Large Print Exhibition Text

America's Presidents



America's Presidents

Throughout the history of the American presidency, from George Washington's inauguration to the present day, the chief executive's duties have encompassed more than politics. Our presidents are charged with responding to the hopes and aspirations of the American people, and this is a tremendous burden—one that has crushed some and elevated others.

The Constitution only minimally defines the powers of the president because the Founders sought to create an office that could change and develop as the course of American history unfolded. They trusted in posterity and relied upon the character and wisdom of American citizenry. In our democracy, the power of the office is subject to the leader's relationship with the electorate, and the most influential American presidents have transcended their own eras to shape the country's present as well as its future.

When these individuals took the oath of office, they all accepted an enormous responsibility. But their specific circumstances and their distinct personalities leave us with unique stories of both triumph and failure. On their own, each of the portraits in *America's Presidents* depicts a leader whose life offers lessons in governance, endurance, and character. Collectively, they reveal the contours of the history of the United States.

Washington to J. Q. Adams Building the Presidency

As early as 1795, Americans regarded George Washington as the *Patriae pater* (father of his country). The ornate title recognized the critical role that he had in the creation of the American Republic as well as the weight of his responsibilities as the first president of the United States. Washington not only established the legitimacy of the new government but also set precedents for the scope of presidential power, including the tradition of leaving office after two terms.

Following Washington's tenure, separate political parties emerged: the Federalist Party and the Democratic-Republican Party. State representatives—who embodied diverse regional and economic interests—viewed the duties of government through different lenses, and political rivalries among them grew fierce as they debated the reach and limits of federal power. After the Louisiana Purchase of 1803, westward expansion was inevitable, and organizing this territory into new states dominated nineteenth-century American politics. Foremost in the political situation was the crucial issue that the Founders recognized but failed to solve: the coexistence of democracy with slavery.

Image Credit: The First Great Western Empire, 1812 Jonathan Clark (life dates unknown) Detail reproduced from the original

George Washington, 1732-1799 ("Lansdowne" Portrait) First president, 1789-1797

As a military and political figure, George Washington was a unifying force during the country's formative years. He fought



in the French and Indian War and later served as commander-in-chief of the Continental Army in the Revolutionary War. After being unanimously elected as the first president of the United States, in 1789, he installed the Supreme Court and the cabinet, quelled the Whiskey Rebellion, and defeated the Western Lakes Confederacy in the Northwest Indian War (and facilitated the subsequent peace negotiations with the alliance). Washington enjoyed immense popularity at the end of his second term, but he declined to run again, insisting that the United States needed to take proper precautions to avoid hereditary leadership or dictatorship.

While mapping out the composition for this painting, American artist Gilbert Stuart, who had previously worked in England and Ireland, drew from European traditions of state portraiture to evoke Washington's leadership. The artist made a number of direct references to the newly formed United States, and the pose he chose for the president is believed to allude to Washington's annual address in front of Congress in December 1795. Stuart completed several replicas of the image, which spread rapidly through popular engravings.

Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828)
Oil on canvas, 1796
Acquired as a gift to the nation through the generosity of the Donald W. Reynolds Foundation

George Washington, 1732-1799 Born Westmoreland County, Virginia

In 1784, the French sculptor Jean-Antoine Houdon agreed to execute a full-length marble statue of George Washington for the Virginia State Capitol in Richmond.

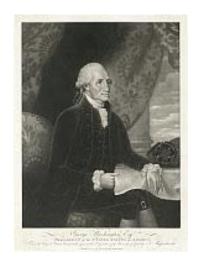


The following year, he traveled across the Atlantic and spent two weeks at Mount Vernon. While there, he made a life mask of Washington. That mask became the basis for several plaster and terra-cotta busts, including this one.

Jean-Antoine Houdon (1741–1828)
Plaster, c. 1786
Partial gift of Joe L. and Barbara B. Albritton and Robert H. and Clarice Smith

George Washington, 1732-1799 Born Westmoreland County, Virginia

Edward Savage's mezzotint engraving portrays George Washington as the nation's president rather than as a general: he wears a black velvet suit and not a military uniform. In his



hand is a plan of the new capital city named in his honor. While in London, Savage adapted the pose of this elegant print from one of his own paintings. Washington's face, however, was based on an earlier portrait that Savage had painted from life between 1789, the year he was inaugurated as president, and 1790. The caption at the bottom of this print refers to the latter work.

On October 6, 1793, Savage sent his subject an impression of this mezzotint, along with a portrait print he had made of Benjamin Franklin. In the accompanying letter, the artist expressed his hope that "it will meet with the approbation of yourself and Mrs. Washington as it is the first I ever published in that method of Engraving."

Edward Savage (1761–1817) Mezzotint, 1793

George Washington, 1732-1799 Born Westmoreland County, Virginia

In 1795, the Philadelphia artist Charles Wilson Peale persuaded President George Washington to pose for his



seventeen-year-old son Rembrandt, who wanted to paint the president's portrait. Upon learning that Rembrandt was joined in the painting room by his father, his brother Raphaelle, and his Uncle James (all artists), Gilbert Stuart quipped that the president was in danger of being "Pealed all around." Rembrandt Peale's original life portrait is now in the collection of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. He once stated that he had painted ten replicas, but only two are known—this example and one in the collection of the Detroit Institute of Arts.

Rembrandt Peale (1778–1860)
Oil on canvas, 1795
Gift of the A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable
Trust, 1942

George Washington, 1732-1799 Born Westmoreland County, Virginia

In October or early November of 1795, President George Washington granted Charles Willson Peale a seventh—and last—portrait sitting. Peale, who had



been commissioned by Henry William De Saussure to paint the president's likeness, decided to offer the opportunity to his extremely talented but inexperienced son, Rembrandt. In order to make the atmosphere of the sitting less formal, Peale invited his brother James and his oldest son, Raphaelle, to participate in the session. The older men engaged Washington in conversation and painted their own portraits of him so that Rembrandt could feel more at ease.

This is one of several "cabinet-size" replicas of Charles Willson Peale's image from this famous group sitting.

Charles Willson Peale (1741–1827) Oil on canvas, 1795 Jonathan and Debra Stein

George Washington, 1732-1799 Born Westmoreland County, Virginia

Rembrandt Peale, son of American artist Charles Willson Peale, painted George Washington from life in 1795 when he was seventeen. He later made



numerous portraits of the president based on his memory of this sitting and on likenesses by other artists. From these he developed an idealized image—known by the Latin name "Patriae Pater" (Father of His Country)—which served as a model for his many so-called "porthole" portraits of Washington. In these compositions, the subject's face is seen through an oval stonework frame—an honorific convention in European art dating from the Renaissance.

Rembrandt Peale (1778–1860) Oil on canvas, probably 1853 Gift of an anonymous donor

George Washington and Benjamin Franklin

This print, depicting George Washington (1732–1799) and Benjamin Franklin (1706–1790) facing each other in profile, was



published in the *Columbian Magazine* (Philadelphia, March 1788). However, it was copied from an early edition of the Swiss author Johan Caspar Lavater's *Essays on Physiognomy* (1775–78), which proposed a person's character was evident in their expressions, facial features, and head shape. The magazine's author quoted Lavater's analysis of Washington's silhouetted profile, noting his good qualities and adding, "the original must be distinguished by an indefatigable activity—a man who acts with prudence, and always with dignity."

Unidentified artist Etching and engraving, 1788

Martha Washington, 1731-1802 Born New Kent County, Virginia

In 1749, Martha Dandridge married Daniel Parke Custis, the wealthiest planter in the colony. Seven years and four children later, she was a very wealthy widow. She married George Washington in 1759, pulling



him upward in Virginia's social and economic strata. Martha was viewed by contemporaries as a quiet, reserved woman capable of managing an estate, a comfortable fit for an ambitious planter. She contributed to her husband's climb to national leadership in numerous ways. During the Revolutionary War, Martha stayed with her husband in the army's winter encampment; she was a great comfort to George and a major factor in his being able to keep the army intact. She was also, along with her husband, influential in setting the atmosphere and tone of the presidency, which was so important to the new republic.

Rembrandt Peale based his portrait on his father's (Charles Willson Peale's) 1795 likeness, adding a "porthole" as he did in his *George Washington* on view across the room.

Rembrandt Peale (1778–1860) Oil on canvas, probably 1853 Gift of an anonymous donor

John Adams, 1735-1826 Second president, 1797-1801

Of all the Founding Fathers, John Adams was perhaps the most intellectual and accomplished. He helped craft the argument supporting the independence of the Continental Congress and later served on the diplomatic mission that ended the Revolutionary War. When George Washington chose him as his vice president, Adams complained that his lack of official duties meant that he occupied "the most insignificant office that ever the invention of man contrived." Nevertheless, he used the position as his ticket to the presidency and was elected in 1796 after a bitter campaign against Thomas Jefferson.

During Adams's single term as president, political posturing and bickering inhibited him at home, and France's interference with American commerce created a challenge for him abroad. Adams managed to keep the nation at peace, but he left the White House largely discredited on all sides.

When Adams was vice president, he had portraits done by the artist John Trumbull, who based this painting on one of those original portraits. Trumbull incorporated the likeness into his depiction of the signing of the Declaration of Independence that is on display in the U.S. Capitol Rotunda.

John Trumbull (1756–1843) Oil on canvas, 1793

Thomas Jefferson, 1743-1826 Born Shadwell, Virginia

This work replicates an unusual profile portrait of Thomas Jefferson that Gilbert Stuart painted in 1805, at the beginning of Jefferson's second presidential term. The neoclassical composition "in the medallion form" was suggested by Jefferson, who later wrote that the original portrait (now owned by Harvard University) was "deemed the best which has been taken of me." Jefferson's relatives also admired the profile, and in 1836, ten years after Jefferson's death, the painter Charles Bird King made this copy of the work for them.

Charles Bird King (1785–1862), after Gilbert Stuart Oil on wood panel, 1836

Thomas Jefferson, 1743-1826 Third president, 1801-1809

Thomas Jefferson authored the Declaration of Independence, founded the University of Virginia, and wrote Virginia's Statute for Religious Freedom. He was also a philosopher, inventor, gentleman farmer, and scientist. During his presidency, the nation bought a vast land holding west of the Mississippi River. Known as the Louisiana Purchase, this acquisition from France doubled the size of the United States and led to the remarkable findings of the Lewis and Clark Expedition (1804–1806). Although Jefferson once called slavery "an abominable crime," he consistently enslaved African Americans, including his late wife Martha's half-sister, Sally Hemings, with whom he had several children.

Known as the "Edgehill Portrait," this painting on mahogany, by artist Gilbert Stuart, was the result of two sittings. Jefferson's brightly lit forehead stands out against the muted gray-green background, as if to emphasize his bold intellect.

Gilbert Stuart (1755–1828)
Oil on wood panel, 1805/1821
Owned jointly with Monticello, Thomas Jefferson
Foundation, Inc., Charlottesville, Virginia; purchase
funds provided by the Regents of the Smithsonian
Institution, the Trustees of the Thomas
JeffersonFoundation, Inc., and the Enid and Crosby
Kemper Foundation

James Madison, 1751-1836 Fourth president, 1809-1817

James Madison coauthored, with Alexander Hamilton and John Jay, the Federalist Papers (1787–88), a set of eighty-five essays arguing for the



ratification of the Constitution, which remain among the greatest expressions of American political thought. Concerned that the Constitution tilted too far toward the interests of the federal government and neglected the individual, Madison wrote the first ten amendments, known as the Bill of Rights.

As president, Madison tried to keep the United States from becoming embroiled in the conflicts in Europe, but after the British seized American ships in an effort to halt U.S. exports, the War of 1812 began. Despite its controversial origins—and conclusion—this "Second American Revolution," as it was sometimes called, ended European interference with the United States and created a strong sense of American nationalism.

Chester Harding (1792–1866) Oil on canvas, 1829–30

James Monroe, 1758-1831 Fifth president, 1817-1825

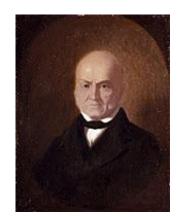
James Monroe continued the Virginia dynasty of Democratic-Republican presidents that had been interrupted only by the tenure of John Adams. As one of the last Founding Fathers to remain politically active in 1820, most people considered him to be unopposed in his bid for a second term. His success reflected the Era of Good Feelings—the period following the War of 1812 that was marked by the temporary suspension of two-party factionalism. The Monroe Doctrine, the enduring legacy of his administration, articulated opposition to European meddling in the Western Hemisphere and became a keystone of American foreign policy.

When Monroe was first elected, in 1816, the majority of voters did not know what he looked like. His friend John Vanderlyn, who had recently returned from studying art in Paris, painted two portraits of him. Monroe gave one to his friend James Madison and kept this one. With the careful rendering of Monroe's features, the highly finished surface, and the clarity of lighting, Vanderlyn's painting exemplifies the French neoclassical style that was prevalent at the time. The image was quickly engraved for public dissemination.

John Vanderlyn (1775–1852) Oil on canvas, 1816

John Quincy Adams, 1767-1848 Sixth president, 1825-1829

John Quincy Adams, who like his father bristled with intelligence, narrowly defeated the popular military hero Andrew Jackson in the election of 1824. Adams's qualifications for the



presidency were many, including his tenure as James Monroe's secretary of state, yet his often tactless temperament and refusal to compromise his high ideals put him at odds with the emerging democratic movement.

The populist Jackson then secured the presidency in the 1828 election, denying Adams a second term, but the voters of Massachusetts elected Adams to the House of Representatives in 1830 and consequently revived his political career. His commitment to supporting anti-slavery advocates and defending their right to petition Congress won him many admirers beyond his Massachusetts constituency.

Having a keen interest in art, particularly portraiture, Adams had high expectations and doubted George Caleb Bingham's ability to produce "a strong likeness" of him. Adams, however, was pleasantly surprised with the results.

George Caleb Bingham (1811–1879) Oil on canvas, c.1850, after 1844 original

Jackson to Buchanan Democracy and Expansion

The Jacksonian era is characterized by a burgeoning democracy that coincided with the growth of production and trade, and Andrew Jackson personified the raw energy of the nation during western expansion. By extending the electorate to include all white men—not just land-owners—Jackson sought to empower "the ordinary American." His emphasis on individualism remains a hallmark of American society, but his legacy has been smeared by his decision to remove Native Americans from their lands. The federal policy toward Native Americans that developed under Jackson effectively enacted genocide, and it has dimmed his reputation as the "people's president."

In the late 1840s, against the backdrop of a dramatic population increase and mounting questions of citizenship rights for African Americans, Native Americans, and women, a wave of reform movements arose, setting the stage for intense partisan clashes.

Image Credit:

Andrew Jackson, c. 1836

Attributed to Henry R. Robinson (active c. 1833–1851)

Reproduced from the original (NPG.82.26)

Andrew Jackson, 1767–1845 Seventh president, 1829–1837

Andrew Jackson's life was colored by struggle, conflict, and aggression. The orphan of impoverished immigrants, he was the only American president to have been a prisoner of war or to have killed a man in a duel. After serving as a general in the U.S. Military during the Battle of New Orleans in 1815, he became a national hero.

During Jackson's presidency, he signed the Indian Removal Act into law, defeated the National Bank through the power of the veto, and threatened to use military force to preserve the Union when South Carolina challenged the federal government. Once viewed as a symbol of the country's expansive democracy, Jackson is now a controversial figure for his uncompromising nationalism and punitive Indian policies.

Thomas Sully only painted Jackson from life on two occasions, but he made many portraits of him. This work was a gift from Jackson to his friend Francis Preston Blair.

Thomas Sully (1783–1872) Oil on canvas, 1824 Private collection

Andrew Jackson, 1767–1845 Born in the Waxhaw Settlement, South Carolina

Ferdinand Pettrich grew up in Dresden and workedas an apprentice for his father, a court sculptor. After studying in Rome with the renowned Danish artist Bertel Thorvaldsen, Pettrich moved to the United States. The artist reportedly met Jackson in the spring of 1836. That year, he created an original marble portrait of the president, which served as the model for several replicas. While marble is an intractable medium, Jackson's hair is treated with a great dimensionality that contributes to the drama of this likeness.

Ferdinand Pettrich (1798–1872) Marble, after 1836 original

Andrew Jackson, 1767–1845 Born in the Waxhaw Settlement, South Carolina

Beginning with George Washington's administration, presidential portrait medals were created to promote peace and friendship between Euro-Americans and Native Americans. Typically manufactured at the U.S. Mint, these "peace medals" were most often given to Native American representatives during treaty negotiations. While some of the original intentions may have been good-willed, a number of government policies, particularly Andrew Jackson's Indian Removal Act, undermined the purpose of these medals.

Obverse: Moritz Fürst (1782–after 1841)

Reverse: John Reich (1768–1833)

Silver, 1831–32; medal inscribed 1829 Gift of Betty A. and Lloyd G. Schermer

Andrew Jackson, 1767–1845 Born in the Waxhaw Settlement, South Carolina

Thomas Sully painted Andrew Jackson from life twice, in February 1819 and again in 1824. The 1824 life sketch hangs in the gallery. This small work, deftly executed in oil on paper, depicts Jackson posed



dramatically beside a white horse. It may be related to the 1819 sitting in Philadelphia, which resulted in a larger canvas in which Jackson poses next to a white steed.

Thomas Sully (1783-1872)
Oil on paper, c. 1819
Judge and Mrs. B. Michael Chitty

Martin Van Buren, 1782-1862 Eighth president, 1837-1841

A consummate politician, Martin Van Buren was clever, strategic, and a master of political patronage. He helped found the



Democratic Party, which put Andrew Jackson in the White House, and succeeded Jackson after serving as his vice president. Van Buren, however, had the misfortune of becoming president just a few months before the Panic of 1837—an unprecedented financial crisis that brought about an economic depression and earned him the epithet "Martin Van Ruin."

Van Buren also faced the growing problem of slavery in the United States. He attempted to navigate between those who supported the spread of the slave labor system and those who called for its abolition, but this was a challenge. After losing his bid for reelection, Van Buren noted, "The two happiest days of my life were those of my entrance upon the office and my surrender of it."

George Peter Alexander Healy (1813–1894) Oil on canvas, 1858 (signed 1864) Lent by the White House, Washington, D.C.

William Henry Harrison, 1773-1841 Ninth president, March-April 1841

The candidacy of William Henry Harrison indicates that American politics were moving in a more populist direction as the country expanded. A two-term congressman former territorial governor, Harrison had no

country expanded. A two-term congressman and former territorial governor, Harrison had no noteworthy political abilities, but for the Whig Party in 1840, he was the perfect figurehead: a military hero in the War of 1812 and a frontier Indian fighter. Harrison's supporters celebrated his military prowess and combined it with homespun frontier imagery, such as log cabins and hard cider, in a presidential campaign that was unprecedented for its carnival-like hoopla. While discussion of real issues was scant, that ballyhoo of the race proved sufficient in itself to win Harrison the presidency.

Jubilance over his victory, however, was short lived. On April 4, 1841, exactly one month after delivering a very long inaugural address in extremely harsh weather conditions, Harrison became the first president to die in office. Until recently, the cause of his death was thought to have been pneumonia, but now, there is new evidence suggesting that he may have suffered from enteric fever and septic shock.

Albert Gallatin Hoit (1809–1856) Oil on canvas, 1840

John Tyler, 1790-1862 Tenth president, 1841-1845

John Tyler was not elected to serve as president, but after Harrison's untimely death, he became the first vice president to ascend to the office. For this reason, many referred to President Tyler as "His Accidency," and his authority was frequently questioned. In September 1841, his entire cabinet resigned in disgust after quarreling with him over federal banking policy. Soon afterward, he was expelled from the Whig Party, whose members would later mount an unsuccessful bid to impeach him. Following his presidency, Tyler became a proponent of Southern secession and was elected to the Confederate House of Representatives.

In 1857, Congress commissioned George Peter Alexander Healy to create a series of presidential portraits for the White House. Two years later, Healy visited Tyler at his retirement home in Virginia and created this smaller replica of Tyler's White House portrait.

George Peter Alexander Healy (1813–1894) Oil on canvas, 1859 Gift of Friends of the National Institute

James K. Polk, 1795–1849 Eleventh president, 1845–1849

The life and career of James K. Polk reflected the country's westward shift. His path followed the frontier as he moved



from his birthplace in North Carolina to Tennessee. Polk, like most Americans in the nineteenth century, favored westward expansion and believed that settlers were destined to move across North America. As president, he acquired more than a million square miles of territory for the United States, in part by fomenting the Mexican- American War. As one of the most consequential presidents in American history, the vast expansion of territory opened up the question of slavery's future, an issue that sparked conflict during the period leading up to the Civil War. Driven and determined, Polk took office with a limited agenda, accomplished all of it, and left office, as he planned, after only one term.

George Peter Alexander Healy (1813–1894)
Oil on canvas, 1846
Lent by the Corcoran Gallery of Art, Washington,
D.C.; Museum purchase, Gallery Fund

Zachary Taylor, 1784-1850 Twelfth president, 1849-1850

Zachary Taylor was swept into the White House on a wave of popularity resulting from his victories in the Mexican-



American War, and he began his presidency with the promise of bringing harmony to the Union. The ongoing debate over slavery, however, brought the nation closer to a sectional divide, particularly when decisions had to be made about whether or not to allow slavery in states that were forming in newly acquired territory.

A Southerner by birth, Taylor was in favor of keeping slavery out of the new Southwest territories, namely California and New Mexico, and under his administration, Congress negotiated to resolve the manifold political issues caused by slavery. But Taylor's best efforts were ended by his sudden death, less than two years into his presidency.

In this election year portrait, Taylor is presented as a sedate and uncharacteristically groomed figure. "Old Rough and Ready," as Taylor's soldiers knew him, usually dressed "entirely for comfort," wrote Lieutenant Ulysses S. Grant.

Attributed to James Reid Lambdin (1807–1889) Oil on canvas, 1848 Gift of Barry Bingham Sr.

Millard Fillmore 1800-1874 Thirteenth president, 1850-1853

Millard Fillmore was a member of the center-right Whig party. Since he left office in 1853, every U.S. president has been affiliated with either the Republican or the Democratic party.

As Zachary Taylor's vice president, Fillmore presided over the Senate's increasingly volatile debates on the Compromise of 1850, which he privately supported. When he ascended to the presidency upon Taylor's death, Fillmore worked with senators to push through this complex bundle of laws, which included the Fugitive Slave Act. The Whig party's support of the deeply flawed Compromise of 1850 was its demise. Fillmore lost the support of many party members who defected to the newly formed Republican party, and his subsequent bid to retain the presidency was unsuccessful. Several years after leaving office, Fillmore sat for this portrait by James Reid Lambdin. An accomplished artist, Lambdin painted every U. S. president from John Quincy Adams to James A. Garfield.

James Reid Lambdin (1807–1889)
Oil on canvas, c.1858
Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Robert Fillmore Norfleet Jr.
in memory of R. Fillmore and Elizabeth C. Norfleet
and in honor of our children and grandchildren

Native American Peace Medals

The United States gave peace medals to Native American leaders as symbols of diplomacy. George Washington presented one of the earliest handengraved medals from the 1790s to a Chickasaw leader. It shows the first president with a chief, who, in a sign of peace, smokes a pipe while his tomahawk rests on the ground.

Later examples were based on the Thomas Jefferson medal. One side features a portrait, and the reverse depicts hands clasped in friendship, accompanied by a crossed tomahawk and peace pipe. The United States did not honor its treaties, but Native Nations pursued justice through activism, the courts, and petitioning Congress. They argued that the treaties recognized their national sovereignty and empowered them to control their destinies.

All medals are the gift of Betty A. and Lloyd G. Schermer

George Washington 1732–1799 Unidentified artist Silver with engraved decoration, 1793

Thomas Jefferson 1743–1826 Robert Scott (active 1781–1820) Silver, 1801

James Madison 1751–1836 John Reich (1768–1833) Silver, 1814-15 (medal inscribed 1809)

John Quincy Adams 1767–1848 Moritz Furst (1782–after 1841) and John Reich (1768–1833)

Silver, 1825–28 (medal inscribed 1825) James K. Polk 1795–1849

John Gadsby Chapman (1808–1889) and John Reich (1768–1833) Silver, 1846

Franklin Pierce, 1804–1869 Fourteenth president, 1853–1857

"What luck Frank has," remarked Nathaniel Hawthorne when he began writing a campaign biography of his



lifelong friend Franklin Pierce, the 1852 Democratic candidate for president. Pierce coasted effortlessly through elections to New Hampshire state offices and to Congress and rose from the rank of private to brigadier general in the Mexican-American War without firing a shot. Once in the White House, however, his luck ran out. When fighting erupted in Kansas between pro- and anti-slavery factions, Pierce, a Northerner with Southern sympathies, was unwilling to antagonize his Southern friends or to use the authority of his office to intervene. As a result, his administration, which had begun so hopefully with the Compromise of 1850, ended in the midst of a series of violent political confrontations, referred to as "Bleeding Kansas," that foreshadowed the Civil War.

George Peter Alexander Healy (1813–1894) Oil on canvas, 1853

Gift of the A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust

Frame conserved with funds from the Smithsonian Women's Committee

James Buchanan, 1791-1868 Fifteenth president, 1857-1861

Democrat James "Old Buck" Buchanan came to the presidency after fulfilling several other roles. The congressman and senator from Pennsylvania traveled extensively as the minister to Russia (under President Jackson), secretary of state (under President Polk), and minister to Great Britain (under President Pierce). Unfortunately, his diplomatic experience abroad did little to strengthen his effectiveness on the domestic front.

Two days after Buchanan's inauguration in 1857, the Supreme Court ruled in the Dred Scott case that African Americans could never be U.S. citizens and that the federal government could not prohibit the practice of slavery in any territory. Buchanan subsequently moved to admit Kansas into the Union as a slave state, but failed upon facing considerable uproar from anti-slavery Northerners.

Following Republican Abraham Lincoln's narrow victory in the 1860 federal election, Buchanan did little to prevent the first seven Southern states from seceding. The Civil War broke out on April 12, 1861, only a few weeks after he had left office.

George Peter Alexander Healy (1813–1894) Oil on canvas, 1859

Transfer from the National Gallery of Art; gift of the A.W. Mellon Educational and Charitable Trust, 1942

Lincoln to McKinley The Crisis of the Union

By the 1850s, slavery had become a moral and political issue that divided the nation. Shortly after Abraham Lincoln won the 1860 presidential election, South Carolina, followed by ten other Southern states, seceded from the Union in protest of having to free enslaved people. Initially, Lincoln used his presidential power in an effort to avoid a crisis, but war proved to be inevitable. As the Civil War advanced beyond anyone's expectations, Lincoln, who viewed the war as a means of preserving the Union, realized that the unity of the country hinged on freeing slaves and granting civil rights to all citizens.

In Lincoln's Gettysburg Address of November 1863, he argued for another revolution, one that would bring forth a "new birth of freedom" to restore the Union and reestablish American democracy. But because he was assassinated in April 1865, he could not guide the process of national reconciliation known as Reconstruction. Andrew Johnson, Lincoln's successor, failed to integrate the four million freed African Americans into society or structure society in a way that would ensure their civil rights.

Image Credit:

Storming Fort Wagner, 1890 Kurtz & Allison Lithography Company (active c. 1880–1899)

Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1865 Sixteenth president, 1861-1865

Abraham Lincoln, a self-educated frontier lawyer from Illinois, faced one of the greatest challenges as president:



preserving the Union. He initially framed the Civil War as a Constitutional crisis over secession, but as fighting intensified, his aims evolved to include reunification based on the abolition of slavery. In 1865, when the war ended, he proposed a program of Southern reconstruction that would require African American civil rights, but before he could implement it, he was assassinated by John Wilkes Booth.

George Peter Alexander Healy painted a life portrait of Lincoln in 1860, but he had to rely on other portraits to make this image, one of four he created after Lincoln's death. All are derived from Healy's 1869 group portrait The Peacemakers, which features the president, Generals William T. Sherman and Ulysses S. Grant, and Admiral David D. Porter as they discuss strategy near the end of the Civil War.

George Peter Alexander Healy (1813–1894)
Oil on canvas, 1887
Gift of the A. W. Mellon Educational and Charitable
Trust

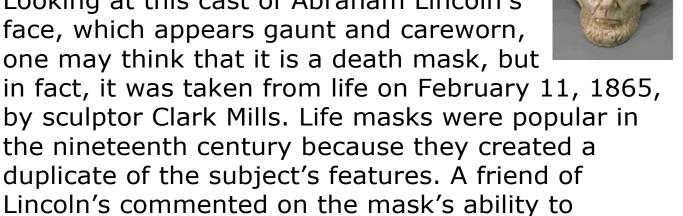
Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1865 Born Hardin County, Kentucky

Leonard Wells Volk made this life mask of Abraham Lincoln in 1860, before Lincoln began his run for the presidency. Volk had wanted to create a bust of him to add to his collection of American statesmen, but Lincoln did not have time to pose. Poet and editor Richard Watson Gilder, who owned a bronze version of the work, wrote after Lincoln's assassination, "This bronze doth keep the very form and mold/ of our great martyr's face. Yes, this is he:/ that brow all wisdom and benignity..."

After Leonard Wells Volk (1828–1895) Plaster, 1917 cast after 1860 original

Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1865 **Born Hardin County, Kentucky**

Looking at this cast of Abraham Lincoln's face, which appears gaunt and careworn, one may think that it is a death mask, but



their worst." After Clark Mills (1815–1883) Plaster, c. 1917 cast after 1865 original

portray "one on whom sorrow and care had done

Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1865 Born Hardin County, Kentucky

Soon after Abraham Lincoln won the Republican presidential nomination, in May of 1860, sculptor Leonard Wells



Volk made casts of Lincoln's hands. The right hand is shown grasping a sawed-off section of a broom handle, which Lincoln obligingly fetched from a shed when the artist suggested that he hold on to something. Lincoln smoothed the edges of the wood, reportedly saying, "I thought I would like to have it nice." During their session, Volk was already thinking of using these casts, in combination with his recently completed Lincoln bust, to fashion a full-length statue.

After Leonard Wells Volk (1828–1895) Plaster, c. 1917 after 1860 original

Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1865 Born Hardin County, Kentucky

In February of 1865, just two months before Abraham Lincoln's assassination, Alexander Gardner created this "cracked-



plate" portrait, now considered one of the most important and evocative photographs in American history. Aside from the detail in the center of Lincoln's face, much of the picture appears diffused or out of focus. Deep, dark grooves in Lincoln's skin may evoke his weariness at the end of the Civil War, but he also exhibits a slight smile—perhaps a sign of relief as the restoration of the Union draws near. Lincoln had looked forward to continuing his presidency but was assassinated only weeks after beginning his second term.

At some point, possibly when the glass-plate negative was heated to receive a coat of varnish, a crack appeared in the upper half of Gardner's plate. He made a single print and then discarded the damaged plate, so only one such portrait exists.

Alexander Gardner (1821–1882)
Internal dye-diffusion print copied from the original 1865 albumen silver print, printed 1981
Courtesy of the Polaroid Corporation
This modern copy is being shown to protect the original from further exposure to light.

Andrew Johnson, 1808–1875 Seventeenth president, 1865–1869

A onetime tailor whose wife had taught him to read, Andrew Johnson had a gift for public speaking, which helped launch



his political career. In 1864, Abraham Lincoln, in a gesture of unity, chose Johnson—a Southern Democrat from Tennessee but a staunch defender of the Union—as his running mate to help hold the Border States. When Johnson succeeded to the presidency after Lincoln's assassination in April 1865, it became evident that his view of Reconstruction, which would return power to the white Southern planters and allow the former Confederate states to deprive freed slaves of their rights, clashed not only with Lincoln's views but with the Republican majority in Congress. The resulting schism led to his impeachment, from which he survived conviction by only one vote.

The signed but undated painting by Washington B. Cooper, a noted Tennessee portraitist, was probably completed during Johnson's presidency.

Washington B. Cooper (1802–1889) Oil on canvas, after 1866

Ulysses S. Grant, 1822-1885 Eighteenth president, 1869-1877

Ulysses S. Grant was a West Point graduate who had no real ambition to be in the military: he wanted to be a teacher. Nonetheless, he served with distinction in the Mexican-American War. After resigning from the army in peacetime, he reenlisted during the Civil War. Following a series of victories, Grant was brought east by Lincoln to command the Union armies. His unrelenting campaign against Robert E. Lee, in 1864-65, finally won the war for the North. Grant was ultimately elected president, but the powers of command he displayed in the army seemed to abandon him when he reached the White House. He was unable to manage the politics of Reconstruction, and his hands-off attitude spawned an outbreak of federal corruption.

Shortly after his presidency, Grant posed for the artist Thomas Le Clear. Grant owned this portrait, while a second, larger version entered the White House collection.

Thomas Le Clear (1818–1882) Oil on canvas, c. 1880 Gift of Mrs. Ulysses S. Grant Jr.

Rutherford B. Hayes, 1822–1893 Nineteenth president, 1877–1881

Republican Rutherford B. Hayes lost the 1876 general election by approximately 250,000 votes, yet he was awarded the necessary electoral college votes after the two major parties struck a bargain. As a concession, Hayes withdrew federal troops from Democratic strongholds in the South, thus ending Reconstruction and the federal commitment to

Reconstruction and the federal commitment to African American civil rights. This inauspicious beginning to his term in office earned Hayes the nickname "His Fraudulency."

A Civil War veteran, Hayes called in federal troops to put down the Great Railroad Strike of 1877 but privately expressed reservations about his decision. After the failed Indian Wars of the 1870s, Hayes began to view the use of force as futile and tragically destructive for all concerned. However, rather than granting Native Americans true sovereignty, he tried to promote their submission to white authority through the cultural assimilation of their youth, forcibly sending boys and girls from Western tribes to boarding schools in the East.

Eliphalet Andrews (1835–1915)
Oil on canvas, 1881
Gift from the Trustees of the Corcoran Gallery of Art (Museum Purchase, Gallery Fund)

James Garfield, 1831-1881 Twentieth president, 1881

James Garfield became president during a period when the Republican Party was split between two rival wings: the



Stalwarts, who supported a system of nepotistic patronage, and the Half-Breeds, who opposed such a system. He tried to unite the party by appointing members of both factions to important positions within his administration while staying true to his own reformist sympathies.

Like Rutherford B. Hayes before him, Garfield started to implement some modest changes aimed at curbing corruption and nepotism in the civil service, focusing mainly on the postal system and the New York Customs House. While these policies had little immediate effect, they served to set the stage for future reforms. Ultimately, Garfield was unable to accomplish much; less than a year after he became president, he was shot and killed by Charles Guiteau, a deranged office-seeker and self-proclaimed Stalwart.

Ole Peter Hansen Balling (1823–1906)
Oil on canvas, 1881
Gift of the International Business Machines
Corporation

Chester A. Arthur, 1829–1886 Twenty-first president, 1881–1885

When President Garfield was assassinated, he was succeeded by his vice president, Chester Arthur. Largely



regarded as a Stalwart, Arthur had previously been a New York City politician who supported the spoils system. In office, Arthur surprised even his harshest critics by continuing his predecessor's legal battles against corruption in the postal system and the New York Customs Service. Arthur also signed into law the Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act, which required aspiring bureaucrats to complete merit-based examinations. To ensure that this new act would be enforced, he appointed a number of reform-minded administrators. In the words of one of his contemporaries, "no man ever entered the presidency so profoundly and widely distrusted" or left it "more generally respected, alike by political friend and foe."

Ole Peter Hansen Balling (1823–1906)
Oil on canvas, 1881
Gift of Mrs. Harry Newton Blue
Frame conserved with funds from the Smithsonian
Women's Committee

Grover Cleveland, 1837–1908 Twenty-second and twenty-fourth president, 1885–1889 and 1893– 1897

Grover Cleveland, the only president to serve two nonconsecutive terms, vetoed more legislation than any prior president, earning the nickname "Old Veto." He believed in a "hands-off" government and often rejected bills that favored individual groups. For instance, he vetoed what he thought were unnecessary pension bills for Civil War veterans. After being ousted from office in 1889 by Benjamin Harrison, Cleveland returned to the presidency four years later, but the Panic of 1893 plagued his second term. He had to call on federal troops to suppress labor unrest and did not succeed in restoring the nation's economy.

Swedish artist Anders Zorn portrayed numerous statesmen and society figures during his frequent trips to the United States. He painted this portrait in 1899, two years after Cleveland had completed his second term. The sittings took place at the former president's estate in Princeton, New Jersey, where the artist and subject bantered happily for several days. Cleveland expressed satisfaction with this portrait, declaring, "As for my ugly mug, I think the artist has 'struck it off' in great shape."

Anders Zorn (1860–1920)
Oil on canvas, 1899
Gift of the Reverend Thomas G. Cleveland

Benjamin Harrison, 1833-1901 Twenty-third president, 1889-1893

Although the United States is a popular democracy, the American



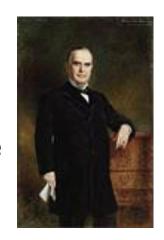
electorate has shown a predisposition for political dynasties such as the Adamses, the Kennedys, and the Bushes. Benjamin Harrison, an Indianapolis lawyer, came from a political family and was the grandson of the ninth president, William Henry Harrison. Benjamin's political career, like his grandfather's, was aided by his military service.

During the Civil War, he raised the Seventieth Indiana Regiment, which would be instrumental in the capture of Atlanta. Ending his military career in 1865 as a brigadier general, Harrison became involved in Indiana politics and was elected to the Senate in 1881. A compromise nominee of the Republican Party for the presidency in 1888, he defeated incumbent Democrat Grover Cleveland in the general election. Harrison's presidency was dominated by economic issues, especially high taxes—or tariffs—but the growth of government spending on his watch caused a backlash, and Cleveland came back to defeat him in the 1892 election.

Theodore Clement Steele (1847–1926)
Oil on canvas, 1900
Lent by Harrison Residence Hall, Purdue University,
West Lafayette, Indiana

William McKinley, 1843-1901 Twenty-fifth president 1897-1901

Like other presidents elected during the post–Civil War era, William McKinley served in the Union army, where he rose from private to major. He then progressed from U.S. representative to governor of Ohio, and finally, to president. In the 1896 election, he defeat



president. In the 1896 election, he defeated the populist Democrat William Jennings Bryan in a landslide victory, thereby cementing the Republican Party's conservative pro-business platform. The Spanish-American War, which lasted from April to August of 1898, was conducted under the pretext of freeing Cuba. The war guided much of McKinley's foreign policy and resulted in the United States acquiring the territories of Guam, the Philippines, Hawaii, and Puerto Rico—marking the young nation as a budding global power.

After his reelection in 1900, McKinley was assassinated by an anarchist at the 1901 Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, New York, underscoring the unending social and political unrest of the 1890s. McKinley is remembered for his patience and kindness, and for the dedication he showed his wife, Ida, who struggled with epilepsy and the deaths of their infant daughters.

August Benziger (1867–1955) Oil on canvas, 1897 Gift of Miss Marieli Benziger

T. Roosevelt to Hoover Social Reform

Bolstered by waves of immigrants and capital wealth from post–Civil War industrialism, by the 1890s, the United States rivaled the great European powers. The rapid development from an agrarian, rural society to an industrialized, urban one, however, created problems that threatened to tear apart the country's social order. The growth of working-class areas in the cities led to overcrowded slums as well as an underclass. The unsightly consequences of expansion seemed to betray the very promise of the American dream.

Industrialists, frequently through violence, beat back attempts by laborers to organize for workers' rights. The Panic of 1893 caused devastating hardship across all levels of society, and groups of reform-minded citizens began lobbying for the welfare of the underclass. Theodore Roosevelt, who took office at the turn of the century, used his executive power to instigate social and economic progress. He was a pioneer of modern government whose legacy transcended his years in office. After the United States' entrance into the First World War in 1917, the economy prospered, and the country experienced lasting social changes—such as those prompted by the nineteenth amendment, which granted women the right to vote.

Image Credit: Theodore Roosevelt, 1898 Eugene Zimmerman (1862–1935) Reproduced from the original (S/NPG.76.64)

Theodore Roosevelt, 1858–1919 Born New York City

This bas-relief of Theodore Roosevelt was commissioned by his friend Jacob Riis, a noted journalist and



photographer who, at the turn of the twentieth century, advocated for New York City's disadvantaged tenement population. When Roosevelt served as a city police commissioner between 1895 and 1897, Riis proved to be a valuable source of information because he understood what reforms were needed in the police department. He was also intimately familiar with the harsh realities of the slums.

Sally James Farnham sculpted this bas-relief of President Roosevelt when he was in his second term. Farnham had the chance to sketch the president at an informal cabinet meeting and later made the work for placement in the Jacob A. Riis Neighborhood Settlement House, which Riis established in the 1890s. The original settlement house was sold in 1952, but the organization continues to operate in Long Island City.

Sally James Farnham (1869–1943) Bronze relief, 1906

Theodore Roosevelt, 1858–1919 Born New York City

Pirie MacDonald described Theodore Roosevelt's sitting in 1915 as one of his most difficult, and it is not hard to speculate why. Roosevelt had recently



returned from an exploratory scientific expedition in South America, where he contracted malaria and an infection in his leg, both of which would plague him the rest of his life. Moreover, Roosevelt spent the first part of that year defending himself against libel charges levied by Albany Times-Union owner William Barnes Jr., whom the former president had accused of corruption and political meddling.

In May of that year, a German U-boat sank the ocean liner *Lusitania*, resulting in the drowning of almost 1,200 passengers, among them 128 Americans. Afterwards, Roosevelt traveled the country speaking about military preparedness and decrying President Wilson's attempts to stay out of World War I. He also engaged in unlovely politics, ridiculing immigrants from Germany and Ireland as unpatriotic.

Pirie MacDonald (1867–1942) Photogravure, 1915 Gift of Milton and Ingrid Rose

Theodore Roosevelt and His Cabinet

In this photograph, President Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919) sits with the members of his



executive cabinet. The year 1906, when this photograph was taken, was especially productive for the reform- minded administration. For example, Roosevelt signed the Hepburn Act, which increased federal regulation of such giant monopolies as John D. Rockefeller's Standard Oil Company and J.P. Morgan's Northern Securities Company. Previously, these companies and others had been fixing railroad shipping rates to their advantage.

Roosevelt also signed the Pure Food and Drug Act, as well as the Meat Inspection Act, to provide basic levels of consumer protections. As president, he initiated many new conservation measures, including the Antiquities Act, which he ultimately used to designate eighteen new national monuments. Finally, Roosevelt was awarded the 1906 Nobel Peace Prize for his successful efforts the previous year to mediate an end to the Russo-Japanese War.

Harris & Ewing Studio (active 1905–1977) Brown-toned gelatin silver print, 1906 Gift of Aileen Conkey

Theodore Roosevelt, 1858–1919 Twenty-sixth president, 1901–1909

An outsize personality who preached the benefits of the "strenuous life" while also being among the most learned of presidents, Theodore Roosevelt gained national prominence as a civil service reformer, a hero of the Spanish-American War, and a proactive governor of New York. After William McKinley was assassinated in 1901, Roosevelt took office and initiated one of American history's most reform-oriented presidencies. His contributions would include implementing efforts to conserve the nation's disappearing natural heritage, instituting some of the first significant curbs on the excesses of big business, and building the Panama Canal.

Despite having progressive views on labor and consumer issues, Roosevelt maintained conservative views on a number of social issues. For example, he felt convinced that a declining birthrate among oldstock Americans threatened the nation as a whole and therefore opposed immigration, birth control, and the redefinition of women's roles.

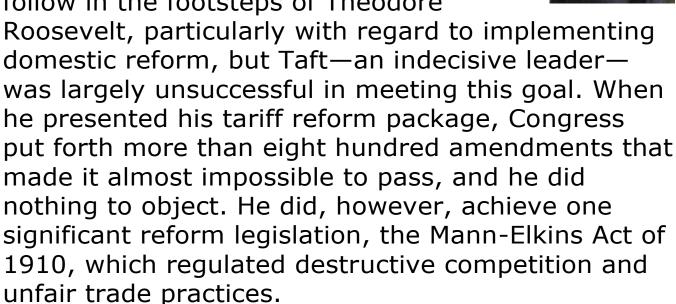
Roosevelt was a fascinating bundle of contradictions, above all as a patrician who realized that unless essential reforms were initiated by government, American democracy was likely to fail.

Adrian Lamb (1901–1988), after Philip Alexius de László (1869–1937)

Oil on canvas, 1967, after 1908 original Gift of the Theodore Roosevelt Association

William Howard Taft, 1857–1930 Twenty-seventh president, 1909– 1913

William Howard Taft felt determined to follow in the footsteps of Theodore



Also, ninety-nine trust prosecutions were conducted while he was in office. Nevertheless, when Taft was halfway through his presidency, he had become heavily influenced by conservative businessmen who criticized the effects of trust-busting on the national economy. In the end, he reversed his position on tariff reform and therefore alienated progressives who viewed high tariffs as the worst offending characteristic of trusts.

William Valentine Schevill (1864–1951) Oil on artist board, c. 1910 Gift of William E. Schevill

Speeches—Franklin D. Roosevelt to Barack

Major Acts

President Franklin D. Roosevelt Leading Allies to Victory: Defeat of Italy, 1943 Courtesy British Pathé and Critical Past 48 seconds President Lyndon B. Johnson Voting Rights Act, 1965 Courtesy Critical Past, E-Footage, and Getty **Images** 1 minute President George H.W. Bush Americans with Disabilities Act, 1990 Courtesy The CONUS Archive and George H.W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum 1 minute, 8 seconds

Challenges

President Harry S. Truman Rebuilding Europe: The Marshall Plan, 1948 Courtesy British Pathé, Critical Past, and The WPA Film Library 49 seconds President Dwight D. Eisenhower Federal Troops to Little Rock, 1957 Courtesy Critical Past 1 minute, 23 seconds President Jimmy Carter Iranian Hostage Crisis, 1979 Courtesy ABCNEWS VideoSource, Getty Images, and Jimmy Carter Library and Museum 1 minute, 10 seconds

Challenges (cont.)

President William J. Clinton Crisis in Somalia, 1993 Courtesy Getty Images, Screen Ocean/Reuters, and William J. Clinton Presidential Library and Museum 1 minute President George W. Bush September 11, 2001 Courtesy Getty Images and NBCUniversal **Archives** 1 minute, 18 seconds

Legacy

President John F.
Kennedy
Space Program, 1962
Courtesy Critical Past
and John F. Kennedy
Presidential Library and
Museum
1 minute, 5 seconds
President Richard M.
Nixon
Ceasefire in Vietnam,
1973

Courtesy Critical Past, Getty Images, NBCUniversal Archive, and the WPA Film **Archive** 1 minute, 10 seconds President Ronald Reagan Ending the Cold War, 1987 Courtesy Critical Past and Getty Images 1 minute President Barack Obama Marriage Equality, 2015 Courtesy ABCNEWS Videosource, ITN Source, and Getty **Images** 57 seconds

Woodrow Wilson, 1856–1924 Twenty-eighth president, 1913– 1921

Elected president after earning a sterling reputation as the governor of



New Jersey, Woodrow Wilson remained committed to curbing abusive business practices and improving conditions for workers. In the wake of World War I, he tried to create a world order that would choose to prioritize peace over national self-interest, but his idealism was dismissed, both at home and abroad. The frustration Wilson felt from this rejection was compounded by his failure to convince his own country to support the League of Nations, an international organization he had conceived of as a means for avoiding future wars. He suffered a stroke in 1919 while campaigning for American entry into the League and left office in 1921, broken in both health and spirit. Wilson is most often remembered as a champion of liberal values, but recent scrutiny has drawn attention to his regressive actions with regard to women's voting rights and other civil liberties.

In June 1919, John Christen Johansen, a Danishborn artist living in Chicago, made portraits of the dignitaries during the negotiations of the Treaty of Versailles. This sketch, which he made for a larger group portrait, depicts Wilson just months before his stroke.

John Christen Johansen (1876–1964) Oil on canvas, c. 1919 Gift of an anonymous donor

Woodrow Wilson, 1856-1924 Born Staunton, Virginia

After telling the president, "It takes two to make a bust," the sculptor Jo Davidson asked Woodrow Wilson to sit on the back of an armchair, close the book he was reading, and chat. One reviewer, who deemed this bust "a perfect likeness," also commended Davidson for capturing "all the firmness of the face, without any of that sourness by which some artists unconsciously and mistakenly make people think they would not care to know President Wilson personally."

Jo Davidson (1883–1952) Bronze, 1919 Gift of Dr. Maury Leibovitz

Warren G. Harding, 1865-1923 Twenty-ninth president, 1921-1923

Republican Warren Harding, a former

lieutenant governor and senator from Ohio, entered the White House following an era of upheaval. He promised to "think of America first" and restore "normalcy" after a period of sweeping social reforms, increases in racial segregation, and the trauma of World War I. Under Harding's leadership at the Washington Naval Conference of 1921–22, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan joined the United States in signing a treaty that slowed a global arms race. Although Harding lowered taxes and reduced the national debt, the Teapot Dome Scandal of 1921–23, which involved one of his top appointees, marked a lowpoint in his brief term.

Completed after his untimely death in office, this portrait by Welsh artist Margaret Lindsay Williams bears Harding's full name above the Presidential Seal in the upper-right corner. Later, Williams would become famous for her portraits of Queen Elizabeth II and other members of the British royal family.

Margaret Lindsay Williams (1888–1960) Oil on canvas, 1923

Calvin Coolidge, 1872-1933 Thirtieth president, 1923-1929

At a time that saw the growth of big government and an increasingly powerful presidency, Calvin Coolidge stands out as the last genuinely "small government" conservative to serve as president. He was famously taciturn, earning the nickname "Silent Cal," and his demeanor informed a governing philosophy that eschewed intervention except in a civil emergency.

As governor of Massachusetts, his handling of the Boston police strike of 1919, an emergency that called for executive leadership, made him an attractive candidate for national office, and he became Harding's vice president in 1921. Following Harding's sudden death in 1923, Coolidge ascended the presidency, and his manner and personal rectitude helped restore the people's trust in the government after the scandal-ridden Harding administration.

Joseph E. Burgess (1891–1961), after Ercole Cartotto (1889–1946)
Oil on canvas, 1956
Gift of the Fraternity of Phi Gamma Delta

Herbert Hoover, 1874–1964 Thirty-first president, 1929–1933

Trained as a mining engineer, Herbert

Hoover was a public intellectual and a problem solver. As such, he embodied the new class of expert who applied rationality to social problems. During and after World War I, his management of European food relief was a model program of public administration that solved a pressing social need. The Great Depression, however, which began during the second year of his presidency, proved to be beyond Hoover's control and understanding. A believer in the power of private initiative, he hesitated to involve the federal government in relief programs on the regulation of business. Lengthening breadlines and escalating joblessness finally convinced him to take action, but his measures were too little, too late. Consequently, he was defeated by a huge margin in his 1932 reelection bid.

Douglas Chandor (1897–1953)
Oil on canvas, 1931
Frame conserved with funds from the Smithsonian Women's Committee

F. D. Roosevelt to Reagan Negotiating World Peace

Franklin D. Roosevelt, who was the first and last president to serve three terms (1933–1945), orchestrated the greatest expansion of executive power in American history. Roosevelt's implementation of the New Deal—with its many agencies and bureaucracies—sanctioned government intervention in the economic and social crises that stemmed from the Great Depression. When the United States entered the Second World War, in 1941, factories went into high gear, which in turn drove the economy's recovery.

Harry Truman, who became president following Roosevelt's death, was the first to lead the country in the postwar era. The threat of the atomic bomb and the ascendance of communist powers brought on the Cold War, which lasted for more than four decades. Wars in Korea and Vietnam demonstrated the lengths to which Truman and his successors felt that communism needed to be contained. Within domestic politics, the presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson promoted civil rights legislation. In the 1980s, Mikhail Gorbachev, leading a muchweakened Soviet Union, began negotiations with Ronald Reagan and George H. W. Bush to end the Cold War.

Image Credit:

Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta, 1945 Samariy Gurariy (1916–1998) Reproduced from the original

Franklin Delano Roosevelt at Yalta

Despite his failing health leading up to 1945, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was determined to end the Second World War. After he was elected to an unprecedented fourth term in 1944, Roosevelt threw himself into discussions with British Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin. He met them in Yalta, Soviet Crimea, where they negotiated the division of Germany, the governance of liberated Europe, and aid from the U.S.S.R. on the Pacific front.

The conference resulted in the re-mapping of Poland's borders. Free elections in Poland became a condition of the conference—but Stalin immediately defaulted. Though Roosevelt expressed his outrage over the betrayal, he never made it to the follow-up conference that would have addressed Stalin's duplicity. Roosevelt died of a cerebral hemorrhage on April 12, just weeks before the allies would reconvene and mere months before the war's end.

Samariy Gurariy (1916–1998) Gelatin silver print, 1945

Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1882–1945

Artist Herman Perlman was born in Poland and lived in Russia until 1914, when his family immigrated to Columbus, Ohio. In 1924, he moved to Washington, D.C., and studied art at the Maryland Institute



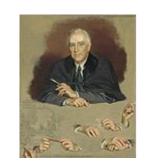
College of Art in nearby Baltimore. When he created this likeness, Perlman had already been drawing portraits, particularly caricatures, for nearly ten years. Here, he depicts the president as a debonair yet slightly self-satisfied figure, emphasizing his patrician background.

Perlman often made caricatures for the *Washington Post*. When the paper periodically laid him off during the Depression, he took side jobs for theaters and other organizations. Perlman drew caricatures of many public figures, including Andrew Mellon, Will Rogers, Herbert Hoover, and Dean Acheson. His subjects were rarely offended by his clever likenesses. In fact, many autographed the original drawings, just as Roosevelt signed this portrait.

Herman Perlman (1904–1995) Tempera and gouache on board, 1935 Gift of the artist

Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1882–1945 Thirty-second president, 1933–1945

Franklin Delano Roosevelt, whose presidency began in the throes of the Great Depression, led the United States



out of its devastating financial crisis. During his first few months in office, he established the New Deala set of ambitious government programs that supported public works projects, put forth banking and business regulations, and offered other forms of federal relief. After the United States entered World War II in 1941, he decided to seek a third term, pointing out that one should never change horses in midstream. In the diplomatic summits with Britain's Winston Churchill and the Soviet Union's Joseph Stalin, Roosevelt not only prosecuted the war but helped lay the groundwork for the postwar world. In March 1945, Douglas Chandor spent several days at the White House, where he made sketches for a group portrait of Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin to mark their conference the previous month at Yalta, a resort on the Black Sea. The artist wished the painting to be "a conversation about peace," but it was never realized because Stalin refused to sit for the portrait. Chandor included the composition for the painting on this canvas, along with studies of Roosevelt's hands.

Douglas Chandor (1897-1953); Oil on canvas, 1945

Harry S. Truman, 1884-1972 Thirty-third president, 1945-1953

Upon learning of Franklin Roosevelt's death on April 12, 1945, Harry Truman said he felt as if "the moon, and the stars and all the planets" had fallen on him. That summer, he faced the daunting task of ending the war in the Pacific and negotiating with an increasingly belligerent Soviet Union. Facing Soviet expansion, he endorsed the Marshall Plan, the strategy that helped rebuild war-torn Europe.

After winning the election of 1948, Truman's presidency began to founder as he was faced with crises, including the Korean War. By the time he left office, his reputation had sunk to a near record low. Yet over time, Truman has been better appreciated for both his pragmatic flexibility and his honesty. He is also known for his efforts to end racial discrimination in the U.S. military.

Truman granted Jay Wesley Jacobs five portrait sittings in the White House in 1945. The artist created two portraits. This one, commissioned by Assistant Treasury Secretary Lawrence Wood Robert Jr., was intended for the U.S. Senate but ultimately remained in the Robert family.

Jay Wesley Jacobs (1898–1968)
Oil on canvas, 1945
Partial gift of the William T. Kemper Foundation

Dwight D. Eisenhower, 1890–1969 Thirty-fourth president, 1953–1961

In 1952, both political parties courted General Dwight D. Eisenhower as a possible presidential candidate. A triumphant World War II hero and a natural leader, the man was armed with a ready smile and an adept organizational ability. Under Eisenhower's leadership, the United States saw the end of the Korean War, the construction of the interstate highway system, and the beginnings of desegregation in the South. In 1957, he dispatched federal troops to Little Rock, Arkansas, to protect African American students after the desegregation of Central High School. It was the first time since Reconstruction that a president sent military forces into the South to enforce federal law. Having once been criticized for being too passive, Eisenhower now draws praise for his consensual and effective style of leadership. His years in office are remembered as a time of peace and prosperity.

Thomas E. Stephens (1886–1966)
Oil on canvas, 1955
Lent by the Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential
Library and Museum, National Archives and Records
Administration, Abilene, Kansas

John F. Kennedy, 1917-1963 Born Brookline, Massachusetts

When elected to the U.S. Senate in 1953, Democrat John Fitzgerald Kennedy was no stranger to the U.S. Capitol Building, having served Massachusetts in the House of Representatives from 1947 to 1953. He then won the Senate seat from Republican incumbent Henry Cabot Lodge Jr., even though the Republican candidate Dwight D. Eisenhower carried Massachusetts in the presidential election.

During his time in the Senate, Kennedy was especially responsive to constituent issues, despite suffering major health issues in the first years of his term. At the height of Joseph McCarthy's Red Scare, Kennedy condemned the senator's methods. In doing so, he risked political backlash in his home state, where McCarthy was popular. As senator, Kennedy crusaded for labor reform and civil rights, concerns that would characterize his political career. In 1961, eight years after being elected senator, Kennedy would become the thirty-fifth president of the United States.

Arnold A. Newman (1918–2006) Gelatin silver print, 1953

John F. Kennedy, 1917–1963 Thirty-fifth president, 1961–1963

When John F. Kennedy was assassinated in 1963, the country experienced a collective sense of grief that it had not known since the death of Abraham Lincoln. Many Americans found it hard to cope with the sudden loss of this youthful, energetic president whose speeches had inspired citizens to achieve high ideals. In his shortened tenure as president, Kennedy proposed landmark civil-rights legislation, created the Peace Corps, and promoted the goal of landing on the moon.

In foreign policy, his administration peacefully resolved a dramatic stand-off with the Soviet Union over the presence of missiles in Cuba, and he oversaw the buildup of the American presence in Vietnam. Elaine de Kooning, known for her gestural portraits, held several informal sessions with him in Palm Beach, Florida, in December 1962 and January 1963. The artist was so moved by the president during these sittings that she went on to create dozens of drawings and paintings of him over the next ten months.

Elaine de Kooning (1918–1989) Oil on canvas, 1963

John and Jacqueline Kennedy

The 1953 marriage of John F. Kennedy (1917–1963) and Jacqueline Bouvier (1929–1994) was the event of the season. Both were from wealthy, influential New England families in the



public eye. John was a war hero and rising political star, and Jackie was a stylish photographerreporter, who had covered high-profile events such as the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II.

Portrayed by the world-renowned photographer Yousuf Karsh in 1957, the Kennedys epitomized the power couple at the time. That year, Jackie gave birth to their oldest child, Caroline Kennedy. Additionally, John F. Kennedy's book, *Profiles in Courage* (1956), was awarded the Pulitzer Prize for biography. Still four years from his presidency, Kennedy was working in the Senate to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1957, which would uphold progress made toward desegregation. Soon after, the couple began campaigning for his reelection to the Senate.

Yousuf Karsh (1908–2002) Gelatin silver print, 1957 Gift of Estrellita Karsh, in memory of Yousuf Karsh

Lyndon B. Johnson, 1908–1973 Thirty-sixth president, 1963–1969

Sworn in after the assassination of President Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson was one of the nation's most ambitious



and idealistic chief executives. He worked tirelessly to create his "Great Society," an America where prosperity and opportunity would exist through the efforts of a strong federal government. A veteran legislator and master manipulator, Johnson used his skills to help pass laws that addressed such issues as poverty, education, and civil rights. His legacy, however, was tarnished when he applied a similarly aggressive approach to his foreign policy in Vietnam. With his approval rating plummeting, he chose not to run for reelection in 1968. Nevertheless, the war continued for another seven years.

Peter Hurd was commissioned to make Johnson's official portrait for the White House, but when the president viewed the finished painting, he declared it "the ugliest thing I ever saw." Hurd kept the work and gave it to the National Portrait Gallery when the museum opened in 1968. In exchange, the museum promised not to exhibit the portrait until after the president left office.

Peter Hurd (1904–1984) Tempera on wood, 1967 Gift of the artist Frame conserved with funds from the Smithsonian Women's Committee

Richard M. Nixon, 1913-1994 Thirty-seventh president, 1969-1974



Coming of political age during the Cold War, Richard Nixon used national security issues to gain prominence in Congress and later served as Eisenhower's vice president. After he lost both the election for the presidency, in 1960, and the race for California governor, in 1962, it seemed as though his career may have peaked in the 1950s. However, as the Democratic Party unraveled over such topics as the Vietnam War and civil rights, Nixon won the presidency in 1968.

During his tenure, which was cut short, he focused on foreign policy, particularly with regard to ending the Vietnam War and establishing a relationship with China. The scandal over the Watergate break-in and the subsequent cover-up morphed into a crisis over presidential misconduct, and in 1974, he became the first—and so far, the only—president to resign.

In 1968, Look magazine hired Norman Rockwell to portray the newly elected president. Admitting that Nixon's appearance was troublesomely elusive, Rockwell chose to intentionally flatter him. If he was going to err in his portrayal, he said, he wanted it to be in the direction that would please his subject.

Norman Rockwell (1894–1978)

Oil on canvas, 1968
Donated to the people of the United States of America by the Richard Nixon Foundation

Gerald R. Ford, 1913-2006 Thirty-eighth president, 1974-1977

Gerald Ford's rise to the presidency was historic. Appointed vice president by Richard Nixon after Spiro Agnew resigned in disgrace in 1973, Ford was then sworn in as president on August 9, 1974, after Nixon resigned. He became the first president to hold office without ever having been elected by the people. Ford announced: "Our long national nightmare is over," and then he immediately set about restoring credibility to the position. In a controversial gesture to heal the nation—and to prevent a lengthy trial he pardoned Nixon of any wrongdoing. He also offered amnesty to Vietnam War deserters and draft evaders. Ford would pay a price for his leniency in his election campaign in 1976. Although he staved off a bitter challenge by Ronald Reagan for the Republican Party nomination, he lost to Jimmy Carter in the general election.

This portrait by Everett R. Kinstler was painted at Ford's request, specifically for the National Portrait Gallery. The artist based the likeness on sketches he had made in the late 1970s, when he was working on Ford's official White House portrait.

Everett Raymond Kinstler (1926–2019) Oil on canvas, 1987 Gift of the Gerald R. Ford Foundation

Jimmy Carter, born 1924 Thirty-ninth president, 1977–1981

When Americans elected Jimmy Carter in 1976, they were voting for a positive change in executive leadership. Burdened by escalating costs of living and tired of recent scandalridden politics, they saw Carter as a fresh new face who would make, in his words, government "as good as the American people." A born-again Christian, Carter touted his human decency to heal the divisions of post-Vietnam American society while also promising to fix the economy. Stemming high inflation, however, proved to be harder than he had predicted. He also could not do much to ease the ongoing energy crisis instigated by the cartel of oil producing nations. In 1978, Carter successfully brokered a landmark peace accord between Egypt and Israel, but the Iranian hostage crisis of 1979, spurred by the U.S. support of the unpopular Shah of Iran, crippled the last year of his administration. He lost a reelection bid to Ronald Reagan in 1980.

In this portrait by Robert Templeton, Carter is shown standing in the oval office, as it was during his tenure. The donkey statuette on his desk was a gift from the Democratic National Committee.

Robert Templeton (1929–1991) Oil on canvas, 1980 Partial gift of the 1977 Inauguration Committee

Jimmy Carter, born 1924 Born Plains, Georgia

Jimmy Carter sat for his official White House portrait in Plains, Georgia, soon after leaving office. This is the life study



that Herbert Abrams made in preparation for that work. Both Carter and Abrams found the painting to be very successful. The artist reportedly said that the White House portrait "fell off the brush. It just flowed—I knew from the beginning it was going to be one of my best."

Herbert E. Abrams (1921–2003) Oil on linen, 1982 Lent by Mr. and Mrs. Set Charles Momjian

Gerald Ford, Richard Nixon, Ronald Reagan, and Jimmy Carter

This photograph captures the first time that four U.S. presidents gathered in the White House at once. They came



together in order to make a plan to represent the United States during an important ally's funeral. On October 6, 1981, Egyptian president Anwar Sadat, the author of significant peace negotiations with Israel, was assassinated during a parade in Cairo.

Sitting President Ronald Reagan had survived an assassination attempt earlier that year, and government security agencies recommended that he not attend the funeral. Instead, the U.S. was represented by a delegation of the three former presidents Jimmy Carter, Gerald Ford, and Richard Nixon. Despite their combative election campaigns and differing ideologies, the presidents ultimately agreed to come together to honor Sadat. Although they made a show of solidarity, photographers noticed Carter's discomfort during the send-off. Carter, who considered Sadat a close friend, viewed Reagan's decision not to attend as cowardly.

George Tames (1919–1994) Gelatin silver print, 1981 Gift of Frances O. Tames

Ronald Reagan, 1911-2004 Born Tampico, Illinois

This photograph of Ronald Reagan leading his beloved horse El Alamein undoubtedly captures a lesser-known side of him. According to Reagan's biographer Edmund Morris, to truly understand the man, one must visit



Reagan's retreat, Rancho del Cielo. The 688-acre property is located seven miles up a steep canyon road from the Pacific Ocean and nestled in the Santa Ynez Mountains. After Reagan bought the ranch in 1974, it became his favorite home. Despite objections from aides, Reagan returned there often during his presidency.

He had learned to ride horseback in the late 1930s while serving in the U.S. Cavalry Reserve. The president's joyful quotation of Xenophon's *Art of Horsemanship* conveys his love of horses: "There is nothing quite so good for the inside of a man as the outside of a horse."

Harry Benson (born 1929) Chromogenic print, 1983

Ronald Reagan, 1911-2004 Fortieth president, 1981-1989

The ascension of Ronald Reagan, a former actor and governor of California, marked the revitalization of the conservative western wing of the Republican Party that many thought had died with the defeat of Barry Goldwater in 1964. As president, he challenged many of the liberal programs that had dominated the federal government since the New Deal, and throughout his presidency, he strove to cut the size of government. Reagan unapologetically reduced social welfare programs and encouraged a conservative social ethic regarding the role of religion in public life and reproductive rights, but his conservative stance led him to largely ignore the AIDS crisis. Finally, in foreign policy, Reagan guided the United States through the end of the Cold War. When he left office in 1989, the Soviet Union was already falling apart, but it did not officially break up until two years later.

Everett Raymond Kinstler (born 1926) Oil on canvas, 1991 Gift of Everett Raymond Kinstler

G. H. W. Bush to Obama The Contemporary Presidency

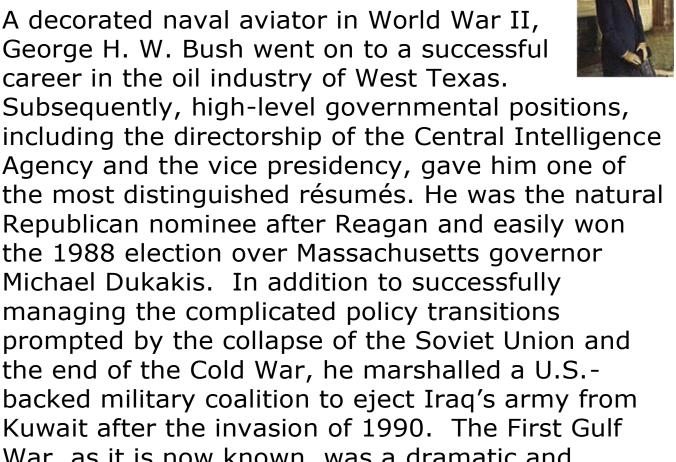
No single figure characterizes the contemporary era, but foreign affairs continue to ask much of American presidents and of the nation they serve. After the attacks of 9/11, George W. Bush waged a global "war on terror" that set aside traditional diplomacy in favor of U.S. military intervention abroad. During this time, the country's urge to strengthen homeland security has led presidents to introduce new surveillance techniques and anti-terrorism laws that have, in turn, tested privacy laws developed in the pre-digital age.

War continues to influence the twenty-first century as the United States follows a doctrine that relies upon both shield and sword. At the same time, public reactions to every issue, at any given moment, have become nearly instantaneous by way of social media. Partisan divisions are as high as they were in the 1850s, affecting debates as wideranging as climate change, immigration, and healthcare. Nevertheless, as we reflect on the past, we can anticipate that the nation will continue to overcome obstacles and move toward ensuring citizenship rights for all Americans.

Image Credit: George W. Bush, 2005 Jerry Spagnoli (born 1956) Reproduced from the original (NPG.2005.13)

George H. W. Bush, born 1924 Forty-first president, 1989-1993

A decorated naval aviator in World War II, George H. W. Bush went on to a successful career in the oil industry of West Texas.



Agency and the vice presidency, gave him one of the most distinguished résumés. He was the natural Republican nominee after Reagan and easily won the 1988 election over Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis. In addition to successfully managing the complicated policy transitions prompted by the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, he marshalled a U.S.backed military coalition to eject Iraq's army from Kuwait after the invasion of 1990. The First Gulf War, as it is now known, was a dramatic and comprehensive triumph, one that signaled the recovery of the American military following the war in Vietnam. Even with Bush's victory in the Persian Gulf, however, domestic politics—especially his breaking of a pledge not to raise taxes—lowered his popularity, and Bill Clinton easily defeated him in 1992.

Ronald N. Sherr (born 1949) Oil on canvas, 1994-95 Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Robert E. Krueger

William J. Clinton, born 1946 Forty-second president, 1993–2001

Elected governor of Arkansas at age thirtytwo, Democrat Bill Clinton first came to national attention as the leading reformer of an impoverished Southern state. Clinton's presidential administration curbed the federal spending deficits of the 1980s, eventually achieving a surplus in revenues; negotiated the North American Free Trade Agreement, which eliminated most tariffs and trade barriers between Canada, the United States, and Mexico; enacted welfare reform; and spearheaded a successful U.S.-led NATO intervention in the Balkan Wars. Proposals such as universal health care, however, failed. Clinton's second term was marked by several scandals, including lying while under oath about a sexual relationship he had with a White House intern. For this, he was impeached by the House of Representatives but was not convicted in the Senate trial.

Chuck Close based this portrait on a photograph he took for the cover of *New York* magazine. Using a grid system, Close often translates the visual information found in photographs into abstracted likenesses.

Chuck Close (born 1940) Oil on canvas, 2006 Lent by Ian and Annette Cumming

George W. Bush born 1946 Forty-third president, 2001-2009

Republican George W. Bush lost the popular vote to Democrat Al Gore, but became president after a protracted period of ballot recounting, the legitimacy of which was ultimately decided by the Supreme Court. During his first year in office, the apocalyptic terrorist attacks of 9/11 disrupted the nation's sense of security and ushered in a new era of war on global terrorism. The Bush administration swiftly mounted military actions in Afghanistan and Iraq.

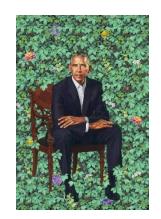
During his second term, Bush faced domestic crises that significantly impacted his legacy. His administration's slow response to the massive devastation wrought by Hurricane Katrina in 2005 and to the cataclysmic financial crisis of 2008 caused widespread outrage and sparked interest in change.

Bush selected Connecticut portraitist Robert Anderson, with whom he attended Yale University, to create this painting for the National Portrait Gallery. The president requested an informal image, posing in shirtsleeves at Camp David, the presidential retreat in Maryland.

Robert Anderson (born 1946) Oil on canvas, 200

Barack Obama, born 1961 Forty-fourth president, 2009–2017

Barack Obama made history in 2009 by becoming the first African American president. The former Illinois state senator's election signaled a feeling of hope for the future even as the U.S. was



undergoing its worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. While working to improve the economy, Obama enacted the Affordable Care Act, extending health benefits to millions of previously uninsured Americans. Overseas, he oversaw the drawdown of American troops in the Middle East—a force reduction that was controversially replaced with an expansion of drone and aviation strikes. Though his mission to kill al-Qaeda founder Osama bin Laden was successful, his pledge to close the Guantanamo prison went unrealized.

Artist Kehinde Wiley is known for his vibrant, large-scale paintings of African Americans posing as famous figures from the history of Western art. This portrait does not include an underlying art historical reference, but some of the flowers in the background carry special meaning for Obama. The chrysanthemums, for example, reference the official flower of Chicago. The jasmine evokes Hawaii, where he spent the majority of his childhood, and the African blue lilies stand in for his late Kenyan father.

Kehinde Wiley (born 1977)
Oil on canvas, 2018 NPG.2018.16

Gift of Kate Capshaw and Steven Spielberg; Judith Kern and Kent Whealy; Tommie L. Pegues and Donald A. Capoccia; Clarence, DeLoise, and Brenda Gaines; The Stoneridge Fund of Amy and Marc Meadows; Robert E. Meyerhoff and Rheda Becker; Catherine and Michael Podell; Mark and Cindy Aron; Lyndon J. Barrois and Janine Sherman Barrois; The Honorable John and Louise Bryson; Paul and Rose Carter; Bob and Jane Clark; Lisa R. Davis; Shirley Ross Davis and Family; Alan and Lois Fern; Conrad and Constance Hipkins; Sharon and John Hoffman; Daniel and Kimberly Johnson; John Legend and Chrissy Teigen; Eileen Harris Norton; Helen Hilton Raiser; Philip and Elizabeth Ryan; Roselyne Chroman Swig; Josef Vascovitz and Lisa Goodman; Michele J. Hooper and Lemuel Seabrook III; The Skylark Foundation; Cleveland and Harriette Chambliss; Anna Chavez and Eugene Eidenberg; Carla Diggs & Stephen M. Smith; Danny First; Peggy Woodford Forbes and Harry Bremond; Stephen Friedman Gallery; Sean and Mary Kelly, Sean Kelly Gallery; Jamie Lunder; Joff Masukawa and Noëlle Kennedy Masukawa; Derek McGinty and Cheryl Cooper; Robert and Jan Newman; The Raymond L. Ocampo Jr. and Sandra O. Ocampo Family Trust; Julie and Bennett Roberts; Paul Sack; Gertrude Dixon Sherman; Michael and Mary Silver; V. Joy

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