons and fellow artists alike.²⁴⁰ Founded in 1804, the NYHS was New York City’s first museum and originally held collections in both American and ancient art. It also sponsored lectures and elaborate dinners for members. In addition to the collections,

²³⁸ Quoted in Chapin, 298.

²³⁹ “The Historical Society,” *The New York Times*, January 5, 1859.

²⁴⁰ McCarthy, 24-25.

members had access to an extensive library. Thus, the Society was an important cultural institution for New York City. If an artist had paintings in the collections, then he was guaranteed exposure to some of the city's most powerful politicians, writers, merchants, and patrons. Members included men such as Philip Hone, Hamilton Fish, William Cullen Bryant, and Guilian C. Verplanck, most of whom Hicks painted at one time or another.

Hicks was well aware of the importance in being included in the Society's collection. In 1856, he painted and donated a portrait of the Society's president, Luther Bradish (cat. no. 291).²⁴¹ Bradish's greatest achievement as N-YHS president was securing a new home for the Society. Hicks's letter to Rev. Samuel Osgood, the corresponding secretary of the Society, demonstrated the artist's clever self-promotion through honoring a respected individual such as Bradish. On March 4, 1856, Hicks wrote:

The accompanying portrait of the Hon. Luther Bradish was painted for the Historical Society, and I now desire to offer it, through you, for the acceptance of the members. It is perhaps not improper for me to say, that it has at least one quality which may give it some claim to their favor—it was executed *con amore*. I shall be proud if it is not deemed unworthy a place among portraits of the other distinguished men who in their time have filled the office of President of your Society, for whose continued prosperity and usefulness I beg to express those cordial good wishes which should be cherished by every American who loves his country and feels an interest in her history.²⁴²

The letter also demonstrates that Hicks was not above playing on nationalistic pride in order to achieve his promotional ends.

Since the New-York Historical Society was a cultural and learned institution, the image of Kane at his desk surrounded by books and scientific tools might be considered more appropriate imagery than that of Kane as explorer. Visitors to the Society who saw the portrait

²⁴¹ Hicks painted an identical portrait of Bradish for an unknown patron. The portrait was donated to the Society in 1937. Aside from the Kane and Bradish portraits, the N-YHS has six additional portraits by Hicks, most of which were donated in the twentieth century.

²⁴² Thomas Hicks, to Rev. Samuel Osgood, New York, March 4, 1856, Manuscript Collections, New-York Historical Society.

were to be inspired by the academic side of Kane's nature and to contemplate his pursuit of scientific knowledge. In a similar manner, the Kane Lodge portrait was also appropriate for its location.

The Kane Lodge portrait was painted specifically for the Masons. Kane Lodge #454 received its charter on June 9, 1859, and was dedicated to Kane's memory. When the Kane Lodge portrait was installed above the fireplace at the Lodge, it seemed the explorer was relaxing among his Masonic brothers, which may also account for his housecoat and house shoes. This informality caused the portrait to receive mixed reviews after Hicks exhibited it at the National Academy of Design in 1867. *The Evening Post* (New York) critic remarked that too much of the room had been shown and he doubted Kane was in the habit of wearing such a luxurious dressing gown. Nevertheless, the critic stated that it was "a good likeness of a most important personage, and is a valuable acquisition to the Kane Lodge, to which it belongs."²⁴³ By contrast, the magazine *The Round Table* described the work as "a tolerable likeness...but, as a work of art, it is utterly destitute of any right or titled to the place occupied by it." The critic seemed furious about the placement of the portrait within the exhibition, believing that the Kane portrait did not deserve to be hung "on the line."²⁴⁴ *The Albion* magazine echoed these sentiments, stating that "the large full-length portrait of the late Dr. Kane...painted by Mr. Thomas Hicks, has a very prominent place accorded to it on the line, to the exclusion of pictures that might have figured much better there."²⁴⁵ Despite the somewhat negative reception, the portrait fulfilled its semi-private function as a memorial to Kane within the Kane Lodge.

²⁴³ "National Academy of Design," *The Evening Post* (New York), April 30, 1867.

²⁴⁴ "Pictures at the National Academy," *The Round Table, A Saturday Review of Politics, Finance, Literature, Society* (May 11, 1867), 5.

²⁴⁵ "Exhibition of the National Academy of Design," *The Albion, A Journal of News, Politics, and Literature* (May 4, 1867), 45.

Two months after the N-YHS portrait was unveiled, Hicks completed the NAM portrait of Kane for his family. The NAM portrait and the smaller NPG copy matched Thomas Kane's initial visualization of his brother's public image. Here, Kane appeared in his Arctic gear and the portrait represented a scene from the expedition. The portrait also provided a visual image of the gendered duality of Kane's heroic character. He appears as both the masculine hero and feminine nurturer keeping watch over his sleeping crew. When viewers gazed upon this image of Kane, they were to identify with the explorer, sympathize with his plight, and contemplate his virtuous, short life. Hicks's wife Angie recorded her reaction to the portrait in her journal. Her entry also records the Kane family's visits to Hicks's studio to check the progress of the painting. On January 31, 1859, Angie wrote:

Mr. Kane came to the studio to see the picture for the family, thought the head too large, but that the picture itself was fine. So Tom [Hicks] reduced the head and we think improved it somewhat. The picture is I think one of the most striking ones I ever saw. Dr. Kane sits in the cabin of his ship "Advance"...and the dreary sense of darkness; loneliness, peril; and disease is touchingly portrayed. A sick man lays sleeping in a berth beside him; and Morton sits curled up in his furs, in a sound sleep behind him; while he of all the anxious kind, is up and at work, conscientiously noting down the detail of that fearful winter night, but he pauses a moment, thinking no doubt, how useless his luck may be – how uncertain their life is. Could he have known then, that he should reach home, with his crew, re-write that log; and under the sunniest of sunny skies, die! Could he have known then that his life, his virtues, and his trials, in that cramped moss lined cabin could become as familiar to the millions at home as to him; that his death should cause a common sorrow, and universal mourning from one end of the country to the other; and his memory held so pure and sacred in the hearts of all, as it is! What then? There is an expression of far seeing in the picture, which is suggestive, and perhaps he knew the end. Huge masses of ice filing round his ship – pure snow falling gently over his tomb. Kane left today and will send his brother to see the picture.²⁴⁶

The power of the image for the nineteenth-century viewer was in sympathizing with the

²⁴⁶ Hicks Journal, 3-5.

explorer's plight in the knowledge his ultimate fate.²⁴⁷

Upon completion, Hicks exhibited the portrait at the National Academy of Design's annual exhibition in the early summer of 1859. On July 1, a lengthy and detailed review describing the portrait appeared in *The Evening Post* (New York), noting the specific moment from the expedition that Hicks portrayed. The author, identified only by the initials "A.E.C." wrote:

When Doctor Kane was asked what was the most awful scene he had witnessed in his Arctic explorations, he answered, "The silence of the Arctic night." This painting represents that hour, in connection with himself, in those very seas. He was on watch on Friday night, December 1st, 1853, from eight to two o'clock. It was day in the moonlight on deck, with the thermometer at 36 degrees below zero, when about midnight he went into his little moss igloe [*sic*] or cabin, while all on board were wrapped in profound slumber. He is sitting in his chair, having taken his pen, as though suddenly called to the discovery of some fresh truth which gives veneration and glory to the intellect of the man... But what most elicits our admiration in this picture is the great American explorer. We look upon him here with his grasp of mind, its inspiration, the enthronement of genius and virtuous disinterestedness and worth... Here he sits, in these trackless seas, the comprehensive thinker, the lawgiver and founder of knowledge, opening a new vein of thought and creating fresh science and power. Steadfast integrity, incorruptible courage, and heavenly benevolence are written upon his brow; but with all his exalted humanity, we see in his face what Kent loved in *Lear*—"Authority." Superior in morals, superior in intellect and in knowledge, it only needed his natural reticence to observe all circumstance and to bring to bear at the right time all the faculties which he possessed, and which gave him what mankind concedes to him—*greatness!*²⁴⁸

With its florid language and almost overbearing praise, the article is somewhat reminiscent of those published by the Kane family while the explorer was in the Arctic. Knowing the Kane family's penchant for promotion, it would not be surprising to learn that Thomas Kane had a hand in the review. The difference in prose is made more evident when one considers another discussion of the portrait that appeared in *The Crayon* shortly before its completion.

²⁴⁷ While it is unknown if the Hickses knew Elisha, they apparently developed a very close relationship to the Kane family. Throughout her diary, Angie mentions visits with the Kanes. Hicks also painted other members of the family. Two portraits of Elisha's sister Elizabeth "Bessie" Kane exist in private collections, while a portrait of Elisha's mother is unlocated.

²⁴⁸ "Hicks's Painting of Doctor Kane Sitting in the Cabin of the Advance," *The Evening Post* (New York), July 1, 1859.

In this review, the critic simply remarked how different the portrait was from the N-YHS version, gave a brief description, and reported that “the general effect of the picture is pleasing, owing to warmth of color and a feeling of repose suggested by the skillful employment of accessories. The picture is painted for the Kane family.”²⁴⁹ *The Crayon* review is perhaps more typical of art critiques, thus making the authorship of *The Evening Post* review all the more suspicious. Furthermore, *The Evening Post* only mentions Hicks briefly and the praise is almost comical. The author wrote, “the accurate delineation of nature is so manifest to one who has carefully examined this picture, as to increase admiration for the constructive imagination which has so graphically thrown it upon the canvas. In conception and in execution it is eminently worthy of the distinguished artist, Thomas Hicks, of this city.”²⁵⁰ Overall, *The Evening Post* review was less a critique of Hicks’s portrait and more a deification of Kane. One wonders if the portrait’s commission was part of the continuing promotion of *Arctic Explorations* after Kane’s death. His family and publisher, George W. Childs, continued to promote his books and image well into the 1860s. While the Kane family’s role cannot be known in creating the review, they must have recognized the potential attention such a portrait could bring.²⁵¹

In painting Elisha Kent Kane, Hicks memorialized one of the greatest American heroes of the nineteenth century. The N-YHS, NAM, and Kane Lodge portraits commemorated the fallen explorer. The smaller and more intimate NPG portrait likely functioned as a private memorial for the Kane family. However, Hicks was not yet finished depicting Kane. In the summer of 1859, Hicks was appointed a member of the arts and design committee of the Kane Monument Association. Along with John F. Kensett, Charles Loring Elliott, and Erastus Dow Palmer,

²⁴⁹ “Sketchings,” *The Crayon* (March 1859), 91.

²⁵⁰ “Hicks’s Painting of Doctor Kane Sitting in the Cabin of the Advance.”

²⁵¹ At the same time, considering the regard with which the public held Kane, it is possible that *The Evening Post* review was written free of the Kane family influence.

Hicks was to help design a life-size bronze statue of the explorer to be placed in Central Park. According to the stipulation of the Association, Kane would appear in civilian dress. The sides of the base would contain busts of Henry Grinnell, George Peabody, and Sir John Franklin. Unfortunately, the sculpture was never realized, but its planning further demonstrates the high regard in which Kane was held.

For Hicks, painting Kane was yet another method by which the artist enhanced his own renown. Since the explorer was such a beloved public figure and national hero, Hicks received widespread attention by depicting him and probably received other commissions as a result. Hicks's portraits of Kane are integral to the almost mythic stature of the explorer's adventures after his death. In the years before the Civil War, Kane was the great American hero and a symbol of national unity. He demonstrated courage by willingly sacrificing himself in the pursuit of scientific knowledge and the humanitarian search for Franklin. He put himself before his country by exploring the Arctic, especially at a time when other national figures were not willing to do so. Hicks's portraits epitomized the multiple layers of the explorer's public image as refined gentleman and courageous yet sensitive Arctic explorer.

The hope for national unity embodied in Kane's exploits quickly dissipated as Americans realized civil war was inevitable. Newspapers regularly reported increasing tension and once violence erupted between the North and the South, Americans faced an uncertain future. In an effort to escape the reality of seeing their sons march off to war, fearful Americans turned to the theater as a source of respite. One theater-goer remarked that "in that first year of the war, when we were profoundly miserable and frightened, what a relief it was to go and see Edwin Booth in

Hamlet.²⁵² Booth quickly became New York City's favorite Shakespearean actor and Hicks responded by creating a portrait that became as famous as the actor himself.

²⁵² Mrs. John Sherwood, quoted in James Cross Giblin, *Good Brother, Bad Brother: The Story of Edwin Booth and John Wilkes Booth* (New York: Clarion Books, 2005): 62.

Chapter 6: Edwin Booth as *Iago*

On December 15, 1860, Edwin Booth (1833-1893) appeared as Iago in Shakespeare's *Othello* at the Winter Garden Theater in New York City. Contemporary critics praised the performance as one of Booth's finest.²⁵³ Approximately five months later, Hicks completed a portrait of Booth as Iago (fig. 85), which art critics described as a faithful depiction of the actor's theatrical genius.²⁵⁴ They heralded the portrait as one of the finest paintings to come from Hicks's easel because the artist successfully captured Booth's psychological intensity. Over the next several years, Hicks frequently exhibited the portrait in Philadelphia and New York City. Booth's popularity and the painting's success resulted in Hicks painting at least three smaller copies (fig. 86-88) of the full-length, life-size original.²⁵⁵

While the exact circumstances surrounding the Century portrait's creation are unknown, it seems that Hicks either made the painting of his own accord or it was a joint effort by the actor and the artist. First, Booth and Hicks shared the same circle of friends and became close in the early 1860s. Reciprocity existed between the men in that Hicks's portrait advertised Booth's performances and the artist's skills. Second, Hicks kept the portrait until his death in 1890.²⁵⁶ The artist's long-term possession of the 7½ x 4' painting is unusual because his large-scale

²⁵³ "Amusements," *New York Times*, December 17, 1860.

²⁵⁴ Henceforth, I will refer to the painting as the Century portrait since it is owned by the Century Association in New York City. A New York conservator cut four feet off the height and one and a half feet off the width of the original 1861 portrait in 1969 while it was on loan to the Players Club from the Century Association. Therefore, subsequent analyses of the portrait in this chapter rely upon both the original and its copies.

²⁵⁵ Two of the copies are located in the National Portrait Gallery and in the Hampden-Booth Library at the Players Club. The third copy is unlocated. It was previously owned by Adelson Galleries (Boston) in 1969. Adelson erroneously advertised the portrait as *John Wilkes Booth as Iago*, subsequently correcting the title to *Edwin Booth as Iago*. In a letter to the NPG dated January 1969, Adelson claims that the unlocated portrait once hung in Booth's home (which is now the Players Club) and was sold to the Galleries by his descendants. I have been unable to substantiate this claim. A letter in the Booth file in the Catalogue of American Portraits at the National Portrait Gallery (Washington, DC) indicates that there may be a fourth copy of the painting (making a total of five portraits of Booth as Iago). In 1971, assistant curator Monroe H. Fabian wrote to antiques dealer James Abbe, Jr. requesting information about a portrait of Booth by Hicks he was offering for sale. It is unclear whether this portrait is the unlocated version or another copy. There was no response from Abbe.

²⁵⁶ Three years later, Hicks's wife Angie donated it to the Century Association.

commissions were typically for specific locales. For example, his portraits of New York governors were made for the Governor's Room in City Hall. Third, instead of selling the original, Hicks made copies for patrons.²⁵⁷ Fourth, despite suggestions that the portrait be donated to a public collection, Hicks still kept the painting. The success of the Iago portrait led Hicks to paint Booth in the Shakespearean roles of Hamlet, Shylock, and Richelieu.²⁵⁸

It is plausible that the Booth portrait served the same purpose as the artist's "Oriental" portrait of Bayard Taylor. As an artist striving to increase his own fame, it seems logical that Hicks would select a sitter of equal or greater status than his own. Hicks's close friendship with Booth enabled the artist to create the portrait quickly, after positive reviews of the actor's performances appeared in contemporary newspapers. Therefore, the series of Booth portraits seemed a calculated measure by the artist to bolster his own fame, while also celebrating his talented friend.

This chapter considers Hicks's portraits of Edwin Booth as part of the artist's continued efforts to promote himself and increase his own fame. I examine the portraits in regard to the Shakespearean tradition in American popular culture and the visual arts. I also consider Booth's career as it pertains to his performances of Iago and explore the portraits' relationship with theatrical photography and the popular pastime of collecting celebrity *cartes-de-visite*. To conclude, I demonstrate how Hicks's *Edwin Booth as Iago* not only exemplified mid-century theatrical portraiture, but also testified to the nineteenth-century cult of celebrity.

The Portraits

In *Edwin Booth as Iago*, Hicks painted a scene from *Othello* (V, ii) in which Iago

²⁵⁷ Certainly, a patron could have requested a smaller version if he had no place or desire for a life-size portrait. I have not yet uncovered the exact circumstances for the creation of the copies.

²⁵⁸ The portraits of Booth as Shylock, Richelieu, and Hamlet are unlocated. See cat. nos. 389, 502, and 504.

believes his scheming has come to a successful end after murdering Roderigo and wounding Cassio (fig. 86). As onlookers disperse and men carry Roderigo's body away, Iago mutters

This is the night
That either makes me, or forgoes me quite.²⁵⁹

Through his use of color, light and shadow, composition, and attention to detail, Hicks successfully depicted the sinister nature of one of Shakespeare's most complex characters as performed by Booth.

In the portrait, Booth stands in the doorway of a building, glaring at the viewer with a furrowed brow and sinister scowl. He wears a thin black moustache that curves downward along his mouth. His pointed goatee echoes the diagonal line of his nose, which emphasizes the angularity of his face and enhances his sinister appearance. A single lock of curly black hair falls across his forehead. His left hand rests on the hilt of his sword as he leans against the left side of the large stone doorframe. Booth places his weight on his right leg and holds the large, wooden door open with his right hand. A brass door pull appears to be too low for anyone to use. Booth's left knee is bent, while his foot rests on the bottom of the frame. The inside floor is slightly lower than the outside step, so Booth's right foot is partially hidden. The background is nondescript, with red walls and large areas of dark shadow. On the exterior of the building, grey plaster has deteriorated and been chipped away, revealing red brick underneath. The simplicity of the building's interior and exterior contrasts Booth and his costume.

Booth wears a grey doublet that extends the length of his torso and stops

²⁵⁹ William Shakespeare, *Othello*, Folger Shakespeare Library, ed. Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine. (New York: Washington Square Press, 1993), 5.2: 150-51. When one of the versions of the portrait was exhibited at the Sanitary Fairs in Philadelphia and New York in 1864 and then at the Chicago Opera House Art Association in 1866, the respective catalogues identify the scene as from Act V, Scene 1, when Iago decides that Cassio must die. See James L. Yarnall and William H. Gerds, *The National Museum of American Art's Index to American Art Exhibition Catalogues: From the Beginning through the 1876 Centennial Year*, vol. I (Boston: G. K. Hall and Co., 1986), 1719, 1720. I contend that it depicts scene 2 as this was the earliest identification by critics.

just short of his mid-thigh. Round pearl buttons run the length of the doublet and reflect light, casting shadows onto the fabric below.²⁶⁰ Booth wears a red belt that fastens his rapier to his waist. The sword is of a relatively simple design and hangs at Booth's left side at a slight diagonal. With his left hand on the hilt, Booth does not appear to draw, but rather intimates that the viewer should notice his weapon.

Underneath his doublet and jacket, Booth wears a white, long-sleeved shirt. A white collar and lacy cuffs can be seen at the neck and wrists. The actor also wears a red jacket with silver trim and round pearl balls—however, they are accessories, not buttons. These hang loosely from the jacket by silver threads. Although impractical for a character like Iago, who attacked his enemies under cover of night and silence, the pearl ball decoration is typical of the lavish detail of Booth's costumes.²⁶¹ It is also characteristic of the delight Hicks took in rendering detail in his portraits. This attention to detail is also evident in the gold and blue brocade that runs the length of Booth's left leg. While certainly beautiful in design, the brocade enlivens the drab brown pants and emphasizes the actor's bent knee. Booth also wears gold boots that lace in the front with gold tassels.

Light enters the scene from the left side and illuminates Booth and the wall to his left. The actor and his rapier cast shadows onto the doorframe and into the room behind him. A square shadow from an unknown source appears in the lower left corner of the painting. Hicks's treatment of light is important to the overall effect of the work because it emphasizes Iago's sinister nature. First, the light emulates a stage setting, which is obviously appropriate for a

²⁶⁰ The doublet appears to be malformed at the chest, giving the appearance of a breastplate hidden beneath clothing. However, this can be explained as Hicks's efforts to depict accurate period costume. In the Elizabethan era, doublets were frequently padded to create a "pouter pigeon" silhouette, so that the wearer had a puffed chest and slim waist.

²⁶¹ For more on Booth's costumes, see Richard Stoddard, "Thomas Joyce, Edwin Booth's Costumer," *Educational Theatre Journal* 22, no. 1 (March 1970): 71-77.

theatrical portrait. Second, light and shadow effectively enhance the drama of the scene: Iago has just slinked from the dark recesses of the building to pause and watch the action unfold before him. The treatment of light and shadow, coupled with the building's plain design, directs attention to Booth and focuses the viewer on his character's sinister nature.

In comparing the Hampden-Booth Library portrait (fig. 87) and the unlocated version (fig. 88) with the NPG version (fig. 86), the paintings seem virtually the same except for the location of the signature. The NPG and Hampden-Booth Library versions are signed on the side of the step that is perpendicular to the picture plane. The unlocated version is signed on the side of the step that is parallel to the picture plane. A few minor differences are evident when comparing the Century portrait (fig. 85) to the subsequent versions.²⁶²

In all four portraits, Booth wears the same doublet, red jacket, and white shirt and appears in the same pose. However, in the Century portrait, Hicks painted decorative detail on the door: a vertical line with a series of dots. This detail does not appear in the other portraits. Thus, the Century portrait may have been more lavish in its design. Another striking aspect in the Century portrait is that Booth appears to possess a sinister expression, in contrast to his frowns in the National Portrait Gallery, Hampden-Booth Library, and unlocated versions. Nineteenth-century theater critic Edmund C. Stedman wrote of Booth's expressive facial qualities when discussing the actor's performance of Iago in 1866:

We have described the beauty of Booth's countenance in repose. But it is equally remarkable for mobility, and his most expressive results are produced by liftings of the high-arched brows and the play of passions about the flexible mouth. The natural line of his lip, not scornful in itself, is on that straight border-ground where a hair's breadth can raise it into sardonic curves, transforming all its good to sneering evil. In his rendering, Iago must become a shining, central incarnation of tempting deceit, with Othello's

²⁶² The Century portrait is considerably darker as it has not been cleaned in several decades while the Hampden-Booth library version has yellowed, most likely due to varnish. The National Portrait Gallery version is probably the closest in color as it was cleaned in the 1980s after having been vandalized while on view.

generous nature a mere puppet in his hands.²⁶³

It was Hicks's ability to capture Booth's sinister expression that critics so admired. For instance, a critic wrote in 1861:

Hicks has now on his easel: a work very nearly completed which is destined to add materially to his reputation. It is a full length, life size, portrait of Edwin Booth as Iago... This moment affords the painter an opportunity to embody more the character of Iago than almost any other in the play, and of the opportunity Mr. Hicks has very fully availed himself. His success in representing the lithe and nervous form of Booth, all tingling with fires as it is in every limb; in rendering the profound and diabolical intellectuality of Iago's hate, and at the same time indicating the subtle character of his genius, is complete. The likeness to the actor is also very remarkable [*sic*]. His handsome features and well shaped head, and especially the magnificently expressive eyes he carries in that head, have never before been so cleverly portrayed. To one who has witnessed the performance of Iago, the picture is absolutely startling in its faithfulness; to any student of Shakespeare it presents a remarkable embodiment of one of the most wonderful of Shakespeare's creations; to any mere amateur of art, it is an admirable instance of that skill which puts upon canvas, life and character and intellectuality and even motion, and does it all in the guise of beauty of color, and grace of drawing, and harmony of tone.²⁶⁴

Another critic wrote that the portrait was "an admirable production, and too much cannot be said of the fidelity to nature with which the artist has invested in every respect. The face is one to be studied for hours by the thoughtful."²⁶⁵ Clearly, the critics' admiration of Booth bordered on hero-worship. "Genius" became a common descriptor for the actor's performances—whether referring to Iago, Hamlet, or Richard III. The word even appeared in a lithograph made after a photograph of the actor in 1864.²⁶⁶

Not every contemporary critic was so enchanted with the artist or the portrait. One of the four versions exhibited at the Metropolitan Sanitary Fair in April of 1864 received a scathing review from Clarence Cook. Cook began by stating that he did not understand why the public

²⁶³ Edmund C. Stedman, "Edwin Booth," *The Atlantic Monthly* 17, no. 103 (May 1866): 591.

²⁶⁴ This review was included in a transcribed group of reviews and mentions of the Booth portrait in contemporary newspapers. The transcription is typed and located in the curatorial file at the National Portrait Gallery.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁶ Unfortunately, at present, the source of the lithograph is unknown. Image available from the Folger Shakespeare Library.

believed Hicks to be a great artist. He wrote that he supposed “crowns” were harder to remove once strongly affixed by “make-believe critics.” About the Booth portrait, he complained:

It is painted in the coarsest, crudest way: without any technical skill; in raw, harsh colors, without gradation, and with neither delicacy nor richness of tone; with mistakes in drawing, and with a carelessness which argues either a blind reliance on a supposed established reputation, or else in an indifference to the truth. Thus, let anyone attempt to account for the shadow on the right. If he examines the figure carefully he will find that it could cast no such shadow, and the buttons, which seem to be added in the very spirit of pains-taking fidelity, with no bodies to keep them in countenance. Look again, at the ring on the door; it is either a knocker or a ring to pull the door to—in either case, would it not have seemed the natural thing to put it where it could be used without going down on the knees to get at it? Or, look at the door-sill. Did anyone ever see a door-sill high enough to hide the whole foot; and even if there were such a thing, could anyone stand on it as Iago is standing? But passing by these minor details, let us ask whether this clay-colored face, all awry with a weak scowl, is fit to stand for Iago, or for any hero out of *Ledger* romance?²⁶⁷

Initially, the review seems to express disdain for Hicks. However, the critic goes on to denounce several more American artists. Emanuel Leutze’s *Washington Crossing the Delaware* (1851, Metropolitan Museum of Art) was deemed vulgar and commonplace; Albert Bierstadt’s landscapes were painted in a worn-out style; and, looking upon Frederic Edwin Church’s *Heart of the Andes* (1859, Metropolitan Museum of Art) caused “ever decreasing pleasure.” The critic apparently did not despise all American art; he praised Eastman Johnson’s *The Savoyard Boy* (1853, Brooklyn Museum of Art) since it “neutralized the evil influence of 20 men who neither care what they paint nor how.” What is most fascinating is how the two critics have polar opposite reactions. Regardless of whether these critics had their own agendas, they brought attention to Hicks’s portrait and to Booth’s performances as Iago.

²⁶⁷ Clarence Cook, “The Exhibition of Pictures at the Metropolitan Fair,” *New-York Daily Tribune*, April 9, 1864. I am thankful to Kimberly Orcutt, who identified Cook in her dissertation, “*Revising History*”: *Creating a Canon of American Art at the Centennial Exhibition* (PhD diss., City University of New York, 2005), 47.

Shakespeare in America

By the time Edwin Booth first appeared onstage as Iago in 1860, Shakespearean plays had been performed in the United States for almost one hundred years. The Bard appeared on colonial bookshelves as early as 1699, while the first documented performance of one of his plays was the 1750 production of *Richard III* by the Murray-Kean Company in New York.²⁶⁸ Artisans also made decorative objects such as porcelains, busts, medallions, and various other collectibles related to the Bard and his plays. Called “Shakespeareana,” these trinkets and knick-knacks were voraciously collected by theater-going audiences. Possessing such objects frequently connoted the owner’s education, prestige, and in some cases, loyalty to the British crown.²⁶⁹

Shakespeare’s plays were performed with increasing frequency, especially as British actors came to the colonies to escape the English Theatre Licensing Act of 1737, which restricted the number of playhouses in England. The actors regularly performed in metropolitan areas such as Philadelphia, New York City, and Charleston. Although English law no longer monitored them, the actors discovered that discretion was necessary to avoid disagreements with religious authorities. For instance, the Hallam-Douglass Company met with minor opposition in Philadelphia when the General Assembly forbade performances inside the city. The Company, run by English actors Lewis Hallam, Jr. and David Douglass, avoided controversy by building a theater outside the city limits and presenting “revised” versions of Shakespeare so as not to

²⁶⁸ For a rich discussion of Shakespeare and his integration into colonial culture life, see Frances N. Teague, *Shakespeare and the American Popular Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), especially chapter one, “Shakespeare and the spirit of ’76.” The discussion that follows is adapted from Teague; Lawrence Levine, “William Shakespeare in America,” in *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988); and Virginia Mason Vaughan, “Making Shakespeare American: Shakespeare’s Dissemination in Nineteenth-Century America,” in *Shakespeare in American Life* (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2007), 23-33.

²⁶⁹ Shakespeare was temporarily banned during the Revolutionary War. However, his plays soon appeared in the 1780s as he became a “fully appropriated American.” See Teague, 22-25.

offend delicate Quaker sensibilities. To please the religious majority and to continue performing, actors transformed Shakespeare into a tool for moral instruction. When the Hallam-Douglass Company performed *Othello*, they advertised it as a depiction of “the Evil Effects of Jealousy and other Bad Passions, Proving that Happiness can only Spring from the Pursuit of Virtue.”²⁷⁰ Shakespeare’s lines were also utilized for the colonists’ political ideologies. As tensions with the British began increasing in the 1770s, colonists increasingly appropriated Shakespeare for pro-revolutionary arguments. One of the best known parodies of *Hamlet* asks

Be taxt or not be taxt – that is the question.
Whether ‘tis nobler in our minds to suffer
The sleights and cunning of deceitful statesmen
Or to petition ‘gainst illegal taxes
And by opposing, end them?²⁷¹

Founding fathers such as John Adams and Thomas Jefferson also found Shakespeare useful in asserting their political views. Theater historian Frances N. Teague explains that Jefferson was particularly drawn to passages that supported political violence.²⁷²

By the mid-nineteenth century, Shakespearean plays could be seen in almost every region of the United States. The Forty-Niners in California were especially fond of the Bard. When Shakespeare was performed in theaters in San Francisco, “miners...swarmed from the gambling saloons and cheap fandango houses to see *Hamlet* and *Lear*.”²⁷³ On the East Coast, especially during the Civil War, Shakespearean theater served as a respite for fearful Americans and the President alike. Near the end of his first term, Lincoln stated that “I have not come for the play, but for the rest. I am being hounded to death by office-seekers, who pursue me early

²⁷⁰ Teague, 18-19.

²⁷¹ *Ibid.*, 24.

²⁷² Although Shakespeare’s plays continued to be performed through the Revolutionary period, their popularity waned after the war as Americans became concerned with creating a national identity. See Teague, 35.

²⁷³ Teague, 37.

and late, and it's simply to get two or three hours' relief that I am here."²⁷⁴

As Shakespeare continued to be performed well into the nineteenth century, American actors and theater managers still revised the plays to suit audiences. Singing, dancing, and other entertainments were added to enliven performances. As Lawrence Levine explained, some nineteenth-century performances were “mutilated” through the combination of famous Shakespearean lines and American popular song. In New York City, “a stuttering, lisping Othello danced while Desdemona played the banjo and Iago, complete with Irish brogue, ended their revelries with a fire hose.”²⁷⁵ Even Booth himself was guilty of altering Shakespeare. When he performed *Othello* in the 1880s, he frequently cut and rearranged scenes so that every act began and ended with Iago.²⁷⁶ However, this is not to say that faithful versions of the plays did not continue. One could easily find performances that were true to the original form—especially as British actors continued to cross the Atlantic.

George Frederick Cooke (1756-1812), known in England for his performances of villains such as Richard III and Iago, made an American tour commemorated by Thomas Sully's portrait of the actor as Richard III (fig. 89).²⁷⁷ Other English actors, such as Edmund Kean (1787-1833), William Charles Macready (1793-1873), and Edwin's father Junius Brutus Booth (1796-1852) (fig. 90), soon followed. Upon their arrival, the English actors not only found suitable theaters, but also talented American actors such as Edwin Forrest (1806-1872), most of whom were pleased to share the stage with their British counterparts.²⁷⁸ These actors toured the United States extensively. It was this type of travel that introduced young Booth to the stage.

²⁷⁴ Quoted in *ibid.*, 67.

²⁷⁵ Levine, 34.

²⁷⁶ Watermeier, 41.

²⁷⁷ Vaughan, 23. Sully's portrait will be discussed in more detail below.

²⁷⁸ There was one violent clash at mid-century when fans of the English Macready and the American Forrest fought against one another during the Astor Place Riots of 1849. In the end, twenty-two people were killed with many

Edwin Booth was born into an acting family.²⁷⁹ His father, Junius Brutus, was already a well-known Shakespearean actor in England when he came to the United States in 1821. Over the course of the next thirty years, Junius Brutus established his reputation as one of the most gifted Shakespearean actors in America. Audiences adored his portrayal of Richard III and critics claimed that no one could rival his performance of Iago. Regrettably, Junius Brutus was plagued with mental illness and alcoholism. He became just as well known for his eccentricities and bizarre behavior as for his acting. Junius Brutus once perplexed his audience by performing *Julius Caesar* while standing on tiptoe. On another occasion, Junius Brutus performed *The Merchant of Venice* in a whisper. When he did not appear for the second act, theater management found Junius Brutus several blocks away “heaving the hand pumps of a fire engine,” in the costume of Shylock.²⁸⁰ By 1847, Junius Brutus’s alcoholism was so severe that he required a chaperone to keep him from drinking and losing work. His wife, Mary Anne, sent their young son Edwin to monitor Junius Brutus during out-of-town performances. Only fourteen when he became his father’s keeper, Edwin learned Shakespeare by watching his father perform and first charmed American audiences in 1851 at the National Theater in New York

more injured. For more see Nigel Cliff, *The Shakespeare Riots: Revenge, Drama, and Death in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Random House, 2007).

²⁷⁹ The following discussion of Booth’s acting career is derived from the principal Booth biographies: Laurence Hutton, *Edwin Booth* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1893); William Winter, *Life and Art of Edwin Booth* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1893); Edwina Booth Grossman, *Edwin Booth: Recollections by His Daughter and Letters to her and to his Friends* (New York: The Century Co., 1902); Richard Lockridge, *Darling of Misfortune, Edwin Booth: 1833-1893* (New York: The Century Co., 1932); Edwin Milton Royle, *Edwin Booth as I Knew Him* (New York: The Players, 1933); Otis Skinner, *The Last Tragedian: Booth Tells His Own Story* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1939); Eleanor Ruggles, *Prince of Players: Edwin Booth* (New York: W.W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1953); Dale Shaw, *Titans of the American Stage: Edwin Forrest, the Booths, the O’Neills* (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1971); David J. Watermeier, ed. *Between Actor and Critic: Selected Letters of Edwin Booth and William Winter* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971); L. Terry Oggel, *Edwin Booth: A Bio-Bibliography* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992).

²⁸⁰ Shaw, 51.

City.²⁸¹ On that particular evening, Junius Brutus refused to go onstage in the title role of *Richard III* simply because he did not “feel like acting.” Edwin replaced his father and struggled through his first performance as Richard. Although he possessed a weak voice, was insecure and slightly clumsy, Edwin was not faulted for his mediocre performance as audiences were delighted to see another Booth on stage.²⁸²

In the summer of 1852, Edwin traveled to California with Junius Brutus for performances in San Francisco, a town that had recently experienced a population boom due to the gold rush. Tens of thousands of people flocked to the West Coast, hoping either to strike it rich in gold or by performing services for others.²⁸³ San Francisco was the center of a western theater circuit that also included cities such as Sacramento and Stockton, along with smaller mining towns. Edwin’s older brother, Junius Brutus, Jr. was already there, working as actor-manager at the Jenny Lind Theater in San Francisco.

Believing they were arriving during an economic boom, Edwin and Junius Brutus, Sr. were sorely disappointed. Instead, they were greeted by a financial depression; the theater in San Francisco had yet to be finished. Nevertheless, they stayed and performed at other nearby theaters. By fall, Junius Brutus, Sr. decided to return East, but encouraged Edwin to remain in California and continue acting. Unfortunately, Junius Brutus, Sr. did not survive his return trip to Maryland and died on an Ohio riverboat. After his father’s death, Edwin stayed in California at his mother’s advice so he could gain acting experience. He traveled as far as Australia and Hawaii with other actors, performing every Shakespearean play in his father’s repertoire. While touring the mining camps in California, Edwin played Iago for the first time.

²⁸¹ Edwin debuted on stage opposite his father in 1849 at the Boston Museum as Tressel in *Richard III*—however, he was not so charming. See Hutton, 16-17.

²⁸² *Ibid.*, 56 and Ruggles, 44.

²⁸³ This brief summary of the Booths’s Western excursion is derived from Daniel J. Watermeier, “Edwin Booth Goes West: 1852-1856,” *Theatre History Studies* 25 (June 2005): 77-105.

When Edwin began performing regularly in New York City in the late 1850s, critics had high expectations because he was a member of a famous acting family that all but dominated America. Aside from his father, Edwin had two brothers who were also actors: his older brother Junius Brutus, Jr. was said to “rule” the stage in the West and his younger brother John Wilkes “reigned” in the South. Edwin would dominate the East.²⁸⁴ The three brothers appeared together onstage only once. In November 1864, they performed *Julius Caesar* at the Winter Garden in New York City. The show benefited an effort to raise a statue of Shakespeare in Central Park. Little did Junius Brutus, Jr. and Edwin know what tragic events would unfold a short six months later at the hand of their brother John Wilkes.²⁸⁵

When Edwin began his performances as Iago in New York, critics made it clear that the actor showed promise onstage, but noted that his balance of Iago’s villainy and sincerity needed work. In 1859, a critic wrote that Booth was “with abundant evidences of great genius...yet, immature, but promising great things in the future.”²⁸⁶ By the end of 1860, a few months before Hicks debuted the Booth portrait, the actor’s performance had improved immensely. On December 22, 1860, a critic for the *New York Dispatch* called Booth’s performance “the greatest rendering of Iago we have ever seen” and claimed that the actor gave “a respectable appearance—polished and insinuating—a genteel scoundrel.”²⁸⁷ It was also at this time that Booth’s performance of Iago began changing. As theater historian Daniel J. Watermeier suggested, Hicks’s portrait may document that shift— one that garnered the actor even better

²⁸⁴ Ruggles, 163.

²⁸⁵ Edwin rarely spoke of his brother after the assassination of the president. However, he kept a picture of John Wilkes next to his bed in his room at The Players Club where it remains to this day. For more on Edwin, John Wilkes, and the assassination of Lincoln, see Giblin, 2005; Stanley Kauffman, “Edwin Booth: Mystery as Consolation,” *The Yale Review* 90, no. 2 (April 2002): 29-36; and Michael W. Kauffman, *American Brutus: John Wilkes Booth and the Lincoln Conspiracies* (New York: Random House, 2004).

²⁸⁶ Quoted in Watermeier 1986, 33.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 33, 35.

reviews.

In the fall of 1861, Booth, now married to actress Mary Devlin, traveled to London to perform at the Haymarket Theater. After the birth of their daughter and several months of performances, the Booths visited Paris before returning to the United States in August 1862. As Watermeier explained, Booth's performance of Iago changed upon his return. The actor heightened the character's "diabolical aspects," and critics began describing his performance as displaying "Mephistophelean malevolence."²⁸⁸ Watermeier argues that this reaction was probably due to the popularity of Goethe's *Faust* in the nineteenth century. A revival of Gounod's opera *Faust* played in Paris in 1862, where Booth and his wife may have attended a performance. Although Gounod's opera would not be performed in America until the 1880s, audiences were familiar with the original play as it was first performed in 1845 at the Chatham Theater in New York City. Edwin's brother, Junius Brutus, Jr. performed as Mephistopheles.²⁸⁹ It was not just Booth's performance that recalled Mephistopheles, but also his costume. In Act IV, Mephistopheles, conversing with Faust in his study, states:

I come, a squire of high degree,
In scarlet coat with golden trimming,
A cloak in silken lustre swimming,
A tall cock's — feather in my hat,
A long sharp, sword for show or quarrel, —²⁹⁰

As Watermeier rightly notes, the costume in Hicks's portrait corresponds to that of *Faust* and apparently resembled what Booth wore onstage. In 1876, an anonymous author wrote that in Hicks's portrait, Booth "wears that beautiful dress, bright scarlet with pearl buttons, which we

²⁸⁸ Watermeier, 35.

²⁸⁹ Although it would not be published until 1870, Taylor's version remains a favorite today as he kept the lyrical rhythm of Goethe's original. In addition, Booth and Hicks were also likely familiar with *Faust* through their mutual friend Bayard Taylor who began translating the play from German in 1863.

²⁹⁰ Scene IV, the Study, from Bayard Taylor's 1870 translation, quoted in Watermeier, 35.

remember who saw him first.”²⁹¹ Hicks probably saw the costume during a performance or Booth might even have lent it to him when he painted the portrait. On January 5, 1864, Booth wrote to Hicks:

I send you the brown dress I wear on Friday in Othello; the cap to be worn with the [blanks space in typescript letter] up in front; a cord and tassels for the waist (I have no belt) and the chain as I prize it) [*sic*] – I send also an over-cloak with arm-holes. I think something of the sort will add weight to the make-up, give it tone you know, if you think the cloak not good enough for the rest of the costume don’t wear it. Please let me have the things on Thursday again – as I use most of ‘em in Othello...P.S. I see my boy has found a belt- I like the cord better.²⁹²

Although it post-dates the portrait, the letter suggests that if Booth were lending Hicks costumes to wear, he likely would have lent the artist costumes to paint. Unfortunately, the costume no longer exists.²⁹³ However, in a series of photographs taken by Napoleon Sarony in 1875, Booth wears the Iago costume that bears some resemblance to the costume in the Hicks portrait (fig. 91-92). Booth also possesses the same sinister expression seen in the Hicks portraits.

Hicks’s decision to create the Iago portrait also seemed quite calculated, for it was something that could benefit both men substantially. Now receiving good reviews and earning a respectable reputation, Booth saw the portrait as a way to draw people to his shows. At the same time, the painting increased Hicks’s own fame and reputation as the artist who accurately

²⁹¹ “Empty Spaces,” *Appleton’s Journal of Literature, Science, and Art* 15, no. 357 (January 22, 1876): 115.

²⁹² Edwin Booth to Thomas Hicks, typescript copy, January 5, 1864, Booth-Grossman Papers, Billy Rose Theater Division, NYPL.

²⁹³ Some of Booth’s costumes survive in the collections at the Folger Shakespeare Library and at the Hampden-Booth Library. I am indebted to Georgianna Ziegler, librarian at the Folger Shakespeare Library, who spent a delightful afternoon with me examining Booth’s costumes in their collection. I am also grateful to Ray Wemmlinger who showed me Booth’s costumes at the Players. Unfortunately, neither collection had the costume in the portrait. It is possible that the costume was destroyed by fire when the Winter Garden (which Booth owned at the time) burned in 1867. Almost all of the costumes and props were destroyed. Booth may have also burned the costume himself if it was one of his father’s. After the Winter Garden burned, Booth built his own theater in New York City. One evening he asked the theater handyman, Gerrie Davidson, to accompany him down to the basement where there was a trunk stuffed with costumes. Booth handed them one by one to Davidson who then put them into the fire. According to Davidson, the costumes belonged to John Wilkes Booth and Junius Brutus, Sr. See Ruggles, 241.

depicted “the greatest rendering of Iago” on canvas. Viewers of means who saw Hicks’s portrait might then seek to commission the artist to paint their own. At the very least, theater managers were aware of the additional publicity a well-received portrait could bring. In an undated letter to Hicks from Booth, the actor asked to borrow the portrait for an upcoming performance in Philadelphia:

On the 17th of August I resume my labors – at the Academy of Philadelphia for one or two weeks. My brother-in-law, Clarke, the manager desires to ask if you will allow your Iago to be placed on exhibition in Earle’s gallery. He thinks, if you don’t object, it had better be there about the first of the month. Be good enough to drop me a line in reference to it. He will, of course, do all he can to draw attention to it before and during my engagement. Do not hesitate to “no” if does not suit your notions.²⁹⁴

This demonstrates a certain reciprocity between the actor and the artist because each understood how their respective talents could benefit one another.

Theatrical Portraiture in the United States

When Hicks painted Booth as Iago in 1861, theatrical portraiture was an established genre in American art. Paintings like Hicks’s appeared as early as the 1770s, indicating the existence of a market for images of famous actors. Theatrical portraiture was unique because it was a bridge between history painting and portraiture. With theatrical portraits, artists could combine the nobility and morality of history painting with the rendering of their sitter’s likeness. Theatrical portraits of Shakespearean plays in particular allowed artists to create a sense of drama not typically associated with traditional portraiture. Furthermore, there was an implication that the painting should be held in higher regard because of its literary and historical associations.

One of the first American theatrical portraits was Charles Willson Peale’s *Nancy Hallam*

²⁹⁴ Edwin Booth to Thomas Hicks, Booth-Grossman Papers, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, NYPL. The letter is undated.

as *Fidèle* in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* (Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center, Colonial Williamsburg). Painted in 1771, Peale's portrait of Hallam documents the actress's 1770 performance at the New Theatre in Annapolis, Maryland. Like *Othello*, *Cymbeline* is concerned with jealousy and marital fidelity. Hallam's character Imogen (the daughter of King Cymbeline) becomes the victim of a jealous conspiracy. In an attempt to expose her pursuers and escape assassination, Imogen disguises herself as the boy Fidele. Critics and audiences praised Hallam's performance for her ability to enact human emotion. The *Maryland Gazette* published poems by adoring fans, one of which ended with the suggestion that Peale paint the actress.²⁹⁵

In Hallam's portrait, Peale depicts the moment in the play when Imogen, disguised as Fidele, wanders through the wilderness and discovers the cave of the exiled noble Belisarius. In the painting, Hallam is awash with light that originates from outside of the picture plane. A barely visible Belisarius and his sons appear in the background at the right side of the canvas. Hallam stands in the foreground, in front of the cave with her left palm held forward. She holds a sword in her right hand and looks towards the light with a slightly wistful expression. Hallam wears an ornate pink doublet with pantaloons and a blue overcoat and turban. The pastel colors and rejection of a male suitor recall rococo painting traditions. Although quite different from Hicks's dark, brooding portrait of Booth as Iago, the Peale portrait set the precedent for theatrical portraiture in America. The portrait also represents early American interest in paintings of luminaries and the desire to possess those images.

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, artists such as Thomas Sully and John Neagle (1796-1865) followed Peale's example by painting several popular English and American actors. Sully's portrait of George Frederick Cooke as Richard III epitomizes the

²⁹⁵ See Charles Shattuck, *Shakespeare on the American Stage: From the Hallams to Edwin Booth* (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1976), 14-15.

desire to elevate portraiture to the status of history painting (fig. 89). As art historian Christopher M. S. Johns argues, Sully broke with general portrait practices in the United States and brought his work closer to British traditions when he created the portrait in 1811. Johns explains that the drive to elevate the respectability of portraiture and academic acceptance was the result of John Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery in Pall Mall in 1786. Boydell wanted to create a national school of history painting based on Shakespeare, a testament to the poet's popularity.²⁹⁶ At about the same time, theatrical portraiture experienced a surge in popularity when portraits were made into prints and widely disseminated. Paintings by artists like Sir Joshua Reynolds aided acceptance of theatrical portraiture as well. Reynolds's highly successful *Sarah Siddons as the Tragic Muse* (1784) legitimately established the genre in England. As John explains, the portrait is less about Siddons and her actual performance than it is about associating the portrait with grand manner history painting.²⁹⁷ By applying Reynolds's lessons to his portrait of Cooke, Sully created a work that is considered one of his masterpieces.

In the full-length portrait, Cooke stands between a doorway to his left and a niche with a sculpture to his right. The actor looks above the viewer with a calculating expression and slightly sarcastic grin. The portrait represents a moment from *Henry VI* when Richard is preparing to woo Henry's widow, Lady Ann, in an effort to gain the throne. In this scene, Richard contemplates his deformities and celebrates his ability to overcome them in order to win Ann's heart. The portrait represents the delivery of four lines Cooke added to the scene:

²⁹⁶ Christopher M. S. Johns, "Theater and Theory: Thomas Sully's *George Frederick Cooke as Richard III*," *Winterthur Portfolio* 18, no. 1 (Spring 1983): 28, 30.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 30.

Why I can smile, and murder whiles I smile,
And cry “Content” to that which grieves my heart,
And wet my cheeks with artificial tears,
And frame my face to all occasions.²⁹⁸

In a manner similar to Booth in Hicks’s portrait, Cooke appears as if he has just slinked from the recesses of the church as his plan comes to fruition. Bathed in light, the handsome Cooke is a far cry from the deformed, hump-backed Richard III. Sully was not idealizing the actor, but simply representing Cooke as he played Richard; the actor forwent any extraneous costumes that could have impeded his performance. In any case, Sully’s portrait of Cooke was a product of its era because it represents the artist’s efforts to raise American portraiture to the status of history painting. This was particularly significant in the early nineteenth century, when American artists struggled to prove that the fine arts were crucial to the development of a national culture. If artists could elevate the status of portraiture to that of history painting, the door to larger and more substantial commissions might open. What makes Hicks’s Booth portraits significant is that they were also a product of two burgeoning cultural phenomena—the cult of celebrity and collecting *cartes-de-visite*.

Consuming Celebrity: Hicks, Booth, and “Cartomania”²⁹⁹

In the early 1860s, Americans became obsessed with the latest product of photography—the *carte-de-visite* (fig. 93). Considered “democratic” because they were cheap and widely available, *cartes-de-visite* replaced the more expensive daguerreotype. Americans not only rushed to photographers to have their own pictures made, but also to collect images of national and local celebrities. Collectors kept the celebrity visages alongside those of family and

²⁹⁸ See Johns, 29 for the identification of the scene.

²⁹⁹ I am borrowing the term “cartomania” from Elizabeth Siegel’s illuminating dissertation on nineteenth-century photograph albums, *Galleries of Friendship and Fame: The History of Nineteenth-Century American Photograph Albums* (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2003).

friends in personal photograph albums. Displayed in the parlor, the luminaries mixed among favorite aunts and uncles implied that the owner aspired to elite status and perhaps even knew the celebrities themselves.

Called “Cartomania,” the fad was the result of the work of photographers like Mathew Brady who, as discussed in Chapter Two, attempted to create and market national galleries of American celebrities. Initially, Brady resisted the cheap *carte-de-visite* and preferred marketing larger, more expensive photographic portraits to a higher-income clientele. Fortunately for Brady, his associate Alexander Gardner welcomed the *carte-de-visite* craze. Ultimately, Brady’s studios sold tens of thousands of *cartes-de-visite* in the early 1860s.³⁰⁰

Part of the appeal of collecting these images was the belief that regular viewing of America’s political and social celebrities could provide moral instruction and inspire exemplary behavior. This was particularly significant in the 1860s as the Civil War raged on and Americans turned to national figures as beacons of hope. As art historian Barbara McCandless explains, upper class advocates of photography argued the moral benefits of possessing such images and stated that the sitters inspired the viewer with their “noble traits beaming from those faces and forms.”³⁰¹ However, collecting images of celebrities like Edwin Booth was less about moral didacticism and more about fans simply wanting pictures of one of the most famous Shakespearean actors of the nineteenth century.³⁰² As the craze for *cartes-de-visite* intensified and as Americans snapped up the latest photos almost as soon as they were produced, celebrities began recognizing the marketing potential of photographs.

³⁰⁰ Barbara McCandless, “The Portrait Studio and the Celebrity: Promoting the Art,” in *Photography in 19th-Century America* (New York: Harry Abrams, Inc., 1991), 61.

³⁰¹ McCandless, 48.

³⁰² One of Booth’s claims to fame was his performance of Hamlet. He famously played the role for 100 consecutive nights at the Winter Garden in 1864. See Barnard Hewitt, ed. “The TDR Document Series: Four Hamlets of the 19th-Century American Stage: Part II. Edwin Forrest and Edwin Booth,” *The Tulane Drama Review* 6, no. 4 (June 1962): 156-167.

The relationship between photographer and celebrity was similar to that of painter and sitter: both were mutually beneficial. When photography studios first began producing photographs in the form of daguerreotypes in the 1840s, celebrities might receive a free daguerreotype when their pictures were taken. In exchange, the photographer earned notoriety through displaying and selling these images. However, daguerreotypes were expensive, unique, and beyond the financial reach of most middle-class Americans. This changed in the 1860s with the development of paper prints. Photographs became cheaper to produce and collect. By this time, photographers also paid celebrities to sit for them.³⁰³ Since the celebrity was being paid, the photographer could pose him or her in several positions, thereby providing customers with a selection of prints from which to choose.

For instance, the Brady studio photographed Booth a number of times. Among the most popular were photographs of the actor and his daughter Edwina (fig. 94). Taken about 1866, the pictures are sentimental in their depiction of a father and his young child. In the photographs shown here, Booth lovingly holds his daughter, gazing at her or wistfully looking out of the picture plane. The photograph is imbued with a sense of tragedy and loss—one wonders why no mother appears with this father and child. The photograph plays upon this notion of tragedy; Booth's wife, Mary Devlin, had passed away by the time the photographs were taken. Her death was widely publicized in contemporary newspapers and audiences were familiar with the story. Thus, the photographs stirred a certain sympathy in the viewer, who knew that Booth has been left to raise his daughter on his own.³⁰⁴

One might also attribute the sense of melancholy to the national tragedy that personally affected the actor—the assassination of President Lincoln by Edwin's brother, John Wilkes

³⁰³ McCandless, 54-55.

³⁰⁴ Booth married a second time in 1869 to Mary Frances McVickers.

Booth. The assassination, which occurred approximately one year before the photographs were taken, brought great shame and suspicion upon the entire Booth family. Authorities held and questioned Edwin, his older brother Junius Brutus, Jr. and their brother-in-law John Sleeper Clarke. Immediately after the assassination, Edwin “retired” from the stage, but returned less than a year later on January 3, 1866. Audiences were surprisingly sympathetic to the tragedy that the Booth family experienced, and this was partly what made the photographs of Edwin and his daughter so popular.³⁰⁵ Despite the fact that the exact date of the photographs is unknown, one cannot help but wonder about the timing of their production as they appeared for sale around the same time Booth returned to the stage.

By the end of the 1860s, actors were increasingly reliant on photographs for publicity. As the number of photography studios increased exponentially, photographers were required to become more creative in order to beat out the competition. Sarony’s creative efforts earned him the reputation of America’s most prominent portrait photographer. Sarony specialized in theatrical portrait photography and shrewdly opened his studio in the theater district of Manhattan. As audience members went to and from performances they passed Sarony’s studio, often stopping to see the latest photographs of their favorite actors. If they were lucky, they might even see Sarony photographing the performers themselves. Sarony’s competitor, Jeremiah Gurney, also photographed Booth in costume (fig. 95-96). His images of Booth as Iago provide a greater sense of the actor’s theatricality while performing the role (fig. 97-99).

³⁰⁵ Some contemporary historians are still baffled by Booth’s resilience and his return to the stage less than a year after the assassination. The willingness of American audiences to accept Booth back to the stage was likely the result of public proclamations the family made in the weeks after the assassination. Edwin took out ads in the papers denouncing his brother’s actions and expressing the sadness of the entire Booth family over the death of Lincoln. Clearly, Americans realized in the weeks and months after that the Booth family had nothing to do with the assassination. See Kauffman.

Like Sarony, Gurney also specialized in theatrical photography in the 1870s. His photographs of Booth as Iago more accurately capture the actor's mannerisms, gestures, and facial expressions that recall those in Hicks's portraits of the actor. In the photographs, Booth dons an Iago costume that varies from the portraits and the Sarony photographs. The pose in figure 98 is particularly reminiscent of the portrait: Booth stands with his hand on his sword and his chin slightly lowered as he glares at the viewer. He also has the same pointed goatee and moustache.

Since the photographs were produced after 1861, Hicks clearly did not use these images to design his portrait. To date, no source photographs for the painting have surfaced, even though Hicks was using photographs to aid his painting by this time. On December 9, 1861, Booth wrote to Hicks from London and detailed the birth of his daughter. Booth gushed over his new role as father, teasing Hicks about painting the child's portrait. He wrote:

... a father I AM and you will be pleased to know, my friend, a happy one. I shan't tell you what it is – but if you feel disposed to try your hand again at *painting portraits without a sitter* – paint my babes, you'll hit it no doubt so long as you paint it very red, and don't make it a boy.³⁰⁶

Despite the fact that the letter does not specifically refer to the Iago portrait, it indicates that Booth at least knew his artist-friend utilized photographs in creating portraits. The significance of the late photographs to Hicks's paintings of Booth is that they suggest reciprocity between painters and photographers at mid-century. Just as painters utilized photographs, perhaps Hicks's theatrical portraits of Booth (and others like them) may have helped to inspire the photographs. Furthermore, the photographs allowed fans who could not afford paintings to collect images of their favorite celebrities.

³⁰⁶ Emphasis mine. Edwin Booth to Thomas Hicks, December 9, 1861, Lincoln Memorial Library, Springfield, Illinois.

When Hicks completed his portrait of Edwin Booth as Iago, the nation was embroiled in the Civil War. Americans faced an uncertain future and sought comfort in popular theater culture. The Booth portraits are the result of this culture, as they depicted one of the most famous Shakespearean actors of the nineteenth century. Hicks must have been aware of the critical acclaim Booth received for his performances. The artist utilized the portrait to bolster his own reputation and honor his friend. Similar to the portraits of American authors, the Booth portraits exemplified the reciprocity between the two men; they understood the ways their respective talents could benefit one another.

Epilogue

From the late 1860s until his death in 1890, Hicks continued to receive commissions for portraits of famous Americans. He painted multiple copies of Ralph Earl's c. 1775 portrait of Declaration of Independence signer Roger Sherman for the Moore family of Trenton Falls (cat. nos. 488, 500, and 562); three copies of R. W. Weir's 1828 portrait of Seneca Indian chief Red Jacket (cat. nos. 497, 512, and 516); and at least two copies of Stuart's Boston Athenaeum portrait of George Washington (cat. nos. 492 and 496). Little is known about the specifics of the commissions; however, they suggest a renewed interest in Revolutionary figures in the years preceding the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia.³⁰⁷

One of Hicks's most successful paintings of the 1870s was his portrait of Union General George Meade at Gettysburg (1876) (fig. 100), which he exhibited at the Centennial Exposition. A posthumous portrait, Meade's likeness was based on a well-known photograph (fig. 101). In the full-length painting, Meade appears in front of a Union encampment with black and white troops. The Gettysburg battlefield can be seen in the background. Unsurprisingly, Hicks's portrait of Meade, Philadelphia's hometown hero, was given the place of honor in Memorial Hall at the Exposition.³⁰⁸

In the last decade of his life, Hicks's painting production slowed as he became more involved with the Artists' Fund Society. He served as president for the organization from 1873 to 1885. Hicks also made excursions to locales such as Niagara Falls with other Artists' Fund

³⁰⁷ Hicks was one of five New York artists chosen to be on the Art Selection Committee for the Centennial Exposition.

³⁰⁸ The Centennial Exhibition Director General Alfred T. Goshorn attempted to ban any imagery that referenced the Civil War in the art exhibition. This especially meant avoiding pictures of Gettysburg for fear that they might produce feelings of ill will in Southern visitors. Art historian Kimberly Orcutt explains that the art department overrode the ban because artists and their audiences sought healing and commemoration within the art galleries. See Orcutt, 65-66 and 167-170.

Society members (fig. 102); however, the paintings created on these trips have yet to surface. In the 1880s, contemporary newspapers rarely mentioned the artist's paintings, despite the fact that Hicks continued showing at the NAD annual exhibitions and the Artists' Fund Society exhibitions.

When Hicks died in 1890, short obituaries appeared in newspapers and magazines such as *Harper's Weekly*, *New York Times* and the *Daily Evening Transcript* (Boston). The authors of the obituaries related memories of his character and did not especially praise his artistic skills. For example, a journalist writing in *Harper's* described Hicks's congenial nature and charm which earned him the adoration of his friends:

a freshness of feeling that time could not wither kept his heart young, and the comrades of an early day... were never really parted from him as of old, finding the same bright and unworn spirit, the same sympathy and affection. Whether it was the happiness and peace of his life that satisfied him, or the bent of his temperament that beguiled him, he seemed not to choose to do all that might do, and so conveyed the impression of a reserved power which made intercourse with him still more delightful, and give to his memory, as it gave to the man, a tender fascination.³⁰⁹

A journalist called Brunswick wrote more frankly about the artist and his paintings for the *Daily Evening Transcript*: "Mr. Hicks was never a great painter, but he was conspicuous among the old N.A.'s (National Academicians), being one of the original incorporators of that institution. His art is hard and dry, but he made a living out of it."³¹⁰ While Brunswick was candid about disliking the artist's paintings, the author of the *Harper's* obituary characterizes one of the most curious aspects of Hicks's career, the notion that he did not fulfill the potential others saw in his work. Or, as another critic put it, "Hicks could be great when he wills."³¹¹

³⁰⁹ "Thomas Hicks," *Harper's Weekly*, 10, no. 25 (October 25, 1890): 823.

³¹⁰ "Brunswick's Letter," *Daily Evening Transcript* (Boston), October 11, 1890. "Brunswick" is mistaken as Hicks was not one of the original incorporators of the NAD in the 1820s.

³¹¹ "The Fine Arts," *The Independent*, November 23, 1854.

It is not entirely clear why the artist displayed such unevenness in technique. As mentioned in Chapter Three, Hicks's portrait of Archibald Moore exemplifies his ability to render a sitter with finesse. His early portraits of Christopher Pearce Cranch (c. 1850, National Academy of Design) and Jasper Francis Cropsey (c. 1845-1849, National Academy of Design) demonstrate modeling of form through color as opposed to the linearity associated with works such as the N-YHS Kane portrait.³¹² The significant difference between the aforementioned paintings is the lack of the artist's use of the photograph in the images of Cranch and Cropsey. However, other portraits Hicks painted from life are drab and uninspiring. His portrait of patron Marshall O. Roberts (1872, Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York) is formulaic and lacks the immediacy of his portraits of Moore, Cranch, and Cropsey. The same year he painted Roberts, Hicks created one of his most remarkable works, *A Puritan Maiden* (fig. 103).

A Puritan Maiden possesses spontaneity not present in his academic portraits. Here Hicks built the snowy background through a heavier application of paint and with a looser brush. He blurred the trees in the background with a flurry of impressionistic brush strokes which stands in contrast to the minute detail and precision seen in portraits like those of Roberts. *A Puritan Maiden* demonstrates that Hicks's ability was not limited to his academic style. The stylistic difference suggests that the artist continued to paint academic portraits because there was a demand for such images. Furthermore, those images provided a steady income that allowed the artist to sustain his lifestyle mingling among New York City's elite.

One of the ironies of Hicks's career is that he made his name by painting American celebrities and then was essentially forgotten. Towards the end of his life, the artist failed to sustain the attention of the contemporary press. Although he varied his technique in images such

³¹² For images, see Dearing, 269.

as *A Puritan Maiden* or his late landscapes as discussed by Tatham, Hicks never fully embraced any other popular styles in the last third of the nineteenth century. Nevertheless, Hicks's portraits of nineteenth-century luminaries are indicative of the development of celebrity culture in the United States at mid-century.

During the antebellum period, one became famous through some type of remarkable accomplishment such as political leadership; writing a popular novel; exploring the unknown Arctic; or performing great Shakespearean plays. These men and women were not born into fame, but instead were individuals who attracted public attention through their remarkable talents. The advent of photography studios, the development of the mass media and the public relations industry fostered Americans' interest in celebrity and the desire to possess images of their favorite luminaries. Americans believed that owning and displaying portraits of celebrities provided lessons in virtue and morality, placing a certain amount of hope within these public figures as political tensions began to increase in the 1850s. In other words, perhaps these virtuous individuals might encourage national unity through common interests during a time of civil strife.

Hicks witnessed the development and rise of celebrity culture when he first came to New York in the early 1840s. During his training abroad, he recognized that in order to be competitive with his contemporaries, he had to market himself smartly. He learned how to utilize the press from friends such as Margaret Fuller, whose dispatches to American newspapers made the artist known to both potential patrons and the American public. Hicks's own publicity campaign succeeded and he became one of the busiest and best known portraitists in the early 1850s because he embraced popular culture and the contemporary fascination with public figures. Yet it was this attachment to celebrities that ultimately resulted in his disappearance

from the canon. Once the renown of mid-century celebrities began to fade from popular memory, so too did Hicks. The neglect of his career speaks to the ephemeral nature of celebrity and its association with temporality and contemporaneity. In his failure to embrace changing trends in popular art and culture, Hicks was relegated to the past with the famous Americans he painted. Or as a critic for the *New York Times* described him in 1881: “one of those old names which have become as familiar to us as household words.”³¹³ And therein lay one of the most problematic aspects of celebrity—in order to maintain “well-knownness,” one must avoid becoming too “well-known”. While several factors contributed to Hicks’s neglect—the fleeting nature of celebrity; his stylistic inconsistencies and failure to embrace new styles; scholars’ preference for other genres of American painting—his career is demonstrative of the larger phenomenon of celebrity culture in mid-nineteenth-century America.

³¹³ “Art and Artists in New York,” *New York Times*, June 2, 1881.

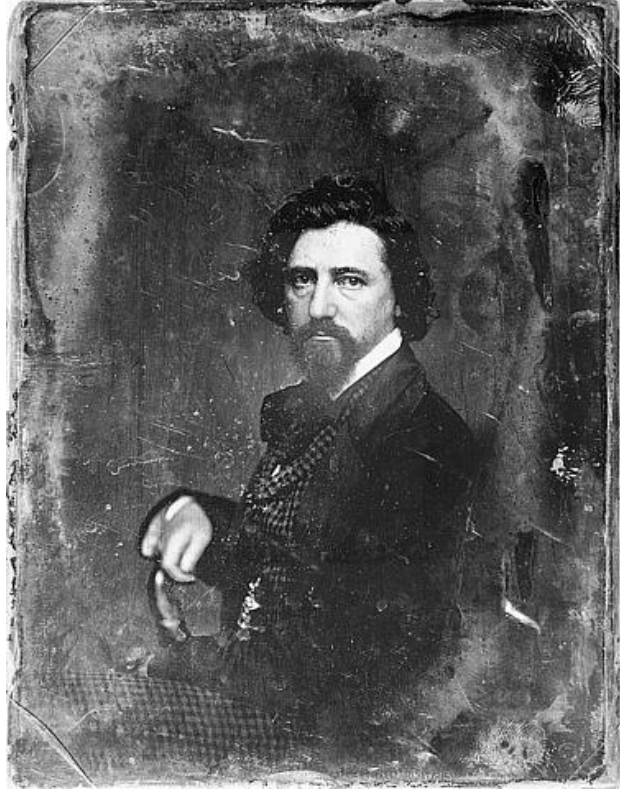


Fig. 1. Mathew Brady Studio. *Thomas Hicks*, c. 1850-60. Daguerreotype. Library of Congress.

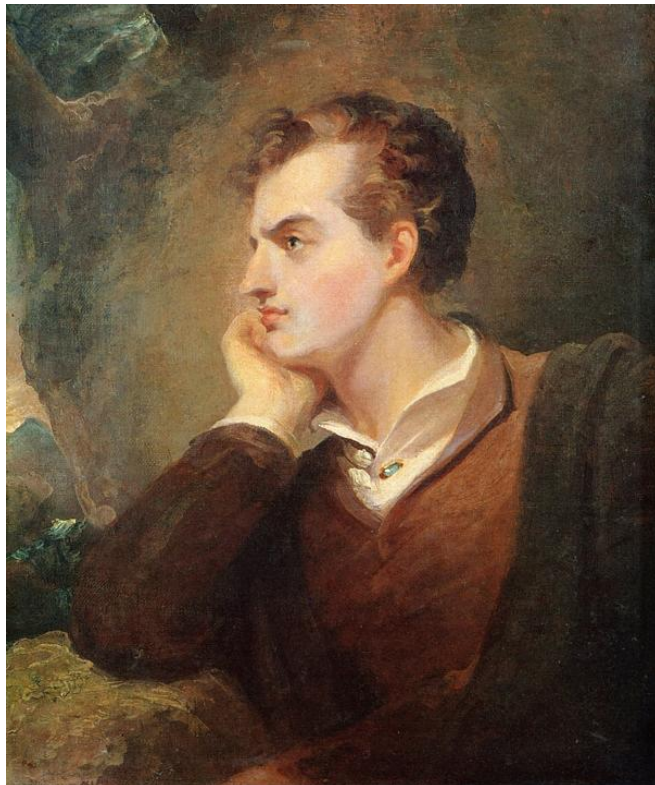


Fig. 2. Thomas Sully. *Lord Byron*, 1826-28. Oil, 28 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 21. Private Collection.



Fig. 3. Mathew Brady. *Jenny Lind*, 1850. Daguerreotype. Library of Congress.



Fig. 4. "*Little Sallie*" Hicks, c. 1833-36. Oil, 20½ x 25½". Location unknown.



Fig. 5. *Portrait of a Man*, 1836. Oil, approx. 26 x 22". Private Collection.



Fig. 6. *Charles Satterthwait*, June 1836. Oil, measurements unknown. Private Collection.



Fig. 7. *Hannah Ann Satterthwait*, September 16, 1836. Oil, 26 x 22". Courtesy of Atwater-Kent Museum, Philadelphia.

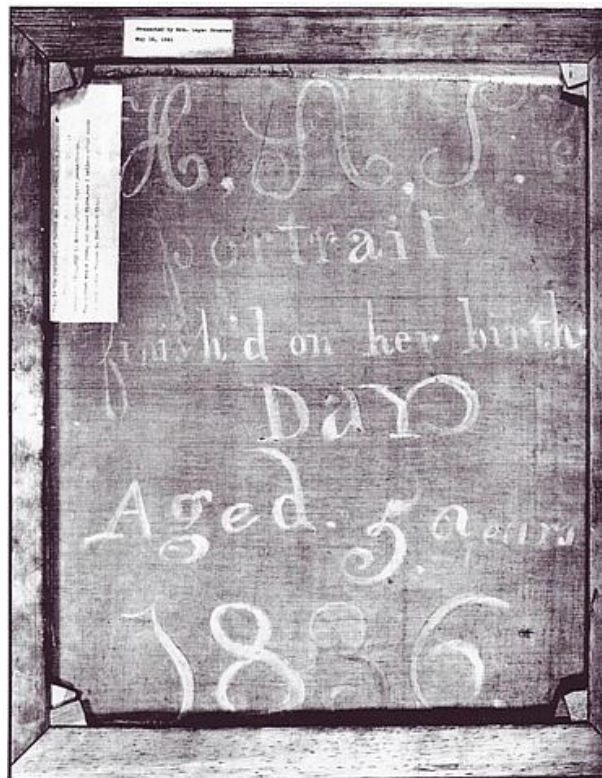


Fig. 8. *Hannah Anne Satterthwait*, verso.

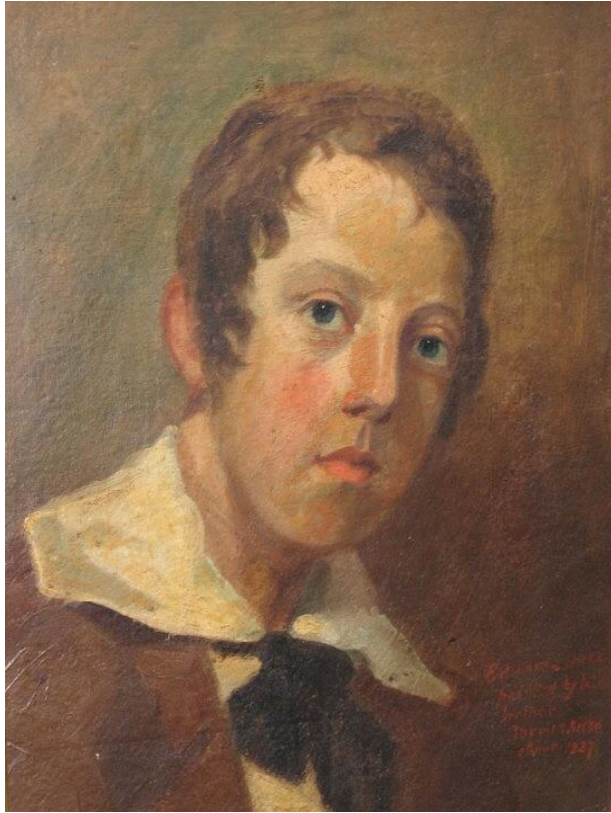


Fig. 9. *Edward L. Hicks*, c. 1837. Oil, 20 x 16½". Private Collection.

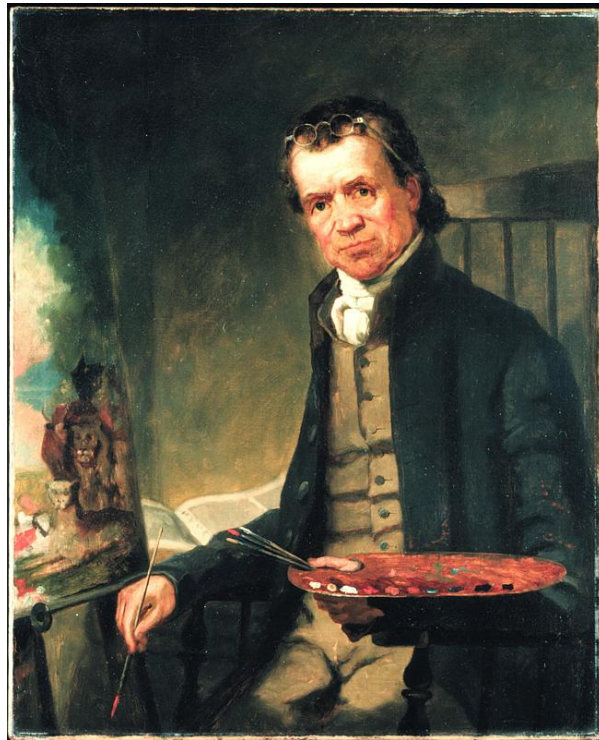


Fig. 10. *Edward Hicks (Edward Hicks Painting the Peaceable Kingdom)*, c. 1837-38. Oil, 27¼ x 22 1/8". Courtesy of the Abby Aldrich Folk Art Center.



Fig. 11. *Edward Hicks (Edward Hicks Painting the Peaceable Kingdom)*, c. 1839-41. Oil, 36 x 29". Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, Washington, DC



Fig. 12. *Edward Hicks (Edward Hicks Painting the Peaceable Kingdom)*, c. 1850-52. Oil, Courtesy of the James A. Michener Museum, Doylestown, Pennsylvania. Museum purchase funded by Eleanor K. Denoon, The Bella S. and Benjamin H. Garb Foundation, Inc., Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Gemmill, George S. Hobensack, Jr., Laurence D. Keller, William Mandel, Members of Newtown Friends Meeting, Olde Hope Antiques, Inc., Residents of Pennswood Village, Eleanor and Malcolm Polis, Ms. Leslie E. Skilton, Kingdon Swayne and Anonymous Donors.



Fig. 13. *Captain Josiah Macy*, c. 1839. Oil, 36 x 29". Courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.



Fig. 14. *Lydia Hussey Macy*, c. 1839. Oil, 36 x 29". Courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.



Fig. 15. *William H. Macy*, c. 1839. Oil, 36 x 29". Courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.



Fig. 16. *Ann Eliza Macy*, c. 1839. Oil, 36 x 29". Courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.



Fig. 17. *Calculating*, 1844. Oil, 13 5/8 x 17. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Fig. 18. *Male Model with Mandolin #2*, c. 1846-47. Watercolor and graphite on paper, 11 1/4 x 8 5/8". Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.



Fig. 19. *Italian Peasant Study*, c. 1846-47. Watercolor, pencil or charcoal on paper, approx. 14 x 12." Private Collection.



Fig. 20. *Shepherd Boy (Shepherd Boy of Cevaro?)*, 1847. Oil, 38 x 32". Dr. Larry Sanders, Dalton, GA.



Fig. 21. *Dolce Far Niente*, 1850. Oil, 21 x 30". Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.



Fig. 22. *Fountain at Palestrina*, 1850. Oil, 24½ x 30". Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.



Fig. 23. *Margaret Fuller*, 1848. Oil, 16 x 13". Collection of Constance Fuller Threinen.



Fig. 24. *Hamilton Fish*, 1852. Oil, 9' x 6'6". Collection of the City of New York. Photograph by Glenn Castellano, courtesy of the Design Commission.

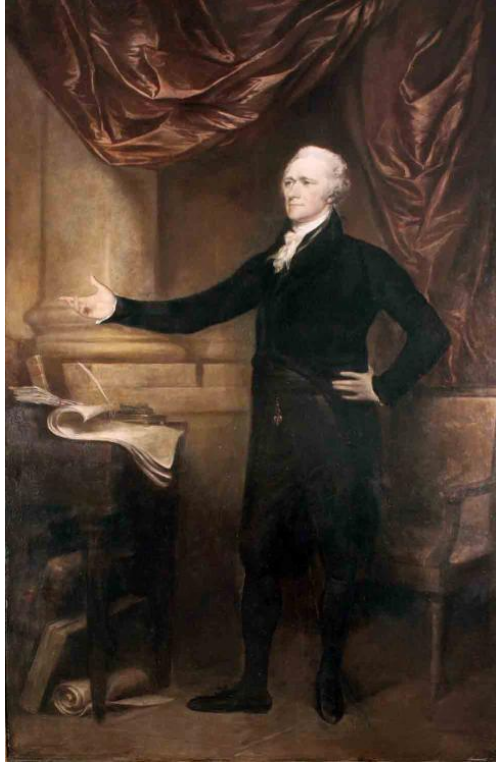


Fig. 25. John Trumbull. *Alexander Hamilton*, 1805. Oil, 94 x 72". Collection of the City of New York. Photograph by Glenn Castellano, courtesy of the Design Commission.



Fig. 26. Gilbert Stuart. *George Washington (Lansdowne portrait)*, 1796. Oil, 97½ x 62½". Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery, Washington, DC.

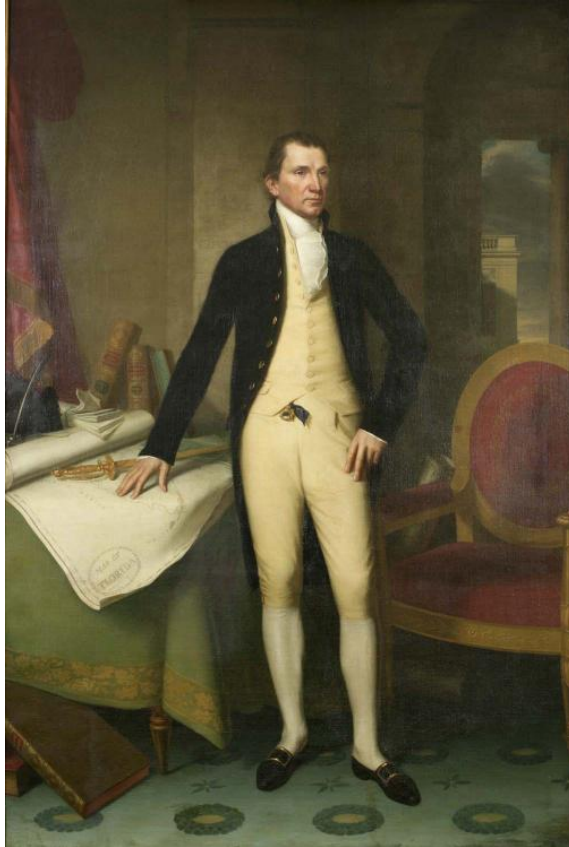


Fig. 27. John Vanderlyn. *James Monroe*, 1822. Oil, 100 x 76". Collection of the City of New York. Photograph by Glenn Castellano, courtesy of the Design Commission.



Fig. 28. Governor's Room at City Hall, 2008. Photo by Ramin Talaie for *The Sun* (New York).



Fig. 29. *Governor John Alsop King*, 1860. Oil, 96 x 66". Collection of the City of New York. Photograph by Glenn Castellano, courtesy of the Design Commission.



Fig. 30. *Mayor Daniel Fawcett Tiemann*, 1860. Oil, 48 x 36". Collection of the City of New York. Photograph by Glenn Castellano, courtesy of the Design Commission.



Fig. 31. *Mayor Charles Godfrey Gunther*, 1872. Oil, 48 x 36". Collection of the City of New York. Photograph by Glenn Castellano, courtesy of the Design Commission.



Fig. 32. *Abraham Lincoln*, June 13, 1860. Oil, 24 9/16 x 19 1/2". Chicago Historical Society.

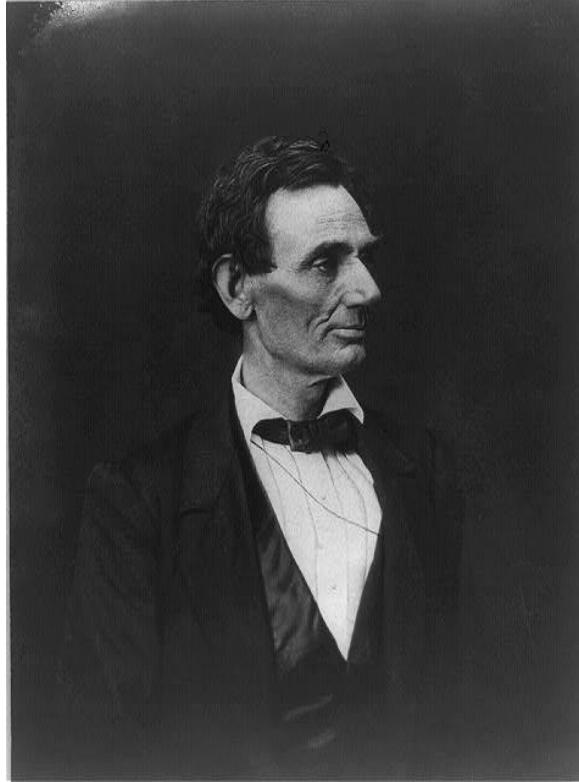


Fig. 33. Alexander Hesler. *Abraham Lincoln*, June 3, 1860. Albumen print. Library of Congress.

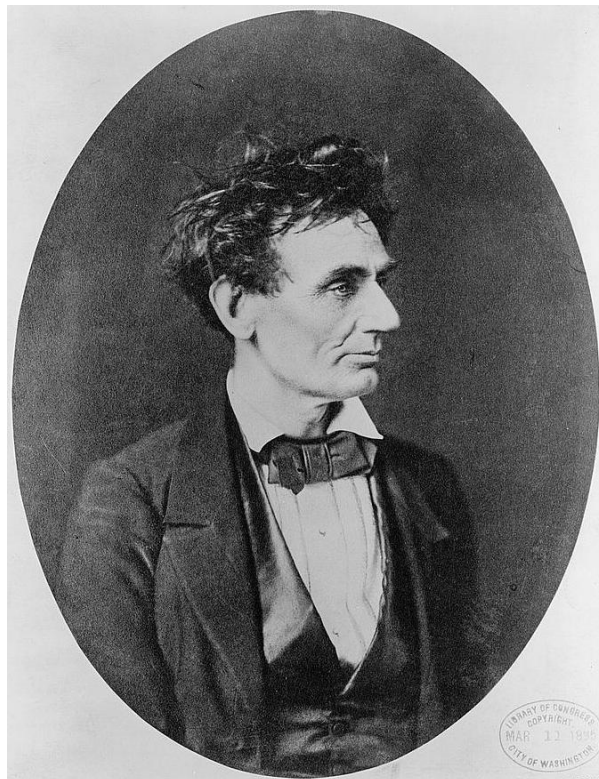


Fig. 34. Alexander Hesler. *Abraham Lincoln*, 1857. Gelatin Silver Print. Library of Congress.



Fig. 35. Baker & Godwin Publishers. *Lincoln Campaign Poster*, c. 1860. Library of Congress.

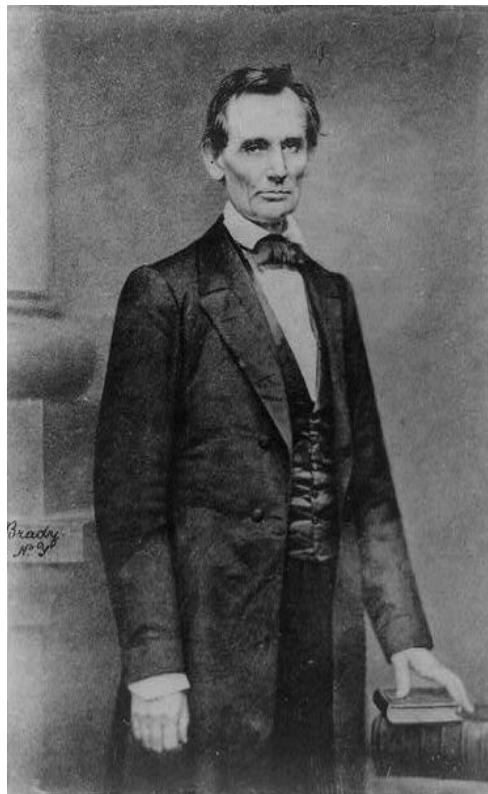


Fig. 36. Mathew Brady. *Abraham Lincoln*, February 27, 1860. Library of Congress.

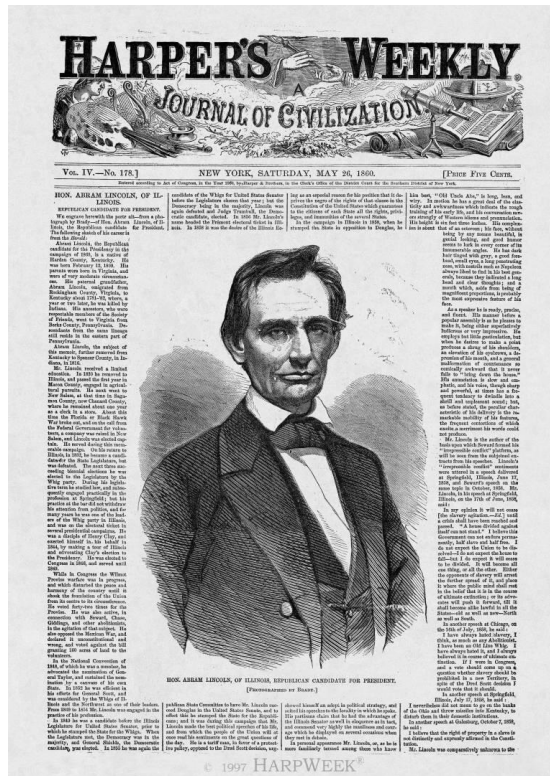


Fig. 37. Harper's Weekly, May 26, 1860.



Fig. 38. J. Sage & Sons Publishers. [Lincoln and Douglas in a political footrace], 1860. Library of Congress.



Fig. 39. *Abraham Lincoln*, c. 1860-70. Oil (?) on ivory, 3½" tall. Schneider Collection, River Edge, New Jersey.

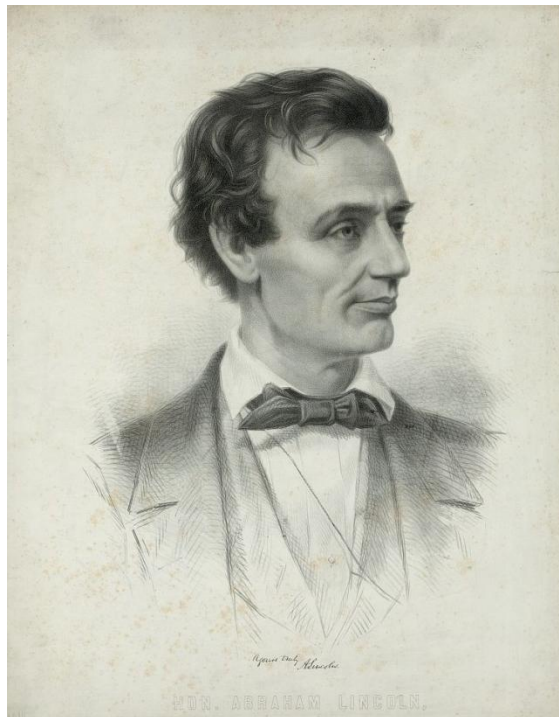


Fig. 40. Leopold Grozelier, after Thomas Hicks. *Abraham Lincoln*, 1860. Lithograph, 22 x 16". Library of Congress.

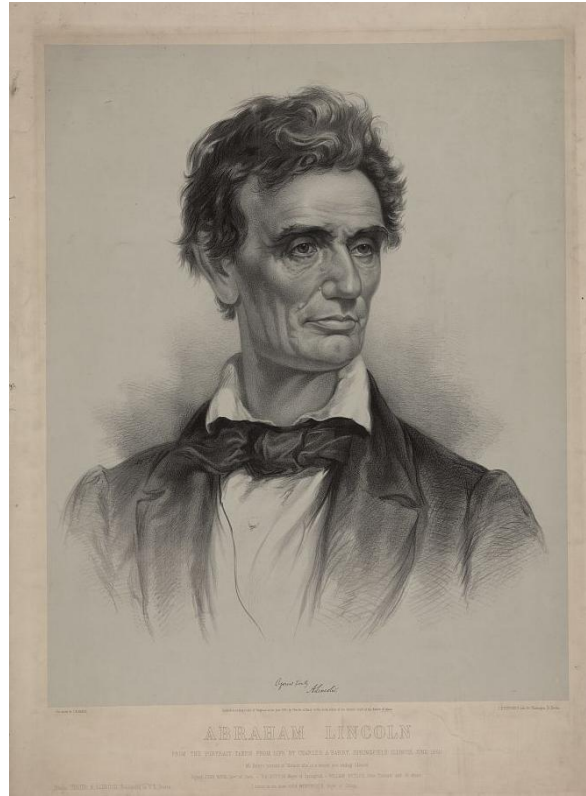


Fig. 41. Charles A. Barry. *Abraham Lincoln*, 1860. Lithograph, 36 x 24". Library of Congress.

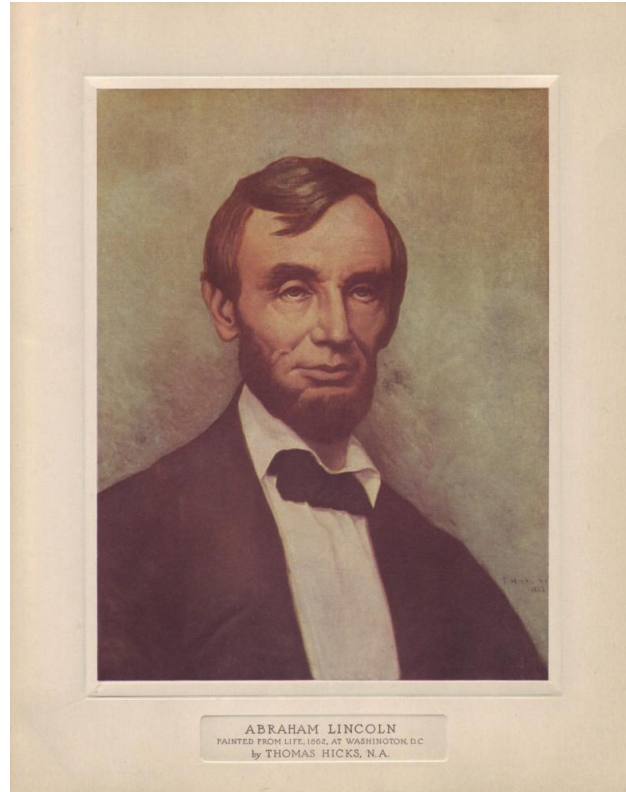
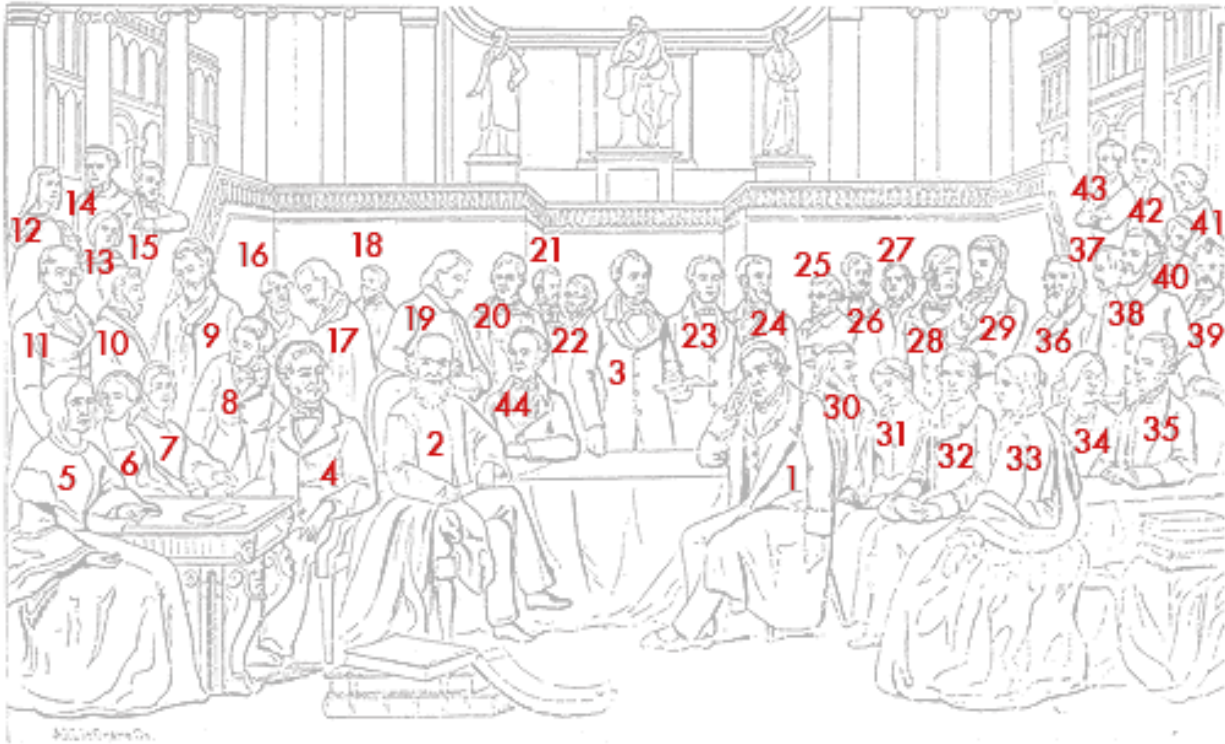


Fig. 42. Print after Hicks's original. *Abraham Lincoln*, 1862. Author's collection.



Fig. 43. Alexander H. Ritchie, after Thomas Hicks, *Authors of the United States*, 1866. Engraving, 19x35". Author's Collection.



- | | | |
|-------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| 1. Washington Irving | 16. George P. Morris | 31. Margaret Fuller (Ossoli) |
| 2. William Cullen Bryant | 17. Edgar Allen Poe | 32. William Ellery Channing |
| 3. James Fenimore Cooper | 18. Henry Tuckerman | 33. Harriet Beecher Stowe |
| 4. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow | 19. Nathaniel Hawthorne | 34. Caroline Kirkland |
| 5. Catharine Maria Sedgwick | 20. William Gilmore Simms | 35. John Greenleaf Whittier |
| 6. Lydia Huntley Sigourney | 21. P. Pendelton Cooke | 36. James Russell Lowell |
| 7. E.D.E.N. Southworth | 22. Hoffman | 37. George Boker |
| 8. Donald Grant Mitchell | 23. William Hickling Prescott | 38. Bayard Taylor |
| 9. Nathaniel P. Willis | 24. George Bancroft | 39. John Godfrey Saxe |
| 10. Oliver Wendell Holmes | 25. Parke Godwin | 40. Richard H. Stoddard |
| 11. Kennedy | 26. John Lothrop Motley | 41. Mrs. Amelia Welby |
| 12. Mrs. Mowatt Ritchie | 27. Henry Ward Beecher | 42. Gallagher |
| 13. Alice Carey | 28. George W. Curtis | 43. Frederick Cozzens |
| 14. George D. Prentice | 29. Ralph Waldo Emerson | 44. Fitz Green-Halleck |
| 15. G.W. Kendall | 30. Richard H. Dana | |

Fig. 44. Key to *Authors of the United States*. Courtesy of the American Antiquarian Society.



Fig. 45. Thomas Rossiter. *Merchants of the United States*, c. 1858-60. Oil on canvas, 9x16'.
Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society.



Fig. 46. Detail of central group in *Authors of the United States*.



Fig. 47. Detail of group at left in *Authors of the United States*.



Fig. 48. Detail of group at right in *Authors of the United States*.



Fig. 49. Detail of statues in *Authors of the United States*.

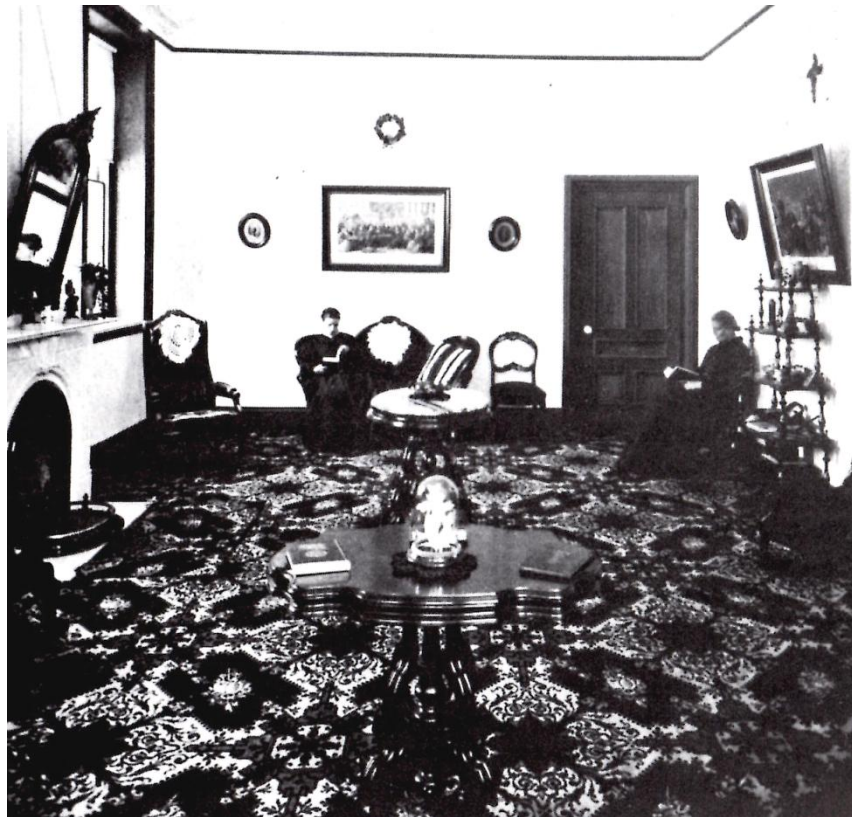


Fig. 50. Anonymous photographer. Parlor of Boston, Massachusetts home, c. 1868-70. Stereograph. Historic New England Preservation Society.



Fig. 51. John McRae, after Hicks. *Henry Ward Beecher*, 1853. Engraving. Library of Congress.



Fig. 52. Thomas Hicks. *Bayard Taylor in Turkish Costume (A Morning in Damascus)*, 1855. Oil, 24½ x 29¾". Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.



Fig. 53. Photographer Unknown. *Achmet*, c. 1850. Daguerreotype. Courtesy of the Bayard Taylor Memorial Library, Kennett Square, Pennsylvania.



Fig. 54 (left). Mathew Brady. *Bayard Taylor*, c. 1850. Halftone photo- mechanical print. Library of Congress.

Fig. 55 (center). Detail of Taylor in *Authors of the United States*

Fig. 56 (right). Formerly attributed to Thomas Hicks. *Bayard Taylor*, c. 1850. Oil on canvas, 26½x19¾". Metropolitan Museum of Art.

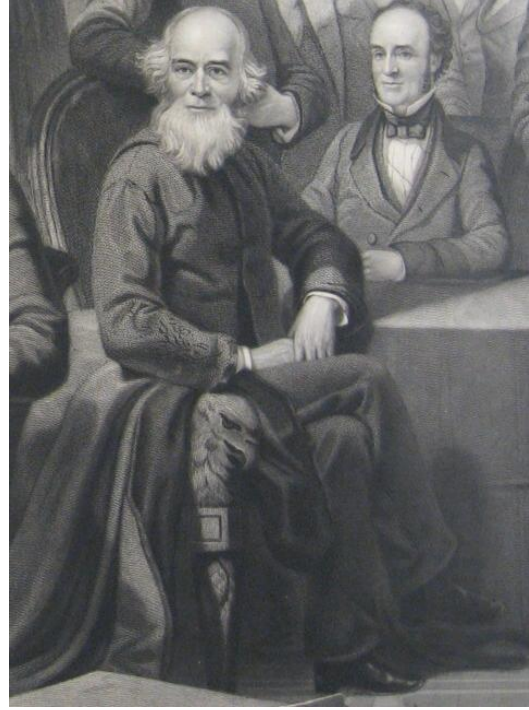
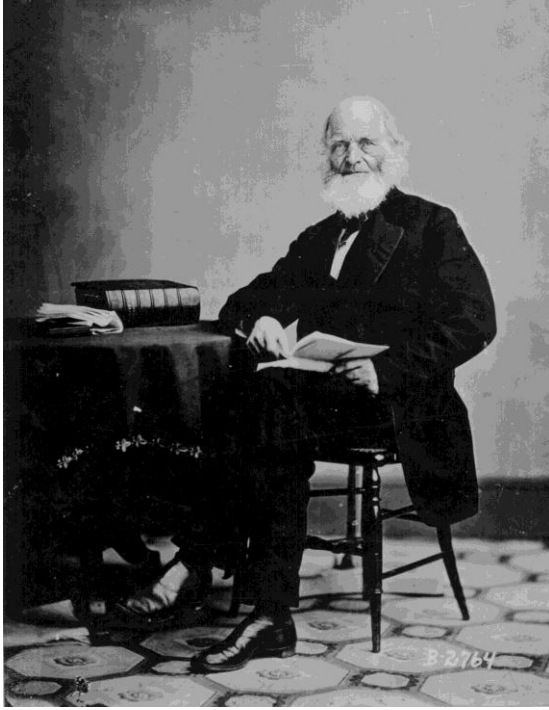


Fig. 57. (left) Mathew Brady. *William Cullen Bryant*, c. 1860-65. Daguerreotype. National Archives, Washington, DC

Fig. 58. (right) Detail of William Cullen Bryant in *Authors of the United States*.

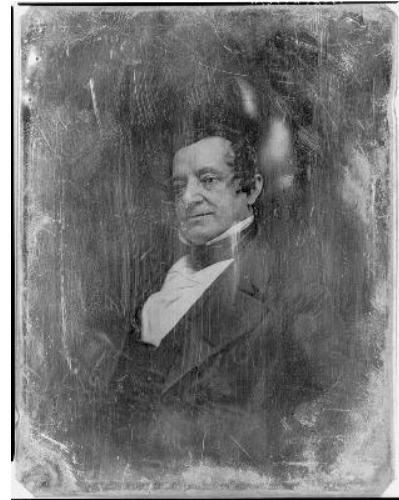
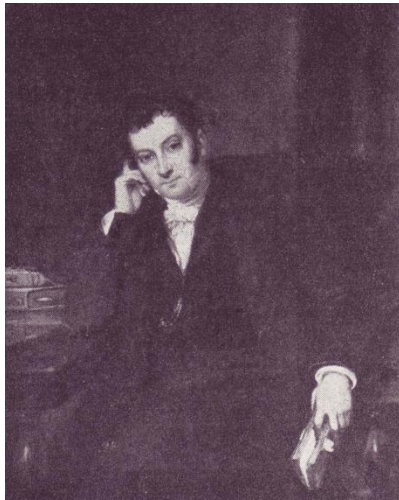


Fig 59 (left). Gilbert Stuart Newton. *Washington Irving*, c. 1830. Oil, 19½x15½". Sleepy Hollow Restoration, Tarrytown, NY.

Fig. 60 (center). Detail of Irving.

Fig. 61 (right). Mathew Brady. *Washington Irving*, c. 1850. Daguerreotype, approx. 5½x4". New-York Historical Society.



Fig. 62. Thomas Doney (after James Whitmore, after daguerreotypes by Victor Piard and Edward Anthony). *United States Senate Chamber*, 1846. Mezzotint and etching, 26 7/8 x 36". Library of Congress.

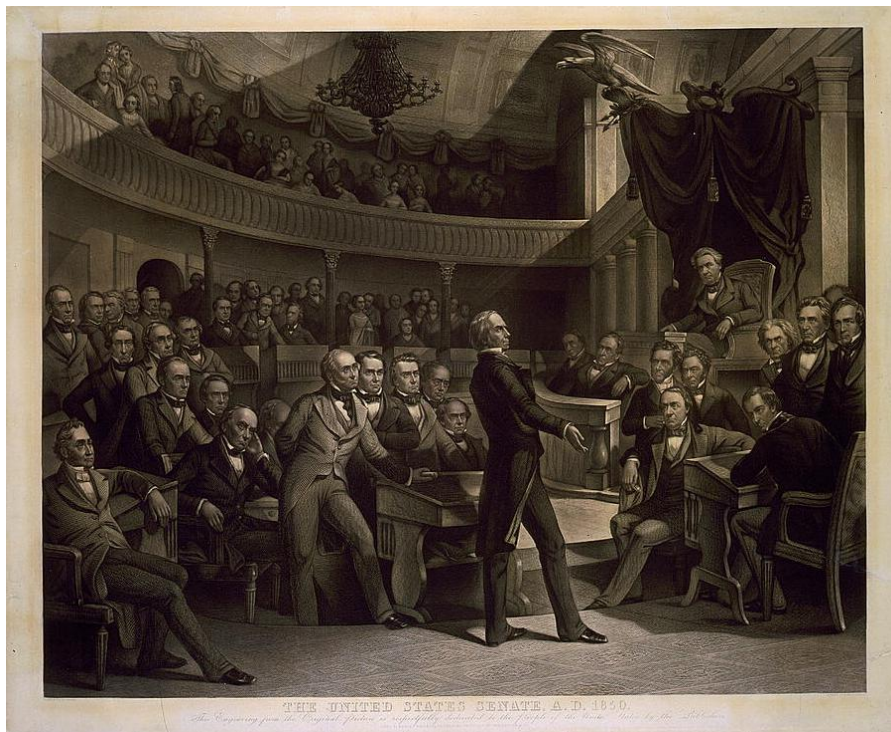


Fig. 63. Robert Whitechurch (after Peter Rothermel, after daguerreotypes by Victor Piard). *United States Senate Chamber A.D. 1850, 1855*. Engraving, 25 7/8 x 34 3/16". Library of Congress.



Fig. 64. Christian Schussele. *Men of Progress*, 1862. Oil, approx. 4 x 6'. Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.



Fig. 65. John Sartain, after Christian Schussele. *Men of Progress*, 1862. Mezzotint and engraving, 26 x 40". Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.



Fig. 66. F. O. C. Darley and Christian Schussele. *Washington Irving and His Friends at Sunnyside*, 1864. Oil, 53 x 78½". Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.



Fig. 67. *Elisha Kent Kane*, 1858. Oil, 42 x 51". Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society.



Fig. 68. *Elisha Kent Kane*, 1859. Oil, 72 x 53". Naval Academy Museum, Annapolis.



Fig. 69. *Elisha Kent Kane in the Cabin of the Advance*, c. 1859. Oil, 13 3/16 x 12". Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.



Fig. 70. *Elisha Kent Kane at Fern Rock*, 1866. Oil, 73 x 63". Courtesy of the Kane Lodge #454, New York City.



Fig. 71. John Sartain after drawing by James Hamilton, after sketch by Kane. *Entering Lancaster Sound*, 1854. Frontispiece to *U.S. Grinnell Expedition*.



Fig. 72. John Sartain after drawing by James Hamilton, after sketch by Kane. *The 'Rescue' nipped in Melville Bay, August 1850, 1854.* Engraving from *U.S. Grinnell Expedition.*



Fig. 73 Photographer Unknown. *Elisha Kent Kane*, c. 1849. Daguerreotype.



Fig. 74. Brady Studio. *Elisha Kent Kane and Members of the Second Grinnell Expedition* (From left to right: Amos Bonsall, Henry Brooks, Kane, William Morton, and Isaac I. Hayes), c. 1855. Daguerreotype. Location Unknown.



Fig. 75. Mathew Brady (?). *Elisha Kent Kane*, c. 1855. Ambrotype, 3 x 2 5/8". Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.

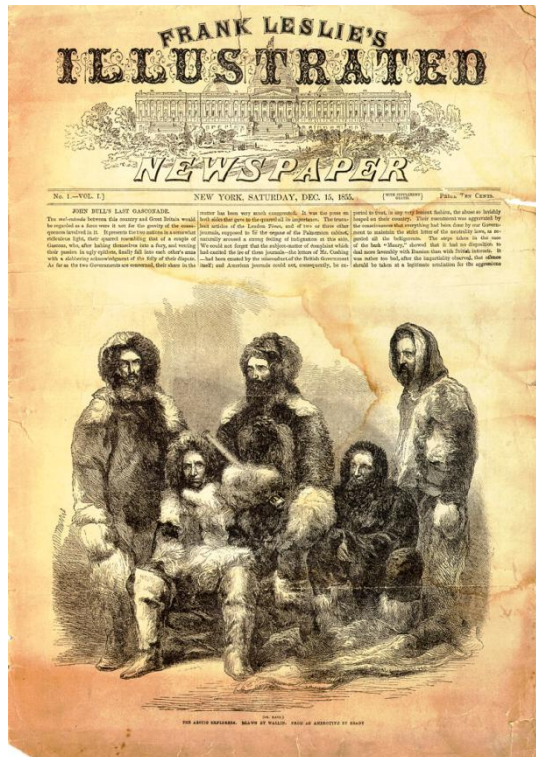


Fig. 76. *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, December 15, 1855.



Fig. 77. D. G. Thompson, after James B. Wandesforde. *Elisha Kent Kane*, 1858. Engraving, 26 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 18". Redcliffe Plantation, Beech Island, South Carolina.



Fig. 78. After Alonzo Chappel. *Elisha Kent Kane, 1858-62*. Engraving.

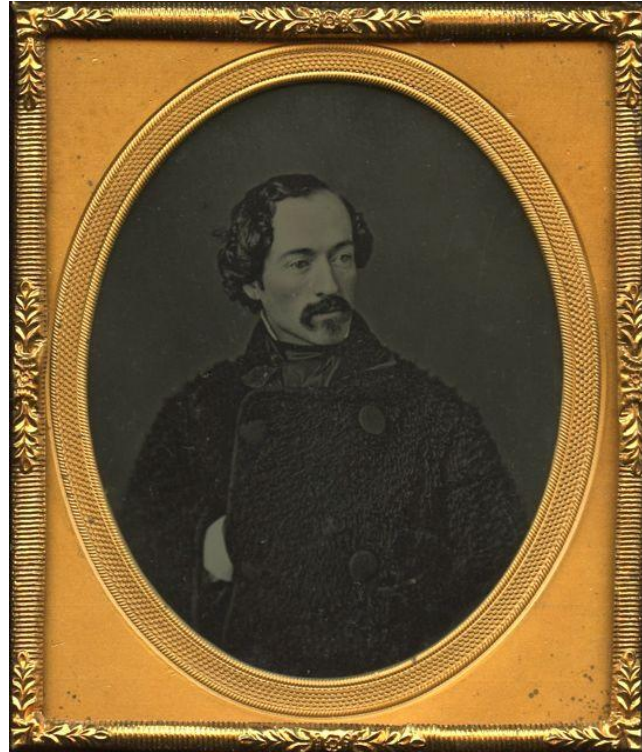


Fig. 79. Brady Studio. *Elisha Kent Kane, c. 1855*. Ambrotype. Private Collection.



Fig. 80. Mathew Brady. *Elisha Kent Kane*, c. 1855. *Carte-de-visite* after daguerreotype. Collection of Mark Metzler Sawin.



Fig. 81. James Reid Lambdin. *Elisha Kent Kane*, 1857. Oil, 30 x 25 1/8". American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.



Fig. 82. Giuseppe Fagnani. *Elisha Kent Kane*, 1857. Oil, 30x25. Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.

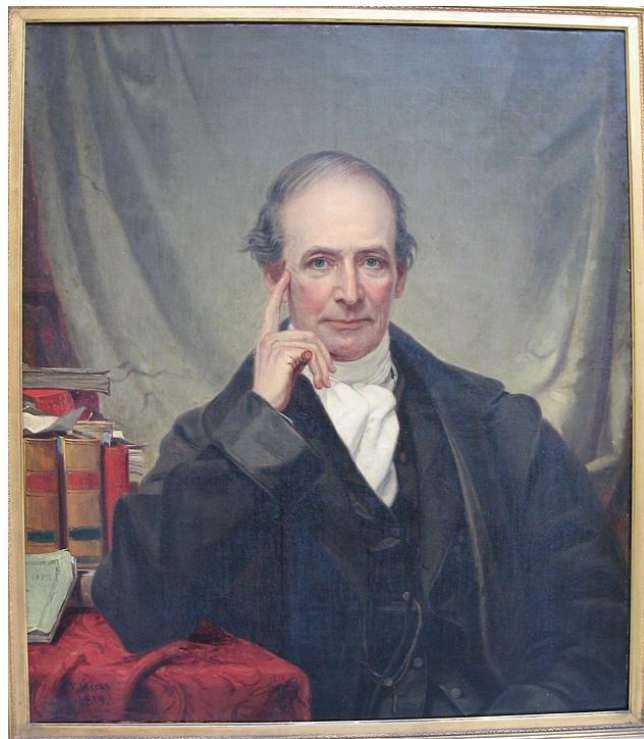


Fig. 83. *John Kintzing Kane*, 1859. Oil, 33 1/8 x 28 7/8". American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia.



Fig. 84. *Archibald Moore*, 1859. Oil, measurements unknown. Private Collection.



Fig. 85. *Edwin Booth as Iago*, 1861. Oil, 42 1/8 x 32 1/4" (cut down from 90 1/2 x 51 1/2 in 1969).
Courtesy of the Century Association.



Fig. 86. Thomas Hicks. *Edwin Booth as Iago*, 1863. Oil, 31½ x 21½". Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.

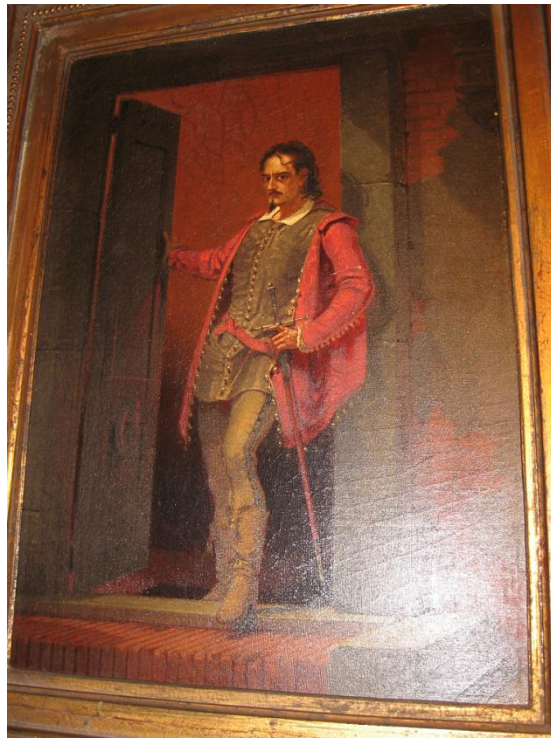


Fig. 87. Thomas Hicks. *Edwin Booth as Iago*, 1864. Oil, 14 x 10". Courtesy of the Hampden-Booth Library.

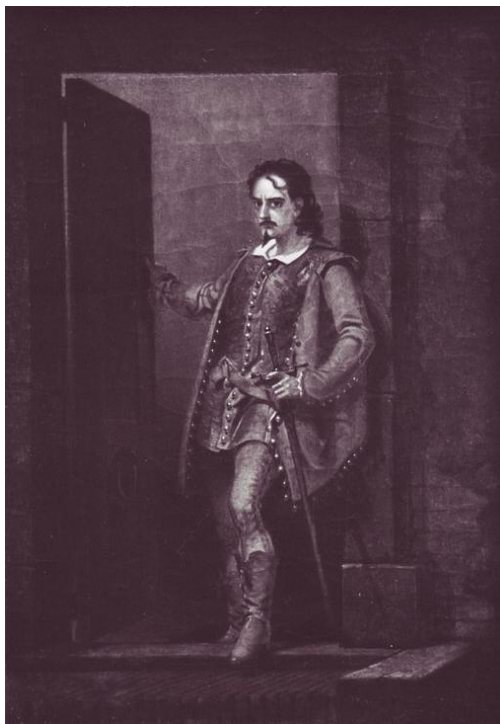


Fig. 88. Thomas Hicks. *Edwin Booth as Iago*, 1864. Oil, 10 x 14". Unlocated.

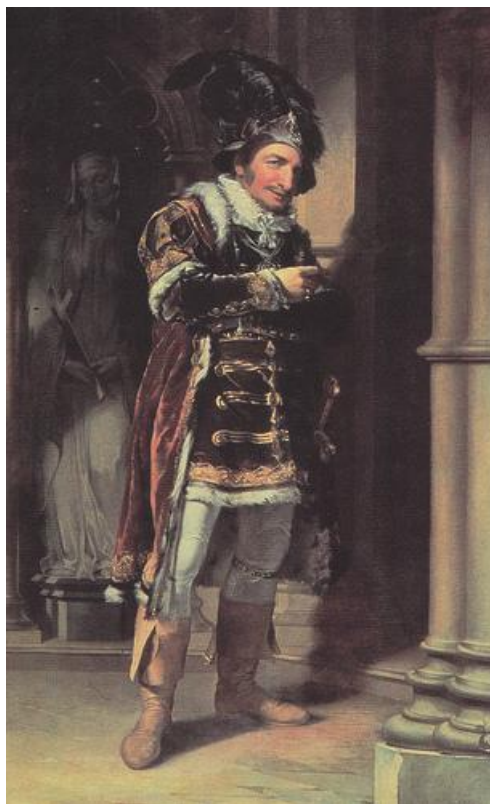


Fig. 89. Thomas Sully. *George Cooke as Richard III*, 1811. Oil, 95x60½". Courtesy of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts.



Fig. 90. Mathew Brady (attributed). *Junius Brutus Booth as Richard III*, c. 1844-52. Daguerreotype. Library of Congress.

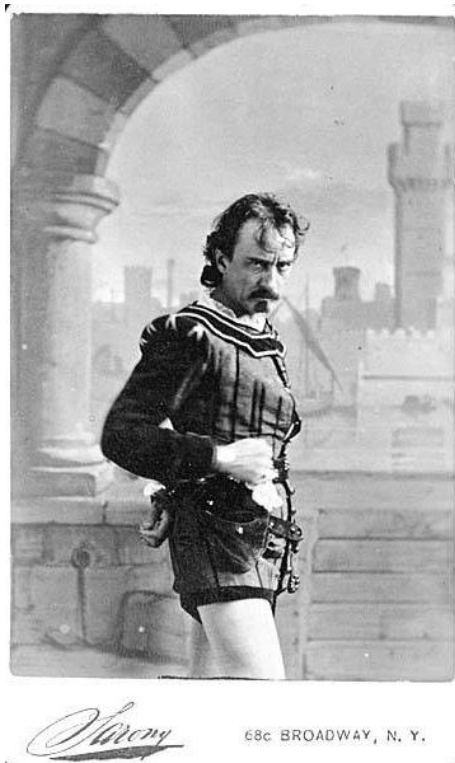


Fig. 91-92. Sarony. *Edwin Booth as Iago*. 1875. Carte-de-visite.



Fig. 93. Brady Studio. *Edwin Booth*. c. 1862. *Carte-de-visite*. Library of Congress.



Fig. 94. Mathew Brady Studio. Variants of Edwin and Edwina Booth, 1866. Library of Congress.



Fig. 95. (left) Jeremiah Gurney & Sons. *Edwin Booth as Edwin Booth as Richelieu*. c. 1870. Library of Congress.

Fig. 96. (right) Jeremiah Gurney & Sons. *Hamlet*. c. 1870. Library of Congress.



Fig. 97-98. Jeremiah Gurney & Sons. *Edwin Booth as Iago*, c. 1870. Library of Congress



Fig. 99. Jeremiah Gurney & Sons. *Edwin Booth as Iago*, 1870. 19th Century Actors, Carte de Visite Collection, Special Collections, University of Washington.



Fig. 100. *General George Meade at Gettysburg*, 1876. Oil, 96 x 60". Civil War and Underground Railroad Museum, Philadelphia.

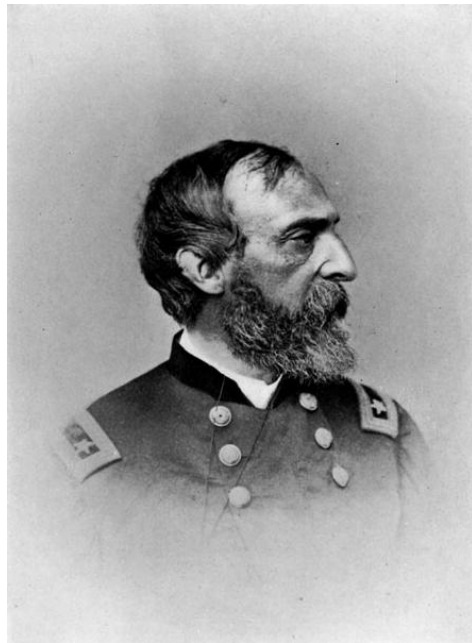


Fig. 101. Mathew Brady Studio. *General George Meade*, c. 1860-1870.



Fig. 102. Thomas Hicks (underneath umbrella) painting during Niagara Falls/Erie Canal excursion with the Artists' Fund Society, 1880. Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution.



Fig. 103. *A Puritan Maiden*, 1872. Oil, 11¾ x 9½." Private Collection. Courtesy of Neal Auctions, New Orleans.

NOTE TO THE APPENDIX

The list of works in the appendix is by no means a definitive list of Hicks's paintings. The works were culled from exhibition catalogues, museum collection catalogues, newspaper and magazine articles and auction catalogues. Some repetition may appear where descriptions and sizes were not given for works in auction catalogues. Many of the works listed are unlocated, and I have not seen every located work. Thus, some works may be removed from the listing at a later date. This list serves as a foundation for future research on the artist, especially as previously unknown paintings become public. The list of paintings is followed by a brief list of engravings made after Hicks's paintings. Any mistakes listed within the catalogue are solely my own.

Number

Paintings are listed chronologically with undated works appearing at the end.

Title

Titles are derived from museum collections or literature references. If a painting is a copy after another artist, the artist is listed where known.

Date

Dates derive from inscriptions. Approximate dates are based on contemporary exhibition catalogues.

Medium and dimensions

Paintings are on canvas unless otherwise noted. Measurements in inches and centimeters appear.

Signature

Signature locations and date are listed here.

Inscription

Any verso inscriptions are included here.

Location

All locations are current. If no location is given, the present whereabouts of the painting are unknown.

Provenance

Owners are listed in ascending order. Auctions appear within brackets.

Exhibitions

Exhibitions are listed by organizer, title of exhibition, date, and catalogue number where given.

Literature

Anywhere the work is referenced in an article, newspaper, book or letter, bibliographic information is given. Abbreviations correspond with bibliography: author's last name, year of publication, page number. * after the page number indicates the work is illustrated.

Notes



Contemporary critiques or commentaries are given with bibliographic information.

Photo Source

ABBREVIATIONS


AARFAC	Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Center, Colonial Williamsburg
AA Sale 1886	<i>American Artists' Sale Catalogue of a fine collection of Oil Paintings, contributed by and sold for account of, the following American Artists...to be sold at auction by Miner & Somerville, Thursday Evening, April 19, 1866 at half-past seven o'clock, at the Somerville Art Gallery, no. 845 Broadway</i>
AK Hicks Diary	Angie King Hicks Diary, Private Collection
Ford Files	Alice Ford Files, Newtown Historic Association, Newtown, PA
Hicks Daybook	Isaac Worstall Hicks Daybook, Newtown Historic Association, Newtown, PA
Hicks Sale 1865	<i>Catalogue of the Entire Collection of Paintings, The Works of Thomas Hicks, N. A. consisting of Studies and Finished Pictures Combining both Figures and Lanscapes, mostly painted in France and Italy, and all of Rare Merit in Local and Historical Interest...To be Sold at Auction by Henry H. Leeds & Miner, on the Evenings of Tuesday, March 14, & Wednesday, March 15, 1865.</i>
Hicks Sale 1892	<i>Catalogue of Paintings and Studies-The Work of the late Thomas Hicks, N.A. To be sold by Auction, Without Reserve, under the direction of Messrs. Robert M. Olyphant and George H. Yewell. On Thursday evening, January 21st. Beginning promptly at 8 o'clock at the American Art Galleries 6 East 23rd Street (Madison Square) where the paintings are now on exhibition day and evening Thomas E. Kirby, Auctioneer, The American Art Association, Managers 1892</i>
HSP	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA
NHA	Newtown Historic Association, Newtown, PA

APPENDIX

<p>1 <i>"Little Sallie" Hicks</i> c. 1833-1835 Oil</p> <p>LITERATURE Mather and Miller 1983, 116; Ford 1985, 95*</p> <p>NOTES Ford, Mather, and Miller note the similarities between "Little Sallie" and the young child in Edward Hicks's <i>Peaceable Kingdom</i> painting. They suggest Sallie may have served as the model for the elder Hicks.</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Ford 1985, 95.</p>	
<p>2 <i>Charles Satterthwait</i> (attributed) June 1836 Oil SLR on book: <i>Newtown, Pa, June 1836</i> Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of present owner.</p>	
<p>3 <i>Linton Tolbert</i> July 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 32; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES This entry and nos. 4-14, 16-34, and 37-54 are listed in Isaac Worstall Hicks's daybook (NHA). Each entry in the diary lists the patron, receipt of payment, and the amount received. For example, the shop received six dollars for the Tolbert portrait. Page 35 of the ledger lists amounts paid out to Thomas for some of the portraits. Thomas received one dollar on September 23, 1836 for the Tolbert portrait.</p>	
<p>4 <i>Charles W. Swain</i> July 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE</p>	

<p>Hicks Daybook, 32; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars due to the Hicks's shop was settled by Swain's wife, Sarah Ann Schofield.</p>	
<p>5 <i>Charles W. Lee</i> July 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 32; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars; three paid by cash, three received by tailoring, May 3, 1838. Thomas received one dollar on July 12, 1836.</p>	
<p>6 <i>John Ely</i> July 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 32; Weekley1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars; paid in cash. Thomas received one dollar on July 12, 1836.</p>	
<p>7 <i>Harvy Blaker</i> July 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 32; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Ten dollars; paid in cash. Thomas received one dollar on July 12, 1836.</p>	
<p>8 <i>Jonathan Schofield</i> August 24, 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 32; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars and fifty cents; paid cash. Thomas received one dollar on August 24, 1836.</p>	
<p>9 <i>Joshua Woolston</i> August 24, 1836</p>	

<p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 33; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars; settled April 3, 1838.</p>	
<p>10 <i>Thomas Canby</i> August 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 32; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars; paid in merchandise. Thomas received one dollar on August 24, 1836.</p>	
<p>11 <i>Edward H. Kennedy</i> August 1836</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Bucks County Historical Society, <i>Bucks County Bi-Centennial Celebration</i>, August 21-September 2, 1882</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 32; Michener 1882, 34; Ford 1952, 83; Ford 1985, 268; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars; no payment receipt recorded. The <i>Bucks County Bi-Centennial Celebration</i> catalogue lists a portrait of Edward H. Kennedy by Edward Hicks. Ford speculated that Thomas painted the portrait and it was erroneously listed as by Edward. The catalogue includes two other paintings by Thomas: a full length portrait of a woman and simply “an oil painting.” They are unlocated and unidentified.</p>	
<p>12 <i>Joseph Taylor</i> August 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 33; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars; no payment receipt recorded.</p>	
<p>13 <i>Peter Quinnen</i></p>	


<p>September 9, 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 33; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars; paid by cash. Thomas received one dollar on August 24, 1836.</p>	
<p>14 <i>John Tucker</i> September 14, 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 33; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars; “settled.”</p>	
<p>15 <i>Hannah Ann Satterthwait</i> September 16, 1836 Oil, 26 x 22¼ (66.04 x 56.51) SLR: <i>Hicks 1836</i> <i>Verso in white: “H.A.S.’s portrait, finish’d on her birth / day/ Aged. 5 years 1836.”</i> Atwater-Kent Museum, Philadelphia (HSP.1941.7)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mrs. Longan Henshaw, 1941; Historical Society of Pennsylvania by May 16, 1941; transfer to Atwater-Kent Museum</p> <p>LITERATURE Wainwright 1972, 19</p> <p>NOTES The book Miss Satterthwait holds in her hand is entitled <i>A Pleasing Variety for the Youthful Mind</i>, 1835. The subject's initials, "HAS," are inscribed on her necklace. A typewritten slip attached to the canvas at an unknown date stated: “This is the portrait of Hannah Ann Satterthwait born September 16th, 1831. The painting was finished on her 5th birthday September 16th, 1836 in Newtown, Pennsylvania. The artist was a young man named Hicks, who I believe afterwards, became quite famous in New York City.” The slip was removed during conservation.</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the Atwater-Kent Museum.</p>	
<p>16</p>	




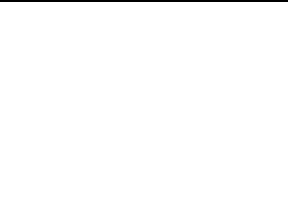
<p><i>Adrianna Craven</i> September 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 33; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars; received payment. Thomas received one dollar on August 24, 1836.</p>	
<p>17 <i>Doctor Clagett</i> September 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 33; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars; payment received “by cleaning Thomas’s teeth.” Payout ledger reads “To owed portrait (Clagett) six dollars.”</p>	
<p>18 <i>Joseph Schofield</i> September 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 33; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars; “settled with Thomas.” Thomas received one dollar on December 31, 1836.</p>	
<p>19 <i>Adrian Cornell, Jr. and “sister”</i> September 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 33; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Twelve dollars; paid by cash. Thomas received two dollars on September 24, 1836.</p>	
<p>20 <i>Mahlon Janney</i> October 8, 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 33; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p>	


<p>NOTES Six dollars; paid by cash. Thomas received one dollar October 8, 1836.</p>	
<p>21 <i>Fenne's (three portraits)</i> October 22, 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 34; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Eighteen dollars; paid by cash. Thomas received three dollars on October 22, 1836.</p>	
<p>22 <i>Smith Trego</i> October 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 33; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars paid by cash. Thomas received one dollar on November 3, 1836.</p>	
<p>23 <i>Anna Tolbert</i> November 3, 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 34; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars; paid by cash. Thomas received one dollar on November 5, 1836.</p>	
<p>24 <i>Francis Vanartsdellen</i> November 10, 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 34; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars; paid by cash. Thomas received one dollar on November 10, 1836.</p>	
<p>25 <i>Charles W. Swain (his wife's portrait)</i> November 1836</p>	

<p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 34; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars; settled by his wife, paid by cash.</p>	
<p>26 <i>Joshua Woolston (his wife's portrait)</i> November 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 34; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars; settled April 3, 1838.</p>	
<p>27 <i>Elizabeth Feaster (Fester)</i> November 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 34; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars, paid by cash. Thomas received one dollar on December 10, 1836.</p>	
<p>28 <i>John Vanartsdellen (his and his wife's portraits)</i> December 3, 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 34; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Twelve dollars; paid by cash. Thomas received two dollars on December 3, 1836</p>	
<p>29 <i>William H. Hart</i> December 10, 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 34; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars; paid by cash. Thomas received one dollar on December 12, 1836.</p>	
<p>30 <i>Edward Trego (his and his wife's portrait)</i></p>	

<p>December 17, 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 37; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Trego's wife was Sarah Fenton. Twelve dollars; six dollars received by cash. Thomas received ten dollars on December 21, 1836.</p>	
<p>31 <i>Miss Fenne</i> December 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 34; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars; paid by cash. Thomas received six dollars on December 10, 1836. A note below states "This money was to be returned to Mr. Tolbert."</p>	
<p>32 <i>John Laeur</i> December 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 34; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars; paid by cash. Thomas received one dollar on December 21, 1836. Payment received from "Dutch John."</p>	
<p>33 <i>Mahlon Trego (his and his wife's portrait)</i> December 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 37; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES Trego's wife was Rachel Briggs. Twelve dollars; six dollars received by cash.</p>	
<p>34 <i>Charles W. Lee (his wife's portrait)</i> December 1836</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 37; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p>	

<p>NOTES Six dollars; paid by tailoring.</p>	
<p>35 <i>Portrait of a Man</i> (attributed) 1836 Oil, 22 x 26 (55.88 x 66.04) SLC: <i>Hicks 1836</i> Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission from present owner.</p>	
<p>36 <i>Reverend Edward Stabler</i> (copy after James Bowman, c. 1822) c. 1836-1837</p> <p>LITERATURE Richard Price to Edward Hicks, 3 December 1836, Ford files; Edward Hicks, to Richard Price, 12 December 1836, Ford Files; Ford 1952, 84, 121-2</p>	
<p>37-52 <i>16 Portraits Painted in Philadelphia</i> April 22, 1837</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 37; Weekley 1999, 241n41</p> <p>NOTES One hundred dollars charged for portraits. Thomas received forty dollars on June 30, 1837.</p>	
<p>53 <i>Miss Cornell</i> June 30, 1837</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 37</p> <p>NOTES Six dollars; paid by cash.</p>	
<p>54 <i>Joshua Woolston</i> 1837</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks Daybook, 40</p>	

<p>55 <i>Sarah "Sally" Hicks</i> c. 1837-1838 Oil</p> <p>LITERATURE Ford 1985, 175*</p> <p>NOTES Ford states that Sarah "Sally" Hicks is "Little Sallie" (no. 1) at an older age.</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Ford 1985, 175.</p>	
<p>56 <i>Isaac Worstall Hicks</i> c. 1837-1838 Oil, 23 x 22¼ (58.4 x 56) Private Collection</p> <p>LITERATURE Ford 1952, 78, 121; Snow 1960, 227*; Ford 1985, 155; Weekley 1999, 86-87*</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Weekley 1999, 87, with permission from present owner.</p>	
<p>57 <i>Elizabeth Hicks</i> c. 1837-1840 Oil</p> <p>LITERATURE Ford 1985, 153, 155*</p> <p>NOTES Ford states that Hicks may have painted his cousin Elizabeth more than once. This portrait and any subsequent versions are unlocated.</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Ford 1985, 155.</p>	
<p>58 <i>Silas Carle</i> c. 1837-41 Oil, 42 x 36 (106.7 x 91.44) University of Pennsylvania, Office of the Curator</p>	

<p>59 <i>Self-Portrait</i> c. 1837-1838 Oil, 19 3/16 x 15 1/2 (48.74 x 39.37) Mercer Museum (80.000.05)</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Bucks County Historical Society, <i>Bicentennial Exhibition</i>, June 1976 (no. 1); James A. Michener Art Museum, <i>The Painter and His Apprentice</i>, March 3 – May 1, 1998</p> <p>LITERATURE Ford 1985, 125*; Wartenberg 1998; Weekley 1999, 85*</p> <p>NOTES Pentimenti can be seen in the right and left background of the portrait. For image, see Weekley 1999, 85.</p>	
<p>60 <i>Portrait of Edward L. Hicks, the Artist's Brother</i> c. 1837-1839 Oil, 16 1/2 x 20 (41.91 x 50.8) SLR in red paint: <i>Edward Hicks painted by his brother Thomas Hicks about 1837</i> Private Collection</p> <p>NOTES The inscription was probably added at a later date as the hand writing does not match any other inscription on Hicks's portraits.</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission from the present owner.</p>	
<p>61 <i>Portrait of a Child (Child Ingham)</i>(attributed) c. 1837-1839 Oil, 23 1/4 x 19 5/16 (59.05 x 49.05) Mercer Museum, Gift of Mary H. Ingham Estate, 1945 (25713)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mary H. Ingham, to present owner by 1945</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Bucks County Historical Society, <i>Bicentennial Exhibit</i>, June 1976 (no.15)</p>	
<p>62 <i>Portrait of Oliver Hewlett</i> c. 1838</p>	

<p>Oil, 30 x 25 (76.2 x 63.5) Nassau County Division of Museum Services, New York</p> <p>NOTES Hicks exhibited a painting titled <i>Portrait</i> at the National Academy of Design in 1841. Oliver T. Hewlett is listed as the owner. It is possible that it was this portrait, or that of Sarah Van Wyck Hewlett (no. 63).</p>	
<p>63 <i>Portrait of Sarah Van Wyck Hewlett</i> c. 1838 Oil Nassau County Division of Museum Services, New York</p> <p>NOTES Hicks exhibited a painting titled <i>Portrait</i> at the National Academy of Design in 1841. Oliver T. Hewlett is listed as the owner. It is possible that it was this portrait, or that of Oliver Hewlett (no. 62).</p>	
<p>64 <i>Newtown from Scully's Hill</i> c. 1838-1839 Oil, 35¾ x 42 (90.8 x 106.7) The Newtown Library Company, Newtown, Pennsylvania, Donated to the library by Robert W. Carle of New York City in memory of his father, John Carle, grandson of Edward Hicks</p> <p>PROVENANCE Robert Carle, NY; Gift to present owner in 1930s</p> <p>LITERATURE Thompson 1978; Ford 1985, 149*</p>	
<p>65 <i>Mahlon Buckman</i> c. 1838-1839 Oil</p> <p>LITERATURE Mabel Willets Abendroth to Mrs. Rockefeller, 18 January 1938, Edward Hicks file, AARFAC</p>	
<p>66 <i>Putting Salt on the Bird's Tail</i> 1838-1839 Oil, 14 x 17 (35.56 x 43.18)</p> <p>LITERATURE To Elizabeth Hicks from Thomas Hicks, February 25, 1838 or 1839, Ford files</p>	

NOTES

Photo available at the Frick Art Reference Library

67

Portrait of Edward Hicks (Edward Hicks painting Peaceable Kingdom)

c. 1839

Oil, 27¼ x 22 1/8 (69.21 x 56.2)

Abby Aldrich Folk Art Center, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation

PROVENANCE

Isaac Worstall Hicks, until 1898; Edward Penrose Hicks, until 1934; Sarah Worstall Hicks, until 1949; Mrs. Mary Hicks Richardson, Tyler, Texas, until 1967; Purchase, present owner

EXHIBITIONS

Abby Aldrich Folk Art Museum, *Edward Hicks (1780-1849): A Special Exhibition of his Life and Art*, 1960; National Portrait Gallery, *This New Man*, 1967; Andrew Crispo Gallery, *Edward Hicks: A Gentle Spirit*, May 16-June 29, 1975; James A. Michener Art Museum, *The Painter and His Apprentice*, March 1-May 3, 1998; Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Museum, *The Kingdom of Edward Hicks*, February 5-September 5, 1999

LITERATURE

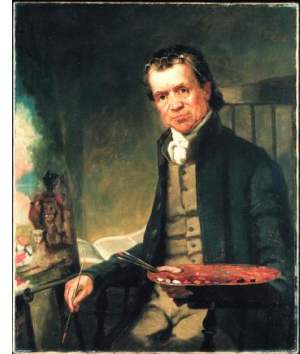
“The Corner Cupboard,” *Antiques* 49, no. 4 (April 1946): 260*; Ford 1952, ix, 83*; Davidson 1967, 392*; Townsend 1968, 116*; Brown 1969, 734*; Merkert 1970*; Bishop 1972, 208-209*; Haynes 1974, frontispiece*; Andrew Crispo Gallery 1975, cat. no. 35*; Hughes 1975, 62*; Guttenberg 1980, 10-11*; Mather 1980, 88*; Lipman and Armstrong 1980, 88*; Mather and Miller 1983, 70*; Ford 1985, 132-133; Sozanski, 1988; Vlach 1988, 121-123; Bush 1996, plate 3*; Weekley 1999, 54, 85, 197; Christie’s New York, 2000, 32 *

NOTES

Cowdrey’s NAD exhibition record indicates that in 1839 and 1842, Thomas exhibited a portrait owned by E. Hicks. It has generally been accepted that sitter was Edward Hicks. It is unclear if it was the National Portrait Gallery version (no. 72) or this version.

PHOTO SOURCE

Courtesy of the Abby Aldrich Folk Art Center, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation.



68

Mrs. Josiah Macy (Lydia Hussey)

c. 1839

Oil, 36 x 29 (91.44 x 73.66)

Inscribed *verso*: frame; pencil; script Lydia Hussey; paper label; frame; ink; print The property of Geol H. Macy/presented to him by/ grandmother Eliza F./Macy 9th month 5th 1891d
Nantucket Historical Association (1992.0007.002)

PROVENANCE

Mr. and Mrs. William K. Macy, Jr.; to present owner by 1992

LITERATURE

Jehle 1999, 124*

PHOTO SOURCE

Courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.



69

Colonel Josiah Graham Macy

c. 1839

Oil, 36 x 29 (91.44 x 73.66)

Inscribed *verso*: paper label; ink; print; stretcher Mrs. W.K. Macy/ 3 East 76. St./ New York/ No frame/ E A C Winslow; frame; ink; paper label; script The property of Geo. Hussey
Nantucket Historical Association, Gift of Mr. William K. Macy, Jr. (1992.0007.006)

PROVENANCE

Mr. and Mrs. William K. Macy, Jr.; to present owner by 1992

EXHIBITIONS

National Academy of Design, 1839 (no. 33)




LITERATURE

“Original correspondence, letter 4, Dear Cousin, Off the Island, May, 1839,” *Nantucket Inquirer*, June 5, 1839; Cowdrey 1943, 1:225; Jehle 1999, 124, 125*

NOTES

“I have taken a second look at the Colonel’s portrait, and fine I have, unintentionally, done him an injustice; his position is not objectionable as I thought it was; the dark shadows of his snuff colored suit deceived me. I am very sorry that I made the remark about coat tails; I love to be very correct in such matters. Here is a portrait of J_ M_ whom you also know, a very good looking man as well as a very good one, but this is a very poor picture; it is wanting in two essentials, good coloring and



<p>correct drawing; the artist is a Mr. Hicks; I presume he is a Friend, from the drabish [<i>sic</i>] hue of his pigments, and from his name.” [“Original correspondence, letter 4, Dear Cousin, Off the Island, May, 1839,” <i>Nantucket Inquirer</i>, June 5, 1839]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.</p>	
<p>70 <i>Mrs. Isaac Macy (Ann Eliza Macy)</i> c. 1839 Oil, 36 x 29 (91.44 x 73.66) Nantucket Historical Association, Bequest of Mr. and Mrs. Oswald Tupancy (1989.0141.002)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mrs. Anna Still, Nantucket; Tupancy-Harris Foundation; to present owner by 1989.</p> <p>LITERATURE Jehle 1999, 124-125*</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.</p>	
<p>71 <i>William H. Macy</i> c. 1839 Oil, 35½ x 28½ (90.17 x 72.39) Nantucket Historical Association, Gift of Mr. Everett Macy (1928.0063.001)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Everett Macy</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the Nantucket Historical Association.</p>	
<p>72 <i>Portrait of Edward Hicks (Hicks painting the Peaceable Kingdom)</i> c. 1839-1841 Oil, 36 x 28¾ (91.44 x 73.02) National Portrait Gallery (NPG 88.53)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Edward Hicks, by 1839; Susan Hicks Carle; Mr. and Mrs. John J. Carle; Edward Hicks Carle, Charlottesville, VA; John J. Carle II, Kenswick, VA, until 1987; [Sotheby’s New York, December 3, 1987 (no. 38)]; [Hirschl & Adler Galleries, June 13, 1988]; Purchase, present owner</p>	

<p>EXHIBITIONS Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Folk Art Collection, <i>Edward Hicks 1780-1849: A Special Exhibition Devoted to His Life and Work</i>, September 30-October 30, 1960 (no. 1); James A. Michener Art Museum, <i>The Painter and His Apprentice</i>, March 1-May 3, 1998</p> <p>LITERATURE Price 1945, 8*; Ford 1952, xi*; Ford 1985, 154; Sozanski 1988</p> <p>NOTES Cowdrey’s NAD exhibition record indicates that in 1839 and 1842, a portrait by Thomas Hicks that was owned by E. Hicks was shown. It is generally accepted that the “gentleman” in the portrait was Edward Hicks. It is unclear if it was this version or the Abby Aldrich Folk Art Center version (no. 67).</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.</p>	
<p>73 <i>Major Joseph O. U. S. Archambault</i> (attributed) c. 1840 Oil, 39 x 35 (99.06 x 89) Mercer Museum (04039)</p> <p>NOTES An undated newspaper clipping states that Hicks painted Archambault’s portrait. See the Archambault Family Photograph Album, Spruance Library, Bucks County Historical Society. Image available at www.mercermuseum.org.</p>	
<p>74 <i>Youth and Age</i> c. 1840</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1840 (no. 287)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1943, 1:255</p>	
<p>75 <i>Death of Abel</i> c. 1841</p> <p>LITERATURE Tuckerman 1867, 465; “Art and Artists in New York,” <i>The Independent</i> (New York), June 2, 1881</p>	

<p>76 <i>Winter Evening Scene</i> c. 1841</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1841 (no. 69)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1943, 1:226</p>	
<p>77 <i>Death's First Visitation</i> c. 1841</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1841 (no. 32)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1943, 1:226</p>	
<p>78 <i>Self-Portrait</i> c. 1841-42 Oil on canvas on masonite, 19 7/8 x 16 (50.48 x 40.64) National Academy of Design (569-P)</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1845 (no. 199); Wilmington Society of the Fine Arts, <i>Twenty-three American Painters: Their Portraits and Their Work, 1815-1943</i>, 1956 (no. 8); James A. Michener Art Museum, <i>The Painter and His Apprentice</i>, March 1-May 3, 1998</p> <p>LITERATURE "National Academy of Design," <i>The New York Herald</i> 11, no. 121 (May 3, 1845); "The National Academy," <i>The Broadway Journal</i> 1, no. 19 (May 10, 1845): 290; Ford 1985 15; Weekley 1999, 86*; Dearing 2004, 268-269*</p> <p>NOTES ANA diploma presentation</p> <p>"No. 199. <i>Portrait of T. Hicks</i>—painted by himself. Lawyers say that the advocate who pleads his own cause has a fool for a client, and the artist who paints his own portrait is sure of satisfying the sitter. Perhaps this is the reason why artists are so fond of painting themselves. We believe there are few painters who have not multiplied their own faces. The Academy has an absurd rule, requiring its associates to present their own portraits to be hung on its walls. They could not have hit upon a</p>	

<p>better plan for securing a collection of bad pictures. At the top of the great stairway, as the visitor mounts into the sky-parlor, where for some inscrutable reason, the Academy holds its exhibitions, may be seen the best collection of caricatures in the city. One of the greatest curiosities among them is a head labeled "Bryant," which nobody would suspect was meant for the poet of that name. Mr. Hicks's portrait, though painted by himself, is very like him, but it is not equal to some of his other portraits."["The National Academy," <i>The Broadway Journal</i> (10 May 1845): 290]</p>	
<p>79 <i>Martin Johnson Heade</i> 1841 Oil, 22 3/8 x 22 5/8 (56.83 x 57.47) SLL: <i>T Hicks 1841</i> Mercer Museum (3070)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Charles E. Heed; to present owner by 1915</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Bucks County Historical Society, <i>Bicentennial Exhibition</i>, June 1976 (no. 12); James A. Michener Art Museum, <i>The Painter and His Apprentice</i>, March 1-May 3, 1998</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks 1910, 91; Bush 1996, 114-116*; Weekley 1999, 85-86*; Wartenberg 1998; Stebbins 1999, 197</p> <p>NOTES For image, see Weekley 1999, 86.</p>	
<p>80 <i>The Lazy Fellow</i> c. 1842</p> <p>PROVENANCE John Y. Young, Georgetown, Washington, D.C., 1842</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1842 (no. 208); Apollo Association Transactions, 1842 (no. 8)</p> <p>LITERATURE "The Fine Arts," <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), July 9, 1842; Cowdrey 1943, 1:226; Cowdrey 1953, 2:183</p> <p>NOTES</p>	

<p>“...No. 208, ‘A Lazy Fellow,’ by J. Hicks [<i>sic</i>], a picture of rustic life, representing the apathy of utter laziness, with great effect...” [“The Fine Arts,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), July 9, 1842]</p>	
<p>81 <i>The Desponding Man</i> c. 1842</p> <p>PROVENANCE Chas. F. Mayer, Baltimore, MD, 1842-?</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS American Art Union, 1842 (no. 34); Maryland Historical Society, 1849 (no. 54)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1953, 2:183; Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1718</p>	
<p>82 <i>Ruth’s Entreaty</i> c. 1843</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1843 (no. 197)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1943, 1:226</p>	
<p>83 <i>Dr. H. H. Sherwood</i> c. 1844</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1844 (no. 101)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1943, 1:226</p>	
<p>84 <i>The Mother’s Grave</i> c. 1844</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1844 (no. 264)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1943, 1:226</p>	
<p>85 <i>Little Red Riding Hood</i> c. 1844</p>	

EXHIBITIONS

National Academy of Design, 1844 (no. 273)

LITERATURE

Cowdrey 1943, 1:226

86

Calculating

1844

Oil, 13 5/8 x 17 (35.61 x 43.18)

Inscribed on back of canvas before relining: *Calculating/by T. Hicks/1844*

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Maxim Karolik for the M. and M. Karolik Collection of American Paintings, 1815-1865 (62.273)

PROVENANCE

G. B. Upton, Nantucket, MA, 1844-?; [Sotheby's, New York, no 1124, February 3-4, 1950, lot no. 315]; M. and M. Karolik Collection, Newport, RI, - 1950

EXHIBITIONS

American Art Union, 1844 (no. 73); Worcester Art Museum, *The Private Collection of Maxim Karolik*, 1952 (no. 23); Minneapolis Institute of Arts, *19th Century American Paintings from the Collection of Maxim Karolik*, 1953-54; Smithsonian Institution, *19th Century American Paintings*, 1954-56 (no. 31); National Gallery of Art, *The American Cousin*, 1976

LITERATURE

"The Art Union Pictures," *The Broadway Journal* 1, no. 2 (January 11, 1845): 22; Cowdrey 1953, 2:183; Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 1969, 145*; Williams 1973; Fink and Taylor 1975, 38; Johns 1991, 220n


NOTES

"'Calculating,' a small interior by T. Hicks, was an admirable little picture, very finely colored, but lacking in interest from the head of the principle figure being entirely hidden by his hat." ["The Art Union Pictures," *The Broadway Journal* (January 11, 1845): 22]

PHOTO SOURCE

Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.




<p>87 <i>One Toddy Too Many</i> c. 1844-1845 Oil, 7¾ x 5¾ (19.68 x 14.6)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 138r)]; Mrs. M. H. Stonham, Bradenton, FL</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Smithsonian Art Inventories.</p>	
<p>88 <i>Alfred Jones</i> c. 1845 Oil on canvas on masonite, 30 1/8 x 25 1/8” National Academy of Design (576-P)</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1847 (no. 44); National Academy of Design, <i>Selection of Paintings from the Permanent Collection of the National Academy of Design</i>, December 4-31, 1934; Jersey City Museum, <i>10th Annual Exhibition</i>, May 8-29, 1942</p> <p>LITERATURE Dearinger 2004, 269*</p> <p>NOTES ANA diploma presentation, May 15, 1845</p>	
<p>89 <i>Valentine Hicks</i> c. 1845 Oil, 29 x 36 (73.66 x 91.44) Nassau County Museum, New York</p> <p>PROVENANCE M. Hicks</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Brooklyn Institute, October 18, 1843 (no. 46); Hecksher Museum, <i>Long Island Painters and Portraits</i>, September 27 – November 1, 1981</p> <p>LITERATURE Hecksher Museum 1981, 9; Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:719</p>	
<p>90 <i>Horse and Shetland Pony</i> c. 1845</p>	

<p>PROVENANCE John H. Hicks</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1845 (no. 204)</p> <p>LITERATURE “The Fine Arts,” <i>The Broadway Journal</i> 1, no. 10 (March 8, 1845): 156; “The National Academy,” <i>The Broadway Journal</i> 1, no. 20 (May 10, 1845): 307; Cowdrey 1943, 1:226</p> <p>NOTES “We have recently inspected the portraits of a horse and a Shetland poney (<i>sic</i>) painted by Mr. T. Hicks, for John H. Hicks, Esq. of this city, which struck us as the finest specimen of animal portraiture that we have ever seen from an American artist. The animals, though in high keeping, had nothing of that unnatural glossiness of hide which is so disagreeable in the majority of pictures of this class. The interior of the stable would do credit to any American artist with whose works we are acquainted. Mr. Hicks adheres to the integrity of nature in his portraiture, and we should judge from the few pictures of his execution that we have seen that he is a hard student and a close observer of nature. If he do not in a few years stand at the head of his profession in this country, we shall be disappointed in our expectations.” [“The Fine Arts,” <i>The Broadway Journal</i> 1, no. 18 (8 March 1845): 156]</p> <p>“No. 204. <i>Horse and Shetland Pony</i>—T. Hicks, A. An admirable interior, and the portraits of the animals are capitally given.” [The National Academy,” <i>The Broadway Journal</i> 1, no. 20 (17 May 1845): 307]</p>	
<p>91 <i>St. John</i> c. 1845</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1845 (no. 108)</p> <p>LITERATURE “National Academy of Design,” <i>The New York Herald</i>, 11, no. 117 (April 29, 1845); “The National Academy,” <i>The Broadway Journal</i> 1, no. 20 (May 10, 1845): 306; Cowdrey 1943, 1:226</p> <p>NOTES “108—<i>St. John, by Thomas Hicks</i>: A most miserable looking boy is here made to sit upon a rock in entire nudity, something (we could not make out what it was) snake like is crawling up in one corner with an evident</p>	

intention, if it is a snake, of wounding the boy-saint. We felt a deep sympathy for the child, for he looks uncomfortable, and the question comes up continually, what does he there? In another corner, opposite the snake, are a few leaves of a most intensely pale green; they produce one good effect, distract the eye from the thin, chilly and hungry boy who is labeled 'St. John.'" ["National Academy of Design," *The New York Herald*, 11, no. 117 (April 29, 1845)]

"No. 108—Thos. Hicks, A. This painting has been the subject of many ungenerous remarks, more to the discredit of those who uttered them than to the modest artist whose work they were intended to dispraise, for it possesses merits of a very high order. It is a disagreeable subject, but it is a truthful portrait, and strictly considered, is really more imaginative than the Saint John of Murillo, for it approaches more nearly to nature, not in color and drawing, but in design. A desert is not the place where we have a right to look for well rounded limbs and a full paunch, but then leanness is unpleasant to look upon, and we will forgive the solecism of fatness in the young saint, for the pleasure of looking upon a handsome boy with a rosy face and shining locks. The truth is the subject is one that cannot be fitly represented, and Mr. Hicks has done himself an injury by making the attempt. Since people do not go naked in this age of the world, they cannot serve as naked models; their flesh is delicate and soft, and must always look unpleasant when imitated in the representation of a naked person whose body has been tempered by exposure to the sun and the rain. For similar reasons, we can produce no fine statues in this age, for it is impossible to find fine models. The body is spoiled by clothes. Artists should be content, therefore, to paint hands and faces. The days of Apollos and Dianas are past; they may return by and by when the world becomes wiser, but until they do it will be idle to look for them in art. The figure of Saint John is well drawn and well colored; his position is easy and becoming, and the surrounding landscape is a fine idea of the desert, which is considerably heightened [*sic*] by a Cactus growing in the foreground. It is plain that Mr. Hicks has higher aims than to catch the eye of vulgar gazes and the absence of everything like trickery from his pictures, shows him to be an honest and truth loving artist. He is soon to leave this country for Germany and Italy where he will spend two or three years, and we have no fears that he will be spoilt by attempting to copy the great things that others have done instead of adopting the means by which they accomplished their greatness." ["The National Academy," *The Broadway Journal* 1, no. 20 (May 10, 1845): 306]

This may be the same St. John in the Desert listed in the 1892 sale of Hicks's studio. See no. 702.

<p>92 <i>View of Trenton, N.J. Showing the Old Bridge Over Delaware River</i> 1845 Oil, 12 x 15 (30.48 x 38.1) John A. Harney, Trenton, NJ</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of present owner.</p>	
<p>93 <i>Infant Samuel</i> (after Sir Joshua Reynolds) c. 1845 Oil</p> <p>PROVENANCE Hippolyte Mali</p> <p>LITERATURE Sheldon 1878, 166; Sheldon 1879, 36</p>	
<p>94 <i>Cornfield</i> (after Constable, in National Gallery, London) c. 1845 Oil, 17 x 13½ (43.2 x 34.3)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 51)]</p> <p>LITERATURE Sheldon 1879, 36</p>	
<p>95 <i>Hunt</i> (after Diaz) c. 1845 Oil</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1854</p> <p>LITERATURE “The Fine Arts,” <i>The Independent</i>, November 23, 1854; Sheldon 1879, 167</p> <p>NOTES “‘It was grievous to see Thomas Hicks there, with his two outrageous daubs, for introducers of his name to men who had seen the real Diaz—; Hicks who painted that portrait of Mrs. McDaniels in the last Academy, and who can be great when he wills. It was grievous to see such men as Cropsey, Routelle, and Cafferty willing to let the public see their short-</p>	

<p>comings, willing to let art suffer, even ever so lightly, by their indifference to their own excellent reputations.” [“The Fine Arts,” <i>The Independent</i> (New York), November 23, 1854]</p> <p>While the above review states that Hicks’s copies of Diaz were included in the 1854 NAD Annual Exhibition, they are not listed in Cowdrey’s index.</p>	
<p>96 <i>Jewish Rabbi</i>, (After Rembrandt, National Gallery, London) c. 1845 Oil, 30½ x 25½ (77.5 x 64.8)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 43)]</p>	
<p>97 <i>Portrait of a Jew</i> (After Rembrandt, National Gallery, London) c. 1845 Oil, 30 x 25 (76.2 x 63.5)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 3)]; [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 28)]</p>	
<p>98 <i>Portrait of Raphael, by himself</i> (Copy) c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE W. S. Bullard, 1850</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Boston Athenaeum, 1850 (no. 127)</p> <p>LITERATURE Perkins, Jr. and Gavin 1980, 78</p>	
<p>99 <i>View from the Pincian Hill in Rome</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE W.W. Story, 1851</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Boston Athenaeum, 1851 (no. 309); Boston Athenaeum, 1852, (no. 47)</p> <p>LITERATURE Perkins, Jr. and Gavin 1980, 78</p>	

<p>100 <i>Marriage of St. Catherine (after Correggio)</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE O. Goodwin, 1852</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Boston Athenaeum, 1852 (no. 168)</p> <p>LITERATURE “Athenaeum Gallery,” <i>Boston Transcript</i>, August 19, 1852; Perkins and Gavin 1980, 78; Sheldon 1878, 166; Sheldon 1879, 36</p>	
<p>101 <i>Portrait of Pope Julius II (after Raphael)</i> c. 1845-1849 Oil</p>	
<p>102 <i>Mount Vesuvius, From the Villa Floridiana, Naples</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 17)]</p>	
<p>103 <i>Amalfi</i> c. 1845-1849</p>	
<p>104 <i>The Town of Nemi, scene from the opposite side of the Lake</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 1)]</p>	
<p>105 <i>View from Cervarro [sic], in the Sabine Mountains, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 2)]</p>	
<p>106 <i>Street in Subiaco, Sabine Mountains, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 4)]</p>	
<p>107</p>	


<p><i>Dancing Girls, at Esneh, Egypt</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 5)]</p>	
<p>108 <i>Study from Nature, Lake Albano, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 6)]</p>	
<p>109 <i>Gate at Subiaco, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 7)]</p>	
<p>110 <i>Study in Florence</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE S. P. Avery, New York</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Northwestern Fair (Chicago), June 1865 (no. 174)</p>	
<p>111 <i>Entrance to the Chigi Villa, at Ariccia, Italy</i> c. 1845-49</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 9)]</p>	
<p>112 <i>Study from Nature, In the Villa Chigi</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 10)]</p>	
<p>113 <i>Scene on the Tiber River, Rome</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 13)]</p>	
114	

<p><i>The Mountain Pass, at Cervaro, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 14)]</p>	
<p>115 <i>The Isle of Capri, Bay of Naples</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 16)]</p>	
<p>116 <i>Camping Out, Lake Pesico, Moonlight</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 19)]</p>	
<p>117 <i>Street View of Subiaco</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 24)]</p>	
<p>118 <i>Study of an Italian Boy</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 25)]</p>	
<p>119 <i>The Villa Floridiana, Naples</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 26)]</p>	
<p>120 <i>In the Forest of Fontainebleau</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 28)]</p>	

<p>121 <i>The Campanile of Santa Croce, Florence, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 29)]</p>	
<p>122 <i>The Good Bay of Genzano, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 30)]</p>	
<p>123 <i>Scene near Olevano, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 35)]</p>	
<p>124 <i>Houses on the Piazza Barberini, Rome Italy</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 36)]</p>	
<p>125 <i>Fountain at Olevano</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 37)]</p>	
<p>126 <i>Shelley's Grave, Protestant Burial Ground, Rome, Italy</i> c. 1849-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 41)]</p>	
<p>127 <i>Study from Nature, Lake of Nemi, Italy</i> c. 1849-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 42)]</p>	
<p>128 <i>The Inn, at Bougival, Near Paris</i></p>	

<p>c. 1849-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 58)]</p>	
<p>129 <i>Head, Peasant Girl of Lombardy</i> c. 1849-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 59)]</p>	
<p>130 <i>View in the Town of Civitella, Sabine Mountains, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 60)]</p>	
<p>131 <i>The Gateway at Civitella, Sabine Mountains, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 61)]</p>	
<p>132 <i>Italian Shepherd Boy</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 62)]</p>	
<p>133 <i>The Shrine at Cervaro, Sabine Mountains, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 66)]</p>	
<p>134 <i>Scene in the Sabine Mountains, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 68)]</p>	
<p>135 <i>On the Seine, near Paris</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>LITERATURE</p>	

[Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 70)]	
136 <i>After the Shower, near Olevano, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 72)]	
137 <i>The Volcian Mountains, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 73)]	
138 <i>An Italian Muratore</i> c. 1845-1849 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 76)]	
139 <i>An Italian Woman Spinning</i> c. 1845-1849 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 78)]	
140 <i>At St. Ouen, near Paris, France</i> c. 1845-1849 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865(no. 79)]	
141 <i>Study of Trees at Genzano, Alban Mount, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 84)]	
142 <i>The Shrine At Subiaco, Sabine Mountains, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 87)]	
143 <i>In the Villa Chigi, An Artist Studying</i>	

<p>c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 88)]</p>	
<p>144 <i>Italian Peasants in the Sabine Mountains, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>LITERATURE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 89)]</p>	
<p>145 <i>The Storm Oak on the Border of the Forest of Fontainebleau</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 93)]</p>	
<p>146 <i>Gate of Cato's Villa, Alban</i> c. 1845-1849 Oil, 10.7 x 15 (27.18 x 38.1) S</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 95)]; [Butterfield's and Bonham, June 19, 1994, (no. 4010.1)]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Smithsonian Art Inventories.</p>	
<p>147 <i>A Cottage, At Barbizon, France</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 98)]</p>	
<p>148 <i>Study from Nature, Italian Sheep</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 102)]</p>	
<p>149 <i>Study from Nature-Companion, Italian Sheep</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE</p>	


[Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 103)]	
150 <i>Giaccomo, An Italian Shepherd Boy</i> c. 1845-1849 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 104)]	
151 <i>A Wagon Passing through the Forest at Fontainebleau</i> c. 1845-1849 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 105)]	
152 <i>Italian Shepherd Boy and Sheep</i> c. 1845-1849 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 106)]	
153 <i>Italian Women at the Fountain</i> c. 1845-1849 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 108)]	
154 <i>An Italian Boy of Civitella, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 111)]	
155 <i>Street View in Gennazzano, Sabine Mountains, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 113)]	
156 <i>A Peasant Woman of Cervarro, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 114)]	
157 <i>Shepherd Boy of the Sabine Mountains, Italy</i>	

<p>c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865, no. 117]</p>	
<p>158 <i>Study of an Italian Head</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 118)]</p>	
<p>159 <i>Scene near the Monastery of St. Benedetto, Sabine Mountains, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 120)]</p>	
<p>160 <i>Al Ilex Tree at Lake Albano, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 121)]</p>	
<p>161 <i>The House of Marnio Falliero, on the Grand Canal, Venice</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 122)]</p>	
<p>162 <i>Rocks and Trees near Fontainebleau Forest</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 126)]</p>	
<p>163 <i>A Peasant Girl of Cervarro</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 127)]</p>	
<p>164 <i>Taking Shrimps On the Coast of France</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE</p>	

[Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 140)]	
165 <i>Gipsey's Camp</i> c. 1845-1849 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 142)]	
166 <i>In the Forest of Fontainebleau</i> c. 1845-1849 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 143)]	
167 <i>The Bridge of Sighs, Venice</i> c. 1845-1849 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 148)]	
168 <i>Neapolitan Fishing Boats, Bay of Naples</i> c. 1845-1849 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 150)]	
169 <i>The Roman Scarf</i> c. 1845-1849 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 153v)]	
170 <i>An Italian Showman, at Subiaco, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 154)]	
171 <i>Study of Rocks, near Lake Albano, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 157)]	
172 <i>A Brigand, of the Abruzzi Mountains</i>	


<p>c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 158)]</p>	
<p>173 <i>The Valley of the Annio, in the Sabine Mountains, Italy</i> c. 1845-1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 159)]</p>	
<p>174 <i>Peasants of Cevarro</i> c. 1845-1849 Oil, 30 x 25 (76.2 x 63.5)</p> <p>PROVENANCE I. McAlley, Brooklyn, N.Y., 1850-?</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS American Art Union, 1850 (no. 8)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1953, 2:184</p> <p>NOTES “A woman tending sheep and spinning among the barren rocks of the Apennines. Her child is sleeping beside her, while a peasant-boy of the Campagna, with his leathern pack, is seated in the foreground.” [Cowdrey 1953, 2:184]</p>	
<p>175 <i>Courtyard of the Artists</i> c. 1845-1849 Oil, 13 x 19½ (33.02 x 49.53)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Frederick Peters, Hamburg, Germany, 1850</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS American Art Union, 1850 (no. 27)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1953, 2:184</p> <p>NOTES “A yard surrounded by homely cottages and thatched barns. A woman is seated at work in the sunshine.” [Cowdrey 1953, 2:184]</p>	


<p>176 <i>Cottage in Barbizon</i> c. 1845-1849 Oil, 14 x 10½ (35.56 x 26.67)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Milo Ingaldsbe, South Hartford, N.Y., 1850-?</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS American Art Union, 1850 (no. 46)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1953, 2:184</p> <p>NOTES “A rough thatched cottage of stone, with other in the distance, -figures are passing along the road.” [Cowdrey 1953, 2:184]</p>	
<p>177 <i>View on the Grand Canal, Venice</i> c. 1845-1849 Oil, 15 x 11 (38.1 x 27.94)</p> <p>PROVENANCE A. Ward, New York, 1850</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS American Art Union, 1850 (no. 189)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1953, 2:184</p> <p>NOTES “The canal with palace on each side, in the style of Canaletti.” [Cowdrey 1953, 2:184]</p>	
<p>178 <i>View of the Grand Canal, Venice</i> c. 1845-1849 Oil, 15 x 11 (38.1 x 28)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Wm. Davenport, Fall River, MA, 1850</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS American Art Union, 1850 (no. 191)</p> <p>LITERATURE</p>	





<p>Cowdrey 1953, 2:184</p> <p>NOTES “A canal, with palaces on each side, and a church in the distance.” [Cowdrey 1953, 2:184]</p>	
<p>179 <i>Jasper Frances Cropsey</i> c. 1845-1849 Oil on canvas on masonite, 20 x 16 (50.8 x 40.64) National Academy of Design (573-P)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Jasper Frances Cropsey, 1854; National Academy of Design by 1911</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1854 (no. 151)</p> <p>LITERATURE “National Academy of Design,” <i>The Home Journal</i>, April 1, 1854; Cowdrey 1943, 1:227; Dearinger 2004, 269*</p>	
<p>180 <i>Rustic Farmhouse</i> (attributed) c. 1845-1849 Oil</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Askart.com</p>	
<p>181 <i>Italia</i> c. 1846</p> <p>PROVENANCE Wm. G. Boggs, New York, 1846-?; W. H. Appleton</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS American Art Union, 1846 (no. 139); Artists’ Fund Society, <i>The Washington Exhibition in aid of the New York Gallery of the Fine Arts</i>, 1853 (no. 158); Metropolitan Sanitary Fair (New York City), 1864 (no. 22)</p> <p>LITERATURE Tuckerman 1867, 465; Hicks 1910, 90; Cowdrey 1953, 2:183; Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 2:1718, 1719, 1720</p>	
<p>182 <i>Pifferari</i> c. 1846</p>	





<p>PROVENANCE Wm. M. Cooke, New York</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS American Art Union, 1846 (no. 140)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1953, 2:183</p>	
<p>183 <i>Italian Minstrels</i> c. 1846</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Brooklyn Institute, 1846 (no. 64)</p> <p>LITERATURE Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 2:1718</p>	
<p>184 <i>Italian Shepherdess</i> c. 1846</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Brooklyn Institute, 1846 (no. 126)</p> <p>LITERATURE Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1718</p>	
<p>185 <i>The Fountain of Elveto</i> c. 1847</p> <p>PROVENANCE Samuel G. Cornell, Greenwich, CT, 1847-?; A. M. Cozzens, New York, ?- 1854</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS American Art Union, 1847 (no. 208); New York Gallery of Fine Arts, 1854 (no. 102)</p> <p>LITERATURE “Fine Art Gossip,” <i>The Literary World</i> (October 2, 1847); Cowdrey 1953, 2:183</p> <p>NOTES “From our artists abroad, we occasionally get some information on their whereabouts...A box of pictures from some of the American Artists in</p>	






<p>Rome has just arrived...half a dozen by Hicks, the largest and most valuable of which is a composition representing a Shepherd Boy sorrowing over a Dead Sheep. His others are 'Street View in Subiaca,' with a Charlatan exhibiting the Patron Saint; 'The Fountain at Elveto;' a 'Peasant Girl of Ischia;' a study called 'La Fide (Faith), and a sketch of a 'Peasant of Palestrina.'" ["Fine Art Gossip," <i>The Literary World</i> (October 2, 1847)]</p>	
<p>186 <i>La Fede, a study</i> c. 1847</p> <p>PROVENANCE James Sheldon, New York, 1847</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS American Art Union, 1847 (no. 189)</p> <p>LITERATURE "Fine Art Gossip," <i>The Literary World</i> (October 2, 1847); Cowdrey 1953, 2:183</p>	
<p>187 <i>Street View in Subiaca-A Charlatan Exhibiting the Patron Saint</i> c. 1847</p> <p>PROVENANCE N. Ferris, New York, 1847</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS American Art Union, 1847 (no. 202)</p> <p>LITERATURE "Fine Art Gossip," <i>The Literary World</i> (October 2, 1847); Cowdrey 1953, 2:183</p>	
<p>188 <i>A Peasant Girl of Ischia</i> c. 1847</p> <p>PROVENANCE Helmus M. Wells, New York, 1847</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS American Art Union, 1847 (no. 213); National Academy of Design, 1877 (no. 464); Lotus Club (New York), 1877</p> <p>LITERATURE "Fine Art Gossip," <i>The Literary World</i> (October 2, 1847); "Saturday</p>	


<p>Night at the Lotus Club,” <i>The New York Times</i>, October 28, 1877; Cowdrey 1953, 2:183; Naylor 1973, 1:435</p>	
<p>189 <i>Evening-Monks at their Devotions</i> c. 1847</p> <p>PROVENANCE John Purdy, Waterloo, N.Y., 1847-?</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS American Art Union, 1847 (no. 217)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1953, 2:183</p>	
<p>190 <i>Peasant of Palestrina</i> c. 1847</p> <p>LITERATURE “Fine Art Gossip,” <i>The Literary World</i> (October 2, 1847); Cowdrey 1953, 2:183</p>	
<p>191 <i>A Shepherd Standing over a Dead Lamb (The Shepherd Boy of Cevarro?)</i> 1847 Oil, 38 x 32 (96.52 x 81.28) SLR: <i>Hicks Roma 1847</i> Dr. J. Larry Sanders, Dalton, GA</p> <p>PROVENANCE T. W. Smith, Saco, ME, 1847; Thomas and Noreen Bradley, MI; [Sadows Auction Galleries, Clarkston, MI, January 26, 2002]; [Golden Gallery, Highlands Ranch, CO]; purchase by present owner</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS American Art Union, 1847 (no. 185)</p> <p>LITERATURE “The Atlas: Foreign Correspondence of the Atlas. ITALY.” <i>The Boston Daily Atlas</i>, July 27, 1847; “Fine Art Gossip,” <i>The Literary World</i> (October 2, 1847); Cowdrey 1953, 2:183</p> <p>NOTES “Mr. Hicks, of New York, now at Rome, is a young man of great promise and a diligent student, with uncommon power of composition, and great readiness for transferring his thoughts to canvas. <i>A Shepherd</i></p>	

<p><i>standing over a dead lamb</i>, one of his first efforts, shows a good knowledge of light and shade, with a style of coloring that would do honor to many an older artist.” [“The Atlas: Foreign Correspondence of the Atlas. ITALY.” <i>The Boston Daily Atlas</i>, July 27, 1847]</p> <p>“From our artists abroad, we occasionally get some information on their whereabouts...A box of pictures from some of the American Artists in Rome has just arrived...half a dozen by Hicks, the largest and most valuable of which is a composition representing a Shepherd Boy sorrowing over a Dead Sheep...” [“Fine Art Gossip,” <i>The Literary World</i>, October 2, 1847]</p>	
<p>192 <i>Italian Landscape</i> 1847-1848 Oil, 15 x 21 (38 x 53) SLC: <i>T Hicks</i> National Academy of Design (570-P)</p> <p>PROVENANCE James A. Suydam; bequest to present owner, 1865</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Artists’ Fund Society, 1865 (no. 46); Wilmington Society of the Fine Arts, <i>Twenty-three American Painters: Their Portraits and Their Work, 1815-1943</i>, 1956 (no. 8); National Academy of Design, <i>Next to Nature: Landscape Paintings from the National Academy of Design</i>, 1980; James A. Michener Art Museum, <i>The Painter and His Apprentice</i>, March 1-May 3, 1998</p> <p>LITERATURE Fink and Taylor 1975, 196; Novak 1980, 85*; Yarnall and Gerdtts 1986, 3:1718; Dearinger 2004, 270*</p>	
<p>193 <i>Italian Peasant Girl Study No. 1 (Portrait of a Lady)</i> c. 1846-1847 Watercolor, pencil/charcoal on paper, 9¼ x 12 (23.49 x 30.48) Verso: “Portrait of a Lady – Done by Thomas Hicks while studying in Italy” Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of current owner.</p>	


<p>194 <i>Italian Peasant Girl Study No. 2</i> c. 1846-1847 Watercolor, pencil/charcoal on paper, 11¼ x 13½ (28.57 x 34.29) Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of current owner.</p>	
<p>195 <i>Italian Peasant Study No. 1 (Masivaro di Napoli)</i> c. 1846-1847 Watercolor, pencil/charcoal on paper, 11¼ x 13½ (28.57 x 34.29) Inscription Lower left corner: <i>Masivaro di Napoli</i> Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of current owner.</p>	
<p>196 <i>Italian Peasant Study No. 2</i> c. 1846-1847 Watercolor, pencil/charcoal on paper, 11¼ x 13½ (28.57 x 34.29) Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of current owner.</p>	
<p>197 <i>Italian Peasant Study No. 3 (Compagna di Roma)</i> c. 1846-1947 Watercolor and graphite on paper, 11¼ x 13½ (28.6 x 34.3) SLL: <i>Compagna di Roma</i> Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of current owner.</p>	

<p>198 <i>Male Model with Mandolin</i> c. 1846-1847 Watercolor and graphite on ivory laid paper, 11¼ x 8 5/8 (28.6 x 21.9) SLR: <i>Thomas Hicks</i> Watermark: “J WHATMAN / TURKEY MILL / 1844” Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.</p>	
<p>199 <i>Standing Female Model</i> c. 1846-1847 Watercolor and graphite on ivory laid paper, 13 x 8½ (33.02 x 21.59) Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.</p>	
<p>200 <i>Sorrento</i> c. 1846- 1847 Watercolor and graphite on ivory laid paper, 11 x 8½ (27.94 x 21.59) SLL: <i>Sorrento</i> Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.</p>	
<p>201 <i>Sora</i> c. 1846-1847 Watercolor and graphite on ivory laid paper, 11 x 8½ (27.94 x 21.59) SLL: <i>Sora</i> Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.</p>	


<p>202 <i>Seated Female Model</i> c. 1846-1847 Watercolor and graphite on ivory laid paper, 11 x 8½ (27.94 x 21.59) Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.</p>	
<p>203 <i>Campagna</i> c. 1846-1847 Watercolor and graphite on ivory laid paper, 11 x 8½ (27.94 x 21.59) SLL: <i>Campagna</i> Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.</p>	
<p>204 <i>Alvito</i> c. 1846-1847 Watercolor and graphite on ivory laid paper, 11 x 8½ (27.94 x 21.59) SLL: <i>Alvito</i> Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.</p>	
<p>205 <i>Standing Male Model</i> c. 1846-1847 Watercolor and graphite on ivory laid paper, 11 x 8½ (27.94 x 21.59) Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.</p>	
<p>206 <i>Italian Lovers</i> c. 1847-1849 Oil, 10¾ x 14½ (27.3 x 36.83) Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE</p>	

<p>Author, with permission of current owner.</p> <p>207 <i>Late Margaret Fuller (Countess Ossoli)</i> 1848 Oil, 16 x 13 (40.64 x 33.02) SLR: <i>T. Hicks, Roma 1848</i> Constance Fuller Threinen</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 121q)] Estate of George Cabot Ward, 1893</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1851 (no. 296); Boston Athenaeum, 1852 (no. 85); Boston Athenaeum, 1852 (no. 142); Boston Athenaeum, 1853 (no. 163); Detroit Institute of Arts, <i>Travelers in Arcadia: American Artists in Italy, 1830-1875</i>, 1951 (no. 55); National Portrait Gallery, <i>A Knot of Dreamers</i>, August-September 1976</p> <p>LITERATURE George W. Curtis, "The Fine Arts: Exhibition of the National Academy of Design," <i>New York Tribune</i>, June 21, 1851; Sheldon 1879, 38; Lazarus 1893, 933*; Cowdrey 1943, 1:227; Detroit Institute of Arts 1951, 40-41 (no. 55); "The Editor's Attic," <i>Antiques</i> 59, no. 4 (April 1951): 311; Stebbins 1992, 198-199 ; Perkins, Jr. and Gavin 1980, 78; Fuller 1991, frontispiece*</p> <p>NOTES "To those who knew the late Margaret Fuller, her portrait (296) in cabinet size by Mr. Hicks, will be a fit illustration of the views we have expressed of his artistic ability. It is by no means the best work he contributes to the exhibition, yet it is a signal success in its kind. The romantic melancholy which was the profoundest tone of her life and character, permeating them and giving them complexion, like dark-hued blood in the veins, rather in than appearing to the observes, is also the atmosphere of the picture. In the dim background the tessereated pavement, the balcony and the gondolas gliding over the Venetian waters, on which she passed her few happiest days, and the statue of the Genius of the Vatican in the niche over her head, well image the forms of that broad and beautiful mirage of life, with the noble figures and ample appointments, which glimmered always along the horizon of her hope and from the blinded windows of whose stately palaces, glanced upon her the faces whose alluring smiling was the luxury of her life. Few know Margaret Fuller, and few, therefore, can feel the tender and penetrant delicacy of this portrait. Those few, however, will see in it the brilliance of her intellectual life and the royalty of her masculine will, subdued and suffused by a subtle feminine grace which made the last</p>	
---	---



<p>days of her life the most beautiful as they were the most heroic of all.” [“The Fine Arts: Exhibition of the National Academy,” <i>New York Tribune</i>, June 21, 1851]</p> <p>“Painted at Rome, Italy in 1848.” [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 121q)]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission from current owner.</p>	
<p>208 <i>Portrait Study of a Roman Lady</i> 1848 Oil, 28½ x 24 (72.39 x 61) SLR: <i>T. Hicks, Roma, 1848</i> Annmary Brown Memorial Gallery, Brown University</p> <p>LITERATURE Baker 1913 (no. 83)</p>	
<p>209 <i>Joseph Relating his Dream</i> c. 1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE S. T. Nicoll, New York, 1849-?</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS American Art Union, 1849 (no. 429)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1953, 2:184</p>	
<p>210 <i>Cosmopolitan</i> c. 1849</p> <p>PROVENANCE F. Hopkins, New York</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS American Art Union, 1849 (no. 440)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1953, 1:184</p>	
<p>211 <i>Portrait of Robert Sears</i> c. 1849 Oil Saint John Free Public Library, Saint John, New Brunswick, Canada</p>	



<p>PROVENANCE Robert Sears to his son, George Edward Sears, gift to present owner, 1906</p> <p>LITERATURE Jack 1906, 218-223</p>	
<p>212 <i>Portrait of Mrs. Robert Sears</i> c. 1849 Oil</p> <p>LITERATURE Jack 1906, 218</p>	
<p>213 <i>Landscape with House and Fisherman</i> c. 1849 Oil</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at the Frick Art Reference Library</p>	
<p>214 <i>Portrait of Unknown Child</i> c. 1849-1859 Oil SLR: <i>T Hicks/18?9</i> Francis Smith Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission from current owner.</p>	
<p>215 <i>J. H. Johnson, M.D.</i> c. 1850</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1850 (no. 57)</p> <p>LITERATURE “Fine Arts,” <i>The Home Journal</i> (New York) (December 14, 1850); “Fine Arts National Academy of Design,” <i>The Home Journal</i> (New York) (May 22, 1852); Cowdrey 1943, 1:226</p> <p>NOTES “Mr. T. Hicks is paying the penalty which his very fine portrait of Doctor Johnson, exhibited in the National Academy last year, has</p>	



<p>imposed upon him. He is now overrun with orders for portraits, and dares not dream of indulging his pencil or fancy in the production of those graceful and various works of art for which he has become so celebrated.” [“Fine Arts,” <i>The Home Journal</i> (New York) (December 14, 1850)]</p> <p>“His picture of Doctor Johnson, in last year’s Exhibition, evinced talent of the highest order, and the lapse of twelve months has been sufficient to enable it to attain its point of culmination..” [“Fine Arts National Academy of Design,” <i>The Home Journal</i> (New York) (May 22, 1852)]</p>	
<p>216 <i>Christopher Pearse Cranch</i> c. 1850 Oil on canvas on masonite, 19 7/8 x 15 7/8 (50.48 x 40.34) SLR: <i>TH</i> National Academy of Design (575-P)</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, <i>Selection of Paintings from the Permanent Collection at the National Academy of Design</i>, December 4-31, 1934</p> <p>LITERATURE Fink 1973, 38*; Dearinger 2004, 269*</p> <p>NOTES ANA diploma presentation</p>	
<p>217 <i>John Francis Eugene Prudhomme</i> c. 1850 Oil on canvas on masonite, 19 7/8 x 16 (50.48 x 40.64) National Academy of Design (1494-P)</p> <p>LITERATURE Dearinger 2004, 268-269*</p>	
<p>218 <i>St. Thomas</i> c. 1850 Oil</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at the Frick Art Reference Library.</p>	
<p>219 <i>Un Fete Champetre</i> c. 1850</p>	


<p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1850 (no. 162)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1943, 1:226</p>	
<p>220 <i>Fiddling for Grandma</i> c. 1850 Oil, 21 x 16½ (53.34 x 41.91)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hamilton Gallery, New York, 1973]</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Finch College Museum of Art (New York), <i>Twice as Natural</i>, December 11, 1973-January 20, 1974</p> <p>LITERATURE Luck 1973, unpaginated (no. 32)</p>	
<p>221 <i>John Carle</i> c. 1850 Oil, 29 x 24 (73.66 x 60.96)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Luber Auction Gallery (Richmond, VA), April 25, 1992]</p>	
<p>222 <i>Susan Hicks Carle</i> c. 1850 Oil, 29 x 24 (74 x 61)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Luber Auction Gallery (Richmond, VA), 25 April 1992]</p>	
<p>223 <i>The Picknic [sic]</i> c. 1850 Oil on panel, 9½ x 12½ (24.13 x 31.75)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Robert C. Eldred, Inc., July 31, 1987, lot no. 59]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Smithsonian Art Inventories.</p>	
<p>224 <i>Phebe Carle</i></p>	

<p>c. 1850 Oil, 30 x 25 (76.2 x 63.5)</p> <p>PROVENANCE John J. Carle, New York, New York</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at the Frick Art Reference Library.</p>	
<p>225 <i>Silas Carle</i> c. 1850 Oil, 30 x 25 (76.2 x 63.5)</p> <p>PROVENANCE John J. Carle, New York, New York</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at the Frick Art Reference Library.</p>	
<p>226 <i>Mrs. John Carle, Jr. (Susan Hicks Carle)</i> c. 1850 Oil, 26 x 21½ (66 x 54.61)</p> <p>PROVENANCE John J. Carle, New York</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at the Frick Art Reference Library.</p>	
<p>227 <i>Portrait of the Artist's Mother</i> c. 1850 Oil C. Barton McCann School of Art, Petersburg, PA</p> <p>PROVENANCE [John R. Nedden Antiques, LTD, Centre Park, PA, 2010]</p>	
<p>228 <i>Daniel Webster</i> (attributed) c. 1850 Oil, 30 x 25 (76.2 x 62.23) Dartmouth College, Hood Museum of Art</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mr. and Mrs. Charles F. McGoughran, 1961</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS</p>	

<p>New Hampshire Historical Society (Concord, NH.), May-June 1966</p> <p>LITERATURE Blumenthal 1978, 96</p>	
<p>229 <i>Portrait of Edward Hicks (Edward Hicks Painting the Peaceable Kingdom)</i> c. 1850-1852 Oil, 36 1/8 x 29 1/8 (91.76 x 73.98) James A. Michener Museum Museum purchase funded by Eleanor K. Denoon, The Bella S. and Benjamin H. Garb Foundation, Inc., Mr. and Mrs. Kenneth Gemmill, George S. Hobensack, Jr., Laurence D. Keller, William Mandel, Members of Newtown Friends Meeting, Old Hope Antiques, Inc., Residents of Penwood Village, Eleanor and Malcolm Polis, Ms. Leslie E. Skilton, Kingdon Swayne and Anonymous Donors.</p> <p>PROVENANCE Prob. Painted for Dr. John Cummings Cheesman, New York; by gift to the New York Yearly Meeting (Society of Friends); to Tacie Parry Willets, granddaughter of Edward Hicks; to her estate, in 1934; to her daughter, Mabel Willets Abendroth; to her son, Robert Abendroth, by 1958; by descent in the family; Richardson—Clarke Gallery, Boston, MA, c. 1994; Old Hope Antiques, New Hope, PA; purchase by present owner 1987.</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS James A. Michener Art Museum, <i>The Painter and His Apprentice</i>, March 1-May 3, 1998</p> <p>LITERATURE Sozanski 1988; Wartenberg 1998; Solis-Cohen 1998*; Smith 1998, 126-133*</p> <p>NOTES Canvas stamp: PREPARED [BY]/THEO KELLEY/Rear 35 1/2 Wooster[St]/NEW YORK</p> <p>PHOTO Courtesy of James A. Michener Museum.</p>	
<p>230 <i>Man in a Tavern</i> c. 1850-1858 Oil on board, 8 1/2 x 10 1/2 (21.59 x 26.67) SLL</p>	

<p>PROVENANCE [Shannon's Fine Art Auctioneers, May 11, 2000 (no. 197)]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Smithsonian Art Inventories.</p>	
<p>231 <i>A June Gate</i> c.1850-1858 Oil, 24½ x 17 (62.23 x 43.18) S</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Robert C. Eldred Co., August 6, 1999 (no. 420)]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Smithsonian Art Inventories.</p>	
<p>232 <i>After Twenty Years</i> c. 1850-1858 Oil, 23.2 x 28.7 (59.1 x 73) S</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Sotheby's Arcade, March 31, 1993 (no. 99)]</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1890 (no. 414)</p> <p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, 1:436</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Smithsonian Art Inventories.</p>	
<p>233 <i>John Elgar</i> (attr.) c. 1850-1858 Oil, 29¼ x 24 3/16 (74.29 x 61.44) Mariners Museum, Gift of Mary Brooke and Mary Green (QO 984)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mary Brook and Mary Green</p>	
<p>234 <i>Thomas Crawford</i> (attributed) c. 1850-1860 Oil, 24 x 18 (61 x 45.7)</p>	

<p>PROVENANCE Mrs. Thomas C. Howard, until 1995</p> <p>LITERATURE Voss 1986, 46*</p>	
<p>235 <i>George Washington</i> (with Emanuel Leutze) c. 1850-1870 Oil, 26 x 16 7/16 (66.04 x 41.75) Fraunces Tavern Museum, New York City (1906.1.1)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Robert Morrison Olyphant, until 1906, presented to the Sons of the Revolution of New York</p> <p>NOTES Portrait frame notes painting was begun by Leutze and finished by Hicks.</p>	
<p>236 Shore Scene 1850 Oil, 10½ x 15 (26.8 x 38.1) SLR: <i>T. Hicks 1850</i> Inscribed on Verso: <i>to Mrs. R. Haydook/from the artist/1850</i></p> <p>PROVENANCE Mrs. R. Haydook; Leonardo L. Beans; [Sotheby's New York, November 21, 1980 (no. 96)]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Sotheby's Catalogue</p>	
<p>237 <i>The Fountain at Palestrina, Near Rome</i> 1850 Oil, 24½ x 31 (61 x 78.7) SLR: <i>T Hicks 1850</i> Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr., New York</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mr. William Dudley Pickman, Salem, Massachusetts; [Sotheby's New York, November 21, 1980 (no. 42)]; Private Collection, Chicago, until 2000 to present owner.</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1850 (no. 259)</p>	

<p>LITERATURE Stebbins 1999, 200; Vance, McGuigan, and McGuigan 2009, 33*</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.</p>	
<p>238 <i>Dolce Far Niente</i> 1850 Oil, 30 x 21 (76.2 x 53.34) SLR: <i>Hicks 1850</i> Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr., New York</p> <p>PROVENANCE R. B. Elton, Housatonic, MA from the Art Union; Private Collection, Albany, New York, until 2000 to present owner.</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1850 (no. 212)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1953, 184; Vance, McGuigan, and McGuigan 2009, 65*</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.</p>	
<p>239 <i>General Edward Mac Funn Biddle</i> 1850 Oil, 30 x 25 (76.2 x 63.5) SLR: <i>TH/1850</i></p> <p>PROVENANCE Edward Mac Funn Biddle, Ardmore, PA</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at the Frick Art Reference Library.</p>	
<p>240 <i>An Aztec Princess</i> c. 1851 Oil, 25 x 30 (63.5 x 76.2)</p> <p>PROVANCE Joseph W. Blachly, Cincinnati, OH</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1851 (no. 33); American Art Union, 1851 (no. 259); American Art Union, 1852 (no. 238)</p>	

LITERATURE


George W. Curtis, "The Fine Arts: Exhibition of the National Academy," *New York Tribune*, Saturday, June 21, 1851; Cowdrey 1953, 2:300, 305; Yarnall and Gerds 1986, 3:1718


NOTES

"Upon entering the large hall, the eye ranging round the room is attracted by a picture hung on the middle of the right wall, and giving the key of color to that side of the room. It is *An Aztec Princess*, (33) by Mr. Hicks. The half length figure of a brawny Mexican woman taken in profile, with a bold shoulder toward the spectator and the head slightly turned. Were this simply a study of color it would well reward the diligent attention of the student and the contemplation of the poet. But its fine dramatic power and characteristic sentiment sympathizing with the style of treatment, elevate it at once to the dignity of a work of the highest artistic claims. We understand it was studied from a Mexican woman and in so far well illustrates our doctrine of the proper portrait being the representation of the characteristic meaning, rather than the appearance of the subject. The Aztecs are the native Mexicans, the race that founded Mexico and first gave the country historical importance. Montezuma, the greatest Mexican sovereign, was an Aztec, and it was the younger Montezuma that opposed Cortez. We indulge in this display of erudition for the purpose of indicating the genuine dramatic character of the picture and because we have somewhere seen it stated that the model of the work was an Italian woman bronzed for the occasion. This was said of course by someone who had never been in Italy, or who was not blessed with eyes. This picture has thus a kindred value with that which we have already noted in the elder painters—namely, a poetic and universal character. This is Mexico, wild, and savage and grand. The primitive granite yet founding the form and the massive grace, and by its keen primeval trees still moulding the motion. This seems to us the pith of the picture, and so far it is epic, and although the picture of a single person, it stands for that peculiar race, and by its keen perception and able treatment for the spiritual significance of the race, precisely as the picture known as the *Florence Fornarina*, and long attributed to Raphael, now, however, claimed to be a portrait of *Vittoria Colonna* by Sebastian del Piombo, represents the Roman woman, the same race that the observer of to-day sees in superb ruin like the *Colosseum* and the *Aqueducts*. If this work were only a study and not a picture we should not feel this. The fact that it instinctively suggests this epic significance, is the best proof that it has it, and in having it, it satisfies the conditions of a great work of the kind.

Mark next the sympathy of the treatment with this idea. The pose is simple, although a little unusual. The large massive figure is firmly planted upon the feet, and the movement is rather receding from the

<p>spectator than advancing, which is a symbol, perhaps unconscious, but deepening into poetic delicate the fine effect. All the lines are large and grand, the face has the aboriginal savagery of expression which indicated recent emancipation of the type from extreme barbarism. Yet intellectual force and the sweetest strain of feeling are latent there like Ariel in the cloven pine. This is all conceived in the most generous and executed in the broadest manner. We come to color and its sumptuous splendor—its clearness, its vivacious vigor, and the brilliant boldness of the touch are not only adequate and admirable in themselves, but so spiritually sympathetic with the subtlest sentiment of the picture, that the master is at once proclaimed.” [“The Fine Arts: Exhibition of the National Academy,” New York Tribune, June 21, 1851]</p>	
<p>241 <i>Fountain in front of the French Academy, Rome</i> c. 1851</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1851 (no. 174)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1943, 1:227</p>	
<p>242 <i>Road Scene</i> c. 1851 Oil, 20 x 14 (50.8 x 35.56)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Benjamin C. Webster, Shipchandler, N.Y.C.</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS American Art Union, 1851 (no. 131); American Art Union, 1852 (no. 124)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1953, 2:300, 311; Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1719</p> <p>NOTES “A road winding among hills, above which rise trees with dark foliage, that contrast strongly with the bright landscape of the background.”</p>	
<p>243 <i>Samuel Willet</i> c. 1851 Oil</p> <p>LITERATURE “Art and Artists,” <i>Home Journal</i> (March 1, 1851)</p>	

<p>NOTES</p> <p>“—PORTRAIT OF SAMUEL WILETT—This picture displays admirably the bewitching silvery tone of the artist, Mr. Thomas Hicks, in whose studio we had the pleasure of looking at it a few days since. From the tenor of Mr. Hicks’s mode of treating his subjects, we judge he prefers the truthful and severe to the flimsy and pretty style which so captivates the pencil of some of his brother artists.” [“Art and Artists,” <i>Home Journal</i> (March 1, 1851)]</p>	
<p>244</p> <p><i>John J. Carle, Sarah Hicks Carle, and Edward Hicks Carle</i></p> <p>1851</p> <p>Oil</p> <p>S: TH 1851</p> <p>PROVENANCE</p> <p>John J. Carle</p> <p>LITERATURE</p> <p>Ford 1985, 153*</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE</p> <p>Ford 1985, 153</p>	
<p>245</p> <p><i>Vincent Colyer</i></p> <p>1851</p> <p>Oil on canvas on masonite, 28 x 24 (71.12 x 60.95)</p> <p>National Academy of Design (572-P)</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS</p> <p>National Academy of Design, 1852 (no. 127)</p> <p>LITERATURE</p> <p>Cowdrey 1943, 1:227; Dearinger 2004, 269*</p>	
<p>246</p> <p><i>Fernando Wood</i></p> <p>c. 1852</p> <p>Oil, 30½ x 25¼ (77.47 x 64.13)</p> <p>New-York Historical Society (1965.17)</p> <p>PROVENANCE</p> <p>[Kennedy Galleries, New York, NY, 1965]; present owner purchase, The Watson Fund</p> <p>LITERATURE</p> <p>New-York Historical Society 1974, 2:903-904 (no. 2301)</p>	

<p>247 <i>Isaac Jogue, the Missionary in the Valley of the Mohawk</i> c. 1852 Oil</p> <p>PROVENANCE Century Association</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1852 (no. 170)</p> <p>NOTES Disappeared from Century Association on unknown date.</p>	
<p>248 <i>Tribute Money</i> (with Daniel Huntington) c. 1852</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1852 (no. 409)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1943, 1:227</p>	
<p>249 <i>Unidentified Man</i> 1852 Charcoal, pastel, pencil, white wash on paper, 20¼ x 17½ (51.5 x 44.4) SLR: <i>Hicks 1852</i></p> <p>PROVENANCE [Sotheby's New York, <i>Americana: American Paintings and Prints</i>, November, 21, 1980 (no. 57)]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Sotheby's catalogue.</p>	
<p>250 Mrs. John MacDaniel (Mary Osborne) 1852 Oil, 35 15/16 x 28¾ (86.2 x 73.02) SLR: <i>T. Hicks/1852</i> Baltimore Museum of Art (1964.10)</p> <p>PROVENANCE O. MacDaniel, by descent through family; Mrs. Linzee Blagden, New York; Dorthea Draper James, New York; Mrs. Fenwick Keyser, Reistertown, MD, 1964; to present owner.</p>	

EXHIBITIONS

National Academy of Design, 1853 (no. 122) (as *Portrait of a Lady*, lent by O. McDaniel); Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, Annual Exhibition of 1854 (no. 126); Centennial Exhibition (Philadelphia), 1876 (no. 8); National Academy of Design, 1894; Museum of the City of New York, 1936; National Academy of Design, *The American Tradition, 1800- 1900*, 1951 (no. 69A)

LITERATURE

“City Intelligence: Opening of the National Academy of Design,” *The Evening Post* (New York), April 16, 1853; “The Fine Arts,” *The Independent*, November 23, 1854; “General City Intelligence: Art at the Century Club,” *The Evening Post* (New York), January 15, 1877; “Superb Portraits of Women; Exhibition at the National Academy of Design,” *The New York Times*, November 1, 1894; “Costumes in the Pictures,” *New York Times*, November 2, 1894; Baltimore Museum of Art 1964; Baltimore Museum of Art 1983, 81 (no. 61)*

NOTES

“Opening of the Academy of Design...A head of an old lady, by Hicks, is worthy of Rembrandt...” [“City Intelligence,” *The Evening Post* (New York), April 16, 1853]

“Hicks who painted that portrait of Mrs. McDaniels in the last Academy, and who can be great when he wills.” [“The Fine Arts,” *The Independent* (New York), November 23, 1854]

“Art at the Century Club...and a three-quarter one of an aged lady by Mr. T. Hicks, which is great in anatomy and expression; while its sombre [*sic*] surroundings and a certain harmonious oldness of effect give it points of resemblance to a genuine Rembrandt.” [“General City Intelligence,” *The Evening Post* (New York), January 15, 1877]

251

Hamilton Fish

1852

Oil, 108 x 78 (274.3 x 198.1)

SLL: *T Hicks New York 1852*

Collection of the City of New York

EXHIBITIONS

National Academy of Design, 1852 (no. 49); New York World’s Fair, Metropolitan Museum of Art, April 24-October 29, 1939; Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts, *The American Portrait: From the Death of Stuart to the Rise of Sargent*, April 26-June 3, 1973

LITERATURE



Proceedings of the Board of Alderman of the City of New York 1850, 50:633; *Proceedings of the Boards of Aldermen and Assistant Aldermen* 1851, 18:538; “The Exhibition at the Academy,” *The Evening Post* (New York), April 16, 1852; “Fine Arts: National Academy of Design,” *The Home Journal* (New York), May 22, 1852; “The American School of Art,” *The American Whig Review* (August 1852), 145-146; “Art Items,” *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 15, 1860; “In Honor of Mr. Fish,” *New York Times*, September 9, 1863; Sheldon 1878, 167; Sheldon 1879, 38; “City’s Tribute to Hamilton Fish,” *New York Times*, September 14, 1893; Downes and Robinson 1895, 304; Art Commission of the City of New York 1909, 45; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1939, 122-123* (no. 163); Cowdrey 1943, 1:227; Larkin 1949, 197, 198*, 199; “The paintings of nineteenth-century America,” *Magazine Antiques* 97 (March 1970): 394; Hennessey 1973, 40-41 (no. 29); Gerdt, William 1981, 50-51*

NOTES

“Hicks’s portrait of Governor Fish is a splendid picture. Nothing can be finer than the accessories, which are admirably disposed, and painted with a Venetian richness of coloring. We do not quite like the face as a likeness, and to the drapery, we have the objection to make, that it is too real, that it reminds one too forcibly of the essential deformity of modern costume. The sleek over-coat and pantaloons are very good as exact and faithful representations of an overcoat and a pair of pantaloons just from the tailor’s, but their fault is that they force the spectator to look at them.” [“The Exhibition at the Academy,” *The Evening Post* (New York), April 16, 1852]


“No. 49-‘Portrait of Ex-Governor Fish.’ T. Hicks. This is the most impressive of all the full-length portraits in the present Exhibition... In the picture we are noticing, there is a prodigious display of contempt for the littleness of manner which marks the full-lengths in the Governor’s room in the City Hall. The massive character of the accessories-the abandon with which the few masterly strokes of the pencil seem to have reveled in, indicate great capacity for the highest branch of art. A contemporary critic, the Post, finds fault with the painting of the drapery of this picture. It does not like its coarse texture, and thinks that in action it would be intolerable to the wearer. The censure is not altogether unmerited.” [“Fine Arts: National Academy of Design,” *The Home Journal* (New York), May 22, 1852]


PHOTO SOURCE

Photograph by Glenn Castellano, courtesy of the Design Commission.

252

Study for Portrait of James A. Van Dyke
1852

<p>Oil, 44¾ x 35¼ (113.7 x 89.5)</p> <p>PROVENANCE E. N. Wilcox, Esq., 1876; Detroit Historical Society</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Detroit Art Association, 1876 (no. 99)</p> <p>LITERATURE Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1720</p>	
<p>253 <i>James A. Van Dyke, ex-Pres. Fire Dept. of Detroit</i> 1852 Oil, 105 x 90 (266.7 x 228.6) Hirschl & Adler, New York</p> <p>PROVENANCE Fire Department Society, Detroit, 1851-1977; Detroit Institute of Arts, 1977-93; [Sotheby's Arcade New York, May 14, 1993 (no. 78)]; Private Collection; [Hirschl & Adler, 2008]</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Fireman's Hall (Detroit), February 7, 1853</p> <p>LITERATURE <i>Catalogue of Articles on exhibition at the Gallery of Fine Arts, in the Fireman's Hall</i>, February 7, 1853, no. 9; "Miscellany and Gossip," <i>The Literary Record</i> (March 5, 1853); Fire Department of the City of Detroit 1856, 15; Sheldon 1878, 167; Sheldon 1879, 38; Farmer 1888, 521</p> <p>NOTES "A large body of the citizens of Detroit have just paid an enthusiastic compliment to Thomas Hicks, our distinguished artist, on the occasion of the arrival there of a full-length portrait he has lately painted of Hon. James A. Vandyke of that city. The work was executed for the fire department of Detroit, of which Mr. Vandyke was formerly president, and a public meeting was held to receive it and pronounce upon its merits. The proceedings fill three of the editorial columns of the <i>Daily Advertiser</i>. We do not remember any other work of art which has been the object of so genuine a public ovation. Addresses were delivered by Messrs. E. N. Wilcox, U. Tracy Howe, D. Bethune Duffield, Washington A. Bacon, Gen. Davis, Justice Higgins, and others, all highly eulogistic of the work and its author, as well as of the influence exerted by art in the refinement and elevation of public taste. Mr. Hicks was elected an honorary life member of the body for which the work</p>	

<p>was executed, and the following resolution was adopted, along with several others:—</p> <p>“<i>Resolved</i>, That in the full-length portrait of Hon. James A. Vandyke, ex-Mayor of the city, and ex-President of the Fire Department of Detroit, we behold a work of art of the highest order of excellence. That in the fidelity of its likes, and the grand and imposing effect produced by the artist in his treatment of the distinguished subject, we recognize the efforts of a master.” [“Miscellany and Gossip,” <i>The Literary World</i> (March 5, 1853)]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of Hirschl & Adler Gallery.</p>	
<p>254 <i>Unidentified Gentleman</i> 1852 Oil, 37 7/8 x 29 1/8 (96.08 x 73.98) University Art Museum, UC Berkley (1967.87)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Collectors Shop, 2217 Polk St. San Francisco, CA]; Lewis and Marjorie Ferbrache; gift to present owner</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Smithsonian Art Inventories.</p>	
<p>255 <i>Gabriel Steward</i> 1852 Oil, 29¼ x 24¼ (74.29 x 61.59) SLR: <i>T. Hicks 1852</i></p> <p>PROVENANCE Florence, Italy; Mrs. Clermont L. Barnwell, Drayton Burrill (New York), and Mrs. Lowell Lincoln (Cedarhurst, Long Island)</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at the Frick Art Reference Library.</p>	
<p>256 <i>Henry Ward Beecher</i> c. 1853</p> <p>PROVENANCE J. C. McRae (?); O. Leary Esq. (?)</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1854 (no. 27); National Academy of Design, 1857 (no. 459)</p>	

LITERATURE

“National Academy of Design,” *The Home Journal*, April 1, 1854 ;
“Thomas Hicks, Artist,” *Christian Inquirer* (December 16, 1854); “A
Morning in the Studios,” *Putnam’s Monthly* (May 1857), 554-556;
“Topics Astir: National Academy of Design,” *The Home Journal* (New
York), June 13, 1857; “Exhibition of the National Academy: Third
Notice,” *New York Times*, June 20, 1857, 4: 4-5; “The Fine Arts,”
Emerson’s United States Magazine (July 1857); Hicks Sale 1865 (no.
36e); Tuckerman 1865, 465; “Art and Artists in New York,” *The
Independent* (New York), June 2, 1881; Downes and Robinson 1895,
304; Cowdrey 1943, 1:227, 228

NOTES

“THOMAS HICKS, ARTIST. The reputation of the artist, whose studio
is at the corner of White and Centre streets, is too widely recognized to
need newspaper notices to increase it. Had he painted no other portraits
than those of Bishop Wainwright and Rev. H. W. Beecher, the
engravings from which are so well known, these alone would
abundantly prove his rare skill in his profession. We give his address
because, having witnessed his great success in that most difficult of all
tasks, that of paintings a life-size portrait of a little girl from a small
daguerreotype, we may perhaps be instrumental in giving to other
bereaved parents the same great satisfaction which two of his class have
recently enjoyed.” [“Thomas Hicks, Artist,” *Christian Inquirer*
(December 16, 1854)]

“HICKS has a single portrait-in fact, a single picture, (No. 459)-which
might have been called an apotheosis of HENRY WARD BEECHER.
That emphatic and thorough-going divine appears on Mr. Hick’s (*sic*)
canvas in the aureole of a silver-gray glory, ‘sitting clothed and in his
right mind,’ as it would appear, for his face has evidently been washed
with unusual severity, and the whole man is redolent of soap and water,
brushes and the toilet. It is an inanimate ‘feast of purification.’ Also, it
is a very clever, though a whimsical picture, and is modeled with very
great power...” [“Exhibition of the National Academy: Third Notice,”
New York Times, 20 June 1857, 4: 4-5]

“Henry Ward Beecher appears twice in the collection—for what
purpose, we are at a loss to conceive...No. 459, by Thomas Hicks, is the
same subject, better handled. In this, the artist has painted with force and
spirit; he has evidently tried his best to soften down the ruggedness of
his subject, and has succeeded in making a very smart-looking
man—not quite a rowdy, but verging thereto, needing but a hat cocked
upon one side to make it one—for he has straightened the back almost to
dislocation.” [“The Fine Arts,” *Emerson’s United States Magazine* (July

1857)]

257

Bishop Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright

c. 1853

Oil, 27 x 22 (69 x 56)

PROVENANCE

J. C. McRae; T. B. Brownson, Esq. (?); [Wechsler & Sons (Washington, DC), February 24, 1990 (no. 92)]

EXHIBITIONS

National Academy of Design, 1854 (no. 43)

LITERATURE

“Fine Arts,” *The Home Journal* (New York), November 26, 1853; “The Academy of Design,” *The Evening Post* (New York), March 23, 1854; “National Academy of Design,” *The Home Journal*, April 1, 1854; *The Knickerbocker*, May 1854; “Thomas Hicks, Artist,” *Christian Inquirer*, December 16, 1854; Cowdrey 1943, 1:227

NOTES


“Portrait of Henry Ward Beecher: Painted by T. Hicks, N. A., engraved by J. C. McRae, and for sale at the office of the engraver... One of Bishop Wainwright, we believe, is already in a state of forwardness.” [“Fine Arts,” *The Home Journal* (New York), November 26, 1853]

“Hicks exhibits a portrait of Dr. Wainwright, rather ascetic in look for the provisional bishop, and a likeness of a Friend, a gentleman well known for his benevolence, every line and shade of which are stiffened and toned to the Quaker standard of straight cut and dapper look in the treatment of the latter picture there is a great breadth—of brim.” [“The Academy of Design,” *The Evening Post* (New York), March 23, 1854]

“On entering, the visitor is at once attracted by a full-length portrait of that excellent man and philanthropist, George T. Trimble, executed by Hicks; the likeness is striking, without flattery, and is perhaps superior to that of Bishop Wainwright, by its side.” [“National Academy of Design,” *The Home Journal* (New York), April 1, 1854]


“Hicks’ large picture of a Quaker (portrait of George T. Trimble), standing by a public school-house, with numerous subdued accessories in the back-ground and middle distance, won for him much commendation, but we should have preferred his portrait of ‘Bishop Wainwright,’ had he not made him *quite* so stern. ‘The Gypsy,’ by the same artist, is a pleasing, harmoniously-colored, well-conceived picture. On the whole, however, we saw nothing of Mr. Hicks’ this year to equal




<p>his female Quaker-head in the exhibition last year.” [<i>The Knickerbocker</i>, May 1854]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Askart.com</p>	
<p>258 <i>Gulian Crommelin Verplanck</i> 1853 Oil, 34 3/8 x 27 3/8 (87.31 x 69.42) S: <i>T. Hicks, 1853</i> Century Association</p> <p>PROVENANCE Presented by Century members to the Association, 1874.</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1855 (no. 99)</p> <p>LITERATURE “The Exhibition of the Academy of Design,” <i>The Evening Post New York</i>, 16 March 1855; “The Town: Closing Notice of the Academy,” <i>The Home Journal</i> (New York), April 14, 1855; Sheldon 1879, 38; Hicks 1910, 91; Cowdrey 1943, 1:228; Mayor and Davis 1977, 128</p> <p>NOTES “Hicks’s Verplanck, of which we have already made mention, is in the collection, and a full-length portrait of a lady by the same artist, admirable for the disposition of the drapery.” [“The Exhibition of the Academy of Design,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), March 16, 1855]</p> <p>“Among the fine heads of the old school gentlemen, those who visit the gallery will recognize the Hon. Gulian C. Verplanck. Mr. Hicks has been quite successful in what we take the liberty of calling a new style; equally fortunate has he been in applying it to so fine a head.” [“The Town: Closing Notice of the Academy,” <i>The Home Journal</i> (New York), April 14, 1855]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, courtesy of the Century Association.</p>	
<p>259 <i>Old Westbury Quaker Meeting House in Winter, Long Island</i> 1853 Oil, 17 x 28 (43.18 x 71.1) Friends Academy, Locus Valley, New York</p> <p>PROVENANCE</p>	

<p>Mary T. Willets Cocks, New York; Congressman William W. Cocks; Isaac Hicks Cocks; gift to present owner in honor of William W. Cocks, 1943</p> <p>LITERATURE Merritt 1942, 15*; Merritt 1943; Pisano 1985, 38-39*</p> <p>NOTES Mary T. Willets Cocks's diary mentions Hicks's presence in Long Island on July 4, 1853. Hicks and his wife, Angie, were convalescing in Long Island with relatives after suffering injuries from the Norwalk, CT train accident. Photocopy of original in Hicks files, Friends Library, Swarthmore College.</p>	
<p>260 <i>Westbury Meeting House in Summer, Long Island</i> 1853 Oil, 22½ x 30 (57.15 x 76.2) Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mary T. Willets Cocks, New York; Congressman William W. Cocks, New York; Isaac Hicks Cocks, New York; gift to present owner, October 1942</p> <p>LITERATURE Merritt 1942, 15*; Tolles 1943</p> <p>NOTES Mary T. Willets Cocks's diary mentions Hicks's presence in Long Island on July 4, 1853. Hicks and his wife, Angie, were convalescing in Long Island with relatives after suffering injuries from the Norwalk, CT train accident. Photocopy of original in Hicks files, Friends Library, Swarthmore College.</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, Courtesy of Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College.</p>	
<p>261 <i>Study of Trees on Border Hempstead Plains, Long Island</i> 1853 Oil, 22½ x 28 7/8 (57 x 73) The New Britain Museum of American Art</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1854 (no. 266)</p> <p>LITERATURE</p>	

<p>Cowdrey 1943, 1:227</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the New Britain Museum of American Art.</p>	
<p>262 <i>The Missionary</i> c. 1854</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 144)]</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS American Art Union, <i>The Washington Exhibition in aid of New-York Gallery of the Fine Arts</i>, May 1, 1854</p> <p>LITERATURE Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1718</p>	
<p>263 <i>John C. Calhoun</i> c. 1854 Oil, 26 x 20 (66.04 x 50.8)</p> <p>PROVENANCE R. A. Bachia</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1854 (no. 154)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1943, 1:227</p>	
<p>264 <i>The Gypsey (Gipsey Girl)</i> c. 1854</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1854 (no. 19)</p> <p>LITERATURE <i>The Knickerbocker</i>, May 1854; Cowdrey 1943, 1:227</p> <p>NOTES “‘The Gypsey,’ by the same artist, is a pleasing, harmoniously-colored, well-conceived picture. On the whole, however, we saw nothing of Mr. Hicks’ this year to equal his female Quaker-head in the exhibition last year.” [<i>The Knickerbocker</i>, May 1854]</p>	
<p>265</p>	





<p><i>A Female Head</i> c. 1854</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS American Art Union, <i>The Washington Exhibition in aid of New York Gallery of the Fine Arts</i>, May 1, 1854</p> <p>LITERATURE Yarnall and Gerdtts 1986, 3:1718</p>	
<p>266 <i>George T. Trimble</i> 1854 Oil, 107 7/8 x 77 15/16 (274 x 198) Board of Education of City of New York</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1854 (no. 41)</p> <p>LITERATURE “National Academy of Design,” <i>The Home Journal</i>, April 1, 1854; <i>The Knickerbocker</i>, May 1854; “Editor’s Easy Chair,” <i>Harper’s New Monthly Magazine</i> 8, no. 48 (May 1854): 846; <i>The Knickerbocker</i>, June 1854; Sheldon 1878, 167; Sheldon 1879, 38; Art Commission of the City of New York, 1909; Cowdrey 1943, 1:227; Gerdtts 1981, 50-51, 156-157 (no. 44)*; Peterson 1971 (no. 98)*; Davidson 1977, 134</p> <p>NOTES “On entering, the visitor is at once attracted by a full-length portrait of that excellent man and philanthropist, George T. Trimble, executed by Hicks; the likeness is striking, without flattery, and is perhaps superior to that of Bishop Wainwright, by its side.” [“National Academy of Design,” <i>The Home Journal</i> (New York), April 1, 1854]</p> <p>“Hicks’ large picture of a Quaker, standing by a public school-house, with numerous subdued accessories in the back-ground and middle distance, won for him much commendation...” [<i>The Knickerbocker</i>, May 1854]</p> <p>“The full-length of Mr. Trimble, the friend of the Public Schools, is a bold and careful work. The conditions were hard, however, and the subject necessarily stiff. Boards can not be graceful; yet we require grace of drapery, and when the drapery is a Quaker coat, great is the task to produce grace or an agreeable effect upon the beholder. But the character and force of the picture are beyond question, and it is handled with a vigor that shows the master.” [“Editor’s Easy Chair,” <i>Harper’s New Monthly Magazine</i> 8, no. 48 (May 1854): 846]</p>	

<p>“Mr. Hicks, who paints in a style the very opposite of Mr. Elliott’s, is equally notorious as a master in his profession. As serious and as severe in his delineations as DA VINCI or OPIE, he compels admiration by his fidelity, and impresses us with the simplicity of his style. His coloring, somber and almost sepulchral compared with his rival, under the management of less skillful treatment, would ruin any other artist. It is to his absolute mastery over all his materials that he has been enabled to produce such nobly wrought works of art. We do not, however, consider his present works equal to those we have heretofore seen. Yet, of the head of Mr. Trimble, we venture to day, that we know of no living artist whose pencil could produce a better one. Of the picture itself, the simple historical character of the accessories will not allow us to speak in high terms.’ We infer the ‘English writer’ to be Lord Ellesmere.” [<i>The Knickerbocker</i>, June 1854]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Gerdts 1981, no. 44.</p>	
<p>267 <i>The Moore Family at Trenton Falls</i> 1854 Oil, 71 x 60 (180.3 x 152.4) SLR: <i>T Hicks 1854</i> Private Collection</p> <p>PROVENANCE Private Collection, New York; sale to present owner</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute (Utica, New York) <i>The Art of Trenton Falls</i>, November 4-December 21, 1989</p> <p>LITERATURE Tuckerman 1867, 465-466; Tatham 1983, 7- 9*; Schweizer 1989, 17-19*, 61 (no. 37); Anderson 1984, 20 (no. 30)</p>	
<p>268 <i>Lucretia Mott</i> 1854 Oil</p> <p>PROVENANCE E. M. Davis</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1855 (no. 30)</p>	

<p>LITERATURE “Art and Literature,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), January 13, 1855; “Fine Arts: National Academy of Design,” <i>The Albion</i> (March 31, 1855); E.W. Davis to Thomas Hicks, June 11, 1855, HSP; Cowdrey 1943, 1:227</p> <p>NOTES “Mr. Hicks recently returned from Philadelphia, where he has won great credit for a portrait of Lucretia Mott, said to be the finest he has painted.” [“Art and Literature,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), January 13, 1855]</p> <p>“We cannot say as much for the likeness of Miss Lucretia Mott. The complexion is muddy in tone, and the square-cut face though full of intelligence is rendered particularly forbidding.” [“Fine Arts: National Academy of Design,” <i>The Albion</i> (March 31, 1855)]</p>	
<p>269 <i>Maria Mott Davis</i> 1854 Oil, Oval: 30 x 25 (76.2 x 63.5) Private Collection</p> <p>PROVENANCE E. M. Davis</p> <p>LITERATURE E.W. Davis to Thomas Hicks, June 11, 1855, HSP</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission from present owner.</p>	
<p>270 <i>Father Mott (husband of Lucretia Mott and father of Maria Mott Davis?)</i> 1854</p> <p>PROVENANCE E. M. Davis</p> <p>LITERATURE To Thos. Hicks, from E.W. Davis, June 11, 1855, HSP</p>	
<p>271 <i>Daniel Lord</i> c. 1855 Oil, 30 x 25 (76.2 x 63.5) New York Public Library</p>	

<p>272 <i>Parke Godwin</i> c. 1855 Charcoal</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mrs. F.N. Goddard (1879)</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1855 (no. 249); National Academy of Design, 1879 (no. 248)</p> <p>LITERATURE “Fine Arts: National Academy of Design,” <i>The Albion</i>, March 31, 1855; “The Fine Arts,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), May 5, 1855; “The National Academy of Design,” <i>Newark Daily Advertiser</i>, April 4, 1879; Cowdrey 1943, 1:228; Naylor 1973, 1:435</p> <p>NOTES “Those who go to the exhibition should look at Lawrence’s portraits in crayon of N. P. Willis the essayist and George Bancroft the historian. The artist has succeeded; it seems to us, admirably, in expressing their intellectual character. They may compare them with another sketch in the same way of Parke Godwin by Hicks, exceedingly well done.” [“The Fine Arts,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), May 5, 1855]</p> <p>“‘Parke Godwin.’ No. 248, by Thos. Hicks, is a faithful reproduction. Mr. Godwin, entering the room as I was examining the picture, gave means of comparison, and I was well satisfied of Mr. Hicks’s skill as a portrait painter.” [“The National Academy of Design,” <i>Newark Daily Advertiser</i>, April 4, 1879]</p>	
<p>273 <i>Rosetta Post</i> c. 1855</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1856 (no. 208)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1943, 1:228</p>	
<p>274 <i>Pilgrim</i> c. 1855</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, <i>Annual Exhibition of 1855</i> (no.</p>	

<p>50)</p> <p>LITERATURE Falk 1988, 99</p>	
<p>275</p> <p><i>Trenton Falls: Upper Falls from the West</i> (formerly <i>Trenton Falls in Spring</i>) c. 1855 Oil, 53 x 29 ½ (134.6 x 73.98) Munson-Williams-Proctor Arts Institute Museum of Art</p> <p>PROVENANCE The Moore Hotel (Trenton Falls, NY); Private Collection; Purchase, present owner</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Munson-Williams-Proctor Arts Institute Museum of Art, <i>The Art of Trenton Falls</i>, November 4-December 21, 1989</p> <p>LITERATURE Tatham 1983, 9, 10*; Schweizer 1989, 19, 61*</p>	
<p>276</p> <p><i>Trenton Falls: Cascade of Alhambra</i> (formerly <i>Trenton Falls in Autumn</i>) c. 1855 Oil, 53 x 29½ (134.6 x 73.98) Munson-Williams-Proctor Arts Institute Museum of Art</p> <p>PROVENANCE The Moore Hotel (Trenton Falls, NY); Private Collection; Purchase, present owner</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Munson-Williams-Proctor Arts Institute Museum of Art, <i>The Art of Trenton Falls</i>, November 4-December 21, 1989</p> <p>LITERATURE Tatham 1983, 9, 10*; Schweizer 1989, 19 (no. 40)*</p>	

<p>277 <i>Bayard Taylor</i> (attributed) c. 1855 Oil, 26½ x 19¾ (67.31 x 50.16) Metropolitan Museum of Art</p> <p>PROVENANCE Chester Dale; Gift to present owner, 1955</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.</p>	
<p>278 <i>Mrs. Nathanael Greene (Catherine Littlefield)</i> c. 1855-1865 Oil</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mrs. Lewis H. Meader, Edgewood, RI</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at the Frick Art Reference Library.</p>	
<p>279 <i>Christopher Pearse Cranch</i> c. 1855-1865 Oil, 39¼ x 33 (99.7 x 83.82) SLR: <i>T. Hicks</i> Alexander Gallery, New York City</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the Alexander Gallery.</p>	
<p>280 <i>Fitz-Greene Halleck</i> 1855 Oil, Oval: 36 x 29 (91.44 x 73.66) S: <i>T. Hicks/1855</i> New-York Historical Society (1928.2)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Benjamin Robert Winthrop; to his grandson, Bronson Winthrop; to present owner 1928</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1858 (no. 80)</p> <p>LITERATURE</p>	

<p>“The Fine Arts,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), April 5, 1855; “Personal,” <i>The Home Journal</i> (New York) (22 December 1855), 3:4; <i>Ballou’s Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion</i> (19 January 1856), 47; Sheldon 1879, 38; New-York Historical Society 1941, 121 (no. 309); Cowdrey 1943, 1:228; New-York Historical Society 1974, 319, (no. 824)</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society.</p>	
<p>281 <i>Harriet Beecher Stowe</i> 1855 Oil on canvas on Masonite, 20¾ x 16¾ (52.7 x 42.54) SLR: <i>T. Hicks</i> National Academy of Design (574-P)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 53g)]; James A. Suydam; bequest to present owner, 1865</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Artists’ Fund Society, 1865 (no. 60)</p> <p>LITERATURE “The Artists’ Fund Society,” <i>The Round Table</i> (November 25, 1855); “Art and Artists in New York,” <i>The Independent</i> (New York), June 2, 1881; Hicks 1910, 91; Yarnall and Gerdts 1985, 3:1718; Dearinger 2004, 270-271*; Manthorne and Mitchell 2006, 50-51, 96, 170*</p> <p>NOTES Dearinger notes that E. Bruce Kirkham, editor of the Harriet Beecher Stowe letters, identified a letter dated February 7 (no year) in which Stowe wrote from Brooklyn to an unidentified cousin that she was sitting for Hicks.</p>	
<p>282 <i>On the Housetop at Damascus, a study of a picture painted for Mr. Bayard Taylor</i> 1855</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865, no. 149]</p>	

283

Bayard Taylor in Turkish Costume (A Morning in Damascus)

1855

Oil, 24½ x 29¾ (62.23 x 75.56)

National Portrait Gallery, Washington, D.C.



PROVENANCE

Bayard Taylor; Emma Taylor Lamborn (Taylor's niece); Mr. and Mrs. Stewart Huston, Coatesville, PA, until 1965; Chester County Art Association, West Chester, PA; Berry-Hill Galleries, Inc., New York, NY; purchase by present owner, May 1976

EXHIBITIONS

National Academy of Design (as *A Morning in Damascus*), 1856, no. 67; National Portrait Gallery, *A Brush with History: Paintings from the National Portrait Gallery*, 2001-2003

LITERATURE

"Art and Literature," *The Evening Post* (New York), January 13, 1855; *Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion* (19 January 1856), 47; "Studios of American Artists," *The Home Journal* (New York), January 26, 1856; "Exhibition of the National Academy: Second Article," *Crayon* 3 (May 1856), 149; "Art and Artists in New York," *The Independent* (New York), June 2, 1881; Downes and Robinson 1895, 304; Cowdrey 1943, 1:228; Hicks 1910, 91; Boime 1991, 101-103; Davis 1996, 41-42; Edwards 2000, 120-123*; Carr and Miles 2001, 34, 38, 114-115*; Carr 2003, 80-81



NOTES

Bayard Taylor to his mother, November 16, 1855, New York: "...Hicks has nearly finished the Oriental portrait. It is one of the most charming things you ever saw. I found at Taunton, Mass., a daguerreotype of Achmet in the hands of a gentleman who traveled with him a year ago, and borrowed it to get a copy made. I shall get Hicks to put Achmet into my picture..." [Hansen-Taylor and Scudder 1895, 1:308-309]


The daguerreotype Taylor mentions in his letter is located in Bayard Taylor collection at the Bayard Taylor Memorial Library in Kennett Square, PA.


Bayard Taylor to his mother, December 5, 1855, Augusta, Maine: "Last Sunday, before leaving New York, I gave a breakfast party. I had Thackeray, Curtis, Boker, Stoddard, Hicks, Judge Daly, Lieutenant Bent of the Navy, and Glass, an English artist...Hicks has finished my portrait, which is one of the finest paintings you ever saw. Everybody is delighted with it, and I would not take any amount of money for it. He


<p>says it is the best thing he has ever done..." (Hansen-Taylor and Scudder 1895, 1:309]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Photo courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.</p>	
<p>284 <i>Henry Wadsworth Longfellow</i> 1855 Oil, 22 1/8 x 17 1/8 (56.2 x 43.51) SLL: <i>Thomas Hicks</i> Longfellow National Historic Site, Cambridge, MA</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 19c)]; Longfellow family, 1865-1912; Longfellow Trust, 1912-1973</p> <p>LITERATURE "New-York City: Return of our artists," <i>New York Times</i>, September 20, 1855; "Personal," <i>The Home Journal</i> (New York), 22 December 1855; <i>Ballou's Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion</i> (19 January 1856), 47; "Studios of American Artists," <i>The Home Journal</i> (New York), January 26, 1856; "New York Gossip," <i>The Daily Evening Bulletin</i> (Philadelphia), March 16, 1865; Tuckerman 1867, 465; Sheldon 1879, 38; "Art and Artists in New York," <i>The Independent</i> (New York), June 2, 1881; Downes and Robinson 1895, 304; Hicks 1910, 91; Hilen 1972, 3:493; Henry Wadsworth Longfellow MS Journal, Longfellow Trust Collection</p> <p>NOTES Longfellow to James Thomas Fields, Aug 25, 1855, Newport: "What do you mean by Hicks's portrait of me? I have never heard of it. If you have Laurence's copied, I think it would hardly do to alter it; but we will talk of it when I return." Fields may have commissioned the portrait, unbeknownst to Longfellow. [Hilen 1972, 3:493]</p> <p>"Tuesday 28 [Aug 1855] Hicks begins a portrait of me.; Wed. 29 Hicks works away all the morning at my portrait. Thurs. 30. Portrait again, all the morning. Friday 31. Still working away at the Portrait. It has consumed a week of my time." [Longfellow's MS Journal, Longfellow Trust Collection]</p> <p>Rev. Walter Mitchell to Mr. Satterlee (owner of Longfellow portrait in 1899): "My Dear Mr. Satterlee: I hardly know what to write you beyond what I have expressed. I have seen the portrait of Prof. Longfellow which Mr. Hicks painted and it confirms my opinion that it was a very good</p>	

<p>likeness at the time it was taken. Mr. Longfellow's aspect at an earlier date and again in his later years, as evidenced by photographs, changed considerably, but at the time he sat for Mr. Hicks WAS PRECISELY THAT OF THE PICTURE. If this will be of any service to you, I shall be glad to have you make use of it. Very truly, your, Walter Mitchell." [Longfellow Archive, Longfellow Trust Collection]</p>	
<p>285 <i>General John Charles Fremont</i> c. 1856 Oil, 24 x 20 (60.96 x 50.8) Huntington Library Art Collections and Botanical Gardens (19.31)</p> <p>PROVENANCE A. F. De Forest, until 1922; [Keeler Art Galleries, May 4, 1922, no. 30]; Jones Family, Washington, DC</p> <p>LITERATURE Huntington Library and Art Gallery 1986, 151; Rolle 1991, frontispiece*, 263</p> <p>NOTES Probably based on Mathew Brady's 1856 daguerreotype.</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the Huntington Library Art Collections and Botanical Gardens.</p>	
<p>286 <i>Stephen Collins Foster</i> (attributed) c. 1856 Oil, 30 x 25 (76.2 x 62.23) Verso: <i>T. Hicks/Canvas Prepared by Edwd. Dechaux, New York</i> National Portrait Gallery (NPG.65.52)</p> <p>PROVENANCE A. W. Mellon Educational & Charitable Trust, 1936; Gift to National Gallery of Art, 1942; transfer to National Portrait Gallery</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Union League Club (New York), 1921; National Portrait Gallery, <i>This New Man</i>, 1967</p> <p>LITERATURE Townsend 1968, 193</p> <p>NOTES According to the curatorial files at the National Portrait Gallery, Firth,</p>	


<p>Pond & Company commissioned Hicks to paint Foster's portrait. One record states that the portrait passed to John J. Firth, who sold it to a dealer. Another report states that Hicks gave the portrait to William Hicks, a Brooklyn merchant and admirer of Foster's. The portrait then went to an unidentified dealer and was purchased by Thomas B. Clarke in 1921. The NPG portrait bears the same provenance as another portrait of Stephen C. Foster attributed to Hicks owned by the Stephen C. Foster Memorial Library at the University of Pittsburgh. The Library discovered that this portrait was a forgery. I have not been able to securely document the existence of the NPG's portrait prior to 1921. I also have not been able to determine if Hicks and Foster ever met. As a result, the attribution of this portrait is questionable.</p>	
<p>287 <i>Roger Sherman</i> (after John Trumbull) 1856 Oil, 21½ x 17 (54.61 x 43.18) SLR: <i>T. Hicks/1856</i> Yale University Art Gallery</p> <p>PROVENANCE Miss Elizabeth Howland Webster; bequest to present owner, 1961</p> <p>LITERATURE Yale University Art Gallery 1982, 68-69 (no. 673)</p>	
<p>288 <i>Old Man's Lesson</i> 1856 Oil on board, 8 1/16 x 6 (20.48 x 15.24) SLL: <i>T. Hicks/1856</i> Inscribed verso: <i>Painted by Thomas Hicks for E.L. Magoon, New York, February 1856</i> Frances Lehman Loeb Art Center, Vassar College</p> <p>PROVENANCE E. L. Magoon, New York, until 1856; Matthew Vassar; gift to present owner 1864</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Vassar College, <i>Nineteenth Century American Painting at Vassar</i>, December 1973</p> <p>LITERATURE Vassar College Art Gallery 1967; Vassar College Art Gallery 1973 (no. 33)</p>	
<p>289 <i>Age and Youth</i></p>	

<p>1856 Oil, 8 x 9½ (20 x 24.13) S: <i>TH 1856</i></p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892, no. 23]; [Sotheby's, no 1903, May 1-2, 1959, lot no. 235]</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1943, 1:225</p> <p>NOTES “At the edge of a wooded area, a young couple is watching a group of nymphs dancing in the midst of twilight, an old man sleeping in the foreground. Signed with initials, dates 1856. With dedication on the reverse. Framed as oval.” [Sotheby's, no 1903, May 1-2, 1959, lot no. 235]</p>	
<p>290 <i>Gerard Stuyvesant</i> 1856 Oil, 46½ x 36 (118.1 x 91.44) SLR: <i>T. Hicks/1856</i> New-York Historical Society, Gift of the Estate of Augustus Van Horne Stuyvesant, Jr. (1957.50)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mrs. G. Stuyvesant; to Augustus Van Horne Stuyvesant, Jr. Collection; bequest to present owner, 1957</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1859 (no. 652)</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks 1910, 89; Cowdrey 1943, 1:228; Vail 1958, 176*; N-YHS 1974, 2:777 (no. 1993)</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society.</p>	

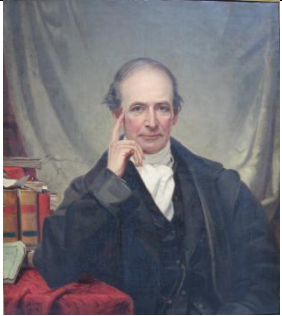
<p>291 <i>Luther Bradish</i> 1856 Oil, 44 1/8 x 34 (112.1 x 86.36) New-York Historical Society (1856.2)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Gift of the artist, 1856</p> <p>LITERATURE “Studios of American Artists,” <i>The Home Journal</i> (New York), January 26, 1855; N-YHS 1941, 33 (no. 79); N-YHS 1974, 1:91-92 (no. 215)</p> <p>NOTES Hicks to Rev. Samuel Osgood (N-YHS corresponding secretary), March 4, 1856, New York: “The accompanying portrait of the Hon. Luther Bradish was painted for the Historical Society, and I now desire to offer it, through you, for the acceptance of the members. It is perhaps not improper for me to say, that it has at least one quality which may give it some claim to their favor—it was executed <i>con amore</i>. I shall be proud if it is not deemed unworthy a place among the portraits of the other distinguished men who in their time have filled the office of President of your Society, for whose continued prosperity and usefulness I bed to express those cordial good wishes which should be cherished by every American who loves his country and feels an interest in her history.” [N-YHS 1974, 92]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society.</p>	
<p>292 <i>Luther Bradish</i> 1856 Oil on linen, 44 x 34 (112 x 86.36) SLL: <i>T. Hicks, 1856</i> New-York Historical Society (1937.151)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mrs. Henry G. D. de Meli; bequest to present owner, 1937</p> <p>LITERATURE N-YHS 1941, 33 (no. 80); N-YHS 1974, 1:91-92 (no. 216)</p>	


<p>293 <i>Henry Pierson</i> (Founders Portrait) 1856 Charcoal and Pastel, 21¾ x 16½ (55.24 x 41.91) SLL: <i>Thomas Hicks Del./June 1856</i> Century Association, New York</p> <p>PROVENANCE Presented by the artist, 1856</p> <p>LITERATURE “A Morning in the Studios,” <i>Putnam’s Monthly</i> (May 1857), 554-556; Mayor and Davis 1977, 142</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the Century Association .</p>	
<p>294 <i>The Lost Children</i> c. 1857 Oil</p> <p>LITERATURE “A Morning in the Studios,” <i>Putnam’s Monthly</i> (May 1857), 556</p>	
<p>295 <i>Mr. Wolcott</i> c. 1857 Oil</p> <p>LITERATURE “A Morning in the Studios,” <i>Putnam’s Monthly</i> (May 1857), 556</p> <p>NOTES “Mr. Hicks, whose fine studio in Astor-place, opposite the Mercantile Library, is in itself worth a visit, has just completed a full-length of Mr. Wolcott (of York Mills, Oneida Co.). We commend this picture especially, for the great fidelity and truthfulness of all its details. The books, table, carpet, bronze ink-stand, easy-chair, even the hat, cane, and cloak, are managed with true artistic skill. These things, in themselves commonplace enough-when brought in as accessories-have a value, not to be overlooked. The most common and familiar objects, when introduced in a picture, are more or less pleasing, as they are well or ill-painted. But, apart from this, they have an intrinsic value as vehicles of color, the harmonious distribution of which is the problem every artist has to solve a new with every fresh picture. The portrait itself is well-painted it is carefully and judiciously handled, and stands out firmly from the canvas. The aerial perspective of the ante-room,</p>	

<p>beyond the figure, is happily managed.” [“A Morning in the Studios,” <i>Putnam’s Monthly</i> (May 1857), 556]</p>	
<p>296 <i>Theodore Polhemus</i> 1857 Oil, 40½ x 30½ (102.9 x 77.47) S: <i>T. Hicks/1857</i> Brooklyn Historical Society (formerly Long Island Historical Society) (1974.136)</p> <p>LITERATURE LIHS 1980 (unpaginated)</p>	
<p>297 <i>Charles H. Ward, Esq.</i> c. 1858</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1858 (no. 125)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1943, 1:228</p>	
<p>298 <i>West Canada Creek, Trenton Falls</i> c. 1858</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1858 (no. 13)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1943, 1:228</p>	
<p>299 <i>Autumn Noon</i> c. 1858</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1858 (no. 271)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1943, 1:228</p>	
<p>300 <i>Sunny Hours</i> c. 1858</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1858 (no. 411)</p>	

<p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1943, 1:228</p>	
<p>301 <i>The Port-Folio</i> c. 1858</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1858 (no. 577)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1943, 1:228</p>	
<p>302 <i>Elisha Kent Kane, MD</i> 1858 Oil, 42 x 51 (106.7 x 129.5) SLL: <i>T. Hicks/1858</i> New-York Historical Society (1859.1)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Gift to present owner from “several ladies of New York” to present owner, January 6, 1859</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Portraits, Inc., <i>New Yorkers, 1848-1948</i>, Nov. 22-Dec. 21, 1948; Worcester Art Museum, <i>The American Portrait: From the Death of Stuart to the Rise of Sargent</i>, April 26-June 3, 1973</p> <p>LITERATURE “Sketchings,” <i>The Crayon</i> (August 1858): 238; “The Historical Society: Election of Officers–Presentation of Dr. Kane’s Likeness–Address by H. C. Van Schaick,” <i>New York Times</i>, January 5, 1859; AK Hicks Diary, January 31, 1859, 1; “New York: New York Historical Society, January 4th,” <i>New York. The Historical Magazine, and Notes and Queries Concerning the Antiques</i> (February 1859); N-YHS 1941, 166 (no. 417); Flexner 1962, 219; Hennessey 1973, 42 (cat. 30); N-YHS 1974, 1:413-414 (no. 1083)</p> <p>NOTES “Hicks has lately produced a fine picture representing Dr. Kane in his study. We see the famous navigator seated at a table, making notes; before him is a globe and books, and by his side a window out of which he is looking upon the ocean. The head is in profile, and is vigorously painted; the picture is well designed, and very effective.” [“Sketchings,” <i>The Crayon</i> (August 1858): 238]</p> <p>“The picture of Elisha Kane for the Historical Society was presented on</p>	

<p>the 6th of January and received by the Society with great pleasure; and gratitude for the liberal manner of the execution of the order from the Ladies. The audience was delighted and signified their satisfaction by clapping. Dr. Hawk's gave a noble eloquent and manly speech on the occasion and drew tears from many present." [AK Hicks Diary, January 31, 1859, 1]</p> <p>"The Proceedings of the evening were concluded by an eloquent address from Rev. Dr. Hawks, offering a resolution of thanks to a number of New York ladies for the presentation of a portrait of Dr. Kane to the Society. The portrait is the production of the eminent artist, Thomas Hicks." ["New York: New York Historical Society, January 4th," <i>New York. The Historical Magazine, and Notes and Queries Concerning the Antiques</i> (February 1859)]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society.</p>	
<p>303 <i>Oliver Wendell Holmes</i> 1858 Oil on panel, 20½ x 16 5/16 (52.07 x 41.43) SLR: <i>T.HICKS/1858</i> Boston Athenaeum (U.R.22.1936)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865, no. 109]; Goodman-Walker, Inc., Boston; gift to present owner from several subscribers, 1936</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS M. Knoedler & Co, (New York), <i>Washington Irving and His Circle</i>, 1946 (no. 59)</p> <p>LITERATURE "Art and Artists in New York," <i>The Independent</i> (New York), June 2, 1881; Downes and Robinson 1895, 304; Hicks 1910, 91; Swan 1941, 133; Harding 1984</p>	
<p>304 <i>Michael Moore</i> 1858 Oil, 30¼ x 25 (76.83 x 63.5) SLR: <i>T. Hicks/1858</i> Munson-Williams-Proctor Arts Institute Museum of Art</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Munson-Williams-Proctor Arts Institute, <i>The Art of Trenton Falls, 1825-1900</i>, November 4-December 31, 1989</p>	

<p>LITERATURE Tatham 1983, 9, 12*; Schweizer1989, 24 (no. 38)*; D'Ambrosio 1999, 24*</p>	
<p>305 <i>Benjamin R. Winthrop</i> 1858 Oil, 33 x 26 (83.82 x 66.04) SL: <i>T. Hicks / 1858</i> Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mrs. B. R. Winthrop; Gift of Mrs. Wylie Craig for her father, Robert L. Fowler, Jr. of Katonah, NY, 1971</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1859 (no. 543)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1943, 1:228</p>	
<p>306 <i>John Kintzing Kane</i> 1858-1859 Oil, 33 1/8 x 28 7/8 (84.14 x 73.34) SLL: <i>T. Hicks/1859</i> American Philosophical Society, Philadelphia</p> <p>LITERATURE American Philosophical Society 1961, 56, 151*</p> <p>NOTES Commissioned on April 2, 1858 by the APS on the occasion of Kane's death. The society paid Hicks \$180.25. See Kane curatorial file, APS.</p> <p>“On motion of Dr. Wm. Harris, a committee, consisting of Dr. Harris, Mr. Dunlap and Mr. Patterson, was appointed to procure a portrait of Judge Kane, late President of the Society.” [<i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i> 6, no. 59 (Jan.-Jun. 1858): 304]</p> <p>“Dr. Wm. Harris, from the committee appointed to procure a portrait of Judge Kane, reported it finished and in the Hall of the Society, and presented the bill for painting, framing, &c., which was ordered to be paid.” [<i>Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society</i> 7, no. 63 (Jan.-Jun. 1860): 318]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE</p>	

Courtesy of the American Philosophical Society.	
<p>307 <i>The Wounded Dove</i> c. 1859</p> <p>PROVENANCE Charles A. Dana</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1859 (no. 513)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1943, 1:228</p>	
<p>308 <i>Professor E. L. Youmans</i> c. 1859</p> <p>PROVENANCE Miss Youmans</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1859 (no. 753)</p> <p>LITERATURE Cowdrey 1943, 1:228</p>	
<p>309 <i>Elisha Kent Kane, Surgeon USN</i> 1859 Oil, 13 3/16 x 12 (33.5 x 30.48) SLL: <i>T Hicks</i> Pencil sketch in margin upper right National Portrait Gallery</p> <p>PROVENANCE A. G. Hetherington, Philadelphia; Kane Family; [Anonymous Sale, Sotheby's New York, September 24, 1986 (no. 182)]; Richard Manney; [The Library of Richard Manney, Sotheby's New York, October 11, 1991, (no. 193)]; purchase by present owner</p> <p>NOTES This small portrait may be a study for no. 303 or it may have been painted afterwards for the Kane family.</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.</p>	

310

Elisha Kent Kane, Surgeon USN

1859

Oil, 71¾ x 52 5/16 (182.2 x 132.9)

United States Naval Academy Museum, Annapolis

PROVENANCE

Mrs. John Kent Kane; Miss Florence B. Kane and Charles Carey until 1940, gift to present owner

EXHIBITIONS

National Academy of Design, 1859 (no. 690); Philadelphia Museum of Art, *The Art of Philadelphia Medicine*, September 15-December 7, 1965

LITERATURE

AK Hicks Diary, January 31, 1859, 3-5; "The Fine Arts," *The Home Journal*, February 26, 1859; "Sketchings," *The Crayon* (March 1859): 91; A. E.C., "Hicks's Painting of Doctor Kane Sitting in the Cabin of the Advance," *The Evening Post* (New York), July 1859; "National Academy of Design," *The Home Journal* (New York), July 2, 1859; *New-York Tribune*, October 13, 1860; Tuckerman 1865, 465; Downes and Robinson 1895, 304; United States Naval Academy Museum 1907, 5 (no. 76); Villarejo 1965*; Philadelphia Museum of Art 1965, 58 (no. 51); "200 Years of American Medicine," *Medical Times* 104, no. 7 (July 1976) (unpaginated)*

NOTES

"Mr. Kane came to the studio to see the picture for the family, thought the head too large, but that the picture itself was fine. So Tom reduced the head and we think improved it somewhat. The picture is I think one of the most striking ones I ever saw. Dr. Kane sits in the cabin of his ship "Advance" writing his log on a board, arranged as a table, and lighted by the oil lamp. It is in the midship the long Arctic night and the dreary sense of darkness; loneliness, peril; and disease is touchingly portrayed. A sick man lays sleeping in a berth beside him; and Morton sits curled up in his firs, in a sound sleep behind him; while he of all the anxious kind, is up and at work, conscientiously ~~penning~~ noting down the detail of that fearful winter night, but he pauses a moment, thinking no doubt, how useless his luck may be – how uncertain their life is. Could he have known then, that he should reach home, with his crew, re-write that log; and under the sunniest of sunny skies, die! Could he have known then that his life, his virtues, and his trials, in that cramped moss lined cabin could become as familiar to the millions at home as to him; that his death should cause a common sorrow, and universal mourning from one end of the country to the other; and his memory held so pure and sacred in the hearts of all, as it is! —what then? There is an



expression of far seeing in the picture, which is suggestive, and perhaps he knew the end. Huge masses of ice filing round his ship – pure snow falling gently over his tomb.____Kane left today and will send his brother to see the picture. [AK Hicks Diary, January 31, 1859, 3-5]

“Mr. Hicks has completed a portrait of Dr. Kane, sitting at the desk in his diminutive cabin, writing his journal. Two of his crew are asleep wrapped in furs. The lamplight effect is happily managed, and the composition impressively suggestive.” [“The Fine Arts,” *The Home Journal*, February 26, 1859]

“Col. Kane came in and read his lecture before the H. Society. The next day Pat brought him to the studio to see his brother’s picture, which seemed to strike him as a grand likeness of the noble suffering man he said ‘he was proud that his brother did look like that picture’ and well may he be.” [AK Hicks Diary, March 1859, 11-12]



“Among late productions in our city that we have to chronicle, one of the most noticeable is Hicks’ portrait of Dr. Kane. This picture—for it is a picture, something more than a portrait—is treated differently from the same subject painted by Mr. Hicks a few months ago. We see the intrepid navigator, his legs wrapped in a wolf’s skin, seated in his cabin, engaged in writing up his journal; two of his companions appear in the background, asleep, and around upon the walls hang guns, pouches, and scientific instruments; on one peg is suspended a red tippet on account of its color, red acting as a stimulus in these colorless latitudes, while on another peg is an engraving of Sir John Franklin, half concealed by a broken sword suspended over the print. The whole is illuminated by a single lamp on the left, its light falling strongest upon the head of Dr. Kane, which is the point of interest in the picture. The general effect of the picture is pleasing, owing to warmth of color and a feeling of repose suggested by the skillful employment of accessories. The picture is painted for the Kane family.” [“Sketchings,” *The Crayon* (March 1859): 91]

“*To the Editors of the Evening Post:* We have just visited the Academy of Design, and looked once more upon the *chef d’oeuvre* of the exhibition—the magnificent painting of the late Doctor Elisha Kent Kane.

The accurate delineation of nature is so magnificent to one who has carefully examined this picture, as to increase our admiration for the constructive imagination which has so graphically thrown it upon the canvass [*sic*]. In conception and in execution it is eminently worthy of the distinguished artist, Thomas Hicks, of this city.

When Doctor Kane was asked what was the most awful scene he had witnessed in his Arctic explorations, he answered, ‘The silence of the

<p>Arctic night.’ This painting represents that hour, in connection with himself, in those very seas. He was on watch on Friday night, December 1st, 1855, from eight to two o’clock. It was day in the moonlight on deck, with the thermometer at 36° below zero, when about midnight he went into his little moss igloo [<i>sic</i>] or cabin, while all on board were wrapped in profound slumber...In this picture is seen the significant color red, in which Dr. Kane had great faith as to its external influence. In his last voyage of exploration he wore it much about his person, and the scarf for comfort, which is seen hanging in the cabin bears a rich hue of his favorite tint.</p> <p>Red, it is well known, has a certain magnetic influence; it indicates ambition, courage, determination and cheerfulness...But what most elicits our admiration in this picture is the great American explorer. We look upon him here with his grasp of mind, its inspiration, the enthronement of genius and virtuous disinterestedness and worth. Here he sits in his hall of science, in the dim frozen regions where the keel of a navigator had never before penetrated and at an hour when no human eye rested upon him he is found in the temple of democracy in which e came to learn to confess his ignorance before the Great Supreme, and to find that it is only dignity of intellect, the largeness and fullness of knowledge, which confers superiority over man!</p> <p>Here he sits, smitten, as it were, suddenly with a craving for more mental illumination, whilst enjoying the highest of all pleasures, the perception of some fresh truth which will give a new standard to merit and a new pursuit to men!...Superior in morals, superior in intellect and in knowledge, it only needed his natural reticence to observe all circumstance and to bring to hear at the right time all the faculties which he possessed, and which gave him what mankind concedes to hint—<i>greatness!</i> A.E.C. New York City, June 27, 1859” [A. E.C., “Hicks’s Painting of Doctor Kane Sitting in the Cabin of the Advance,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), July 1859]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the United States Naval Academy Museum.</p>	
<p>311 <i>Mrs. Kane</i> 1859 Oil</p> <p>LITERATURE AK Hicks Diary, May 1859, 16</p> <p>NOTES “Tom was busy painting Mrs. Kane every morning.” [AKH Diary, May 1859, 16]</p>	

<p>312 <i>Eliza Ann Coles Neilson Winthrop</i> 1859 Oil, 33 ¼ x 26 (84.45 x 66.04) Richard J. McGrath, Connecticut</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Kennedy Galleries, New York, New York]; [Sotheby's Arcade New York, March 30, 1996 (lot 521)]</p> <p>LITERATURE Zellman 1987, 200*</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Zellman 1987, 200</p>	
<p>313 <i>Archibald Dunlap Moore</i> 1859 Oil, 30 x 25 (76.2 x 62.23) Private Collection</p> <p>LITERATURE Tatham 1983, 9</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of current owner.</p>	
<p>314 <i>Washington Irving at Sunnyside (Washington Irving in his Library?)</i> c. 1859-60 Oil, 22 x 18 (55.88 x 45.72)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 139-?); William T. Blodgett, New York, until April 28, 1876-?; Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 62-?)]</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Utica Art Association, 1868 (no. 6)</p> <p>LITERATURE “Art Items,” <i>New-York Tribune</i>, February 11, 1860; “Picture of Washington Irving,” <i>New-York Tribune</i>, April 21, 1860; “The Lounger,” <i>Harper’s Weekly</i> 3, no. 31 (1860), 194-195; “A Feast for Art Lovers,” <i>New York Times</i>, April 28, 1876; Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1721</p>	


NOTES

“The best of [Irving] portraits, and the one which has been most frequently copied, and is most familiar to the public, is that by Newton; and on the basis of this Mr. Hicks is now finishing a charming full-length portrait, of cabinet size, which is to be engraved.” [“Art Items,” *New-York Tribune*, February 11, 1860]

“PICTURE OF WASHINGTON IRVING.—Williams & Stevens are publishing a photographic picture of Washington Irving, which will probably become historical. The artist has chosen to represent him at that age, and by that portraiture with which the public are already familiar, so that the spectator knows at a glance that the picture before him is that of Washington Irving. It is Washington Irving as Geoffrey Crayon, the genial, mild, imaginative, dreamy gentleman whom a past generation welcome and christened as the most charming of writers, whom the succeeding generation grow up to love and honor, and whom generations yet to come will love and honor still. He is seated at his library-table, with paper before him, too pleasantly occupied, evidently, in meditation, too absorbed in an indolent contentment to waste time in committing even his pleasant thoughts to paper. The repose of his attitude, the quiet solitude and hushed stillness of the apartment are only increased by a glimpse through an open window, of the Hudson, on whose broad bosom some lazy sloops are idly floating. A rich, warm atmosphere pervades the whole picture. It is, we think, one of the pleasantest that Hicks has ever painted.” [“Picture of Washington Irving,” *New-York Tribune*, April 21, 1860]

“Mr. Thomas Hicks has just completed an exquisite sketch of the genial author so lately dead. It represents him at full-length, seated in an easy chair in a pleasant library—paper upon the table at his side—his portrait, dimly outlined, hanging upon the wall above and behind his head, while a window opens to the floor out upon a balcony, beyond which the Hudson stretches placidly away, lighted by two or three sails of the sloops which are so characteristic of the dreamy, loitering romance with which Irving has invested the river and its shores. The head is that of the younger man—if Geoffrey Crayon as he is known to us in Stuart Newton’s portrait. The position and the accessories are perfectly harmonious. It is the genial gentleman, the elegant scholar, the sweet dreamer, the unaffected author, the simple, affectionate man, that we see in the picture, and, as we see, remember how we loved him. It will unquestionably be the portrait of Irving—one of the rare and happy works that tell to the eye what the heart longs to know of the personality of the author it reveres and cherishes.” [“The Lounger,” *Harper’s* 3, no. 31 (1860), 194-95]

A cabinet portrait is listed in both Hicks sales of 1865 and 1892. It is

<p>unknown if Blodgett bought the portrait at the 1865 sale or if the painting in 1892 sale was another version.</p>	
<p>315 <i>Portrait of Angie Hicks</i> c. 1860</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Washington Art Association, 1860</p> <p>LITERATURE “Washington Art Association,” <i>Evening Star</i> (Washington DC), February 10, 1860</p> <p>NOTES “...and a great number of fine portraits, including one of striking excellence, which has evidently been a work of love with the artist, i.e. the full-length portrait of his wife, by Thos. Hicks.” [“Washington Art Association,” <i>Evening Star</i> (Washington DC), February 10, 1860]</p>	
<p>316 <i>The Letter</i> c. 1860</p> <p>PROVENANCE G. M. Vanderlip, Troy, NY</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Young Men’s Association (Troy, NY), 1860 (no. 53)</p> <p>LITERATURE Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1721</p>	
<p>317 <i>Thornwood</i> c. 1860-65 Oil, 8 x 22 (20 x 55.88) Private Collection</p> <p>LITERATURE Tatham 1983, 12-13*</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of current owner.</p>	
<p>318 <i>Isaac Sherman</i> Oil c. 1860-70</p>	

<p>PROVENANCE Alastair Bradley Martin</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at the Frick Art Reference Library.</p>	
<p>319 <i>Authors of the United States</i> 1860 Oil</p> <p>LITERATURE “Art,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), March 30, 1857; “A Chance for Distinguished Persons,” <i>New York Times</i>, March 31, 1857; <i>The Crayon</i> (April 1857): 123; “The Four Great Pictures,” <i>New York Times</i>, April 6, 1857; “A Morning in the Studios,” <i>Putnam’s Monthly</i> (May 1857), 554; “Editorial Melange,” <i>Ballou’s Pictorial Drawing-Room Companion</i> (May 9, 1857), 303; “Art Intelligence,” <i>Dwight’s Journal of Music</i> (August 29, 1857), 173; “Art Gossip,” <i>Cosmopolitan Art Journal</i> (December 1857), 38; <i>The Crayon</i> (December 1857), 377; “New York Artists,” <i>The New York Times</i>, December 4, 1857; “Sketching: Domestic Art Gossip,” <i>The Crayon</i> (January 1858), 25; “The Fine Arts,” <i>The Home Journal</i> (New York), January 23, 1858; “Art Gossip: An Overworked Artist,” <i>The Home Journal</i> (New York), January 30, 1858; “Art News and Gossip,” <i>The Home Journal</i> (New York), March 20, 1858; “Fine Arts,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), February 10, 1859; “Sketchings: Art Gossip,” <i>The Crayon</i> (February 1860): 57; “Art Items,” <i>New-York Tribune</i>, February 18, 1860; <i>Boston Transcript</i>, May 2, 1860; “Politics and Art in New York,” <i>Boston Transcript</i>, November 20, 1860; “Authors of the United States,” <i>New York Times</i>, May 24, 1866; “Sixty Years Ago: Some thoughts suggested by an engraving of Thomas Hicks’s ‘Authors of the United States’,” <i>New York Times</i></p> <p>NOTES “We learn that a wealthy gentleman of this vicinity has just given to four of the prominent painters of this city commissions of unusual magnitude. The artists in question are Messrs. Huntington, Hicks, Rossiter and Baker. Each is to paint a picture fifteen feet by nine, grouping from twenty to thirty distinguished living personages of this country. Thus Mr. Huntington is to paint the eminent merchants; the picture of Mr. Hicks will represent men and women who have become famous to American literature; that of Mr. Rossiter will give the portraits of scientific men, and that of Baker of artists. These interesting works are to be commenced immediately.” [“Art,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), March 30, 1857]</p> <p>“An overworked artist: Mr. Hicks, it is said, is so overloaded with</p>	

commissions, as to be compelled to almost 'stay proceedings' on his great picture. This is both fortunate and unfortunate. It were a pity if this fine artist should lag behind Rossiter, Huntington and Baker, who are all 'progressing' with the large pictures, which they have been commissioned to paint." ["Art Gossip: An Overworked Artist," *The Home Journal* (New York), January 30, 1858]

"We have taken a *coup-d'oeil* of Hicks' great cartoon of a few of the poets and authors of our country. It promises to have those qualities which remind one of Paul Veronese. We shall see." ["Art News and Gossip," *The Home Journal* (New York), March 20, 1858]

"Hicks has nearly completed the finished study for his large picture of 'The Literary Men of America,' begun some months ago. The nature of the subject, as well as its treatment, renders this one of the most important historical pictures of the day. One of the most interesting figures in the group is that of Washington Irving, who occupies a place in the centre; Mr. Hicks has chosen Newtown's portrait as the best one of Irving." ["Sketchings: Art Gossip," *The Crayon* (February 1860): 57]

"It is gratifying to know that nearly all our artists are well employed, and with more orders on their hands than they can execute. Hicks's studio is the resort of the literati, many of whose heads he has already taken for his great pictures for Mr. Wright of Hoboken. He had now on his easel the heads of Mrs. Kirkland (Mary Clavers), and George H. Boker, the Philadelphia poet; he has also just taken a striking sketch of Mr. Sparrowgrass (Fred Cozzens)..." ["Art Items," *New-York Tribune*, February 18, 1860]

"Hicks has sold to an engraver his study of the picture designed for Mr. Wright, of 'American Authors'..." ["Politics and Art in New York," *Boston Transcript*, November 20, 1860]

"Four or five years ago the well-known artist, Mr. Thomas Hicks, put on exhibition his picture 'The Authors of the United States'—meaning thereby not the founders of the Government, but those who have made themselves familiar mainly by the production of their pens. The painting survived the ordeal of criticism, and three years since was put in the hands of Mr. Ritchie, the well-known engraver, who has faithfully and accurately reproduced the original upon a plate 35x20 inches in size..." ["Authors of the United States," *New York Times*, May 24, 1866]

320

Gerard Stuyvesant

1860

Oil, 48 x 36 (119.4 x 91.44)

SLR: *Thomas Hicks/July 1860*

New-York Historical Society (1957.49)

PROVENANCE

Augustus van Horne Stuyvesant, Jr., New York; Bequest to present owner, 1957

LITERATURE

Vail 1958, 176; N-YHS 1974, 2:177 (no. 1994)

PHOTO SOURCE

Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society.



321

Mayor Daniel Fawcett Tiemann

1860

Oil, 47 x 36 (121.9 x 91.44)

Collection of the City of New York

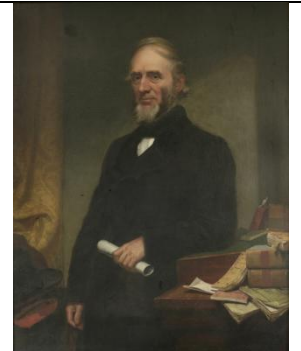
LITERATURE

New York Municipal Archives, *Ordinances Approved by Mayor*; 27:598; New York Municipal Archives, *Documents of Board of Alderman*, 18, Part 1, Doc. No. 8, p. 10; “Art Items,” *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 15, 1860; “Sketchings: Domestic Art Gossip,” *The Crayon* 7, no. 1 (January 1860): 22; Art Commission of the City of New York 1909, 46

NOTES

“On the last day Mayor Tiemann was in office he approved a resolution of the Common Council appropriating \$500 to procure a portrait of himself ‘under the direction of the Committee on Arts and Sciences.’ It doubtless helped him to overcome his modesty by approving at the same time an appropriation of double the amount for a portrait of ex-Governor John A. King.” [New York Municipal Archives, *Ordinances Approved by Mayor*; 27:598]

“The committee selected the artist, Thomas Hicks for both portraits. This proved not only by the signature—alike on both portraits—but also by an item under date of January 29, 1861, in Comptroller Haw’s report to the Common Council which declares a warrant drawn upon the Chamberlain for \$1500 to Thomas Hicks, painting portraits of ex-Governor John A. King and ex-Mayor Daniel F. Tiemann, and furnishing frames, per resolution of the Common Council December 31,



1859.” [New York Municipal Archives, *Documents of Board of Alderman*, 18, Part 1, Doc. No. 8, p. 10]

“Mr. Hicks has just finished a full-length portrait of ex-Mayor Tiemann for the City Hall. The subject is a very good one for a striking likeness, and the artist has made the most of his opportunity. He has painted a very strong portrait, and a very good picture, at the same time. The Mayor is represented in a new black frock-coat, standing at his desk, with the conventional sheep-skin bound volumes that are the inevitable accessories in all portraits of official personages, and with the yellow curtain, which Mr. Hicks has a partiality for. We do not exactly see how it could be done; but still it would be a very good thing, if, in the portraits of our Mayors placed in the City hall, there could be something introduced, wither on the canvas, or as a crest to the frame, to serve as an emblematical device of the Mayor’s occupation. Mr. Hicks will be pretty well represented in our City Hall with his portraits of Gov. Fish, Gov. King, and Mayor Tiemann.” [“Art Items,” *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 15, 1860]

“Hicks has completed a full-length portrait of the Hon. Rufus King, late Governor of the State of New York; also a portrait of Mayor Tiemann, both pictures commissioned by the city for the Governor’s Room in the City Hall.” [“Sketchings: Domestic Art Gossip,” *The Crayon* 7, no. 1 (January 1860): 22]

PHOTO SOURCE

Photograph by Glenn Castellano, courtesy of the Design Commission.

322

Governor John Alsop King

1860

Oil, 100 x 66 (254 x 167.6)

Collection of the City of New York

LITERATURE

New York Municipal Archives, *Ordinances Approved by Mayor*; 27:598; New York Municipal Archives, *Proclamations Approved by the Mayor*, 27:595; New York Municipal Archives, *Documents of Board of Alderman*, 18, Part 1, Doc. No. 8, p. 10; “Art Items,” *New-York Daily Tribune*, December 15, 1860; “Sketchings: Domestic Art Gossip,” *The Crayon* 7, no. 1 (January 1860): 22; Sheldon 1879, 38; Art Commission of the City of New York 1909, 45

NOTES

“On the last day Mayor Tiemann was in office he approved a resolution of the Common Council appropriating \$500 to procure a portrait of himself ‘under the direction of the Committee on Arts and Sciences.’ It



doubtless helped him to overcome his modesty by approving at the same time an appropriation of double the amount for a portrait of ex-Governor John A. King.” [New York Municipal Archives, *Ordinances Approved by Mayor*; 27:598]

“John A. King was the son of Rufus King who was one of the first pair of Senators from New York State in the Congress of the United States. He was Governor of New York in 1857 and 1858. On December 31, 1859, Mayor Tiemann gave his approval to a resolution of the Common Council ‘That the sum of one thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby appropriated to procure a portrait of the Hon. John A. King, ex-Governor of this State, under the direction of the Committee on Arts and Sciences.’” [New York Municipal Archives, *Proclamations Approved by the Mayor*, 27:595]

“The committee selected the artist, Thomas Hicks for both portraits. This proved not only by the signature—alike on both portraits—but also by an item under date of January 29, 1861, in Comptroller Haw’s report to the Common Council which declares a warrant drawn upon the Chamberlain for \$1500 to Thomas Hicks, painting portraits of ex-Governor John A. King and ex-Mayor Daniel F. Tiemann, and furnishing frames, per resolution of the Common Council December 31, 1859.” [New York Municipal Archives, *Documents of Board of Alderman*, 18, Part 1, Doc. No. 8, p. 10]

“Hicks has completed a full-length portrait of the Hon. Rufus King [*sic*], late Governor of the State of New York; also a portrait of Mayor Tiemann, both pictures commissioned by the city for the Governor’s Room in the City Hall.” [“Sketchings: Domestic Art Gossip,” *The Crayon* 7, no. 1 (January 1860): 22]

PHOTO SOURCE

Photograph by Glenn Castellano, courtesy of the Design Commission.

323

Governor William Henry Seward

April 1860

Oil, 23¾ x 18 11/16 (60.3 x 47.5)

SLR: *T Hicks April 1860*

Fogg Art Museum, Harvard

PROVENANCE

[Hicks Sale 1865, no. 38]; Charles S. Smith, 1866; Union League Club, NY; [Sotheby’s, New York, *Rockefeller and Other Collections Sale*, no 87, March 24, 1938]; Bequest of Greenville L. Winthrop, 1943

LITERATURE

“Correspondence of the Transcript,” *Boston Transcript*, May 2, 1860; “New York Gossip,” *The Daily Evening Bulletin* (Philadelphia), March 16, 1865; Hicks 1910, 91; [Sotheby’s New York, *Rockefeller and Other Collections Sale*, March 24, 1938 (no. 87)]

NOTES

“Painted in Washington, April 1860.” [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 38)]

“Hicks, the painter, has just brought from Washington a capital likeness of Seward; capital because it is not only characteristic of the man in a remarkable degree, but it is a thoroughly American head, and it will be made *capital* of during the election; already it has been copied on a banner for the Seward delegation at the Chicago Convention; and the artist is to make a facsimile for the Republican Club here.” [“Correspondence of the Transcript,” *Boston Transcript*, May 2, 1860]

Photo available at <http://via.lib.harvard.edu>

324

Abraham Lincoln at Springfield, June 1860

June 1860

Oil, 24 9/16 x 19½ (60.96 x 49.53)

SLC: *Painted from life by Thomas Hicks, Springfield Illinois June 14 1860*

Chicago Historical Society (1959.212)

PROVENANCE

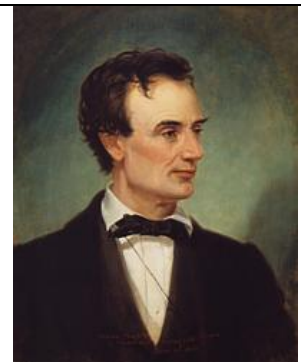
Mrs. Edson (Maria) Bradley, Washington, D.C., 1861 or 1865 (purchased from artist in New York); [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 107N)]; Mrs. Herbert Shipman (granddaughter of Edson Bradley), until 1940; [Sotheby’s New York, November 23, 1940]; [Kennedy Galleries, New York, purchase for subsequent owner]; Bernon S. Prentice, - 1952; [Sotheby’s New York, April 17-19, 1952 (no. 677)]; Oscar B. Cintas, 1959; Bequest to present owner

EXHIBITIONS

New York, *The Life and Time of Abraham Lincoln*, 1936 (no. 5); New-York Historical Society, *Lincoln and New York*, 2009-2010

LITERATURE

New-York Daily Tribune, June 27, 1860; “City Items: Hicks’s Portrait of Lincoln,” *New-York Daily Tribune*, July 13, 1860; *New-York Daily Tribune*, November 8, 1860; “New York Gossip,” *The Daily Evening Bulletin* (Philadelphia), March 16, 1865; Thomas Hicks, “The first oil Portrait of Abraham Lincoln,” MSS, January 23, 1879 (CHS Archives); O. H. Browning, to Mrs. Maria Bradley, February 10, 1879, Quincy, IL (CHS Archives); Hicks 1885, 593-607*; Hicks 1910, 91; Pease 1925,



1:415; Warren 1932, 211-220; Wilson 1935, 93-99; "The Hicks Portrait of Lincoln," *Lincoln Lore* no. 375 (June 15, 1936): 1; Cutler 1948, 34-36*; Sotheby's New York Sale Catalogue (April 17-19, 1952):140-43*; D'Otrange 1952, 154*; Seckler 1957, 66*; "1860 Portrait of Lincoln to be moved here," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 19, 1959; "Public to see Lincoln Portrait," *New York Herald Tribune*, May 4, 1959; "Thomas Hicks' Portrait 'The Youthful Lincoln'," *Lincoln Lore* no. 1471 (September 1960):1-3*; McMurtry 1962, 1-8; Holzer 1975, 314-315*; Holzer 1979, 148-49*; Holzer 1984, 43-45*; Norton 1984, 157; Swanson and Ostendorf 1990, 95*, 96; Holzer 1993, 91, 241n22; Holzer 2009, 135, 138-139*

NOTES

"Springfield, Tuesday, June 12th, 1860. Fine day. After breakfast called to see Hon. Abraham Lincoln at his room in the State House. He was very glad to see me, and received me with great cordiality. I found Mr. Hicks, an artist of New York, painting a portrait to be lithographed in Boston, and at the request of himself and Mr. Lincoln, I remained and talked to Lincoln whilst Mr. Hicks worked upon the picture. In the afternoon I called and did the same thing, and promised to call again tomorrow, as Mr. Hicks says he greatly prefers to have some friend present whilst he is at work. The picture promises to be a very fine one." [Pease, ed. *Diary of Orville Hickman Browning*, 415]

"Mr. Hicks returned last week from Illinois, bringing the portrait of the Republican candidate for the Presidency which he went there to paint. We have not seen the portrait, as it has been sent to Boston to be lithographed, but we have seen letters from Springfield from Mr. Lincoln's neighbors, who speak of it in the highest terms as a spirited and truthful likeness of 'Honest Old Abe.' It is the first portrait in oil that has been painted of him. He sat to Mr. Barry for a crayon portrait, and Mr. Volk of Chicago has made a very fine miniature bust of him from a cast taken of his face." [*New-York Daily Tribune*, June 27, 1860]



"If in the multitude of portraits there is knowledge, the public will, by and by, learn what manner of man the Republican candidate for the Presidency is. Busts, photographs, and engravings, have multiplied, and have all deepened the impression the Mr. Lincoln was—well, not handsome. Mr. Hicks has put another face upon the question. In the lithograph of his picture, published by Schaus, we have a portrait of evidently the same man with the same general characteristics, but one which, nevertheless, conveys a totally different impression of the personal appearance of Mr. Lincoln. Hicks has the faculty, so valuable in a portrait painter, but one, which, unfortunately, every painter of portraits does not possess, of finding the exact pose of the head and the exact view of the face, in which the best features, and the best

expression of his subject, show to the most advantage, and those which are not best may be softened. He had evidently succeeded in doing this with Mr. Lincoln. Having had the advantage of several long sittings, and a careful study, therefore, of the head and face before him, he has produced a portrait which the friends who know the subject best will recognize as most true, and giving the best look which is also most familiar. There are subtle expressions and fine lines about this face which can hardly be otherwise than true to nature. Of other portraits, it would no doubt be said, by those who know Mr. Lincoln well, that 'they are like.' And the same persons, when shown this of Hicks, would wonder that they did not detect the absence of those traits which give to this its real character, but without which I would nevertheless be a likeness. We think we have here a semblance of the outward man which answers to what we know to be true of his real character." ["City Items: Hicks's Portrait of Lincoln," *New-York Daily Tribune*, July 13, 1860]

"January 23, 1879/The first oil portrait of Abraham Lincoln/In 1860 after the nomination of Mr. Lincoln at Chicago M Schaus the art publisher of N.Y. sent me to Springfield, Illinois to paint a portrait of Mr. Lincoln to be published for the campaign that year. I carried a letter to Mr. W. H. Herndon Mr. Lincoln's law partner, and by him was introduced to the future President, who at once consented to give the necessary sittings, and they were to be from eight until nine o'clock in the morning at his office. During the sittings he saw many persons on business talking with them while I continued my work. Amongst those present was Mr. Lincoln's lifelong friend I. H. Browning who was afterward in his cabinet. The Portrait was finished June 13, 1860, and was the first oil portrait made of him. At that time there had been but one photograph which entirely misrepresented his looks, and from which a rude woodcut had been made. When the portrait was completed and I was about starting for the East, Mr. Browning handed me a letter saying, no one knows Mr. Lincoln as I do, having been associated with him throughout his long and eventful career, and I discharge a duty in giving you my opinion of the likeness, which you have made of him. The Portrait is now owned by Mrs. Maria Bradley, and has my name and some record of the Portrait on the lower part of the canvas. It has never been copied in oil. It would be a great satisfaction to me if the portrait of our martyr President could be owned by the state of Illinois and thus find a permanent home and where the portrait was painted. Thomas Hicks" [Thomas Hicks, "The first oil Portrait of Abraham Lincoln," MSS, January 23, 1879, CHS Archives]

PHOTO SOURCE

Courtesy of the Chicago Historical Society.

<p>325 <i>Abraham Lincoln</i> c. 1860 Oil or watercolor on ivory, Height 3½ (8.89) Schneider Collection, New Jersey</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Leslie Hindman Auctioneers, <i>A Highly Important Sale of Lincolniana and the U.S. Civil War</i>, September 22, 1996]; purchase by present owner</p> <p>LITERATURE Schneider 1997, 72</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of present owner.</p>	
<p>326 <i>Mrs. Hicks on the grounds of Moore's Hotel (A young lady at the garden gate)</i> 1860 Oil, 13¼ x 9¾ (33.7 x 24.8)</p> <p>LITERATURE Garrett 1977, 516*; Tatham 1983, 12, 14*</p>	
<p>327 <i>Frugal Meal (The Stray Kitten?)</i> 1860 Oil, 11½ x 12¼ (29.21x31.1) SLR: <i>T. Hicks 1860</i></p> <p>PROVENANCE [Grand Central Art Galleries, New York, 1944]; IBM International Foundation Collection, New York; [Sotheby's, May 25, 1995, (no. 171)]</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1890 (no. 526)-?; IBM traveling exhibition, <i>Small Paintings by Americans</i>, September 1967-January 1969; IBM Gallery (New York), <i>American Painters of the Nineteenth Century</i>, January 1969-July 1971; IBM Gallery of Science and Art (New York), <i>Selected Works from the IBM Collection</i>, November 1985-January 1986</p> <p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, 1:437</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE</p>	

Askart.com	
<p>328 <i>A Reminiscence, Trenton, Falls</i> c. 1861 Oil</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1861 (no. 199)</p> <p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, 1:434</p>	
<p>329 <i>The Three Friends</i> c. 1861 Oil</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1861 (no. 346)</p> <p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, 1:434</p>	
<p>330 <i>Portrait of an Exotic Beauty</i> 1861 Oil on panel, 9½ x 7 (24.13 x 17.78) S</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Sloan's Bethesda, May 19, 2002 (no. 354)]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE AskArt.com</p>	
<p>331 <i>Mary Ellen Macy</i> 1861 Oil S</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Litchfield County Auctions: Estate Auction, October 14, 2000]</p>	

332

Edwin Booth as Iago

1861

Oil on canvas mounted on panel, 42 x 32¼ (106.7 x 80.01)

Century Association, New York (1892.10)

PROVENANCE

Mrs. Thomas (Angeline King) Hicks, gift to present owner, 1892

EXHIBITIONS

Artists' Fund Society, 1861; Goupil's, New York, 1864; Sanitary Fair, Philadelphia, 1864; National Academy of Design, 1876 (no. 181); Long term loan to Hampden-Booth Library, 1926-1997

LITERATURE

"Correspondence of the Transcript: Letter from New York," *Boston Transcript*, May 25, 1861; "Fine Arts: Hicks's Booth as Iago," *The Evening Post* (New York), November 16, 1861; "Fine Arts: The Artists' Fund Exhibition," *The Evening Post* (New York), November 1861; "Academy of the Fine Arts," *Saturday Evening Post*, May 24, 1862; "Art Items," *The Evening Post* (New York), June 11, 1862; "Art Items," *American Phrenological Journal* 37, no. 4 (April 1863): 90; "The Private View," *The Evening Post* (New York), April 4, 1864; "The Exhibition of Pictures at the Metropolitan Fair," *New-York Daily Tribune*, April 9, 1864; "Philadelphia Art Notes," *The Round Table*, June 25, 1864; "New York Gossip," *The Daily Evening Bulletin*, March 16, 1865; "Empty Spaces," *Appleton's Journal of Literature, Science, and Art* 15, no. 357 (January 22, 1876): 114; "The National Academy of Design," *The Evening Post* (New York), June 19, 1876; "'Ho! For England!' The Farewell Breakfast to Be Given to Edwin Booth at Delmonico's," *New York Times*, June 14, 1880

NOTES

Painting was cut down from 90½ x 51½ (229.2 x 130.8) by Moro, New York in 1969.

PHOTO SOURCE

Courtesy of the Century Association.



333

The Strategist


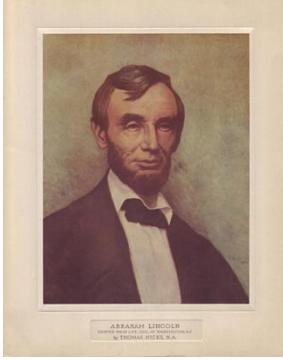
c. 1862

Oil

EXHIBITIONS

National Academy of Design, 1862 (no. 295)


<p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, 1:434</p>	
<p>334 <i>Lake Scene</i> c. 1862</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Artists' Fund Society, 1862 (no. 107)</p> <p>LITERATURE Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1720</p>	
<p>335 <i>Pennsylvania Home</i> c. 1862</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Artists Fund Society, 1862 (no. 31)</p> <p>LITERATURE "Opening of the Artist Fund Exhibitions," <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), November 17, 1862; Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1721</p>	
<p>336 <i>Katherine Johnson Van Wyck (Mrs. Arba Read Haddock (Katharine Johnson Van Wyck) as a child)</i> 1862 Oil, 20 9/16 x 16 11/16 (52.22 x 42.39) SLR: <i>T. Hicks 1862</i> Museum of the City of New York, Bequest of the Sitter, 1951</p>	
<p>337 <i>Otsego Lake, from Five Miles Point Hotel, looking North (Canadarago Lake, Otsego County, New York, View of Island)</i> 1862 Oil, 18 x 40 (45.72 x 101.6) Historical Society of New York, Cooperstown</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 117)]; Augustus H. Ward; Marie L. Martin, Richfield Springs, NY; [Hesse Galleries, December 26, 2006]; purchase by present owner</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1863 (no. 170)</p> <p>LITERATURE "The National Academy of Design: Its Thirty-Eighth Annual Exhibition," <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), May 21, 1863; Naylor</p>	


<p>1973, 1:434; "Hicks Painting Brings \$102,300 at Hesse's," <i>Antiques & Auction News</i>, December 26, 2006*</p> <p>NOTES "Nos. 170 and 223 are severally views of Otsego and Schuyler Lakes, which we are obliged to confess we do not like at all. They may be literal linear copies of nature-as to that, having seen neither original, we cannot say-but if so, nature is not lovely at those spots. Otsego Lake seems to have been dug by contract under supervision of the Croton Board. Its shore lines are as square as a reservoir's. The color of the water is leaden, the grass and foliage are dull-the whole tone is as cold as the drawing is rigid. The only relief to the rectangular symmetry of Otsego, and the cold color of both it and Schuyler, is some spirited action in the sail-boats on each, and a reflection of mountain backgrounds mellowed than the main surface of the lakes." ["The National Academy of Design: Its Thirty-Eighth Annual Exhibition," <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), May 21, 1863]</p>	
<p>338 <i>Small Landscape</i> 1862 Oil, 10 1/8 x 18 1/8" (25.8 x 45.9) S: <i>T. Hicks 1862</i> Smithsonian American Art Museum (1968.59.1)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Museum purchase and gift of Dwight Wardlaw, 1969</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the Smithsonian American Art Museum</p>	
<p>339 <i>Abraham Lincoln</i> (attributed) 1862 Oil SLR: <i>T Hicks, N.A. 1862</i> Private Collection</p> <p>PROVENANCE Daniel W. Patterson, New York; Mrs. Evelyn Williams; Mrs. Helen Williams, St. Petersburg, Florida (1969); Purchase by present owner, 2002</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author's collection, print after original painting made in the 1930s.</p>	
<p>340 <i>Schuyler Lake – from Lake Avenue, three miles from Richfield Springs Village</i></p>	

<p>c. 1863 Oil</p> <p>PROVENANCE Augustus H. Ward</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1863 (no. 223)</p> <p>LITERATURE “The National Academy of Design: Its Thirty-Eighth Annual Exhibition,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), May 21, 1863; Naylor 1973, 1:434</p> <p>NOTES “Nos. 170 and 223 are severally views of Otsego and Schuyler Lakes, which we are obliged to confess we do not like at all. They may be literal linear copies of nature-as to that, having seen neither original, we cannot say-but if so, nature is not lovely at those spots. Otsego Lake seems to have been dug by contract under supervision of the Croton Board. Its shore lines are as square as a reservoir’s. The color of the water is leaden, the grass and foliage are dull-the whole tone is as cold as the drawing is rigid. The only relief to the rectangular symmetry of Otsego, and the cold color of both it and Schuyler, is some spirited action in the sail-boats on each, and a reflection of mountain backgrounds mellow than the main surface of the lakes.” [“The National Academy of Design: Its Thirty-Eighth Annual Exhibition,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), May 21, 1863]</p>	
<p>341 <i>Bad News</i> c. 1863</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1863 (no. 223)</p> <p>LITERATURE “The National Academy of Design: Its Thirty-Eighth, Annual Exhibition,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), May 21, 1863; Naylor 1973, 1:434</p> <p>NOTES “Hicks has, besides, a portrait of a lady (330), and a composition piece of considerable pathos, in which a young girl sits overwhelmed by “Bad News” (304), but nothing in this exhibition at all worthy of the pencil which so honored itself in the portraiture of Booth’s wonderful Iago, and made such an elaborately truthful picture of American rural home life as</p>	

<p>the artist's, Fuad's, 'Pennsylvania Interior.'" ["The National Academy of Design: Its Thirty-Eighth Annual Exhibition," The Evening Post (New York), May 21, 1863]</p>	
<p>342 <i>A Morning Walk</i> c. 1863 Oil</p> <p>PROVENANCE Thomas Hicks, 1867</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1863 (no. 112); Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts, 1867 (no. 72); Utica Art Association, 1867 (no. 247); Academy of Fine Arts (Cincinnati, OH), 1868; Union League Club (New York City), 1869</p> <p>LITERATURE "The Lounger: The National Academy of Design," Harper's Weekly 5, no. 2 (1863): 274; "The National Academy of Design: Its Thirty-Eighth Annual Exhibition," The Evening Post (New York), May 21, 1863; "Fine Arts in Cincinnati: Exhibitions of the Academy of Fine Arts," The Evening Post (New York), December 1, 1868; "Fine Arts: Art in the Union League Club," The Evening Post (New York), February 12, 1869; Naylor 1973, 1:434</p> <p>NOTES "No. 87, A Lady, is a portrait by Mr. Stone, whose skill in handling in mingled with a certain rich and luxurious taste which makes his portraits as picturesque as Sir Peter Lely's. If, standing before the picture, the Lounger throws down his glove and says that no Lely portrait of Charles's court is lovelier than this, even to the rippling love-locks, who will dare pick it up? Will it be some one who puts June roses and muslin and blue ribbons against elaborate coiffure, rich stuffs, pearls, and the dainty fan, and therefore declares for no. 112? It is called A Morning Walk, by Thomas Hicks, and is one of the brightest and best of his works. A girl in a garden, not 'Queen rose of the rose-bud garden of girls,' but a day lily rather, clad in the airiest muslin, with a thin trickle of blue ribbon around her neck; fresh, dewy, buoyant, swinging with lithe grace into the morning air. Let him who quarrel with the hands in this portrait." ["The Lounger: The National Academy of Design," Harper's Weekly 5, no. 2 (1863): 274]</p> <p>"We have never seen a better lady's portrait by this artist than that of the young girl in the 'Morning Walk,' (113). This is a three quarter-length of the life-size, and represents a pretty maid wandering through the</p>	

<p>woods about sunrise in an airy muslin, which becomes her better than it does the time of day and the roughness of the place. Still, granting her insured against thorns and dew, she is quite charming among her surroundings, and is not the unsuccess [sic] we usually look for where suspended action, like that of walking with the head awayed from side to side, is rendered in a portrait. The flesh-tones of this picture are of Hicks's best." ["The National Academy of Design: Its Thirty-Eighth Annual Exhibition," The Evening Post (New York), May 21, 1863]</p> <p>"One of the most interesting figure pictures in the collection is by Hicks. It is called 'The Morning Walk,' and represents a young lady out in the woods. The flesh tints in this picture are exquisitely rendered, and the drapery is handled with more than the usual skill of this celebrated artist." ["Fine Arts in Cincinnati: Exhibitions of the Academy of Fine Arts," The Evening Post (New York), December 1, 1868]</p>	
<p>343 <i>The Chapel at Cevalro</i> c. 1863</p> <p>PROVENANCE E. N. Wilcox, Esq.</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1863 (no. 82); Detroit Art Association, February 1876 (no. 102)</p> <p>LITERATURE "The National Academy of Design: Its Thirty-Eighth Annual Exhibition," The Evening Post (New York), May 21, 1863; Naylor 1973, 1:434</p> <p>NOTES "Hicks has an effective little picture, called 'The Chapel at Cevalro,' (82) in which a peasant woman, richly costumed, kneels at a shrine." ["The National Academy of Design: Its Thirty-Eighth Annual Exhibition," The Evening Post (New York), May 21, 1863]</p>	
<p>344 <i>Hon. Roscoe Conkling</i> c. 1863</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Artists' Fund Society, 1863</p> <p>LITERATURE "Fine Arts," The Evening Post (New York), November 18, 1863</p>	

<p>NOTES</p> <p>“Thomas Hicks has just finished an admirable crayon portrait of Roscoe Conkling, Esq., of Utica, late representative in Congress—where he ought to be still, and would be but for the treasury of friends. His massive head, keen, kindling eyes and expressive face are rendered by the artist with the truth and spirit of a congenial mind. In handling, as well as in truthfulness, this portrait shows the facility with which Hicks may pass from color to crayon without losing that decided power which always marks his touch.” [“Fine Arts,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), November 18, 1863]</p>	
<p>345</p> <p><i>Pennsylvania Interior</i></p> <p>c. 1863</p> <p>Oil</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS</p> <p>National Academy of Design, 1863 (no. 223)</p> <p>LITERATURE</p> <p>“The National Academy of Design: Its Thirty-Eighth Annual Exhibition,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York)</p> <p>NOTES</p> <p>“Hicks has, besides, a portrait of a lady (330), and a composition piece of considerable pathos, in which a young girl sits overwhelmed by “Bad News” (304), but nothing in this exhibition at all worthy of the pencil which so honored itself in the portraiture of Booth’s wonderful Iago, and made such an elaborately truthful picture of American rural home life as the artist’s, Fuad’s, ‘<i>Pennsylvania Interior</i>.’” [“The National Academy of Design: Its Thirty-Eighth Annual Exhibition,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York)]</p>	
<p>346</p> <p><i>Henry Abbott, M.D.</i> (after Andrew Morris)</p> <p>1863</p> <p>Oil, 39¾ x 50¼ (101 x 127.6)</p> <p>Brooklyn Museum of Art (48.191)</p> <p>PROVENANCE</p> <p>Commissioned by New-York Historical Society, 1863; gift to present owner, 1948</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS</p> <p>Brooklyn Museum of Art, <i>Face of America: The History of Portraiture in the US</i>, November 14, 1957-January 26, 1958</p> <p>LITERATURE</p>	

<p>New-York Historical Society 1941, 1; “Brooklyn Gets Abbott Works of Egyptian Art,” New York Tribune, Nov. 11, 1948; Annual Report of the Brooklyn Museum (July 1, 1948-June 30, 1949), 16*; Cooney 1949, 17; Brooklyn Museum of Art 1958, cat. no. 56; Antiques (October 1966), 496; Brooklyn Museum 1979, 63; Carbone 2006, 645-647*</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy Brooklyn Museum of Art.</p>	
<p>347 <i>Mrs. Henry de Bevoise Schenck (Maria Theodora Van Wyck)</i> 1863 Oil, 40 x 30 (101.6 x 76.2) SLL: <i>T. Hicks/1863</i> Museum of the City of New York, Bequest of the sitter, 1943</p>	
<p>348 <i>Dr. J. G. Cogswell, Founder of the Astor Library</i> 1863 Oil</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1863 (no. 30); Utica Art Association, 1868 (no. 52)</p> <p>LITERATURE Tuckerman 1865, 465; Sheldon 1879, 38</p>	
<p>349 <i>Isaac Sherman</i> 1863 Oil, 32¼ x 26¼ (81.91 x 66.67) Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York</p> <p>LITERATURE New York Chamber of Commerce 1890, 12 (no. 68); New York Chamber of Commerce 1924, 92 (no. 111)</p>	
<p>350 <i>Lewis Gaylord Clark (Founder Portrait)</i> 1863 Charcoal and Pastel, 19½ x 14½ (49.53 x 36.83) Inscription at bottom: Lewis Gaylord Clark by Thomas Hicks (not in artist’s hand) Century Association</p> <p>PROVENANCE Presented to present owner by artist, 1863</p> <p>LITERATURE</p>	

<p>Mayor and Davis 1977, 74-75*, 142</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the Century Association.</p>	
<p>351 <i>The Home Guard</i> 1863 Oil, 18 x 24 (45.72 x 60.96) SLR: <i>T. Hicks/ 1863</i> National Academy of Design (570-P)</p> <p>PROVENANCE James A. Suydam, gift to present owner, 1865</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Artists' Fund Society, December 1863 (no. 48); Artists' Fund Society, 1865 (no. 16); National Academy of Design, 1869-70 (no. 153); National Academy of Design, 1989</p> <p>LITERATURE "Fine Arts: Third Winter Exhibition at the Academy," New York Daily Tribune, November 27, 1869; Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1718; Dearing 2004, 291*; Manthorne and Mitchell 2006, 113-114, 138, 170*</p> <p>NOTES "Thomas Hicks has a pleasant little picture called 'The Home Guard,' a satire on the handsome soldiers who looked after the pretty women when they should have been at the front. This warrior, in full costume, is holding a skein of worsted, which a sweet girl is winding off upon a spool. Everything in the canvas is in sympathy with the artist's scorn of the youth's conduct. The girl is looking away from the cavalier's eager gaze; her mother directs disapproving eyes over her spectacles into space; the furniture is awry; the very perspective of the room betrays its sense of the obliquity of the proceedings by being perversely askew. It is a old picture, done in war times, when things were out of joint." ["Fine Arts: Third Winter Exhibition at the Academy," New York Daily Tribune, November 27, 1869]</p>	
<p>352 <i>Portrait of a Woman</i> 1863 Oil</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at the Frick Art Reference Library.</p>	

353

Edwin Booth as Iago

1863

Oil, 31½ x 21½ (80.01 x 54.61)

SLR on slanting side of step: *T. Hicks/1863*

National Portrait Gallery (NPG.70.62)

PROVENANCE

Commissioned by A. M. Cozzens, New York, 1863-68; Pritchau (?); Charlotte Arnold until 1920; gift to Cooper-Hewitt Museum of Decorative Arts and Design; transferred to present owner

EXHIBITIONS

National Portrait Gallery (Washington, DC), *Portraits of the American Stage, 1771-1971*, 1971; Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts (Montgomery, AL), *A Brush with Shakespeare, The Bard in Painting: 1780-1910*, 1985

LITERATURE

Catalogue of the Entire Collection of Paintings Belonging to the late Mr. A. M. Cozzens... May 14, 1868 (no. 25); "The Cozzens Collection of Pictures Sold in New York," *Daily National Intelligencer* (Washington, DC), May 25, 1868; National Portrait Gallery 1971, frontispiece*, 60-61; David Richards, "ART: The Correcting of a Popular Misconception," *Washington Star* (Washington, DC), September 12, 1971; Shattuck 1976, 87; Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts 1986, 63 (no. 31)*; Watermeier 1986, 35, 38*; Studding 1993, 78 (no. 367)

NOTES

"'No, he must die.' The same subject, full length, was regarded at the time of its exhibition as a very striking successful performance. This duplicate, from the large picture, was painted for Mr. Cozzens. (22 x 32, \$275.00, Prichau) (Price and buyer noted in contemporary hand.)

[*Catalogue of the Entire Collection of Paintings Belonging to the late Mr. A. M. Cozzens...* May 14, 1868 (no. 25)]

PHOTO SOURCE

Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.



354

Major Wainwright

c. 1864

PROVENANCE

J. H. Wainwright

EXHIBITIONS

<p>National Academy of Design, 1864 (no. 279)</p> <p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, 1:434</p>	
<p>355 <i>A Woman of Sonino</i> c. 1864 Oil</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Metropolitan Sanitary Fair (New York), 1864</p> <p>LITERATURE “The Metropolitan Fair,” New York Times, April 21, 1864 (sold for \$300.00); Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1720</p> <p>NOTES May be same painting as no. 365. I have not been able to find descriptions or measurements to verify.</p>	
<p>356 <i>Devotion</i> c. 1864</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Brooklyn & Long Island Fair, February 22, 1864</p> <p>LITERATURE Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1718</p>	
<p>357 <i>The Manger</i> c. 1864</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Artists’ Fund Society, 1864 (no. 53)</p> <p>LITERATURE Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1721</p>	

358

Edwin Booth as Iago

1864

Oil, 14 x 10 (35.56 x 25.4)

SLR on flat part of step: *T. Hicks/1864*

PROVENANCE

William T. Blodgett, 1875; [Adelson Galleries (Boston, MA), 1968]

LITERATURE

“Important Art Sale: The Blodgett Collection to be Disposed of by Auction,” *The Evening Post* (New York), March 28, 1876 ; “City Intelligence: Sale of the Blodgett Pictures,” *The Evening Post* (New York), April 28, 1876

NOTES

Adelson Galleries ran an ad in *The Connoisseur* 167, no. 673 (March 1968) that erroneously titled the painting, “John Wilkes Booth as Iago.”

PHOTO SOURCE

The Connoisseur 167, no. 673 (March 1968)



359

Edwin Booth as Iago

1864

Oil, 14 x 10 (35.56 x 25.4)

SLR on slanted part of step: *T. Hicks/ 1864*

The Hampden-Booth Library, New York

PROVENANCE

Theron R. Butler, 1910; Roland F. Knoedler, New York, gift to present owner, March 10, 1910

EXHIBITIONS

New York Public Library, *Edwin Booth's Legacy: Treasures from the Hampden-Booth Theatre Collection at The Players*, October 6, 1989-January 6, 1990

LITERATURE



“Mr. Theron R. Butler's Pictures,” *The Evening Post* (New York), November 22, 1877; “Art and Artists,” *The Globe and Commercial Advertisers*, December 27, 1909; *The Valuable Art Collection of the Late Theron R. Butler* (New York: Mendelssohn Gallery, 1910) (cat. no. 10); *Day* 1925, 3 (cat. no. 12); *Wemmlinger* 1989, 30*

PHOTO SOURCE

Courtesy of the Hampden-Booth Library.

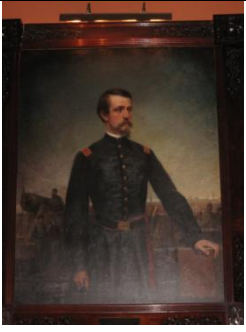





<p>360 <i>Young Girl</i> 1864 Oil, 9 5/8 x 7 5/8 (24.46 x 17.38) LL: <i>T. Hicks/1864</i> Century Association</p> <p>PROVENANCE William Cullen Bryant Collection, 1908; bequest to present owner</p> <p>LITERATURE Mayor and Davis 1977, 128, 160</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the Century Association.</p>	
<p>361 <i>The Home Stretch Trout All Sold (The Kingfisher)</i> 1864 Oil, 16½ x 10 ½ (41.91 x 26.67) SL: <i>T. Hicks/1864</i> Thomas Slusarczyk, Esq., New York</p> <p>PROVENANCE [James D. Julia, Inc. (Fairfield, ME), August 20, 2003 (no.611)]</p> <p>LITERATURE Thomas 1951, 99-100; Tatham 1983, 9</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of present owner.</p>	
<p>362 <i>Peletiah Perit</i> 1864 Oil on linen, 13 1/8 x 10¾ (33.02 x 27.3) SLR: <i>T. Hicks/1864</i> New-York Historical Society (1981.12) Verso Inscription: “Study of the portrait of Peletiah Perit for the Chamber of Commerce to R. M. Olyphant from Thomas Hicks, July 20th, 1864.”</p> <p>PROVENANCE Robert M. Olyphant</p>	

<p>363 <i>Peletiah Perit</i> 1864 Oil Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York (2003.41.41)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Seaman’s Savings Bank; [Sotheby’s New York, June 21-23, 1979 (no. 204)]</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1865 (no. 448)</p> <p>LITERATURE “The Exhibition of the National Academy,” Harper’s Weekly vol. 5, no. 13 (1865), 291; Sheldon 1879, <i>American Painters</i>, 38; New York Chamber of Commerce 1924, 89 (no. 20); New York Chamber of Commerce 1967</p> <p>Notes: “‘The Late Peletiah Perit’ (448) by Thomas Hicks, is one of the best of the artist’s full-length portraits. It has exactly the character of the good man whom it represents, for although we never saw him we recognize here the impression which he made upon those who were personally familiar with him.” [“The Exhibition of the National Academy,” Harper’s Weekly vol. 5, no. 13 (1865), 291]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE http://www.nysm.nysed.gov/research_collections/collections/history/nyc/c/preview/H-2003.41.41_hicks_perit.html</p>	
<p>364 <i>Alexander Dey</i> 1864 Oil, 24 x 18 (60.96 x 45.72) SLR: <i>T. Hicks/1864</i></p> <p>PROVENANCE D. Ashley King, Detroit; [Dumouchelle’s, January 15-17, 2010 (no. 2091)]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Askart.com</p>	
<p>365 <i>Girl of Sonino, Italy</i> c. 1865</p>	

<p>PROVENANCE [S. P. Avery, New York]</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1865 (no. 267)</p> <p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, 1:434</p> <p>NOTES May be same painting as no. 355. I have not been able to find descriptions or measurements to verify.</p>	
<p>366 <i>The Late H. B. Cromwell</i> c. 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mrs. H. B. Cromwell</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1865 (no. 440)</p>	
<p>367 <i>Gateway in France</i> c. 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE S. P. Avery</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Northwestern Fair (Chicago), June 1865 (no. 176)</p> <p>LITERATURE Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1719</p>	
<p>368 <i>View in Lubica</i> c. 1865</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Northwestern Fair (Chicago), June 1865 (no. 116)</p> <p>LITERATURE Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1720</p>	
<p>369 <i>A Study of Rocks</i> c. 1865</p>	

<p>EXHIBITIONS Artists' Fund Society, 1865 (no. 302)</p> <p>LITERATURE Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1721</p>	
<p>370 <i>The Vacant Chair</i> c. 1865</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Artists' Fund Society, December 29, 1865 (no. 40)</p> <p>LITERATURE Sheldon 1879, 38; Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1721</p>	
<p>371 <i>Francis Upton Johnston, MD</i> c. 1865-1875 Oil, 36 x 46 (91.44 x 116.8) New York Hospital</p> <p>LITERATURE Sheldon 1879, 38</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at the Frick Art Reference Library.</p>	
<p>372 <i>Thomas Leggett</i> c. 1865-1875 Oil</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at the Frick Art Reference Library.</p>	
<p>373 <i>Mrs. Benjamin D. Hicks</i> c. 1865-1875 Oil, 24½ x 18 (62.23 x 45.7) S on table cloth</p> <p>PROVENANCE Frederick Stevens Hicks, Alexandria, VA</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at the Frick Art Reference Library.</p>	
<p>374 <i>Benjamin D. Hicks</i> c. 1865-1875</p>	

<p>Oil, 24¼ x18 (62.23 x 45.7) SLL on desk</p> <p>PROVENANCE Frederick Stevens Hicks, Alexandria, VA</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at the Frick Art Reference Library.</p>	
<p>375 <i>Captain Emmons Clark</i> 1865 Oil, 56¼ x 44 (142.9 x 111.8) SLR: <i>T Hicks/1865</i> Park Avenue Armory, New York (1984.86)</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, courtesy of the Park Avenue Armory.</p>	
<p>37 <i>Unidentified Male</i> 1865 Oil, 40 x 30 (102 x 76) SLR: <i>T. Hicks/1865</i> Albany Institute of History and Art</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at the Frick Art Reference Library.</p>	
<p>377 <i>John Cruger</i> (after miniature by unknown artist) 1865 Oil, 30 x 25 (76.2 x 63.5) Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, Albany</p> <p>LITERATURE New York Chamber of Commerce 1890, 1 (no. 1); New York Chamber of Commerce 1924, 77 (no. 1); New York Chamber of Commerce, 1967</p>	
<p>378 <i>John Alsop</i> (copy after unknown artist) 1865 Oil, 30 x 25 (76.2 x 63.5) Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, Albany</p> <p>LITERATURE “A Visit to the Studios: What the Artists are Doing,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), February 16, 1865; New York Chamber of Commerce 1890, 2 (no. 5); New York Chamber of Commerce 1924, 10 (no. 8)</p>	
<p>379</p>	

<p><i>Thomas Tileston</i> 1865 Oil Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York, Albany</p> <p>LITERATURE New York Chamber of Commerce 1890, 11 (no. 63); New York Chamber of Commerce 1924, 94; New York Chamber of Commerce 1967</p>	
<p>380 <i>Portrait of an Unknown Lady</i> 1865 Oil, 14 x 42 (35.56 x 106.68) SLL: <i>T. Hicks</i></p> <p>PROVENANCE [Kenneth Lux Gallery, New York, January 18-February 26, 1977]; George J. Arden, New York; [Gene Shapiro Auctions, November 22, 2009 (no. 113)]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of Gene Shapiro Auctions.</p>	
<p>381 <i>Portrait of an Unknown Gentleman</i> 1865 Oil, 14 x 42 (35.56 x 106.68) SLL: <i>T. Hicks</i></p> <p>PROVENANCE [Kenneth Lux Gallery, New York, January 18-February 26, 1977]; George J. Arden, New York; [Gene Shapiro Auctions, November 22, 2009 (no. 113)]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of Gene Shapiro Auctions.</p>	
<p>382 <i>Kitchen Interior</i> 1865 Oil, 18 x 13 (45.7 x 33)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Private Collection, Washington, D. C., until 1950; [Sotheby's New York, <i>Nineteenth Century Genre Paintings and Landscapes</i>, May 4, 1950 (lot 28)]; [Sotheby's New York, October 5, 1950 (lot 13)]; IBM Gallery of Arts and Sciences, New York; [Sotheby's New York, <i>American Paintings, Drawings, and Sculpture</i>, May 5, 1995 (no. 170)]</p>	

<p>EXHIBITIONS Berry Hill Galleries (New York), <i>The Apple in America</i>, May 6-June 26, 1993</p> <p>LITERATURE Grand Central Art Galleries 1951, (no. 21); Tatham 1983, 20, n. 30; Weber 1993, 17, 40*, 45, n. 100</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Askart.com</p>	
<p>383 <i>The Late James Boorman</i> c. 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE John F. Gray</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1866 (no. 368)</p> <p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, 1:434</p>	
<p>384 <i>Study of a Durham Ox</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 7a)]</p>	
<p>385 <i>Study of the Head of Prospero</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 8)]</p>	
<p>386 <i>Pass to the Rocky Heart, at Trenton Falls</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 11)]</p>	
<p>387 <i>Above the High Fall, Trenton Falls</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE</p>	

[Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 12)]	
388 <i>Study of a Boy</i> Before 1865 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 12b)]	
389 <i>The Rustic Connoisseurs</i> Before 1865 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 15)]	
390 <i>Edwin Booth as Shylock (A Reminiscence of Edwin Booth as Shylock)</i> Before 1865 Oil PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 18)] LITERATURE “Fine Arts,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), February 11, 1867 NOTES “Another picture by Mr. Hicks is one of Edwin Booth in the character of <i>Shylock</i> in the scene where, having crossed the Rialto, he turns and looks at <i>Antonio</i> , to whom he as just promised to lend three thousand ducats.” [“Fine Arts,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), February 11, 1867]	
391 <i>Lost in the Woods</i> Before 1865 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 20)]	
392 <i>Sunset at Sea</i> Before 1865 PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 21)]	
393 <i>Idleness</i> Before 1865	

<p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 22)]</p>	
<p>394 <i>The Good Ship Southampton, Homeward Bound</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 23)]</p>	
<p>395 <i>A Study of Rocks, Beverly Coast</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 27)]</p>	
<p>396 <i>Portrait of Mrs. Kirkland</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 30d)]</p>	
<p>397 <i>Study from the Story of Undine</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 31)]</p>	
<p>398 <i>Uncle Tom's Cabin</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 32)]</p>	
<p>399 <i>How They Brought the Good News from Ghent to Aix</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 33)]</p> <p>NOTES "I sprang to the stirrup, and Ioris and he, I galloped, Dirck galloped, we galloped, all three. From Robert Browning." [Hicks Sale 1865, no. 33]</p>	
400	

<p><i>The Mad-House and Its Belfry Tower, Venice</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 34)]</p> <p>NOTES “From Shelley’s <i>Julia and Maddalo</i>.” [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 34)]</p>	
<p>401 <i>Autumn on West Canada Creek, near Trenton Falls</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 37f)]</p>	
<p>402 <i>Sunset at Nahant</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 39)]</p>	
<p>403 <i>View from Moore’s Hotel, Trenton Falls</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 40)]</p>	
<p>404 <i>Rebecca at the Well</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 43)]</p>	
<p>405 <i>The Bracelet</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 44)]</p>	
<p>406 <i>Sunset at Sea</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 45)]</p>	
<p>407</p>	

<p><i>The Glen, Trenton Falls</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 46)]</p>	
<p>408 <i>Sherman Fall, Trenton Falls</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 47)]</p>	
<p>409 <i>High Fall, Trenton Falls</i> Before 1865</p> <p>LITERATURE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 48)]</p>	
<p>410 <i>Milldam Fall, Trenton Falls</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 49)]</p>	
<p>411 <i>The Alhambra, Trenton Falls</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 50)]</p>	
<p>412 <i>Trenton Falls</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 51)]</p>	
<p>413 <i>The Rocky Heart, Trenton Falls</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 52)]</p>	
<p>414 <i>The Cottage Road</i> Before 1865</p>	

<p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 53)]</p>	
<p>415 <i>View of Trenton Falls</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 54)]</p>	
<p>416 <i>Twilight at Sea</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 55)]</p>	
<p>417 <i>Achilles Carrying the Dead Body of Patrocles</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 56)]</p>	
<p>418 <i>Cloudy Day at Sea</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale (no. 57)]</p>	
<p>419 <i>Innocence</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 61h)]</p>	
<p>420 <i>The Outward Bound</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 63)]</p>	
<p>421 <i>Road at Otsego Lake</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 64)]</p>	
<p>422</p>	

<p><i>Cottage by the Sea</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 65)]</p>	
<p>423 <i>The Passing Storm</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 67)]</p>	
<p>424 <i>A Showery Day in the Woods</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 69)]</p>	
<p>425 <i>Aspiration</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 70i)]</p>	
<p>426 <i>Westchester, from White Stone Point</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 71)]</p>	
<p>427 <i>Patience and Endurance, a study from Nature</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 77)]</p>	
<p>428 <i>Bacchus and Nymphs</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 75)]</p>	
<p>429 <i>On the Coast at Sunset</i> Before 1865</p>	

<p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 77)]</p>	
<p>430 <i>Hagar and Ishmael</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 79k)]</p>	
<p>431 <i>Study of a Goat</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 80)]</p>	
<p>432 <i>Hope</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 81)]</p>	
<p>433 <i>A Study</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 82)]</p>	
<p>434 <i>The Red Scarf</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 83)]</p>	
<p>435 <i>Residence of the Late Mr. Benjamin Walcott, of York Mills, Oneida Co.</i> <i>NY</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 85)]</p>	
<p>436 <i>Sunset on Hempstead Plains, L. I.</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 85)]</p>	

<p>437 <i>"Alastor"</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 86)]</p>	
<p>438 <i>The Alchemist</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 90)]</p>	
<p>439 <i>Narragansett Bay</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 91)]</p>	
<p>440 <i>Study in Color for a picture of Miranda</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 92)]</p>	
<p>441 <i>The Indian's Dream</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 93)]</p>	
<p>442 <i>Light and Shadow</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 94)]</p>	
<p>443 <i>Boy Listening to a Ghost Story</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 97)]</p>	
<p>444 <i>A Study of Trees, Otsego Lake</i> Before 1865</p>	

<p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 99)]</p>	
<p>445 <i>Music at Twilight</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 100)]</p>	
<p>446 <i>Evening</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 101)]</p>	
<p>447 <i>A Study in the Beverly Woods, Mass.</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 106)]</p>	
<p>448 <i>Cattle Going Home, Scene Near the Delaware Gap</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 107)]</p>	
<p>449 <i>Sunset</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 108)]</p>	
<p>450 <i>The Mountain Team, Cumberland County, Penn.</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 110)]</p>	
<p>451 <i>Children Playing Hide and Seek</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 112)]</p>	

<p>452 <i>A Study of Rocks in the Woods at Trenton Falls</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 115)]</p>	
<p>453 <i>A Study of Beech and Birch Trees, on the West Canada Creek</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 116)]</p>	
<p>454 <i>Twilight Hour</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 119)]</p>	
<p>455 <i>Maternal Love</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 123)]</p>	
<p>456 <i>Twilight</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 124)]</p>	
<p>457 <i>Study for a Head of Naomi</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 125)]</p>	
<p>458 <i>Children and Dog</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 128)]</p>	
<p>459 <i>Almost Asleep</i> Before 1865</p>	

<p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 129)]</p>	
<p>460 <i>Rosalie</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 130)]</p>	
<p>461 <i>Consuello and Joseph Hayden</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 131)]</p>	
<p>462 <i>Pesico Lake, Herkimer Co., N.Y.</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 132)]</p>	
<p>463 <i>Pontiac, Indian Chief</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 133)]</p>	
<p>464 <i>“Why Don’t He Come”</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 134)]</p>	
<p>465 <i>The Two Friends</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 135)]</p>	
<p>466 <i>Scene in Turkey</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 136)]</p>	

<p>467 <i>Otsego Lake, Mount Wellington in the distance</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 137)]</p>	
<p>468 <i>Reminiscence of Hacket as Sir John Falstaff</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 138)]</p>	
<p>469 <i>He Loves Me Not</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 140s)]</p>	
<p>470 <i>A Study, Rocks on the Beverly Coast, Mass.</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 141)]</p>	
<p>471 <i>Otsego Lake, Looking towards Cooperstown</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 141t)]</p>	
<p>472 <i>The Blue Hood</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 142u)]</p>	
<p>473 <i>Young Chickens</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 143v)]</p>	
<p>474 <i>Apples</i> Before 1865</p>	

<p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 144w)]</p>	
<p>475 <i>Old Man Reading</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 145)]</p>	
<p>476 <i>“My Soul is an Enchanted Boat” from Shelley’s “Prometheus Bound”</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 146)]</p>	
<p>477 <i>Study in the Woods, at Beverly, Mass.</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 147)]</p>	
<p>478 <i>The Scapegoat</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 151)]</p>	
<p>479 <i>The Unexpected Arrival</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 151x)]</p>	
<p>480 <i>Evening on the Coast, Nahant</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 152)]</p>	
<p>481 <i>The Portfolio</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 153)]</p>	

<p>482 <i>The Last Adieu</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 155)]</p>	
<p>483 <i>The Miser's Surprise</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 156)]</p>	
<p>484 <i>Topsy and Little Eva</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 157)]</p>	
<p>485 <i>Sir Edward Mortimer</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 161)]</p>	
<p>486 <i>Cedar Tree at Whitestone Point</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 162)]</p>	
<p>487 <i>The Old Cavalier</i> Before 1865</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1865 (no. 162z)]</p>	
<p>488 <i>Going to the Fountain</i> c. 1866</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Artists' Fund Society, 1866 (no. 31)</p> <p>LITERATURE Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1719</p>	

<p>489 <i>Roger Sherman</i> (after Ralph Earl) c. 1866 Oil, 30 x 25 (76 x 63.5) SLL: <i>T. Hicks/ ?6</i> Oneida County Historical Society (1965.175.2)</p>	
<p>490 <i>The Hood</i> c. 1866</p> <p>LITERATURE [AA Sale 1866 (no. 53)]</p>	
<p>491 <i>The Musicale, Barber Shop, Trenton Falls, New York</i> 1866 Oil, 25 x 30 (63.5 x 76) North Carolina Museum of Art (52.9.15)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Charles Tefft (seated in left foreground of painting); to daughter, Anna Griswold Tefft (Mrs. David Morton) Bogue, Seattle, WA; to daughter, Anna Tefft Bogue (b. 1878), New York; [John P. Nicholson Gallery, New York]; purchase by present owner, 1952</p> <p>LITERATURE Tatham 1983, 12-13, 15*; Tatham 1989, 28; Nagy, 201</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE http://www.ncmoa.org/collections/highlights/american/1850-1910/069_lrg.shtml</p>	
<p>492 <i>Elisha Kent Kane at Fern Rock (Home of the Late Judge Kane – Near Philadelphia)</i> 1866 Oil, 73 x 63 (185.4 x 160) SLR: <i>T. Hicks/1866</i> Kane Lodge #454, New York City</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1867 (no. 418)</p> <p>LITERATURE “The Century Club and Its Artists,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), November 5, 1866; “National Academy of Design-Forty-Second Annual Exhibition-Second Article: Thomas Hicks,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), April 30, 1867; “Fine Arts: Exhibition of the National Academy</p>	

of Design,” *The Albion* (4 May 1867); “Pictures at the National Academy,” *The Round Table* (May 11, 1867); “Portraits at the Last Exhibition,” *The Round Table* (July 27, 1867); Naylor 1973, 1:434


NOTES

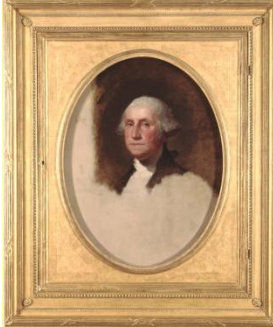
“Mr. Hicks’s portrait of Dr. Kane is the only picture that he has in the exhibition, and is far more credible than any of his precious efforts of the same kind, especially than his picture of ‘Booth as Iago.’ Placing the adventurous explorer in the library of Judge Kane, of Philadelphia, he has been able to represent him with natural and consistent surrounding, and thus invest the picture with more interest than generally attaches to mere portraiture.



This is a portrait of an actual room, and is valuable as such; but too much of this room has been given. The position of the Doctor is not altogether natural, and it is too evident that he is sitting for his portrait, and has nothing to do with the room, which only answers as a background. Without being able to speak from knowledge, we have serious doubts whether Dr. Kane was in the habit of wearing such a gorgeous dressing-gown—velvet, lined with satin—as Mr. Hicks has put upon him. But generally the work does great credit to the artist for the evident care which he has devoted to the subject. It gives a good likeness of a most important personage, and is a valuable acquisition to the Kane Lodge, to which it belongs.” [National Academy of Design-Forty-Second Annual Exhibition-Second Article: Thomas Hicks,” *The Evening Post* (New York), April 30, 1867]

“The large full-length portrait of the late Dr. Kane, the Arctic explorer, No. 418, painted by Mr. Thomas Hicks, has a very prominent place accorded it on the line, to the exclusion of pictures that might have figured much better there. It is weak both in drawing and colour, the only bit of it possessing any merit being the right-hand portion, comprising certain objects of still life and drapery tolerably well grouped.” [“Fine Arts: Exhibition of the National Academy of Design,” *The Albion* (4 May 1867)]


“Two of the most pretentious pictures in the exhibition,—pretentious alike with regard to their size and to the very conspicuous positions assigned to them on the walls of the Academy,—are “Elisha Kent Kane, at Fern Rock,” (418), by Thomas Hicks, and “Chocorua Peak,” (479) by D. Huntington, the President of the National Academy. These pictures face each other on the end wall of the South room, and we must charitably suppose that they were placed there as “liners” by the hanging committee on the well-known ‘frightful example’ principle, to keep steadily before the youthful artistic mind the horrors that arise from contemplating the vicious in art. Mr. Hicks’ portrait of the lamented navigator may be a tolerable likeness for aught we know to the contrary,


<p>but, as a worked of art, it is utterly destitute of any right or title to the place occupied by it. In color it is cold and disagreeable to excess. The pose of the figure would be condemned by any intelligent <i>poseur</i> at a photographic gallery as being graceless and affected in the extreme. The perspective is at fault, and most of the accessories, such as furniture and books, are quite out of proportion with the leading object of the composition. Some separate bits on this large canvas are arranged and painted with skill, but as a whole the work cannot be regarded otherwise than a very poor production.” [“Pictures at the National Academy,” <i>The Round Table</i> (May 11, 1867)]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, courtesy of Kane Lodge #454.</p>	
<p>493 <i>George Washington</i> c. 1867 Oil</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Babcock Galleries, New York]</p> <p>NOTES This may be the same as cat. no. 497 or 724.</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Juley Collection, Smithsonian Institution.</p>	
<p>494 <i>Feeding the Chickens</i> c. 1867</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Artists’ Fund Society, 1867 (no. 75); Artists’ Fund Society, 1868 (no. 75)</p> <p>LITERATURE Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1718</p>	
<p>495 <i>Quiet Reading</i> c. 1867</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Artists’ Fund Society, 1867 (no. 25); Artists’ Fund Society, 1868 (no. 25)</p> <p>LITERATURE Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1719</p>	


<p>496 <i>Joseph and His Brethren</i> c. 1867 Oil</p> <p>PROVENANCE William P. Wright, New Jersey (until 1867)</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Weehawken Gallery (New Jersey), 1867 (no. 69); Derby Gallery (New York), 1867 (no. 58)</p> <p>LITERATURE Leeds & Miner 1867 (no. 58)</p>	
<p>497 <i>George Washington</i> (after Gilbert Stuart) 1867 Oil, 50 x 40¼ (127 x 102.2) SLL: <i>Painted by Thomas Hicks, May 1867 from the original study by Gilbert Stuart, in the Boston Athenaeum, First copy</i> Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts, Alabama</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Kennedy Galleries, New York, New York by December 1977]; Blount, Inc., Montgomery, Alabama, until 1989; bequest to present owner</p> <p>LITERATURE Ausfeld 1993, 11*; Ausfeld 2006, 52-53*</p> <p>NOTES One of at least two copies. See nos. 493 and 724.</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts</p>	
<p>498 <i>Chief Red Jacket</i> (after R.W. Weir) 1868 Oil, 32 x 22 (81 x 56) Buffalo & Erie County Historical Society</p> <p>PROVENANCE M. Knoedler & Co., Inc.</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Knoedler & Co. (New York), <i>American Indian Observed</i>, 1971</p>	


<p>LITERATURE Knoedler & Co. 1971, 28*</p>	
<p>499 <i>Elias Hicks</i> 1867 Oil, 52½ x 44¼ (132.7 x 112.4) Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York (2003.41.48)</p> <p>LITERATURE New York Chamber of Commerce 1890, 3 (no. 14); New York Chamber of Commerce 1924 (no. 9)</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE http://www.nysm.nysed.gov/research_collections/collections/history/nyc/c/preview/H-2003.41.48_hicks_hicks.html</p>	
<p>500 <i>William Maxwell Evarts</i> 1867 Oil, 44¼ x 34 (112.4 x 86.4) SLL: <i>T. Hicks/1867</i> Century Association</p> <p>PROVENANCE Presented by the artist, 1867</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1868 (no. 346)</p> <p>LITERATURE Mayor and Davis 1977, 40-1; Tuckerman 1867, 466; Sheldon 1879, 38; Century Association Constitution & Bylaws 1875, 66, no. 39; “Art and Artists in New York,” <i>The Independent</i> (New York), June 2, 1881; Naylor 1973, 1:435</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the Century Association.</p>	
<p>501 <i>Roger Sherman</i> 1867 Oil</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at the Frick Art Reference Library.</p>	
<p>502 <i>Salmon Portland Chase</i> 1867</p>	



Oil	
<p>PROVENANCE Mr. Samuel S. Ellis, Philadelphia (1935)</p>	
<p>503 <i>Edwin Booth as Richelieu</i> c. 1867-1868 Oil, 14 x 10½ (35.6 x 26.7)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 53)]</p>	
<p>504 <i>Among the Pines</i> c. 1868</p> <p>PROVENANCE A. K. H. (Angie King Hicks ?)</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1868 (no. 257)</p> <p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, 1:434</p>	
<p>505 <i>Edwin Booth as Hamlet</i> c. 1868 Oil</p> <p>PROVENANCE Charles A. Dana</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1868 (no. 301)</p> <p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, 1:434; Studding 1993, 78 (no. 366)</p>	
<p>506 <i>Edward Delafield, M.D.</i> c. 1868 Oil</p> <p>PROVENANCE New York Society for the Relief of Widows and Orphans, 1876</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1868 (no. 370); Centennial Exhibition</p>	


<p>(Philadelphia), 1876 (no. 456)</p> <p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, 1:435; Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1720</p>	
<p>507 <i>Morning Ride</i> c. 1868 Oil</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Derby Gallery (New York), 1868</p> <p>LITERATURE Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1719</p>	
<p>508 <i>The Red Hood</i> c. 1868</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Utica Art Association, 1868 (no. 145)</p> <p>LITERATURE Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1721</p>	
<p>509 <i>Andrew Mills</i> c. 1868</p> <p>PROVENANCE Dry Dock Savings Bank</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1868 (no. 268)</p> <p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, 1:435</p>	
<p>510 <i>James Renwick</i> 1868 Charcoal and pastel on paper, 21 x 15½ (53 x 39) SLR: <i>Thomas Hicks 1868</i> Century Association</p> <p>PROVENANCE Presented by the artist, founder portrait, 1868</p> <p>LITERATURE</p>	


<p>Mayor and Davis 1977, 72-73, 142</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the Century Association.</p>	
<p>511 <i>Portrait of a Gentleman</i> 1868 Oil, 17 x 14 (43.2 x 35.6) SCR: dated 1868</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Frank H. Boos Gallery (Bloomfield Hills, MI), June 26, 2001]; [Christie's East, October 18, 1989 (no. 31)]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Askart.com</p>	
<p>512 <i>Charles Dickens</i> 1868 Oil, 20 x 16¾ (51 x 42.5) Lily Library, Indiana University</p> <p>PROVENANCE J.K. Lilly, Jr, 1936-1956; [Erich-New House Galleries (New York) January 1966]</p>	
<p>513 <i>Red Jacket (Sagoyewatha)</i> (after R. W. Weir) 1868 Oil, 76 x 51 (193 x 129.5) New York Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, New York</p> <p>PROVENANCE Gift of Remington Estate, 1868</p>	
<p>514 <i>Samuel Willets</i> 1868 Oil, 39 x 32 (99 x 81) Museum of the City of New York, Gift of Charles G. Meyer</p> <p>PROVENANCE Charles G. Meyer</p>	
<p>515 <i>Italian Mother and Child</i> 1868 Oil, 36¾ x 29½ (93.3 x 75)</p>	

<p>North Carolina Museum of Art</p>	
<p>516 <i>Benjamin Franklin Butler</i> 1868 Oil, 32½ x 24½ (82.6 x 62.2) S: <i>T Hicks/1868</i> New York University</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at Frick Art Reference Library.</p>	
<p>517 <i>Red Jacket (Sagoyewatha)</i> (after Robert Weir) 1868 Oil, 32 x 22 (82.3 x 56) Inscribed verso: <i>Copied 1868 by Thomas Hicks</i> National Portrait Gallery</p> <p>PROVENANCE Sydney Melville Shoenberg, Jr.; [Sotheby's New York, May 22, 2002 (no. 172)]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.</p>	
<p>518 <i>Anna Coe Hubbard Walcott</i> 1868-1869 Oil, 30 x 25 (76.2 x 63.5) SLR: <i>T. Hicks/1868-9</i> Munson-Williams-Proctor Arts Institute Museum of Art</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mr. and Mrs. William Walcott, Norfolk, CT; gift to present owner</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute Art Museum of Art, <i>The Gilded Edge: Frames in the Permanent Collection</i>, November 21, 1998-January 2, 2000</p>	
<p>519 <i>William Dexter Walcott</i> 1868-1869 Oil, 48 x 34 1/8 (122 x 86.4) SLR: <i>Hicks/ 1868-9</i> Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute Museum of Art</p> <p>PROVENANCE</p>	


<p>Mr. and Mrs. William Walcott, Norfolk, CT; gift to present owner</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute Museum of Art, <i>The Gilded Edge: Frames in the Permanent Collection</i>, November 21, 1998 to January 2, 2000</p>	
<p>520 <i>G. Coggshall</i> c. 1869</p> <p>PROVENANCE Bowery Savings Bank</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1869 (no. 270)</p> <p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, 1:435</p>	
<p>521 <i>Mrs. Angie Hicks on the Grounds of the Moore Hotel (Young Woman at the Garden Gate)</i> 1869 Oil, 24¼ x 18 (61.6 x 45.72) S</p> <p>PROVENANCE Fred T. and Mary Frances Bowles Couper, Jr., Houston, Texas; [Christie's New York, February 9-10, 2010 (lot no. 7)]</p> <p>LITERATURE Sheldon 1879, 38; Garrett 1977, 516*</p> <p>NOTES Variant of no. 326.</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Askart.com</p>	
<p>522 <i>The Shrine</i> c. 1870</p> <p>PROVENANCE Thomas Thompson</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS <i>Catalogue. Executrix's Sale of Mr. Thomas Thompson's Extensive and</i></p>	



<p><i>Valuable Collection of Ancient and Modern Pictures...</i>, February 7, 1870 (no. 33)</p>	
<p>523 <i>John W. Chambers</i> c. 1870 Oil, 30 x 25 (76.2 x 63.5) SLR: <i>T. Hicks. N.A.</i> New-York Historical Society</p> <p>PROVENANCE American Institute of the City of New York; gift to present owner, 1929</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1888 (no. 276)</p> <p>LITERATURE New-York Historical Society 1941, 50 (no. 125); Naylor 1973, 1:436; New-York Historical Society 1974, 135-136 (no. 320)</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the New-York Historical Society.</p>	
<p>524 <i>Samuel Jones Tilden</i> c. 1870 Oil, 14 15/16 x 11 13/16 (38.1 x 30.5) Verso: <i>Study by Thomas Hicks NA of Samuel J. Tilden through Hudson</i> <i>(illegible)</i> National Portrait Gallery (75.38)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Archives of American Art; transfer to present owner, November 1975</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.</p>	

<p>525 <i>Samuel Jones Tilden</i> c. 1870 Oil, 52 15/16 x 32 11/16 (132.1 x 84) National Portrait Gallery (76.1)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Sotheby's New York, November 1975 (lot 361)]</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1889 (no. 253)</p> <p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, 1:436</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.</p>	
<p>526 <i>Charles Henry Marshall</i> c. 1870 Oil, 24½ x 20 (62.2 x 51) Union League Club, New York</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author</p>	
<p>527 <i>John Jay II</i> c. 1870 Oil, 45 11/16 x 29 5/16 (117 x 74) Mercer Museum (03443)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mrs. Thomas Hicks, gift to present owner, 1910</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Century Association, January 10, 1870</p> <p>LITERATURE Hicks 1910, 91</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at www.mercermuseum.org</p>	
<p>528 <i>Alexandroffsky</i> c. 1870 Oil, 12 x 18 (30.5 x 46)</p>	



<p>Maryland Historical Society (1968-72-1)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Gift of William W. Baldwin</p>	
<p>529 <i>Mr. Edward Everett, President of Harvard University</i> c. 1870 Oil, 75 x 61 (190.5 x 155) Brenau University</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Eldred's, July 20, 1995 (no. 118)]</p>	
<p>530 <i>Silas O. Smith</i> c. 1870-1875 Oil Rochester Historical Society</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at Frick Art Reference Library.</p>	
<p>531 <i>Son of Silas O. Smith (attributed)</i> c. 1870-1875 Oil Rochester Historical Society</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at Frick Art Reference Library.</p>	
<p>532 <i>Dog</i> 1870 Oil, 17 x 21 (43.2 x 53.3) SLR: <i>T Hicks/1870</i> Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, courtesy of present owner.</p>	
<p>533 <i>Richard L. Larremore (Portrait of R. L. Larimore, President of the Board of Education, 1870)</i> 1870 Oil, 50 x 40 (127 x 101.6) Board of Education, City of New York</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Century Association, 1871</p>	

<p>LITERATURE Art Commission of City of New York 1909, 92</p>	
<p>534 <i>William Maxwell Evarts</i> 1870 Oil, 30 x 25 (76.2 x 63.5) LLC: <i>T. Hicks</i> US Department of Justice, Office of the Solicitor General</p>	
<p>535 <i>Wood Scene: Lady in White</i> c. 1871</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Century Association, March 4, 1871 (no. 9)</p> <p>LITERATURE Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1719</p>	
<p>536 <i>"You Know How It Is Yourself"</i> c. 1871</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Artists' Fund Society, February 16, 1871 (no. 25)</p> <p>LITERATURE "Art Notes," <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), January 18, 1871; Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1719</p> <p>NOTES "Mr. Hicks has just finished a figure subject as his contribution to the Artist Fund Society, representing a young maiden standing by a well curb in a musing attitude, and in expression giving utterance to the phrase, in answer to a question put to her by a young man who leans on the fence in the background, 'You know how it is yourself,' which is the title of the picture." ["Art Notes," <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), January 18, 1871]</p>	
<p>537 <i>Little Girl in a Red Dress on a Rock</i> c. 1871</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Century Association, April 1, 1871 (no. 15)</p> <p>LITERATURE Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1719</p>	
<p>538</p>	




<p><i>Unidentified Man</i> (formerly identified as Bayard Taylor) (attributed) 1871 Oil, 30 x 25 (76.2 x 63.5) SUR: 1871</p> <p>PROVENANCE [The Old Print Shop, Philadelphia]; George Norman Highley</p> <p>LITERATURE Highley 1975, frontispiece*</p> <p>NOTES This portrait was identified as Bayard Taylor by the Old Print Shop in 1964. The portrait's Catalogue of American Portraits file (National Portrait Gallery, Washington, DC) contains two letters from Taylor's niece stating that she did not believe it is Taylor. She cited the discrepancy in the hair color and eyes: Taylor had brown hair and eyes while the man in the portrait has black hair and blue eyes. Taylor's niece could not identify the sitter. The portrait's present whereabouts are unknown.</p>	
<p>539 <i>Two Boys Fixing a Trap on the Snow Ground (Rabbit Trap)</i> c. 1872</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Century Association, January 13, 1872 (no. 26); Artists' Fund Society, January 30, 1872 (no. 47)</p> <p>LITERATURE Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1719, 1720</p>	
<p>540 <i>Hon. Charles Godfrey Gunther</i> 1872 Oil, 50 x 36 (127 x 91) S Collection of the City of New York</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1874 (no. 291)</p> <p>LITERATURE Art Commission of City of New York 1909; Naylor 1973, 1:435</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Photograph by Glenn Castellano, courtesy of the Design Commission.</p>	
<p>541</p>	


<p><i>Marshall O. Roberts</i> 1872 Oil Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York</p> <p>LITERATURE “Art Notes,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), January 18, 1871; Chamber of Commerce of New York 1890, 11 (no. 65)</p>	
<p>542 <i>Autumn Foliage</i> 1872 Oil, 25 x 16 (63.5 x 40.6)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Kennedy Galleries, New York]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Askart.com</p>	
<p>543 <i>A Puritan Maiden</i> 1872 Oil, 11¾ x 9½ (29.84 x 24.13) SLR: <i>T. Hicks</i> Verso: Inscribed “no. 84” Private Collection</p> <p>PROVENANCE Private Collection; [Neal Auction Company (New Orleans), November 20-21, 2009]; purchase by present owner</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of Neal Auction Company, New Orleans.</p>	
<p>544 <i>Outward Bound</i> c. 1873 Oil</p> <p>LITERATURE “Art Notes,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), November 14, 1873</p> <p>NOTES “One of the paintings, entitled <i>Outward Bound</i>, was drawn from the bay shore near Newport. It shows two ladies standing on the rocks and apparently watching the receding sails of a ship at the horizon line. The companion picture is entitled <i>The Woodland Path</i>.” [“Art Notes,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), November 14, 1873]</p>	

<p>A work entitled <i>The Outward Bound</i> appears in the Hicks Sale 1865. It is unknown if these are same paintings. See cat. no. 414.</p>	
<p>545 <i>The Woodland Path</i> c. 1873 Oil</p> <p>LITERATURE “Art Notes,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), November 14, 1873</p> <p>NOTES “One of the paintings, entitled <i>Outward Bound</i>, was drawn from the bay shore near Newport. It shows two ladies standing on the rocks and apparently watching the receding sails of a ship at the horizon line. The companion picture is entitled <i>The Woodland Path</i>.” [“Art Notes,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), November 14, 1873]</p>	
<p>546 <i>Mrs. Carnegie of Pittsburgh</i> c. 1873 Oil</p> <p>LITERATURE “Art Notes,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), November 14, 1873</p>	
<p>547 <i>Robert Olyphant</i> c. 1873 Oil</p> <p>LITERATURE “Art Notes,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), November 14, 1873; Sheldon 1879, 38</p>	
<p>548 <i>General George Gordon Meade</i> 1873 Oil, 50 x 38 (127 x 97) Union League Club, New York</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS New York World’s Fair, Metropolitan Museum of Art, April 24-October 29, 1939; Century Association, <i>Portraits Owned by Clubs of New York</i>, January 9-February, 1937 (no. 18); Portraits Inc. (New York), <i>Portraits of Warriors, 1776-1944</i>, December 6-30, 1944; National Portrait Gallery, 1950</p> <p>LITERATURE</p>	

<p><i>New York Times</i>, "Fine Arts," March 30, 1873; "Art and Artists," <i>Daily Evening Transcript</i> (Boston), April 9, 1875; Benjamin 1879, 492; Metropolitan Museum of Art 1939, 149-150, 151 (no. 198)*; Hicks 1910, 91; Sozanski 1988</p> <p>NOTES "Mr. Thomas Hicks has just finished for the Union League Club a three-quarter length picture of Gen. Meade. The hero of Gettysburg is painted in uniform, the head being in profile. The picture itself is an admirable portrait, and wears that particular expression of deep, silent thought which was characteristic of Gen. Meade. The work is quiet and sober in tone, and avoiding the usual glare and glitter of military pictures, it impresses one with its strength and dignity." ["Fine Arts," <i>New York Times</i>, March 30, 1873]</p>	
<p>549 <i>Gate to Cicero's Villa, Monte Albano</i> (with John F. Kensett) 1846 and 1873 Oil, 10 1/8 x 14 1/16 (25.7 x 35.7) SLR: JFK '46 Inscription verso: <i>for M. L. E./January 18th 1874/ The figures painted by/T. H. 1873</i> Inscription by Kensett on stretcher: <i>Gate to Cicero's Villa/Alban Mount, Italy</i> Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.</p> <p>LITERATURE Vance, McGuigan, and McGuigan 2009, 82*</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of Mr. and Mrs. John F. McGuigan, Jr.</p>	
<p>550 <i>The Sisters</i> 1874 Oil, 27 1/8 x 20 1/8 (68.9 x 51.12) SLC: T. Hicks 1874 Spanierman Gallery, New York</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mrs. George Whistler (1874); Private Collection; [Sotheby's New York, March 8, 2007 (no. 66 as <i>He Loves Me...</i>)]; [Hirsch & Adler, 2010]; purchase, present owner</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1874 (no. 185)</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE</p>	

Courtesy of Hirschl & Adler, New York.	
<p>551 <i>The Forest Path</i> c. 1874 Oil</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Artists' Fund Society, January 27, 1874 (no. 23); Century Association, April 4, 1874 (no. 32)</p> <p>LITERATURE "Art: Artists Fund Exhibition," <i>The Albion</i> (April 1, 1874); Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1718</p> <p>NOTES "...The Forest Path by Thomas Hicks, representing a lady robed in gray trimmed with black, walking in a deep, quiet woods, the effect of the whole being good..." ["Art: Artists Fund Exhibition," <i>The Albion</i> (April 1, 1874)]</p>	
<p>552 <i>John F. Gray, M.D.</i> c.1875</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mrs. Benjamin Knowler</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1875 (no. 441); Century Association, December 4, 1875 (no. 33); Centennial Exhibition (Philadelphia), 1876 (no. 254)</p> <p>LITERATURE "Art and Artists," <i>Daily Evening Transcript</i> (Boston), April 9, 1875; Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1729</p>	
<p>553 <i>Son of Thomas Dickson</i> c. 1875 Oil</p> <p>LITERATURE "Art Notes," <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), February 25, 1875</p> <p>NOTES "Thomas Hicks has several portraits upon the easel, among them a full-length likeness of a son of Thomas Dickinson, of this city. The picture is of cabinet size, and represents the boy standing beside a sitting-room</p>	

<p>table, apparently just ready to start for school. The interior, as well as the figure, is carefully painted.” [“Art Notes,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), February 25, 1875]</p>	
<p>554 <i>Mrs. Arthur Brown</i> c. 1875-85 Oil</p> <p>NOTES Photo available from Frick Art Reference Library</p>	
<p>555 <i>The Practice Session</i> c. 1875-1885 Oil on panel, 20 x 16 (51 x 40.6)</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Askart.com</p>	
<p>556 <i>A Rustic Interior</i> c. 1875-1885 Oil, 12 x16 (30.5 x 40.6) S</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Sotheby’s New York, May 24, 1989, (no 19)]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Askart.com</p>	
<p>557 <i>Eagle Rock, Manchester</i> (after John F. Kensett, <i>Eagle Rock, Manchester, Massachusetts</i>, 1859) 1875 Oil, 14 x 24 (36 x 61) S</p> <p>PROVENANCE Charlotte Day, Grosse Point Park; [Du Mouchelles, January 14-17, 1994 (no. 2160)]; [Sotheby’s New York, April 23,1998 (lot no. 1)]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Askart.com</p>	
<p>558 <i>Little Girl Walking in the Snow</i> 1875 Oil, 11½ x 8 (29.2 x 20.3)</p>	

<p>Mrs. Thomas H. Hughes, Westminster, MD</p> <p>559 <i>Mother and Child</i> 1875 Oil, 23½ x 15 (59.69 x 38.1) S Private Collection</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Golden Gallery, Boulder, Co.]; purchase by present owner</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of Golden Gallery.</p>	
<p>560 <i>Night (Ideal Head)</i> c. 1875</p> <p>LITERATURE “Art and Artists,” <i>Daily Evening Transcript</i> (Boston), April 9, 1875</p>	
<p>561 <i>Morning (Ideal Head)</i> c. 1875</p> <p>LITERATURE “Art and Artists,” <i>Daily Evening Transcript</i> (Boston), April 9, 1875</p>	
<p>562 <i>Brittany Flower Girl</i> c. 1875</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Century Association, December 4, 1875 (no. 4); Artists’ Fund Society, 1876</p> <p>LITERATURE “City Intelligence: The Artists’ Fund Pictures,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), January 24, 1876; “The Artists’ Fund Sale,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), January 24, 1876; “Art and Artists,” <i>Daily Evening Transcript</i> (Boston), January 28, 1876; Sheldon 1879, 38</p> <p>NOTES “Mr. Hicks, the president of the society, has two pleasant subjects in the collection, both of which are worthy of notice. One represents a pretty “Brittany Flower Girl,” seated by the doorstep with her stock of nosegays in her lap. She wears on her head a quaint and very becoming white cap. The companion picture is a reminiscence of “Winter in Brittany,” with a little peasant girl trudging along through a snowy</p>	

<p>landscape bearing a load of fagots on her back. Both pictures are spirited in design and charming in sentiment.” [“City Intelligence: The Artists’ Fund Pictures,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), January 24, 1876]</p>	
<p>563 <i>Roger Sherman</i> (after Ralph Earl) 1875 Oil, 24 x 20 (61 x 51) Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia (SN 13.262)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Commissioned by sitter’s grandson, William M. Evarts; donated to City of Philadelphia, 1875</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Library of Congress, <i>The American Solution: The Origins of the United States Constitution</i>, April 26-September 30, 1987</p> <p>LITERATURE Sharples 1915, 143, 145 (no. 261)*; Fanelli and Diethorn 2001, 86*</p> <p>NOTES “In 1866 Thomas Hicks honored the state with his presence while making copies in New Haven of Col. Trumbull’s and Ralph Earl’s portraits of Roger Sherman. Several copies in all were made for Mr. Moore of Trenton Falls, Secretary Evarts, and others. It would be impossible, within the limits of the subject, to offer to Mr. Hicks so much as a salutation from the State in accord with his position in art and society; so that, attempting nothing more, the visit is simply recorded with reference to the influence that must be extended by the presence of such a visitor. He was born of Quaker parents in Newton, Penn., 1823; and in Mr. Tuckerman’s book, so far as it extends, will be found an interesting and valuable account of his career.” [French 1879, 121]</p> <p>“Jan. 21, 1875. Received message from Comm. on Restoration relative to gift of portrait of Roger Sherman for National Portrait Gallery: On behalf of the Honorable Wm. M. Evarts, of New York, we have the pleasure of offering for the acceptance of the City a portrait of <u>Roger Sherman</u> for preservation in Independence Hall. As a member of the Committee to frame the Declaration of Independence, an earnest supporter of the measure on the floor of Congress, and a signer of that instrument on behalf of Connecticut, a prominent place had been reserved for a portrait of Mr. Sherman; it comes to us now, as a contribution to the National Portrait Gallery from a descendant worthy of his fame, and certified as an accurate copy by <u>Hicks</u>, of New York, from the original portrait by Earle, in possession of the family. Signed, Frank M. Etting, Jan. 28, 1875. Select Council adopted resolution of</p>	

<p>acceptance and thanks, in which Common Council concurred on Feb. 4.” [Typescript of Notes from Select Council Journal 1875 (I), pp. 36, 45, 72, app. 75, 99, curatorial file, Independence National Historical Park, Philadelphia]</p> <p>Tatham mentions that Michael Moore commissioned Hicks to paint a copy of Earl’s portrait of Sherman. It is not clear which Sherman portrait was for the Moores. See Tatham 1983, 9.</p> <p>For image, see Fanelli and Diethorn 2001, 86.</p>	
<p>564 <i>Unexpected Results</i> c. 1876</p> <p>PROVENANCE Robert M. Olyphant</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1876 (no. 239); Young Women’s Christian Association, May 1876 (no. 88)</p> <p>LITERATURE “The Olyphant Pictures at Auction,” <i>The New York Times</i>, December 20, 1877 (sold for \$380); “Brevities,” <i>New York Observer and Chronicle</i> (December 27, 1877); Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1720, 1721</p>	
<p>565 <i>Bishop Beckwith of Georgia</i> 1876 Oil Christ Church, Savannah, GA [?]</p> <p>PROVENANCE W. H. F. Spaulding</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Century Association, December 3, 1876; National Academy of Design, 1877 (no. 385)</p> <p>LITERATURE “Art and Artists,” <i>Daily Evening Transcript</i> (Boston), February 25, 1876; “Art at the Century Club,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), December 4, 1876; Sheldon 1879, 38</p>	

566

General George Meade at Gettysburg

1876

Oil, 96 x 60 (244 x 152.4)

SLR: T. Hicks 1876

Civil War and Underground Railroad Museum, Philadelphia

EXHIBITIONS

Centennial Exposition (Philadelphia), 1876

LITERATURE

Sheldon 1879, opposite 38*, 39

NOTES

“The portrait of General Meade is undoubtedly the finest piece of characterization that the artist ever set his name against; rich and solid in color and in sentiment, and managed so as to make an impressive war-picture...The features of the face constitute a happy and striking likeness, and its expression is nobly chosen, having in it none of the mock-furious or pseudo-military, but telling rather of a sense of responsibility—a ‘fronting with level eyelids the To Come’—a self-contained and self-centered soul...It is a serious time in the history of the country; not the glamour of war, but its stern realities are in the artist’s mind. There, too, the spectator is forced to believe, is a vigorous and ardent patriotism, with which every pigment in the picture seems to be aglow. The figure is manly, full, and rich, the invention fresh and ripe, and the motive simple yet striking. The tints are finely harmonized, the handling is precise, and the execution is carried entirely up to the requirements of a just and sensible realism. This work is destined to increase largely in value as the years go on; already it may be said to form an important chapter in the pictorial history of the war. Mr. Hicks received a medal for it at the Centennial Exhibition.”
[Sheldon 1879, *American Painters*, 39]

PHOTO SOURCE

Author, courtesy of the Civil War and Underground Railroad Museum.



567

Samuel Dyer Tillman

1876

Oil, 36 x 29 (91.4 x 74)


S: T. Hicks/1876


New-York Historical Society

PROVENANCE


American Institute of the City of New York; gift to present owner, 1929




<p>LITERATURE “Fine Arts,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), July 20, 1876; New-York Historical Society 1941, 308 (no. 743); New-York Historical Society 1974, 2:800-1 (no. 2047)</p> <p>NOTES “Another portrait, in its first painting, is of the late Samuel D. Tillman, who was for several years corresponding secretary of the American Institute. He is seated in the midst of the books and papers belonging to his office, and holds in his hand a volume of the published transactions of the institution. The picture is painted for the American Institute, and as far as finished, shows strong and vigorous work.” [“Fine Arts,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), July 20, 1876]</p>	
<p>568 <i>Boating on Lake George</i> 1876 Oil, 10½ x 17½ (26.6 x 44.4) SLL: <i>T. Hicks/1876</i></p>	
<p>569 <i>Winter in Brittany</i> c. 1876</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Artists’ Fund Society, 1876</p> <p>LITERATURE “City Intelligence: The Artists’ Fund Pictures,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), January 24, 1876</p> <p>NOTES “Mr. Hicks, the president of the society, has two pleasant subjects in the collection, both of which are worthy of notice. One represents a pretty “Brittany Flower Girl,” seated by the doorstep with her stock of nosegays in her lap. She wears on her head a quaint and very becoming white cap. The companion picture is a reminiscence of “Winter in Brittany,” with a little peasant girl trudging along through a snowy landscape bearing a load of fagots on her back. Both pictures are spirited in design and charming in sentiment.” [“City Intelligence: The Artists’ Fund Pictures,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), January 24, 1876]</p>	
<p>570 “<i>Whitewood</i>,” <i>Late Residence of the Owner</i> c. 1876</p> <p>PROVENANCE E. N. Wilcox, Esq.</p>	


<p>EXHIBITIONS Detroit Art Association, February 1876 (no. 111)</p> <p>LITERATURE Yarnall and Gerdts 1986, 3:1720</p>	
<p>571 <i>Mrs. Curtiss</i> c. 1876 Oil</p> <p>LITERATURE “Fine Arts,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), July 20, 1876</p> <p>NOTES “Thomas Hicks has returned to his studio from Philadelphia, and is at present engaged upon a number of portraits. The largest picture upon his easel is a life-size portrait of a Mrs. Curtiss, of Sharon, Mercer county, Pennsylvania. The lady is seated in a well-furnished library. The picture will not be finished until autumn.” [“Fine Arts,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), July 20, 1876]</p>	
<p>572 <i>Portrait of a Woman in a green hat</i> 1876 Oil, 17 x 23½ (43.2 x 59.69) SUR: <i>T. Hicks/1876</i> Verso: Bought March 25, 1920, Knoedler-Ave Gallery 44 (New Hartford, CT)</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Chicago, 1877</p> <p>LITERATURE “The Exposition,” <i>Chicago Tribune</i> (September 23, 1877)</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of Gallery 44.</p>	



<p>573 <i>Nature Study</i> 1876 Oil SLR: <i>T. Hicks</i> 1876 Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of present owner.</p>	
<p>574 <i>Italian Scene</i> c. 1876 Oil</p> <p>PROVENANCE Duncan Collection, until 1876</p> <p>LITERATURE “The Duncan Sale,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), January 15, 1876 (Sold for \$240)</p>	
<p>575 <i>Black Mountain</i> c. 1877 Oil</p> <p>LITERATURE “Saturday Night’ at the Lotus Club,” <i>New York Times</i>, October 28, 1877</p>	
<p>576 <i>Jonathan Sturges</i> 1877 Oil, 28 x 23 (71.1 x 58.4) Union League Club, New York</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS James A. Michener Art Museum, <i>The Painter and His Apprentice</i>, March 1-May 3, 1998.</p> <p>LITERATURE “The Union League Club,” <i>New York Times</i>, January 11, 1878; Sheldon 1879, 38</p>	

<p>577 <i>No Place Like Home</i> 1877 Oil, 21½ x 28½ (54.6 x 72.4)</p> <p>PROVENANCE John Bossert; Robert Morrison Olyphant; Mrs. Mary Margaret Mahoney, New York; [Schweitzer Gallery, New York, July 1976]; [Sotheby's Arcade New York, March 31, 2004]</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Whitney Museum, <i>The Painter's America: Rural and Urban Life, 1810-1910</i>, 1974</p> <p>LITERATURE Sheldon 1879, <i>American Painters</i>, opposite 36*, 38; Williams, Jr. 1972; Hills 1974, 80-1*; Tatham 1983, 16, 18*</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Askart.com</p>	
<p>578 <i>Jane Ann Hutchinson</i> c. 1878 Oil, 20 x 22 (50.8 x 56)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Jane Anne H. Crouse, Westminster, MD</p>	
<p>579 <i>Cattle on West Canada Creek</i> c. 1878 Oil, 6½ x 19 (16.5 x 48.2) SLL: Illegible inscription in lower left –Oct. 17? Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of present owner.</p>	
<p>580 <i>Autumn Scene on West Canada Creek</i> 1878 Oil, 7 x 16¼ (18 x 41.3) SLL: TH Oct. 14 78 Private Collection</p> <p>LITERATURE Tatham, 1983: 13, 16*</p>	

<p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of present owner.</p>	
<p>581 <i>Woman in front of Fireplace (Interior Scene with Woman Knitting) (By the Open Door?) (Knitting and Thinking?)</i> 1878 Oil, 21½ x 15 (54.61 x 38.1) S</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Pook and Pook, Inc. (Dowington, PA), October 26, 2007, lot no. 234]; [Alderfer Auction Company (Hatfield, PA), June 13, 2008, lot no. 3210]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Askart.com</p>	
<p>582 <i>William Cullen Bryant</i> Oil Before 1879</p> <p>LITERATURE Sheldon 1879, 38; Robinson 1895, 304</p>	
<p>583 <i>May and November</i> c. 1879 Oil</p> <p>LITERATURE “The Lotus Club,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), December 22, 1879</p>	
<p>584 <i>Birches at Thornwood, near Trenton Falls, New York</i> c. 1879 Oil</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 18)]</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1879 (no. 484)</p> <p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, 1:435; Tatham 1983, 20, n. 30</p>	
<p>585 <i>George Washington (After Gilbert Stuart)</i> 1879 Oil, 37½ x 29 (95.3 x 74)</p>	


<p>SLL: <i>T. Hicks/ 1879</i> New Jersey State House Fine Arts Collection, Trenton, New Jersey</p> <p>NOTES The New Jersey State Legislature commissioned the painting from Hicks c.1872/1873. He was paid \$450.00 at the time of commission. Completed and delivered the portrait 1879. This copy is after Stuart's "Vaughan type."</p>	
<p>586 <i>Colonel Emmons Clark</i> 1879 Oil, 120 x 60 (304.8 x 152.4) SLR: <i>Thomas Hicks 1879</i> Park Avenue Armory, New York (1984.148)</p> <p>PROVENANCE The artist, gift to present owner, 1889</p>	
<p>587 <i>Autumn at Thornwood, Trenton Falls, N.Y.</i> 1879 Oil, 24 x 16 (61 x 41) Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, courtesy of present owner.</p>	
<p>588 <i>Normandy Girl</i> 1879 Oil, 12¼ x 9½ (31.11 x 24.13) SUR: <i>T. Hicks/1879</i> Verso: Small sketch of female figure Green-Wood Cemetery, Brooklyn</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Raydon Gallery, New York]; Vann Mitchell, Odessa, FL; [Neal Auction, New Orleans, September 12-13, 2009 (no. 153)]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of Neal Auction Company, New Orleans, LA</p>	 

<p>589 <i>Lady with Two Gentlemen on Seashore (Great Egg Harbor)</i> 1879 Oil, 10 x 17½ (25.4 x 44.4) SLR</p> <p>PROVENANCE Charlotte Dey (sold at Du Mouchelles auction January 1994)</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Color slide from University of Kansas Visual Resources Library.</p>	
<p>590 <i>Reading the Paper</i> 1880 Oil, 24 x 20 (60.96 x 50.8) S</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at the Frick Art Reference Library.</p>	
<p>591 <i>E. D. E. N. Southworth</i> 1880 Oil, 14 x 11 (36 x 28)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Catherine Goen, Warrenton, VA; [Kathy Shumate Auctions (Warrenton, VA), 2006]</p>	
<p>592 <i>Trying a New Piece</i> 1880 Oil</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS New York, Salmagundi Club, <i>Third Annual Black and White Exhibition</i>, (no. 289)</p> <p>LITERATURE Katlan 2007, 134</p>	

<p>593 <i>Fisherboy</i> 1880 Oil, 27 x 20 (69 x 51) Private Collection. Manchester, VT</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Smithsonian Art Inventories.</p>	
<p>594 <i>Angie at Thornwood</i> 1880 Oil, 16 x 12½ (41 x 31.8) SLR: TH 80 Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, courtesy of present owner.</p>	
<p>595 <i>Sunset on the Navesick River</i> 1880 Oil, 8 x 18 (20.3 x 46)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Mystic Fine Arts, Ltd., September 23, 1993]</p>	
<p>596 <i>Faith, Hope, and Charity</i> c. 1880 Oil</p> <p>PROVENANCE Latham Collection; Noyes and Blakeslee Collection (1880)</p> <p>LITERATURE “The Noyes & Blakeslee Collection,” <i>Daily Evening Transcript</i> (Boston), March 20, 1880; “Art and Artists,” <i>Daily Evening Transcript</i> (Boston), March 23, 1860</p>	
<p>597 <i>Old Man Reading a Newspaper</i> c. 1880 Oil</p> <p>PROVENANCE</p>	

[Schwarz & Son, Philadelphia, Philadelphia Collection XXXVI, Winter 1987 (no. 13)]	
<p>598 <i>Supper Time</i> c. 1880 Oil</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mr. G. Peabody Russell</p> <p>LITERATURE “Fine Arts,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), February 14, 1880</p>	
<p>599 <i>Daniel Wesley Middleton</i> 1880-1881 Oil United States Supreme Court</p> <p>NOTES Matt Hofstedt, associate curator of the Supreme Court, transcribed the following documents related to the Middleton portrait: Document 1: At an unspecified date, the Clerk of the Court, James H. McKenney began a subscription to raise funds for a portrait of Clerk Middleton, his predecessor in 1880. This was a tradition in the Clerk's Office but the exact beginnings are not known. The subscription list is headed, "We, the undersigned, hereby agree to subscribe the amount set opposite our names to procure a portrait of the late D. W. Middleton, to be placed in the office of the Supreme Court of the U.S." Six pages of signatures follow, including several former or present Supreme Court Justices (David Davis, John A. Campbell, Melville W. Fuller) and the leaders of the Supreme Court Bar. The cover page of the list has written in pencil, <u>Artists:</u> Hagny - Newark NJ - A.Q.K.; LeClair of NY – Stoughton; Huntington - NY; T.W. Woods - NY; Eastman Johnson – NY; Hicks - NY</p> <p>Document 2: February 14, 1881 - William Allen Butler, of the law offices of Butler , Stillman & Hubbard, Trinity Building, 111 Broadway, NY, wrote to the Clerk of the Court James H. McKenney, "I have seen Mr. Hicks. He says that for a portrait - life size - bust - canvas about 25 x 30 inches he should have \$500. He can execute during the Spring."Following his signature, Butler notes, "Frame would cost about \$25 additional."</p> <p>Document 3: April 19, 1881 - Butler wrote to Clerk McKenney enclosing a copy of a letter he sent to Mr. Hicks. In the letter to Hicks,</p>	



<p>Butler wrote, "I have been at Washington and Mr. McKenney, the Clerk of the Supreme Court, told me that the fund was now \$450. It seems the subscriptions were limited to \$5 each and were made by lawyers practicing in the Court, so that the range was not very wide. Mr. McK says he will contribute the frame. Now if you will paint the portrait for \$450 you will confer a favor on the Bar and will have your work in such a conspicuous place in the National Capitol, as to be of advantage to you beyond that ordinarily resulting from similar work for private parties. I have the photo of Mr. Middleton at my office and if you agree..." [second page of letter is missing]</p> <p>Document 4: April 21, 1881 - Butler wrote to Clerk McKenney from the Trinity Building, 111 Broadway. Letter begins with 3 items : 1 - color of hair, 2 -color of eyes and 3 - complexion. To the side, someone (probably McKenney) wrote answers. The letter continues, "Referring to my note of yesterday I have now to say that Mr. Hicks called on me this morning and agreed to paint the portrait of Mr. Middleton of size as mentioned in my note to you of 14 February 25"x 30" canvas for \$450 - you to pay besides this not exceeding \$25 for the frame which he wishes to have made here to suit the picture. He wants answers to the questions noted above which please send direct to him at N. 6 Astor Place, N.Y. City. If you could send a lock of the hair it would be well. After looking at the photograph Mr. Hicks thinks he can make a good portrait."</p> <p>Document 5: April 30, 1881 - Hicks wrote to the Clerk of the Court, J. H .McKenney, acknowledging receipt of a note from April 26th, containing something from "Miss Middleton" (probably the lock of hair) and that he hopes to see him (McKenney) when he is in town, possibly around the 10th of May, to show him the portrait "in a condition for suggestions."</p>	
<p>600 <i>Dropped in to Hear the News</i> 1880-85 Oil, 12 x 16 (33 x 40.6) Layton Art Collection, Milwaukee Art Museum</p> <p>LITERATURE Tatham 1983, 16, 17*</p>	
<p>601 <i>Portrait-Indian Summer</i> c. 1881</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1881 (no. 355)</p>	



<p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, 1:435</p>	
<p>602 <i>Uncle Dick of Oceanic Marina, New Jersey</i> c. 1881 Oil, 26 x 20 (66 x 51) Private Collection</p> <p>PROVENANCE Miss Romaine; By descent to Dr. Adelaide Romaine, New York; Benjamin F. Romaine, Rumson, New Jersey; [William Doyle Galleries, November 29, 2006]; purchase by present owner</p> <p>EXHIBITION National Academy of Design, 1881 (no. 399)</p> <p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, 1:435</p> <p>NOTES According to Dr. Adelaide Romaine, Mr. and Mrs. Hicks were friends of her grandparents and would visit them often in their home in Rumson, New Jersey in an area known as Black Point. Uncle Dick, who had lived in Oceanic, would walk down to the Romaine's home and spent many idle hours at the boathouse on their estate that overlooks the river to the highlands. [William Doyle Galleries Auction Catalogue, November 29, 2006]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of William Doyle Galleries.</p>	
<p>603 <i>Teasing the Bullfish</i> c. 1881 Oil</p> <p>LITERATURE “Artists’ Fund Pictures Sold,” <i>The New York Times</i>, February 8, 1881</p>	
<p>604 <i>T. Addison Richards</i> c. 1881 Oil</p> <p>LITERATURE “Fine Arts: Art and Artists in New York,” <i>The Independent</i> (New York), June 2, 1881</p>	



<p>605 <i>Edgar Simeon Van Winkle</i> 1881 Oil, 31 x 24 (79 x 61)</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Photo available in the Catalogue of American Portraits, National Portrait Gallery</p>	
<p>606 <i>Hannah Star Beach Van Winkle</i> 1881 Oil, 31 x 24 (79 x 61) SLR: <i>T. Hicks N.A. 1881</i></p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Photo available at the Catalogue of American Portraits, National Portrait Gallery.</p>	
<p>607 <i>Colonel Washington R. Vermilye</i> 1881 Oil, 120 x 60 (304.8 x 152.4) SLR: <i>Thomas Hicks/1881</i> 7th Regimental Armory, New York (1984.149)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mr. W. R. Vermilye (son of Washington Vermilye), gift to present owner, 1880</p>	
<p>608 <i>A Friendly Warning</i> 1881-1890 Oil, 24¾ x 32¼ (63 x 82) Art Institute of Chicago (1967.174)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 69)]</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1891 (no. 1891)</p> <p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, 1:436</p>	
<p>609 <i>At the Opera</i> c. 1882</p> <p>PROVENANCE</p>	

<p>B. F. Romaine</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1882 (no. 323)</p> <p>LITERATURE “Fine Arts: The Academy Exhibition – Portraits,” <i>The Independent</i> (New York) April 6, 1882; “The Academy of Design,” <i>New York Times</i>, April 30, 1882; Naylor 1973, 1:436</p> <p>NOTES “No. 323 I by the same artist. It is a portrait and is called ‘At the Opera.’ Was it the lights at the opera that gave that peculiar tint to the complexion? Does habitual attendance at the opera produce such attenuation of the hands? Is that sugary smile, that expression of being absorbed in thoughtlessness the effect of the music-or what? This face looks like one that might kindle into enthusiasm at the opera, but there is only an expression of intense self-satisfaction on the handsome features as the artist has left them.” [“Fine Arts: The Academy Exhibition – Portraits,” <i>The Independent...Devoted to the Consideration of Politics, Social and Econ...</i>, April 6, 1882]</p> <p>“Among the more successful portraits is that of Mr. Thomas Hicks, called ‘At the Opera.’ Mr. Hicks can paint fairly the lace which is disposed in questionable prodigality over the shoulders of his sitter, but the human face is beyond his art. It has no modeling and the color is disagreeably pink and unreal.” [“The Academy of Design,” <i>New York Times</i>, April 30, 1882]</p>	
<p>610 <i>Portrait</i> c.1882</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mrs. B. F. Romaine</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1882 (no. 24)</p> <p>LITERATURE “Fine Arts: The Academy Exhibition – Portraits,” <i>The Independent</i> (New York), April 6, 1882</p> <p>NOTES “If the boy in no. 24 was as pale and sickly as he is represented, it must have been a sore trial to his strength for him to sit for his portrait. This is a work by Thomas Hicks, an art effort in which the effort</p>	




<p>predominates.” [“Fine Arts: The Academy Exhibition – Portraits,” <i>The Independent</i> (New York), April 6, 1882]</p>	
<p>611 <i>Reading “Daisy Miller”</i> 1882</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Salmagundi Club (New York), <i>Third Annual Black and White Exhibition</i> (no. 147)</p> <p>LITERATURE Katlan 2007, 134</p>	
<p>612 <i>Portrait of a Lady</i> 1882 Oil, 50¼ x 37 (127.6 x 94) SLR: <i>T. Hicks 1882</i> Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh</p>	
<p>613 <i>Portrait</i> c. 1883</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mrs. S. F. Billings</p> <p>EXHIBITION National Academy of Design, 1883 (no. 411)</p> <p>LITERATURE “Fine Arts – National Academy of Design,” <i>The Independent</i> (New York), April 12, 1883</p> <p>NOTES “A portrait by Thomas Hicks (411) embodies all those high qualities of art that have made that artist popular—in the Academy.” [“Fine Arts – National Academy of Design,” <i>The Independent</i> (New York), April 12, 1883]</p>	
<p>614 <i>Portrait of a Man</i> c. 1883 Oil, 18 x 14 (45.7 x 35.6) SLR: <i>T.H 18_3</i> Dartmouth College, Hood Museum of Art</p>	



<p>615 <i>Morning Call</i> c. 1883</p> <p>EXHIBITION Artists' Fund Exhibition, March 1883</p> <p>LITERATURE "The Artists' Fund Exhibition," <i>The Art Amateur: A Monthly Journal Devoted to Art in the Household (1879-1903)</i>, (March 1883), 83.</p> <p>NOTES "Hicks's <i>Morning Call</i> was the best figure painting of the old school. It is an interior of a quaint old house with a young lady and her rather timid visitor." ["The Artists' Fund Exhibition," <i>The Art Amateur: A Monthly Journal Devoted to Art in the Household (1879-1903)</i> (March 1883), 83]</p>	
<p>616 <i>Unidentified Female</i> 1883 Oil, 18 x 15 (45.7 x 38) SLR: <i>T. Hicks 1883</i> Private Collection</p>	
<p>617 <i>Thornwood Cottage</i> 1883 Oil, 17 x 27 (43.2 x 69) S LR in red paint: <i>Thornwood Cottage 1883</i> Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of current owner.</p>	
<p>618 <i>Interior: Children with Caged Robin</i> 1883-1884 Oil, 27 x 21 ¼ (69 x 59) SLR: <i>T. Hicks 188(4?)</i> Spanierman Gallery, New York</p> <p>PHOTO Courtesy of Spanierman Gallery, New York.</p>	



<p>619 <i>Mrs. Cunningham Jones (Cecilia Cunningham Jones of Baltimore, MD)</i> c. 1884 Oil, 75½ x 37½ (192 x 92.3) Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, courtesy of present owner.</p>	
<p>620 <i>Dr. James R. Wood</i> c. 1884</p> <p>PROVENANCE New York Academy of Medicine</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1884 (no. 336)</p> <p>LITERATURE “ Society Proceedings—The New York Academy of Medicine,” Medical News, January 12, 1884; “National Academy Exhibition,” <i>Daily Evening Transcript</i> (Boston), April 5, 1884; “Our National Academy,” <i>Life</i>, May 1, 1884; Naylor 1973, 1:436</p>	
<p>621 <i>Mrs. Thomas Hicks</i> c. 1884 Oil, 46 x 29 (117 x 74) S: <i>T.HICKS N.A.</i> Metropolitan Museum of Art (17.67)</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mrs. Angie Hicks, gift to present owner, 1917</p> <p>LITERATURE Bradley 1936, 258-65; Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1975; Spassky 1985, 181</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.</p>	

<p>622 <i>Elizabeth "Bessie" Kane Shields</i> 1884 Oil, 19¼ x 15" (48.89 x 38.1) Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of current owner.</p>	
<p>623 <i>Group at Thornwood</i> (unfinished) c. 1885-90 Oil on panel, 16½ x 20½ (42 x 52) Private Collection</p> <p>LITERATURE Tatham 1983, 16, 19*</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of current owner.</p>	
<p>624 <i>Nathaniel Parker Willis</i> (after Chester Harding) 1885 Oil, 27 x 22½ (69 x 57) Verso: <i>NATHANIEL PARKER WILLIS copied by Thomas Hicks, 1885 from the original painting by Chester Harding 1835</i> Phillips Academy, Andover, MA</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at the Catalogue of American Portraits, National Portrait Gallery.</p>	
<p>625 <i>End of a Winter Day</i> 1885 Oil</p> <p>PROVENANCE Dr. Robert Band</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1885 (no. 366)</p> <p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, 1:436</p>	
<p>626</p>	

<p><i>Rev. Wm. Ormiston, D.D., LL. D</i> c. 1886 Oil, 50 x 36 ½ (127 x 371)</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1886 (no. 502)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892, no. 50]</p> <p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, 1:436</p>	
<p>627 <i>Samuel Finley Breese Morse</i> (after Brady daguerreotype) c. 1886 Oil, 30½ x 23¾ (77.47 x 60.72) SLR: <i>T. Hicks N.A.</i> Phillips Academy, Andover, MA</p> <p>LITERATURE “Portraits of Phillip’s Great Men,” <i>Daily Evening Transcript</i> (Boston), March 18, 1866; “Old Days at Andover,” <i>Boston Daily Globe</i>, March 25, 1886</p> <p>NOTES “One of Professor S. F. B. Morse, painted by Thomas Hicks of New York, and displaying a reproduction of the medals received for his invention of the telegraph, the presentation speech to be made by Dr. William A. Mowry, editor of Education.” [“Portraits of Phillip’s Great Men,” <i>Daily Evening Transcript</i> (Boston), March 18, 1886]</p> <p>“Dr. W. A. Mowry at this time drew the covering from a large frame picture which rested on an easel in one corner, and in a glowing speech on the life-work of the original, presented to the academy in behalf of the association a life-size oil portrait of Samuel F. B. Morse, the electrical inventor, who was a student at Andover... The portrait of Mr. Morse was painted by Thomas Hicks...” [“Old Days at Andover,” <i>Boston Daily Globe</i>, March 25, 1886]</p> <p>Photo available at the Catalogue of American Portraits, National Portrait Gallery.</p>	
<p>628 <i>Rev. Robert Collyer, D.D.</i> c. 1887 Oil, 43 x 33 (109.2 x 84)</p>	

<p>PROVENANCE [[Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 19)]; A. Milne</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1887 (no. 475)</p> <p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, 1:436</p>	
<p>629 <i>Elizabeth Kane Shields</i> 1887 Oil, 29¾ x 29¼ (57.78 x 74.29) S: <i>T. Hicks/1887</i> On Verso: <i>EK Shields by Thomas Hicks/Morven</i> Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of present owner.</p>	
<p>630 <i>Autumn Road, Thornwood</i> 1887 Oil, 16 x 12 (41 x 30.5) SLL: <i>T Hicks/1887</i> Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, courtesy of the present owner.</p>	
<p>631 <i>Old Fireplace</i> 1887 Oil, 18 ½ x 28 ½ (47 x 72.4) SLL: <i>T Hicks/1887</i> Private Collection</p> <p>LITERATURE Tatham 1983, 16, 17*</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, courtesy of the present owner.</p>	
<p>632 <i>Patience</i> 1887 Etching or drawing</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Salmagundi Club (New York), <i>Third Annual Black and White</i></p>	




<p><i>Exhibition</i>, 1887 (no. 51)</p> <p>LITERATURE Katlan 2007, 134</p>	
<p>633 <i>Mr. David Olyphant</i> c. 1888</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS National Academy of Design, 1888 (no. 188)</p> <p>LITERATURE Naylor 1973, vol. 1:436</p>	
<p>634 <i>Abraham Lincoln</i> (attributed) Charcoal (?), 29½ x 24¼ (74.93 x 62.23)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hirschl & Adler, 1978]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Smithsonian Art Inventories.</p>	
<p>635 <i>Priscilla, the Puritan Maiden</i> Oil , 30 x 25 (76.2 x 64) Staten Island Institute of Arts and Sciences</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mrs. Elizabeth Kaye, gift to present owner</p>	
<p>636 <i>Mrs. Hicks and Mrs. Cornelia Moore</i> Oil</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS June 1973, <i>Art of Church Street</i>, Woodstock, VT</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Smithsonian American Art Inventory</p>	
<p>637 <i>DeWitt Clinton</i> (after J. W. Jarrie) Oil, 54 x 39½ (137.2 x 100.3) Board of Education, City of New York</p>	
<p>638 <i>Study Head</i> 12 x 19¼ (30.5 x 49)</p>	

<p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892, no. 25]</p>	
<p>639 <i>Moser Grinnell</i> Oil, 30 x 25 (76.2 x 63.5) SLL: <i>T. Hicks</i></p> <p>PROVENANCE [Sotheby's Arcade, New York, October 10, 1998 (lot no. 726)]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Sotheby's Catalogue.</p>	
<p>640 <i>Study of a Head</i> 15 x 12 (38.1 x 30.5)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892, no. 60]</p>	
<p>641 <i>Landscape with Figures (Picnic in the Woods?)</i> Oil, 9¾ x 12¾ (25 x 32.3) SLL <i>Thomas Hicks</i> Century Association</p> <p>PROVENANCE Robert W. Carle, gift to present owner, 1945</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, courtesy of the Century Association.</p>	
<p>642 <i>Nature Study: Fallen Giant</i> Oil, 10 x 18 (25.4 x 45.7) Munson-Williams-Proctor Arts Institute Museum of Art</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mr. and Mrs. Bryan J. Lynch</p>	
<p>643 <i>Mountain Stream</i></p> <p>PROVENANCE Lee B. Anderson, New York, NY</p>	
<p>644 <i>Autumn on the Black River</i> 16 x 12½ (40.6 x 31.8)</p>	

<p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 1)]</p>	
<p>645 <i>Off Bateman's Point, Newport</i> 13½ x 13½ (34.3 x 34.3)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 5)]</p>	
<p>646 <i>Water Birches, Autumn</i> 15 ½ x 12¼ (39.4 x 31.1)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 8)]</p>	
<p>647 <i>Study of Color</i> 6¾ x 5 (17.1 x 12.7)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 9)]</p>	
<p>648 <i>A Favorite Nook at Thornwood</i> 15½ x 20 (39.4 x 51)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 11)]</p> <p>LITERATURE Tatham 1983, 20, n. 32</p>	
<p>649 <i>Study of Flowers</i> 9 x 13 (23 x 33)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 14)]</p>	
<p>650 <i>Study of Flowers</i> 9 x 13 (23 x 33)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 14)]</p>	
<p>651 <i>Spring Flowers</i> 14½ x 11¾ (37 x 30)</p>	

<p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 19)]</p>	
<p>652 <i>Wood Interior</i> 18 x 14 (46 x 36)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 24)]</p>	
<p>653 <i>Study near Elberon</i> 16 x 12 (41 x 30.5)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 29)]</p>	
<p>654 <i>Water Lilies and March Mellow</i> 14½ x 11¾ (37 x 30)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 31)]</p>	
<p>655 <i>October Day in the Woods</i> 25 x 21(63.5 x 53.3)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 32)]</p>	
<p>656 <i>Autumn Morning</i> 12 x 20 (30.5 x 51)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [The Cooley Gallery, 1996]; Louise Queripel, 1996</p>	
<p>657 <i>On the Rocks at Newport</i> 14¾ x 20¾ (37.5 x 52.7)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 35)]</p>	
<p>658 <i>Study near Crosbyside, Lake George</i> 14 x 24½ (36 x 62.2)</p> <p>PROVENANCE</p>	


[Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 36)]	
659 <i>Pine Tree and Rocks, Lake George</i> 13¾ x 7¾ (35 x 20) PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 39)]	
660 <i>Newport Coast</i> 7 x 15 (17.8 x 38.1) PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 41)]	
661 <i>Autumn Oak</i> 13½ x 17¾ (34.3 x 45) PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 42)]	
662 <i>Study of Rocks, Lake George</i> 12¾ x 16 (32.4 x 41) PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 44)]	
663 <i>Study at Woodside</i> 21 x 17 (53.3 x 43.2) PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 48)]	
664 <i>Flowers</i> 9 x 13 (23 x 33) PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 57)]	
666 <i>Boulder at Thornwood</i> 21 x 28½ (53.3 x 72.4) PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 63)] LITERATURE	



Tatham 1983, 20, n. 30	
<p>667 <i>The Path through the Woods</i> 29 x 22 (73.6 x 56)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 68)]</p>	
<p>668 <i>Thornwood Landscape</i> Oil, 21½ x 28 (54.6 x 71.1) Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission from present owner.</p>	
<p>669 <i>Thornwood Pond</i> Oil, 12 x 20 (30.5 x 51) Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission from present owner.</p>	
<p>670 <i>Lake George (?)</i> Oil on academy board, 9 x 11½ (23 x 29.2) Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission from present owner.</p>	
<p>671 <i>Coming Through the Rye</i> 14 x 10 (35.6 x 25.4)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 2)]</p>	
<p>672 <i>Young Sportsman</i> 9½ x 11½ (24.1 x 29.2)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 4)]</p>	
<p>673 <i>Study</i> 14 x 12 (35.6 x 30.5)</p> <p>PROVENANCE</p>	







[Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 6)]	
674 <i>The Test</i> 24 x 17 (61 x 43.2) PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 7)]	
675 <i>Happy Childhood</i> 11¾ x 9 (30 x 23) PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 10)]	
676 <i>Old Pennsylvania Kitchen</i> 24¼ x 17 (61.6 x 43.2) PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 12)] LITERATURE Sheldon 1879, 38	
677 <i>Brittany Peasants</i> 18½ x 20¾ (47 x 52.7) PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 13)]	
678 <i>The Cavalier</i> 10 x 17½ (25.4 x 44.5) PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 15)]	
679 <i>Expectation</i> 21 x 17 (53.3 x 43.2) PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 16)]	
680 <i>The Brittany Washer Women</i> 24 x 18 PROVENANCE	






[Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 17)]	
681 <i>Bathers</i> 7½ x 11¼ (19.1 x 28.6) PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 20)]	
682 <i>The Pet Dove</i> 30 x 25 (76.2 x 63.5) PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 21)]	
683 <i>Street in Pont-Aven, Brittany</i> 10¾ x 13¼ (27.3 x 33.7) PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 26)]	
684 <i>Brittany Peasant Girl</i> 18½ x 14 (47 x 35.6) PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 27)]	
685 <i>A Quiet Morning</i> 22 x 17 (56 x 43.2) PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 30)]	
686 <i>A School Girl</i> 13 x 8 (33.02 x 20) PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 33)]	
687 <i>Campagna Shepherd, with Flock</i> 12½ x 16 (31.8 x 40.6) PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 37)]	
688	



<p><i>A Hawking Party</i> 10 x 8 (25.4 x 20)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 38)]</p>	
<p>689 <i>The Truant</i> 26 x 6 ½ (66 x 16.5)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 40)]</p>	
<p>690 <i>Happy Thoughts</i> 27 x 22 (68.6 x 56)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 45)]</p>	
<p>691 <i>A Quiet Retreat</i> 21 x 14 (53.3 x 35.6)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 46)]</p>	
<p>692 <i>M. M.</i></p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 47)]</p>	
<p>693 <i>Playing for the Children after School</i> 22 x 29 (56 x 73.7)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 52)]</p>	
<p>694 <i>A Winter Walk</i> 23¾ x 17¼ (60.7 x 43.8)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 54)]</p>	
<p>695 <i>Brittany Women</i> 10 x 7 (25.4 x 17.8)</p> <p>PROVENANCE</p>	

[Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 55)]	
<p>696 <i>First Visit to the City</i> 28 x 18 (71.1 x 45.7)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 56)]</p>	
<p>697 <i>November Day</i> 13½ x 10 (34.3 x 25.4)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 61)]</p>	
<p>698 <i>Neapolitan Girl</i> 27½ x 22 (70 x 56)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 64)]</p>	
<p>699 <i>An Old Roman</i> 21 x 15 (53.3 x 38.1)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 66)]</p>	
<p>700 <i>Renewing the Old Love</i> 23 x 28¾ (58.4 x 73)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 67)]</p>	
<p>701 <i>Family Group</i> Oil, 12 x 24 (30.5 x 61) Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission from present owner.</p>	
<p>702 <i>St. John in the Desert</i> 50 x 40 (127 x 101.6)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 52)]</p>	

<p>NOTES See cat. no. 91.</p>	
<p>703 <i>Apples</i> 13½ x 20 (34.3 x 50.8)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 22)]</p>	
<p>704 <i>Apples</i> 11¾ x 16½ (29.8 x 41.9)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 34)]</p>	
<p>705 <i>Still Life with Fruit and Flowers</i> Oil, 10x13 (25.4 x 33) SLR</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Samuel T. Freeman & Co. (Philadelphia), December 4, 2005 (lot no. 137)]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Askart.com</p>	
<p>706 <i>Apples</i> 12 x 14 (30.5 x 35.6)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 3)]</p>	
<p>707 <i>Forest Scene</i> Oil, 11½ x 15 (29.2 x 38.1) Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of present owner.</p>	
<p>708 <i>Still Life of Apples and Grapes</i> Oil Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of present owner.</p>	


<p>709 <i>Little Girl Walking in the Snow</i> Oil SLL: <i>T Hicks NA</i> (date illegible) Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of present owner.</p>	
<p>710 <i>Palette 1</i> Oil on board Private Collection</p> <p>NOTES This “palette painting” and nine that follow may have initially been used as palettes before the artist turned them into small landscapes.</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of present owner.</p>	
<p>711 <i>Palette 2</i> Oil on board Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of present owner.</p>	
<p>712 <i>Palette 3</i> Oil on board Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of present owner.</p>	
<p>713 <i>Palette 4</i> Oil on board Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of present owner.</p>	
<p>714 <i>Palette 5</i> Oil on board Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE</p>	

<p>Author, with permission of present owner.</p>	
<p>715 <i>Palette 6</i> Oil on board Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of present owner.</p>	
<p>716 <i>Palette 7</i> Oil on board Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of present owner.</p>	
<p>717 <i>Palette 8</i> Oil on board Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of present owner.</p>	
<p>718 <i>Palette 9</i> Oil on board Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of present owner.</p>	
<p>719 <i>Palette 10</i> Oil on board Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of present owner.</p>	
<p>720 <i>Mirror Painting</i> Oil Private Collection</p> <p>NOTES This small painting appears at the top of a half-length mirror.</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE</p>	

<p>Author, with permission of present owner.</p>	
<p>721 <i>Camp Scene I</i> Oil Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of present owner.</p>	
<p>722 <i>Camp Scene II</i> Oil Private Collection</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Author, with permission of present owner.</p>	
<p>723 <i>Fac-Simile Copy of Stuart's Washington, in Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</i> 39 x 31 (99.06 x 78.74)</p> <p>PROVENANCE [Hicks Sale 1892 (no. 58)]</p> <p>NOTES This copy of Stuart's Washington differs in size from cat. nos. 497 and 585. It is possible that it is the same as cat. no. 493.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">G</p>
<p>724 <i>Good Samaritan</i> Oil, 26½ x 34 (67.31 x 86.36)</p> <p>PROVENANCE National Academy of Design, New York</p>	
<p>725 <i>Dr. Willard Parker</i> (attributed) Oil, 29½ x 24¼ (74.93 x 61.59) Destroyed by fire</p> <p>PROVENANCE Mrs. William H. Lloyd, Maryland</p> <p>NOTES Photo available at the Frick Art Reference Library.</p>	
<p>726 <i>Frank Palmer</i> Oil</p>	

LITERATURE Sheldon 1879, 38	
727 <i>Autumn Leaves</i>	
LITERATURE Sheldon 1879, 38	
728 <i>Reading George Eliot</i>	
LITERATURE Sheldon 1879, 38	
729 <i>The Morning Prayer</i>	
LITERATURE Sheldon 1879, 38	

ENGRAVINGS AFTER HICKS

<p>1a <i>Henry Ward Beecher</i> John C. McRae 1853 Engraving, 17 x 13½ (43.2 x 34.3) National Portrait Gallery (NPG.90.28)</p> <p>LITERATURE “A Capital Portrait,” <i>The Evening Post</i> (New York), November 17, 1853; “A Capital Portrait,” <i>Daily Evening Transcript</i> (Boston), November 18, 1853; “The Fine Arts,” <i>The Literary World</i>, Nov. 26, 1853; “Fine Arts,” <i>The Home Journal</i>, November 26, 1853; “Portrait of Henry Ward Beecher,” <i>Liberator</i>, December 30, 1853</p> <p>NOTES “A CAPITAL PORTRAIT. Mr. J. McRae, of No. 71 Chambers Street, has just issued a full length mezzotint engraving of the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, which is an excellent likeness as well as a striking picture. It has been engraved by Mr. McRae from a painting by that accomplished artist, Thomas Hicks, and presents the celebrated preacher to the life. The numerous friends of the latter in all parts of the country, will be delighted to get so faithful and spirited a representation of the man.” [“A Capital Portrait,” <i>Daily Evening Transcript</i> (Boston), November 18, 1853]</p>	
--	---

“Painted by T. Hicks, N. A., engraved by J. C. McRae, and for the sale at the office of the engraver, No. 74 Chambers street, New-York, at three dollars per copy. The picture comes within a pair of boots of being a full length, and presents Mr. Beecher standing in his favorite attitude, with the left hand grasping one of the buttons of his coat, and with the right holding a number of papers, from which, or about which, he is supposed to be speaking. The countenance is exceedingly fine and accurate—fine, because accurate. Physically speaking, Mr. Beecher is a ‘good piece of stuff;’ his form robust and manly; his face, indicative of gentleness and strength; his forehead, ample enough for the abode of a fine understanding; his hair, black and abundant. The picture is very pleasing; though that button-clutching left hand slightly mars its effect. It is the intention of Mr. McRae, the publisher of this engraving, to issue a series of portraits of eminent Americans, in a similar style.” [“Fine Arts: Portrait of Henry Ward Beecher,” *The Home Journal*, November 26, 1853]

“Good engraved portraits are always in demand; and when the subjects are well chosen, and the execution at all life-like, the public is not slow to stretch forth a hand, and to possess itself of impressions. The latest enterprise is a large-sized portrait of Henry Ward Beecher, engraved (from the portrait by Thomas Hicks) by T. C. McRae, New York. The tone of the picture is well preserved, the likeness is excellent, and the execution of the work in a style of neatness and the finish which make the publication noteworthy.” [“The Fine Arts,” *The Literary World*, Nov. 26, 1853]

“PORTRAIT OF HENRY WARD BEECHER. If, as Bryan says, it is the fate of famous men ‘to get a wretched picture and worst bust,’ Mr. Beecher is certainly in luck, and his multitudinous friends and admirers can congratulate him that his case is an exception to the general rule; for a most admirable and life-like three quarter length Portrait of this remarkable man has been very finely engraved by J. C. McRae, of New York, from the celebrated picture by Thomas Hicks in size it is 17 ½ by 18 ½ inches. Price \$3. It is all that can be desired. It may be obtained of Mr. Henry Bowan, 86 Washington Street, Boston.” [*Liberator*, Dec. 30, 1853]

PHOTO SOURCE

Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.

2a

Bishop Wainwright

John C. McRae

c. 1854

LITERATURE

“Fine Arts: Portrait of Henry Ward Beecher,” The Home Journal, November 26, 1853; “Mere Mention,” The Home Journal (New York), October 21, 1854

NOTES

“An accurate likeness of the late Bishop Wainwright has been engraved by J. C. McRae, from the original and only portrait, painted by Thomas Hicks, now in the possession of the engraver. We commend it heartily for the beauty and high order of the engraving, and as a work of art it is unequalled. For sale by Stanford and Swords, 637 Broadway.” [“Mere Mention,” The Home Journal (New York), October 21, 1854]

“THOMAS HICKS, ARTIST. The reputation of the artist, whose studio is at the corner of White and Centre streets, is too widely recognized to need newspaper notices to increase it. Had he painted no other portraits than those of Bishop Wainwright and Rev. H. W. Beecher, the engravings from which are so well known, these alone would abundantly prove his rare skill in his profession. We give his address because, having witnessed his great success in that most difficult of all tasks, that of paintings a life-size portrait of a little girl from a small daguerreotype, we may perhaps be instrumental in giving to other bereaved parents the same great satisfaction which two of his class have recently enjoyed.” [“Thomas Hicks, Artist,” Christian Inquirer, December 16, 1854]

3a

George Washington (standing in uniform on the lawn at Mt. Vernon)

Hezekiah Wright Smith

c. 1859

Engraving, 24¼ x 17 (61.59 x 43.2)

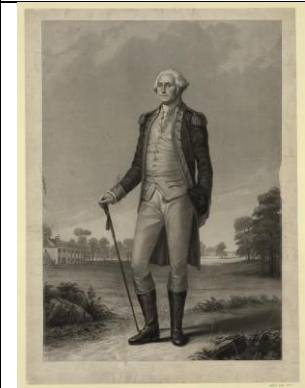
Library of Congress





LITERATURE

“Washington and Everett” The Home Journal (New York), November 26, 1859

NOTES

“Two admirable full-length portraits of Washington and Everett have just been published by O. H. Bailey and CO., of this city, which, in point of finish and execution, place them among the finest works of art ever produced for the price at which they can be obtained. These pictures were engraved from paintings by Hicks-the Washington after the Houdon statue, and the Everett, we presume, from life. They are each engraved by H. Wright Smith, one of the best artists in his line in the country. The Washington gives us the ‘Father of his Country,’ as he appeared at Mount Vernon, and it is believed to be the most correct and



<p>lifelike engraved portrait of him in existence. Mr. Everett is represented in the act of delivering his popular oration on the character of Washington, which eulogy has been the means whereby the efforts of American ladies to rescue his home from decay and oblivion, has already added many thousands of dollars to the amount necessary. To the left of Mr. Everett, in the portrait, on a table, stands a bust of Washington. Each picture is some twenty five by thirty five inches, and contains six square feet. We do not know a more appropriate and beautiful holiday gift than these portraits handsomely framed.” [“Washington and Everett” The Home Journal (New York), November 26, 1859]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the Library of Congress.</p>	
<p>4a <i>Abraham Lincoln</i> Leopold Grozelier c. 1860 Lithograph, 22 x 16 (56 x 40.6) National Portrait Gallery (NPG.80.44)</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.</p>	
<p>5a <i>Authors of the United States</i> Alexander Hay Ritchie 1866 Engraving, 19¾ x 34 (50.16 x 86.36) Author’s Collection</p>	
<p>6a <i>Edward Everett</i> Hezekiah Wright Smith c. 1875 Mezzotint, 26 x 17 (66 x 43.2) National Portrait Gallery (NPG.96.62)</p> <p>LITERATURE “Personal,” New York Times, September 6, 1859; “Washington and Everett” The Home Journal (New York), November 25, 1859</p> <p>NOTES “A full-length portrait of Edward Everett has been engraved in Boston from the portrait by Hicks of this city...” [“Personal,” New York Times,</p>	

<p>September 6, 1859]</p> <p>“Two admirable full-length portraits of Washington and Everett have just been published by O. H. Bailey and CO., of this city, which, in point of finish and execution, place them among the finest works of art ever produced for the price at which they can be obtained. These pictures were engraved from paintings by Hicks-the Washington after the Houdon statue, and the Everett, we presume, from life. They are each engraved by H. Wright Smith, on of the best artists in his line in the country. The Washington gives us the ‘Father of his Country,’ as he appeared at Mount Vernon, and it is believed to be the most correct and lifelike engraved portrait of him in existence. Mr. Everett is represented in the act of delivering his popular oration on the character of Washington, which eulogy has been the means whereby the efforts of American ladies to rescue his home from decay and oblivion, has already added many thousands of dollars to the amount necessary. To the left of Mr. Everett, in the portrait, on a table, stands a bust of Washington. Each picture is some twenty five by thirty five inches, and contains six square feet. We do not know a more appropriate and beautiful holiday gift than these portraits handsomely framed.” [“Washington and Everett” The Home Journal (New York), November 25, 1859]</p> <p>PHOTO SOURCE Courtesy of the National Portrait Gallery.</p>	
<p>7a <i>Three Christian Graces</i> c. 1880</p> <p>LITERATURE “Among the more important pictures are ‘Faith, Hope and Charity,’ Hicks’s famous painting, which has been engraved under the title of ‘The Three Christian Graces’ and was formerly in the Latham collection.” [“The Noyes & Blakelee Collection,” Daily Evening Transcript (Boston), March 20, 1880]</p>	
<p>8a <i>At the Fireside</i> c. 1882</p> <p>EXHIBITIONS Etching Club Exhibition (New York), March 1882</p> <p>LITERATURE “‘The Etching Club’s Exhibition,” The Art Amateur: A Monthly Journal Devoted to Art in the Household (March 1882)</p>	

Bibliography

Unpublished Material

Booth-Grossman Papers, Billy Rose Theatre Collection, New York Public Library

Hicks Family letters, partial transcript copies by Alice Ford, Alice Ford files, Newtown Historic Association, Newtown, Pennsylvania

Angie King Hicks Diary, 1869-1862, Private Collection.

Isaac Worstall Hicks Daybook, Newtown Historic Association, Newtown, Pennsylvania

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, MSS Diary, Longfellow National Historic Site, Cambridge, MA

Published Material

Addeo, Deborah Bershad. "The New York City Hall Portrait Collection, 1790-1830." PhD diss., The City University of New York, 2005.

American Art Galleries. *Catalogue of Paintings and Studies: The Work of the late Thomas Hicks, N.A.* New York: American Art Galleries, 1892.

American Philosophical Society. *A Catalogue of Portraits and other works in the possession of the American Philosophical Society.* Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1961.

Anderson, Patricia. *The Course of Empire: The Erie Canal and New York Landscape, 1925-1875.* Rochester, NY: The Gallery, 1984.

Andrew Crispo Gallery. *Edward Hicks: A Gentle Spirit.* New York: Andrew Crispo Gallery, 1975.

Art Commission of the City of New York. *Catalogue of the Works of Art Belonging to the City of New York.* New York: The Gilliss Press, 1909.

Asleson, Robyn, ed. *A Passion for Performance: Sarah Siddons and Her Portraitists.* Los Angeles: The J. Paul Getty Museum, 1999.

Ausfeld, Margaret Lynne. *Blount Collection of American Art.* Montgomery, AL: Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts, 1993.

----- . *American Paintings from the Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts.* Montgomery, AL: Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts, 2006.

Baker, Charles Henry Collins. *Paintings in Oil and Water Colours by Early and Modern Painters.* London: The Medici Society, 1913.

Baker, Paul R. *The Fortunate Pilgrims: Americans in Italy, 1800-1860*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964.

Baker, Thomas N. *Sentiment & Celebrity: Nathaniel Parker Willis and the Trials of Literary Fame*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999.

Baltimore Museum of Art. "Accession report," *The Baltimore Museum of Art News* 28, no. 1 (1964).

----- *American Paintings, 1750-1900*. Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art, 1983.

Bartlett, Irving H. *The American Mind in the Mid-Nineteenth Century*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1967.

Bevan, Edith Rossiter. *Thomas Pritchard Rossiter*. Ruxton, MD: Private Printing, 1957.

Bishop, Robert. *Centuries and Styles of the American Chair, 1640-1970*. New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1972.

Blake, David Haven. *Walt Whitman and the Culture of American Celebrity*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

Blumenthal, Arthur R. *Portraits at Dartmouth*. Hanover, NH: Dartmouth Museum and Galleries, 1978.

Bode, Carl. *The American Lyceum: Town Meeting of the Mind*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956.

----- *The Anatomy of Popular Culture*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959.

Bode, Carl, ed. *Mid-century America: Life in the 1850s*. London and Amsterdam: Feffer & Simon, 1972.

Boime, Albert. *Thomas Couture and the Eclectic Vision*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980.

----- *The Magisterial Gaze: Manifest Destiny and Landscape Painting, 1830-65*, 1991.

Boorstin, Daniel. *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*. New York: Harper and Row, 1964.

Bowne & Co. *Catalogue of the Entire Collection of Paintings, The Works of Thomas Hicks, NA...* New York: Bowne & Co, 1865.

Bradley, Sculley, "George Henry Boker and Angie Hicks." *American Literature* 8, (August 1936): 258-265.

Braudy, Leo. *The Frenzy of Renown: Fame and Its History*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986.

Brodhead, Richard. *Culture of Letters: Scenes of Reading and Writing in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1993.

Brown, Peter G. "Recent Acquisitions at the Abby Aldrich Folk Art Collection," *Antiques* 96, no. 5 (November 1969): 734-735.

Bush, George S., ed. *The Genius Belt: The Story of the Arts in Bucks County, Pennsylvania*. Doylestown, PA: James A. Michener Art Museum, 1996.

Butler, Joseph T. *Sleepy Hollow Restorations: A Cross-Section of the Collection*. Tarrytown, NY: Sleepy Hollow Press, 1983.

Calomiris, Charles W. and Larry Schweikart, "The Panic of 1857: Origins, Transmission, and Containment," *Journal of Economic History* 51, no. 4 (1991): 807-834.

Capper, Charles. *Margaret Fuller: An American Romantic Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

Carr, Carolyn Kinder. *Americans: Paintings and Photographs from the National Portrait Gallery, Washington DC*. New York: Watson-Guption Publications, 2003.

Carr, Carolyn Kinder and Ellen G. Miles. *A Brush with History: Paintings from the National Portrait Gallery*. Washington, D.C.: National Portrait Gallery, 2001.

Century Association. *Proceedings at a Meeting of the Century Association Held in Memory of John F. Kensett, December 1872*. New York: Century Association, 1872.

Chapin, David. "'Science Weeps, Humanity Weeps, the World Weeps': America Mourns Elisha Kent Kane." *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 123, no. 4 (October 1999): 275-301.

-----, *Exploring Other Worlds: Margaret Fox, Elisha Kent Kane, and the Antebellum Culture of Curiosity*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2004.

Cherches, Peter. "Star Course: Popular Lectures and the Marketing of Celebrity in Nineteenth-Century America." PhD diss., New York University, 1997.

Chevigny, Bell Gale. *The Woman and the Myth: Margaret Fuller's Life and Writings* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1994).

Clubbe, John. *Byron, Sully, and the Power of Portraiture*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005.

Corner, George W. *Dr. Kane of the Arctic Seas*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1972.

Cowdrey, Mary Bartlett. *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1826-1860*. 2 vols. New York: New-York Historical Society, 1943.

----- *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art-Union: Introduction and Exhibition Record, 1816-1852*. 2 vols. New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1953.

Craven, Wayne. "The Grand Manner in Early Nineteenth-Century American Painting: Borrowing from Antiquity, the Renaissance, and the Baroque." *The American Art Journal* 11, no. 2 (April 1979): 4-43.

Cutler, Anne. "Mr. Lincoln's Beard," *Collier's Magazine* (February 14, 1948): 34-36.

D'Ambrosio, Anna Tobin. *Masterpieces of American Furniture from the Munson-Williams-Proctor Museum of Art*. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1999.

Davidson, Marshall B. *New York: A Pictorial History*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1977.

Davidson, Ruth. "In the Museums," *Antiques* 94, no. 3 (September 1967): 376, 378-380, 389, 392.

Davis, John. *The Landscape of Belief: Encountering the Holy Land in Nineteenth-Century American Art and Culture*. Princeton: New Jersey, 1996.

----- "Eastman Johnson's *Negro Life at the South* and Urban Slavery in Washington, D.C.," *The Art Bulletin* 80, no. 1 (March 1998): 67-92.

Day, Roy. *Catalogue of the Paintings and the Art Treasures of The Players*. New York: The Players, 1925.

Dearinger, David B., ed. *Paintings and Sculpture in the Collection of the National Academy of Design*. New York: Hudson Hills Press, 2004.

Delaware Art Museum, "...illustrated by Darley." Wilmington: Delaware Art Museum, 1978.

Detroit Institute of Arts. *Travelers in Arcadia: American Artists in Italy, 1830-1875*. Detroit: Detroit Institute of Arts, 1951.

D'Otrange, M. L. "New York Auction Report, 1951-52," *The Connoisseur* 130, no. 528 (November 1952): 153-154.

Downes, W. H. and F. T. Robinson, "Our American Old Masters," *The New England Magazine*, 19 no. 3 (November 1895): 289-307.

Driscoll, John Paul. *John F. Kensett Drawings*. University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University, 1978.

Driscoll, John Paul and John K. Howat, *John Frederick Kensett: An American Master*. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1985.

Edwards, Holly. *Noble Dreams, Wicked Pleasures: Orientalism in America, 1870-1930*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000.

Elder, William. *Biography of Elisha Kent Kane*. Philadelphia: Child and Peterson, 1858.

Falk, Peter Hastings, ed. *The Annual Exhibition Record of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1807-1870*. Madison, CT: Sound View Press, 1988.

----- *Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts: 200 years of the Fine Arts, 1805-2005*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 2005.

Fanelli, Doris Devine and Karie Diethorn. *History of the Portrait Collection, Independence National Park*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2001.

Farmer, Silas. *The History of Detroit and Michigan, or The Metropolis Illustrated*. Detroit: Silas Farmer & Company, 1888.

Fink, Lois Marie. "American Artists in France, 1850-1870," *American Art Journal* 5, no. 2 (November 1973): 32-49.

Fink, Lois Marie and Joshua C. Taylor. *Academy: The Academic Tradition in American Art (An Exhibition Organized on the Occasion of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the National Academy of Design: 1825-1975)*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1975.

Fire Department of the City of Detroit. *A Memorial of James A. Van Dyke, Published by the Fire Department of the City of Detroit*. Detroit: W. F. Storey, 1856.

Flexner, James Thomas. *Nineteenth-Century American Painting*. New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1970.

----- *That Wilder Image: The Paintings of America's Native School from Thomas Cole to Winslow Homer*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1962.

Folger Shakespeare Library. *Shakespeare in American Life*. Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library, 2007.

Ford, Alice. *Edward Hicks: Painter of the Peaceable Kingdom*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1952.

----- *Edward Hicks 1780-1849 A Special Exhibition Devoted to His Life and Work*. Williamsburg, VA: Abby Aldrich Folk Art Collection, 1960.

----- *Edward Hicks: His Life and Art*. New York: Abbeville Press, 1985.

Fortune, Brandon Brame. "Portraits of Virtue and Genius: Pantheons of Worthies and Public Portraiture in the Early American Republic, 1780-1820." PhD diss., The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1987.

French, H. W. *Art and Artists in Connecticut*. New York: Kennedy Graphics, Inc., 1970.

Fuller, Margaret. "*These Sad But Glorious Days*": *Dispatches from Europe, 1846-1850*. Ed. by Larry J. Reynolds and Susan Belasco Smith. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991.

-----. *Woman in the Nineteenth Century: An Authoritative Text, Backgrounds, Criticism*. Ed. by Larry J. Reynolds. New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1998.

Garrett, Elisabeth Donaghy. "Living with antiques: Old Richmond, the Houston guest cottage of Mr. and Mrs. Fred T. Couper, Jr.," *Antiques* 112, no. 3 (September 1977): 514-516.

Gavit, Joseph. "Unrecorded State Arms of 1850," *New York History* 29, no. 1 (January 1948): 68-71.

Gerdts, William H. "Natural Aristocrats in a Democracy: 1810-1870." In *American Portraiture in the Grand Manner: 1720-1920*, 27-60. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1981.

Giblin, James Cross. *Good Brother, Bad Brother: The Story of Edwin Booth and John Wilkes Booth*. New York: Clarion Books, 2005.

Giles, David. *Illusions of Immortality: A Psychology of Fame and Celebrity*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd.: 2000.

Godwin, Parke. *A Biography of William Cullen Bryant*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1883.

Grand Central Art Galleries. *Painters of the United States, 1720 to 1920*. New York: Grand Central Art Galleries, 1951.

Grier, Katherine C. *Culture and Comfort: People, Parlors, and Upholstery 1850-1930*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988.

Grossman, Edwina Booth. *Edwin Booth: Recollections by His Daughter Edwina Booth Grossman and Letter to Her and His Friends*. New York: The Century Association, 1894.

Guttenberg, Jr., John. "Edward Hicks," in *Americana: Folk and Decorative Art*, ed. Art & Antiques. New York: Art & Antiques, 1980.

Hansen-Taylor, Marie and Horace E. Scudder. *Life and Letters of Bayard Taylor*. 2 vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co, 1895.

- Harding, Jonathan P. *The Boston Athenaeum Collection: Pre-Twentieth Century American and European Painting and Sculpture*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1984.
- Harris, Neil. *Humbug! The Art of P. T. Barnum*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1973
- Hart, James D. *The Popular Book: A History of America's Literary Taste*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1950.
- Haynes, George Emerson. *Edward Hicks, Friends' Minister*. Doylestown, PA: Charles Ingerman at the Quixott Press, 1974.
- Heckscher Museum. *Long Island Painters and Portraits*. Huntington, NY: Heckscher Museum, 1981.
- Hennessey, William J. *The American Portrait: From the Death of Stuart to the Rise of Sargent*. Worcester, MA: Worcester Art Museum, 1973.
- Hicks, George. "Thomas Hicks." *Readings Before the Society*. Doylestown, Penn. Bucks County Historical Society, 1910.
- "The Hicks Portrait of Lincoln," *Lincoln Lore* no. 375 (June 15, 1936): 1.
- Hicks, Thomas. *Thomas Crawford: His Career, His Character, and Works. A Eulogy*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1858.
- "Thomas Hicks," in *Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln*, ed. Allen Thorndike Rice. New York: North American Review, 1888.
- Highley, George Norman. *Bayard Taylor*. Glen Loch, PA: The Church Farm School, 1975.
- Hilen, Andrew, ed. *The Letters of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow*. 3 vols. Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1972.
- Holzer, Harold. "Some Contemporary Paintings of Abraham Lincoln." *Antiques* 107 (Feb. 1975): 314-322.
- "How the Printmakers Saw Lincoln: Not-So-Honest Portraits of "Abe Lincoln." *Winterthur Portfolio* 14, no. 2 (Summer 1979): 143-170.
- *That Lincoln Image: Abraham Lincoln and the Popular Print*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1984.
- *Washington and Lincoln Portrayed: National Icons in Popular Prints*. Jefferson, NC and London: McFarland & Company, Inc., 1993.
- Holzer, Harold, ed. *Lincoln and New York*. London: Philip Wilson Publishers, 2009.

- Holzer, Harold, Garbor S. Boritt, and Mark E. Neely, Jr. *The Lincoln Image: Abraham Lincoln and the Popular Print*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1984.
- Howe, Daniel Walker. *Making the American Self: Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Hudspeth, Robert, ed. *The Letters of Margaret Fuller*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983.
- Huston, James L. *The Panic of 1857 and the Coming of the Civil War*. Baton Rouge: LSU Press, 1987.
- Hutton, Laurence. *Edwin Booth*. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1893.
- Jack, David Russell. "Portrait of the Late Robert Sears, Painted by Thomas Hicks," *Acadiensis* (July 1906): 218-223.
- Jehle, Michael A. *Picturing Nantucket: an art history of the island with paintings from the collection of the Nantucket Historical Association: Works by artists before 1900*. Nantucket, MA: Nantucket Historical Association, 1999.
- Jenkins, John S. *Lives of the Governors of the State of New York*. Auburn, NY: Derby and Miller, 1851.
- Johns, Christopher M. S. "Theater and Theory: Thomas Sully's *George Frederick Cooke as Richard III*," *Winterthur Portfolio* 18, no. 1 (Spring 1983):27-38.
- Johns, Elizabeth. *American Genre Painting: The Politics of Everyday Life*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1991.
- Katlan, Alexander W. *The Black and White Exhibitions of the Salmagundi Sketch Club 1878 to 1887: A Guide to the Etchings, Engravings, Drawings, Sculpture, Ceramics, Oils and Monotypes*. New York: Salmagundi Club, 2007.
- Katz, Wendy J. "Lilly Martin Spencer and the Art of Refinement," *American Studies* 42, no. 1 (2001): 5-37.
- Kelley, Mary. *Private Woman, Public Stage: Literary Domesticity in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984.
- Kelly, Franklin, et. al., *American Paintings of the Nineteenth Century Part One*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Knoedler & Co. *Washington Irving and His Circle: A Loan Exhibition Observing the Restoration of "Sunnyside."* New York: M. Knoedler & Co., 1946.
- *The American Indian Observed*. New York: Knoedler & Co., Inc., 1971.

Kunhardt, Jr., Philip B., et al. *Lincoln: An Illustrated Biography*. New York: Gramercy Books, 1992.

Landgren, Marchal E. *American Pupils of Thomas Couture*. College Park: University of Maryland, 1970.

Larkin, Oliver W. *Art and Life in America*. New York: Holt, Reinhart, and Winston, 1960.

Lazarus, Josephine. "Margaret Fuller," *Century Illustrated Magazine* 45, no. 6 (April 1893): 923-934.

Leeds & Miner, *Catalogue of the Entire Collection of Paintings: The Works of Thomas Hicks, N.A...*New York, March 14-15, 1865.

-----, *Catalogue of the Valuable Collection of Oil Paintings formerly the private collection of W. P. Wright, Esq. of New Jersey...to be sold Positively at Public Auction by Henry H. Leeds & Miner...on March 18th, 1867*. New York: Leeds & Miner, 1867.

Levine, Lawrence W. *Highbrow/Lowbrow: The Emergence of Cultural Hierarchy in America*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1988.

Lincoln, Charles Z. ed., *State of New York: Messages from the Governors*. Albany: J. B. Lyon Co., 1909.

Lipman, Jean and Tom Armstrong, eds. *American Folk Painters of Three Centuries*. New York: Hudson Hills, Inc., 1980.

Lockridge, Richard. *Darling of Misfortune: Edwin Booth, 1833-93*. New York: The Century Association, 1932.

Long Island Historical Society. *The Journal of the Long Island Historical Society: Catalogue of the Oil Portraits Collection*, 16, no. 1 (Winter/Spring 1980).

Luck, Robert H. *Twice as Natural: 19th Century American Genre Painting*. New York: Finch College Museum of Art, 1973.

Manthorne, Katherine E. and Mark D. Mitchell. *Luminist Horizons: The Art and Collection of James A. Suydam*. New York: George Braziller Publishers, 2006.

Marti, Donald B. "The Purposes of Agricultural Education: Ideas and Projects in New York State, 1819-1865." *Agricultural History* 45, no. 4 (October 1971): 271-283.

Mather, Eleanore Price. "Edward Hicks," in *American Folk Painters of Three Centuries*. Ed. Jean Lipman and Tom Armstrong. New York: Hudson Hills Press, Inc., 1980.

- Mather, Eleanore Price and Dorothy Canning Miller. *Edward Hicks: His Peaceable Kingdoms and Other Paintings*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1983.
- Mayor, A. Hyatt and Mark Davis. *American Art at the Century*. New York: The Century Association, 1977.
- McCarthy, Kathleen D. *Women's Culture: American Philanthropy and Art, 1830-1930*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991.
- McDayter, Ghislaine. *Byromania and the Birth of Celebrity Culture*. New York: SUNY Press, 2009.
- McMurtry, R. Gerald. *Beardless Portraits of Abraham Lincoln*. Fort Wayne, PA: Allen County-Fort Wayne Historical Society, 1962.
- Merritt, Jesse. "Two Long Island Landscapes by Thomas Hicks," (June 1942): 15, 23
- "Hicks Work Given Friends Academy," *New York Sun*, March 1943
- Merkert, Tilde. "Edward Hicks and His Work," *The Antiques Journal* (October 1970): 10-11, 32.
- Metropolitan Museum of Art. *Life in America: A Special Loan Exhibition of the New York World's Fair April 24 to October 29*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1939.
- Michener, Henry O. *Bucks County Bi-Centennial Exhibition*. Doylestown, PA: Paschall Brothers, 1882.
- Miller, Lillian B. *Patrons and Patriotism: The Encouragement of the Fine Arts in the United States 1790-1860*. Chicago & London: The University of Chicago Press, 1966.
- Mills, Sally. "'Right Feeling and Sound Technique': French Art and the Development of Eastman Johnson's Outdoor Genre Paintings." In *Eastman Johnson: The Cranberry Harvest, Island of Nantucket*, 53-76. San Diego: Timken Art Gallery, 1990.
- Mirsky, Jeannette. *Elisha Kent Kane and the Seafaring Frontier*. Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1954.
- Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts. *A Brush with Shakespeare, The Bard in Painting: 1780-1910*. Montgomery, AL: Montgomery Museum of Fine Arts, 1986.
- Morantz, Alison D. "There's No Place Like Home: Homestead Exemptions and Judicial Constructions of Family in Nineteenth-Century America," *Law and History Review* 24, no. 2 (Summer 2006): 245-295.
- Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. *American Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1969.

Nagy, Rebecca Martin, ed. *North Carolina Museum of Art Handbook of the Collection*. Raleigh, NC: North Carolina Museum of Art, 1998.

National Portrait Gallery. *Portraits of the American Stage, 1771-1971*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971.

Naylor, Maria, ed. *The National Academy of Design Exhibition Record, 1861-1900*. 2 vols. New York: Kennedy Galleries, 1973.

Nevins, Allan. *Hamilton Fish: the Inner History of the Grant Administration*. New York: Dodd, Mead, and Co., 1936.

Newbury, Michael. "Eaten Alive: Slavery and Celebrity in Antebellum America." *ELH* 61, no. 1 (Spring 1994): 159-187.

New York Chamber of Commerce. *Portrait Gallery of the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York*. New York: Press of the Chamber of Commerce, 1890.

----- *Catalogue of Portraits in the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York*. New York: Chamber of Commerce, 1924.

----- *The Great Hall and Portrait Collection of the New York Chamber of Commerce*. New York: New York Chamber of Commerce, 1967.

New-York Historical Society. *Catalogue of American Portraits in the New-York Historical Society: Oil Portraits, Miniatures, Sculptures*. New York: New-York Historical Society, 1941.

----- *Catalogue of American Portraits in the New-York Historical Society*. 2 vols. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1974.

----- *American Landscape and Genre Painting in the New-York Historical Society*. 2 vols. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1982.

New York State Legislature, *Proceedings of the Legislature of the State of New York in Memory of Hon. Hamilton Fish*. Albany: J. B. Lyon, 1894.

Norton, Thomas E. *One Hundred Years of Collecting in America: The Story of Sotheby Parke Bernet*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1984.

Novak, Barbara. *Next to Nature: Landscape Paintings from the National Academy of Design*. New York: Harper & Row Publishers, 1980.

Oggel, L. Terry. *Edwin Booth: A Bio-Bibliography*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1992.

Orcutt, Kimberly. "'Revising History': Creating a Canon of American Art at the Centennial Exhibition." PhD diss., The City University of New York, 2005.

Panzer, Mary. *Mathew Brady and the Image of History*. Washington DC: National Portrait Gallery, 1997.

Pease, Theodore C. and Jas. G. Randall, eds. *The Diary Orville Hickman Browning*. Springfield, IL: Trustees of the Illinois State Historical Library, 1925.

Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. *In this Academy: The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1805-1976*. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1976.

Perkins, Jr., Robert F. and William J. Gavin III. *The Boston Athenaeum: Art Exhibition Index, 1827-1874*. Boston: Boston Athenaeum, 1980.

Peterson, Harold L. *Americans at Home: From the Colonists to the Late Victorians*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971.

Philadelphia Museum of Art. *The Art of Philadelphia Medicine*. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1965.

Pisano, Ronald G. *Long Island Landscape Painting: 1820-1920*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1985.

Potter, Russell A. *Arctic Spectacles: The Frozen North in Visual Culture, 1818-1875*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2007.

Price, Frederic Newlin. *Edward Hicks 1780-1849*. Swarthmore, PA: Benjamin West Society, 1945.

Price, Kenneth M. and Susan Belasco Smith. *Periodical Literature in Nineteenth-Century America*. Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1995.

Proceedings of the Board of Alderman of the City of New York. Vol. 50. New York: McSpedon & Baker, Printers, 1850.

Proceedings of the Board of Aldermen, Approved by the Mayor. Vol. 18. New York: McSpedon & Baker, Printers, 1851.

Ray, Angela G. *The Lyceum and Public Culture in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press, 2005).

Reaves, Wendy Wick, ed. *American Portrait Prints*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1984.

Reynolds, Sir Joshua. *Discourses on Art*. Ed. by Robert R. Wark. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975.

Reynolds, Larry J. and Susan Belasco Smith, eds. *"These Sad But Glorious Days": Dispatches from Europe, 1846-1850*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1991.

Roddis, Louis H. "Thomas Harris, M.D., Naval Surgeon and Founder of the First School of Naval Medicine in the New World," *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences* 5, no. 3 (Summer 1950): 236-250.

Rothenberg, Marc, ed. *The Paper of Joseph Henry*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1972-2008.

Royle, Edwin Milton. *Edwin Booth as I Knew Him*. New York: The Players, 1933.

Ruggles, Eleanor. *Prince of Players: Edwin Booth*. New York: W.W. Norton and Co., Inc., 1953.

Sandwiess, Martha A. *Photography in 19th-Century America*. New York: Harry Abrams, Inc., 1991.

Sawin, Mark Metzler. *Raising Kane: Elisha Kent Kane and the Culture of Fame in Antebellum America*. Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2008.

Schickel, Richard. *Intimate Strangers: The Culture of Celebrity*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Co., Inc., 1985.

Schneider, Stuart. *Collecting Lincoln with Values*. Atglen, PA: Schiffer Publishers, 1997.

Schweizer, Paul D. *The Art of Trenton Falls*. New York: Syracuse University Press, 1989.

Scott, Leonora Cranch. *The Life and Letters of Christopher Pearce Cranch*. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1917.

Seckler, Dorothy Gees. "Auctions here and abroad," *Art in America* 45, no. 3 (Fall 1957): 65-69.

Sharples, James. *Catalogue of the portraits and other works of art, Independence Hall, Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: Press of George H. Buchanan, Co., 1915.

Shattuck, Charles H. *Shakespeare on the American Stage: From the Hallams to Edwin Booth*. Washington, D. C.: Folger Shakespeare Library, 1976.

Shaw, Dale. *Titans of the American Stage: Edwin Forrest, the Booths, the O'Neills*. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1971.

Sheldon, William. "American Painters—Thomas Hicks, N. A.," *Appleton's Art Journal* 4 (1878): 166-167.

----- *American Painters with Eighty-three of Examples of Their Work Engraved on Wood*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1879.

Siegel, Elizabeth. "Galleries of Friendship and Fame: The History of Nineteenth-Century American Photograph Albums." PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2003.

- Skinner, Otis. *The Last Tragedian: Booth Tells His Own Story*. New York: Dodd and Mead, 1939.
- Smith, Erika Jaeger. "The Visual Heritage of Bucks County," *American Art Review* 10, no. 6 (1998): 126-133.
- Smucker, Samuel M. *The Life of Elisha Kent Kane, and of other Distinguished American Explorers*. Philadelphia: G. G. Evans, 1860
- Snow, Barbara. "Living with Antiques," *Antiques* 78, no. 3 (September 1960): 225-228.
- Solis-Cohen, Lita. "Exhibition Celebrates Acquisition of Hicks Portrait," *Maine Antique Digest* (April 1998): 9-A.
- Sozanski, Edward, "Local master's portraits on display in Michener," *Philadelphia Enquirer* March 29, 1988.
- Spann, Edward K. *The New Metropolis: New York City, 1840-1857*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1981.
- Stebbins, Theodore, Jr. *The Lure of Italy: American Artists and The Italian Experience, 1760-1914*. New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1992.
- *Martin Johnson Heade*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1999.
- Stern, Madeleine B. "New England Artists in Italy 1835-1855," *The New England Quarterly* 14, no. 2 (June 1941): 243-271.
- Stevenson, Louise L. *The Victorian Homefront: American Thought and Culture, 1860-1880*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001.
- Stoddard, Richard. "Thomas Joyce, Edwin Booth's Costumer," *Educational Theatre Journal* 22, no. 1 (March 1970): 71-77.
- Stowe, Catherine Beecher and Harriet Beecher. *The American Woman's Home, or, Principles of Domestic Science*. Hartford, CT: Stowe-Day Foundation, 1975.
- Studding, Richard. *Shakespeare in American Painting: A Catalogue from the Late Eighteenth Century to the Present*. London and Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1993.
- Stula, Nancy. *At Home and Abroad: The Transcendental Landscapes of Christopher Pearse Cranch (1813-1892)*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 2007.
- Swan, Mabel M. *The Athenaeum Gallery, 1827-1873*. Boston: Athenaeum, 1940.

Swanson, James L. and Lloyd Ostenorf. "Lincoln from Life," *American Heritage* (March 1990): 92-97.

Tatham, David. "Edward Hicks, Elias Hicks and John Comly: Perspectives on the Peaceable Kingdom Theme." *The American Art Journal* (Spring 1981): 37-50.

----- "Thomas Hicks at Trenton Falls." *The American Art Journal* 25, no. 4 (1983): 5-20.

Taylor, Bayard. *The Lands of the Saracen, or, Pictures of Palestine, Asia Minor, Sicily, and Spain*. New York: G. P. Putnam's and Sons, 1855.

Teague, Frances N. *Shakespeare and the American Popular Stage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006.

Teller, Walter. *Twelve Works of Native Genius*. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., 1972.

"Thomas Hicks' Portrait 'The Youthful Lincoln'," *Lincoln Lore* no. 1471 (September 1960):1-3.

Thomas, Howard. *Trenton Falls, Yesterday and Today*. Prospect, NY: Prospect Books, 1951.

Tolles, Frederick B. "Friends Historical Library: Thomas Hicks's Painting of Westbury Meeting House," *Friends Intelligencer* (April 3, 1943): 226.

Tomisch, John. *A Genteel Endeavor: American Culture and Politics in the Gilded Age*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1971.

Townsend, J. Benjamin, ed. *This New Man: A Discourse in Portraits*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1968.

Tuckerman, Henry. *Book of the Artists*. New York: Putnam, 1867.

United States Naval Academy Museum. *Catalogue of Paintings*. Washington, D. C.: United States Naval Academy Museum, 1907.

Vail, R. W. G. "The Case of the Stuyvesant Portraits," *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly* 42, no. 2 (April 1958): 171-204.

Vance, William L, Mary K. McGuigan, and John F. McGuigan, Jr. *America's Rome: Artists in the Eternal City, 1800-1900*. Cooperstown, NY: Fenimore Art Museum, 2009.

Villarejo, Oscar M. *Dr. Kane's Voyage to the Polar Lands*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1965.

Vlach, John Michael. *Plain Painters: Making Sense of American Folk Art*. Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988.

- Voorsanger, Catherine Hoover and John J. Howat, eds. *Art and the Empire City: New York, 1825-1861*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Voss, Frederick S. *John Frazee 1790-1852 Sculptor*. Washington DC: National Portrait Gallery, 1986.
- Wade, Mason, ed. *The Writings of Margaret Fuller*. New York: The Viking Press, 1941.
- Wainwright, Nicholas. *Paintings and Miniatures at the Historical Society of Pennsylvania*. Philadelphia: The Historical Society of Pennsylvania, 1972.
- Warren, Louis A. "The Early Portraits of Lincoln." *The Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* 30 (July 1932): 211-220.
- Wartenberg, Steve, "Museum exhibits area historic, artistic family," *Intelligencer Record*, February 22, 1998.
- Watermeier, David. J., ed. *Between Actor and Critic: Selected Letters of Edwin Booth and William Winter*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1971.
- , "Edwin Booth's Iago," *Theater History Studies* 6 (1986): 32-55.
- Weber, Bruce. *The Apple of America: The Apple in 19th century American Art*. New York: Berry Hill Gallery, 1993.
- Weekley, Carolyn J. *The Kingdoms of Edward Hicks*. New York: Harry Abrams, Inc., 1999.
- Wemmlinger, Raymond and Brooks McNamara, ed. *Edwin Booth's Legacy: Treasures from the Hampden-Booth Theatre Collection at The Players*. New York: The Hampden-Booth Theatre Library, 1989.
- Williams, Jr., Herman Warner, *Mirror to the American Past: Survey of American Genre Painting: 1750-1900*. Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1973.
- Wilson, Forrest. *Crusader in Crinoline: The Life of Harriet Beecher Stowe*. Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1941.
- Wilson, Frances, ed. *Byromania: Portraits of the Artist in Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century Culture*. London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1999.
- Wilson, Rufus Rockwell. *Lincoln in Portraiture*. New York: Press of the Pioneers, 1935.
- Winter, William. *Life and Art of Edwin Booth*. New York: Greenwood Press, 1968.

Yarnall, James L. and William H. Gerds. *The National Museum of American Art's Index to American Art Exhibition Catalogues: From the Beginning through the 1876 Centennial Year*. Boston: G. K. Hall, 1986.

Zellman, Michael David. *Three Hundred Years of American Art*. Seaucus, NJ: Wellfleet Press, 1987.