

The Collaboration of B. Henry Latrobe and Giuseppe Franzoni to Create the Nation's First Statue of Liberty (1807-1814)

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ABSTRACT

When the U. S. Capitol burned on 24 August 1814, its principal chambers were gutted and an early masterpiece of American Neoclassical sculpture, a colossal personification of Liberty in the style of the times, was completely destroyed. The Liberty is not well known because in her brief lifetime, no artist stopped to record her - not even Latrobe himself, a prolific sketcher. Liberty presided over Latrobe's majestic Hall of Representatives, a chamber that was, itself, a difficult collaboration of conflicting ideas between its client Thomas Jefferson and its architect Latrobe. Liberty was an integral part of the architecture and of the architectural sequence; upon entry into the chamber, the ten foot tall sitting Liberty established the chamber's cross axis within the streaming diffusion of one hundred skylights, proffered entrants a carved copy of the Constitution, cradled a cap of liberty, and was heralded by a bald eagle.

Latrobe's drive to create the Liberty was essential to his concept for the Hall of Representatives. His collaboration with the artist Franzoni also is essential as it demonstrates the delicate dialectic between architectural concept and executed form in a public project. I will show for the first time a model of the colossal Liberty, carefully reconstructed based on all known facts, a single drawing, and the aesthetic proclivities of the principal designers. I have diligently reconstructed the entire Hall, with the Liberty, necessarily, being the most formidable aspect of the design. The making of the Liberty represents about twenty years of effort by various architects and artists to bring to fruition the confluence of a major public work of American architecture and an integral work of monumental American sculpture.

INTRODUCTION

When the U.S. Capitol burned on 24 August 1814, its principal chambers were gutted and a colossal masterpiece of American neoclassical sculpture, the nation's first Statue of Liberty, was completely destroyed.¹ The Liberty is not well known because, in its brief lifetime, no artist ever stopped to record it. All that remains are descriptions in letters of its design development and its placement in the famous Hall of Representatives (also

known as the House chamber in the South Wing of the Capitol; today, the site of the National Statuary Hall). Architect of the Capitol B. Henry Latrobe designed the Liberty in large part by giving instructions to the sculptor Giuseppe Franzoni, who carved her in plaster. Latrobe's goal was to copy the plaster model into Vermont Marble but the opportunity never arrived. Liberty presided over the Hall only until that summer night in 1814 when the Capitol was burned by a fire so intense that even Vermont Marble would have been reduced to lime.

Latrobe was in charge of the Capitol's design and construction from 1803-1811, a period charged with idealism and allegory as well as with scandal and misfortune.² The Liberty was organic to the architectural experience of the complete House chamber—it was not an afterthought and not mere sculptural decoration. Latrobe wrote: "*The Statue is indeed essential to the effect of my Architecture.*"³ Latrobe's and Franzoni's Statue of Liberty represents the successful culmination of a long effort by early American designers to create a monumental personification of Liberty within a major public space.

THE ENIGMA

In researching Latrobe's lost and unbuilt works at the U.S. Capitol (this paper on the Liberty being the second in a series), the author was transfixed by the enigma of contemporary written and archival records that suggest a superlative body of Latrobe's work unsupported by visual or pictorial evidence. How could Latrobe's American masterpieces be seen again? The author resolved to forensically piece together this period of the Capitol as a comprehensive digital model based on original sources. Many disparate details emerged in the research process - conflicts between letters, documents, drawings, change orders, and extant material - which then required analysis, sequencing, rectification, and recreation as a composite and conclusive digital form. The author recreated the Liberty itself directly in clay based on information from a dozen letters and one drawing. The images included in this paper are digital images of the entire recreated chamber interior of which the Liberty is the central element. William C. Allen's seminal book on the history of the design and construction of the Capitol mentions the existence of the Liberty sculpture but does not detail its story.⁴



Figure 1. (clockwise from left): B. Henry Latrobe, detail of the Liberty inside the Hall (1804); Thomas Cooley, political cartoon of *Liberty and Britannia* (1783); Giuseppe Ceracchi, *Minerva* (1792); Samuel Jennings, *Liberty Displaying the Arts and Sciences* (1792).

ICONOGRAPHY AND EARLY ATTEMPTS AT MAKING A LIBERTY

The idea of an American symbol of freedom was not new in 1805 (the year Latrobe first mentioned in his letters the idea of a Liberty sculpture for the Hall). Since colonial times, allegorical figures of American freedom were common. Usually personified as a female Native American in headdress, she was known as Liberty, Freedom, or Columbia. Liberty evolved toward a Greco-Roman personification in the later eighteenth century, as interest in neoclassicism and archaeology increasingly influenced the arts.

Late in 1788, French architect Peter Charles L'Enfant was asked by the New York City government to renovate its City Hall for the first session of the First Federal Congress in April 1789. L'Enfant's elegant additions and renovations of the interior were well received and described in print but were not recorded as pictures or engravings. He established an early standard for the hierarchy and decoration of an important federal building which included no small degree of iconographic representation. L'Enfant planned for a sunburst pediment on the facade and a Statue of Liberty behind the Speaker's chair. But there is no record that a Liberty was installed.⁵

Only two sessions of Congress met in Federal Hall but the important Residence Act of 1790 was passed here, creating the District of Columbia. The third session of Congress met at Congress Hall, Philadelphia, in December 1790, and would remain there until the removal of the government to Washington, D.C. in 1800.

The Residence Act gave the president unprecedented oversight over every aspect of the relocation of the capital, and in early 1791 George Washington asked L'Enfant to design the new federal city. L'Enfant developed a plan of radiating avenues connecting salient higher elevations interwoven with a grid of smaller streets - a symbolic expression of the new government. L'Enfant described Jenkins Hill, an elevation of about ninety feet above sea level overlooking vast wetlands to the west and his choice for the site of the Capitol, as a "pedestal waiting for a monument."⁶ He suggested placing below the crest of the hill a "grand Equestrian figure," a reference to the bronze statue of George Washington that Congress had approved on 7 August 1783. The concept of Washington's equestrian statue became the core of the next serious attempt to personify an American Liberty.

Also in 1791, the Roman sculptor Giuseppe Ceracchi arrived in America, "filled with a volcanic enthusiasm for Liberty and the Rights of Man."⁷ Ceracchi was fresh from Europe, where he had struggled mightily to establish himself as a preeminent

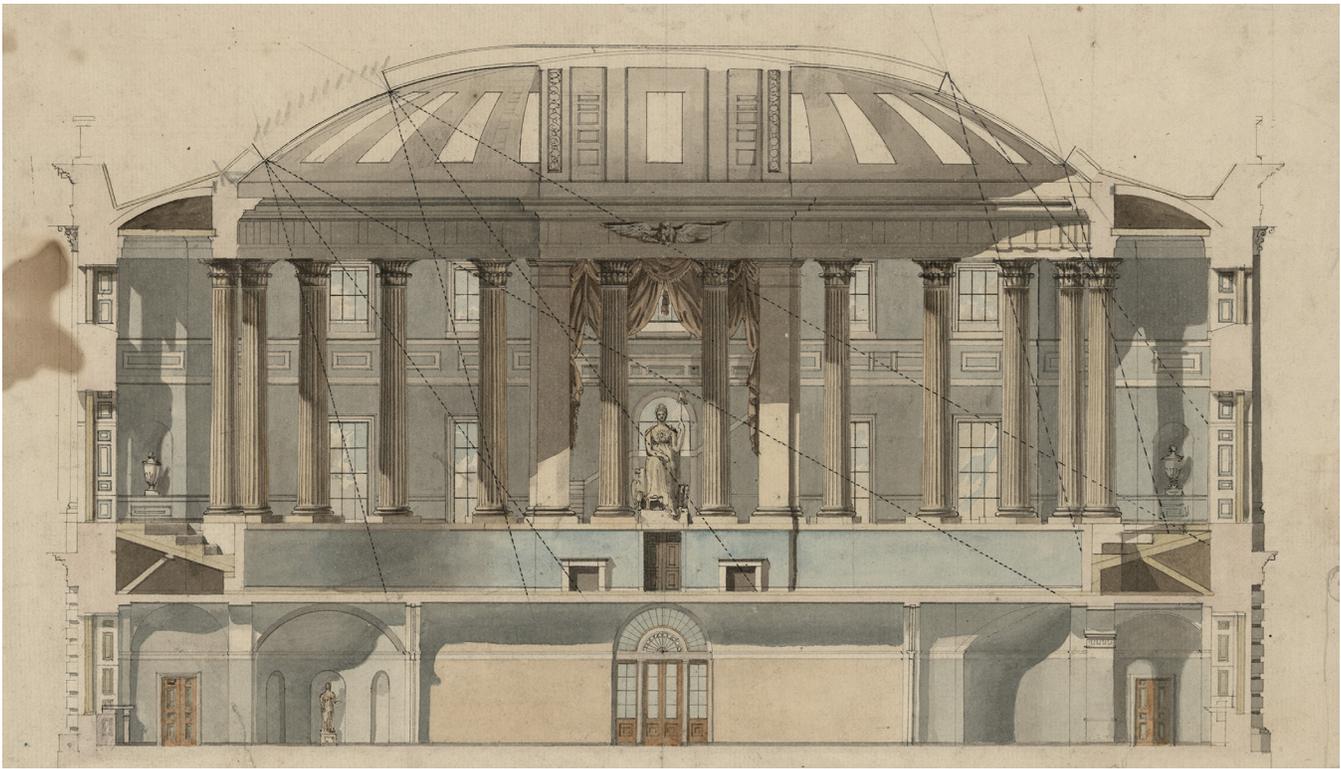


Figure 2. Latrobe's east-west section drawing of the South Wing showing the placement of the Liberty (1804).

sculptor of political leaders and political monuments. His busts and portraits were often excellent; his larger compositions, with their metaphors and allegories, were often complicated. In a fluid, synthetic attempt to bring glory to the revolutionary spirit in America as well as invigorate his own career, Ceracchi proposed to Congress a "*Monument designed to perpetuate the Memory of American Liberty.*" Based on Ceracchi's verbose description, his American national monument proposal was topped by a fantastic personification of Liberty.

Ceracchi proposed his concept to Congress in 1791 and then again in 1795. Most likely, the statue was to be erected below Capitol Hill, the same area L'Enfant had identified. In his opening paragraph, Ceracchi wrote: "*The Goddess [of Liberty] is represented descending in a car drawn by four horses, darting through a volume of clouds, which conceals the summit of a rainbow. Her form is at once expressive of dignity and grace. In her right hand she brandishes a flaming dart, which, by dispelling the mists of Error, illuminates the universe; her left is extended in the attitude of calling upon the people of America to listen to her voice. A simple pileus covers her head; her hair plays unconfined over her shoulders; her bent brow expresses the energy of her character; her lips appear partly open, whilst her awful voice echoes through the vault of heaven, in favor of the rights of man.*" Ceracchi's animated Statue of Liberty was the crowning piece of a monument that was to be, overall, sixty feet high, about fifty feet in diameter, and comprised of four more giant allegorical groups surrounding the original

bronze equestrian statue of Washington. His six foot drawing of the monument was exhibited in a Philadelphia tavern in 1791 but is now lost.⁸

Ceracchi never had the opportunity to carve his grandiose monument to American Liberty. After a vain attempt to win the favor of leading members of the Washington Administration and of Congress by carving their portraits,⁹ followed by a return to Europe, an exile from Rome, and another trip to America, his subscription plan to finance the ambitious monument failed. Ceracchi's technical approach to carving the sixty-foot high monument is not known, but it is difficult to imagine the complexity of carving the baroque Liberty descending through volumes of marble clouds and a rainbow in a horse-drawn chariot - all at a time when the construction of the Capitol had not yet begun. His hyperbolic vision of American Liberty died in 1795 and a handful of years later so did he. Marked by as great a passion and hubris as exemplified by his time in America, he lived his remaining years in Paris increasingly disenchanted with Napoleon's despotic usurpations - until he was implicated in an alleged assassination attempt against the "*First Consul*" in 1800. Perhaps some version of his chariot for the Capitol survived after all, in the triumphal chariot—said to be of his own design—that carried him to the guillotine early the next year.

While on his first American venture, Ceracchi did sculpt in terracotta a colossal bust, *Minerva as the Patroness of American Liberty*, nearly six feet tall, which was placed behind the Speaker's dais in Congress Hall in 1792. Whether the Minerva

was meant to be the Liberty is not clear, as in his own words, his *Minerva* figure occupied a lower place in his earlier gigantic monument. Nor is *Minerva* integral to the design of this chamber. Because of its colossal scale, the bust was most likely intended to demonstrate the artist's ability to execute his giant monument. *Minerva* was given to the Library Company of Philadelphia when Congress moved to Washington in 1800, and it remains there today.

ART IN EARLY AMERICA

In his 6 March 1805 letter to Philip Mazzei, Jefferson's confidante in Italy, Latrobe stated that "*the Capitol was begun at a time when the country was entirely destitute of artists.*" From Latrobe's perspective as a classically educated European, this was true; painting, sculpture and architecture were fledgling arts in 1792. In 1811, in a formal address in Philadelphia to the Society of Artists of the United States, however, he expressed his optimism that in a free republic, it is inevitable that the arts will flourish. "*The days of Greece may be revived in the woods of America,*" he predicted, "*and Philadelphia become the Athens of the Western world.*"¹⁰

Latrobe stated in this address that architecture was the most advanced of American arts in 1800. He lauded his client Samuel Fox for having the vision and courage to build the Bank of Pennsylvania, yet shyly neglected to mention that this latter masterpiece was his own design. The Bank of Pennsylvania, the first Greek revival building in America, built of white marble, would have been innovative for any modern city in 1800. Masonry-vaulted, naturally lit, unencumbered of ornament, and sleekly elevated by Greek angles, it must have been shocking to see the elegant white edifice nestled into Philadelphia's brick waterfront. Also in Latrobe's discourse, he claimed that American painters were on the cusp of greatness (but that Europe valued them more) and that America's sculpture languished.

America's best figural sculptor of the period was William Rush of Philadelphia, who, with Charles Willson Peale, founded the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. Rush (1756-1833), a wood carver, made figureheads for ships, which Latrobe regarded very highly as an art form. Rush carved the allegorical *Water Nymph and Bittern* that stood as the center landscape feature in Centre Square, Philadelphia, directly in front of Latrobe's Greek-style pump house of the Water Works. Today, this site is occupied by Philadelphia's City Hall. His carved wood figure of *George Washington* (1814), which today resides at the Second National Bank, demonstrates great sophistication and lively contrapposto.

Latrobe did not call Rush to duty, however, when hiring sculptors for the Capitol, though Rush was conveniently situated in Philadelphia. Latrobe stated quite simply that Rush's medium was wood and though extremely talented, he was never considered for work on the Capitol.

THE LATROBE-FRANZONI SITTING LIBERTY

Latrobe first mentioned the idea of a Statue of Liberty in a 6 March 1805 letter to Philip Mazzei and requested assistance in hiring sculptors in Italy to work on the Capitol. Latrobe wrote to Mazzei at President Jefferson's behest. Mazzei and Jefferson had maintained a varied and robust correspondence over the decades since Mazzei left America. He cheerfully referred to America as his adoptive country and was glad to assist his American friends in the effort to build the Capitol.

In the letter, Latrobe asked Mazzei to recruit "*a good Sculptor of Architectural decorations*" for the South Wing. He also asked Mazzei to obtain a bid price from Antonio Canova,¹¹ one of the most celebrated sculptors working in Rome, to carve the "*sitting figure of Liberty*" for the House chamber. On 12 September 1805, Mazzei responded that hiring Canova was impossible due to the artist being overbooked. Mazzei also had requested a price from the esteemed Danish sculptor Bertel Thorvaldsen, also working in Rome, but the price was exorbitant. Then Mazzei told of the young sculptors whom he did hire: Giuseppe Franzoni and his brother-in-law, Giovanni Andrei. Mazzei backed up his selection with the claim that Franzoni "*will soon be a second Canova.*" The two new hires departed Italy by ship with their families in November 1805 bound for the United States.¹²

On 28 March 1806, Franzoni and Andrei arrived from Rome. In Mazzei's estimation, Franzoni's "*masterful strokes [strokes]*" would make him a first-rate sculptor of the figures, and Andrei would be a first-rate sculptor of the flora and decorative pieces. On 29 May, in a letter to Mazzei, Latrobe lamented that Franzoni must carve the large eagle in the frieze before he can even "*think much of our Statue of Liberty.*" For the time being, "*I have distributed the department of animals to Franzoni, and of vegetables to Andrei.*" Based on this letter, no model existed of the Statue of Liberty as of 29 May 1806.¹³

But, on 2 June 1806, a model was underway - or so it seemed. Latrobe wrote to his brother Christian: "*Flaxman is I think one of the first Sculptors in the world. Franzoni was his pupil. He is engaged in modeling for me a figure of Liberty, sitting, of colossal size.*"¹⁴ *It promises to be a classical Work. This is one of many efforts I am making to introduce into this country something superior to the mean sti[le] brought hither and spread by English joiners and measurers, and to the absurd impracticalities of American book architects.*"¹⁵

Latrobe's letters provide key dimensions and parameters of the figure itself and its accoutrements. Subjectively, in his letters Latrobe muses about his favorite sculptors, his proclivities in art, and his emotional response to stylistic ideas and elements. Both the literal parameters of the design and Latrobe's aesthetic vision were important to the author in recreating an image of the Liberty. When Latrobe puts pencil to paper, his ideas are clear and detailed. Therefore, the only design

drawing of the Liberty that exists, although of small scale, is very informative. His drawing of Liberty occurs in the very center of his famous east-west section drawing of the Hall of Representatives in the South Wing from the spring of 1804,¹⁶ which also includes the projected minimums and maximums of direct light entering the chamber. The Liberty is shown at the exact center of this drawing and certainly suggests it is the symbolic and graphic centerpiece of the room and absolutely essential to the architecture.

In his first (March 1805) letter to Mazzei, Latrobe described the Liberty as 9'-0" tall while seated. At the scale of $1/8" = 1'-0"$, the scale of the east-west section, the Sitting Liberty is shown exactly one-and-a-half inches high, therefore 12'-0" tall, including her plinth. The drawing demonstrates the powerful image Latrobe developed in his mind of entering the chamber from the north, and seeing the colossal Liberty opposite, framed by 26'-8" columns and billows of crimson drapery.

Even at small scale, stylistic details about Latrobe's intentions for the Sitting Liberty are obvious. She wears a Greek style gown with décolletage, a high waist, and a large ornament at her breast. Her hair is piled up with a tiara—a very fashionable look for 1804. Her left arm holds a liberty pole with the Phrygian liberty cap. Her right foot is raised. An eagle in repose, with an outward look (as though in a defensive stance), is on her right. Two books are resting on her left, possibly a reference to the two books in Gilbert Stuart's famous Lansdowne portrait of Washington (these books are thought to be the Federalist Papers and the Congressional Record), a painting well known to Latrobe.

Writing to Mazzei on 19 December 1806, Latrobe expressed some confusion whether Thorvaldsen had actually been commissioned to carve the statue. If Mazzei had commissioned him, it was without Jefferson's approval of the high price. Latrobe also told Mazzei he had already given the work to Franzoni. Latrobe wrote that Franzoni "*will not disgrace us by his Sculpture, but that Canova, probably Thorvaldsen, and Flaxman are his superiors to a great degree.*"¹⁷

Latrobe apparently did not approve of the direction of development of Franzoni's model. In a letter of 31 December 1806,



Figure 3. Recreation model of the Liberty by the author. Clay for plaster.

to his Clerk of the Works John Lenthall, Latrobe expressed misgivings about the model: "*Lady Liberty... seldom behaves much like a Lady.*" Franzoni had sculpted allegorical elements that Latrobe thought inappropriate or heavy-handed: a club and doves nesting in a helmet. "It may be correct Symbolology... to give Dame Liberty a Club or Shelelah, but we have no business to exhibit it so very publicly."

Latrobe instead demanded one arm close in to her body, resting in her lap, and one arm raised, resting "on a Wig block, or capped stick (which is as much more honorable than a Wig block as the cap is more honorable than the Wig,) for ought I care." (This is essentially the torso arrangement shown in Latrobe's own sketch.) In this letter Latrobe pondered reducing Liberty to 7'-0" in height. Throughout much of his career, Latrobe's psychic state seems to have been something like a sine curve: wavering between troughs of deep depression and waves of brilliant optimism. So, though often beset by his



Figure 4. Recreation image by the author showing the revelation of the Liberty upon entry into the chamber.

own scathing and sardonic wit, Latrobe maintained exactly the right balance of allegorical propriety he thought proper for the Hall chamber and continued to steer Franzoni in the design of the Liberty.¹⁸

On 1 September 1807, Lenthall's men took down the scaffolding around the Speaker's Chair, revealing two finished columns and the sitting Statue of Liberty. Latrobe wrote Jefferson later that day: "*the figure of Liberty, which, tho' only a Model, is an excellent work and does Franzoni infinite credit.*" She was in service from that day.¹⁹ In the course of her design in the first

first nine months of 1807, Liberty's eagle shifted from her right side to her left (from east to west), and her pole and liberty cap were replaced with a more relaxed arrangement with a cap and Constitution.

Almost two months later, in a report on the south wing of the Capitol solicited by the editor of Washington's premier newspaper of record, the *National Intelligencer*, Latrobe described the complete tableau of the House chamber: "*Between the two columns opposite to the entrance, behind the Speaker's Chair, sits on a pedestal a colossal figure of liberty. The present figure is only a plaister (sic) model hastily executed in three weeks by Mr. Franzoni, but has great merit. It is proposed to place a marble figure of the same size in its room. . . . The figure, sitting, is 8'-6" in height. By her side stands the American eagle, supporting her left hand, in which is the cap of liberty, her right presents a scroll, the Constitution of the United States. Her foot treads upon a reversed crown as a footstool and other emblems of monarchy and bondage.*"²⁰

CONCLUSIONS

Latrobe had taken over the project for the South Wing in 1803 and his first task was to inspect the progress and quality of the works. By 1804, the result of this critical assessment, Latrobe essentially redesigned the concept and sequence for the South Wing. He elevated Thornton's ground floor House chamber to a *piano nobile*, and placed at the ground level a robust program of offices, chambers, lobbies, privies, offices, a courtyard, and, importantly, an entry sequence of skylit vestibules. Latrobe wrote that the sequence was, "*... the greatest variety of scenery in the building, every part of which, however, is indispensably necessary to the communication of the different apartments of each other.*" Latrobe's intention was that visitors to the Hall chamber would enter into a finely-detailed vestibule filled with

light, and climb a stair that rose westward through a dark passage. At the top of the stair, visitors would turn south and enter the chamber, which again, would be filled with light. His manipulation of the entry sequence would heighten the effect of entering the vast chamber with its one hundred skylights and seeing the framed Liberty in repose.

Latrobe described the scene at entrance to the House chamber and the viewer understands at once that the architecture and the sculpture are integral and essential to the sequence. "One large ample curtain is suspended in the space between the columns opposite the entrance, and being drawn in easy folds to each pilastre (sic), discloses the statue of Liberty. The effect of this curtain of the statue and of the Speaker's chair and canopy... is perhaps the most pleasing assemblage of objects that catch the eye in the whole room." Latrobe adds that, "To give an adequate idea of a building by a description unaccompanied by drawings, is always a vain attempt, and no one who has not seen the Hall of Congress can, from what I have said, understand exactly the effect and appearance of the room."²¹

Visualizing the Statue of Liberty (as recreated by the author) allows the reader to fully understand the meaning of the mon-

ument, within its comprehensively designed architectural setting, as intended by its original creators. This is a valuable aspect of digital recreation. The Liberty's symbolic importance and allegorical reading is echoed by Enrico Causici's (1828) and Thomas Crawford's (1863) later statues that personified similar concepts of Liberty within an architectural setting (see footnote 1). Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi's standing Liberty in New York Harbor (1886), however, is different in scale and meaning. Its title, *Liberty Enlightening the World*, implies a world scale to its significance; a city's harbor is its setting and a lamp held high its principal metaphor. Bartholdi's Liberty suggests the status of the U.S. as an emerging world leader in the pursuit of liberty and human rights, lately having survived a brutal civil war followed by civil rights amendments to the Constitution, increased immigration, and vast changes to the civil society due to urbanization. The Latrobe-Franzoni Liberty, the initial forging of the architectural expression of the *Rights of Man*, is fundamentally about the American experiment and how that symbolic arrangement anchors a great chamber. In the spirit of the latter, Walt Whitman's distilled lines from 1855 accurately describe the long sought-after vision as, "... Perennial with the Earth, with Freedom, Law and Love; A grand, sane, towering, seated Mother; Chair'd in the adamant of Time."²²



Figure 5. Recreation image by the author from the northeast.

ENDNOTES

1. The term "Statue of Liberty" connotes for many people the actual size and stance of the later statue by Frédéric Auguste Bartholdi, *Liberty Enlightening the World*, conceived in the early 1870s and finally installed in New York Harbor in 1886. The term is also sometimes applied, mistakenly, to Thomas Crawford's "Statue of Freedom" installed on top of the Capitol dome in 1863. (Crawford never saw it raised. He died in 1857 before the plaster version was shipped from his studio in Rome.) Within the Capitol itself, another "Statue of Liberty," called *The Genius of the Constitution* by its sculptor Enrico Causici (ca. 1790-1833), was installed in a niche high over the entablature of Statuary Hall in the late 1820s. As of 2020, it is still in its plaster state, in that same room, although it has come to be known as *Liberty and the Eagle*. This article discusses the development of the idea of a personification of a monumental Liberty sculpture leading up to 1807; Causici's, Crawford's, and Bartholdi's statues embody the same ideals, but they are different examples of artistic expression from different periods. The term "Statue of Liberty" is used throughout this article on the premise that the statue itself is part of the "concept." Latrobe himself often referred to it in his letters as the (lower case) "statue of Liberty," making it a less formal concept.
2. This period is known as Latrobe's "first construction campaign," when he served as "Surveyor of the Public Buildings of the United States at Washington" from March 1803 until July 1811. He returned, this time as "Architect or Surveyor of the Capitol," from April 1815 until his resignation in November 1817.
3. Latrobe to Philip Mazzei, 12 April 1806, in John C. Van Horne et al., eds., *The Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers of Benjamin Henry Latrobe* (3 vols.; New Haven, Conn., 1984-88) 2:229.
4. William C. Allen, *History of the U.S. Capitol; A Chronicle of Design, Construction, and Politics* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 2001).
5. For the only two contemporary newspaper descriptions of both the interior and exterior of Federal Hall, which were reprinted dozens of times from New Hampshire to North Carolina, see Charlene Bangs Bickford, Kenneth R. Bowling, Helen E. Veit, and William Charles diGiacomantonio, eds., *The Documentary History of the First Federal Congress, 1789-1791* (19 vols. to date; Baltimore, 1972-) 15:32-35.
6. Pierre L'Enfant to George Washington, 22 June 1791, in Dorothy Twohig et al., eds., *Papers of George Washington: Presidential Series* (17 vols. to date; Charlottesville, Va., 1987-) 8:290.
7. Albert Ten Eyck Gardner, "Fragment of a Lost Monument," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*, v. 6, 7(March 1948):189. Ceracchi (1751-1801) studied in Rome but spent his first formative years as a professional artist in England.
8. "A Description of a Monument..." [14 Feb. 1795], Printed Ephemera Collection, Portfolio 222, folder 3, Library of Congress; Ceracchi to Alexander Hamilton, 16 July 1792, in Harold C. Syrett, ed., *The Papers of Alexander Hamilton* (26 vols., New York, 1961-79) 12:36-37. The "Description," which circulated as a broadside, included "a plan by which the means for the undertaking are to be provided," and in some cases, at least, was accompanied by a printed letter signed by sixty prominent men (presumably committed subscribers to the plan), who included President Washington, Secretary of State Edmund Randolph, Attorney General William Bradford, Secretary of the Treasury Oliver Wolcott, Jr., and Secretary of War Timothy Pickering ("An Appeal for Funds for a Monument...14 February 1795," in Syrett, *Papers of Alexander Hamilton* 18:271).
9. Ceracchi's busts of notable Americans include Benjamin Franklin (now at the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts), Secretary of State Thomas Jefferson (at "Monticello," Virginia), President George Washington (at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York), and Chief Justice John Jay (at the U.S. Supreme Court).
10. Latrobe Correspondence 2:21-24, 3:76. Mazzei (1730-1816) had first come to America in 1773, where his neighbor Thomas Jefferson encouraged his experimental horticulture. For much of the Revolutionary War he served as arms agent for Virginia, but in 1785 he settled permanently in Pisa, Italy.
11. Latrobe Correspondence 2:21-24, 141-45. Antonio Canova (1757-1822) was the most famous Italian neoclassical sculptor of his day.
12. Latrobe Correspondence 2:225-31. Latrobe summarized their modified contract on 6 April 1806 (*Ibid.*, 2:219-22). Both Giovanni Andrei (1770-1824) and Giuseppe Franzoni (ca. 1777-1815) would also work under Latrobe in a private capacity, when work at the Capitol slowed; several works in Baltimore can be attributed to them. Franzoni is sometimes confused with his younger and reputedly more talented brother Carlo (1789- 1819), who was recruited to work on Latrobe's second building campaign in 1815 and completed Statuary Hall's famous Car of History just before his death (*Ibid.*, 3:802). Unlike Giuseppe, Carlo is memorialized in a portrait, currently located in the Office of the Curator of the Architect of the Capitol.
13. Latrobe Correspondence 2:225-31.
14. Latrobe Correspondence 2:233-35. The formal definition of "colossal" as a term in sculpture is defined as a figure twice life-size.
15. Latrobe Correspondence 2:233-35.
16. ADE UNIT 2462, no. 18 (C Size), Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.
17. Latrobe Correspondence 2:328-29.
18. Latrobe Correspondence 2:346-48.
19. Latrobe Correspondence 2:475-76.
20. To Samuel Harrison Smith, 22 Nov. 1807, Latrobe Correspondence 2:499-506.
21. *Ibid.*
22. Walt Whitman, *Leaves of Grass*, (Dover Edition; Original 1855 Edition) Quoted are The last three lines of the poem *America*.

