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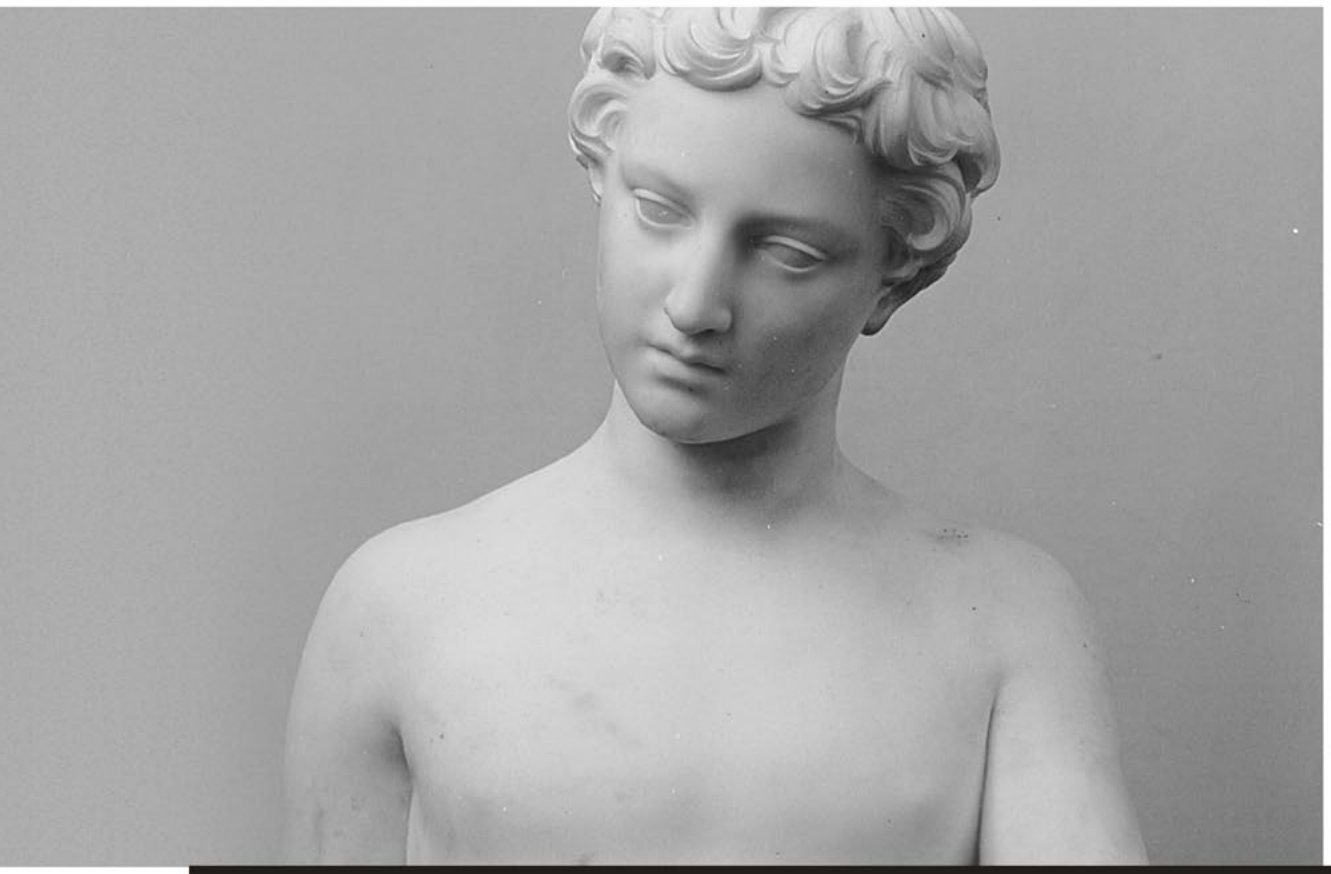

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HENRY KIRKE BROWN: SCULPTING AN AMERICAN IDENTITY IN FLORENCE IN 1843

Florence is well known as the cradle of the Renaissance, but it was also an incubator for American sculpture. From the 1830s to the 1870s, when the focus shifted to Paris and its Ecole de Beaux Arts, Florence attracted a steady stream of American sculptors. They exported countless works to the United States, a fact made evident in the large collection of neoclassical sculpture at the Smithsonian American Art Museum, which includes more than 150 plasters casts, molds, tools, and marble sculptures from the studio of Hiram Powers, a reminder of the many *formatori* and other specialized artisans in Florence who had a hand in producing much of American sculpture of this period. American studios in Florence also fulfilled numerous public commissions for the U.S. Capitol, various state houses, municipal buildings, and other civic spaces. Without the art colony in Florence, the history of American sculpture would have been entirely different.

Some American sculptors only spent a few months in Florence to see the city's cultural treasures, but others – most notably Powers, Thomas Ball, and Horatio Greenough – resided there for decades. On this two-hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the American Consulate in Florence, it is instructive to remember the prominence sculptors held in the nineteenth-century expatriate community. Powers even served as Counsel General for a time. Although untrained as a diplomat, Powers was a key figure in the expat colony and the business skills he relied on to operate his studio helped him serve the community of Americans, officially and unofficially. Sculptors in general were positioned to be embedded in the fabric of the city, as the nature of their art required them to work closely with local businesses, including Italian artisan carvers, marble suppliers, and international shipping agents. The extensive time and considerable expense involved in producing a sculpture often demanded that they finance their work through advanced orders and sales of replicas, making sculptors necessarily attuned to risk management, delicate balances in politics, and fluctuations in international currencies that affected their local economy. Experience in handling such matters helped to prepare Powers, however unwittingly, for his unexpected service as Counsel General.

Florence had much to offer the sculptors. Americans in general were drawn to Florence for its wealth of examples of Renaissance art, but the sculptors in particular

had several pragmatic reasons to be there that were specific to their métier. They critically depended on its proximity to the quarries of exceptional *marmo statuario* in Carrara and Seravezza and on the skilled local marble carvers whose families had sustained the area's carving industry over centuries. They also benefited from the *Accademia di Belle Arti* and private studios in Florence where they could observe techniques essential to the plastic arts, such as how to make armatures, molds, and plaster casts or enlarge plaster models. This fundamental part of their training was best absorbed through direct example, and very difficult to obtain in the United States, where few academies taught sculpture in the early nineteenth century and there was a dearth of professional sculpture studios.

Access to materials, training, and skilled assistants were critically important to sculptors abroad, but the aspect of life in Florence they treasured most of all may have been the camaraderie they found in the Anglo-American community in which artists, writers, and patrons gathered in fellowship with an intention and enthusiasm unique to life abroad. Expatriate sculptors from France, England, Germany, and other European countries might have identified the art colonies in Italy as satellites of their respective national academies and art communities back home. By contrast, American sculptors who clustered in Florence and Rome in the early and mid-nineteenth century lacked comparable systems of training and support in the United States. For American sculptors, the expatriate colonies were not peripheral; rather, the community composed of fellow artists, literati, and patrons served as the main artistic hub from which a pipeline of sculpture flowed back to the United States.
Remarkably, in the 1840s – just as the American expatriate colony in Florence was flourishing – a growing number of artists, patrons, critics, tastemakers, and cultural leaders articulated a shared hope that the United States would assert a national cultural identity (one presumed to center and privilege an Anglo-Saxon American perspective) that would be on par with the well-established cultures of Europe. Writing from Florence to a patron in the United States, American sculptor Henry Kirke Brown declared: "in the history of no country was there a better opportunity to found a truly poetic and grand school of Art"[1]. President of the American Art Union William Cullen Bryant would echo this sentiment at an event in New York in 1846:

> That we shall have a National School of Art at some future day in this country [...]. That America will take her place beside the leading powers of Europe in this noble field of emulation [...]. No great nation ever yet passed away without leaving some indelible record of itself upon Earth [...] we shall have an Architecture – a Sculpture – a Painting of our own, imbued [...] with that same energy of action and grandeur of purpose which have distinguished our political history[2].

But what would it mean for America's sculptural patrimony to be largely imported from its expatriate artists in Florence? How might life abroad influence American sculptors and thus their art? Brown expressed grave concerns as to "what influence a long residence [abroad] might have upon my mind", questioning whether the sculptures he was making in Italy would adequately represent his own culture, especially as he knew how captivated he was by the examples of Renaissance and Roman art that surrounded him in Florence and later Rome[3]. Yet, being associated with Italy could change the course of one's career in the United States. One of Brown's American patrons noted the

> witchery there is in the very name of Italy, Rome, Florence as connected with the Arts, especially your branch [of sculpture] – what dignity it gives to the subject, and how predisposed the community is to look with favor (comparatively) upon a work brought from there or executed by a person *inspired* there. You must stay long enough to be talked about as being there[4].

In the end, Brown lived in Italy for just four years, from October 1842 to August 1846. He spent only his first year abroad in Florence, which he generally disliked, later announcing: "I would just as soon be in Albany as Florence"[5].

In considering how the experience of being an expatriate affected the early history of American sculpture, this essay devotes particular attention to Brown. His uneasy experience in Florence prompted him to redouble his effort to assert an American identity while abroad, and shaped his nationalistic outlook that he carried back to the United States and held onto throughout his career. Like other artists of his time, Brown believed in an American exceptionalism that allowed him to see nature more faithfully than his European counterparts, who had been burdened by the weight of so many centuries of history and tradition. Convinced he would be back in the States within a year, he naively sketched a plan to "sail to Liverpool, go to London, stop there to get rested [...] then through Flanders to Paris. After staying there a month or so, go to the famous Florence, stay there till fall then go to the great eternal city Rome and spend the winter"[6]. He sounded like a modern tourist on a package tour, determined to see all of Europe in a handful of days. Once he arrived in Florence, Brown was truly overwhelmed.

The most successful American sculptors in Florence secured patronage from an international circuit of Grand Tourists, but their client base were primarily Americans, either those touring Europe or the few loyal supporters who commissioned works from the United States. American Grand Tourists were not just collecting art; they saw themselves as patriotically supporting their countrymen abroad and sought out American art studios, consulting new travel guides that increasingly listed such

1
Hiram Powers, *Anstiss Derby Rogers Wetmore*,
1848, 64.8 × 48.3 × 30.5 cm., marble, Washington, D.C.,
Smithsonian American Art Museum, Gift of William and Abigail Gerdts, 2017.37.3.

addresses[7]. Life abroad liberated American sculptors (at least temporarily) from some of the societal conventions they faced in the United States, where the "squeamish notions of nudity" made it all but impossible to market nude figures or even source nude models, one of the essential resources more easily found in Florence[8].

Immersion in a foreign culture created an environment conducive to fantastical explorations and experiments, resulting in artistic choices and risks both the artists and their patrons might have been less likely to indulge in while in the United States. Even neoclassical portraiture, which was predictably formulaic, could afford some liberties when commissioned abroad. It is hard to conceive of nine-year-old Helen Phelps, daughter of a prominent New York banker, ever spending a day of her childhood barefoot and collecting flowers as her dress carelessly slipping from her shoulder. And most sculptors working in the United States at the time would not have imagined such a fanciful composition. Portraying her in this guise was altogether possible in Italy, where the Phelps family commissioned fellow American Chauncey Bradley Ives to sculpt a whimsical marble figure of their youngest daughter around 1855[9]. A more extreme example of American patrons and sculptors taking artistic liberties abroad is Powers's *Anstiss Derby Rogers Wetmore* (fig. 1), a marble bust in which the genteel New Englander emerges from acanthus leaves, bare breasted and goddess-like in the fashion of Powers's ideal bust *Proserpine*. Artistic choices about nudity may have seemed somewhat more permissible in Florence in the moment a commission was arranged, once displayed in the United States, such liberal portrayal, including the Wetmore portrait, were met with criticism. Ideal figures encountered similar resistance from American audiences in the United States. After all, Powers's idealized figure *The Greek Slave*, among the most significant sculptures made in the nineteenth century, required separate viewing arrangements for men and women and brochures attesting to the subject's chastity in certain exhibition venues in the United States, where it had the groundbreaking distinction of being the first widely displayed sculpture of a nude female body[10].

Americans were especially intolerant of nudity in their public sculptures, as evidenced by the raucous outcry against Greenough's classicized colossal monument of George Washington (fig. 2), commissioned by Congress for the U.S. Capitol. It is likely that Greenough's portrayal of the first president in the guise of Jupiter, bare to the waist and wearing sandals, would not have taken this form if the sculptor had been working in an American city instead of Florence. The sculpture was celebrated by Florentines who saw it in Greenough's studio[11]. But it was met with some outrage when it arrived in Washington, D.C., where Congressional representative Henry A. Wise exclaimed: "a naked statue of George Washington! of a man whose skin had probably never been looked upon by any living. It might possibly suit the Italian taste, but certainly it did not the American taste", and a Congressional report in May 1842 only half-jokingly "proposed tossing the colossal marble figure into the Potomac River"[12].

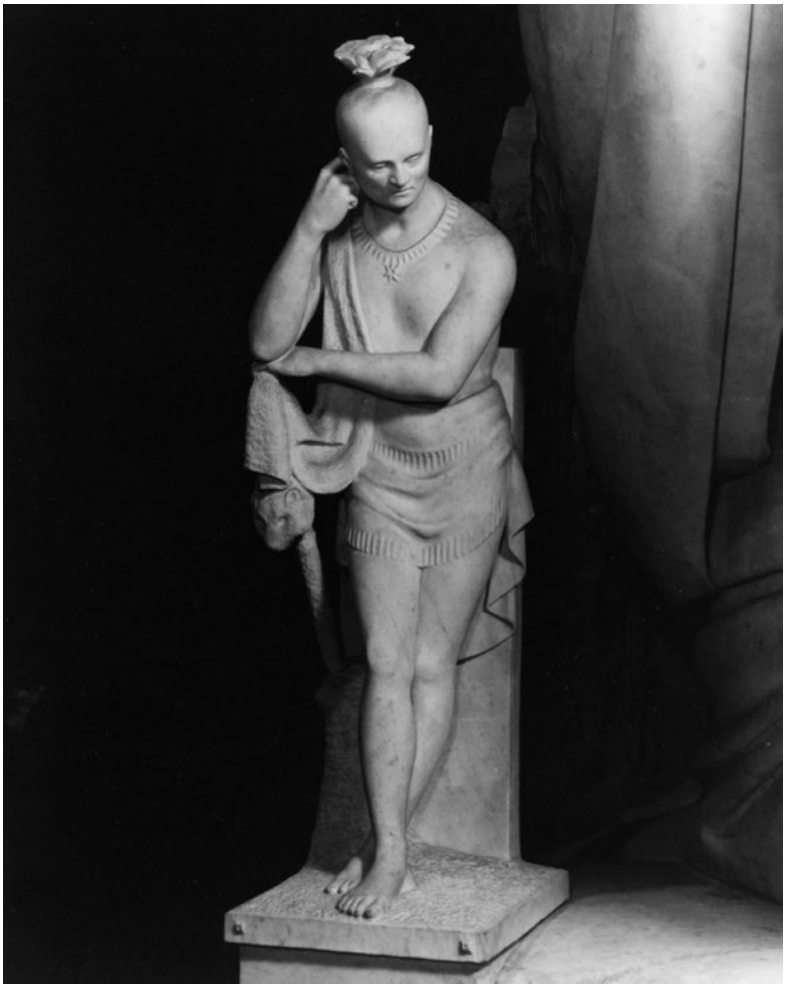
2
Horatio Greenough, *George Washington*,
1840, 345.4 x 259.1 x 209.6 cm., marble, Washington, D.C.,
Smithsonian American Art Museum, Transfer from the U.S. Capitol, 1910.10.3.

As these examples suggest, American sculptors abroad freely experimented, making artistic choices that may have seemed inattentive to sensitivities and tastes back home. But the sculptors shrewdly and steadily selected subjects they thought would be closely associated with the United States in a calculated effort to appeal to their American patrons, both those at home and on the Grand Tour. Indeed, even though the nudity of *The Greek Slave* provoked a sensation in the United States, the sculpture's central message on slavery landed squarely on American politics of the day, just as Powers had intended.

In this nascent era of American sculpture, one theme carried particular weight for both the expatriate sculptors and their Grand Tourist patrons: *l'indiano* – fantastical, romanticized representations of imagined Native American figures. It was a theme that predated the arrival of American sculptors in Italy. By the early nineteenth century, there were substantial examples of this trope in European art, especially in the convention of allegorizing the Four Continents as four raced figures in which a concocted Native American, usually wearing a feathered headdress, represented the so-called New World. European examples ranged from monumental figures, such as those found on *La Fontana dei Quattro Continenti* (Trieste, 1751-55), to small ones incorporated into decorative objects, including eighteenth-century editions of *Allegorical Figures of the Four Continents* produced by Meissen Porcelain Manufactory[13]. Fantastical Indigenous figures also appeared in European and American literature, from French writer François-René de Chateaubriand's novella *Atala* (1801) to American novelist James Fenimore Cooper's *Last of the Mohicans* (1826). Nineteenth-century European sculptors also occasionally took up the subject, including Charles Cumberworth, an artist of British and French heritage who sculpted *The Indian Huntress/ La chasseresse indienne* (1841, National Gallery of Art). It was also a theme in which representing the body nude was considered more permissible. As one midcentury American journalist mistakenly rationalized, "If any sculptor wants to revive his art [...] he must study people who are not unaccustomed to go naked [...] among the Crows, the Sioux, the Chippewas [sic][...] is a chance to study aright the form of man"[14].

When expatriate American sculptors began exploring the theme of Indigenous subjects in the mid-nineteenth century, they fiercely claimed it as their own. In the minds of many Americans the subject was specific to and emblematic of the United States. It was a theme that distinguished American sculptors among their European peers, legitimized American sculpture in the arena of European art, and captivated the interest of American patrons. However false and fanciful their conceptions of Indigeneity may have been, the sculptors put forth their work as a banner of their own authenticity and uniqueness.

What provoked nineteenth-century American sculptors in Florence to fixate on fictive Native American figures? In her brilliant essay *The Origin of Others*,



3
Detail of Native American figure at the back of Horatio Greenough, *George Washington*, 1840.

Toni Morrison, addresses racism and asks what motivates individuals to classify groups of people as "Other": "Is it the thrill of belonging – which implies being part of something bigger than one's solo self, and therefore stronger? My initial view leans towards the social/psychological need for a 'stranger,' an Other in order to define the estranged self"[15].

Benjamin West, a painter from colonial Pennsylvania, is generally credited with being the first American to conjure a vision of Native Americans while looking at European sculpture. West visited the Vatican in 1760 and, upon seeing the *Apollo Belvedere*, purportedly exclaimed: "My God, how like it is to a young Mohawk warrior", charming his European hosts with this unexpected observation[16]. As William Vance notes in *America's Rome*, West's "famous comparison [...] seems to have haunted – and helped – American efforts to body forth an idea of the American Indian in sculpture" in the art colonies in Italy[17].

4
Horatio Greenough, *The Rescue*, 1837-1853, 358 cm.,
marble, Washington, D.C., formerly on the East Steps of the United States Capitol,
Courtesy of the Architect of the Capitol.

Greenough was likely the first American to sculpt Native American figures in Florence, including such representations in his two Congressional commissions: *George Washington* and *The Rescue*. His first instance was a small, nearly nude man wearing a feathered headpiece, who stands on the back of his colossal statue of Washington (fig. 3) standing as a pendant to a similarly sized figure of Columbus, both of which serve as classicized decorative elements on the president's throne. Greenough explained he included this "Indian chief [...] to shew [sic] what state our country was in when civilization first raised her standard there"[18]. His visioning of Native Americans as docile, so-called "noble savages" was not unique. It reflected and reinforced the erroneous but widespread belief that Native nations were on an inevitable path to extinction. Greenough again included a Native American figure in *The Rescue* (fig. 4), a marble group intended as a pendant to Luigi Persico's *Discovery of America*. In contrast to the retreating chief on Washington's throne, the Indigenous

5
Hiram Powers, *The Last of the Tribes*, modeled 1867-1872,
carved 1876-1877, 167.9 x 57.7 x 81.3 cm., marble, Washington, D.C., Smithsonian American Art Museum, Museum purchase in memory of Ralph Cross Johnson, 1968.155.125.

figure at the center of *The Rescue* is a portrait of sensationalized violence and shows a white pioneer arresting the hand of a Native American man who is about to strike a tomahawk. In a letter from Florence in 1837, Greenough explained his intention for *The Rescue* "to convey the idea of the triumph of the whites over the savage tribes, at the same time that it illustrates the dangers of peopling the country"[19]. The artist's fictive scene of violence negates and occludes the actual genocide and intentional violence committed *against* Native American peoples in a strategy to expand white settlement across the United States, even on lands that were supposedly protected by treaties and recognized as Indigenous[20]. Remarkably, Greenough believed his fictional and degrading portrayal of a Native American man sculpture would "also serve as a memorial of the Indian race, and an embodying of the Indian character"[21]. On a national platform on in the East Steps of the U.S. Capitol, *The Rescue* loomed in the national imagination and presided as the backdrop over numerous presidential inaugurations, until it was removed 1958 in response to sustained protests[22].

Hiram Powers similarly approached the theme of Native Americans through the lens of a presumed obsolescence in his sculptures *California* and *The Last of the Tribes* (fig. 5). For these life-sized marble figures, Powers used the trope of the idealized, nude, Indigenous woman to allegorize the history of the United States, specifically the California Gold Rush of 1849 and the removal of Indigenous peoples from ancestral sovereign land. Powers intended *The Last of the Tribes* to echo the fatalistic narrative in James Fennimore Cooper's novel *The Last of the Mohicans*. From his studio in Florence he told his patrons: "I am writing in marble. The last of them all. It is an Indian girl [...] fleeing before civilization. She runs in alarm, looking back in terror", and later summed up: "The time is not distant when the last Indian will pass away [...]. They are always flying before civilization"[23].

Surely, no American sculptor felt more estranged in Florence than H. K. Brown. In these uncertain and unfamiliar surroundings, Brown asserted his American identity by commencing a sculpture of an idealized representation of a Native American youth, a theme identified as uniquely American, but one that also allowed him to construct "a *stranger*, an "Other". *Young Indian*, as Brown titled it, does not survive and is known only through the sculptor's written description:

> in an attitude of repose, resting one hand on his bow, while in the other he holds his arrow; his drapery thrown over a stump which supports the figure. On four sides of the Plinth below, in relief, I have endeavored to tell his story[...]. I put his bow and quiver and arrows, the sun or Great Spirit [...] a chase or deer hunt [...] a group of Indians with different costumes [...][on] each corner of the plinth I have placed a bucks [sic] head with his horns [...] festooned [with] Indian corn[24].

Brown compared his fanciful iconography to "ornaments the ancients used," such as acanthus leaves, lions, tigers, and panthers' heads, and forthrightly asserted, "my design has been to admit nothing but what was Indian and, of course, America", calling his *Young Indian*, "the first attempt [...] to render classical objects of our own country"[25]. The sculptor's wife, Lydia, similarly noted, "to an American, at least, [*Young Indian*] possesses as much of historical interest and poetry as an Apollo or Bacchas [sic]"[26], defending it as "an American subject [that] has more interest for me than anything of Mythology or the classics"[27]. She hoped other American artists would "find enough [...] interest in the early history of their own country for the employment of their imaginations without returning to the oft-repeated stories of Grecian and Roman mythology"[28]. Her assertion reveals the malleability of history to be spun into myth by artists, especially the history of contact between Indigenous and European peoples in North America.

At this time, Brown's friend and neighbor in Florence, Shobal Clevenger, was also sculpting an Indigenous figure, titled *Indian Chief* (now lost)[29]. The two sculptors had met in Cincinnati, Ohio, when Brown was working as a surveyor for the railroad. Significantly, in 1837 Clevenger and Brown had visited Native American burial mounds in the area, desecrating a grave and filling their pockets with human remains that they kept as souvenirs[30]. Reunited in Florence in 1843, the two artists commenced sculptures of Indigenous figures, romanticizing their earlier experience together in the American Midwest.

Brown hired a local boy in Florence to model for the nude figure in *Young Indian*[31]. He wrote to American painter George Catlin for guidance for the decorative elements on the sculpture, "peculiarities of [...] head dress and other things [...] as accessories"[32]. Catlin had established a reputation for painting hundreds of works that composed his "Indian Gallery", collecting objects from Native American cultures during his travels to the American West, and arranging for groups of Indigenous peoples to perform in London and Paris. In Brown's mind, the legitimacy of his sculpture as uniquely American heavily depended on the authenticity of the representation of an Indigenous youth, which his audiences would measure by the seeming accuracy of the supposedly Native references in its decorative elements.

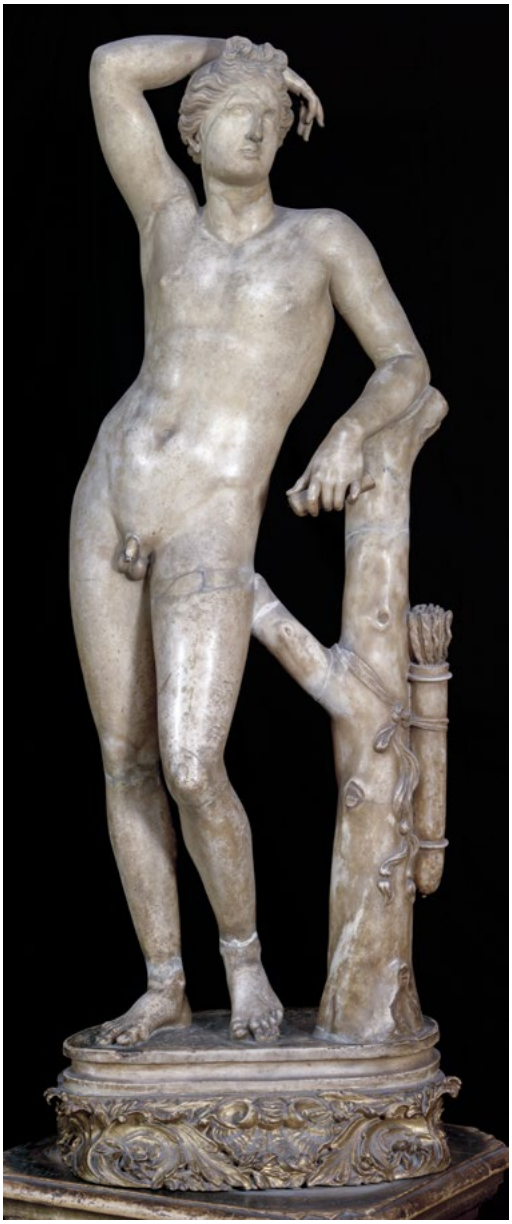
As Brown sculpted *Young Indian*, he continued to express disdain for Florence bluntly stating: "I cannot see in what respect [Florence] possesses one charm above a dozen American cities, excepting that of antiquity"[33]. He and his wife found, "the people are so degraded – vice and immorality is so common among them [...]. The climate is the most disagreeable [...]. The blue Italian skies were murky and dark, the silver Arno is muddy, sluggish stream, the streets were wet and filthy, and the people in them looked as if they had just escaped from prison and *ought to go back again*"[34]. The Browns criticized the Catholic church with its seeming lavishness ceremonies and sacraments, and described "the swarms of priests in long black robes [...] like a

flock of crows, who pray upon the people, and who for a trifling sum will pardon any sin"[35]. Lydia especially feared dying and remaining abroad for eternity. Following the funeral of Grand Tourist Mary Lawrence Griffin, who died shortly after arriving in Florence in September 1843, Lydia confided to her sister:

> Never shall I forget my first and only visit [to the Protestant Cemetery]. Never before did I feel so truly that we were 'strangers in a strange land' and how dreadful, how agonizing the thought of being obliged to leave a friend alone in such a place in such a land. I pray God I may not be called upon to witness another such scene but that we both may be permitted to lie down in that last sleep at home in our native land among kindred spirits[36].

After five months in Florence, the Browns claimed to "have but little to do with [the Italians]; the few American friends we have here constitute all our society"[37]. Eager to return to the United States, Brown rationalized that the completion of his sculpture would be his ticket home: "My Indian boy is still in progress. I hope by another Spring to have it completed in marble, and shall return home"[38]. The Browns, however, would not leave Italy for another three years. Having failed to acclimate to Florence, they moved to Rome in November 1843, taking his unfinished *Young Indian* with him. Brown settled more successfully in Rome and built a flourishing practice. He gradually gained favorable notice in the American press for his other works, which were largely based on Biblical and literary themes. In his newfound confidence in Rome, Brown may have felt less urgency to assert a distinctly American identity and he tellingly abandoned his sculpture of the fictive Native American. Writing to a patron in New York, he considered "what others would say at home [and] changed the statue to an Apollino [...] hence the poor Indian boy is, like so many others of his race, no more [...][it] was commenced under too unfavorable circumstances, for, though I have often seen Indians, yet it were a thing impossible to give faithful the character without having other material"[39]. He resolved to revisit the subject in America where he believed he could "gather together the proper material for the story"[40].

For this transformation to an *Apollino*, Brown likely drew inspiration from the marble sculpture *Apollino* in the *Tribuna* of the Uffizi Galleries (fig. 6). Brown's sketchbooks show several drawings of this statue as well as a variety of his own fantastical Indian-Apollo hybrids[41]. In one drawing, a classicized male figure wearing a headdress, animal pelt, and animal skin boots pulls an arrow from his quiver. In Brown's words, he "arranged his hair in a classic form, given the face a different character, and he now stands nearly completed"[42].



6
Apollino, 1st century A.D.,
marble, Florence, Uffizi Gallery, inv.1914, n. 229.

In 1846, as he prepared to leave Italy for New York, H.K. Brown expressed: "I have great hopes that I shall not be driven back to Europe again that I may live in my own country"[43]. His experience abroad, including his difficult year in Florence, would have a lasting effect on his work. Two years after settling in New York, Brown commenced a sculpture of a Native American youth, titled *Choosing the Arrow*. In preparation for this commission from the American Art Union, Brown took an arduous trip to Mackinaw Island where he made several watercolor sketches of Indigenous people, namely Odawa and Anishinabek. But his final design for this sculpture does

7
Henry Kirke Brown, *Choosing of the Arrow*, 1849,
55.9 x 28.9 x 14.3 cm., bronze, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Purchase, Mia R. Taradash and Dorothy Schwartz Gifts, and Morris K. Jesup and Rogers Funds, 2005.

not reflect any of these studies. Rather, it unmistakably echoes the idealized body, *contrapposto* pose, and specific details, such as the quiver full of arrows and apollonian knot, found on the *Apollino* in the *Tribuna* in the Uffizi Galleries. Although made in Brooklyn, an ocean away from Italy, *Choosing of the Arrow* (fig. 7) was Brown's sincerest expression of his formative time in Florence.

In subsequent decades, Brown would play a major role in American sculpture, producing some of the first monumental bronzes to be cast in the United States. He helped cultivate American interest in sculpture and eventually served on a short-

lived National Art Commission that advised Congress on art for the U.S. Capitol, a testament to his prominence in American art. As the field of American sculpture flourished through the mid-nineteenth century, Italy continued to attract rising generations of sculptors, including Joseph Mozier, Edmonia Lewis, Chauncey Bradley Ives, Randolph Rogers, and Augustus Saint-Gaudens. Each one of them made compositions that revisited the familiar tropes of the "noble savage"; indeed, addressing this theme appears to have been an unspoken rite of passage for these and other aspiring nineteenth-century sculptors. While their sculptures embodied a romanticized vision of imagined Native Americans, Indigenous peoples living North America faced extreme violence, displacement, broken treaties, and other political strategies designed to consolidate land for a rapidly expanding United States.

In recent years, and especially in 2020, many people in the United States have expressed a deeper interest in public sculpture. Nineteenth-century monuments have become the loci for countless demonstrations calling for both racial equity in public policy and the removal of sculptures that perpetuate racist views. Some demonstrators broadly question how effectively monuments of the past, which were typically commissioned by a few people of great means and feel estranged from present times, can be expected to serve pluralistic audiences today. But even sculptures that were commissioned through a broad base of patrons, such as Thomas Ball's *Emancipation Group* (Washington, D.C., 1876), which was made in Florence with funds gathered from formerly enslaved people, have drawn outrage for incorporating racist portrayals of African Americans. In the two hundred years since the founding of the American Consulate in Florence, one would expect the resonance of these historic sculptures to change, yet even as some of these sculptures are removed from public view, much remains to be studied in these formative years of American sculpture, which had such deep and unique roots in foreign soil[44].

NOTES

* The author is grateful to Dr. Thayer Tolles and Dr. Grace Yasumura for their insightful comments on an earlier draft of this essay.

1 Henry Kirke Brown [HKB] to Mr. Spencer, Florence, (nd, circa 1843), Henry Kirke Bush-Brown papers [HKBB], ts, 330, Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, D.C., p. 372. For more on Brown's experiences in Italy see Lemmey 2009, pp. 67-83.

2 Bryant 1847, p. 22.

3 HKB to Joseph [Carrew?], Marseilles, 11 September, 1842, HKBB, p. 323.

4 Ezra Parmalee Prentice [EPP] to HKB, Albany, 9 September 1845, HKBB, p. 496.

5 HKB to EPP, Rome, 15 November 1843, HKBB, p. 397. Ezra Parmalee Prentice was Brown's most important patron in his early career and

commissioned several sculptures from Brown for his home, Mount Hope near Albany.

6 HKB to Caroline Brown, Albany 7 May 1842, HKBB p. 294.

7 For example, see Hiram Powers's studio listed in Fantozzi 1842, pp. xv.

8 EPP to HKB, Albany, 14 March 1844, HKBB, p. 427.

9 By this date, Ives had moved to Rome, following a seven-year residence in Florence.

10 For more on the making of *The Greek Slave*, see Smithsonian American Art Museum exhibition webpage for *Measured Perfection* https://americanart.si.edu/exhibitions/powers.

11 For the reception of Greenough's *George Washington* in Florence, see Izunnia 1841, p.34. I am grateful to Dr. Michele Amedei for bringing this reference to my attention.

12 "Debate from the House of Representatives," 11 May 1842, in *Niles National Register* 12 (21 May 1842) in Burns – Davis 2009, pp. 363-364, 365.

13 For *Allegorical Figures of the Four Continents* produced by Meissen Porcelain Manufactory see https://collection.cooperhewitt.org/objects/18429549/

14 *Mr. Ward's Indian Hunter* in "The Nation", New York, 19 October 1865, p. 506.

15 Morrison 2017, p.15.

16 John Galt, *The Life, Studies, and Works of Benjamin West* (London 1820) quoted in Burns – Davis 2009, pp. 98-99.

17 Vance 1989, pp. 1-303.

18 Horatio Greenough to Lady Rosina Wheeler Bulwer-Lytton, Florence, before 8 May 1841, in Wright 1972, p. 309.

19 Horatio Greenough to John Forsyth, Florence, 15 November 1837, *Ead.*, p. 221.

20 For more on this history see Dunbar-Ortiz 2014.

21 Horatio Greenough to John Forsyth, Florence, 1 July 1837, in Wright, p. 214.

22 For a history of Greenough's *The Rescue*, including its removal, see Fryd 2001, pp. 89-105.

23 Wunder 1991, p. 330.

24 HKB to [William Ambrose?] Spencer, (no date, circa 1843), HKBB, p. 372.

25 Ibid.

26 Lydia L. Brown [LLB] to Mrs. Willard, Florence, 10 March 1843, HKBB, p. 352.

27 LLB to [Her sisters], Florence, 20 March, 1843, HKBB p. 360, 361-A.

28 *Ibid.*

29 *Clevenger* in "United States Magazine and Democratic Review" 14, Washington D. C., February 1844, pp. 202-206. Clevenger's *Indian Warrior* and Brown's *Young Indian* are mentioned in *American Sculptors in Italy*, "Godey's Magazine" 27 (July 1843), 90.

30 HKB to LLB, Cincinnati, 23 July 1837, HKBB, p. 103.

31 On 22 December 1842, Brown notes two relevant payments, "Boy for model" in his handwritten account book "Henry Kirke Brown, notebooks", Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Washington, DC.

32 Catlin was well known for his exhibitions of paintings of Native Americans and collection of Native American objects. Lydia Brown to Mrs. Willard, Florence, 10 March 1843, HKBB 352. It is unknown if Catlin ever responded to Brown's letter. Brown may also have borrowed paintings of Native Americans by Charles Bird King in the collection of Horatio Greenough, Horatio Greenough to James Kirke Paulding, 14 December 1839, in Crane 1972, p. 31; Dippie 1990, p. 462; Wright 1972, pp. 271-73.

33 HKB to EPP, Florence, 10 November 1842, HKBB, p. 330.

34 Lydia Brown to her sisters, Florence, 6 January 1843, HKBB, p. 342.

35 Lydia Brown to her sisters, Florence, 20 March 1843, HKBB, p. 358.

36 LLB to [Her Sister], Florence, 10 September 1843, HKBB, pp. 382-383.

37 LLB to "Mother" [possibly Rhoda Brown], Florence, 19 February 1843, HKBB, p. 335.

38 HKB to Rhoda Brown (mother), Florence, 21 July 1843, HKBB, p. 380.

39 HKB to EPP, Rome, 15 June 1844, HKBB, p. 437.

40 *Ibid.*

41 Brown's sketchbooks and drawings are in Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs, Henry Kirke Brown. Drawings relating to the *Apollino* in the Uffizi's Tribuna are found in

Sketchbook F, plates 12, 28, and Sketchbook B, plate 4. An inscription on the inside of the rear cover of sketchbook F reads "Commenced Oct. 28, 1845- and finished – Nov. 28 1845 – H.K. Brown 61 drawings", during which time Brown was in Rome.

42 HKB to EPP, Rome, 15 June 1844, HKBB, p. 437.

43 HKB to EPP, Rome, 30 October 1845, HKBB, pp. 520-521.

44 For more on the history of Ball's *Emancipation Group* and an insightful analysis of the argument for its removal in 2020, see R. Ater.

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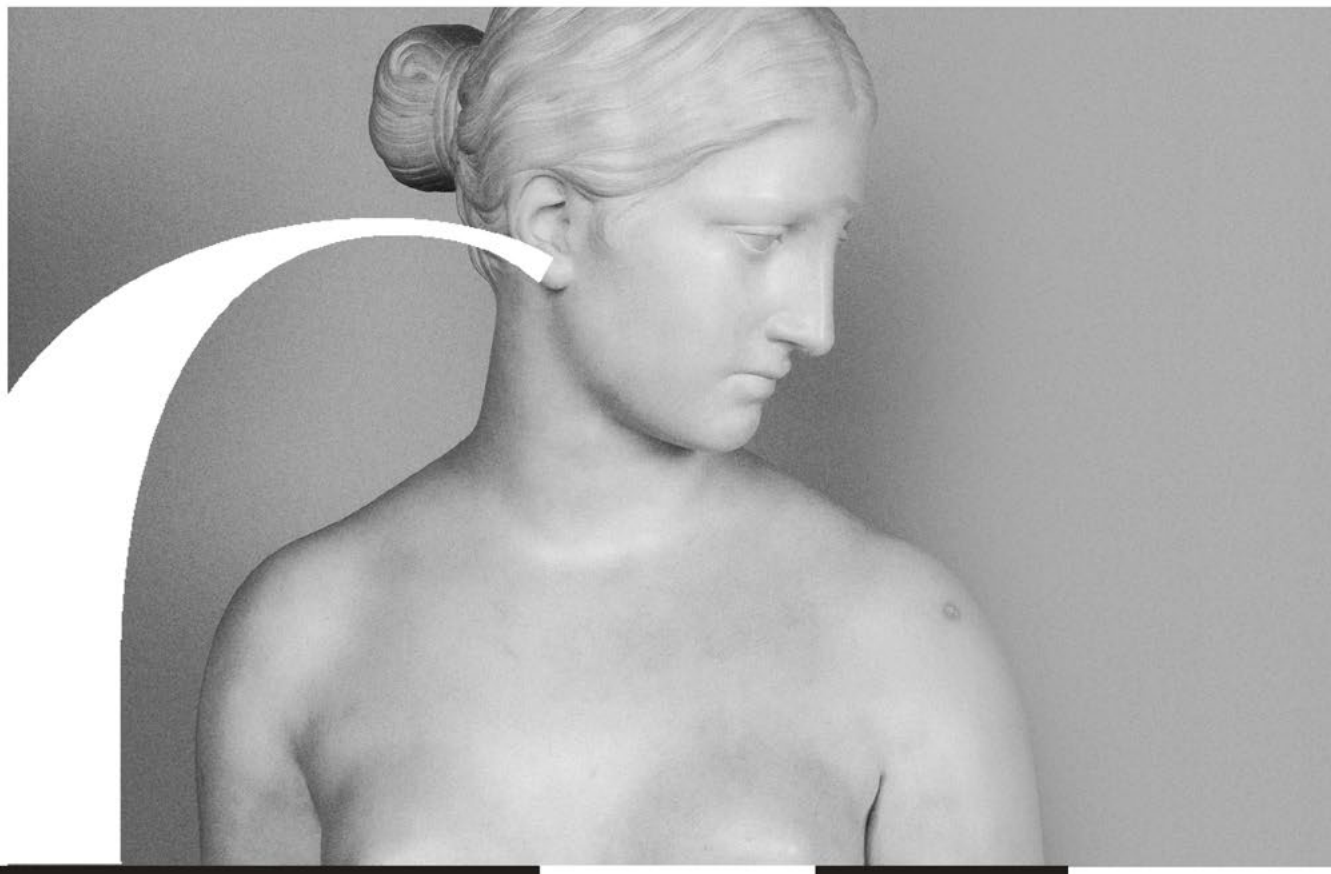

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