

AMERICAN LATIUM

American Artists and Travelers in and around Rome
in the Age of the Grand Tour

Proceedings of the International Conference edited by

Christopher M.S. Johns, Tommaso Manfredi, Karin Wolfe



ACCADEMIA NAZIONALE DI SAN LUCA

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Thomas Hiram Hotchkiss, *Torre di Schiavi*, 1865, detail.

Smithsonian American Art Museum, 1977.52

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Contents

- 7 Introduction
Karin Wolfe
- THE AMERICAN GRAND TOUR: FROM OLD MASTERS TO THE NEW WORLD**
- 17 Copying Old Masters for the New World: American Painters in Eighteenth-Century Rome
Jonny Yarker
- 31 James Bowdoin III and Ward Nicholas Boylston in Italy: American Collectors in the Later Eighteenth Century
Sarah Cantor
- 43 John Singleton Copley in Rome: The Challenge of the Old Masters Accepted
Christopher M.S. Johns
- 53 London Between America and Continental Europe: Art and Academies
Martin Postle
- 67 The Prince and the President: Antonio Canova and Benjamin West at the Royal Academy in London
Francesco Moschini
- 79 John Neal, the Old Masters, and the American Muse
Francesca Orestano
- 91 ‘In the Beginning there was the Word’: American Writings on Raphael from the Founding Fathers to the Gilded Age
Linda Wolk-Simon
- AMERICAN LATIUM: SITES AND ITINERARIES IN AND AROUND ROME**
- 103 American Itineraries in Rome and the Campagna
Fabrizio Di Marco
- 113 A Grave in a Foreign Land: Early American Presence at the Protestant Burying-Ground in Rome
Nicholas Stanley-Price
- 123 Thomas Cole and the Aqueducts: *Plein Air* Painting in the Roman Campagna
Lisa Beaven
- 139 Thomas Cole, Desolation, and the Ruins of Rome
David R. Marshall
- 153 Scenery Found: John Gadsby Chapman and Open-Air Oil Sketching in and around Rome, 1830-1882
Mary K. McGuigan
- 165 American and European Artists and Intellectuals in Nineteenth-Century Latium: the “School of the *Castelli Romani*” and the Locanda Martorelli in Ariccia
Francesco Petrucci
- 169 Living and Creating in Antiquity: Roman Residences and Studios of Thomas Gibson Crawford, William Wetmore Story and Moses Jacob Ezekiel
Pier Paolo Racioppi
- AMERICANS AND THE ARTISTIC CULTURE OF ROME: TOWARD AN AMERICAN ART**
- 183 Americans on the Grand Tour and Angelica Kauffman in Rome
Wendy Wassyng Roworth
- 195 Championing Liberty: the Roman Sculptor Giuseppe Ceracchi in Britain and in America
Karin Wolfe
- 215 The Rome of Charles Bulfinch
Tommaso Manfredi
- 229 Thomas Jefferson: Rome in America
Maria Cristina Loi
- 239 A Painter and Diplomat: The Two Careers of James Edward Freeman and their Correspondences
John F. McGuigan Jr
- 257 Forgotten Fervor: Paul Akers in Rome
Arlene Palmer
- 269 Undressing America: Nineteenth-Century Expatriate Sculptors in Rome and the Problem of Nudity
Kevin Salatino
- 287 Bibliography
- 303 In memoriam and acknowledgements

A Grave in a Foreign Land: Early American Presence at the Protestant Burying-Ground in Rome

Among the destinations in Rome for early American visitors was the cemetery for foreigners that lay adjacent to the pyramid of Gaius Cestius (Fig. 1).¹ Initially, it was the pyramid-tomb (c. 18-12 BC), that attracted tourists, who then came across the burial-ground at its foot. Following the deaths and burials in 1821 and 1823 of the poets John Keats and Percy Bysshe Shelley, a visit to their graves often became the specific purpose of an excursion to this spot. Within a few years the cemetery had become a place of pilgrimage.²

Other American visitors went there for sadder reasons: the burial of a compatriot who had died in Rome. In April 1829 the reverend Edmund Griffin dutifully visited the pyramid of Gaius Cestius but found himself returning for the burial of a fellow-American, John Hone Jr.³ As many travelers did Griffin reflected on the tragedy of a grave in a foreign cemetery:

‘Here repose unhonored, save by the casual looks of passing travelers, the remains of those who died, perhaps without the care of friends, the tears of kindred, the consolations of religion; without one pitying companion to receive the last request and transmit it safely to a distant home. May God deliver me, was my involuntary prayer, from such a fate.’

Griffin felt that Hone had escaped the worst fate because he was surrounded by family and friends at his death. But Americans shared with the British, Germans and Scandinavians a strong nostalgia for the home-country as the proper place to die.⁴ ‘May you die among your kindred’ was a popular benediction.⁵ Americans felt the sentiment even more keenly, the distance from home being that much greater, although the beauty of the Protestant burying-ground could provide some solace. Young men dying alone could depend on the support of their friends. For example, John Francis Boardman (see Table 1), a trained physician, was unaware of how ill he was and died quickly, aged only thirty-four. An American friend had cared for him and then organized his funeral ‘in the English burying-ground, where rest Shelley and Keats’ and “almost all the Americans in Rome attended.”⁶

The cemetery for foreigners, often known as the Protestant cemetery, has been in continuous use since at least 1716.⁷ The first known burial there of a Protestant American dates to after 1800. Could there have been an earlier case? The physical evidence of the extant gravestones is not conclusive. In early depictions the monuments are usually identifiable with those that survive today, for example those identified by name in the etchings



1. Friedrich Wilhelm Gmelin,
*Il luogo sepulchrale degli acattolici presso
la piramide di Gaio Cestio a Roma,*
1810-11, etching. Private collection.

by Carl Urban Keller (1811) and L. Magozzi (1818).⁸ But many other foreigners are known to have been buried there in the eighteenth century, for example the sculptors John Deare, Christopher Hewetson and Alexander Trippel, and the painters William Pars, August Kirsch and Jonas Åkerström. No gravestones for them have been recorded – they may have been discarded during subsequent landscaping operations.⁹ Other sources include the official burial licenses, travelers' accounts and diaries, and obituary notices in the contemporary press at home (which often failed to announce deaths that occurred abroad). At present there is no known report pre-1800 of an American Protestant dying in Rome.

Early American presence at the burial-ground

In the period from 1800 to the Roman republic of 1849, there are seventeen such records in the Protestant cemetery's registers (Table 1).¹⁰ The earliest is of Ruth McEvers who died at Velletri in 1803, recently married with a six-month old daughter. Already suffering from tuberculosis, she had left New York with her husband, arriving in Rome during the year of peace following the treaty of Amiens (1802). The purpose of stay in Rome is often unknown but at least two others of the seventeen were there for health reasons: William Henry Elliot from New York¹¹ and Timothy Gidley, a retired book-keeper from Albany, New York.¹² New York predominates as the city of birth or residence of the deceased, some of them members of the city's prominent Dutch families such as Abeel, Hone and Remsen. The exceptions are Eliza Watson Temple, two artists from Charleston, SC, James De Veaux and Francis Kinloch, Charles Urquhart from New Orleans (his tomb inscription is in French) and Jacob Martin, who died three weeks after his arrival as the first American *chargé d'affaires* to the Papal States.¹³

Despite the logistical difficulties, bodies were often repatriated to the

home country. William Beninger (or possibly ‘Bininger’) is the only recorded American case, however, prior to 1850. Martin’s replacement as chargé d’affaires, Lewis Cass, Jr, lost his young wife Mary Ludlum only a year after their marriage. Her remains were repatriated to a memorial chapel built by her father in Prospect Cemetery in Queens, New York, for her and for two sisters who also died young.¹⁴ Her parents erected a memorial to her in Rome that survives today.

A deterrent to repatriating bodies was the waiting-period until a scheduled sailing for the United States (William Beninger was buried on 2 May 1841 but not exhumed for repatriation until five months later). Henrietta Low King faced that situation in 1867 when her husband Charles (1789-1867), a former President of Columbia College, was mortally ill at Frascati. She paid for the rapid construction of a temporary holding-vault at the burial-ground (Fig. 2).¹⁵ His body was stored there until it could be repatriated. The vault was intended for use by all nationalities but was not used consistently even by Americans who were well-known for favouring repatriation.¹⁶ When the Kings’ daughter visited the cemetery in 1904, it had been used recently.¹⁷ But thirty years earlier two Americans had instead been provisionally interred before repatriation: Colonel Charles Dix was repatriated two years after his burial, and the sculptor William Henry Rinehart (1825-1874) was eventually transferred to the Green Mount cemetery in Baltimore.¹⁸

Of the four burials subsequently transferred to ossuaries (Table 1), only the book-keeper Timothy Gidley is known to have had a gravestone.

Table 1

Deaths of American Protestants in Rome, 1800–1849.
Source: Register of burials, Non-Catholic Cemetery for Foreigners in Rome.

NO.	DATE OF DEATH	AGE AT DEATH	NAME	FROM	GRAVE LOCATION
1	29.03.1803	18	Ruth McEvers	New York	Altar, in Old Cemetery
2	04.11.1809	42	Elizabeth Watson Temple	Boston, MA	Pedestal, in Old Cemetery
3	14.02.1822	36	Daniel Remsen	New York	Ledger, in Old Cemetery
4	09.04.1829	32	John Hone	New York	Headstone, Zone V.12.17
5	18.01.1832	26	Edward Abeel	New York	Exhumed, Ossuary 1
6	15.01.1833	21	William Henry Elliot	New York	Headstone, Zone V.12.13
7	05.01.1839	53	Edward Jones	New York	Exhumed, Ossuary 2
8	10.01.1839	21	Joshua Jones	New York	Exhumed, Ossuary 2
9	23.07.1840	42	Francis Kinloch	Charleston, SC	Pedestal, Zone V.10.7
10	02.05.1841	65	William Burger Beninger	Not known	Repatriated
11	23.05.1842	42	Timothy Gidley	Albany, NY	Exhumed, Ossuary 1
12	04.04.1844	28	Charles Urquhart	New Orleans, LA	Ledger, Zone V.8.7
13	28.04.1844	30	James De Veaux	Charleston, SC	Headstone, Zone V.8.15
14	20.12.1844	15	George Francis Parker	Troy, NY	Pedestal, Zone V.7.15
15	04.02.1845	54	John King	New York	Headstone, Zone V.8.3
16	20.11.1846	34	John Francis Boardman	New York	Headstone, Zone V.7.14
17	26.08.1848	48	Jacob L. Martin	North Carolina	Headstone, Zone V.5.18

(Many burials remained marked solely by a small wooden cross if no family members or friends of the deceased had provided a stone.) With his end near, Gidley signed a cheque to cover his burial expenses and asked for a simple stone over his grave before hastening the end by his own hand. A year or two later, Gidley's former employer visited Rome and provided a modest gravestone for his faithful clerk.¹⁹ The stone does not survive.

Gravestones are in place today for all others listed in Table 1. Eight of them are of simple design, either horizontal ledgers or standing headstones of rectilinear or arched profile. These and the larger monument to George Francis Parker, a pedestal crowned by an urn, have prototypes in Classical antiquity. The 'Roman' altar-shaped monument (Fig. 3) to Ruth McEvers is the only tomb mentioned by Washington Irving a year after her death. Finding the grave of his 'fair countrywoman' caused him to reflect: 'When so far removed from his native shores he looks upon every fellow-countryman as of the same family.'²⁰ Three years later Irving's elder brother, Peter, spotted the name of McEvers because he had known her personally. The monument was overturned, but helped by his traveling companion and a couple of shepherds, he managed to re-erect it.²¹

Two years later, the death of another American resulted in the most elaborate monument in the Old Cemetery (Fig. 4). Elizabeth Russell (née Watson) from Boston Massachusetts, had as a young widow married Sir Grenville Temple (1768-1829), the 9th baronet of Stowe House in England.²² Following her unexpected death 'of a burst blood-vessel',²³ her fine monument was the work of Swedes resident in Rome. That Sir Grenville did not engage a British sculptor perhaps reflects the scarcity of British in the city during this period of French occupation. Erik Gustav Göthe (1779-1838), a pupil of Johan Tobias Sergel (1740-1814), designed the monument. It is inscribed 'G.GOTHE.FEC.ROMAE.MDCCCX', 1810 being the year in which Göthe left Rome to pursue a successful career in Sweden. Its epitaph, composed by the Swedish diplomat and orientalist Johan David Åkerblad (1763-1819),²⁴ gives her age precisely as 38 years, 8 months, and 13 days. If Sir Grenville himself provided this information, he was unaware that his wife was in fact four years older and actually his senior. The high-relief frieze on her monument, with scenes of mourning and leave-taking, recalls classical Roman funerary reliefs. Gmelin's engraving (Fig. 1), executed in 1810 or 1811, places the monument prominently in the foreground in a view of the burial-ground. It may have been commissioned by Sir Grenville Temple in memory of his wife.²⁵

In 1822 the Old Cemetery containing the McEvers and Temple monuments was closed to further burials on the instructions of Pope Pius VII, who allocated an adjacent plot ('the New Cemetery') and had it enclosed



2. Protestant burying-ground in Rome, the King burial-vault, 1867.

Photo: N. Stanley-Price.

3. Protestant burying-ground in Rome, the monument to Ruth McEvers, 1803.

Photo: N. Stanley-Price.

Opposite

4. Protestant burying-ground in Rome, the monument to Eliza Watson Temple, 1810, designed by Erik Gustav Göthe.

Photo: N. Stanley-Price.

with a wall. Thomas Cole's painting depicts the New Cemetery after ten years of use (Fig. 5).²⁶ In his view of Florence from the Chiesa al Monte, Cole had adopted a similar viewpoint to that of J.M.W. Turner when, before visiting Italy, Turner had worked from a drawing by James Hakewill.²⁷ In this case too, Cole's viewpoint on Monte Testaccio is close to that of Turner's watercolour made from Hakewill's drawing for the latter's *Picturesque Tour of Italy* (1820), one that was reprised by Turner on his own visit in 1819.²⁸

A Cole sketchbook in Detroit, dated March–April 1832, contains two drawings of this subject, one a rough sketch and the other a more careful preparatory drawing. A small oil sketch (private collection) is also known.²⁹ To the differences noted by Huemer between the preliminary drawings and the finished painting could be added the position of the wall-tower on the right which was in reality inside the burial-ground, not outside. Overall, however, the painting is suggestive of how the cemetery appeared in 1832.³⁰ Gravestones are dispersed to either side of a central pathway lined by low bushes, which ascended towards Shelley's grave and the cypress trees planted in front of it by Edward Trelawny in 1823. Why did Cole paint this view? In climbing Monte Testaccio he was following in the footsteps of Turner whose work he had admired during his stay in London. Moreover, the burial-ground contained the graves of Keats and Shelley whose poetry delighted Cole. But these were not his only motivations: another was the grave of John Hone Jr (Table 1). Members of the Hone family were among Thomas Cole's patrons and friends. John Hone Jr, a wealthy merchant and art patron was in Rome with his wife and sister when he died in 1829, probably from tuberculosis. The artist Rembrandt Peale witnessed his funeral and burial, alluding, as Griffin had, to the melancholy of a foreign grave. The headstone erected to Hone bears a portrait relief by an unknown sculptor which, two years later, Willis recognised as depicting Hone without needing to be told who it was.³¹



In spring 1833, back in the United States, Cole received a commission, its precise terms not known, from Isaac Hone, the older brother of John Hone Jr. The artist offered Isaac an American landscape and, with some hesitation, his oil painting of the Protestant cemetery where Isaac's brother was buried. Cole's fears that 'where I would wish to afford a pleasure I may be reviving a grief' proved well-founded. Isaac accepted the American landscape but turned down the Rome painting. Soon afterwards, the *View of the Protestant Burial Ground, Rome* was exhibited at the National Academy of Design where it was listed as for sale.³² Described recently as a 'brooding nocturne',³³ it seems on the contrary to depict a daytime scene. The source of light appears to be the sun shining through a light haze, striking the distant Alban hills and prominent buildings in the distance.



5. Thomas Cole, *View of the Protestant Burying Ground*, 1833-34, oil on canvas, cm 85.0 x 115.5. Olana State Historic Site, Hudson, NY, Office of Parks, Recreation and Historic Preservation, OL.1981.17.

A shepherd grazes his flocks, not normally a night-time activity. More conclusively, Cole has depicted the cemetery's gates wide open (they were usually kept closed by the custodian until called upon), with one figure standing in the gateway and another (or possibly two) inside the cemetery close to where Hone's tomb is located. It seems certain that the artist had in mind the grave of Hone and his family as the eventual recipient of the work.

Two works by American sculptors for fellow-artists

The two artists from Charleston (Table 1) both died from illness after settling in Rome. Returning from a visit to Venice, James De Veaux, a painter of great promise, caught a cold that developed into what the symptoms suggest was tuberculosis. He died after months of illness, described in long letters from his friends W.B. Chambers and the artist Thomas Rossiter to Robert W. Gibbes, De Veaux's patron in Charleston.³⁴ Rossiter's description of De Veaux's funeral conveys well the atmosphere of the 'sacred enclosure' in the shadow of the pyramid on a late afternoon in early spring. But he also evokes the tragedy of lives cut short, with references to Keats and Shelley and to other young Americans buried there – these are not named but the monuments to John Hone Jr and Francis Kinloch (see below) would have been visible nearby. De Veaux's own gravestone bears a portrait in bas-relief, executed by his friend, the sculptor Henry Kirke Brown, who modeled it a few days before De Veaux's death (Fig. 6).³⁵ It is recognisable in an etching attributed to Gaetano Cottafavi (Fig. 7), the most detailed of the several views by artists of the New Cemetery at this period, and in a watercolour by Salomon Corrodi.³⁶ Several witnesses commented on a distinctive aspect of the Protestants' ceremonies, namely the funeral cortège "taking its mournful course through the crowded streets" towards the burial-ground.³⁷ A recently discovered oil painting by Louis Gurlitt (1812-1897) is seemingly unique in depicting such a cortège.³⁸

As a close friend of De Veaux and his bedside companion during his last days, Brown was a natural choice to execute the portrait-relief. But as a young sculptor who had arrived only two years earlier, he faced competition especially from Thomas Crawford who had been resident in Rome since 1835. In the year of De Veaux's death, Crawford married Louise Ward, sister of Julia Ward Howe, a union that strengthened his place in American society and his ability to find clients. Moreover, Louise Ward's cousin was the current American consul in Rome, George Washington Green. Brown's wife Lydia wrote that Green steered commissions to Crawford 'to the exclusion of all other sculptors.'³⁹

The range of Crawford's early commissions in Rome has now been extended following the identification of a monument designed by him in the Protestant cemetery. It is the tomb of Francis Kinloch, the other artist from Charleston, SC (Table 1) which was erected by Kinloch's brother-in-law and sister, namely Henry and Harriet Middleton of Charleston.⁴⁰ Born into a wealthy family, Kinloch left for Italy in his early forties and eventually settled in Rome to study art while also supporting other, poorer artists. Dying unexpectedly in July 1840, he left no will nor had any dependents nearby. The consul, George Washington Green, arranged the funeral, secured the property of the deceased, and communicated the sad news to Kinloch's sister Harriet in Charleston. Two months later her husband, Henry Middleton, arrived in Rome where he commissioned Thomas Crawford to design a monument to his brother-in-law, entrusting Green to manage the project and to pay Crawford. On its completion in May 1841, Green could report to Middleton that 'every one whom I have heard speak of it, has declared it to be the best in the whole cemetery. I have had a little grass plot formed around it & planted with flowers.'⁴¹ The memorial takes the unusual form of a truncated, trapezoidal block of marble on a triple base, the lowest block being of travertine (Fig. 8). Below the portrait-medallion of a bearded Francis Kinloch, a bas-relief

6. Protestant burying-ground in Rome, the monument to James De Veaux, 1844, designed by Henry Kirke Brown. Photo: N. Stanley-Price.

7. Gaetano Cottafavi (attrib.), *Cemetery of the English and Russians near Porta San Paolo*, n.d., hand-coloured steel engraving. Private collection.



panel depicts an angel guiding the deceased heavenward, along with the symbols of a butterfly denoting resurrection and an extinguished torch. Crawford's distinctive cipher appears in the bottom left corner.⁴²

The solace of a grave in a foreign land

The epitaph on Kinloch's monument states 'His brother in law and his sister whom distance deprived of the consolation of watching over his death bed have caused this monument to be erected as a tribute to his worth and a testimony of their affection.' Distance weighed more heavily on Americans than on European families and friends who could perhaps, with some effort and cost, visit from their own countries. Henry Middleton made the long journey from Charleston to ensure Francis Kinloch's proper commemoration, as did Timothy Gidley's former employer when he traveled from Albany to Italy. But, at least until ship and rail communications improved, such visits were rare. For some, there could be no worse fate than dying in a foreign land. Lydia Brown, wife of Henry Kirke Brown, was quite distraught when she attended the funeral of a young American visitor – at the Protestant cemetery in Florence rather than Rome, but her thoughts when writing to her sister could have applied to either place:

'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 may both be permitted to lie down in that last sleep at home in our native land among kindred spirits.'⁴³

This fear diminished as transatlantic travel became easier and as health care improved. Moreover, many Americans, especially artists, remained in Italy in the full expectation of dying there, often surrounded by their family and friends. For example, artists such as Dwight Benton (1834-1903), Caroline Carson (1820-1892), William Stanley Haseltine (1835-1900), Joseph Mozier (1813-1870), Franklin Simmons (1839-1913), William Wetmore Story (1819-1895) John Rollin Tilton (1828-1888) and Elihu Vedder (1837-1923) all settled in the city and all were eventually buried in the Protestant cemetery.

But in earlier years, for those intending only a short stay before returning home, a premature death in Rome was always a risk. Visiting in 1843-44 William Gillespie had little to say about the cemetery, mentioning only the graves of Keats and Shelley, but introduced it on an unusual note: 'The Protestant burying-ground is particularly interesting to the stranger in Rome, for he does not know how soon he may enjoy a corner of it.' As if in compensation, he went on to quote Shelley that 'it might make one in love with death to think that one should be buried in so sweet a place.'⁴⁴ The Reverend William Kip reflected along similar lines:

'There are few spots in Rome which the stranger will naturally visit with so much interest as the Protestant Burial-ground. At a distance from his own home, he knows not that but that the hand of death may here arrest him, and



8. Protestant burying-ground in Rome, the monument to Francis Kinloch, 1840, designed by Thomas Crawford. Photo: N. Stanley-Price.

should this be the case, within these walls he must find his resting-place. But wherever he might wander through the wide world, he could not find a more lovely spot in which to lie down for his long, last sleep.⁴⁵

Twenty years earlier, Nathaniel Hazeltine Carter, a professor of languages at Dartmouth College, concluded: 'If a stranger could be reconciled to any grave in foreign soil, the seclusion and quiet of this cemetery, lying on the banks of the Tiber, under the very walls of Rome and overshadowed by its venerable monuments, would present fewer repulsive ideas than any other spot.'⁴⁶ A few years later when standing at the grave of John Hone Jr, Willis conceded that it diminished the pain 'to see the sun lying so warm upon it, and the flowers springing so profusely and cheerfully. Nature seems to have cared for those who have died so far from home.' He added: 'with the common practice of sending the dying to Italy, as a last hope, I consider the exquisite beauty of this place of burial as more than a common accident of happiness.'⁴⁷

Kip concluded his own long account also by quoting Shelley, that it was 'the most beautiful and solemn cemetery he ever beheld.' The presence of the graves of Keats and Shelley were what drew many Americans to visit the burying-ground for foreigners. But once they had seen the beauty of the spot, they could even become reconciled to the thought of staying for ever in the foreign land of Italy.

Notes

- 1 Stanley-Price 2014; Menniti Ippolito 2014; Krogel 1995.
- 2 Stanley-Price 2016; Stanley-Price 2019.
- 3 Griffin 1831, I, p. 300.
- 4 Stanley-Price 2014, pp. 9-10.
- 5 Kip 1846, p. 216. The poem 'May you die among your kindred' (1845) was composed by Maria Abdy (1797-1867) to be sung also as a hymn.
- 6 Scott 1917, p. 110.
- 7 Stanley-Price, McGuigan and McGuigan Jr 2016.
- 8 Stanley-Price, McGuigan and McGuigan Jr 2016, cat. nos. 6 and 7.
- 9 Stanley-Price 2014, pp. 25, 30; Stanley-Price, McGuigan and McGuigan Jr 2016, pp. 30-1.
- 10 The online database provides the texts of their epitaphs. <http://www.cemeteryrome.it/infopoint/EnHome2.html>.
- 11 Willis 1835, I, p. 199.
- 12 Freeman 1877, pp. 286-9.
- 13 On the death of Martin, see Marraro 1944, pp. 489-94; also, Wynne 1966, pp. 15-16.
- 14 Rotella 2018; Freeman 1877, pp. 285-6. The year (1853) of death inscribed on her memorial in Rome is an error for 1855.
- 15 *A handbook* 1869, p. 316, and subsequent editions. On the vault Latin and English inscriptions record King's initiative: (English version) 'This vault was built by Henrietta Low King in acknowledgement of the kindness and sympathy extended to her during the long illness in Rome of her husband Charles King of New York and in commemoration of his death at Frascati on the 27th of Sept 1867. He was placed here until taken to his own country.'
- 16 *A Handbook*, 1869, p. 316.

- 17 Waddington 1904, pp. 285-6. Her brother Rufus King Jr (1838-1900) had been the last U.S. Minister to the Papal States.
- 18 Freeman 1877, pp. 283 and 293; Vedder 1911, p. 332.
- 19 Freeman 1877, pp. 286-9; Stock 1945, II, p. 82.
- 20 Irving 1920, III, p. 52.
- 21 Beach, Hornberger and Weight 1943, pp. 57-8. It caught the eye also of Berrian 1821, p. 142.
- 22 Temple's father while a colonial official in the United States had married Elizabeth Bowdoin, sister of James Bowdoin III.
- 23 *Gentleman's Magazine*, 80, 1810, I, p. 180.
- 24 Wohl 1989, p. 313. Åkerblad himself is buried nearby.
- 25 Stanley-Price, McGuigan Jr and McGuigan 2016, cat. no. 13.
- 26 Kornhauser and Barringer 2018, fig. 60.
- 27 Barringer 2018b, p. 45.
- 28 Moorby 2009.
- 29 Huemer 2011, p. 105; Parry III c. 1988, p. 122, fig. 93. The sketchbook is in the Detroit Institute of Arts 39.565.
- 30 Stanley-Price, McGuigan Jr and McGuigan 2016, cat nos. 20 and 25.
- 31 Peale 1831, p. 173; Willis 1835, p. 197; Griffin 1831, p. 300. Also, Stock 1845, p. 25.
- 32 Huemer 2011, p. 105.
- 33 Barringer 2018b, p. 48; also Huemer 2011, p. 105: 'a glowing sky at twilight with a rising moon.'
- 34 Gibbes 1846, pp. 211-4, 216-255; also, Kip 1846, pp. 191-2.
- 35 Gibbes 1846, p. 214; Kip 1846, p. 191.
- 36 Stanley-Price, McGuigan Jr and McGuigan 2016, cat. no. 21 and fig. 11; see also cat. nos. 20, 23, 24 and 33. On both the etching and the watercolour, the De Veaux headstone is visible at bottom left, to the right and behind the monument to George Francis Parker mentioned earlier.
- 37 Th. Rossiter in Gibbes 1846, p. 254, also, Peale 1831, p. 173.
- 38 Stanley-Price 2018, pp. 4-5.
- 39 Lemmey 2009, p. 75.
- 40 Moore 2018, drawing on the Francis Kinloch Estate Papers, 1731-1860 (Collection Number 1168.03.01.03), in the South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston, South Carolina.
- 41 Letter of Geo[rge] W. Greene to Henry A. Middleton, Philadelphia, Rome, 29 Nov[embe]r 1841, quoted in Moore 2018.
- 42 My thanks to John and Mary McGuigan for their comments during a visit to the monument and for other help.
- 43 Letter of Lydia Brown to her sister, 10 September 1843, quoted in Lemmey 2009, p. 71.
- 44 Gillespie 1845, p. 65.
- 45 Kip 1846, p. 215.
- 46 Carter 1829, II, p. 343.
- 47 Willis 1835, pp. 199-200.



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This volume brings together the proceedings presented at the international conference *American Latium: American Artists and Travelers in and around Rome in the Age of the Grand Tour*, sponsored by the Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, and hosted by the Centro Studi Americani in Rome on the 7-8 June 2018, convened by Christopher M.S. Johns, Tommaso Manfredi and Karin Wolfe. The premise of the conference was to examine the concept of cultural exchange between America and Rome and its surrounding territory not as a bilateral transfer of culture, but rather as an entangled and reciprocal history of cultural transmission, including the importance of London with its powerful art academies as an intermediate destination for Americans making their way to the continent. Travel to Rome engaged American artists, collectors, scientists, writers and diplomats in dialogue with a network of European artists, intellectuals and statesmen. The remarkable degree of cosmopolitanism found in Rome signalled its importance not simply as a cultural destination, but as a place of experiment and creativity for travelers of differing nationalities who gathered there – a place where ancient history and tradition was cross-pollinated with the experience of the modern.

Divided into three parts: *The American Grand Tour: From Old Masters to the New World*; *American Latium: Sites and Itineraries in and around Rome*; *Americans and the Artistic Culture of Rome: Toward an American Art*, the book addresses the pioneering origins of the artistic relations between America, Rome and its environs from the eighteenth century up until 1870. Interdisciplinary in nature, these proceedings present new, and at times unexpected, research on the experience of reciprocal cultural exchange.